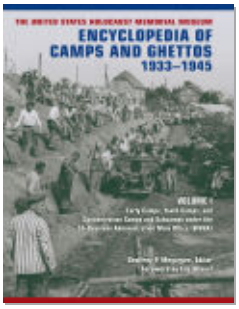
PROJECT MUSE®

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume I

Megargee, Geoffrey P.



Published by Indiana University Press

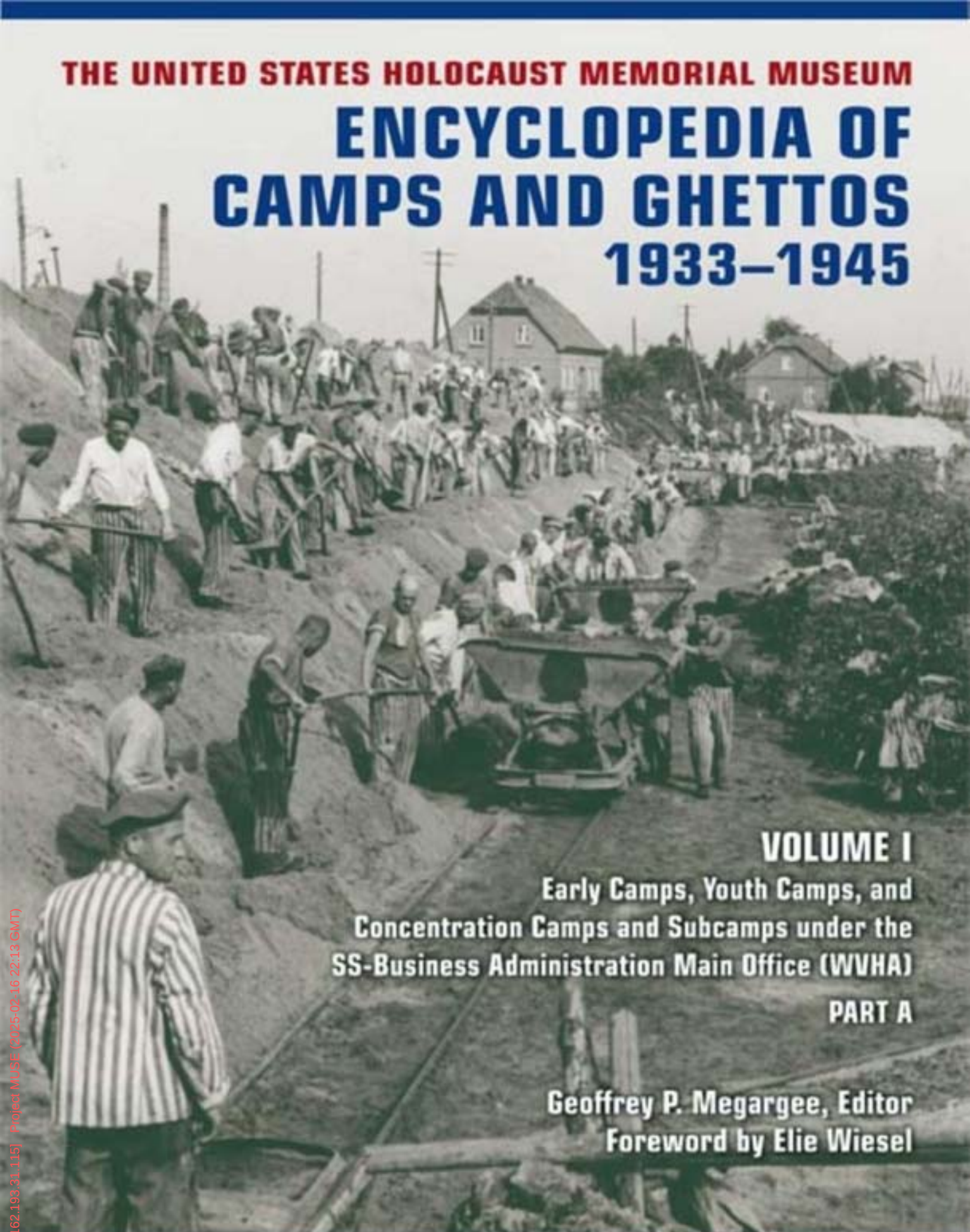
Megargee, Geoffrey P.
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume I: Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).
Indiana University Press, 2009.
Project MUSE. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/82098.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/82098

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.
[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS 1933–1945



VOLUME I

Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA)

PART A

Geoffrey P. Megargee, Editor
Foreword by Elie Wiesel

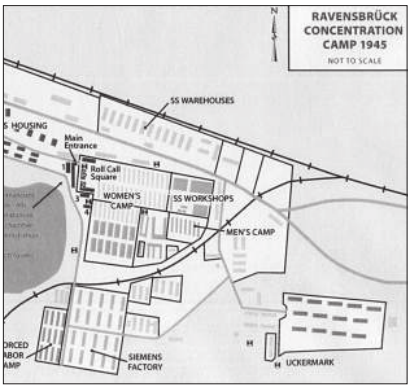
[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

General Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee







A PROJECT OF THE **UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM**

Sara J. Bloomfield, Director

THE CENTER FOR ADVANCED HOLOCAUST STUDIES

Paul A. Shapiro, Director

Jürgen Matthäus, Director of Research

Peter Black, Senior Historian

Robert M. Ehrenreich, Director of University Programs

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
ACADEMIC COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Alvin H. Rosenfeld, Chair

Doris L. Bergen
Richard Breitman
Christopher R. Browning
David Engel
Willard A. Fletcher
Zvi Y. Gitelman
Alfred Gottschalk
Peter Hayes
Susannah Heschel
Sara R. Horowitz
Steven T. Katz
William S. Levine
Deborah E. Lipstadt
Michael R. Marrus
John T. Pawlikowski
Harry Reicher
Aron Rodrigue
George D. Schwab
Nechama Tec
James E. Young

All art above from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Photos courtesy of Lydia Chagoll.

THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME I

Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA)

Part A

Volume Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee

Advisory Committee

Doris L. Bergen
Christopher R. Browning
David Engel
Willard A. Fletcher
Peter Hayes
Michael R. Marrus
Nechama Tec

Published in association with the **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum**

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • Bloomington and Indianapolis

This book is a publication of

Indiana University Press
601 North Morton Street
Bloomington, IN 47404-3797 USA

http://iupress.indiana.edu

Telephone orders 800-842-6796
Fax orders 812-855-7931
Orders by e-mail iuporder@indiana.edu

© 2009 by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The assertions, arguments, and conclusions contained herein are those of the authors or contributors. They do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. The Association of American University Presses' Resolution on Permissions constitutes the only exception to this prohibition.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences–Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Manufactured in China

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Early camps, youth camps, and concentration camps and subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) / editor, Geoffrey P. Megargee ; foreword by Elie Wiesel.
p. cm. — (The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum encyclopedia of camps and ghettos, 1933–1945 ; v. 1)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-253-35328-3 (cloth : alk. paper) 1. Concentration camps—Europe. 2. World War, 1939–1945—Concentration camps—Europe. I. Megargee, Geoffrey P., [date]
D805.A2E195 2009
940.53'185—dc22 2008037382

1 2 3 4 5 14 13 12 11 10 09

WITH MAJOR SUPPORT FROM

THE HELEN BADER FOUNDATION

THE CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, INC.

THE WILLIAM ZELL FAMILY FOUNDATION

THE BENJAMIN AND SEEMA PULIER CHARITABLE FOUNDATION

For the victims of the Holocaust and for the survivors who became the eyewitnesses to this devastating period of history.

Only guard yourself and guard your soul carefully, lest you forget the things your eyes saw, and lest these things depart your heart all the days of your life, and you shall make them known to your children, and to your children's children.

—Deuteronomy 4:9

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

PART A

List of Maps xxv
Foreword by Elie Wiesel xxvii
Preface xxix
Acknowledgments xxxi
Editor's Introduction to the Series and Volume I xxxiii
Reader's Guide to Using the Encyclopedia xxxvii

SECTION I: THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

INTRODUCTION TO THE EARLY CAMPS 3
Camps: Ahrensbök-Holstendorf–Zwickau 17

SECTION II: CAMPS AND SUBCAMPS UNDER THE SS-INSPECTORATE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS/BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION MAIN OFFICE

THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS 183

ARBEITSDORF MAIN CAMP 197

AUSCHWITZ I MAIN CAMP 203
AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU MAIN CAMP 209
AUSCHWITZ III-MONOWITZ MAIN CAMP [AKA BUNA] 215
AUSCHWITZ SUBCAMP SYSTEM 221
Camps: Altdorf–Tschechowitz 224

BERGEN-BELSEN MAIN CAMP 277
Camps: Bomlitz–Unterlüss 282

BUCHENWALD MAIN CAMP 289
BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM 297
Camps: Abteroda–Wolfen 300

DACHAU MAIN CAMP 441
DACHAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM 448
Camps: Augsburg–Zangberg 451

FLOSSENBÜRG MAIN CAMP 559
FLOSSENBÜRG SUBCAMP SYSTEM 567
Camps: Altenhammer–Zwodau 570

GROSS-ROSEN MAIN CAMP 693
GROSS-ROSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 699
Camps: Aslau–Zittau 702

HERZOGENBUSCH MAIN CAMP (AKA VUGHT) 813
Camps: Amersfoort–Venlo 820

HINZERT MAIN CAMP 823
Camps: Bad Nauheim–Zeltingen 830

KAUEN MAIN CAMP (AKA KAUNAS, KOVNO, KOWNO, ALSO SLOBODKA) 847
Camps: Kauen-Alexoten–Schaulen 853

PART B

KRAKAU-PLASZOW MAIN CAMP 861
Camps: Kabelwerk Krakau–Zabłocie 868

LUBLIN MAIN CAMP (AKA MAJDANEK) 875
Camps: Bliżyn–Trawniki 880

MAUTHAUSEN MAIN CAMP 899
MAUTHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 905
Camps: Amstetten–Wien-Schwechat 908

MITTELBAU MAIN CAMP [AKA DORA] 965
MITTELBAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM 973
Camps: Artern–Wickerode 975

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF MAIN CAMP [AKA NATZWEILER, STRUTHOF] 1003
NATZWEILER SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1009
GRUPPE "WÜSTE" COMPLEX 1012
Camps: Audun-le-Tiche–Wesserling 1015

NEUENGAMME MAIN CAMP 1073
NEUENGAMME SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1079
Camps: Alt-Garge–Wöbbelin 1082

RAVENSBRÜCK MAIN CAMP 1187
RAVENSBRÜCK SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1192
Camps: Ansbach–Zichow 1195

RIGA-KAISERWALD MAIN CAMP (AKA MEŽAPARKS) 1229
Camps: Dondangen–Riga 1236

SACHSENHAUSEN MAIN CAMP 1255
SACHSENHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1263
Camps: Bad Saarow–Wulkow 1265

SS-BAUBRIGADEN AND SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADEN 1353
Camps: Alderney–Wuppertal 1361

STUTTHOF MAIN CAMP 1419
STUTTHOF SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1425
Camps: Adlershorst–Zeyersvorderkampen 1427

VAIVARA MAIN CAMP 1491
Camps: Aseri–Vivikonna OT 1496

WARSCHAU MAIN CAMP 1511

WEWELSBURG MAIN CAMP (AKA NIEDERHAGEN) 1517

SECTION III: YOUTH CAMPS

INTRODUCTION TO YOUTH CAMPS 1525
Camps: Litzmannstadt–Uckermark 1527

A Note on the Recently Opened International Tracing Service Documentation 1535
List of Abbreviations 1539
List of Contributors 1573
About the Editor 1579
Names Index 1581
Places Index 1605
Organizations and Enterprises Index 1639

CONTENTS

PART A

List of Maps xxv
Foreword by Elie Wiesel xxvii
Preface xxix
Acknowledgments xxxi
Editor's Introduction to the Series and Volume I xxxiii
Reader's Guide to Using the Encyclopedia xxxvii

SECTION I: THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

INTRODUCTION TO THE EARLY CAMPS 3

Ahrensbök-Holstendorf 17
Alt Daber 18
Altenberg 18
Ankenbuck 19
Anrath bei Krefeld 20
Bad Sulza 21
Bamberg 23
Bautzen (Kupferhammer) 25
Bayreuth (St. Georgen) 25
Benninghausen 26
Bergisch Gladbach [aka Stellawerk] 26
Bergkamen-Schönhausen 28
Berlin (General-Pape-Strasse) 29
Berlin-Charlottenburg (Maikowski-Haus) 31
Berlin-Köpenick 32
Berlin-Kreuzberg (Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234) 34
Berlin-Kreuzberg (Hedemannstrasse) 35
Berlin-Plötzensee 37
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg [aka Wasserturm] 39
Berlin-Spandau 41
Berlin-Tiergarten (Universum-Landesausstellungspark) 42
Bochum 44
Börgermoor [aka Papenburg I] 44
Börnicke [also Meissnershof] 47
Brandenburg an der Havel 50
Brauweiler 52
Breitenau 53
Breslau-Dürrgoy 55
Colditz 57
Columbia-Haus 59
Dresden (Mathildenstrasse) 61
Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) [aka Ulmer Höh] 62
Erfurt (Petersberg and Feldstrasse) 64
Esterwegen, IKL 64
Esterwegen II [aka Papenburg II] 68
Esterwegen III [aka Papenburg III] 72
Eutin 75
Fuhlsbüttel [aka Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel] 77
Glückstadt 79
Gollnow 81
Gotteszell 83
Gräfenhainichen 84
Greater Nürnberg Camps 85
Gumpertshof 87
Hainewalde 87
Hainichen 89
Halle (Merseburger und Paracelciusstrasse) 89
Hamburg (*Stadthaus und Untersuchungsgefängnis*) 89
Hammerstein 91
Hassenberg 93
Havelberg 94
Heinersdorf 94
Heuberg [aka Stetten am kalten Markt] 95
Hohnstein 97
Kislau 100
Kleve 102
Köln (Bonner Wall) 102
Köln (Klingelpütz) 104
Köln (Mozartstrasse) [aka Braunes Haus] 107
Königsbrück bei Dresden 110
Königstein 110
Kuhlen [aka Rickling, Falkenried, Innere Mission] 112
Landau [aka Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne] 114
Langlütjen II 116
Leipzig 117
Leschwitz bei Görlitz [aka Weinhübel] 118
Lichtenburg 120
Magdeburg 123
Missler (Walsroder Strasse) [aka Bremen-Findorf] 124
Moringen-Solling (men) 125

Moringen-Solling (women) 128
München (Ettstrasse) 131
München-Stadelheim 133
Neustadt an der Haardt [aka Rheinpfalz] 135
Neusustrum [aka Papenburg V] 137
Nohra 140
Oberfranken and Unterfranken Camps 142
Ochtumsand 144
Oelsnitz im Erzgebirge 146
Oldenburg 147
Oranienburg 147
Osthofen 150
Papenburg [aka Emsland] 152
Pappenheim bei Oschatz 154
Perleberg 155
Plaue bei Flöha 155
Porz [aka Hochkreuz] 155
Quednau 156
Reichenbach [aka Langenbielau] 156
Remscheid-Lüttringhausen 157
Rosslau 157
Sachsenburg (and Subcamps) 158
Schleusingen 162
Senftenberg 162
Sonnenburg 163
Stettin-Bredow [aka Vulkanwerft] 166
Stollberg-Hoheneck 168
Struppen 168
Stuttgart 168
Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg 168
Vechta 170
Waldheim 172
Weissenfels 172
Weisswasser 174
Werden 174
Wittmoor 174
Wuppertal-Barmen [aka Kemna] 177
Zschorlau 178
Zweibrücken 179
Zwickau 179

SECTION II:
CAMPS AND SUBCAMPS UNDER THE SS-INSPECTORATE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS/BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION MAIN OFFICE

THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS 183

ARBEITSDORF MAIN CAMP 197

AUSCHWITZ I MAIN CAMP 203
AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU MAIN CAMP 209
AUSCHWITZ III-MONOWITZ MAIN CAMP [AKA BUNA] 215
AUSCHWITZ SUBCAMP SYSTEM 221

Altdorf 224
Althammer 224
Babitz 225
Bismarckhütte [aka Königshütte] 226
Blechhammer 227
Bobrek 228
Brünn 231
Budy 233
Charlottengrube 234
Chełmek-Paprotnik [aka Chelmek] 236
Eintrachthütte 237
Freudenthal 238
Fürstengrube 239
Gleiwitz I 241
Gleiwitz II 243
Gleiwitz III 244
Gleiwitz IV 246
Golleschau 247
Günthergrube 249
Harmense 250
Hindenburg 252
Hohenlinde [aka Hubertushütte] 253
Janinagrube [aka Johannagrube, Gute Hoffnungsgrube] 253
Jawischowitz 255
Kattowitz 257
Kobier 257
Lagischa 259
Laurahütte 261
Lichtewerden 263
Neu-Dachs 264
Neustadt O/S 266
Plawy [aka Wirtschaftshof Plawy, Gut Plawy] 266

Radostowitz 268
Rajsko 268
Sosnowitz I 270
Sosnowitz II 270
Trzebinia 271
Tschechowitz (*Bombensucherkommando*) 273
Tschechowitz [aka Tschechowitz-Vacuum] 274

BERGEN-BELSEN MAIN CAMP 277

Bomlitz [aka Benefeld] 282
Hambühren [aka Hambühren-Ovelgönne or Waldeslust] 284
Unterlüss [aka Lager Tannenberg or Altensothrieth] 286

BUCHENWALD MAIN CAMP 289
BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM 297

Abteroda (men) 300
Abteroda (women) 300
Allendorf [aka Münchmühle] 301
Altenburg (men) 304
Altenburg (women) 304
Annaburg 306
Apolda 306
Arolsen 307
Aschersleben (men) 309
Aschersleben (women) 309
Bad Salzungen (*Heinrich Kalb*) 310
Bad Salzungen (*Ludwig Renntier*) 311
Bensberg (Kdo. Napola) (SS-BB III) 312
Berga-Elster ("Schwalbe V") 313
Berlstedt 315
Billroda 316
Bochum (*Bochumer Verein*) 317
Bochum (*Eisen- und Hüttenwerke*) 318
Böhlen 320
Braunschweig 321
Buttelstedt 322
Colditz 322
Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "*Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau*") 324
Dessau (*Dessauer Waggonfabrik*) 325
Dessau (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) 326
Dornburg 327
Dortmund 328
Duderstadt 328
Düsseldorf (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*) 330
Düsseldorf (Kirchfeldstrasse) 332
Düsseldorf-Derendorf ("Berta") (with "Borsig") 333
Düsseldorf-Grafenberg ("BA") [aka Borsig] 335
Düsseldorf-Kalkum (SS-BB III) 336
Eisenach ("Emma," "Em") 338
Elsnig 339
Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "HT," "OT") 339
Essen (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*) ("Schwarze Poth 13") 341
Essen (Humboldtstrasse) 343
Flössberg 345
Gandersheim [aka Bad Gandersheim] 346
Gelsenkirchen-Horst 348
Giessen 350
Goslar 351
Göttingen 352
Hadmersleben ("HS") 353
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ Hecklingen 355
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ Junkerswerke (JUHA) 355
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ Magdeburg 357
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus") 357
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ Wernigerode 360
Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich] 361
Hardehausen 363
Hessisch Lichtenau 365
Jena 367
Kassel 368
Kassel-Druseltal 368
Köln-Deutz (*Westwaggon*) 369
Köln-Niehl (Köln-"*Ford*") 371
Köln-Stadt 372
Kranichfeld 374
Langensalza ("Langenwerke AG") 375
Lauenburg in Pommern 376
Leipzig-Schönau (ATG) 376
Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*) (men) 377
Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*) (women) 378
Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf") 381
Leopoldshall ("Ju" "Lh") 383
Lichtenburg 384
Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*) [aka LEM, SS-Kommando Lippstadt I] 384
Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metallindustrie*) [aka WMI, SS-Kommando Lippstadt II] 386

Lützkendorf ("Ld") 387
Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*) (men) 388
Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*) (women) 389
Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*) [aka Magda] 390
Markkleeberg 392
Meuselwitz 393
Mühlhausen (*Gerätebau GmbH*) ("Martha II") [aka SS-Kommando Gerätebau] 395
Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I") 396
Neustadt bei Coburg [aka KALAG] 398
Niederorschel ("Langenwerke AG") 400
Nordhausen 401
Oberndorf ("Muna," "Ms," "Mu") 401
Ohrdruf ("SIII") 402
Ohrdruf/Crawinkel 405
Ohrdruf/Espenfeld 406
Penig 407
Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (men) 407
Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (women) 409
Quedlinburg 409
Raguhn 409
Rothenburg 410
Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La] 411
Schlieben 413
Schönebeck (*Junkers-Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG*)("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried") 414
Schönebeck (*Nationale Radiatoren*) 416
Schwerte-Ost 417
Sennelager 418
Sömmerda 419
Sonneberg-West ("Sonneberg," "Sg") 420
Stassfurt ("Reh") [aka Neu-Stassfurt, Stassfurt I] 421
Stassfurt (*Wälzer & Co.*) [aka Stassfurt II] 422
Suhl 423
Tannenwald 423
Tannroda 424
Taucha (men) 425
Taucha (women) 426
Tonndorf ("T") 427
Torgau 428
Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleina] [aka Wille] 429
Unna 431
Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld] 431
Weferlingen ("Gazelle") 433
Weimar (*Gustloff Werke I and II*) 434
Wernigerode ("Richard") 436
Westeregeln ("Maulwurf," "Tarthun," "Mw") 437
Witten-Annen ("AGW") 438
Wolfen 440

DACHAU MAIN CAMP 441
DACHAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM 448

Augsburg (*Michelwerke*) 451
Augsburg-Horgau 452
Augsburg-Pfersee 453
Bad Ischl [aka Bad Ischl, Umsiedlerlager] 455
Bad Oberdorf 455
Bad Tölz 456
Bäumenheim 457
Bayrischzell 459
Blaichach 459
Burgau 460
Dachau (*Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS*) 462
Dachau (*Fleischwarenfabrik Wülfert*) 463
Dachau (*Gut Pollnhof*) 465
Dachau (*Präzifix GmbH*) 465
Eching [aka OT, Neufahrn] 467
Ellwangen 468
Eschelbach [aka, erroneously, Echelsbach] 468
Feldafing 469
Feldmoching 471
Fischbachau 471
Fischhorn 471
Friedrichshafen 472
Gablingen 474
Garmisch-Partenkirchen 476
Gendorf [aka Emmerting] 476
Germering [aka Neuaubing] 478
Halfing [aka Brüningsau] 479
Hallein 479
Haunstetten 480
Hausham (men) 481
Hausham (women) 482
Heidenheim 483
Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau] 484
Innsbruck I 485
Karlsfeld [aka Karlsfeld OT] 485
Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige [aka Rothschwaige] 486
Kaufbeuren 486

Kaufering I-XI 488
Kempten (*Helmuth Sachse KG*) 490
Königssee 492
Kottern/Fischen 492
Kottern-Weidach 494
Landsberg 496
Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (men) 497
Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (women) 497
Landshut 497
Lauingen (I, II, and Birkackerhof) 498
Lochau 499
Mühldorf 500
München (*Bergmannschule*) 503
München (*Bombensuchkommando*) 503
München (*Chemische Werke*) 504
München (*Ehrengut*) 504
München (*Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl*) 505
München (*Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais*) 506
München (*Grossschlachterei Thomae*) 507
München (Höchlstrasse) [aka SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse] 507
München (*Katastropheneinsatz*) 508
München (Königinstrasse) 508
München (*Lebensborn e.V.*) 509
München (Leopoldstrasse) 509
München (*Lodenfrey*) 510
München (*Oberbürgermeister*) 511
München (*Parteikanzlei*) 511
München (*Reichsbahn*) 512
München (*Reichsführer-SS*) 512
München (*Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur*) 513
München (*Schuhhaus Meier*) 513
München (*Sprengkommando*) 514
München (*SS-Mannschaftshäuser*) 514
München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*) (Möhlstrasse) 515
München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*) 515
München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*) 516
München-Allach (*BMW*) 516
München-Allach (*OT Bau*) [aka Rothschwaige] 517
München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)] 518
München-Allach (*SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager*) 518
München-Freimann (*Bartolith Werke*) 518
München-Freimann (*Dyckerhoff und Widmann*) 519
München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*) 520
München-Giesing (*Agfa Kamerawerke*) 521
München-Oberföhring (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS*) 522
München-Riem (*OT, SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*) 523
München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia] 524
München-Sendling (*Architekt Bücklers*) 526
Neuburg an der Donau 527
Neufahrn 528
Neustift im Stubaital [aka Innsbruck II] 528
Neu-Ulm 530
Oberstdorf-Birgsau 531
Ottobrunn 533
Ötztal 533
Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (men) 534
Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (women) 535
Radolfzell 535
Riederloh [aka Riederloh II] 536
Rosenheim 538
Salzburg (*Aufräumungskommando*) [aka Salzburg (*Aufräumkommando*); Salzburg (*Aufräumungs- und Entschärfungskommando*)] 538
Salzburg (*Bombensuchkommando*) 538
Salzburg (*Firma Schürich*) 539
Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*) [aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)] 539
Salzburg (*Sprengkommando*) 539
Saulgau 540
Schlachters 541
Schleissheim (*Aufräumungskommando*) 542
Schleissheim (*Berufsschule*) 542
Schloss Itter 543
Schloss Lind [aka St. Marein bei Neumarkt (Schloss Lind)] 545
Seehausen [aka Uffing] 545
Steinhöring [aka Lebensborn-Heim "Hochland"] 546
Stephanskirchen (*BMW*) 547
St. Gilgen [aka Sachsenhausen/Wolfgangsee] 548
St. Johann in Tirol 549
St. Wolfgang 550
Sudelfeld (*Luftwaffe*) 550

Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*) 551
Thansau 552
Traunstein 552
Trostberg 552
Überlingen 553
Ulm (*Magirus-Deutz AG*) 554
Valepp (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei*) [aka Schliersee] 555
Weisssee 556
Zangberg 558

FLOSSENBÜRG MAIN CAMP 559
FLOSSENBÜRG SUBCAMP SYSTEM 567

Altenhammer 570
Ansbach 571
Aue 572
Bayreuth 573
Brüx 575
Chemnitz 576
Dresden (*Behelfsheim*) 577
Dresden (*Bernsdorf & Co.*) 578
Dresden (*SS-Pionier-Kaserne*) 580
Dresden (*Universelle*) 582
Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon, Goehle-Werk*) 584
Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon, Werk Reick*) 586
Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*) 587
Eisenberg 590
Falkenau 590
Flöha 593
Freiberg 595
Ganacker 597
Grafenreuth 598
Graslitz 600
Gröditz 603
Gundelsdorf (with Knellendorf) 605
Hainichen 605
Happurg 607
Helmbrechts 608
Hersbruck 610
Hertine 611
Hof-Moschendorf 612
Hohenstein-Ernstthal 613
Holleischen 614
Hradischko [aka Beneschau] 616
Janowitz 617
Johanngeorgenstadt 619
Jungfern-Breschan 621
Kirchham bei Pocking [aka Pocking, Waldstadt, Pocking-Waldstadt] 622
Königstein 623
Krondorf-Sauerbrunn 625
Leitmeritz 626
Lengenfeld 628
Lobositz 630
Mehltheuer 632
Meissen-Neuhirschstein 633
Mittweida 634
Mockethal-Zatzschke 636
Mülsen St. Micheln 639
Neurohlau 641
Nossen-Rosswein 643
Nürnberg (*Siemens-Schuckert Werke*) 645
Nürnberg (*SS-Kaserne*) 646
Nürnberg/Eichstätt 647
Obertraubling [aka Regensburg-Obertraubling] 648
Oederan 650
Plattling 652
Plauen (*Baumwollspinnerei und Industriewerke*) 655
Plauen (*Horn GmbH*) 656
Porschdorf 657
Pottenstein 659
Rabstein 660
Regensburg [aka Colosseum] 661
Rochlitz 663
Saal an der Donau [aka Ring Me] 665
Schlackenwerth 667
Schönheide 668
Seifhennersdorf 669
Siegmar-Schönau 670
Steinschönau 671
St. Georgenthal 672
Stulln 673
Venusberg 674
Wilischthal 676
Wolkenburg 678
Würzburg 680
Zschachwitz 682
Zschopau 684
Zwickau 686
Zwodau 689

GROSS-ROSEN MAIN CAMP 693
GROSS-ROSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 699

Aslau 702
Bad Warmbrunn 702
Bausnitz 704

Bautzen 705
Bernsdorf 706
Bersdorf-Friedeberg 707
Biesnitzer Grund [aka Görlitz] 708
Birnbäumel 709
Bolkenhain 710
Breslau-Hundsfeld 712
Breslau-Lissa 712
Breslau I 714
Breslau II 715
Brieg [aka Pampitz] 717
Brünnlitz 718
Bunzlau I 720
Bunzlau II 721
Christianstadt 722
Dyhernfurth I 723
Dyhernfurth II [aka Lager Elfenhain] 725
Freiburg in Schlesien 727
Friedland 727
Fünfteichen 729
Gabersdorf 731
Gablonz 731
Gassen 733
Gebhardsdorf [aka Friedeberg] 734
Geppersdorf 736
Gräben 736
Grafenort 737
Gräflich-Röhrsdorf 738
Gross-Koschen 738
Grulich 740
Grünberg I 742
Grünberg II 743
Guben 743
Halbau 744
Halbstadt 746
Hartmannsdorf 747
Hirschberg (*Arbeitskommando*) 748
Hirschberg (*Arbeitslager*) 748
Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese 749
Hochweiler 749
Kamenz 750
Kittlitztreben [aka Kretschamberg] 753
Kratzau I 754
Kratzau II 756
Kurzbach 757
Landeshut 758
Langenbielau I [aka Reichenbach, Reichenbach Sportschule] 759
Langenbielau II 760
Liebau 761
Ludwigsdorf 762
Mährisch Weisswasser 763
Merzdorf 764
Mittelsteine 765
Morchenstern 766
Neusalz 767
Niederoderwitz 769
Niesky [aka Wiesengrund] 771
Niesky/Brandhofen 773
Nimptsch 774
Ober-Altstadt 775
Ober-Hohenelbe 775
Parschnitz 776
Peterswaldau 777
Reichenau 781
Riese Complex 782
Riese/Dörnhau 784
Riese/Erlenbusch 785
Riese/Falkenberg [aka Eule] 787
Riese/Fürstenstein 789
Riese/Kaltwasser 790
Riese/Lärche 792
Riese/Märzbachtal 793
Riese/Säuferwasser 795
Riese/Schotterwerk [aka Oberwüstegiersdorf] 795
Riese/Tannhausen 796
Riese/Wolfsberg 796
Riese/Wüstegiersdorf [aka Lager V] 798
Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf [aka Stenzelberg] 799
Riese/Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau] 800
Sackisch 801
Schatzlar 802
Schertendorf 803
Schlesiersee I 803
Schlesiersee II [aka Pürschkau] 804
St. Georgenthal 804
Treskau 805
Waldenburg 807
Weisswasser 808
Wiesau 809
Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf 810
Zittau [aka Klein-Schönau] 811

HERZOGENBUSCH MAIN CAMP [AKA VUGHT] 813

Amersfoort 820
Arnheim 820

Eindhoven 820
Gilze-Rijen [aka Breda] 820
Haaren 820
Herzogenbusch (*Continental Gummiwerke AG*) 820
Leeuwarden 820
Moerdijk 821
Roosendaal 821
'S-Gravenhage 821
St. Michielsgestel 821
Venlo 821

HINZERT MAIN CAMP 823

Bad Nauheim (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 830
Cochem [aka Bruttig und Treis] 830
Frankenthal-Mörsch (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 831
Gelnhausen [aka Rothenbergen bei Gelnhausen] 831
Hermeskeil 832
Homburg-Nord (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 832
Hoppstädten 833
Kirrberg (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 833
Langendiebach I and II 833
Mainz-Finthen [aka Finthen] 834
Mainz-Gustavsburg 835
Mainz-Ingelheimerau [aka Mainz-Ingelheimer Aue] 835
Mainz-Weisenau 836
Merzhausen 837
Michelbach (Schmelz) 838
Neubrücke [aka Neubrücke-Hoppstädten, Neubrücke/Nahe] 838
Rheinzabern (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 839
Seligenstadt 839
Trier (*Sicherungsstab*) 840
Usingen 840
Uthlede (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) [aka Uttlede] 840
Vicht (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) 841
Wächtersbach 841
Wiesbaden-Erbenheim [aka Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst, Erbenheim] 842
Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen [aka Wiesbaden] 842
Wittlich [aka Wittlich an der Mosel] 843
Zeltingen [aka Zeltingen an der Mosel] 844

KAUEN MAIN CAMP [AKA KAUNAS, KOVNO, KOWNO, ALSO SLOBODKA] 847

Kauen-Alexoten 853
Kauen-Schanzen 855
Kazlu Ruda 855
Kedahnen 856
Koschedaren 856
Palemonas 857
Prawienischken 857
Schaulen 858

PART B

KRAKAU-PLASZOW MAIN CAMP 861

Kabelwerk Krakau 868
Mielec 869
Olcza [aka Zakopane, Zakopane-Olcza] 871
Wieliczka 871
Zablocie 872

LUBLIN MAIN CAMP [AKA MAJDANEK] 875

Bliżyn 880
Budzyń 882
Lemberg [aka Lemberg (Weststrasse), Lemberg (Janowska)] 884
Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (men) 885
Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (women) 887
Poniatowa 888
Pulawy [aka Pulawy Stadt] 891
Radom [aka Radom (Szkolna Street)] 892
Trawniki 893

MAUTHAUSEN MAIN CAMP 899
MAUTHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 905

Amstetten [aka Bahnbau I] (men) 908
Amstetten II [aka Bahnbau II] (women) 908
Bachmanning 909
Bretstein 910
Dippoldsau 911
Ebensee 911
Ebensee/Wels II [aka Wels] 913
Eisenerz 914
Enns, Ennsdorf 914
Grein 915
Grossraming [aka Aschau] 915
Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Waldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitslager Gunskirchen] 917
Gusen (with Gusen II and Gusen III) 919
Hirtenberg [aka Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, *Gustloff-Werke*] 921

Klagenfurt-Lendorf 922
Leibnitz Graz [aka Aflenz, Kalksteinwerke] 924
Lenzing 925
Linz I 927
Linz II 929
Linz III 930
Loiblpass 932
Melk ("Quarz") [aka Kommando "Quarz"] 935
Passau I (with Passau III) 938
Passau II 939
Peggau 939
Redl-Zipf ("Schlier") 942
Schloss Lind 943
Schloss Mittersill, Schloss Lannach 944
St. Ägyd am Neuwalde 945
Steyr-Münichholz 946
St. Lambrecht (men) 948
St. Lambrecht (women) 950
St. Valentin 950
Ternberg 952
Vöcklabruck 953
Weyr 954
Wien (*Saurerwerke*) [aka Saurerwerke, Wien-West] 954
Wiener Neudorf 955
Wiener Neustadt 956
Wien-Floridsdorf and Jedlesee [aka Floridsdorf I and II] 958
Wien-Hinterbrühl ("Lisa") 959
Wien-Schönbrunn [aka Sonderkommando Wien] 961
Wien-Schwechat-Heidfeld 962
Wien-Schwechat—"Santa" Kommandos 963

MITTELBAU MAIN CAMP [AKA DORA] 965
MITTELBAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM 973

Artern [aka Adorf, Rebstock neu] 975
Ballenstedt (*Napola*) 976
Blankenburg-Oesig ("Klosterwerke") 976
Blankenburg-Regenstein ("Turmalin") 977
Bleicherode 979
Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte] 979
Ellrich/Woffleben (Lager B-12) 981
Grosswerther 981
Gut Bischofferode ("Anna") 983
Harzungen ("Hans," "Mittelbau III") 984
Ilfeld 986
Ilsenburg 987
Kelbra 987
Kleinbodungen ("Emmi") [aka Werk III] 988
Kleinbodungen/Bischofferode-Eichsfeld 990
Kleinbodungen/Niedergebra ("Kommando 48A") 990
Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*) 990
Osterode-Freiheit (*Firma Curt Heber*) 993
Osterode-Petershütte ("Dachs IV") 994
Quedlinberg 995
Rossla 996
Rottleberode ("Heinrich") 997
Stempeda ("Kommando B-4") 999
Tettenborn 1000
Trautenstein 1001
Wickerode 1002

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF MAIN CAMP [AKA NATZWEILER, STRUTHOF] 1003
NATZWEILER SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1009
GRUPPE "WÜSTE" COMPLEX 1012

Audun-le-Tiche ("Rowa") [aka Deutsch-Oth] 1015
Bensheim-Auerbach 1015
Bisingen 1015
Calw 1018
Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka: Kochem-Bruttig] 1019
Cochum-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Treis] 1021
Darmstadt 1023
Dautmergen 1023
Dernau an der Ahr [aka Rebstock] 1025
Dormettingen 1025
Echterdingen 1027
Ellwangen 1028
Erzingen 1028
Frankfurt am Main [aka Katzbach] 1030
Frommern 1031
Geisenheim 1032
Geislingen an der Steige 1033
Guttenbach [also Binau and Neunkirchen (Fahrbereitschaft)] 1034
Hailfingen 1035
Hanau 1036
Haslach ("Barbe") [also Vulkan, Kinzigdamm] 1036
Hayingen [aka Ebingen] 1038
Heidenheim 1039

Heppenheim 1039
Iffezheim 1040
Kochendorf ("Eisbär") 1040
Leonberg 1042
Mannheim-Sandhofen [aka Mannheim-Waldhof] 1043
Markirch 1044
Metz 1045
Mühlhausen 1045
Neckarelz I and II 1045
Neckarelz I and II/Asbach 1047
Neckarelz I and II/Bad Rappenau 1048
Neckarelz I and II/Neckarbischofsheim 1048
Neckarelz I and II/Neckargerach 1050
Neckargartach-Heilbronn 1051
Neckarzimmern 1052
Neuenbürg 1053
Niederbronn 1053
Oberehnheim 1053
Pelters 1054
Rastatt 1055
Schömberg 1055
Schörzingen 1057
Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental 1059
Schwindratzheim 1060
Sennheim 1061
Spaichingen 1061
Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche] 1062
Unterschwarzach 1064
Vaihingen/Enz 1064
Vaihingen/Unterriexingen (with Gross-Sachsenheim) 1066
Walldorf 1068
Wasseralfingen 1069
Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar] 1070

NEUENGAMME MAIN CAMP 1073
NEUENGAMME SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1079

Alt-Garge 1082
Beendorf ("AIII") [aka Helmstedt] 1083
Boizenburg 1085
Braunschweig (*Büssing NAG*) 1086
Braunschweig (*SS-Reitschule*) 1088
Braunschweig (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*) 1088
Bremen (*Borgward-Werke*) 1089
Bremen (*Hindenburgkaserne*) 1089
Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*, Bahrsplate] 1091
Bremen-Farge 1093
Bremen-Neuenland [aka Bremen-Kriegsmarine] 1095
Bremen-Obernheide 1096
Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine] 1098
Bremen-Schützenhof [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*] 1099
Bremen-Uphusen (Behelfswohnbau) 1101
Bremen-Vegesack 1102
Darss-Wieck 1102
Darss-Zingst 1103
Drütte 1103
Düssin 1105
Engerhafe [aka Aurich-Engerhafe] 1105
Fallersleben (*Volkswagenwerke*) 1107
Fallersleben-Laagberg 1108
Goslar 1110
Hamburg (*Bombensuchkommando* no. 2) 1111
Hamburg (*Howaldtwerke*) 1111
Hamburg-Eidelstedt 1112
Hamburg-Finkenwerder 1113
Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel 1115
Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men) 1115
Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (women) 1117
Hamburg-Hammerbrook (*Bombensuchkommando*) 1118
Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse) 1118
Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*) 1121
Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) 1121
Hamburg-Neugraben 1122
Hamburg-Rothenburgsort [aka Bullenhuser Damm] 1124
Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel 1125
Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Blohm & Voss*) 1126
Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Stülckenwerft*) 1127
Hamburg-Tiefstack 1129
Hamburg-Wandsbek 1130
Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg 1132
Hannover-Ahlem 1133
Hannover-Langenhagen 1135
Hannover-Limmer 1137
Hannover-Misburg 1139

Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden 1141
Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik*) 1143
Hannover-Stöcken (*Continental*) 1145
Hildesheim 1147
Horneburg 1149
Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg] 1150
Kaltenkirchen 1151
Kiel 1153
Ladelund 1153
Lengerich ("A1") 1154
Lübberstedt [aka Bilohe] 1157
Lütjenburg (*Hohwacht*) 1158
Meppen-Dalum 1159
Meppen-Versen 1161
Meppen-Versen/Gross Hesepe 1163
Mölln 1164
Neustadt in Holstein 1165
Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge Hammerwerke 1166
Salzgitter-Bad 1168
Salzwedel 1170
Schandelah 1172
Uelzen 1173
Vechelde 1175
Verden 1176
Warberg 1177
Watenstedt 1177
Wedel 1179
Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg [aka Kriegsmarinewerft] 1180
Wittenberge 1182
Wöbbelin 1184

RAVENSBRÜCK MAIN CAMP 1187
RAVENSBRÜCK SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1192

Ansbach 1195
Barth 1195
Born 1196
Comthurey [aka Dabelow] 1197
Dahmshöhe 1199
Eberswalde 1200
Feldberg 1202
Finow 1203
Grüneberg 1205
Hagenow 1206
Hohenlychen 1206
Kallies 1208
Karlshagen I and II 1208
Klützow 1210
Königsberg (Neumark) 1211
Malchow 1213
Mildenberg 1214
Neubrandenburg 1215
Neustadt-Glewe 1216
Neustrelitz-Fürstensee 1217
Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain] 1218
Retzow [aka Rechlin] 1219
Rheinsberg 1221
Rostock-Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide 1221
Siemenslager Ravensbrück 1223
Stargard in Pommern 1226
Steinhöring 1227
Zichow 1227

RIGA-KAISERWALD MAIN CAMP [AKA MEŽAPARKS] 1229

Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen] 1236
Elley-Meiten 1238
Krottingen 1239
Riga (Balastdamm) 1239
Riga (Dünawerke) 1240
Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, Hirtenstrasse) [aka Park] 1241
Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*) 1241
Riga (Lenta) (*SD-Werkstätte*) 1242
Riga (Mühlgraben) [aka Ultra] 1244
Riga (*Reichsbahn*) 1246
Riga (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*) 1247
Riga-Spilwe 1248
Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG/VEF) 1250
Riga-Strasdenhof [aka SS-Betriebe, Strazdenhof] 1252

SACHSENHAUSEN MAIN CAMP 1255
SACHSENHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1263

Bad Saarow 1265
Beerfelde 1266
Belzig 1267
Berlin (*Arado*) 1268
Berlin (Friedrich-Krause-Ufer) 1269
Berlin (Kastanienallee) 1270

Berlin (*Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS*) 1270
Berlin-Hakenfelde 1270
Berlin-Köpenick 1271
Berlin-Lichtenrade 1272
Berlin-Lichterfelde 1274
Berlin-Marienfelde 1277
Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse] 1279
Berlin-Niederschöneweide (*Pertrix*) 1280
Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz] 1282
Berlin-Siemensstadt [aka Haselhorst, Berlin-Haselhorst] 1283
Berlin-Spandau 1287
Berlin-Tegel 1289
Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1290
Berlin-Zehlendorf 1290
Bernau 1292
Biesenthal 1293
Brandenburg (Havel) 1294
Briesen [aka Falkenhagen] 1295
Dammsmühle 1296
Döberitz 1297
Drögen 1298
Falkensee [with Staaken] 1299
Fallersleben 1302
Fürstenberg (Oder) 1303
Fürstenwalde 1305
Genshagen 1306
Genthin 1309
Glau 1309
Glöwen 1311
Grünheide 1314
Hennigsdorf 1315
Kiew 1317
Kleinmachnow 1318
Kolpin 1319
Königs Wusterhausen 1320
Küstrin 1321
Lehnitz [aka Klinkerwerk] 1323
Lieberose [aka "Liro"] 1325
Lübben 1327
Neubrandenburg 1328
Neudamm 1330
Neuhammer 1330
Niemegk 1331
Oranienburg (*Auer-Werke*) 1332
Oranienburg (*Heinkel-Werke*) 1333
Potsdam-Babelsberg 1334
Prettin (Lichtenburg) 1335
Rathenow 1336
Schönefeld [aka AL Henschel] 1337
Schwarzheide 1339
Spreenhagen 1342
Storkow 1342
Strausberg 1343
Trebnitz 1345
Usedom 1346
Velten 1346
Werder 1347
Wittenberg 1348
Wulkow 1350

SS-BAUBRIGADEN AND SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADEN 1353

Alderney (Kanalinsel) (SS-BB I) 1361
Aumale ("Inga") (SS-BB V) 1363
Berlin (SS-BB II) 1363
Bochum (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III) 1365
Bremen (SS-BB II) 1366
Dortmund (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III) 1368
Doullens (Buchenwald) [aka SS-Baubrigade West] (SS-BB V) 1369
Duisburg (Buchenwald) (SS-BB III) 1371
Duisburg (Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB I) 1373
Düsseldorf (Buchenwald) (SS-BB III) 1374
Düsseldorf (Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB I) 1375
Ellrich (Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Mittelbau) (SS-BB IV) 1377
Ferch (Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB II) 1379
Günzerode (Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Mittelbau) (SS-BB IV) 1379
Hamburg (Neuengamme) (SS-BB II) 1380
Hesdin (Buchenwald) (SS-BB V) 1382
Hohlstedt (Mittelbau) (SS-BB I) 1383
Köln (Buchenwald) (SS-BB III) 1383
Kortemark and Proven, Belgium (Neuengamme and Buchenwald) (SS-BB I) 1386
Mackenrode (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB III) 1387
Nürnberg (Sachsenhausen) [aka 2. SS-Baubrigade (E)] (SS-BB II) 1388
Nüxei (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB III) 1389
Osnabrück (Neuengamme) (SS-BB II) 1391
Osterhagen (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen)(SS-BB III) 1393

Rouen (Buchenwald) (SS-BB V) 1394
Sollstedt (Mittelbau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB I) 1395
Spreenhagen (Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB II) 1396
Wieda (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB III) 1397
Wilhelmshaven (Neuengamme) (SS-BB II) 1399
Wuppertal (Buchenwald) (SS-BB IV) 1400
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (Osnabrück) (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) 1402
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI [aka SS-BB VI (E)] (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) 1404
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII [aka SS-BB VII (E)] (Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen) 1406
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII (Sachsenhausen and Mittelbau) 1408
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade IX (Sachsenhausen) 1410
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X (Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen) 1411
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI (Neuengamme and Sachsenhausen) 1413
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII (Sachsenhausen) 1415
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (Dachau and Sachsenhausen) 1417

STUTTHOF MAIN CAMP 1419
STUTTHOF SUBCAMP SYSTEM 1425

Adlershorst 1427
Bohnsack 1428
Bromberg-Brahnau (*DAG Nobel*) [aka Lager 15] 1428
Bromberg-Ost (*Reichsbahn*) 1430
Bruss-Sophienwalde 1431
Danzig (*Betonfabrik*) 1433
Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troyl, Lager Troyl] 1433
Danzig (*Schichau-Werft*) 1435
Danzig (*Schulemann*) 1437
Danzig (*SS-Hauptversorgungslager*) 1438
Danzig (*SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel*) 1438
Danzig-Holm 1439
Danzig-Langfuhr 1440
Danzig-Matzkau 1441
Danzig-Oliva (*Reitschule*) 1442
Danzig-Opitzstrasse [aka Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer] 1443
Danzig-Schellmühl (*Carstens*) 1443
Danzig-Schellmühl (Otto Jost) 1443
Danzig-Westerplatte 1444
Danzig-Zigankenberg 1446
Domachau 1446
Elbing [aka Brückenkopfbau, Stoboi bei Elbing] 1448
Elbing (*OT Elbing Complex*) [aka Kommando Befehlsstelle Strasburg] 1448
Elbing (*Schichau-Werft*) 1450
Elbing (*Schichau Werke*) 1452
Gerdauen 1453
Gotenhafen 1454
Gotenhafen (*Deutsche Werke Kiel*) [aka Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager] 1455
Grenzdorf 1457
Gross Lesewitz 1459
Heiligenbeil 1459
Hopehill [also Reimannsfelde] 1461
Jesau 1463
Käsemark 1464
Königsberg 1465
Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg] 1466
Libau (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) 1468
Müggenhahl 1468
Neuteich 1469
Pelplin 1469
Pölitz [aka Stettin] 1469
Praust (Flugplatz) 1471
Preussisch Stargard 1473
Pröbbernau 1473
Rosenberg 1475
Russoschin [aka Reichsbahn Russoschin] 1476
Schippenbeil 1477
Schönwarling 1478
Seerappen 1479
Steegen 1480
Stolp 1481
Thorn (OT) (with subcommands) [aka Baukommando "Weichsel"] 1482
Thorn (*SS-Neubauleitung*) 1484
Thorn-Winkenau (*AEG*) 1484
Trutenau 1486

Wesslinken 1486
Zeyersniederkampen 1486
Zeyersvorderkampen 1488

VAIVARA MAIN CAMP 1491
Aseri [aka OT Ostländer Lager] 1496
Auvere 1497
Ereda 1497
Goldfields ("Goldfeld") 1498
Jõhvi (Jewe) 1499
Kerstowa and Putki 1500
Kiviõli I and II 1500
Klooga 1501
Kuremäe 1502
Lagedi 1503
Narva [aka Narva-Ost] (and Hungerburg) 1503
Pankewitza 1504
Petseri, Ülenurme, Kulupe 1504
Port Kunda 1505
Sonda 1506
Soski 1507
Vaivara subcamp 1507
Vivikonna OT and Vivikonna Baltöl [aka Werk IV Sillamäe] 1508

WARSCHAU MAIN CAMP 1511

WEWELSBURG MAIN CAMP [AKA NIEDERHAGEN] 1517

SECTION III: YOUTH CAMPS

INTRODUCTION TO YOUTH CAMPS 1525
Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager] 1527
Youth Protection Camp Moringen 1530
Youth Protection Camp Uckermark 1532

A Note on the Recently Opened International Tracing Service Documentation 1535
List of Abbreviations 1539
List of Contributors 1573
About the Editor 1579
Names Index 1581
Places Index 1605
Organizations and Enterprises Index 1639

LIST OF MAPS

Early Camps	4
Main Camps and Youth Camps	183
Auschwitz Camp System	221
Bergen-Belsen Camp System	282
Buchenwald Camp System	296
Dachau Camp System	447
Flossenbürg Camp System	566
Gross-Rosen Camp System	698
Herzogenbusch Camp System	819
Hinzert Camp System	829
Kauen Camp System	853
Krakau-Plaszow Camp System	867
Lublin-Majdanek Camp System	880
Mauthausen Camp System	904
Mittelbau Camp System	972
Natzweiler Camp System	1008
Neuengamme Camp System	1079
Ravensbrück Camp System	1192
Riga-Kaiserwald Camp System	1235
Sachsenhausen Camp System	1262
SS-Baubrigaden Locations	1360
Stutthof Camp System	1424
Vaivara Camp System	1496

FOREWORD

A generation disappears a new generation arrives, says an ancient text, and the world remains the world.

And you reader, who holds this volume in your hands, make sure that the knowledge you receive becomes part of your endeavor as a member of a vast vanished human community whose fear and hope will impact your own life.

Over the years, week by week, day by day, the number of survivors of the Holocaust diminishes and those of the documents increases.

And what about its Memory? We are holding to it with our last energy. And if it does not contain all the responses it does retain all the questions.

The murderous intentions of Hitler and his acolytes towards the Jewish people and its history, their plans concerning other national and ethnic minorities, the malefic power of their imagination, the quasi-indifference of the free world, the suffering and agony of the victims as well as their solitude: how to conceive them in their totality, and how to explain them.

In between these components are those which by the weight of their horror defy human language and understanding.

Is this the reason for which, for a long time, one refused to listen to the witnesses? It is simple: one could not and did not want to understand them. What they were telling questioned all of their certainties.

But if Auschwitz interested few, with hardly any readers, especially in Germany, this is no longer true today.

I don't think that I am deceiving myself too much by saying that since the end of the Second World War, the interest in the absolute Evil incarnated by the followers of the "Final Solution" has never been as large or quasi-universal.

Memoirs and biographies, psychological and theological studies, plays and movies, colloquiums and seminars: it is difficult to find pedagogical institutions where the subject is not taught with the intensity which is needed.

The official offenses—and there were so many—the repeated threats, the decrees preceding the ghettos, the "Aktions," the camps of slow or immediate death—and there was such a variety of them, large and small, known and lesser known: this is a new universe that the Enemy built with its only goal: to wipe out from history even the memory of its victims.

Therefore, reader, study this Encyclopedia which you hold in your hands: say to yourself that its message comes from afar but, for the sake of humanity, appeals to the future.

ELIE WIESEL
Translated from French by Radu Ioanid

PREFACE

More than six decades have passed since the end of World War II. Over the years, a formidable body of scholarship has been created to help us understand the nature of the Nazi regime, Germany under Nazi rule and Europe under German hegemony, and the scope and implications of the Holocaust.

The Holocaust—broadly defined as the state-sponsored systematic persecution and attempted annihilation of European Jewry between 1933 and 1945—became the defining event of the twentieth century and remains the greatest single crime of any century. Six million Jews were murdered by Germany and its allies in a continent-wide rampage that extended from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the west to Poland and the outer reaches of Axis expansion into the USSR in the east; from Norway and the Baltic states in the north to Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece in the south; and even to the North African colonies under the control of the French collaborationist regime at Vichy as well as those territories under direct German military occupation. Simultaneously with the victimization of the Jews, the perpetrators directed their fury against other groups whom they targeted because of their ethnicity, race, and religion—Poles, Sinti and Roma, people with disabilities, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and others. This experience—this history—remains profoundly significant in the post-Holocaust era, as we confront a new century marred by recurrent genocide and crimes against humanity, intolerance, and violation of fundamental human rights.

Through the efforts of a first generation of Holocaust scholars, who themselves eyewitnessed the events, and of their immediate successors, who had substantial opportunity for direct contact with survivors and eyewitnesses, we gained considerable insight into some components of the universe of camps and ghettos through which the perpetrators organized and committed many of their crimes, and in which many of the victims either perished or suffered in ways that are often impossible for us to imagine. Many aspects of the network of camps and ghettos, however, have remained unexplained and unexplored. There has never been a comprehensive listing of camps and ghettos, or a reference work focused on the entirety of the system. Thus there has been no way for interested readers and researchers to obtain reliable information about particular sites or the primary and secondary source materials pertaining to them and to the network as a whole.

Any number of fundamental questions has thus long remained unanswered. How many camps and ghettos existed? Who ran them? Who were their victims? How long were various camps and ghettos in operation, and for what specific purposes? Who profited from them? Where can one consult archival and other research resources regarding a particular camp or ghetto? The answers to these questions have been mostly anecdotal and scattered, when they have been available at all. This encyclopedia attempts to help close the gaps in our knowledge and offer assistance to those who would like to probe more deeply into some aspect of the universe of Holocaust-era camps and ghettos more thoroughly.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum undertook this project recognizing that it had a unique obligation to provide reliable and up-to-date reference works for the study of the Holocaust, especially while eyewitnesses and survivors were still present to provide critical guidance and review. As work progressed, we have benefited not only from their involvement and that of the Academic Committee of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, but also from massive amounts of archival material that only recently became available. An avalanche of rich new archival material relating to the Holocaust has become accessible over the past decade, as a result of the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former USSR; the expiration of fifty-year archival restrictions in many other countries; and the opening of the archives of the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolsen, Germany. In fact, the Museum led the international effort to open the Bad Arolsen archives in part with the production of this encyclopedia in mind. Our goal has been to produce a work that will be useful both for members of the general public and for scholars wishing to pursue further research. The researchers and editors of the Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies—with the assistance of hundreds of researchers around the world—have labored to answer fundamental questions about each site as completely as possible and to provide information on sources for additional research.

The resulting work, the first volume of which you have before you, has revealed the sheer scale of the system of perpetration constructed by the Nazis and their allies—well over twenty thousand camps and ghettos of various sorts identified thus far. This volume alone describes over one thousand camps, the

vast majority of which were unfamiliar to any but a small circle of specialists when this project began. Future volumes will address thousands more. The evil, misery, and grief that existed in those places is impossible to quantify—perhaps impossible to grasp—but also impossible to deny. Here was a central pillar of the system of perpetration: the willingness and ability to incarcerate, enslave, torture, and kill in the name of assumed racial, cultural, and social superiority. The universe of camps and ghettos epitomized the exercise of raw power against a society's supposed enemies, the manifestation of unadulterated hatred, fear, and cruelty, which many embraced wholeheartedly and many more witnessed and tolerated.

As part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's mission to inform the public about the Holocaust and to enhance future scholarship and teaching regarding the Holocaust, we are proud to present this milestone contribution to Holocaust research, with the expectation that it will inform and guide its users for years to come.

PAUL A. SHAPIRO, DIRECTOR
Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

ALVIN H. ROSENFELD, CHAIR
Academic Committee of the United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

SARA J. BLOOMFIELD, DIRECTOR
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would have been impossible without the help of a great many people, whom we would like to take this opportunity to recognize.

First and foremost, Paul A. Shapiro, Director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, saw the potential of the project and never flagged in his support. Even as the number of camps expanded fourfold beyond the original estimates, and as the time frame for completion likewise grew alarmingly, he remained committed to producing a comprehensive, high-quality work.

The Museum's Academic Committee provided a wealth of good advice that helped to give the work its focus and ensured its quality.

Peter Black, the Museum's Senior Historian, helped from the start to shape the work's scope and content, and reviewed key sections of this volume for their historical content.

Mel Hecker, Research Project Publications Officer in the Center, provided invaluable expertise on, and liaison to, the publishing world, as well as performing the final stages of editing for the entire 5,000-page manuscript and the page proofs.

The Center's Director of Research, Jürgen Matthäus, added his keen insight and encyclopedic knowledge to the editorial process, thus helping to keep the project on track.

The research assistants who have worked on the project over the years deserve a great deal of credit for performing a variety of tasks on this volume, such as providing input on its organization, finding and organizing illustrations, and most especially, writing nearly one-third of the entries: Lisa DiBartolomeo, Alexander Rossino, Christine Schmidt van der Zanden, Joseph Robert White, and Evelyn Zegenhagen.

The following former and current Center staff members also made important contributions to the volume: Benton Arnovitz, Tracy Brown, Martin Dean, Robert M. Ehrenreich, Aleisa Fishman, Michael Gelb, Patricia Heberer, Severin Hochberg, Radu Ioanid, Wendy Lower, Ann Millin, Carl Modig, Avinoam Patt, Wrenetta Richards, Barbara Robinson, Claire Rosenson, Traci Rucker, Gwendolyn Sherman, Anatol Steck, and Lisa Yavnai.

Several Dorot Foundation fellows helped out as researchers, editors, and translators: Jacob Eder, Jessica Hammerman, Richard McGaha, Eric Schroeder, and Lynn Wolff.

Both paid and volunteer translators created clear English entries from submissions in German, Polish, and French: Gina Cooke, Jennifer Croft, Gerard Majka, Hilary Menges, Stephen Pallavicini, Mihaela Pittman, and Judith Rosenthal.

Many people, most of them volunteers, also helped with the complex task of editing the essays: Nancy Belkowitz, Theresa Dowell Blackinton, Wanda Boeke, Anthony Court, Karen Evans, Lauren Fend, Anna Gadzinski, Sandy Graham, Mark Gudgel, Sara Harasym, Dori Hennessey, Ryan Johnson, Hazel Keimowitz, Nancy Krug, Wendy Maier, Aaron Mendelsohn, Shannon Nagy, Dave Nogradi, Shannon Phillips, Robyn Rogers, Gail Schulte, Lura Steele, and Thom Winckelmann.

A team from the Museum's Survivors' Registry put together the volume's maps: Michael Haley-Goldman, Pavel Ilyin, Marc Masurovsky, Jude Richter, and Oleg Sirbu. Pavel Ilyin also checked the accuracy of Eastern European place-names, and Museum volunteer Jack Michaelson performed cartographic research.

The staffs of the Museum's Library, the Archives, and the Photographic Reference Section were of enormous assistance; we would especially like to thank Michlean Amir, Judy Cohen, Ronald Coleman, Nancy Hartman, Steven Kanaley, Henry Mayer, Vincent Slatt, Holly Vorhies, and Mark Ziomek.

We would also like to extend our thanks to Wolfgang Benz and Angelika Königseder of the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Center for Antisemitism Research) at the Technische Universität Berlin. While creating their own excellent reference work on the SS concentration camps, they were good enough to provide advice and to put us in contact with many of their authors.

Thanks, too, to Eli Rosenbaum and the Office of Special Investigations in the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice.

Naturally we also owe a great deal to the organizations and individuals who have supported this work financially. David Bader, through the Helen Bader Foundation, got the project started and covered most of the costs associated with this first volume. The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Inc., has donated monies that will allow the project to continue. The William Zell Family Foundation has provided funds that will facilitate the work's publication. And the Dorot Foundation, through its support for summer fellows in the Center, has allowed the project to benefit from the skills and enthusiasm of several fine young scholars.

Many people at Indiana University Press and the Westchester Book Group deserve credit for taking on the massive job of editing the copy and putting the work into print. We would like especially to acknowledge Janet Rabinowitch, Susan Baker, Susan Badger, and Lyndee Stalter.

And last, but certainly not least, we want to thank the more than 200 outside contributors to this volume. Not only did they provide a wealth of information that we would have needed many additional years to collect ourselves, but they presented that material with clarity, style, and sensitivity: not an easy task in such limited space.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES AND VOLUME I

Shortly after coming to power in 1933, the Nazis began to set up a series of concentration camps across Germany. These were mostly local initiatives: facilities that the SA, SS, and police established on an ad hoc basis, where they would detain and abuse real and imagined enemies of the regime. By the end of the year, there were over 100 of these early camps in operation.

The founding of those early camps marked the beginning of a process that produced perhaps the most pervasive collection of detention sites that any society has ever created. Eventually the early concentration camps would give way to a centralized system under the SS that, by the end of World War II, would number over 1,000 camps, including some of the most notorious, such as Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, and Dachau; at their peak, these camps held over 700,000 prisoners. In addition, over the course of their 12 years in power, the Nazis would establish a bewildering array of other persecution sites: killing centers, ghettos, forced labor camps, prisoner-of-war (POW) camps, resettlement camps, "euthanasia" centers, brothels, and prisons, among others. Not just the SS, but also the military, private industry, and several governmental and quasi-governmental agencies would run their own camp systems. Germany's allies, satellites, and collaborationist states, from France to Romania and Norway to Italy, would add still more.



Prisoners erect the Dove-Elbe Canal, which allowed the SS to ship materials produced at the Neuengamme concentration camp by barge on the Elbe River.
USHMM WS #06030; Courtesy of AG-D

The millions of prisoners in this vast universe of camps and ghettos mirrored the variety of the sites that held them. They came from every country over which the Nazis and their allies held power. They wound up in the camps for any number of reasons; the Nazis persecuted many different groups, from a variety of motivations and to differing degrees. The Jews, of course, were the Nazis' special target from the start, and eventually they would almost all be slated for industrialized mass murder. Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), homosexuals, resistance fighters, common criminals, Communists, and others also entered the system, for reasons of politics, or "race," or because the Germans needed their labor, or for any of several other reasons; all they had in common, really, was that they were there against their will, to their detriment, and for the benefit of the perpetrators. Their fates also varied, usually according to their status in the eyes of the authorities. For example, the majority of Soviet POWs died in German hands, from a combination of outright murder, starvation, exhaustion, exposure, and disease, because the Germans saw them as politically and militarily dangerous and racially inferior. At the other end of the spectrum, many Western POWs (with the exception of some Jewish POWs whom the Nazis singled out for abuse) survived in relatively good condition; their



Group portrait of German Social Democrats (SPD) at Dachau, 1933; the sign reads, "I am a class-conscious SPD big shot."
USHMM WS #48066, courtesy of AG-D

time in the camps was not easy, by any stretch of the imagination, but it was usually not fatal. In between those extremes there existed just about every kind of treatment imaginable. The prisoners' fates depended upon the reason for their incarceration, the kind of work they had to perform, and opportunities to obtain extra food, among other factors. The various categories of facilities differed from one another, as one might expect, but even within categories there were often marked differences from one site to another, depending upon the working environment, available accommodations, and the attitude of the camp staff.

At the same time, there were certain elements that most sites had in common. Most prisoners, for example, had to perform some sort of work. Work was a central element in the Nazis' camp regimen. For those few prisoners whom the regime was interested in rehabilitating, work was the stated means to their rehabilitation, especially early on—although in reality, and especially later in the history of the camps, many prisoners had to perform work whose only purpose was to humiliate, debase, or even kill. Millions of other prisoners had to work simply because the Germans needed the work to be done; by the end of the war, a huge proportion of German war industry, including facilities that produced aircraft, ballistic missiles, and other advanced weaponry, depended upon foreign or prisoner labor. Ghetto labor combined these elements, and sometimes provided the inmates' only hope that they might be spared, for the sake of their work.

Living conditions also reflected certain similarities from one camp or ghetto to another. Most prisoners existed within a system that was militaristic—in the most petty, cruel sense—with roll calls, uniforms of one kind or another, and a strict hierarchy within both the guard and prisoner populations. Discipline was harsh, often arbitrary, and sometimes fatal. In the ghettos there was less structure, and the inhabitants had more leeway to establish their own communal support institutions, but the conditions were as bad or worse than in the camps. Food in camps and ghettos was usually inadequate in both quantity and quality, as was health care. At all times the prisoners were aware that their status did not approach that of the "master race," and that their lives were subject to the whims of their tormentors. The inmates' responses to these conditions usually fell within a predictable pattern. Some few became collaborators; a mass in the middle usually just tried to get by; and others resisted, through sabotage, underground agitation, escape attempts, or even revolt.



Sketch of a Kapo by Bergen-Belsen survivor Ervin Abadi, c. 1945
USHMM WS #36748; Courtesy of George Bozoki



Undated photograph of Soviet POWs held under "Operation K" (*Kugel*, or Bullet) in front of the laundry barracks at Mauthausen; they were Soviet officers and noncommissioned officers, who attempted to escape from a camp, had been recaptured, and awaited execution.
USHMM WS #79787; Courtesy of AG-M

Most people are familiar with these different aspects of the Nazi camps and ghettos, if only generally, from the popular media. Until now, however, anyone who wanted to find out more about the individual sites often faced a truly daunting task. The sources are scattered, fragmentary, and usually in foreign languages. Even specialists are frequently familiar with only their particular parts of the greater whole; most of those with whom we consulted were surprised just by the scale of the system. When work began on this project, the staff expected to find between 5,000 and 7,000 sites. Even basic research, however, yielded a growing number, until today the count stands at roughly 20,000 camps and ghettos that existed between 1933 and 1945; the ex-

act number is unknowable. Few people have the time or the expertise to learn about these places from the original sources, and there has been no single reference work to which they could turn. Moreover, the physical evidence is disappearing. At most of these sites there are no museums, memorials, or any sign at all of what occurred there. The danger exists that, as the survivors fade from the scene, so too will any knowledge of the places where they suffered. For these reasons the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum took on the task of preparing an encyclopedia about this central element of the Nazi regime.

The primary purpose of the encyclopedia is to explore the universe of camps and ghettos, with an eye toward providing basic information on as many individual sites as possible. Naturally it will not cover everything. In the case of such categories as POW camps and brothels, for example, records for many sites simply do not exist. In other cases, such as prisons, there were so many sites that we had to limit our coverage for reasons of space, and there are a few categories, such as resettlement camps for ethnic Germans, that we have excluded entirely, because they do not fit within the exploitive or eliminationist goals of the broader Nazi camp and ghetto universe. Where practical, however, the coverage is complete, and the addition of extensive introductory essays also helps to fill in any gaps. In addition, source sections and citations provide a guide to finding additional material.

In designing the encyclopedia as a whole, we decided to organize the volumes according to the structure of the camp and ghetto universe itself, inasmuch as there was such a structure. In other words, we grouped the sites according to their function or subordination within the Nazi regime. Thus there will be, following this first volume, a volume on German-run ghettos; another on camps under the military; one on camps and ghettos run by Germany's allies, satellites, and collaborationist states; another on camps under the SS-Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA); one on forced labor sites under other governmental authorities and private firms; and a volume to cover various sites that do not fit in the other categories. In this way the work offers the reader some understanding of the system as a whole, rather than just the individual parts.

Similarly, we have organized the individual volumes so that the reader can see how the perpetrators administered the sites in each category. This first volume, for example, covers two groups of camps, primarily: first, the early camps that Nazi authorities and police set up on an ad hoc basis in the first year of Hitler's rule, and second, the concentration camps and their constellations of subcamps that operated under the control of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt, WVHA). Overview essays by Joseph Robert White and Karin Orth open those two main sections; they describe the rise of the early camps and the evolution of the WVHA system, respectively. Within the first section, the camp entries then follow in simple alphabetical order. The second section contains one further subdivision: after the introduction, subsections follow for each of the main concentration camps, within each of which there are essays on that camp's subcamps, in alphabetical order; often there is also an introductory essay on the subcamps as a group. As applied to the series as a whole, this structure, in combination with introductory essays that describe the history and common characteristics of the various categories of camps, provides the reader with an understanding of the system that the individual essays cannot provide alone.



"Return of the Fugitive" by Auschwitz survivor Waldemar Nowakowski, nd
USHMM WS #73562; Courtesy of Aleksander Kulisiewicz

Questions of scope, completeness, and accuracy come to the fore in a project such as this one. To begin with, the editorial team had to decide what sites would qualify for inclusion, and that decision was, by

necessity, a somewhat subjective one. There existed, for example, a great many work details, which the Germans usually referred to as *Aussenkommandos* (external detachments), to which prisoners were marched each day, returning at night to their barracks. For the purposes of this encyclopedia, we did not count those sites as camps; we listed only those places where the prisoners were housed. Likewise, we did not include sites that contained fewer than a minimum number of people (usually 10) or that existed for less than a minimum amount of time (usually two weeks)—although we did make exceptions for a few sites when we judged them to be of particular interest for one reason or another. In any case, most camps contained at least several hundred people and existed for months, if not years.

The amount of source material varies enormously from one site to another. For some sites there is far more information than the authors could fit within the limited space available to them. In such cases we asked them to answer as many of our research questions as possible; we preferred brief answers to all the questions, rather than more expansive answers to only a few (for the questions themselves, please refer to the "Reader's Guide to Using This Encyclopedia"). In this connection, readers will no doubt notice the brevity of the entries on well-known camps such as Auschwitz and Dachau. Scholars have written volumes about these and many of the other main concentration camps, and we know that our entries do not begin to reflect the sum of knowledge on their subjects. Much the same is true of many lesser-known camps as well. Our entries should serve as an introduction and summary on such camps, while the source sections will provide guidance for those who want to learn more.

For many other sites, there is hardly any information available, at least that scholars have found so far. Some of the entries answer only a few of the questions we posed—and often incompletely. Often we were unable to find an outside scholar to write about a particular camp; in those instances, we relied on our very capable research assistants to write entries in-house, using mostly secondary sources. Thus, although we have done our best to be comprehensive, the reader cannot regard this encyclopedia as the final word; instead, it mirrors the state of research at the time when the entries were written. We hope that future scholars will be able to unearth new sources and expand upon our work.

The quantity and quality of the source material is an especially important issue in connection with the question of perspective: that of the perpetrators versus that of the victims. Much of what we know about the camps comes from perpetrator records, which means that we can answer some questions about the camps better than others. The danger in this circumstance is that—aside from what the reader can deduce from general administrative reports—the victims' voices can be lost. This work benefits, however, from the fact that many authors were able to find valuable victims' accounts in postwar trial testimony and memoirs and to incorporate those accounts in the entries. That material expands our understanding by giving us a view of life under Nazi persecution that is more balanced and intimate—and often heartrending.

As far as accuracy is concerned, one can fairly say that any historical work is going to contain some errors, and that is even more true of a work of this sort, given its scope. Records and accounts are scarce and often contradictory, even in connection with the most seemingly straightforward of matters, such as a camp's opening and closing dates. We have striven, however, to find authors who are experts on the places about which they are writing—people who have access to primary sources and the most recent literature, and who know how to use the sources judiciously. Many of them live in the towns where the camps existed, or work at the associated memorial sites and museums. We are in the authors' debt for the mass of material they gathered and presented with such skill; responsibility for any remaining flaws rests with us.

GEOFFREY P. MEGARGEE

March 2009

READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

The purpose of this section is to give the reader some tips on how best to use this volume and to offer some information on the more technical aspects of the work, such as the use of foreign terms, naming conventions, and cross-references.

The Encyclopedia's first purpose is to provide as much basic information as possible on each individual site. In order to achieve that end and also to provide for as much consistency as possible among the entries, we asked our many contributors to try to answer questions such as those following, as best they could, in what is admittedly a small amount of space:

- When was the site established, under what authority, and for what purpose? What agencies were involved in its construction?
- What kinds of prisoners did the site hold and how many?
- What type of labor did the prisoners perform? What companies or organizations employed them?
- What were the demographics of the prisoner population, that is, any changes in its composition, decreases and increases in overall numbers, and death rates and causes of death?
- If inmates were killed, what were the methods, motives, and circumstances involved?
- Who were the commanders and key officers at the site and what were their career patterns and length of service there?
- What units guarded the site? Did these units and their composition change and if so, why?
- What elements of the prisoner culture were unique to the site, if any? Were there some particular aspects of the prisoners' coping mechanisms that are worth mentioning?
- Were there any key events in the history of the site, such as resistance or escapes, organized or spontaneous?
- When, and under what circumstances, was the site dissolved or evacuated? What happened to the prisoners afterward?
- Were site personnel tried after the war and, if so, what were the results of those proceedings?

By and large, the contributors did an excellent job in answering these questions, given the limitations of space and, at times, of the amount of source material available. We did not insist that they address the questions in any particular order, but they nonetheless put their essays together in such a way that particular items of information are usually easy to find, assuming that the information was available in the sources.

The Encyclopedia's second purpose is to encourage additional research on the sites in question, and so we also asked each author to include, first, citations to key documents, when available, and second, a narrative description of published and archival sources, both primary and secondary, at the end of each entry. In that way readers can see what sources an author has already consulted and where to seek additional information.

In practical terms, this volume can be used for either of two related purposes. If your goal is to learn about a particular camp or camps, and no more, you may of course go to the relevant essays and stop there. If you want to understand a camp's place within the larger universe of related facilities, and how that system developed and functioned, begin with the introductory essay (on the early camps or the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] camp system) and work your way down, via the main camp essay, to the particular subcamp essay in which you are interested. This is also a useful approach if you are interested in sources, since those listed for a particular camp may not include broader works that might contain valuable information; for those you must go to the main camp entry.

Finding a particular essay should be fairly easy. If you are looking for a WVHA subcamp and you know the name of the main camp that administered it, just look in the appropriate section of the table of contents or leaf through the body of the volume; the subcamps appear alphabetically under each main camp. (One note: Some subcamps were subordinated to more than one main camp over the course of their existence. A subcamp entry will normally be found under the last main camp to which it was subordinate.) If you are not sure where a camp fits within the larger system, the index might be a better place to look, especially since it includes a variety of alternative camp names.

For the entry titles, we used German appellations, such as Auschwitz instead of Oświęcim, but we have tried to include the most important variants within

the entries. We also standardized the structure of the titles themselves, so that the reader can understand the information in them. Under a given camp, all titles show, at a minimum, the subcamp name (e.g., Alt-Garge is shown under Neuengamme). Some camps had more than one name; alternates appear in brackets with the abbreviation "aka," for "also known as," as in Allendorf [aka Münchmühle], under Buchenwald. The Germans assigned code names to some camps; those show up in parentheses and quotation marks, as in Redl-Zipf ("Schlier"), under Mauthausen. Some camps were named for the district of a larger city in which they were located; the district name appears after the city name, such as Bremen-Obernheide, under Neuengamme. Other camp headings indicate a particular organization or address within a town or city (organizations are italicized)—for example, Berlin (*Arado*) or Berlin (Kastanienallee), both under Sachsenhausen. In rare cases, one essay may cover more than one site, when the subcamps on those sites were linked administratively (as when one camp actually moved from one location to another in the same area or a subcamp actually occupied two nearby sites at the same time), example, Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleinal], under Buchenwald. There were also sometimes subcamps of subcamps, when one subcamp would administer others, such as Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf, under Gross-Rosen. Most of these types also existed in combination, as in Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte], under Mittelbau. The exceptions to these general rules consist mostly of the entries for the SS-Baubrigaden and Eisenbahnbaubrigaden. Since these were construction brigades that moved from place to place, their entries' titles usually show the particular location that is the subject of the essay and the designation of the unit, as in Ferch (SS-BB II).

While we decided not to include a glossary, a few terms require some explanation. The first of these is "concentration camp" itself, from the German *Konzentrationslager*. The English term is used rather loosely; that is, people apply it to many different kinds of camps. The German term usually applies only to the camps in the second section of this volume. German has many other terms for other kinds of camps, such as *Durchgangslager* (transit camp), *Gefangenenlager* (prisoner camp), *Barackenlager* (barracks camp), *Polizeihaftlager* (police detention camp), *Internierungslager* (internment camp), *Arbeitslager* (work camp), and so on, although these were not always used consistently.

One should also take note of the term *Schutzhaftlager*. Schutzhaft translates as "protective custody," but the term does not mean, in the German case, that someone was being isolated for their own protection. Rather, the implication was that society was being protected from the prisoner. Within a concentration camp's administrative organization, the Schutzhaftlager encompassed the prisoner compound itself. The section on concentration camp organization at the end of this guide provides further explanation.

As for the subcamps, the Germans used the terms *Aussenlager* (external camp) or *Nebenlager* (satellite camp), and sometimes *Aussenkommando* (external detail), *Kasernierung*, (quartering site), *Arbeitslager* (labor camp), or *Arbeitskommando* (labor detail), although the *Kommandos* were usually external work details, without any prisoner accommodations. (In general, Kommando can be translated as detachment, detail, or commando.) We have used the term "subcamp" in all these instances, although in other English-language works, one often sees the terms "satellite camp" or "external camp."

Wehrmacht is another term that appears fairly frequently. Technically, it referred to all the German armed forces: army, navy, and air force—hence, the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) was the Armed Forces High Command. In common use, however, Germans understood it to mean the army, which was the dominant military arm in Germany.

Some elements of camp slang also crop up in the entries. A *Muselmann*, translated literally as "Muslim," was a prisoner who had reached such a state of deprivation and weakness that he had given up all hope of living. Usually such prisoners did indeed die in short order. A *Kapo*, on the other hand, was a privileged prisoner who usually supervised labor details or performed other functions on behalf of the SS. The origin of the term has long since been lost, but it may have been a reference to Sicilian Mafia captains.

Readers should also be aware of a couple of space-saving measures. The names of archives have been abbreviated in the source sections and notes; please refer to the List of Abbreviations for the full names. Also, there are only a few cross-references within the text, for the simple reason that most such references would be to other camps, for which there are entries in any case. We have made exceptions to this policy only where there seemed a special need to do so.

INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A TYPICAL CONCENTRATION CAMP

As an aid to understanding the material that follows in the body of this volume, this small section, and the organizational chart that accompanies it, will provide some basic information about the organizational structure within a "typical" main SS concentration camp. This is not to say that all camps were organized in exactly this way at all times, but most of them held to this pattern, which the SS developed in their original camp at Dachau.

At the top of the camp hierarchy stood the Lagerkommandant, or camp commandant. He supervised the two main elements of the camp: the Wachtruppe, or guard unit, and the Kommandantur, or headquarters.

The Wachtruppe included a Führer der Wachmannschaften, or commander of the guard force, under whom served company leaders, SS noncommissioned officers, and guards. The Wachtruppe was responsible for manning all the guard posts at the camp and work sites, and for pursuing escapees.

The Kommandantur consisted of six branches: the Kommandantur/Adjutant; Politische Abteilung (political branch); Schutzhaftlager (protective custody camp); Verwaltung (administration); Medizinische Abteilung (medical branch); and Arbeitseinsatz (labor allocation).

The Kommandantur/Adjutant was responsible for seeing to it that all the commandant's orders were carried out quickly and exactly. This branch also took care of all correspondence, as well as the personnel actions for all the SS officers.

The Politische Abteilung handled admissions and releases of prisoners, interrogations, and criminal investigations, as well as overseeing camp security. It also ran the internal prison where camp inmates went for special punishment, called the Bunker.

The Schutzhaftlager was the heart of the camp itself. The Schutzhaftlagerführer (protective custody camp leader) was the commandant's deputy, and was in charge of everything that happened within the camp proper, including order, discipline, and cleanliness. He was assisted by the Rapportführer (roll-call leader), a Blockführer (block leader) for each barracks, and sometimes Stubenführer (room leaders) for rooms within barracks. In the larger camps there might be as many as four Schutzhaftlagerführer. They were so familiar to the prisoners that the latter often called them Lagerführer or confused them with the commandant.

The Verwaltung, or administration, oversaw such matters as the accommodation, clothing, and feeding of both prisoners and SS personnel. It supervised facilities such as the internal camp workshops, the kitchens, and the laundries.

The Medizinische Abteilung administered medical care to SS personnel and, to a much less effective degree, to the prisoners. In the larger camps, it would include one or more doctors, as well as SS medics (Sanitätsdienstgrade).

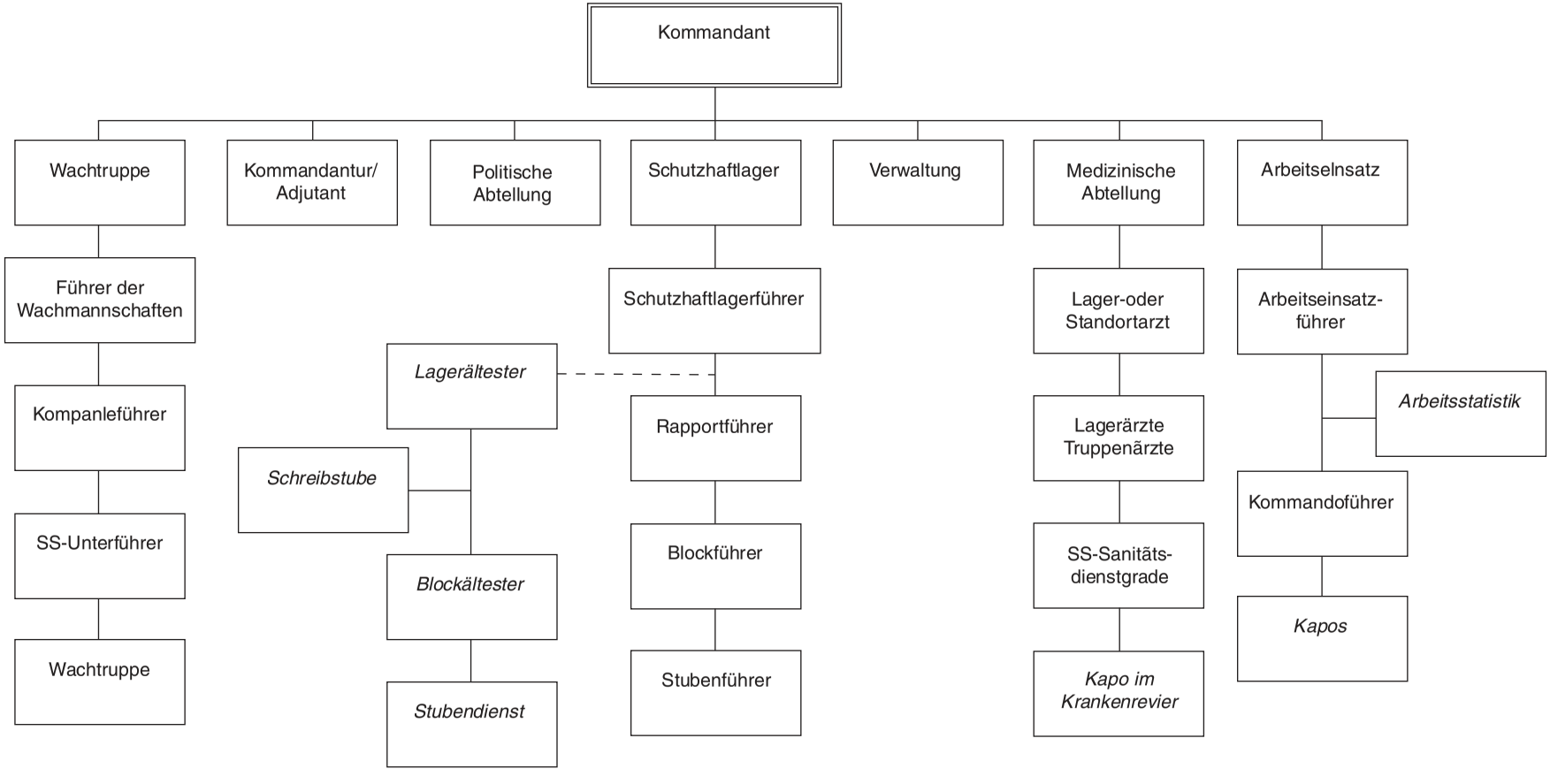
The Arbeitseinsatz branch was added to the standard organization at the beginning of the 1940s. It was responsible for putting together the Arbeitskommandos, or work details, for employment outside the camp. The Arbeitseinsatzführer led the branch; he had several Kommandoführer, or detail leaders, working for him.

In parallel to parts of this SS hierarchy, there existed a prisoner hierarchy that became increasingly important as time went on. A Lagerältester, or camp elder, assisted the Schutzhaftlagerführer; under him he controlled Blockälteste (block or barracks elders) and sometimes Stubendienst (room duty prisoners). A Schreibstube, or orderly room, staffed by prisoners, provided administrative support. Under the Arbeitseinsatzführer, an office called Arbeitsstatistik, or labor records, did the actual work of assigning prisoners to work details, which Kapos then helped supervise. All these (and other) so-called prisoner-functionaries held enormous power over their fellow prisoners, while simultaneously existing under constant threat from the SS.

SOURCES Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1, *Die Organisation des Terrors* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (1950; New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), Karin Orth, *Die Konzentrationslager-SS. Sozialstrukturelle Analysen und biographische Studien* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000).

Organization of a typical concentration camp

SS offices and personnel are in Roman type; prisoner offices and functionaries are in *italics*.



SECTION I

THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS



Two SA guards stand at the Oranienburg gate, 1933.
USHMM WS #96166, COURTESY OF BPK

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

INTRODUCTION TO THE EARLY CAMPS

Nazi Germany's concentration camp system originated in 1933–1934 as an improvised response to cope with tens of thousands of opponents to the Nazi regime. The approximately 100 early camps (*frühen Lager*) appeared during the regime's consolidation of power. Most closed, however, with the emergence of an SS police system under Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler; the remainder were consolidated under the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). Administrations outside the Nazi paramilitaries played important roles in their foundation. The new regime quickly recognized the camps' potential for persecuting not only opponents but also so-called outcasts from the "national community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*); embryonically, many exhibited the radical antisemitism that became the essential feature of Nazi rule. For many detainees, called Schutzhäftlinge or Polizeihäftlinge because they had been taken into "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*), detention in 1933 inaugurated an ordeal in camps and prisons lasting until 1945.

Before introducing the early camps, it is necessary to provide some brief political background to the Nazi dictatorship. The global slump of 1929 destabilized Weimar democracy. After the last elected government's fall in March 1930, Reich President Paul von Hindenburg appointed a succession of Reich chancellors under the Weimar Constitution's Article 48, which permitted presidential rule by decree in event of national emergency. The second appointee, National Conservative (German National People's Party, DNVP) Franz von Papen, overthrew the elected Social Democratic Party (SPD) government of Prussia, Germany's largest state (*Land*, pl. *Länder*), on July 20, 1932, and appointed in its stead a Reich commissar. This coup ironically facilitated Prussia's subsequent "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) by the Nazis and furnished a model that the Nazis applied elsewhere after the March 5, 1933, national election.

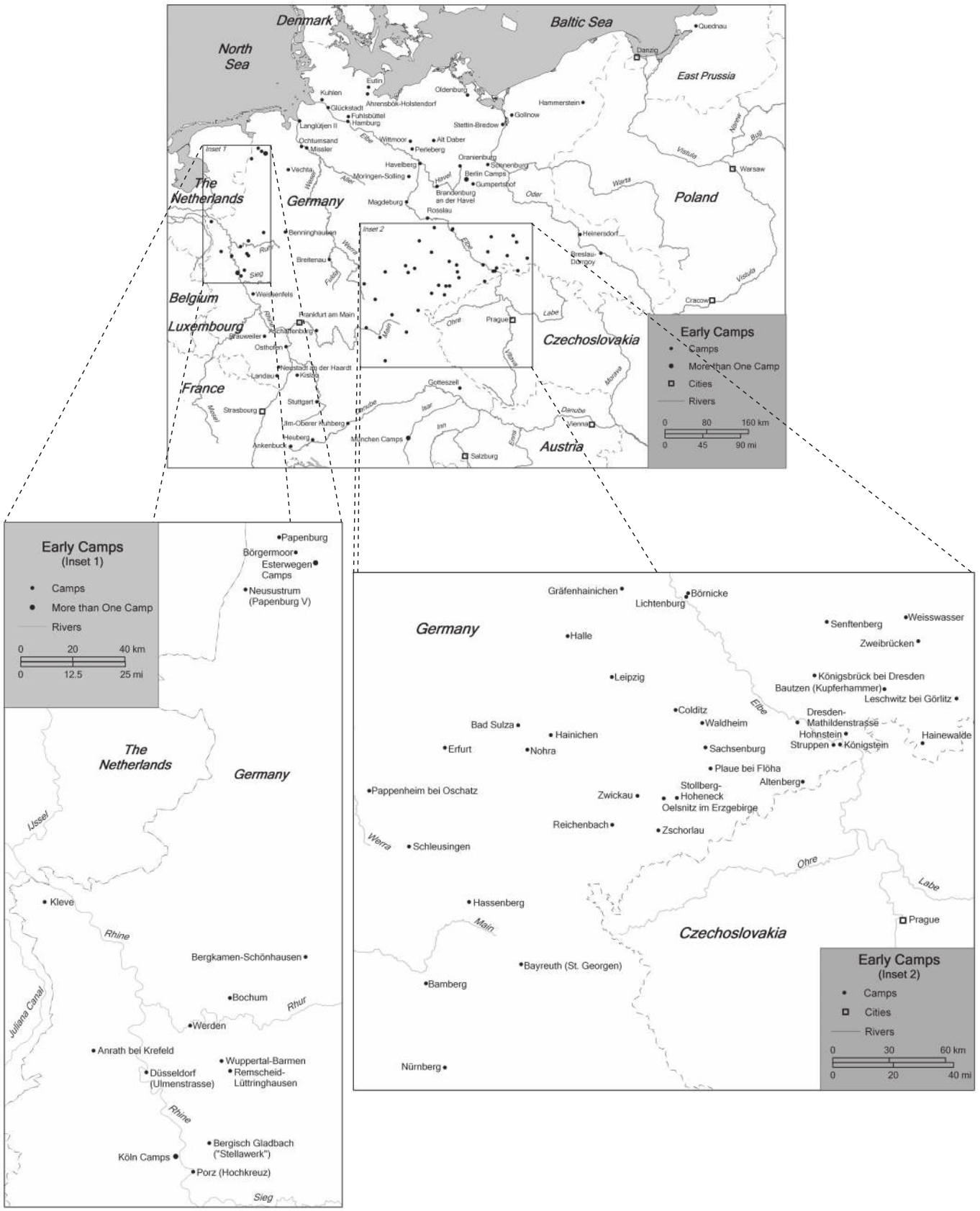
When a backroom deal brought Adolf Hitler to power with Papen as vice-chancellor on January 30, 1933, Nazi Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick inaugurated a crackdown on leftist opposition in advance of the election. Issued on February 4, 1933, the "Reich Presidential Decree for the Protection of the German People" permitted the ban of open-air assemblies, the censorship of publications, and the taking of opponents into police custody (*Polizeihaft*).[1] Unlike protective custody, it granted the incarcerated person limited legal protection through the courts. Frick also directed the other Länder where the Nazi Party already enjoyed strong support, particularly Oldenburg and Thuringia, to prepare lists of arrest targets for its long-threatened settling of accounts with the Left. Since August 1932, the Nazis had warned that, upon gaining power, they would dispatch German Communist Party (KPD) hardliners to concentration camps.[2]

In February 1933, Papen assumed the office of Reich commissar in Prussia, while Nazi Hermann Göring held the post of Reich commissar for the Prussian Interior Ministry. Papen and Göring quickly synchronized Prussia, replacing county and police presidents (Regierungs- und Polizeipräsidenten) with Nazis and nationalists, establishing a rudimentary political police under Rudolf Diels, and deputizing Nazi and nationalist paramilitaries (SA, SS, and Stahlhelm) as police auxiliaries (Hilfspolizei). In their new role, the SA and SS, who had already committed atrocities during the Nazi "struggle for power" (*Kampfzeit*), acquired a license to torture and kill. Appointed minister president and interior minister of Prussia on April 11, Göring merged these functions and, on April 26, founded the Prussian Secret State Police Office (Geheime Staatspolizeiamt, Gestapa), with Diels as its head.

"PROTECTIVE CUSTODY"

Conveniently labeled a Communist plot, the Reichstag fire of February 27, 1933, furnished the pretext for mass arrests. On February 28, the cabinet promulgated the "Reich Presidential Decree for the Protection of People and State," or the "Reichstag Fire Decree," which suspended individual liberties under the 1919 Weimar Constitution, including the right of personal freedom (Article 114).[3] Although it did not specify Schutzhaft, authorities justified the arrests on this basis. The pace of roundups accelerated after the March 5 election. Despite the first arrests, the KPD ban, and voting chicanery, the Nazis managed a Reichstag majority only in coalition with the DNVP. In the Länder parliaments and city senates where they did not gain majorities, the Nazis deposed the governments of Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg, and of the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, between March 5 and 11. In each case, the roundups or the establishment of camps ensued immediately afterward. On March 24, with its KPD members either in custody, in exile, or underground, the Reichstag passed an Enabling Law (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), thus giving Hitler quasi-legal backing for a four-year dictatorship. With the bans in June and July 1933 on the SPD, Bavarian People's Party (BVP), Center Party, DNVP, and other parties, the Nazis established a one-party state.

The new regime built upon but transformed the previous German practice of protective custody. Originating in the Revolution of 1848, Schutzhaft had a dual legal and semantic meaning. On the one hand, Schutzhaft signified arrest for personal protection. On the other hand, it meant taking seditious elements into custody during emergencies. The second meaning derived from the Prussian Siege Law of 1851. During World War I, the Reich patterned a similar ordinance after this law to quell mounting war opposition. Although the 1919 constitution established safeguards against political


Denmark
Baltic Sea
North Sea
East Prussia
Poland
The Netherlands
Germany
Belgium
Luxembourg
France
Czechoslovakia
Austria
Inset 1
Inset 2
Early Camps
Camps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 80 160 km
0 45 90 mi
Early Camps
(Inset 1)
Camps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 20 40 km
0 12.5 25 mi
Papenburg
Börgermoor
Esterwegen Camps
Neusustrum (Papenburg V)
The Netherlands
Germany
IJssel
Kleve
Rhine
Juliana Canal
Bergkamen-Schönhausen
Bochum
Rhur
Werden
Anrath bei Krefeld
Wuppertal-Barmen
Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse)
Remscheid-Lüttringhausen
Rhine
Bergisch Gladbach ("Stellawerk")
Köln Camps
Porz (Hochkreuz)
Sieg
Gräfenhainichen
Börnicke
Lichtenburg
Germany
Halle
Senftenberg
Weisswasser
Zweibrücken
Leipzig
Königsbrück bei Dresden
Bautzen (Kupferhammer)
Leschwitz bei Görlitz
Colditz
Elbe
Dresden-Mathildenstrasse
Waldheim
Bad Sulza
Hainichen
Hohnstein
Hainewalde
Erfurt
Nohra
Sachsenburg
Struppen
Königstein
Plaue bei Flöha
Altenberg
Pappenheim bei Oschatz
Stollberg-Hoheneck
Zwickau
Oelsnitz im Erzgebirge
Reichenbach
Zschorlau
Werra
Schleusingen
Ohre
Labe
Hassenberg
Main
Prague
Czechoslovakia
Bayreuth (St. Georgen)
Bamberg
Nürnberg
Early Camps
(Inset 2)
Camps
Cities
Rivers
0 30 60 km
0 20 40 mi

arrest, KPD members and foreign nationals were taken into Schutzhaft during Weimar's first turbulent years under Article 48 but released after the passage of the emergencies. As Jane Caplan points out, the previous practice of Schutzhaft framed how non-Nazi bureaucrats understood political detention in the political setting of 1933. For conservative civil servants, protective custody seemed a temporary and acceptable remedy for dealing with the supposed leftist threat.[4]

The Nazis transformed the scope and scale of political detention. Creating a perpetual emergency, they seized opponents for unlimited duration and persecuted non-Communists from the start.[5] In 1933–1934, protective custody did not necessarily preclude legal prosecution but facilitated continued detention in the event of judicial acquittal or sentence completion. By early 1934, the Gestapo exclusively controlled Schutzhaft in Prussia, a monopoly Himmler later extended throughout the Reich. By this time, the regime further broadened the scope of detention, with the creation of police preventive custody (*Vorbeugungshaft*) on November 24, 1933.[6] This category provided for the indefinite incarceration of criminal recidivists (*Berufsverbrecher*) by the Criminal Police (Kripo). A few common criminals had already entered the camps in 1933, but, thanks to Vorbeugungshaft, many thousands more were detained by the late 1930s. Otto Geigenmüller's legal dissertation (1937), dedicated to Himmler, demonstrated how broadly the Gestapo applied protective custody. Dismissing anyone as a "political dummy or pighead" who denied its "necessity," Geigenmüller observed that it afforded the means to combat groups allegedly detrimental to the "national community."[7] As Robert Gellately suggests, the elasticity of Schutzhaft and Vorbeugungshaft enabled the police to conduct Nazi social engineering through the limitless expansion of criminal categories.[8]

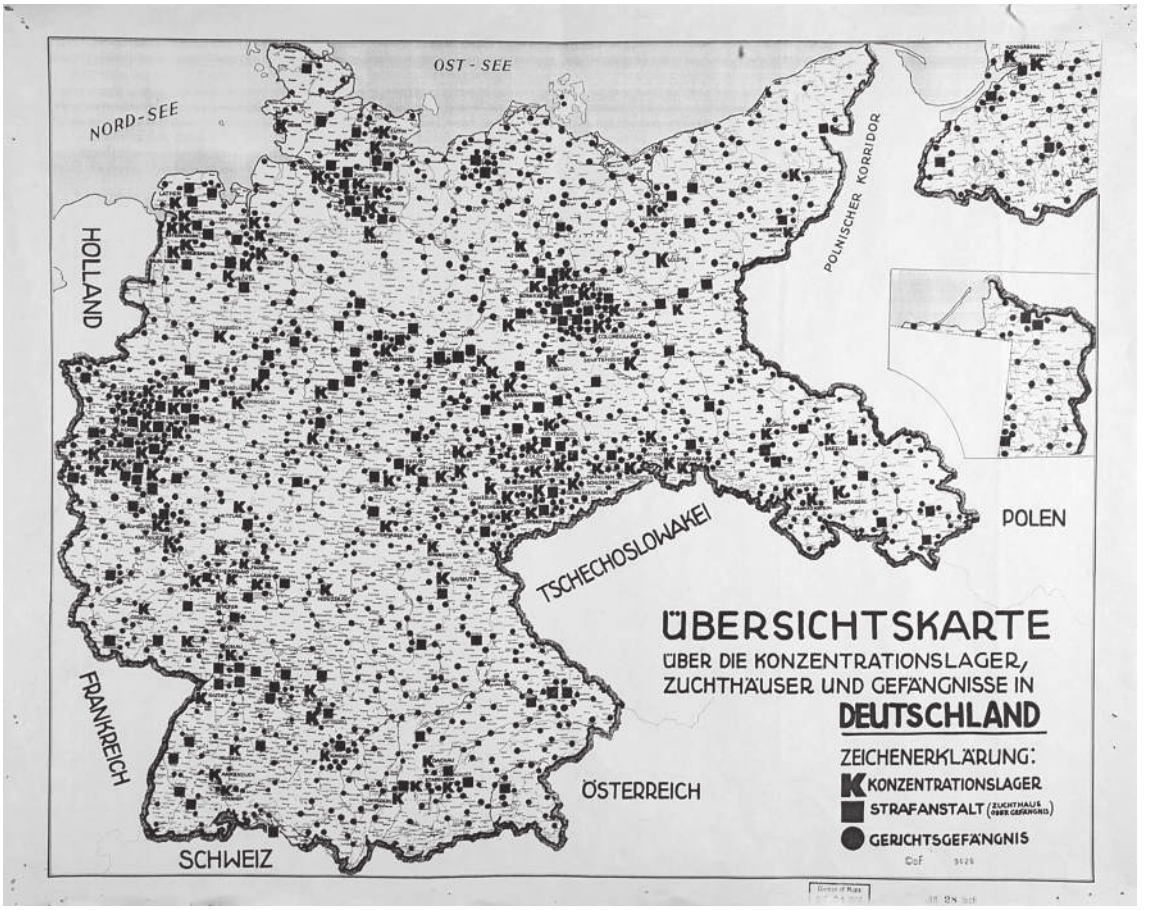
The number of detainees taken in 1933–1934 is difficult to determine with precision. Caplan estimates that there were some 50,000 detainees in the regime's first months and that the arrests may have exceeded 100,000 by 1934. More conservatively, Johannes Tuchel holds that some 30,000 opponents were dispatched to camps in 1933. In August 1933, the exile paper *Neuer Vorwärts* reckoned that some 80,000 individuals had already been placed in Schutzhaft, of whom up to 45,000 had been sent to concentration camps.[9] Three factors confound the estimates. First, a person taken into protective custody sometimes spent only hours or a single day in jail before release. Second, former detainees were subject to re-arrest. For example, a BVP official in Bamberg, Georg Banzer, was taken into Schutzhaft three times between March and June 1933.[10] Finally, the SA and SS Hilfspolizei sometimes seized individuals without police authorization.

SITES OF IMPROVISATION

In accordance with Weimar's federal system, which the new regime was then in the process of dismantling, local officials and Nazis founded early camps at state and local, not national, levels. The clustering of detention sites around the industrial areas of Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr, and Saxony underscored that the first targets of persecution were the working-class parties.[11] Because some areas seized relatively few opponents, not every state set up camps, only Baden, Bavaria, Oldenburg, Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia, Württemberg, and the Free Cities of Bremen and Hamburg. As the review below of what Tuchel calls the Prussian and Dachau "models" indicates, the patterns of camp establishment and consolidation varied by locality.[12]

Early detention sites fell into three broad categories: protective custody camps (*Schutzhaftlager*), concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*), and torture sites (*Folterstätten* or *Folterkeller*). The first type consisted of wings or blocks of existing prisons, penitentiaries, and pretrial detention centers, usually separated from common criminals. Practically every local court prison (*Amtsgerichtsgefängnis*) briefly held a few detainees who were then released or removed elsewhere. If a "camp" is defined as a detention site holding 10 prisoners for 10 days, then some entries in this volume indicate that the estimate of 30 Schutzhaftlager is low. Although most closed by the fall of 1933 and the winter of 1934, a few continued to operate for a longer period, most notably the München-Stadelheim prison, which held female detainees until January 1936.[13] As Nikolaus Wachsmann shows, persecution in prisons did not cease with the disappearance of protective custody sections. Instead, prison conditions noticeably worsened, in line with Nazi propaganda against Weimar's allegedly soft treatment of criminals. By the mid-1930s, the prisons emerged as the central sites for political persecution, as they incarcerated thousands of individuals convicted of trumped-up political offenses.[14]

In 1933, most concentration camps were structures pressed into service by bureaucrats and local Nazis on a space-available basis. Except for Papenburg/Emsland and Dachau, the approximately 70 concentration camps established in 1933 generally did not have barbed wire, barracks, and guard towers. Practically any type of structure served for confinement, the foremost being factories bankrupted during the Depression, and institutions and buildings the state already deemed multipurpose, namely, workhouses and, especially in Saxony, castles. Germany's first concentration camp was Nohra, established on March 3 at a school by Thüringian Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel. Stretching the limits of improvisation, the Bremen police, for instance, installed a concentration camp aboard a disused barge at Ochtumsand in September 1933.[15] The camps' heterogeneity extended to the staffs, because the Länder police, SS, and SA supervised most in succession or combination. Occasionally the Stahlhelm and, in one case, the National Socialist Women's Association (NS-Frauenschaft, *NSF*) oversaw camps. Most early camps closed before the IKL's establishment in July 1934, but many were recycled as detention sites under other authorities in the Nazi era, as, for example, Colditz, which became a notorious Wehrmacht prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. The majority of early camps were not "wild camps" (*wilde Lager*). This misleading term, coined by Diels after 1945 in order to disclaim responsibility for them, implied an absence of governmental oversight.[16] As



Exiled German Communists produced this map of early camps, prisons, and penitentiaries in 1936 and smuggled it into Germany during the Berlin Olympics. Most of the concentration camps, indicated by a "K," closed in 1933.
COURTESY OF LC

Tuchel demonstrates, even those camps approximating this appellation, like Oranienburg, founded by the SA at a brewery near Berlin on March 21, 1933, eventually came under state control.[17]

The confusion over wild camps stemmed in part from the torture sites. In Nazi barracks and brewpubs (*Lokale*), the Hilfspolizei tormented individuals under the guise of interrogation (*Verhör*). Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gleich have estimated that Berlin alone held 150 such sites, where the SA continued their war against the Left that had begun in the streets: now one-sidedly, behind closed doors, and with impunity.[18] Seizing the KPD national headquarters, the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus, the SA renamed it after their hero, Horst Wessel, and used it for torturing prisoners.[19] Sites like Berlin (General-Pape-Strasse) and Köln (Mozartstrasse) blurred the categories of Folterstätte and camp.[20]

THE PRUSSIAN MODEL

In the first months of 1933, the Prussian police arrested over 40,000 opponents, thus posing an urgent incarceration problem. In mid-March, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior directed the Regierungspräsidenten to search for detention sites. Nearly 30 were established by March 31 and many more in April and May. Most closed in the summer and fall of 1933, in part because of numerous releases but also on account of local complaints about murder and torture. In the summer of 1933, Prussia organized a network of "state" and regional camps for then just under 15,000 detainees.[21] The centerpiece was Papenburg/Emsland, but it also included "assembly camps" (*Sammellager*) in the former prisons at Brandenburg, Lichtenburg, and Sonnenburg and regional camps in workhouses and prisons at Benninghausen, Brauweiler, Breitenau, Glückstadt, Gollnow, Moringen, and (briefly) Quednau. Brauweiler and Moringen had women's protective custody sections; Moringen eventually emerged as the Reich's "unofficial" camp for women.

By August 1933, the SS staffed most Prussian camps. This change followed Himmler's appointment as ministerial commissar for Deputized Police Officers of the Gestapa by his SS subordinate, SS-Gruppenführer Kurt Daluege, acting in his capacity as a Prussian Interior Ministry official.[22] A divided chain of command complicated the Prussian model because civilian camp directors (*Lagerdirektoren*) shared responsibility



Oranienburg camp scrip, worth 10 Pfennigs, 1933–1934. Pictured at top left is the brewery that served as the camp.
USHMM WS # 25420, COURTESY OF JACK J. SILVERSTEIN

with SS commandants.[23] This untenable situation often resulted in the more fanatical commandants having their way in administrative disputes.

Papenburg headquartered four subcamps, Börgermoor, Esterwegen II, Esterwegen III, and Neusustrum. In a departure from improvised confinement, each subcamp was designed to hold 1,000 detainees in wooden "barracks camps."[24] Spearheaded by Göring's state secretary, Ludwig Grauert, this complex embarked upon a massive land reclamation project in the impoverished Emsland region along the Dutch border.[25] To the Ministry of the Interior's discomfiture, Papenburg's SS fomented deadly conditions for the prisoners almost from the beginning. In November 1933, the Prussian police dismissed the SS at gunpoint and replaced them with other units, most notably the SA.[26]

Even this consolidated "system" was problematic. In defiance of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior's July 1933 ban against the opening of new camps, the Düsseldorf Regierungspräsident and local Nazis founded Kemna at Wuppertal-Barmen. The Gestapo also established an interrogations camp at Columbia-Haus, located beside Berlin's Tempelhof Airfield. Although Oranienburg never fit into the Interior Ministry's scheme, strenuous SA protests forestalled its closure.

In order to discipline the guards and dissociate himself from the camps, Göring issued four orders in the spring of 1934. First, he suspended the creation of new camps. Second, he obliged the SA and SS staff to become Prussian civil servants.[27] Third, he transferred all Papenburg camps except Esterwegen to the Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry's control. Papenburg's SA thus became Justice Ministry officials who contributed, as Wachsmann observes, to the bureaucracy's nazification.[28] Finally, Göring appointed Himmler Gestapo inspector, which fostered the introduction of the Dachau model to Prussia. The Prussian model exhibited the administrative tensions between conservative bureaucrats and the Nazi formations. By yielding authority over Prussian camps to Himmler, Göring not only distanced himself from the detention sites he had done much to create but opened the way to camps without bureaucratic or judicial constraint.

THE DACHAU MODEL AND IKL

Characterized by permanent camps outside legal supervision, unsparing brutality toward inmates, and torturous labor, the Dachau model furnished the IKL's conceptual framework. The March 9, 1933, coup in Bavaria brought about Himmler's appointment as Munich police president, the first in a series of appointments through which he amalgamated Germany's police forces. As Bavarian prisons and workhouses filled with detainees, Himmler announced on March 20 that the former munitions factory at Dachau would become Bavaria's permanent camp for 5,000 prisoners.[29] The continued existence of small men's Schutzhaftlager in northern Bavaria and in Munich's prisons until the summer and fall of 1933 demonstrated that Dachau's hegemony did not come about immediately. From its opening on March 22 until April 11, the Bavarian State Police guarded Dachau until the SS assumed control under commandant Hilmar Wäckerle. The next day, April 12, the SS murdered 4 Jewish prisoners from Nürnberg, Dr. Rudolf Benario, Ernst Goldmann, Arthur Kahn, and Erwin Kahn, the first of some 52 deaths recorded at the camp by July 1, 1934.[30]

With Wäckerle under investigation for homicide, Himmler named Theodor Eicke Dachau's second commandant. Eicke drew up draconian regulations—called the "Disciplinary and Punishment Order"—that stipulated extreme penalties for the slightest infractions and the treatment of inmates as incorrigible enemies. Punishments included 25 blows by bullwhip or cane (aggravated by the *Prügelbock*, a wooden apparatus for fastening the victim in place), isolation in dark cells, and for certain offenses, execution.[31]



Jewish prisoners in Dachau's "moor detail" haul supplies, May 24, 1933. USHMM WS # 04026, COURTESY OF BPK

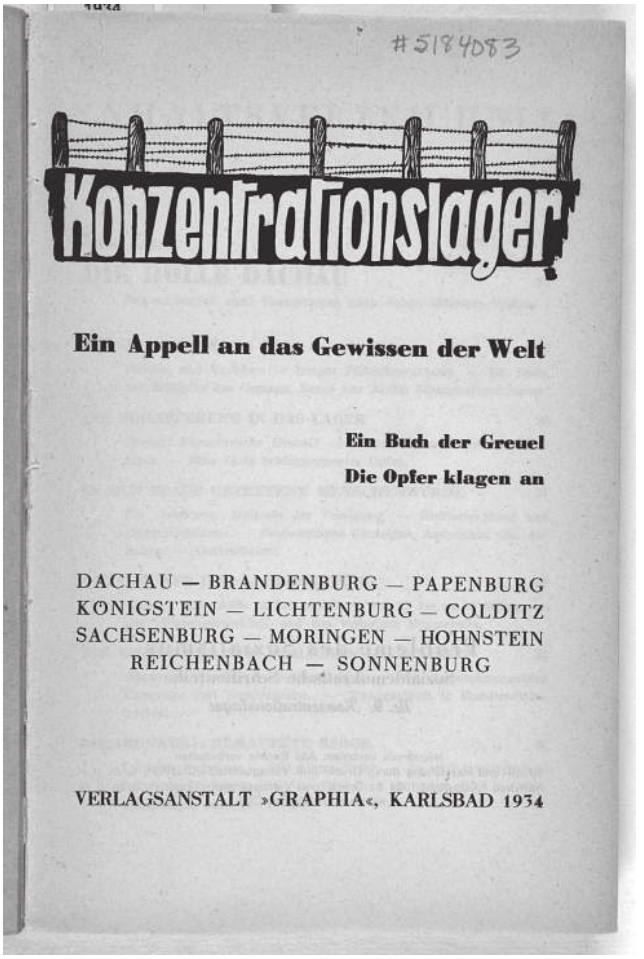
The June 30, 1934, "Night of the Long Knives," during which the SS purged the SA leadership on Hitler's orders, and in which Eicke was an important participant, cleared the path for a virtual SS monopoly over the camps. When Eicke officially became the inspector of concentration camps in July 1934, he restructured the Prussian and Saxon camps at Columbia-Haus, Esterwegen, Lichtenburg, and Sachsenburg. By August 1, 1934, the Reich held just over 5,000 detainees, so he closed Hohnstein (Saxony), Osthofen (Hesse), Rosslau (Prussia), and Oranienburg, in addition to Sachsenburg's subcamp network. By this time, Prussia's total camp population exceeded Bavaria's by just over 100 prisoners, a reflection of Göring's mass amnesties in 1933–1934, on the one hand, and of Eicke's near-absolute unwillingness to release prisoners, on the other.[32] Fuhlsbüttel in Hamburg, Bad Sulza in Thuringia, Kislau in Baden, and the Moringen women's camp never came under Eicke's jurisdiction, although some of their detainees were dispatched to IKL camps in the late 1930s.[33] Between 1936 and 1939, Eicke reorganized the IKL, with the closing of Columbia-Haus (1936), Esterwegen (1936), Sachsenburg (1937), and Lichtenburg (as a men's camp, 1937; as a women's camp, 1939) and the founding of permanent camps at Sachsenhausen (1936), Buchenwald (1937), Mauthausen (1938), Flossenbürg (1938), and Ravensbrück (1939). Esterwegen's "sale" to the Reich Justice Ministry in 1936–1937 partially offset SS expenditures for Sachsenhausen.[34]

The Prussian and Dachau models starkly contrasted in their approaches to camp labor. Although Jews and "*Bonzen*" ("bigshots" or "fatcats," a Nazi pejorative applied to Weimar politicians but most often to SPD leaders) were singled out for humiliating details in the early Prussian camps, most detainees were assigned economically useful tasks such as road building or land reclamation. Except for the deployment of a few skilled prisoners for SS needs, the Dachau model stressed labor as torture. Segregated into special companies, Jews, Bonzen, and Jehovah's Witnesses faced unremitting harassment. To the new sites the IKL staffs brought the practices honed at Dachau, where in 1933 the gravel pit became a site for murder, meaningless work, and punitive exercises euphemistically termed "sport."[35] As Michael Thad Allen argues, Eicke's approach, implemented by protégés like Rudolf Höss, undermined attempts by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in 1942 to deploy camp labor productively in war industries. At Höss's Auschwitz, this form of labor expedited genocide.[36]

Starting in 1933, the Nazi media represented the camps as centers of political "reeducation" whose ostensible aim was the preparation of former Marxists for eventual return to the "national community." Figuring into this propaganda was the need to "sell" the camps as acceptable to law-abiding Germans and to deflect rumors about violent conditions, especially at notorious sites such as Oranienburg. The depiction of the 1933–1934 mass amnesties as rehabilitation demonstrated that the slogan "Work Brings Freedom" (*Arbeit macht frei*) reflected the regime's early misrepresentations of terror. By March 1933, the *Manchester Guardian* had already reported the gruesome treatment of leftists and Jews.[37] The regime thus cast the April 1, 1933, anti-Jewish boycott as collective punishment for "atrocity news" (*Greuelnachrichten*).[38] By 1934, detailed prisoner testimonies circulated outside Germany, after exiled political and religious organizations established listening posts and publication centers near the Reich's borders. In light of negative international publicity, the regime permitted foreign journalists and luminaries to "tour" the camps, including French journalist Jules Auguste Sauerwein (Sonnenburg, 1933), the British Society of Friends' Elizabeth Fox Howard (Moringen, 1935), and the International Committee of the Red Cross's Carl J. Burckhardt (Esterwegen, 1935).[39] With advanced warning, the camp administrations put on a show, in one case having guards masquerade as patients in the prisoners' infirmary.[40]

THE PRISONERS

In 1933–1934, the camps' population primarily reflected the collapsed Weimar system. Approximately 80 percent were Communists, 10 percent were Social Democrats, and the remaining 10 percent belonged to other parties or trade unions or did not have political ties. For Weimar-era Reichstag deputies,



The title page of *Konzentrationslager*, a compilation of early camp testimonies published by the exiled German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia in 1934.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934

statistics compiled by Martin Schumacher show that of the 241 members arrested in 1933, 93 were Communists; 98, Socialists; 7, liberals; 37, political Catholics; 5, conservatives; and 1 from a minor party.[41] These figures were skewed somewhat because many KPD deputies had already fled into exile. Some exiles' wives and children were also taken hostage (*Geisel*) in the camps. Called "family arrest" (*Sippenhaft*), this form of detention continued during the war years.[42] Among the detained political opponents were members of Weimar-era paramilitaries, the KPD's Roter Frontkämpferbund (League of Red Front Fighters, RFKB), the democratic Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (Reich Flag Black-Red-Gold, RB); the RB's Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF); and the BVP's Bayernwacht (Bavarian Guard). Corrupt Nazis and members of the outlawed National Socialist "Black Front" (Schwarze Front) entered the camps increasingly in 1933–1934. Especially after the "Night of the Long Knives," SA and Stahlhelm members were taken into Schutzhaft for a time.[43]

A small number of foreign nationals became Schutzhäftlinge. In April 1933, Saxony alone detained 9 Austrians, 106 Czechoslovaks, 2 Frenchmen, 2 Soviet citizens, and 24 Poles.[44] Diplomatic intercessions gave some, like Hungarian citizen Stefan Lorant in Munich, conditional hope for release.[45] This assistance was not always timely, as foreign nationals were among the first murder victims.

The early camps also persecuted nonpolitical opponents and Nazi-defined outcasts, but not yet on the scale or with the intensity of the IKL. For noncooperation with what they viewed as an evil regime, the Jehovah's Witnesses were sporadically persecuted in 1933–1934 and were dispatched to Sachsenburg, Osthofen (Hesse), Lichtenburg, Fuhlsbüttel, and Dachau, among other sites. National persecution of the Witnesses followed the March 1935 introduction of military conscription.

At the behest of Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, the Reich seized some 10,000 beggars and vagrants in September 1933. As Wolfgang Ayass demonstrates, these arrests were connected to the establishment of the Nazi Winter Relief Work (Winterhilfswerk, WHW), and they anticipated the intensive campaign against "asocials" (*Asoziale*) that began in 1937, called "Reich Forced Labor" (Arbeitszwang Reich, AZR).[46] Although space considerations obviated lengthy detention for most, the Prussian police established Gumpertshof (Meseritz) in Posen, where economically marginalized people were reeducated through labor.[47] Separately, the succession of Oldenburg camps at Eutin, Holstendorf, and Ahrensbök detained "hobos."[48]

TREATMENT

Detainee treatment differed by camp type. While torture took place in the Folterstätten and concentration camps, the Schutzhaftlager afforded nominally better circumstances because the guards were usually professionals. In these camps, coping with boredom and stress was paramount. While boredom could be overcome through reading, intense political discussions, and walks, the stress stemming from the uncertainty of protective custody and family concerns was unrelenting.[49]

The pre-IKL concentration camps exhibited a broad range of treatment. Often the conditions noticeably worsened with a change of guards or in retaliation for protests. Generational differences sometimes played a role, because youthful SS and SA delighted in humiliating imprisoned World War I veterans, especially those displaying their decorations. As many as 500 to 600 prisoners were murdered or died in custody in 1933–1934, but some camps, such as Glückstadt, did not record any deaths. By contrast, Papenburg recorded 11 deaths during the months of September and October 1933 alone. As Hans-Peter Klausch observes, the estimate of early camp deaths is difficult to determine because some prisoners died of injuries in civilian hospitals weeks or months afterward.[50]

In 1933–1934, prisoner self-administration and internal stratification were embryonic. At Börgermoor, the prisoners

elected their camp representative. At Dachau, Eicke appointed prisoner sergeants and corporals (the forerunners of camp elders, block elders, and Kapos) who oversaw each company and were directly answerable to the SS company commander, a hierarchy that was incorporated into the IKL's "Special Orders."[51] At Hohnstein and Lichtenburg in 1933, prisoner-functionaries had small privileges, but these did not compare with the elaborate hierarchies through which the IKL later practiced divide and rule, a phenomenon first noted by Buchenwald survivor and sociologist Eugen Kogon.[52] Indeed, the "triangle system" that Kogon connected with this hierarchy, through which the SS categorized arrests by color-coded triangles, favoring certain categories over others, was not standardized until 1937. Until the late 1930s, the national composition of the inmates remained comparatively homogeneous, with the important exceptions of Jews and a few foreign nationals, but the prisoners differed by arrest category. The SS-imposed "racial" hierarchy did not fully emerge until the mass arrest of foreigners and outcasts during World War II.

As Jürgen Matthäus argues, during 1933–1934, most Jews were arrested for political reasons. Jews, however, with few exceptions, were singled out upon arrival as targets for torture and murder.[53] In SS camps, for instance, they were segregated in special companies that performed excremental details. At Börgermoor in the fall of 1933, they were compelled to work on the Sabbath and high holy days. As demonstrated in the case of Max Tabaschnik at Königstein in Saxony, some were the objects of Nazi extortion schemes.[54] In IKL camps, Jews held for "race defilement" (*Rassenschande*) were segregated in their own companies for special torment, endured verbal abuse, performed low crawls, and by one account, broke rocks with 16-pound sledgehammers.[55] In the mid-1930s, German Jewish "returnees" (*Rückwanderer*) were also dispatched to what were euphemistically termed the "educational camps" (*Schulungslager*) at Esterwegen and Sachsenburg. Their detention lasted from a few weeks to several months, and release only followed the signing of papers guaranteeing immediate emigration.[56] The Gestapo and the IKL vastly escalated this practice, in line with the regime's goal of Jewish emigration, during the mass arrests of Jews that followed the November 9–10, 1938, Reich Pogrom, also known as *Kristallnacht*.

PROTEST, DISSENT, AND ESCAPE

Protest, dissent, and escape took place in the early camps. In 1933, the men detained at Moringen and Lichtenburg staged hunger strikes, but the authorities retaliated with collective punishment. KPD-dominated secret cells developed in many camps, like Börgermoor, which provided mutual assistance. The bitter rivalry that split Germany's leftist parties in World War I and Weimar carried over into the camps, however, and was expressed through social ostracism and occasional denunciations to the SS.[57] The first two escapees were Hans Beimler from Dachau and Gerhart Seger from Oranienburg, who fled, respectively, in May and December 1933. A number of escapes took place in the Saxon camps, where friendly locals helped escapees cross the Czechoslovakian border.[58]

At several camps a notable protest occurred during the November 12, 1933, Reich plebiscite. The regime seized upon the *Schutzhäftlinge*'s right to vote for propaganda purposes, but Börgermoor, Esterwegen III [aka Papenburg III], and Sachsenburg overwhelmingly rejected the regime. Except for Börgermoor, this dissent prompted collective punishment.[59] In other camps during this plebiscite, prisoners quietly spoiled ballots or refused to vote. One Kislau prisoner accused the German press of misconstruing his camp's vote as support for the regime.[60] Except for the Jehovah's Witnesses, little opposition marked the "elections" of August 19, 1934, endorsing Hitler's self-appointment as Führer, and of March 29, 1936, for the one-party Reichstag list, because the authorities tied voting to the possibility of release and to the threat of punishment. After the IKL takeover, opposition often took the less provocative form of mutual aid.

Some cultural activities existed in the early camps. For the guards and detainees, they manifested divergent meanings. As part of reeducation, prisoners in camps such as Moringen were expected to attend religious services. In the spring of 1933, the nonbelieving congregants discovered another use for these services—secret meetings—until the first commandant discovered what they were doing.[61] The first camp "library" appeared at Börgermoor, to which prisoner Armin T. Wegner lugged his massive book collection after transfer from Oranienburg in September 1933.[62] Wegner subsequently opened libraries at other camps where he was dispatched. While the stocking of these libraries with Nazi publications seemingly served reeducational goals, reading gave the detainees something to do. Music likewise assumed multiple meanings. The demand for singing Nazi, nationalist, or antisemitic songs was a ubiquitous feature of reeducation and, for Jews especially, of ritual humiliation. Noncompliance resulted in beatings or worse. But the prisoners also sang Marxist songs such as "The Internationale" ("Die Internationale") and composed their own songs (*Lieder*), the most famous of which was the "Börgermoorlied" (popularly known as the "Moorsoldatenlied"). In a striking fragment of early camp memory, a songbook compiled at Sachsenhausen in 1942 reproduced four songs from Papenburg, brought by Esterwegen detainees when the new camp opened in 1936, and one from Lichtenburg. The Sachsenhausen camp Lied, written by Esterwegen prisoners, referenced the Emsland. From Sachsenhausen, these ballads spread elsewhere in the wartime camps.[63]

LEGAL INVESTIGATIONS

Although the Reich and Länder Justice Ministries investigated and tried early camp staff for homicide and brutality in the mid-1930s, Hitler dismissed the cases or quashed the verdicts. The best known case was the Hohnstein Trial, in which Reich Justice Minister Franz Gürtner had urged the defendants' punishment.[64] Hitler's interventions not only endorsed his followers' radicalism but signaled that the camps operated outside

judicial authority. His decisions thus exemplified what Ernst Fraenkel famously termed the "dual State" (*Doppelstaat*), in which the dictatorial "prerogative" state (*Massnahmensstaat*) emerged alongside and in lieu of the "normative" state (*Normenstaat*).[65] In a token gesture in November 1934, the Osnabrück State Court forestalled the amnesty of one Esterwegen commandant by crediting time served under arrest as part of his sentence. The signal that camp guards operated in a zone outside the law was not lost on the IKL, as the homicides continued and the conditions became systematically brutal during the mid- to late-1930s. So long as the Reich cared about international opinion, however, interest in the plight of famous prisoners acted as a brake on the IKL in isolated cases, such as that of Nobel Peace Prize recipient Carl von Ossietzky.[66]

The Allies, West Germans, and East Germans investigated and prosecuted some early camp offenders after the war. The defendants brought before Western Allied and West German courts mostly had career tracks that spanned from 1933 to 1945. At the International Military Tribunal, the prosecution indicted the SA as a criminal organization. While acknowledging its role in the concentration camps, the tribunal acquitted the SA on the basis that its power had been eclipsed by the June 1934 purge and that its members could not have been privy to a common conspiracy after that date.[67] Some denazification hearings also involved early camp staff. As demonstrated by the case of Moringen's Lagerdirektor Hugo Krack, they did not necessarily produce convictions, however.[68] A large trial of Kemna's personnel took place in 1948 before Landgericht Wuppertal (state court) and resulted, before appeal, in some death sentences.[69] Several proceedings, including one conducted by the British, involved Esterwegen guards, although the indictments also included wartime offenses.[70]

With their privileging of the Communists as Hitler's first victims, the East Germans aggressively prosecuted early camp perpetrators. In the Soviet Zone and the German Democratic Republic, 26 cases encompassing more than 200 defendants exclusively addressed charges deriving from the 1933–1934 period. This total does not include cases in which the defendants were also charged with crimes taking place after 1933–1934. With seven trials for 87 defendants, the most important camp involved in these proceedings was Hohnstein.[71]

* * *

The early camps were heterogeneous, operated under several governing authorities, and manifested a greater range of prisoner treatment than the IKL. The first roundups also reflected the collapsed Weimar system that the Nazis had sought for 14 years to destroy. Certain features of the early camps persisted under the IKL, in the process paving the way for more destructive policies: the expansion of detention categories in 1933 furnished the police an instrument for advancing the regime's social and racial agendas, while camp operation without legal oversight promoted an SS-police system crucial to the organization of genocide. The radical antisemitism that facilitated the Holocaust was already evident in the regime's first camps.

SOURCES Until recently, the early camps formed a major gap in the historiography of Nazi concentration camps. The following works were helpful in the preparation of this essay: Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Wolfgang Ayass, *"Asoziale" im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995); Carina Baganz, *Erziehung zur "Volksgemeinschaft?": Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Sachsen 1933–34/37* (Berlin: Metropol, 2005); Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002); Benz and Distel, eds., *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937* (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), especially Johannes Tuchel's introductory essay, "Organisationsgeschichte der, frühen' Konzentrationslager," pp. 9–26, and Hans Hesse's essay on Moringen, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung:' Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," pp. 111–146; Benz and Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), especially Stanislav Zámečnik's essay on Dachau, "Das frühe Konzentrationslager Dachau," pp. 13–39; Karl-Dietrich Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer, and Gerhard Schulz, *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystem in Deutschland 1933/34* (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962); Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gleich, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager in Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkellern 1933/34," *Berlin-Forschung* 2 (1987): 141–178; Martin Broszat and Norbert Frei, eds., *Das Dritte Reich: Ursprünge, Ereignisse, Wirkungen* (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz Freiburg, 1983); Jane Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6," in *Nazism, War and Genocide: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Noakes*, ed. Neil Gregor (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. 22–41; Caplan, "Introduction" to *Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, by Gabriele Herz, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig, ed. and with an intro. by Jane Caplan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 1–55; Jolene Chu, "God's Things and Caesar's: Jehovah's Witnesses and Political Neutrality," *JGR* 6:3 (September 2004): 310–342; Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57; Klaus Drobisch, "Hinter der Torinschrift 'Arbeit macht Frei': Häftlingsarbeit, wirtschaftliche Nutzung und Finanzierung der Konzentrationslager 1933 bis 1939," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996), pp. 17–27; Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Annette Eberle, "Häftlingskategorien und Kennzeichnungen," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1, *Die Organisation des Terrors*, ed. Benz and Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 91–109; Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Ernst Fraenkel, *Der Doppelstaat*, ed. with intro. by Alexander von Brünneck (1940; repr., Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2001); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Gellately,

"The Prerogatives of Confinement in Germany, 1933–1945: 'Protective Custody' and Other Police Strategies," in *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1950*, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (New York: Cambridge University Press; Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 191–211; Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner, eds., *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten* (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996); Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: 1933–1940; Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1988); Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002); Hesse with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frübe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003); Hesse, ed., *Persecution and Resistance of Jehovah's Witnesses during the Nazi Regime: 1933–1945* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2001); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005); Habbo Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild: Fotografien des Holocaust in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), pp. 75–91; Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York: Berkley Publishing Corp., 1984); Jürgen Matthäus, "Verfolgung, Ausbeutung, Vernichtung: Jüdische Häftlinge im System der Konzentrationslager," in *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945*, ed. Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2004), pp. 64–90; Sybil Milton, "Die Konzentrationslager der dreissiger Jahre im Bild der in- und ausländischen Presse," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1, *Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), pp. 135–147; Ulrike Puvogel et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2 vols. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199; Martin Schumacher, ed., *M.d.R., die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: politische Verfolgung, Emigration und Ausbürgerung 1933–1945; Eine biographische Dokumentation; Mit einem Forschungsbericht zur Verfolgung deutscher und ausländischer Parlamentarier im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftsbereich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994); Torsten Seela, *Bücher und Bibliotheken in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern: Das gedruckte Wort im antifaschistischen Widerstand der Häftlinge* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1992); Lawrence D. Stokes, "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27:4 (1979): 570–625; Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin; 1918–1945* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1984); Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991); Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and Lothar Wieland, *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen II und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1992).

Primary sources for the early camps are scattered in numerous local and regional archives, but several major collections stand out: the BA-BL; the SAPMO-DDR, which contains many RMdI and early camp documents; the BHStA-(M), which not only holds Dachau-related records but also RMdI documents; the BA-K, especially NS4/Buchenwald, which holds some Sachsenburg records; the NHStA-H, which contains the records for the Moringen men's and women's camps; the ITS Bad Arolsen, whose records will soon be open to scholars, maintains massive documentation on Dachau, Esterwegen, Lichtenburg, and Sachsenburg; the NStA-Os, which has numerous records from the Papenburg complex; and the SHStA-(D), which is the starting point for the Saxon camps. A published documentary collection is Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). For Papenburg, an excellent collection is Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). For published laws, see *RGBl* (February 4; February 28; November 27, 1933), Teil I, pp. 35, 83, 995–999, portions of which are reproduced in Martin Hirsch, Diemut Majer, and Jürgen Meinck, eds., *Recht, Verwaltung und Justiz im Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Schriften, Gesetze und Gerichtsentscheidungen von 1933 bis 1945* (Cologne: Bund Verlag, 1984). For a Schutzhaft apologia, see Otto Geigenmüller, *Die politische Schutzhaft im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Würzburg: Verlag Paul Scheiner, 1937). Some early camps material, especially in connection with the quashed Hohnstein verdicts, is published in *Trials of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnburg, Germany: International Military Tribunal, 1948) and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Nürnburg, Germany: International Military Tribunal, 1947). My estimate of East German defendants comes from the trial database found at the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* Web site, http://www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv/index.htm. The Hohnstein trials are numbered 1Ks35/46 (LG Dresden); StKs26/49 (LG Dresden); StKs37/49 1.gr.20/49 (LG Dresden); StKs64/49 2.gr.56/49 (LG Dresden); StKs26/49 1.gr.111/48 (LG Dresden); StKs861/50 (LG Chemnitz); and StKs2043/50 (LG Chemnitz). Not all have been published thus far, and StKs26/49 is reported lost. See C.F. Rüter with L. Hekelaar Gombert and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung Ostdeutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistische Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press; Munich: K.G. Saur, 2004). The KPD and SPD exile press produced more or less accurate camp lists: *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland; Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Editions du Carrefour, 1936); World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933). The clusters of detention sites are graphically illustrated in an overview map (*Übersichtskarte*) published in a KPD *Tarnschrift* (a disguised anti-Nazi publication) that circulated during the Berlin Olympics; see Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936); SAPMO-BA, ed., *Tarnschriften 1933*

bis 1945 (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1996), ref. 0495. Idealized and tendentious photographic evidence of Papenburg under the Justice Ministry and SA may be found in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H). An early listing of the deaths at Dachau may be found in Paul Husarek, ed., *Die Toten von Dachau: Deutsche und Österreicher; Ein Gedenk- und Nachschlagewerk* (Munich: Generalanwaltschaft für die Wiedergutmachung, 1948). For early camp songs at Sachsenhausen, see Günter Morsch and Inge Lammel, eds., *Sachsenhausen-Liederbuch: Originalwiedergabe eines illegalen Häftlingsliederbuches aus dem Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1995). Unpublished prisoner testimonies start with the sizable collection in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, Osobyi Archive (Moscow) Records, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933. Unpublished Jewish testimonies may be found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts. The GAZJ contains numerous Jehovah's Witness testimonies from the early camps. The most important published testimony collection is *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). This collection consists of Jewish and non-Jewish testimonies by former SPD prisoners. For the KPD, the best collection is Kurt Bürger, comp., *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow and Leningrad: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934). Another useful compilation that includes Jehovah's Witnesses' testimonies is URF, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung*; *Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936). For the camps after 1934, fascinating accounts are found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980). Published accounts by prisoners, visitors, and perpetrators useful for this essay are: Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*; foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), repr. in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), pp. 119–167; Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980); Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission: 1937–1939* (1960; repr., Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980); Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zurich: Interverlag AG, 1949); Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratische und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel: Prometheus-Verlag, 1934); Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941); Karl Ibach, *Kemna: Wuppertaler Konzentrationslager 1933–34* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1981); Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, *"Welt vorbei:" Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999); Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935); Irmgard Litten, *Beyond Tears*, preface by W. Arnold-Forster (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1940); Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935); Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt et al. (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994); Jules Auguste Sauerwein, *30 Ans à la une* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962); Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr: 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969); Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager [von SA-Sturmbannfuehrer Schaefer, Standarte 208, Lagerkommandant]* (Berlin: Buch- und Tiefdruckgesellschaft mbH., 1934); and Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager geflüchteten*, preface by Heinrich Mann (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Press accounts are essential for examining the early camps. Aside from the Nazis' official *VB*, important publications include *ASfM*, *DF*, *DNW*, *GZ*, *MG*, *NV*, *PT*, and *VZ*.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutze des deutschen Volkes," *RGBl* (February 4, 1933), Teil I, p. 35.

2. "Die neue Notverordnung: Endlich ein Anfang zur Vernichtung der roten Mordbanditentums; Todesstrafe für Menschentötung—Zuchthaus für schwere Körperverletzung—Sondergerichte in den bedrohten Gebieten," *VB*, August 11, 1932.

3. "Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat," *RGBl* (February 28, 1933), Teil I, p. 83.

4. Jane Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6," in *Nazism, War and Genocide: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Noakes*, ed. Neil Gregor (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. 22–41, 30.

5. *VZ*, February 28, 1933, cited in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991), p. 97; and Irmgard Litten, *Beyond Tears*, preface by W. Arnold-Forster (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1940).

6. "Gesetz gegen gefährliche Gewohnheitsverbrecher und über Massregeln der Sicherung und Besserung," *RGBl* (November 27, 1933), Teil I, pp. 995–999.

7. Quotations from Otto Geigenmüller, *Die politische Schutzhaft im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Würzburg: Verlag Paul Scheiner, 1937), p. 60.

8. Robert Gellately, "The Prerogatives of Confinement in Germany, 1933–1945: 'Protective Custody' and Other Police Strategies," in *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1950*, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (New York: Cambridge University Press; Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 191–211, especially 203, 207, 209.

9. Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6," p. 23; Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 107; "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, September 27, 1933.

10. *BV*, March 13, 1933; March 23, 1933; June 28, 1933.

11. Übersichtskarte in Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p.;

SAPMO-BA, ed., *Tarnschriften 1933 bis 1945* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1996), ref. 0495.

12. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 117–120, 143.

13. Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, quoted in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57, 30.

14. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 374.

15. *NZ*, September 13, 1933, as cited in Lothar Wieland, *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen II und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1992), p. 62.

16. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zurich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 190.

17. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 43–44.

18. Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gleich, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager im Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkellern 1933/34," *Berlin-Forschung* 2 (1987): 141–178; Hans Dammert testimony, n.d., in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, Osobyi Archive (Moscow) Records, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, 2; hereafter 1367/2/33.

19. Kantor, "10 Monate in Görings Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern," in *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, comp. Kurt Bürger (Moscow and Leningrad: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), p. 13; Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 135.

20. On Papestrasse, Kantor, "10 Monate in Görings Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern," Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 17.

21. RMdI Nr. 25708, July 27, 1933, in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, Film 14929, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 134.

22. Daluege, PrMdI, June 7, 1933, in NWStA-M Reg. Arnsberg I PA 633, as cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 73.

23. For the division of command at Moringen, see Haus- und Tagesordnungen, NHStA-H, Hann. 180 Hannover 752, 1582–1585, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung:' Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 120.

24. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, p. 191.

25. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück (Eggers), Nr. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, in NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 502, Zg. Nr. 11/63, gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok. Nr. B/1.11a, in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), pp. 59–61.

26. Polizeimajor Gümbel to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück Eggers, November 15, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 201-204, No. 5/66, No. 18, Gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok. No. B/1.61, in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, p. 64; Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 191–194.

27. Göring Erlass, March 11, 1934, NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 201-204, Zg. No. 5/66, No., 18, Gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok. No. B/1.68, in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 65–66.

28. Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons*, p. 107; on the continuation of the Emsland plan under the Justice Ministry, see Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *DJ* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732–734; for photographic evidence, see Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

29. *MNN*, March 20, 1933, cited in Stanislav Zámečnik, "Das frühe Konzentrationslager Dachau," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), p. 13; *VB*, March 21, 1933, cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 124.

30. Paul Husarek, ed., *Die Toten von Dachau: Deutsche und Österreicher; Ein Gedank- und Nachschlagewerk* (Munich: Generalanwaltschaft für die Wiedergutmachung, 1948), pp. 21–28.

31. For the Dachau order, 778-PS, *NCA*, III: 550–555; at Esterwegen, Theodor Eicke, "Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangenen-Barackenlager," August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in USHMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, Osobyi Archive, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91, pp. 1–10; compare with the published order in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 85–89; for Dachau's Prügelbock, Wenzel Rubner, "Dachau im Sommer, 1933," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 61; for Sachsenburg, Hugo Gräf, "Prügelstrafe," *DNW*, March 19, 1936, pp. 353–358.

32. RMdI, August 1, 1934, in BHStA-(M), MA 106299, 23, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 203, table 22.

33. RMdI/PrMdI, III A 3312 H-23 II/35, Betr.: Fortfall der Reichszuschüsse für Schutzhäftlinge, March 5, 1936, in BHStA-(M) 67403, MA 106300, 90, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 197.

34. Himmler to RMJ, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 172–173.

35. P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), Paul Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 1–7, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58.

36. Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 37–39, 43.

37. "The Secret Terror," *MG*, March 13, 1933; "Growing Reports of a Nazi Terror," *MG*, March 13, 1933; "The Nazi Terror Goes On," *MG*, March 16, 1933; "German Ambassador and the Nazi Terror," *MG*, March 23, 1933.

38. "Notwehr! Die neue Hassewelle [*sic*] gegen Deutschland; Wird die ausländische Greuelpropaganda abgestoppt?" *BT*, March 29, 1933; Johann Baptist Dietrich [JBD], "Ultimatum! Zur Abwehr der Greuelpropaganda," *BT*, March 30, 1933.

39. Jules Auguste Sauerwein, *30 Ans à la une* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962), pp. 206–208; Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across*

Barriers, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941), pp. 89–92; Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission: 1937–1939* (1960; repr., Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980), pp. 55–62.

40. Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 205.

41. Martin Schumacher, ed., *M.d.R., die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Politische Verfolgung, Emigration und Ausbürgerung 1933–1945; Eine biographische Dokumentation; Mit einem Forschungsbericht zur Verfolgung deutscher und ausländischer Parlamentarier im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftsbereich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), p. 33, table 6, "MdR (1919–1933): Haft 1933–1945."

42. "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5, 1934.

43. "Oranienburg: Jetzt mit SA gefüllt," *DF*, July 11, 1934.

44. Sächsisches Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Nr. 4842, summarizing report from Landeskriminalamt, April 12, 1933, SHStA-(D), cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 101.

45. Entries for June 24, August 1, September 25, 1933, in Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 204–206, 279, 317.

46. Ministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda to RMdI, in BA, R43 II 561, pp. 37–38; BHStA-(M), Reichsstatthalter 384, July 12, 1933; and Runderlass des RMdI, "Bekämpfung des öffentlichen Bettelns," *RmblV*, all cited in Wolfgang Ayass, *"Asoziale" im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), pp. 20, 22.

47. "Das erste Konzentrationslager für Bettler in Deutschland," *VB*, Norddeutsche-Ausg., October 4, 1933.

48. Vermerk der Lagerführers T[enhaaf] und Erwiderung Böhmckers, September 20, 1933, in LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7, cited in Lawrence D. Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin; 1918–1945* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1984), p. 555.

49. Fritz Ecker, "Die Hölle Dachau: Betrachtungen eines Gemarteten [*sic*] nach sieben Monaten Dachau," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 51.

50. For the overall estimate of deaths, see Martin Broszat and Norbert Frei, eds., *Das Dritte Reich: Ursprünge, Ereignisse, Wirkungen* (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz Freiburg, 1983), p. 93; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 294n.1254.

51. For Börgermoor, see Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), p. 133; Rubner, "Dachau im Sommer, 1933," p. 64; Eicke, "Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangenen-Barackenlager," August 1, 1934.

52. Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York: Berkley Publishing Corp., 1984), pp. 29–39.

53. Jürgen Matthäus, "Verfolgung, Ausbeutung, Vernichtung: Jüdische Häftlinge im System der Konzentrationslager," in *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945*, ed. Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2004), pp. 64–90, 67.

54. Max Tabaschnik, "Königstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, pp. 94–112; and his son's report, Werner Tabaschnik, "Ein Kind erzählt vom Dritten Reich," in ibid., pp. 113–116.

55. "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264.

56. Anon. Jewish account in P III h. No. 684 (Esterwegen), August 1936, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Reel 9.

57. On the political rift, SPD accounts by Ecker, "Die Hölle Dachau," pp. 46–47; and Willi Harder, "Sonnenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 132; for KPD, see Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratische und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel: Prometheus-Verlag, 1934), p. 27.

58. *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948) and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), excerpted in Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 293–294.

59. For Börgermoor, see Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr: 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969), p. 42; and Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 238–239, 242; on Esterwegen III, see Franz Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140-145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 280; for Sachsenburg, see "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933.

60. Anon. testimony of Kislau prisoner, n.d., in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, 1367/2/33, p. 10.

61. NHStA-H, Hann. 180 Hannover 752, 1602, cited in Hans Hesse with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April-November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), p. 41.

62. Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), pp. 86–87; Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, *"Welt vorbei:" Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999), p. 29.

63. "Esterwegen," "Grüne Kolonnen," "Lichtenburger Lied," "Moorlied," "Sachsenhausenlied" (unofficial), "Sachsenhausener Lagerlied" (official), and "Wir sind [die] Moorsoldaten," reproduced in Günter Morsch and Inge Lammel, eds., *Sachsenhausen-Liederbuch: Originalwiedergabe eines illegalen Häftlingsliederbuches aus dem Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1995), n.p.

64. 785-PS, Franz Gürtner, Unsigned Memorandum for Adolf Hitler on Hohnstein Proceeding (n.d.), *TMWC*, 26: 307–321.

65. Ernst Fraenkel, *Der Doppelstaat*, ed. with intro. by Alexander von Brünneck (1940; repr., Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), p. 49 (introduction).

66. RMJ, Diensttagebuch, November 13, 1934, cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: 1933–1940; Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1988), p. 365; on the Ossietzky case, see Doc. D 455, "Bericht des Lagerarztes von Esterwegen, 27.8.1934"; Doc. D 504, "Amtsarztliches Gutachten des Kreisarzten von Meppen 632 im Auftrag der Staatspolizei," July 24, 1935; Doc. D 581, Eicke to RFSS, April 3, 1936; D 590, Heydrich to Göring,

May 22, 1936, all reproduced in Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt et al. (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), pp. 577–578, 631–632, 718, 725–727; "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June 28, 1935.

67. *TMWC*, 1:83, 274.

68. NHStA-H 171 Hildesheim No. 39367, Entnazifierungsakte Hugo Krack, cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002), p. 107.

69. Karl Ibach, *Kemna: Wuppertaler Konzentrationslager 1933–34* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1981), pp. 84–129.

70. Gustav Sorge's Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, Web site, http://www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv/index.htm, 15: 415, 418–420; Bernhard Rakers' Urteil, 4 Ks 2/52, excerpted in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 97–98; Confirmation of Death Sentence for Albert Lütkemeyer, June 26, 1947, and Defendant Deposition, November 4, 1946, in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, PRO WO 235/301, USHMMA, RG 59.016 M, Reel 9, Lütkemeyer file, Neuengamme 8 Case, 6, p. 185.

71. See, for example, the Third Hohnstein Process, LG Dresden StKs 64/49 2.gr.56/49, against Johann Felix Sikora and 31 Others, in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 7:335–392.

AHRENSBÖK-HOLSTENDORF

On October 3, 1933, a concentration camp was opened in the community of Ahrensbök, located in the territory of Lübeck, in the Free State of Oldenburg. The concentration camp was set up to relieve the overcrowded prisons of Eutin and Bad Schwartau, which had been turned into "protective custody" camps (Eutin, since March 1933; Bad Schwartau, since June 1933). The concentration camp was situated in the management building (erected in 1883) of an old sugar mill in the village of Holstendorf.[1] The building, located on the periphery of the community center, had been the headquarters of the chemical factory Dr. C. Christ AG since 1908. On November 1, 1932, it was leased by the state government, which turned it into a camp for the Voluntary Labor Service (FAD).[2] The concentration camp, established by the Regierungspräsident and senior SA leader Johann Heinrich Böhmcker, was to hold between 50 and 70 protective custody prisoners. The intent was to use these prisoners to continue the FAD's uncompleted road project.[3] In December 1933, the concentration camp building in Holstendorf was turned into a state high school, and the prisoners were moved to a closed-down shoe factory in the center of Ahrensbök at 15 Plöner Strasse.[4] From 1936, the building became the main office of the Genossenschafts-Flachsröste GmbH. This cooperative supported the Nazis' autarky efforts by replacing the production of cotton with that of linen.[5] Until the end of the war, 164 forced laborers[6] were employed here.

Between October 3, 1933, and the dissolution of the concentration camp on May 9, 1934, at least 94 prisoners, including 12 civilians from Ahrensbök, were kept in protective custody at the Ahrensbök concentration camp. The majority (45) admitted to being members of the German Communist Party (KPD) or were members of the Fighting League against Fascism. Among the prisoners were 13 members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) but also several prominent opponents of the so-called coordination policy (*Gleichschaltung*) from the German National People's Party (DNVP). Even Böhmcker's opponents from within the party were taken to the concentration camp. In addition, there were senior (police) officials, decent state administrators, who did not comply with the arbitrary directions of the Nazi leadership.[7] The second largest group of protective custody prisoners were the "undesirables," and from late September 1933, those designated work shy, asocials, and the beggars in this part of the state were subject to special persecution.[8]

There were a number of special characteristics of this early concentration camp. To begin with, the immediate cause for the establishment of the Ahrensbök concentration camp at the beginning of October 1933 was the arrest of the people whom the Nazis considered enemies of the community. Also, the establishment of the concentration camp was the result of the Regierungspräsident's personal initiative. Among other things, it served as a place for the creation of work for unemployed SA men whom Böhmcker appointed as auxiliary police. In order to maintain this "private" army, he arranged for the arrest of wealthy alleged opponents of the Nazi regime. When, after their release, some of the prisoners took action to recover improper fines, the head of the Oldenburg Gestapo was forced to admonish Böhmcker, and to tell him that protective custody involved security measures, not the imposition of penalties.[9] In order to use protective custody prisoners as forced laborers and to reduce the costs of the concentration camp, Böhmcker bypassed legal regulations. As a government lawyer informed him on March 19, 1933, neither the Oldenburg Compulsory Law of May 10, 1926, nor the Reich Law for the Imposition of Protective Custody of December 4, 1916, nor the Reich Emergency Decrees allowed for the use of those taken into protective custody for "hostile acts against the state" as forced laborers. To resolve this issue, Böhmcker issued wide-ranging regulations dealing with the use of protective custody prisoners in the Lübeck administrative area. "For health and moral reasons" they were to be engaged in "light cultivation work"—consisting of eight hours of work with regular rations.[10]

Böhmcker decided on Holstendorf because here the prisoners could continue the FAD project. The FAD project had begun in November 1932 as a government project run by the youth section of the SPD's militia organization, the Reichsbanner, and then continued as an SA project in April 1933 but had not been completed yet. The Ahrensbök concentration camp thus became a kind of forced labor camp. In contrast to other early concentration camps, which did not engage in regulated labor employment, the Ahrensbök prisoners were compelled to perform work, which was paid for by the Reich government.

The account for protective custody costs in the ledger at the Eutin State Treasury Department lists the following deposits: on December 22, 1933, compensation from the Reich of 840 Reichsmark (RM); and a supplementary grant on July 10, 1935, of 1,709.99 RM.[11] In addition, payments were made by local communities for the completed roadwork. By "supplementary recognition of the district management of the Labor Service District Nordmark," the prisoners of the "Concentration Camp, Section Ahrensbök" (according to the postmark of camp commandant Theodor Christian Tenhaaf) were registered as participants in the FAD from October 1933.[12] The Lübeck District of the Free State of Oldenburg, which did not even have a population of 50,000, proved to be a testing ground in the persecution of those designated as opponents of the state system long before the Nazis' assumption of power in the Reich, for, on May 29, 1932, the voters had already brought SA-Oberführer Böhmcker to power by electing him Regierungspräsident. His reign of terror utilized the preliminary work done by democratically controlled state organs such as the judiciary and the police, which long before 1933 had collected information on political opponents, especially left-wing groups.[13] Within a year, at least 345 inhabitants of the district, including 94 from Ahrensbök and Holstendorf, were taken into protective custody, largely due to activities considered hostile to the state.

As a last point it should be noted that no prisoners died in the Ahrensbök concentration camp. Mistreatment of prisoners

did occur, however. Former concentration camp prisoners testified about them, among other occasions, at the trials of the camp commandant, Tenhaaf, and members of the guard force, which took place in 1949–1950 before the Lübeck regional court. Tenhaaf was sentenced to three years and six months in a penitentiary.[14]

SOURCES In this essay the author relies heavily on the earlier study of Lawrence D. Stokes, "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager. Zur Geschichte eines 'wilden' Konzentrationslagers," in *VfZ*, Jg. 27 (1979): 570–625. Stokes undertook a more detailed study in *Kleinstadt und Nationalismus. Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin 1918–1933* (Neumünster, 1984). In Jörg Wollenberg, *Ahrensbök, eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus. Konzentrationslager—Zwangsarbeit—Todesmarsch* (Bremen, 2000), with contributions by Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes, and "*Unsere Schule war ein KZ.*" *Dokumente zu Arbeitsdienst, Konzentrationslager und Schule in Ahrensbök, 1939–1945* (Bremen, 2001), Stokes was refined. References to Ahrensbök concentration camp can be found in Jürgen Brather, *Ahrensbök in der Zeit von 1919–1945* (Lübeck, 1998).

Archival material on protective custody and the Ahrensbök concentration camp is kept in the LA-Sch-H, chiefly in sections 260, 352, and 355. Section 352 contains material relating to the trials of the concentration camp guards. Important files dealing with the problem of labor employment and the establishment of the auxiliary police (Best. 36, Nr. 2822; 136, Nr. 18630) are kept in the NStO in Oldenburg. (Ahrensbök became part of Prussia in 1937.) In the StA-Br are files on the regulations, decrees, and ordinances of the Free State of Oldenburg from 1933 to 1945 (4.65/332). In the uncataloged ASt-Ah are the files of the Eutin chairman of the regional government and of the mayor, which contain details on the leasing and reconstruction of the concentration camp building.

Jörg Wollenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 355, Nr. 266, p. 41.
2. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 260, Nr. 17893.
3. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 260, Nr. 17890.
4. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 309, Nr. 23048.
5. See Jürgen Brather, *Ahrensbök in der Zeit von 1919–1945* (Lübeck, 1998), 2: 362ff.
6. For Card Index for foreigners kept by the ASt-Ah, see Norbert Fick, "Ausländische Zivilarbeiter und Kriegsgefangene im Arbeitseinsatz in Ahrensbök," in Jörg Wollenberg, "*Unsere Schule war ein KZ.*" *Dokumente zu Arbeitsdienst, Konzentrationslager und Schule in Ahrensbök, 1939–1945* (Bremen, 2001), p. 145.
7. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 355, Nr. 265–267 (Prison Register).
8. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 260, Nr. 17628; and press reports in the *AFL*, 16.9/21.9/1.10.1933.
9. ASt-Eu, Nr. 3482; cf. *AFL*, Nr. 174, 28.7.1933.
10. Letter to the Schwartau Police, 17.6.1933 (NStA-Ol, Best. 205, Nr. 631).
11. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 260, Nr. 1704.
12. LA-Sch-H, 260, Nr. 17893.
13. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 309, Nr. 22996 (Assembly of left-wing and right-wing organizations from 20.8.1931–1.9.1932).
14. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 352, Nr. 357.

ALT DABER

On April 28, 1933, the SA-Standarte 39 converted a children's home at Alt Daber, in the municipality of Wittstock, Brandenburg, into an early concentration camp. Under commander SA-Sturmbannführer Koch, the guards consisted of SA-Sturmbann II/39. In early May, Alt Daber held 36 detainees who were dispatched to agricultural and forestry details. Alt Daber was disbanded on July 11, 1933, and its prisoners transferred to the huge early concentration camp at Oranienburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); a listing can also be found in "Änderung und Ergänzung des Verzeichnisses der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz (1982), 1:1572. The Alt Daber early camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: BPB, 1999).

Two primary sources (files 1156 and 1183) for this camp can be found in the BLHA-(B), Bestände Brandenburg, Rep. 2 A, Regierung Potsdam, I Pol.

Joseph Robert White

ALTENBERG

Starting in April 1933, the district court prison in Altenberg, Saxony, served as an early "protective custody" camp. On April 12 it held 106 prisoners under SA guard.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland and in Schmeitzner, the only primary source mentioning the Altenberg early camp appears in the SHStA-(D), Aussenministerium, Nr. 4842, correspondence between the Reichsministeriums des Inneren and the Sächsische Landeskriminalamt.

Joseph Robert White

ANKENBUCK

Baden's second concentration camp was established on land belonging to the former royal estate of Ankenbuck, located in the Brigach valley between Bad Dürrheim and Villingen in the Black Forest.[1] Ankenbuck was acquired in 1884 by the so-called State Association for Workers' Colonies (Landesverein für Arbeiterkolonien), which was a private organization within the Inner Mission of the Protestant Church of Baden. The aim of the association, which counted relatives of the grand duke among its members, was to improve the lives of "beggars, tramps, and released prisoners, fit for work but alienated from it." Between 1884 and 1919, Ankenbuck annually took in between 100 and 263 men. However, by the time of the Weimar Republic the strict house rules at the colony were increasingly unacceptable to the inmates, and as a result the number of "colonists" fell dramatically during this period. In 1920, therefore, the executive committee of the Landesverein decided to lease Ankenbuck to the Baden Administration of Justice, which converted it to some sort of prison. In 1929 the state withdrew its support, and the "working colony" seemed to be at an end. However, it was saved from closing because of the social consequences of the world economic crisis, which created a dramatic increase in the number of eligible inmates.

When in March 1933 the Ministry of Interior proposed the establishment of a "protective custody" camp for political prisoners at Ankenbuck, the executive committee did not raise any objections. The committee was unable to see a qualitative difference between Ankenbuck's proposed use and its previous use in the 1920s and in fact welcomed the prospect of receiving additional laborers. The final agreement reached with the National Socialist state on April 29, 1933, was to their great satisfaction, as it guaranteed the continued existence of the working colony.

Ankenbuck thus became a rare example of a concentration camp functioning from within an institution of the Protestant Church. The double use of Ankenbuck as a concentration camp and as a working colony is not the only parallel with Baden's first camp, Kislau. Both were subordinated to the Ministry of Interior and, moreover, were at different times commanded by the same person, Franz Konstantin Mohr. Mohr, a former police captain who had started his career with the German colonial troops, first became the camp commander at Ankenbuck on May 4, 1933, and then only a month later moved to become commander at Kislau. At Ankenbuck, as at Kislau, Mohr's relationship with the SA guards was tense, and prisoners at Ankenbuck reported that he had the guards line up for inspection nearly as often as he did the camp inmates. Due to Mohr's "personal regime," maltreatment was rare; one prisoner suffering from heart disease was even exempted from daily roll calls. This situation changed fundamentally under his successor, Police Captain Biniossek, who was in turn replaced in October by party careerist SS-Standartenführer Hans Helwig. Helwig remained in command until the concentration camp was closed in March 1934.

The arrival of the first 25 political prisoners on May 11, 1933, was documented in a small notice in South Baden's National Socialist pamphlet *Der Allemanne*. It read: "15 protective custody prisoners from Freiburg together with 10 from Lörrach have been brought to the concentration camp at Ankenbuck."[2] Another 64 prisoners came mostly from the Lake Constance region, the majority of whom were Communists. In addition, Gauleiter Robert Wagner had used the panic shooting of two policemen by former Social Democrat Member of Parliament Christian Nussbaum as an opportunity to act against political adversaries in general. This led to numerous arrests, especially among the political Left, and far exceeded Ankenbuck's maximum capacity of 100 prisoners. Most of those arrested were therefore transported to the Heuberg camp at Württemberg. However, some of South Baden's prominent political opponents were at least temporarily imprisoned at Ankenbuck. Among them were the Social Democrats Stefan Meier (who was to die at Mauthausen in 1944) and Philipp Martzloff, as well as Communist Georg Lechleiter who after his release became editor of the illegal paper *Der Vorbote*. Lechleiter's resistance was later betrayed to the Gestapo. He was condemned by the People's Court (Volksgerichtshof) and executed in September 1942. Another Ankenbuck prisoner was Communist and social scientist Karl August Wittfogel, who after emigrating to Britain published his experiences, although he only reports on his imprisonment in the Esterwegen camp complex.

Ankenbuck's exclusively political prisoners had to do garden, farm, or handicraft work inside the grounds of the former estate. They also were engaged in improvement projects outside the camp, for example, road paving, clearing ditches, or even regulating a nearby stream. As guards were equipped with a carbine, pistol, and truncheon, escape was a risky business. The only documented attempt, by the painter Joachim Karl from Freiburg in June 1933, failed and resulted in the number of guards being increased from 13 to 25.

The usual working day at Ankenbuck began at 7:15 A.M. and ended at 6:30 P.M.

Information on medical care, the frequency of letter exchanges, or even visits by relatives or priests is not available, nor is it clear whether any local companies profited from prisoners' work.

On June 23, 1933, the former Communist member of the Freiburg Town Council, Kurt Hilbig, organized the only documented political demonstration by Ankenbuck inmates. At mealtime, Hilbig informed inmates about the death of Klara Zetkin and asked them to stand for a minute's silence to honor her. Although guards had not been in the room, Hilbig's role in this demonstration was soon known by the new camp commander, Biniossek, who had Hilbig beaten in the dormitory by three of the camp guards. Hilbig then had to spend a fortnight in a cell in the local Villingen prison.

In December 1933, a large number of prisoners, 34 in all, were released. Soon after, 40 to 50 prisoners from the Heuberg camp, which had been closed down, came to the South

Baden concentration camp. On March 16, 1934, Ankenbuck's remaining inmates were either sent home or transferred to Kislau. From then until the beginning of World War II, Ankenbuck once again functioned as a working colony specializing in the care of released criminals. As their number was very low, the estate was also used for warehousing by the Organisation Todt (OT) during the war. In 1946, Ankenbuck was sold to the town of Villingen, which turned it into a model farm. In the 1970s, Ankenbuck was acquired by the Federal Republic and has since become privately owned.[3] Nothing remains at Ankenbuck that suggests its previous use as a concentration camp, nor is there any evidence that former Ankenbuck personnel have ever been brought to court. It is only documented that the first camp commander, Franz Konstantin Mohr, underwent a denazification trial.

SOURCES The history of Ankenbuck has been studied in detail by Manfred Bosch, "Von der Gemeinnützigkeit zum Unrecht: Die Arbeiterkolonie Ankenbuck—Ein Paradigma," *Allmende* 3 (1983): 11–31, and "Arbeiterkolonie Ankenbuck 1883–1933: Eine Anstalt zwischen Gemeinnützigkeit und Unrecht," *Almanach Schwarzwald-Baar-Kreis* 7 (1983). Ursula Krause-Schmitt's article on Ankenbuck in Krause-Schmitt et al., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Baden-Württemberg I: Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 52–56, is based on Bosch's work. *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002), provides a small chapter by Angela Borgstedt on the Ankenbuck camp.

The source material on Ankenbuck is rather weak, as all the records of the Baden Ministry of the Interior were destroyed at the end of the war. The GLA-K keeps source fragments in the record group of the Attorney General (GLA-K, 309, Zug. 1987/54). Material of the Landesverein für Arbeiterkolonien is deposited at the ASt-Fr (V 52/1) as well as documents of the district administration of Villingen (Zug. 1979/82, Nr. 1267, 2501–2511, 2284).

Angela Borgstedt

NOTES

1. Sometimes also written "Ankenbuk"; but as the letterhead of the association has it "Ankenbuck," this last version seems to be correct. GLA-K, 309, Zug. 1987/54, Nr. 570.
2. *DA*, May 11, 1933, p. 3.
3. Lydia Warrle, *Bad Dürrheim: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Sigmaringen, 1990), p. 262.

ANRATH BEI KREFELD

In early April 1933, the Düsseldorf branch of the Prussian State Police formed a men's "protective custody" camp inside the penal institution at Anrath bei Krefeld, Rhineland Province, Prussia.[1] Prussian Justice Ministry officials and possibly SA served as guards. Together with other Rhineland prisons such as Köln Klingelpütz, the Anrath camp's establishment came in response to the rapid overflow of ad hoc detention facilities in the Düsseldorf area after the March 5, 1933 election. Housed in the empty women's ward, the 700 to 1,000 detainees were primarily Communists and a few Socialists from the Ruhr and Rhineland. Among them were Social Democrat Fritz Strothmann and Communist Willi Dickhut. Arrested on March 1, 1933, Dickhut had already spent four weeks in detention at the Solingen police prison, where he was tortured before being transferred to Anrath.[2]

Anrath was hardly a secure facility. The detainees were sometimes unruly, as, for example, when they chanted leftist harangues on May Day in 1933. To the slogan "Long live the Revolutionary Proletariat!" Dickhut remembered one warder shouting, "Never under fascism!" Repeated singing of "The Internationale" prompted the tightening of security measures. Visitors also smuggled contraband into the camp. By this method, Dickhut obtained the Marxist publication *Von Kanton bis Shanghai*, *1926–1927* (From Canton to Shanghai), disguised under a false cover.[3]

On July 28, 1933, Prussian Gestapa Chief Rudolf Diels ordered a three-day denial of noon rations for Communist detainees, which was particularly onerous for those at Anrath, who were about to embark for the Emsland camp complex. Diels's order came in retaliation for the vandalization of the Hindenburg Oak (*Hindenburg-Eiche*) at Berlin's Tempelhof Field in June 1933. Adolf Hitler dedicated the tree in the Reich president's honor during the Nazi May Day festivities.[4] On August 1, 1933, Anrath prisoners entrained for the new Prussian "State Concentration Camp" at Papenburg-Börgermoor.[5] The Schupo (Municipal Police) transferred them to SS custody at the Dörpen railway station, over 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Börgermoor. The Anrath camp's closure was part of the consolidation of Prussian concentration camps in the summer and fall of 1933.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work about the early concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). On the reorganization of Prussian camps, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: H. Boldt, 1991).

Primary documentation about Anrath bei Krefeld begins with an entry in the ITS list of German prisons and concentration camps: Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:116. An important testimony about the protective custody camp is Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979). Although Drobisch and Wieland claim that there were SA guards at Anrath, Dickhut mentioned only Justice Ministry officials. On the Hindenburg Oak, a contemporary report is available in *NV*, August 6, 1933. Rudolf Diels did not reflect on his retaliatory order in his memoirs, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). For information on Anrath prison after the

early camp, a brief report is available in Zentral Wuppertal Komitee, *Mitteilungen über den Gestapo- und Justizterror in Westdeutschland und den Kampf zur Befreiung der Eingekerkerten und der Hilfe für ihre Familien* (Amsterdam, 1936). It is reproduced as *Testaments of the Holocaust*, Part 1, Series 2, Reel 153, Opposition, Resistance, Terror, 1934–August 1941.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979), pp. 189–190.
2. Ibid., pp. 185–190.
3. Ibid., p. 191; in "Asiaticus," in *Von Kanton bis Shanghai, 1926–1927* (Vienna: Agis, 1928), available at the Library of Congress.
4. "Landesvater Hindenburg: Wegen einer abgesägten Eiche lässt er Tausende drei Tage hungern," *NV*, August 6, 1933.
5. Dickhut, *So war's damals*, p. 191.

BAD SULZA

After the closing of the Nohra concentration camp on April 12, 1933, it became ever more urgent to establish a new concentration camp in Thüringen. The reason for this was the increasing political opposition from workers' organizations.

At the end of October, the choice was made for a camp in the small sanatorium town of Bad Sulza, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from the state capital Weimar. The site chosen was a former hotel built in 1864, which operated as such until 1914. During World War I, the hotel functioned as a hospital. After that, various small businesses operated from it. Several tenants occupied the front section of the building. To the rear was a courtyard, enclosed by two two-story buildings on the longitudinal side and a two-story building on the lateral axis.



Clandestine photograph of the Bad Sulza early camp, 1935.
COURTESY OF UDO WOHLFELD

The prison camp was located in the rear section of the first floor. In the side wings there were three dormitories, each with approximately 45 sleeping places. In the rear building on the lateral axis was a day room with its own exit to the roll-call square. The rooms for the prisoners were equipped with long, rough wooden tables and with similar benches. The somewhat larger dormitory had high bunk beds, with three bunks, each with a horse's blanket and straw sack. The washroom had long iron tubs and cold water. Similarly, the toilet was for mass use. In the left wing of the second floor, there were three rooms, each of 12 square meters (129 square feet), which could hold a maximum of 12 women.

A total of 121 men were sent to Bad Sulza between November 2, 1933, and December 10, 1933. In addition, at least 12 women were interned at the camp.

Until the late summer of 1934, the majority of prisoners were suspected of illegally working for the workers' parties. After that time their number decreased. Many were sentenced to prison terms. From the end of 1934, the prisoners were mostly "whiners and agitators" (*Meckerer und Hetzer*) and so-called economic parasites (*Wirtschaftsschädlinge*). A few members of national associations such as the Stahlhelm, the Jungdeutscher Orden, and the Schwarze Front were held for a short time in "protective custody" in 1934 and 1935. From the spring of 1936 on, the number of prisoners who had been convicted of "planning to commit high treason" increased. Above all, it was mostly Communists who, after their prison terms, were sent to the Bad Sulza concentration camp for protective custody. Beginning in 1935, Jews were brought to the camp for the slightest reason; the same applied to Jehovah's Witnesses. In early March 1937, Thüringen criminals, having been arrested as part of an operation across the Reich, were sent to the camp.

At most, 12 women could be interned in the female section. Until the fall of 1934, the majority of female inmates were incarcerated for political reasons. The youngest inmate, Gisela Worch, daughter of the Social Democratic mayor of Langwiesen, was 16 years old. She had been arrested with her mother in November 1933, and both were brought to Bad Sulza concentration camp. Gisela was released in November 1934. Her mother had committed suicide in October 1934 in the Gräfentonna women's prison.

The women had to work in the kitchen. They had to do the dishes and clean the large cooking pots and the kitchen. They had to help the camp cook. They had to wash clothes and press them. The female section was dissolved on July 1, 1936. The women were sent to Moringen-Solling, the Prussian concentration camp for women.

The prisoners wore civilian clothes or converted jackets of the Bavarian police. Their clothes were marked with yellow stripes that were sewn on the sleeves and the backs.

The camp's history falls into two phases. The first lasted from November 2, 1933, to April 1, 1936. The Thüringen minister of interior was in charge of the camp, and he also

issued the protective custody orders. The camp was financed by the state of Thüringen.

The SA was always present in the prison area. They were there as guards during the night, and the prisoners had to report to the guards. In addition, there were two SA guards who were responsible for the day room. During this period, there were large fluctuations in the prison numbers. They varied from 25 to 120; there was a particularly small number of prisoners in the camp in 1935. The camp command consisted of members of the State Police (Landespolizei); the guards were almost exclusively SA members who had volunteered or had responded to a recruitment campaign.

The second period begins with the takeover of the camp by the SS on April 1, 1936. The SS command consisted of five SS leaders who were permanently based in Bad Sulza. Three of them lived in the camp. The guards were rotated in fortnightly cycles from the Prussian concentration camp at Lichtenburg and the Sachsenburg concentration camp.

The Thüringen Ministry of the Interior assumed the costs of running the camp, including the costs of the command office. The SS guards were paid by the SS. From April 1, 1937, on, the camp came under the control of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) and thereby under the control of Theodor Eicke. The IKL took responsibility for all costs. The number of inmates varied from 100 to 160.

The SS completely withdrew from the prison cells and, as in other concentration camps, introduced a system of prisoner self-administration. In addition, there were room supervisors (*Stubendienst*) and a camp elder (*Lagerälterster*).

The camp commandants were Polizei-Hauptwachtmeister Carl Haubenreisser, from November 2, 1933, to April 1, 1936, and SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer, from April 1, 1936, to July 15, 1937. (Haubenreisser later served with the Criminal Police [Kriminalpolizei] in Prague. The Soviets arrested him in October 1945 and imprisoned him until January 1950. He died in West Germany in 1987. Sauer went on to serve in Sachsenhausen and later as the commandant of Mauthausen and Riga-Kaiserwald. He went missing on May 3, 1945.)

The admissions register has about 1,000 entries with continuous numbering. Some prisoners, however, were incarcerated in Bad Sulza several times. Roughly 850 prisoners were interned in Bad Sulza throughout the history of the camp. Admission numbers were used in everyday camp life. They were not required for mail but were recorded on the discharge papers.

The waiting room, where prisoners waited for the arrival of their nearest relatives, was located on the ground floor. An application for a visitor's pass had to be submitted to the camp commandant. In general, only adults were permitted to visit the prisoners. However, exceptions are known; children accompanied by their mothers were allowed to visit their fathers. There were no predetermined visiting days. The visitors could bring fresh clothes, shoes, and sewing equipment but no food. Letters were handed out once a fortnight and could be sent once a fortnight.

The prisoners had to work in the Bad Sulza quarry in Lanitztal. About half of the prisoners were members of the quarry work detail (Arbeitskommando "Steinbruch") whose two- to three-kilometer (less than two miles) march led them through the town of Bad Sulza. A smaller squad worked at the Kurpark and the salt works. The prisoners maintained facilities and roads. There was a tailor's workshop, a cobbler's workshop, a locksmith's workshop, and office work (*Innendienst*). These squads had only a few prisoners. Prisoners from the camp did not work in factories or for other organizations.

Contracted physicians cared for the Bad Sulza concentration camp inmates. In 1933–1934 it was Dr. Sternberg from Niedertrebra, and in 1934–1937, Dr. Schenk from Bad Sulza. No prisoners died in the camp.

In Bad Sulza, the Nazis introduced a penal system. There was a cellar with no windows where prisoners were held under arrest. In the quarry, the prisoners had to shift stones that weighed hundreds of pounds. For serious infringements there was public whipping; the prisoner was strapped to a trestle and received 25 blows. The SS had brought the trestle from the Lichtenburg concentration camp. The few Jewish prisoners had a particularly bad time. They had to do their work while running and were always punished by means of some sport.

With the increase in militarization and the preparations for war, the Nazis also wanted to secure the home front. The capacities of the concentration camps were increased as part of this process. In southern Germany, the Dachau concentration camp already existed near Munich, and in 1936 the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin was opened. What was missing was a concentration camp in the middle of Germany, so construction was begun on a new concentration camp on the Ettersberg near Weimar—the Buchenwald concentration camp.

The facilities at the Bad Sulza concentration camp were to be used for the new camp. The SS transported the approximately 106 prisoners on July 9, 1937, to the Lichtenburg concentration camp and the camp's equipment to Buchenwald. The work was not done by the prisoners but by the SS. On July 15, 1937, the mayor of Bad Sulza was informed by telephone to turn off the water. The camp closed on that day.

The Buchenwald concentration camp opened on the same day—July 15, 1937. The Bad Sulza prisoners were sent from the Lichtenburg concentration camp to Buchenwald on July 31, 1937, and all put in the same block.

SOURCES The basis for this essay on the Bad Sulza concentration camp is Udo Wohlfeld's book *Das netz. Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen 1933–1937* (Weimar: Eigenverlag Geschichtswerkstatt Weimar/Apolda e.V., 2000). Additional information can be found in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The primary source for the files of the Bad Sulza concentration camp can be found in the THStA-W. Other primary sources are the VdN files from the archive THStA-W, the dependencies of the TStA-R, TStA-M, and THStA-G, and

the BA-B. There are also files in the TStA-Go relating to the state prison Ichterhausen (Landesgefängnis) and in the TStA-M relating to the Untermassfeld Prison. References can also be found in the smaller city archives.

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAMBERG

With the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria, the Wilhelmsplatz State Court Prison in Bamberg, Oberfranken, became a "protective custody" camp.[1] Between March and July 1933, it altogether held more than 140 detainees, of whom at least 42 were released. Wilhelmsplatz was one of at least nine small protective custody camps in northern Bavaria, which included the camps of Bayreuth (St. Georgen), Coburg, Hof an der Saale, and Straubing in Oberfranken, and the camps of Aschaffenburg, Hassenberg bei Neustadt, Hassfurt, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg in Unterfranken (after 1935, Mainfranken). According to press reports, Bamberg detained 62 Bavarian People's Party (BVP) members; at least 42 Communist, Social Democratic, Reichsbanner, and trade union leaders; as many as 7 Jews; 1 Stahlhelm member; 1 Jehovah's Witness; 1 person who defied the regime's dairy pricing scheme; and 1 for reasons unknown.[2] On March 10, the Bamberg Criminal Police arrested 17 Communists and Reichsbanner officials, seizing "on this occasion numerous writings, partly in Russian."[3] By March 22, the Bamberg concentration camp at Wilhelmplatz held 20 detainees, and by March 27, the population doubled to 40.[4] Not every leftist remained in custody: secondary school teacher Fritz Reuss, arrested for harboring Marxist sympathies, won release after his colleagues vouched for his classroom conduct and character.[5] Bamberg also held political prisoners from other towns, including Forchheim, Hassfurt, and Hofheim, who were either in transit to other concentration camps or held as a measure to relieve the overcrowding of small court prisons.

The arrest of Manfred Stoll illustrated early Nazi antisemitic persecution in Bamberg and also how some early detainees sometimes stood trial for political reasons. On April 1, the date of the regime's anti-Jewish boycott, called in retaliation for putative Jewish defamation of German national honor, the *Bamberger Tagblatt* newspaper announced: "Yesterday, the son of master baker Moses Stoll, Adolf-Hitler-Strasse 35 [before March 24, 1933, Lange Strasse], was taken into protective custody. The reason given is that the arrested person had made slanderous statements about the Reich government." Stoll came before the Bamberg Special Court one week later. Although Prosecutor Bächler demanded a two-year sentence, the court imposed five months against Stoll for spreading "atrocity stories."[6]

Jehovah's Witnesses also faced early persecution in Bamberg. On April 10, Bamberg's special commissar, SA-Oberführer Heinrich Hager, banned their public activities, and the police shut down the 28-member meetinghouse, without making arrests. The new Bavarian interior minister, Adolf Wagner, one of Hitler's most reliable chieftains, employed special commissars to implement especially radical measures. The Jehovah's Witness ban exemplified the special commissars' function in Bavaria's Nazi synchronization (*Gleichschaltung*). When Otto Prüfer, a Jehovah's Witness, convened a meeting in defiance of Hager's decree, the Bamberg Political Police placed him in protective custody on July 18.[7]

Despite Dachau's foundation on March 21, the first Bamberg transport to the concentration camp only took place in late April. Meanwhile, the Bamberg police dispatched five detainees to the workhouse at Bayreuth (St. Georg). A press release from the state court implied that the first transfer, on March 24, was a disciplinary measure, as the unnamed detainee in question was "an unruly inmate." Four Communists, Geyer, Keim, Riedel, and Seelmann, were sent to the same workhouse on April 7.[8]

The first Bamberg transport to Dachau occurred on April 24. Five Communists, Barth, Böhm, Hermann, Moritz, and Nossol, boarded an assembly train that held 135 additional prisoners who had been dispatched from Oberfranken. On May 12, 12 additional detainees from Bamberg joined a 150-prisoner transport to Dachau. The Bamberg contingent consisted of 3 political prisoners from Forchheim, 3 from Hassfurt, 5 from Hofheim, and only 1, Jewish student teacher Willi Aaron, from the city of Bamberg. Aaron had already languished for months at Wilhelmsplatz and died of what was recorded as a heart attack at Dachau on May 21. His death of an alleged heart attack prompted a lengthy but misleading report about Dachau to appear in the *Bamberger Tageblatt*, which boasted about the "excellent health conditions of the prisoners." During the departure of the May 12 transport, protestor Johann Schüpferling shouted the slogans "Red Front" and "Hail Moscow." He was arrested on the spot. As the *Bamberger Tagblatt* reported, "Even before the transport Schüpferling had behaved provocatively outside the state court prison." By May 19, 10 people from Bamberg were in Dachau and Bamberg; Wilhelmsplatz held just 5 detainees.[9]

The June 22, 1933, national ban of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) resulted in the internment, eight days later, of six Bamberg city council members, Dennstädt, Dotterweich, Göttling, Grosch, Schlauch, and Vater, in addition to trade unionist Firsching. On July 3, City Councilman Bayer (arrest date unknown), Grosch, and Schlauch, with 13 other Social Democrats, were transported to Dachau. The *Bamberger Volksblatt* (*BV*) newspaper claimed that the transport of other Social Democrats from Wilhelmsplatz to Dachau pended a decision about their health.[10]

Bamberg's leading BVP members also faced Nazi intimidation. The BVP's paramilitary, the Bavarian Guard (Bayernwacht), was an early target. In connection with the beating death of Wiesheier, an SA man, 20 Bavarian Guardsmen from Gaiganz were taken into protective custody at Bamberg on May 23.[11] The July 1933 trial of Wiesheier's accused assailant, Lorenz Schriefer, caused a local sensation and resulted in a death sentence for Schriefer.[12] BVP county manager Georg

Banzer was detained on three occasions. His first arrest came on March 11, when he spent the day in custody while the police searched the Bavarian Guard leaders' houses. His next detention took place between March 22 and April 6. His third stint, which lasted from June 26 to July 5, took place as part of the Bavarian Nazi regime's ban on the BVP.[13]

On the date of Banzer's third arrest, the Bamberg police also took into custody 16 local and 1 national BVP leaders. Among them were Reichstag member and Prelate Johann Leicht as well as Bavarian parliament member and *Bamberger Volksblatt* director Georg Meixner. From 1920 to 1933, Leicht headed the BVP faction in the Reichstag. After his detention ended on July 5, he continued to serve in the Catholic Church but refrained from politics. Meixner's detention resulted from the publication of articles critical of National Socialism. His arrest prompted an immediate change in the *BV's* political orientation: on behalf of the publisher, St. Otto Verlag GmbH, the archbishop of Bamberg, Jakobus, published two open letters on June 30, 1933, that professed the paper's loyalty to the new regime and exhorted the detained director to join him in producing a "pure Catholic," that is, allegedly apolitical, paper. Separately, the paper announced that the director forfeited his Landtag (parliament) seat. After his release, Meixner's name continued to appear on the paper's masthead until September 12, 1933.[14] In late June, ties to the BVP resulted in the detention of two Roman Catholic priests, Curate Martin Förtsch from Hohengüssbach and Father Schütz from Burgebrach. Schütz's detention came on Special Commissar Hager's order.[15]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Drobisch and Wieland do not classify this prison as an early protective custody camp, but its prolonged use as a detention center qualifies it as such. The camp is also mentioned in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: BPB, 1999), 1:118–119. For additional information on the Stoll case, see Franz Fichtl et al., *"Bambergs Wirtschaft JUDENFREI": Die Verdrängung der jüdischen Geschäftsleute in den Jahren 1933 bis 1939* (Bamberg: Collibri Verlag, 1998). Valuable background on the function of special commissars in Bavaria may be found in Martin Faatz, *Vom Staatsschutz zum Gestapo-Terror: Politische Polizei in Bayern in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik und der Anfangsphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Würzburg: Echter, 1995). On Johann Leicht, see "Leicht, Johann," s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, in the KZ and Haftanstalten collection, in BA-B, SAPMO-DDR, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland. The Bamberg press provides numerous reports about Wilhelmsplatz prison. Until July 29, 1933, the *BT* was a National Conservative paper and the official publication for the Bamberg State Court, after which it became the official organ of Oberfranken's Nazi Gauleiter Hans Schemm. Until April 4, 1933, the *BV* was also an official paper of the Bamberg State Court. It remained the local BVP paper until June 30. Finally, the ITS lists the Wilhelmsplatz prison in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:215.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Generalstaatsanwalt bei den Oberlandesgerichte Bamberg to Staatsministerium der Justiz, RE: "Schutzhaft," No. 2882, March 11, 1933, KZ and Haftanstalten collection, in BA-B, SAPMO-DDR, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 44.

2. *BT*, March 11, 23, 24, April 1, May 8, 13, 18, 20, 24, June 10, 23, 26, 27, 28, July 1, 13, 18, 21, 1933; *BV*, March 11, 13, 27, April 7, 18, May 13, 24, June 28, 1933.

3. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, March 11, 1933.

4. "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Neue Haussuchungen und Verhaftungen," *BV*, March 27, 1933.

5. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Eine Verschickung Bamberger Schutzhäftlinge," *BT*, March 24, 1933.

6. "Lange Strasse *jetzt Adolf-Hitler-Strasse* und die Geschäftshäuser, die sich empfehlen," *BT*, March 24, 1933; quotation in "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, April 1, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BV*, April 1, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Erste Sitzung des Bamberger Sondergerichts; Eine Greuellüge kostet 5 Monate Gefängnis," *BV*, April 8, 1933.

7. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Durch die politischen Polizei Bamburg aufgelöst," *BT*, April 10, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, July 18, 1933.

8. Quotation in "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Eine Verschickung Bamberger Schutzhäftlinge," *BT*, March 24, 1933; "Aus Stadt un Umgebung . . . Nach St. Georgen transportiert," *BT*, April 8, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Überführung von Schutzhäftlingen in das Sammellager Bayreuth," *BV*, April 8, 1933.

9. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Ins Konzentrationslager Dachau verschickt," *BT*, April 26, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Ins Landgerichtsgefängnis Bamberg überführt," *BT*, May 8, 1933; quotation in "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Ins Arbeitslager Dachau transportiert," *BT*, May 13, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Nach dem Konzentrationslager Dachau," *BV*, May 13, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Über die Zahl der Schutzhäftlinge in Bamberg," *BT*, May 19, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Im Konzentrationslager Dachau verstorben," *BT*, May 22, 1933; quotation in "Im Dachauer Lager. Rund 1600 Gefangene," *BT*, May 24, 1933.

10. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Wieder in Schutzhaft

genommen," *BT*, July 1, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Inschutzhaftnahme der Funktionäre und Stadträte der SPD," *BV*, July 1, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Nach Dachau übergeführt," *BV*, July 4, 1933.

11. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Ins Bamberger Landgerichtsgefängnis," *BT*, May 24, 1933.

12. "Die Gaiganzer Mordtat vor dem Schwurgericht: Heute Verhandlungsbeginn," *BT*, July 26, 1933; "Die Mord in Gaiganz," *BT*, July 27, 1933; "Todes-Urteil im Gaiganzer Mordprozess: Zweiter Verhandlungstag; Die letzten Zeugen," *BT*, July 28, 1933.

13. "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Aktion gegen Bayernwacht Oberfrankens; Führer verhaftet und wieder freigelassen," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . Neuerdings in Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, March 23, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Kreisgeschäftsführer Banzer erneut verhaftet," *BV*, March 23, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, June 27, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BV*, June 28, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten . . . Aus der Schutzhaft entlassen," *BV*, July 6, 1933.

14. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, June 27, 1933; "Verboten auf 4 Tage," *BV*, February 27, 1933; "Man zereisst das deutsche Volk unheitvoll," *BV*, March 3, 1933; quotation in Jakobus, Erzbischof von Bamberg, "Schreiben des Erzbischofs von Bamberg," *BV*, June 30, 1933; Jakobus, "Hochwürdiger und lieber Herr Direktor!" *BV*, June 30, 1933; "Erklärung des St. Otto-Verlages, GmbH in Bamberg," *BV*, June 30, 1933; "Verlagsdirektor Meixner legt sein Landtagsmandat nieder," *BV*, June 30, 1933.

15. "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, June 26, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung . . . In Schutzhaft genommen," *BT*, June 28, 1933.

BAUTZEN (KUPFERHAMMER)

On March 8, 1933, following the promulgation of the Reichstag Fire Decree, Saxon police detained German and Sorbian political opponents at the Bautzen prison complex (Bautzen I and II). On April 24, 49 Bautzen "protective custody" prisoners were transferred to Kupferhammer, located in the same town at Talstrasse. The camp derived its name from the metalworking factory on which it was situated, Kupfer- und Aluminium-, Walz-, Draht- und Hammerwerke C.G. Tietzens Eidam (Copper and Aluminum, Roller, Wire, and Hammer Factory of C.G. Tietzen's Son-in-Law). Collaborating in this camp's establishment were the Saxon state criminal office, the Bautzen town council, and the SA, with the assistance of the Deutsche Bank branch office. The camp leader was SA-Sturmführer Wenzel, and the guards were members of SA-Standarte 103. By May 10, Kupferhammer held 402 prisoners; 368 remained two weeks later. Wenzel allegedly misappropriated prisoner rations for the benefit of his nearby poultry farm.

After its dissolution on June 26, 1933, the police transferred Bautzen's remaining prisoners to the remand jail at Dresden (Mathildenstrasse) and the early SA camp at Hohnstein Castle. Released prisoners were temporarily dispatched to the workhouse at Äussere Lauenstrasse 33, which later became Dr.-Maria-Grollmuss-Strasse 1.

SOURCES The most important secondary source for Bautzen (Kupferhammer) is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Kupferhammer's consolidation with other Saxon camps is briefly discussed in Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. The camp is also mentioned in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: BPB, 1999); and Burt Pampel and Norbert Haase (Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft), *Spuren*, *Suchen*, *und Erinnern: Gedenkstätten für die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft in Sachsen* (Dresden: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1996).

The main primary sources for Kupferhammer are located in the SHStA-(D), and the AVB-StFA-B (formerly the Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Aussenstelle Bautzen), as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. The Dresden file consists of correspondence from the Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten. Brief mention of the Bautzen early camp is also made in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, p. 4.

Joseph Robert White

BAYREUTH (ST. GEORGEN)

The St. Georgen workhouse and penitentiary in Bayreuth, Upper Bavaria, was converted into a "protective custody" camp in March 1933. On March 11, the Bamberg prosecutor general reported that the majority of St. Georgen's 61 detainees were Socialists, not Communists. On March 23 the camp population stood at 240, by which time the prisoners had been transferred from the workhouse to the neighboring penitentiary, where they occupied 60 cells. The guards were SA members.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work about the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for Bayreuth (St. Georgen) consists of the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry for March 11, 1933, located in the BHStA-(M), Abteilung II, Neuer Bestände. The document is reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 44). A second source is the ITS listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 216.

Joseph Robert White

BENNINGHAUSEN

On March 29, 1933, the Regierungspräsidenten of Arnsberg and Lippstadt ordered the director of the provincial workhouse at Benninghausen, Dr. Hans Clemens, to provide space for a "protective custody" camp. SA-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Pistor was commandant, and Oberlandjäger Scheffer headed the SA guards. Benninghausen's population totaled 346 prisoners, mainly Communists and Social Democrats from neighboring towns, such as Dortmund, Hamm, Lippstadt, and Siegen. The prisoners, most admitted in two large waves on April 25 and May 11, 1933, included several Jews and 2 females. Before its dissolution on September 28, 1933, 169 prisoners were released. The remaining 177 were transferred to other camps, the majority (145) to the large early concentration camp at Papenburg in Emsland. The largest prisoner transport took place on July 29 and 30, after which Benninghausen's population was reduced to 31 and then just 9 inmates.

At Benninghausen, the guards beat, stabbed, and humiliated the prisoners. With hair shorn in the form of Mohawks, the prisoners had to present themselves as "Indians of the Iroquois tribe."[1] One Jewish prisoner was forced to dance Native American style in the institution's community hall. Some detainees were confined to the existing cells for the mentally ill, where their legs were chained to the wall. In despair, two prisoners apparently hanged themselves.

In late July, Landrat Malzbender addressed a group of prisoners entraining for Papenburg. His speech was a good illustration of early Nazi misrepresentation of the concentration camps. The *Lippstadt Patriot* newspaper summarized the speech:

> Before the train's arrival Landrat Malzbender made a short speech to the transport at the Benninghausen railway station. Presently he explained that the new concentration camp, into which the prisoners were being moved, was no Siberian-patterned cudgel and torture institution. The National Socialists leave the building of such institutions to the Russian Communists. In the first place the concentration camp should be an educational establishment for Communists. He, the Landrat, knows that a portion of the prisoners got mixed up with the misery of the past 11 years in the criminal path of Communism. It is to be hoped that the educational effect in the concentration camp, together with steadily advancing reemployment in Germany, will bring the majority of prisoners once more to the ways of order. Then it will be possible for those who have turned their backs on Communism to be returned to their families. The rest will continue to feel the strong fist of the National Socialist State.[2]

Before and after World War II, Benninghausen was the subject of several criminal investigations and proceedings. In 1934, a released Communist prisoner brought a complaint against the camp staff before the Schwelm administrative court. The accuser claimed that the guards had stabbed two of his comrades. Director Clemens, a Stahlhelm member, disclaimed responsibility for the guards' actions, and nothing came of the investigation at that time. Between 1947 and 1952, the Paderborn courts tried the 16 Benninghausen guards. A court sentenced the guard Erich Schulte, described as a sadist, to five years in a penitentiary and three years of loss of honor.[3] A second defendant, Friedrich König, received two years' confinement. The specific judgments against other defendants are not available, but most were acquitted or sentenced to short terms of confinement.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of Benninghausen, Reimer Möller, "Benninghausen: Das Arbeitshaus als KZ," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 89–95. Also helpful is a short history in Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995). Benninghausen is also briefly mentioned in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited by Möller, primary documentation for Benninghausen begins with the Gefangenenbuch für Polizeigefangene D8, WAA-M, ALVW-L. Also available are the postwar proceedings brought against the Benninghausen guards. A prosecutorial investigation against SA-Oberscharführer Bernhard König, April 1950, is listed as 7 Js 449/50 in NWStA-D. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, Benninghausen is mentioned in the ITS, Dokument-Gruppe PP 603; and in BA-B, SAPMO-DDR. The file is St 62/5/20. As cited by Epkenhans, the Westphalian press ran several stories about the Paderborn trials, but the prosecution and court citations for these proceedings are not readily available. She cites *WP*, August 19, 1947, May 25, 1951, and April 10, 1952; *WR*, April 10, 1952; and the *LP*, July 29–30, 1933, and May 23–24, 1951. The 1933 *Patriot* story is reproduced in full in *Lippstadt, 1933–1945*.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *LP*, May 23–24, 1951, as cited in Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), p. 191.
2. Ibid., July 29–30, 1933, reproduced in Epkenhans, *Lippstadt*, 1933–1945, p. 386.
3. *WP*, August 19, 1947, as cited in Epkenhans, *Lippstadt*, 1933–1945. p. 191.

BERGISCH GLADBACH [AKA STELLAWERK]

The wild concentration camp "Stellawerk" was established in Bergisch Gladbach on the night of June 28–29, 1933. During a raid ordered by the Nazi Party (NSDAP) district leadership in the Rheinisch-Bergisch rural district, SA and police arrested many Communists in the district city of Bergisch

Gladbach, located east of Cologne. According to NSDAP district leader Walter Aldinger, the local police had been cooperating "with party offices in an exemplary way" since the Nazi seizure of power. Since all cells in the town hall were occupied, the detainees were taken to the disused brickwork Stellawerk. It was located in the Heidkamp quarter in the southern part of the city and had been closed since the Great Depression. The former director of the factory had been a Nazi sympathizer even before 1933. The prisoners at Stellawerk were subject to brutal interrogations and torture by the SA. The SA men knew their victims from the "time of struggle" (*Kampfzeit*) before 1933. They took out their personal revenge on the prisoners. During the so-called interrogations, the prisoners were supposed to confess that they had been active in revived underground Communist activities in Bergisch Gladbach. The mass distribution of dissident leaflets in the area around the paper mill J.W. Zanders in Bergisch Gladbach was the immediate reason for the establishment of a "wild" concentration camp under the control of the local SA.

Stellawerk held not only prisoners who had been Communist functionaries and sympathizers but also those erroneously suspected of being Communists. Not only detainees arrested in the raid on June 28–29, 1933, were interned in the camp. Soon thereafter, other Communists from Bergisch Gladbach who had been arrested before June 22, 1933, and initially held in the Siegburg penitentiary, were brought to Stellawerk. The exact number of prisoners at Stellawerk is not known. The Cologne Criminal Police estimated the number between 40 and 60 after interviewing perpetrators and victims in 1947.

If the prisoners did not give the desired confession during the interrogation and sign a prepared statement, they were usually severely mistreated. SA men dragged the refusing prisoners from the porter's lodgings, where the interrogations occurred, across the factory grounds to large ring ovens. Here they beat the prisoners with thick cudgels and coal shovels and trod on them with hobnailed boots. Many prisoners suffered open wounds, bruises, broken ribs, and concussions. On several occasions, prisoners who had been beaten until they lost consciousness were taken from Stellawerk to the hospital. In one instance, a physician had a perilously wounded prisoner transported to the Evangelical Hospital in Bergisch Gladbach. An SA man wanted to hang the prisoner. The doctor at the hospital is said to have cried out at the sight of the prisoner: "The Führer cannot have wanted this!" The severely injured prisoner had to be treated in the hospital for 10 weeks. The NSDAP district leader tried to cover up the SA crimes by later sending the prisoner a statement for his signature. The prisoner explained to the police after the war that the declaration was to the following effect: "We have learnt that you are insured by the Winterhur-Insurance for 30,000 Reichsmark (RM) against accidents. We are prepared to prove in court proceedings that you suffered your injuries trying to escape and by falling onto the railway lines. In return, you must sign this document, stating that you were not mistreated." The victim assured the police that he did not sign the declaration.

Sturmbannführer Schreiber, appointed special commissar for the Rheinisch-Bergisch rural district (Sonderkommissar für den Rheinisch-Bergischen Kreis) by the senior SA leader in the Rhine Province, Gruppenführer Steinhoff, was responsible for the arrests on June 28–29, 1933. At the time, Schreiber was in command of the SA Battalion III/65 (SA-Sturmbann III/65) in Bergisch Gladbach. Schreiber, born in 1901, volunteered toward the end of World War I but never saw active duty. After the war, he joined the Free Corps in Upper Silesia. In 1930 he joined the NSDAP and the SA. The interrogations at Stellawerk were led by SA-Scharführer and Director of Intelligence (Nachrichtendienstleiter) Alex Naumann. Naumann, born in 1901, also volunteered in World War I and was also a Free Corps soldier in Upper Silesia. Naumann joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1932. Stellawerk camp was guarded by SA men from Bergisch Gladbach, Bensberg, Porz, and Köln.

Family members of the prisoners brought them food and also spent much time close to the camp, trying to obtain information about the prisoners.

Stellawerk was closed in early July 1933. After a walkthrough, Cologne-Aachen Gauleiter Josef Grohé ordered its closure on the grounds that the camp was too close to a residential area. The residents had complained about the screams of the tortured prisoners. A few prisoners were released, but the majority remained in "protective custody" and were taken to the local prison in Cologne or other SA camps. Some prisoners were sent to the newly established Hochkreuz camp in Porz on July 14, 1933. Some SA members, who interrogated and beat inmates in Porz, had already practiced their foul work at Stellawerk. On June 27, 1934, the higher regional court Hamm sentenced 17 Communists arrested in Bergisch Gladbach to prison terms of up to several years for "planning to commit high treason."

After the end of the war, several former Stellawerk prisoners brought charges against their tormentors. The Cologne state attorney's office commenced investigations. On December 7, 1949, the Cologne regional court closed the proceedings against one of the accused on the grounds that he had already been convicted in August 1947 for his participation in the mistreatment of prisoners at the Porz concentration camp and had been sentenced to five years' in prison. He could not be convicted again for the same crime. Two other accused were acquitted.

SOURCES This essay on the wild concentration camp Stellawerk in Bergisch Gladbach is based on the book by Johann Paul, *Vom Volksrat zum Volkssturm: Bergisch Gladbach und Bensberg 1918–1945* (Bergisch Gladbach: Heider, 1988). Stellawerk is also mentioned in Gebhard Aders, "Das Schutzhaftlager der SA am Hochkreuz in Porz-Gremberghoven," *Rechtsrheinisches Köln: Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Landeskunde* (ed. Geschichtsverein Rechtsrheinisches Köln e.V.) 8 (1982): 95–126.

There is little archival material on the Stellawerk camp. The most important sources are the files of the Cologne state attorney's office at the NWHStA-(D), which contain records of preliminary proceedings. A few scattered references to the collaboration between police and SA during the

anti-Communist raid in Bergisch Gladbach can be found at the ASt-BG and the NWHStA-(D), Bestand Landratsamt Mülheim am Rhein. The rural district issue of the Nazi newspaper *WdtB* gave a detailed report on the mass arrests and the establishment of the wild concentration camp in Bergisch Gladbach on June 30, 1933.

Johann Paul
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERGKAMEN-SCHÖNHAUSEN

At the beginning of March 1933, many "protective custody" camps of various sizes were installed throughout the Reich. These early or "wild" concentration camps, established according to local needs and administered by the SA, the SS, or the police, existed almost without exception for a short period of time only and served as provisional holding camps for the opponents of National Socialism until later on when the large concentration camps would open, operated under the central administration of the SS.

One of the early concentration camps of 1933 was the Bergkamen camp in the former mining community Bergkamen, in the Unna rural district on the eastern part of the Ruhr district. In February 1933, a wave of arrests rolled through the Unna rural district. The center of the arrests was in the north of the rural district. Large parts of the population in the mining communities in Bergkamen, Rünthe, Herringen, and Bönen opposed National Socialism. The miners and their families were supporters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) or, because of the high unemployment caused by the ongoing economic crisis, the German Communist Party (KPD).

In light of these circumstances, the number of those arrested in these locations grew daily. The accommodation of the protective custody prisoners quickly caused the police stations serious problems, as the available number of cells was soon insufficient.

On March 22, 1933, the former mayor of Pelkum, Hans Friedrichs, turned to the Unna rural district administrator and pointed out the difficult situation. With absolute clarity he explained that in his opinion "only the quick establishment of concentration camps" would provide effective relief.

Mining assessor Wilhelm Tengelmann, who was appointed only a few days later by Prussian Minister of the Interior Hermann Göring as the new Unna rural district administrator, took up the idea soon after he commenced duties on March 27, 1933. Tengelmann, a convinced Nazi and friend of Göring and Heinrich Himmler, had worked for the Gelsenkirchen Bergwerk AG (Gelsenkirchen Mining Corporation). As a mines inspector, he was a member of the head office of the Bergwerk Monopol (Mining Monopoly) in Kamen. He recalled publicly that the large hall owned by the Schönhausen welfare building in Bergkamen, which belonged to the mining monopoly, had been used a few weeks earlier for a short time as a holding station for political prisoners. He asked the mining director in charge, Ernst Fromme, who held him in high respect professionally, to be allowed to use this building as a provisional camp.

The Schönhausen welfare building had been built in 1911–1912. It was built to serve the needs of local mining families. It was a two-story building with somewhat lower side wings. In early 1933, a kindergarten had been established in the building. There was a sewing school and a home economics school. The hall had a small stage. There were about 170 square meters (203 square yards) of open space. This was often used for meetings and performances. It was also used for theater and light displays as well as a gymnasium. The whole site, which would now be used for other purposes, included a playground and a sports field. It was surrounded with a man-high hedge and a barbed-wire fence.

The rural district administrator gave the responsibility for administration and security in the planned camp to the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm members of the united Kamen-Bergkamen Auxiliary Police (Hipo). The Kamen-Bergkamen Hipo had existed since the end of February/beginning of March 1933. It was under the command of Willy Boddeutsch, a local of Kamen. He was already in charge of guard squad accommodation in Zechen. Boddeutsch took over the role of camp commandant. His deputy and the real camp administrator was Ewald Büsing, a local of Bergkamen. He was also the deputy leader of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) local branch. The camp and administrative headquarters occupied the left wing of the welfare building. The guards had their own assembly rooms and rest rooms.

The first prisoners were delivered to the camp in the early morning of April 12, 1933. The majority of the people who were brought in large numbers to Schönhausen on this day and in the following weeks and months, and held in the most deplorable of prison conditions, were members of the KPD and its support organizations. Later on, they were mostly members of the SPD, the Reichsbanner, and the Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF) as well as trade unionists. There were also a few women and male Jews interned as protective custody prisoners. A glance at the prisoner list of the Bergkamen camp shows that from April to October 1933 more than 900 people were held in the camp. The duration of their internment varied. Some were held for a short time only and later transferred to other prisons.

Women were separated from men in Bergkamen. They had their own rooms and usually were quickly transferred to other prison institutions. The men were held in a large holding area in the hall, where they were constantly under guard. The guards had a good view of the prisoners from their position on the stage and a small logelike rise. The prisoners did not have beds; they had to sleep on the floor. Stools were the only furniture in the prison rooms. Sanitary conditions were completely inadequate; there were only a few toilets and lavatories.

It is not known how the prisoners spent their time. What is known is that each day they had to perform drills under the gaze of the guards for hours, or they had to perform military games. Women were used as seamstresses or for cleaning.

Much worse than the prison conditions were the cruel mistreatment, torture, and constant persecution that many of the prisoners had to endure from the guards and camp administrators. Later these conditions would be documented by the witnesses.

The welfare building turned out to be totally unsuitable to hold a large number of people for the longer term. Most of the prisoners remained only temporarily in this camp and were transferred to other prisons. Many of the transports were sent at first usually to the central prison in Freiendiez/Lahn and Wittlich/Mosel as well as the prison camp Brauweiler in Pulheim, west of Köln. Later, they were sent to the "Moor camps" ("Moorlager" or "Emslandlager") in Papenburg, Börgermoor, and Esterwegen.

In the autumn of 1933, the Prussian Ministry of Interior and the State Police (Staatspolizei) came to the conclusion that in many places the local protective custody camps had fulfilled their purpose and were no longer required. It was decided to close the small camps and support the construction of large new camps under the responsibility of the SS.

Dr. Heinrich Klosterkemper, the new Unna rural district administrator—his predecessor Wilhelm Tengelmann had been summoned to Berlin as commissioner for economic issues (*Beauftrager für Wirtschaftsfragen*)—advised the Bergkamen camp administration on October 20, 1933, that following a general order of the Minister of the Interior, the concentration camp was to be dissolved. A few days later, on October 24, 1933, Bergkamen was closed. The prisoners who were there were either released or transferred to the concentration camps at Papenburg and Oranienburg (Brandenburg).

On October 28, 1933, the Unna rural district administrator asked the local press to publish a declaration that announced the dissolution of the Bergkamen camp. It also contained a clear warning: "Those people, who do not accustom themselves to the new order and act as enemies of the state, will in future be sent to the state concentration camps in the Börgermoor." The Schönhausen welfare building in Bergkamen underwent a thorough renovation during the next few weeks, and in the spring of 1934, it was returned to its original use.

SOURCES This essay is based on a lecture given by Martin Litzinger in February 2002 as part of the lecture series *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933 bis 1945*, sponsored by the State of Nordrhein-Westfalen in 2001–2002. The lecture was delivered in Bergkamen. Up to that point, no publication on the history of the camp existed. There are also two articles on the camp: Martin Litzinger, "Haus der Wohlfahrt wird 1933 zum KZ," *Jahrbuch des Kreises Unna* 24 (2003): 113–117; and Martin Litzinger, "Bergkamen," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck, 2005), pp. 36–39.

There is a file on the Bergkamen concentration camp in the NWStA-M. These files are located in the collection "Kreis Unna—Politische Polizei" and were researched for the first time by Martin Litzinger in 2001–2002. These files deserve special attention, as they contain the camp's complete prisoner list, which holds important biographical data on each prisoner. There are no other known archival sources on the Bergkamen concentration camp.

There were as early as 1933 isolated newspaper reports in the Unna district on the Bergkamen concentration camp. The reliability of these contemporary reports is questionable, given the statements, and they should be used with great caution.

Martin Litzinger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERLIN (GENERAL-PAPE-STRASSE)

On the grounds of a former military barracks on General-Pape-Strasse in Berlin, there are cellars in several buildings that once (March 1933–December 1933) were used as a "wild" concentration camp. The cellars served as accommodations for the Nazi Party's (NSDAP) Storm Troopers (SA). It is suspected that altogether 2,000 prisoners were held, tortured, and murdered in the SA prison on Papestrasse.

The majority of the prisoners were political opponents of the NSDAP: Communist and Social Democrat functionaries and members as well as members of the trade unions. Among the prisoners were politically active members of the nearby Lindenhof settlement and "leftists" from neighboring apartments known as the "Red Island" (Rote Insel). In addition, a large number of Jews (mostly lawyers and doctors) were taken to the Pape-Strasse prison. Clearly, the SA wanted to "cleanse" Berlin of Jews. Some women were also incarcerated there.

Among the first prisoners was Leo Krell, who was sent to the prison on March 16, 1933, and who received prisoner number 45. He was a journalist and was arrested that day. He was so brutally mistreated that a few days later, on March 21, 1933, he died in a public hospital. Friedrich Klötzer, prisoner 1842, entered the prison eight months later on November 28, 1933. One can assume therefore that until December 1933, when the SA transferred from Pape-strasse to new quarters in the center of Berlin, the estimated number of 2,000 people held at Pape-strasse, both male and female, is realistic.

Survivors' reports consistently mention the brutality of the SA guards and the severe injuries that often resulted in the death of the tortured prisoners, as the following example shows: Dr. Arno Philippstahl, a Jew, was arrested on March 21, 1933, in Berlin-Biesdorf. He was first taken to the local police station, and during the course of the day, possibly already injured, he was taken to the SA prison on Pape-strasse. He was severely mistreated there and on April 2, 1933, died in a hospital as a result of his injuries. Krell had died in the same hospital. Several other men died in the Pape-strasse camp itself, such as architect Paul Hipler (July 29, 1933); Kurt Kaiser (April 13, 1933), because he had insulted the Führer; the Communists Max Krausch (July 3, 1933) and Ewald Vogt (August 21, 1933); Max Lukas, who had no political affiliations; the tobacconist Kurt Miesske (July 31, 1933); and many others.

There are no reliable sources identifying the prison commander. A publication in 1952 suggests that there were two former military officers, a Captain Weiss and one Major Schneider[1]; in addition, a "Commander of the Pape-strasse Military Barracks" by the name of Rossbach[2] was mentioned. The only additional information to be gained concerned SA-Sturmführer Erich Krause, head of the interrogation office. He was born on January 6, 1905, in Berlin and is accused of being brutal. This accusation was raised in December 1950 when investigations were made by the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime in the German Democratic Republic. Krause was a member of the guard in the SA prison and was later a member of the protective police. He was also a public servant. Sturmbannführer Fritsch was certainly a member of the guard, as he was responsible for the SA field police depot.

The guards came from the barracks of the SA Berlin-Brandenburg field police. Most of the guards were young men between the ages of 18 and 25. At least some of the guards were members of the infamous group "Rabaukensturm," which was based on Zieten Strasse in Schöneberg. The field police formed the core of the Feldjägerkorps, which was formed on October 1, 1933. It later became part of the protective police on April 1, 1936. By this means the SA men became public servants. The former members of the Feldjägerkorps thus became the motorized street police, known as the "white mice."

One of the peculiarities of the Pape-Strasse camp was that the SA men were involved in violent, perverted sexual acts. They equally mistreated both men and women. In one case it is reported that women were tied to a vaulting horse and in front of other women were raped by the SA men. In a 1988 interview, Gerhard Gossa reported not only being beaten in the face but also having had an acid injected into his urethra, which resulted in severe pain until his death in 1997.

The prisoners had to undergo many tribulations between interrogations: on a cellar wall a target was placed at which a few SA men practiced pistol shooting with live ammunition while the prisoners were forced to stand for hours at the wall and to turn around. In effect, they became live targets. In an interrogation cellar, which had a thin cover of straw on the floor, the prisoners were beaten with riding whips, cudgels, and fists in order to extract confessions or simply to torture them. Lit cigarettes were pressed against the soles of the feet of those being beaten. A popular pastime of the guards was to cut the prisoners' hair with blunt scissors. In several cases, swastikas were cut into the hair. This brutal treatment often resulted in injuries to the head. The prisoners were also forced to cut each other's hair.

The imprisoned men and women not only heard the screams of those tortured; often they had to watch the other prisoners being beaten in front of them, seeing them collapse as they lost consciousness or were beaten to death. It is possible that the prisoners were buried in the cellars, as freshly covered holes were found there.

Paul Tollmann, a youth, with the help of individual SA men was able to avoid being transported to the Oranienburg concentration camp on the fifth day of his imprisonment. He was able to hide in a pile of straw, then to escape unrecognized. The escape of a builder is also known.

The SA prison remained in existence until December 1933 when the SA unit shifted to quarters in the center of Berlin.

Alfred Geguns is the only known case of someone who was arrested because of crimes against humanity. After the war, clerk Alfred Johler recognized him as the man who "[had] beat him with his fist and [had] injured his eye with a ruler." With the assistance of the *Berliner Zeitung* (*BZ*) newspaper, on October 1, 1947, an appeal was made for more witnesses who could say something about the man who was able to obtain work without disclosing his Nazi Party and SA membership. According to press reports, Geguns admitted that in 1933 he interrogated 40 people. It is not known whether he was convicted. According to available information, there were no further investigations or convictions for crimes committed in Pape-strasse.

SOURCES This entry is based on Kurt Schilde's contribution to Kurt Schilde, Rolf Scholz, and Sylvia Walleczek, *SA-Gefängnis Papestrasse* (Berlin: Overall Verlag, 1996), which contains reports that were collected from prisoners. Characteristic of the Papestrasse prison, more information can be obtained about the victims of National Socialist terror than on the SA men who were the guards. In the course of several years of preparation, the authors were able to obtain written and oral information in several interviews with former prisoners or their family members.

In their research the authors came across the book by Jan Petersen, *Unsere Strasse: Eine Chronik; Geschrieben im Herzen des faschistischen Deutschlands 1933/34* (1947; Berlin, 1963), in which—as was subsequently discovered—the author described events in the military barracks with scarcely believable precision. He was provided with details from his colleague Werner Ilberg, who had been a prisoner.

Important sources of information are local historical publications: among others, Emil Ackermann, Wolfgang Szepansky et al., *Erlebte Geschichte: Arbeiterbewegung und antifaschistischer Widerstand in Tempelhof* (Berlin, n.d); memoirs such as those by Werner Neufliess, "Mein Leben," *Gespräche in Israel* 7: no. 3 (1989); and biographies such as Dorothee Iffland, "Er war uns Helfer, Berater und Freund im besten Sinne: Dr. Arno Philippsthal und Familie, Marzahner Str. 10," in *Juden in Lichtenberg: mit den früheren Ortsteilen in Friedrichshain, Hellersdorf und Marzahn*, ed. Thea Koberstein and Norbert Stein (Berlin: Hentrich, 1995). We also used contemporary publications such as the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978) or the publication by the German Red Assistance, *Ihr seid nicht vergessen! Gedenk- und Erinnerungstage* (Paris, 1937). National Socialist propaganda was also helpful, such as Julek Karl von Engelbrechten, *Eine braune Armee entsteht: Die Geschichte der Berlin-Brandenburger SA* (Munich and Berlin, 1937); specialist literature such as that by Hans Buchheim, "SA-Hilfspolizei, SA-Feldpolizei und Feldjägerkorps und die beamtenrechtliche Stellung ihrer Angehörigen," in *Gutachten des IfZ* (Munich, 1958), vol. 1; and an analysis of newspapers and magazines from 1933. An example is "Wer kennt diesen Mann? Zeugen aus

den Konzentrationslagern werden gesucht," in *VVN-Ermittlungsdienst*, ed. Generalsekretariat der VVN in der DDR (December 1950).

The most important archival source is the report by Fritz Ball on his experiences in the prison. It is part of a larger study and is included in the archives at YV (Nr. 01/41). Parts were published in Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri, *Das Leben der Juden in Deutschland im Jahre 1933: Ein Zeitbericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1963). Other, mostly biographical information are the AAK, FES, ADGB, BLHA-(B), various departments of the BA-B (Zehlendorf—former BDC; SAPMO-DDR and others) in GStAPK, as well as the AVVN-VdA, and the AIeTAW-B.

Kurt Schilde
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Heinrich Orb, *Nationalsozialismus: 13 Jahre Machtrausch* (Olten, 1955), p. 111.

2. "Betr. SA-Terror und Misshandlungen," dated April 25, 1933, report by a Communist informant to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party in Moscow, BA-B, SAPMO, I 213/43, pp. 65–66.

BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG (MAIKOWSKI-HAUS)

During the Weimar Republic, the Berlin district of Charlottenburg was known predominantly as a middle-class area and as Berlin's cultural center. On the other hand, the area between the city rail system (S-Bahn), the Spandauer, Berliner Strassen (later Otto-Suhr Allee), and Bismarckstrasse/Kaiserdamm formed the Charlottenburg working-class district.

On the border of this working-class district, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) opened a People's House at Rosinenstrasse 3 (later renumbered 4) on May 1, 1902. The front building consisted of an office and living quarters. Through an inner courtyard with gardens one reached a building that stood transverse to the front building. This was the actual People's House, consisting of a multistory building designed for meetings of up to 1,200 people. During the next two decades, the People's House was a popular meeting spot of the workers' movement in Charlottenburg. In October 1921, the Konsum Cooperative acquired the People's House and turned it into a department store. The SPD kept only a few offices.

As with the other working-class districts of Berlin, the Nazis attempted to conquer the "red district" of Charlottenburg. The SA-Sturm 33, based in Charlottenburg, was headed by Hans Maikowsky and was known as the "Sturm of the Assassins" because of its many violent clashes with political opponents.

On January 30, 1933, the SS organized a torchlight procession through the Berlin government district to honor the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reich chancellor. To demonstrate the new power, on its return march to Charlottenburg, SA-Sturm 33 made a detour along Wallstrasse (later renamed Zillestrasse), one of the strongholds of the Charlottenburg Communist workers' movement. It came to a shoot-out in which policeman Josef Zauritz and Sturmführer Hans Maikowsky were shot dead.[1]

In his memoirs, Jan Petersen writes that the SA took over the former People's House in February 1933 and renamed it "Maikowski House" in honor of the dead Sturmführer. The name of the building was originally written as "Maikowsky," but this was found "un-German" by the Nazis, and so the letter *y* was replaced by the letter *i*. From no later than May 1933, the offices of the SA-Standarte I (Charlottenburg) were also based in Rosinenstrasse under the command of Standartenführer Berthold Hell.[2]

The use of the Maikowski House as an early SA concentration camp is documented from April 1933.[3] Above all, the SA brought supporters of the workers' parties to Maikowski House. But the reasons for arrest could equally include personal animosity, lust for revenge, adherence to the Jewish religion, or just arbitrariness. According to a statement by Mathilde Gerhardt, there were more than 40 others during her period of custody in the cellar of the former assembly building.[4] The prisoners were given straw sacks and kept in the cellar of the building, which measured around 600 square meters (6,458 square feet). In the same cellar, there was a room with a torture table where the mistreatment of prisoners took place. In the rooms on the upper levels, belonging to the SA-Standarte, interrogations and torture also took place. For these purposes, a room known as the "Revolution's Museum" was used, which held captured booty such as red flags, photos of leaders of the workers' movement, badges, and clubs.[5]

In his memoirs, Stefan Szende, leader of the Berlin organization of the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), describes the torture methods applied to him in the Maikowski House:

> Three SA-men take Stefan into another room. He has to undress fully and bend over a chair. Two pairs of strong fists firmly hold him. The third man repeatedly pushes a stick into his anus. Stefan writhes in agony. His forehead is covered with cold sweat. They lift him. They pour a bucket of cold water over his head. . . . For Stefan and his fellow prisoners, a night and a day of severest mistreatment followed. Sturmführer Kuhn constantly wanted to hear new names, especially from the women prisoners. He was not without success. Around midnight the cellar was already filled with twenty SAP officials covered in blood. . . . Stefan was then stretched out naked on the torture table. . . . Countless blows rained down on his testicles. For months after Stefan's testes were three to four times the normal size. . . . Stefan was tied to a bundle with his hands and arms tied to his back. By means of a thick rope and a pulley affixed to the ceiling he was lifted up as dead weight. His bare soles just at the right height for the bullies. They fetched rubber truncheons. The beatings rained down endlessly on the soles of his feet. Each blow felt as if it hit his bare brain.[6]

Oskar Hippe remembers a specially constructed torture chair overutilized while he was interrogated: "While one of the SA-men sat on my neck, the other got a square-shaped wooden block with a screw fixed at one end which also functioned as a joint. The wooden block was placed over the hollow of the knees. It felt as if one was held in a bench vise. A third put a wet floor cloth over my bottom and with a steel rod, covered in leather, the blows began."[7] Most of the time a doctor appeared in the cellar during the evenings to give minimal care to the mistreated but primarily to determine whether the SA men could continue with the torture.[8]

There were fatalities in the Maikowski House. Walter Harnecker, subdistrict head of the Charlottenburg branch of the German Communist Party (KPD), and Walter Drescher, member of the Communist Homes' Protection Squad (Häuserschutzstaffel), were beaten to death. Communist Youth Front (Jungfront) comrade Hans Schall died from his injuries after they chopped off both his hands.[9] Walter Chall, a worker, was first interrogated in the Maikowski House and mistreated there. Afterward, during the night of September 22–23, 1933, he was shot by SA men at Tegeler Heide. A criminal investigation by the Berlin state prosecutor into the matter was stopped because of the intervention of Prussian Prime Minister Hermann Göring in June 1934.[10] In their memoirs, former prisoners repeatedly mention the names of Berthold Hell and Helmuth Kuhn, leader of SA-Sturm 6/1 (former Sturm 33), as the SA members who were responsible for the severe mistreatment of prisoners.[11] SA guards were posted inside the building as well as at the entrance gate. On the basis of witnesses' statements, it is possible to document a 10-month period of existence of the camp, lasting until January 1934.[12]

SOURCES Stefan Szende's memoirs are an important source on the history of Maikowski House. They are titled *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz: Zeugnisse und Reflexionen eines Sozialisten* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlaganstalt, 1975). Jan Petersen's memoirs, *Unsere Strasse: eine Chronik, geschrieben im Herzen des faschistischen Deutschlands 1933/34* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1974), and Oskar Hippe's memoirs, *Und unsere Fahn' ist rot: Erinnerungen an sechzig Jahre in der Arbeiterbewegung* (Hamburg: Junius, 1979), are essential reading for the history of the Charlottenburg workers' quarters in 1933.

Archival sources on the history of Maikowski House are to be found in the building files, land registry files, judicial files, and the Berlin SA files held by the LA-B. The files of the VVN in the BA-B and the documents of the Prussian Ministry of Justice in the GStAPK are equally informative.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. State Prosecutor at the Berlin regional court, Proceedings against Schukar and Comrades (Genossen) for breach of the peace, "Maikowski-Trial," LA-B, A Rep. 358-01 Nr. 7085-8003.

2. Group Order Nr. 27 13.5.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 47.

3. General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 167; Heinrich-Wilhlem Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945: Widerstand in Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 56–57.

4. General Secretariat VVN, in BA, DY 55/V241/7/25, Bl. 145.

5. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, p. 56; Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz: Zeugnisse und Reflexionen eines Sozialisten* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlaganstalt, 1975), p. 17; Oskar Hippe, *Und unsere Fahn' ist rot: Erinnerungen an sechzig Jahre in der Arbeiterbewegung* (Hamburg: Junius, 1979), p. 152; Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), pp. 40–41.

6. Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, p. 19.

7. Hippe, *Und unsere Fahn' ist rot*, p. 152.

8. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, p. 57; Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, p. 25.

9. Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 41; General Secretariat VVN, in BA, DY 55/V241/7/25, Bl. 145; DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 172.

10. General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 172; Preussisches Justizministerium in GStAPK I. HA Rep. 84 a Nr. 53359, pp. 2, 7, 11.

11. Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, pp. 15, 17; Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 40; General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/193, pp. 537, 542; DY 55 V 278/3/189, pp. 167, 170, 172.

12. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, pp. 56–57.

BERLIN-KÖPENICK

The district of Köpenick is located in southeast Berlin. Its connection with the early stages of Nazi terror is the "Köpenick Blood Week" (*Köpenicker Blutwoche*). The excessive violence by the SA in Köpenick started in the beginning of March 1933. The acts of violence reached a peak during the week of June 21–26, 1933, the "Blood Week," when many citizens of Köpenick were taken by the SA from different parts of the district, then tortured and murdered.

During the night of March 20–21, 1933, Social Democratic Party (SPD) district representative Maria Jankowski was arrested at home by the SA and, together with previously arrested Johann Flieger (SPD) and Werner Heber (a Communist student), taken by car to the Sturmlokal Demuth at Elisabethstrasse 23. Here they were interrogated by the leader of the SA-Sturm 2/15, Herbert Scharsich. In between interrogations their heads were bent over a black-red-gold flag, and they were beaten at least 80 times by SA men, armed with cudgels, on their naked behinds and abused in other ways. They were released the next morning on condition that they would report daily to the Sturmlokal and would bring a list of SPD officials. However, their injuries were so bad that they had to spend a week in the hospital.[1]

From June 21, 1933, the Nazi Party (NSDAP) began to separate itself from its coalition partner, the German National People's Party (DNVP), on the grounds that it had been infiltrated by the Communists. The SPD was banned on June 22. It was under these circumstances that the Köpenick

SA, with the support of the Gestapo, planned an operation of massive arrests of its political opponents. During the night of June 20–21, the Köpenick SA leaders met at the Köpenick local court prison at then Hohenzollernplatz 5, where they agreed to organize a campaign of terror against members of the SPD, the German Communist Party (KPD), the Fighting Circle of Young German Nationals, the members of the Workers Youth Organizations, the unions, certain persons unaffiliated with any party, and Jewish civilians. The violence escalated when Anton Schmaus, son of union official Johann Schmaus, shot three SA men in self-defense.[2] Thereupon, hundreds of opponents of the regime were arrested and mistreated. At least 23 people were murdered or died in hospital because of their injuries. The SA arrest stations and places of interrogation in Köpenick were located at the SA pubs (*Lokale*) Demuth, Seidler, and Jägerheim and the SA quarters at Wendenschloss and Müggelseedamm. The coordinating center of the arrest operation was in the local court's prison. SA-Standarte 15 had established its headquarters in a few rooms of the court in May 1933. At the beginning of the arrest operation, the SA also requisitioned the jail. The construction of the court and prison building dated back to 1901. There were prison cells for 9 female and 43 male prisoners.

Many of those held by the SA in the local court's jail had been tormented earlier in one of the other SA arrest stations mentioned above. Their torture continued in the "prayer room," formerly used as prison chapel, and in the cells. According to a statement by SA-Mann Richard Skibba, the personal data of those delivered to the prison were recorded and the prisoners put in cells that held 20 prisoners each. He himself put a list of the prisoners' names on the cell doors and made sure that none of the prisoners sat down.[3] What happened next in the local court prison is summed up in the judgment of the Berlin Regional Court in *Plönzke and others.—Köpenick Blood Week*, dated July 19, 1950:

> They were taken out of their cells at short intervals, about every 5 to 10 minutes, and were beaten with sticks in the corridors and especially in the so-called prayer room. The mistreatments were such that the anti-fascists were beaten until they totally lost their ability to walk and their consciousness. The arrested Jewish civilians were forced to undress completely in order to be examined to determine whether they were "Aryan" or "non-Aryan." They were then beaten in a most cruel way—on their genitals. The hair of the captured anti-fascists was cut off with pocket knives and in part done in such a way that tufts of hair in the shape of a swastika remained on their heads. Minium (a red painter's dye) was used to paint the swastika onto the bloody heads of the mistreated persons. Numerous victims had their testicles and noses cut off. The torture practices were such that in the prayer room there were pieces of flesh and parts of brains lying about and large pools of blood which flowed out of the door of the room. . . . The numerous anti-fascists in the prayer room were forced to conduct military exercises and to march around and simultaneously sing the German national anthem. While doing so, they were mistreated with sticks and rods.[4]

According to the autopsy report of worker Franz Wilczock, who was tortured in the local court prison and died in the hospital on June 30, 1933, he had been forced by the SA to drink a strong acidic poison. The cause of death was blood poisoning resulting from the "expansive" pustulant injuries to the skin.[5]

The corpses of Karl Pokern (Rotfrontkämpferbund), Johannes Stelling (SPD), and Paul von Essen (SPD) were retrieved in July 1933 from nearby ponds. They had been shot by the SA in the jail of the local court. To conceal their murders, the SA had put the bodies in sacks, sewn them tight, and sank them in the ponds of the SA quarters at Wenden Castle.[6]

At the staff quarters, Herbert Gehrte coordinated the entire operation. In recognition of his services to the "national revolution," he was promoted, effective July 1, 1933, to Obersturmbannführer and in August 1933 to Standartenführer.[7] The following Köpenick SA units participated in the operation: SA-Sturm 1/15 commanded by Sturmführer Friedrich Plönzke, 2/15 commanded by Bruno Demuth, 3/15 commanded by Alexander Friedrich, the Nachrichten-Sturm (Intelligence Company) N1/15 under the leadership of Toldi Draeger, and the Reservesturm (Reserve Company) 5/15 under the command of Hans Berlemann. Reinforcements were provided by the Charlottenburg SA-Sturm 33 (Maikowski-Sturm).[8]

There were several public complaints in July 1933 about the behavior of the SA in Köpenick, and the local Ortsgruppenleiter of the NSDAP, Kaiser, the mayor, Karl Mathow, and councilor Janetzky concluded that the "public situation in the city district of Köpenick . . . has deteriorated to an extraordinary degree as the result of the conduct of the SA and the public is in a state of great unrest."[9] "No one dares to say anything anymore about the terror because if they do they are threatened that they will also be 'finished off.' "[10] Herbert Gehrke was then instructed to cease further action and to bring the SA terror in Köpenick to an end.[11]

Between 1947 and 1951, there were several trials before the Berlin Regional Court in which SA men who had participated in the crimes were convicted. The largest trial was the so-called Plönzke-Trial in which 61 people—only 32 of whom were present—were charged with crimes against humanity. On July 19, 1950, 15 of the defendants were sentenced to death and 13 to life imprisonment, and the remainder received sentences of between 5 and 25 years.[12]

SOURCES The events of the "Köpenick Blood Week," including the events in the local court jail, have been the subject of extensive historical examination. A good overview is to be found in the exhibition catalog of the memorial

site (*Gedenkstätte*) "Köpenicker Blutwoche," *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche Juni 1933: Eine Dokumentation; Ausstellungskatalog*, comp. and ed. Claus-Dieter Sprink (Berlin, 1997), as well as in Heinrich-Wilhelm Wörmann, *Widerstand in Köpenick und Treptow* (Berlin, 1995).

Files and other sources are held in the AHM-K. The trial files are held by the LA-B. The trial judgments are published in the multivolume documentation series by C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam/Munich, 2002–2005). An extensive description and analysis of each trial is to be found in the manuscript by André König, "Die juristische Aufarbeitung der 'Köpenicker Blutwoche' in den Jahren 1947–1951 und der Verbleib der NS-Täter im DDR-Strafvollzug," which is held in the AHM-K.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Polizeirevier, 6 Juli 1933, AHM-K, IV 400 Ged, 234; Geheime Staatspolizei, GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 90 P Nr. 71, p. 14; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror*, facsimile reproduction of the 1933 original (rept., Frankfurt am Main, 1978), pp. 32, 210–211.
2. Bericht von 22 Juni 1933, AHM-K, 24.4; *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche Juni 1933: Eine Dokumentation; Ausstellungskatalog*, comp. and ed. Claus-Dieter Sprink (Berlin, 1997), pp. 19–20; Heinrich-Wilhelm Wörmann, *Widerstand in Köpenick und Treptow* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 16–17.
3. Landgericht Berlin, Urteil der 4. Grossen Strafkammer in der Strafsache gegen Plönzke und andere (Köpenicker Blutwoche), Berlin (Ost) 1950, p. 190f.
4. Urteil Plönzke, p. 265. [The trial judgment by the Berlin regional court against Plönzke and others is published under case number 1293 in C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam/Munich, 2004), 6: 255–394.]
5. Preussisches Justizministerium, GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84a Nr. 53357, p. 11.
6. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 19–21; Urteil Plönzke, p. 124; Wörmann, *Widerstand in Köpenick und Treptow*, p. 27.
7. SA-Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg, Gruppenbefehl 44 vom 13.7.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 45.
8. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 19–22.
9. Abschrift vom 12.7.1933, AHM-K, Nr. 24.1.
10. Abschrift vom 6.7.1933, AHM-K, Nr. 24.1.
11. Ibid.
12. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 50–53.

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (FRIEDRICHSTRASSE NR. 234)

In the summer of 1932, the brothers Hermann and Paul Guthschow put part of their building at Friedrichstrasse 234 at the disposal of the SA-Sturmbann III/8. The SA used the floor under the roof of the apartment and office building, which included several inner rear courtyards, for sports exercises and drills. In January 1933, an additional SA quarters with a kitchen, overnight facilities, and day rooms for more than 30 men were established at this site.[1] From at least the end of March to May 1933, the building acquired a sorry reputation and was referred to as "Blood Fortress" (*Blutburg*) beyond the borders of Berlin.[2]

The SA used a number of cellars and storerooms, as well as a former stable, as an early concentration camp. Here the prisoners were interrogated, mistreated, and—to the extent they were still able to do so—forced to practice drills and work in the camp. One of the innumerable torture methods consisted of standing for hours in a cellar filled with water.[3] The only way the prisoners could sleep was on straw spread on the floor. They were fed inadequately with bread, beets, potatoes, and coffee made of barley.[4]

The SA mostly took members of the workers' parties and their organizations to this early concentration camp, but also Jews and others of divergent opinions.

Friedrichstrasse often was neither the first nor the only place of detention. In many instances, the prisoners had already been arrested and beaten by the SA at an SA clubhouse. They were then taken in larger groups to Friedrichstrasse 234. There were also prisoner transports between the Berlin Police Headquarters on Alexanderplatz and Friedrichstrasse. At one point, about 70 prisoners were led, with their arms held high, through the center of the city from Police Headquarters to Friedrichstrasse under the guard of armed SA men. During the march, one of the prisoners, out of fear and despair before the expected torture, threw himself in front of an oncoming bus.[5]

The SA harassed Jewish prisoners in many cases in a particularly cruel manner. They were beaten more brutally, were locked up in a special room, had to clean the toilets in the courtyard with their hands, and had to let SA men examine their genitals.[6]

The SA even abducted minors to this place. In the case of a 7-year-old boy and that of then-15-year-old Friedrich Friedländer, SA men tried to find out the whereabouts of their parents in order to arrest them.[7]

Some of the prisoners died from the consequences of their mistreatment, as shown by contemporary reports.[8]

The events at Friedrichstrasse 234 were observed and controlled at the highest level. Karl Ernst, the leader of the SA-Group Berlin-Brandenburg (SA-Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg), visited Friedrichstrasse after the committal of around 100 prisoners on March 5, 1933. In the presence of SA men and policemen, he had the prisoners line up in the courtyard and forced them to perform a number of various exercises. Those who gave up because of exhaustion were clubbed down with truncheons.[9]

Armed SA men guarded the prisoners inside the building complex and before the entrance door to Friedrichstrasse.[10] The prisoners could be held for up to two weeks. The SA often issued discharge papers with the condition that from then

on the released person must report daily to the Sturmbann III/8 office.[11]

Those primarily responsible for the early concentration camp were SA-Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Dörge and his adjutant, Sturmführer Kurt Buchmüller.

Because of the location in the center of the city and the establishment of the camp in a Berlin apartment building, people in the neighborhood also knew about the large number of arrests and the mistreatment of prisoners. The screams of the tortured prisoners could be heard all along Friedrichstrasse.[12]

In March, the SA permitted foreign journalists access to the camp. They took photos of the prisoners. In one picture, an SA man armed with a pistol and a rifle guards a group of men standing with their backs to the wall and arms raised high.[13]

After the closure of the camp, some rooms at Friedrichstrasse 234 continued to serve as the headquarters of the SA-Sturmbann. The building was demolished in 1956.[14]

On the basis of an appeal through the press and the resultant witness statements, a Soviet military tribunal sentenced Kurt Buchmüller to 25 years of imprisonment on January 6, 1947. He was released from prison 7 years later on January 16, 1954.[15]

SOURCES A detailed report by contemporary witnesses on prison experiences in Friedrichstrasse 234 can be read in "Letzter Tag in Deutschland," *WWB* (vol. II: 13, March 30, 1933): 382-385. Further information is to be found in: Hans-Rainer Sandvoss. *Widerstand in Kreuzberg*. Schriftenreihe über den Widerstand in Berlin von 1933 bis 1945 10; Widerstand 1933-1945, 2nd ed. (Berlin: GDW, 1997), 30, 31, 231.

The most extensive and important collection of sources are the police and judicial investigation files in the case of Kurt Buchmüller. They are held in the BA-DH.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Bauakte Friedrichstrasse 234, in LAB, B Rep. 206 Nr. 5410; Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 33.

2. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 34.

3. Ibid., pp. 39–40, 90; Theodor Balk, *Ein Gespenst geht um* . . . (Paris: Éd. Combat, 1933), p. 4.

4. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 61; Ernst Testis, *Das Dritte Reich stellt sich vor* . . . (Prag: Litera, 1933), p. 25.

5. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 45 Rs; *Angeklagter Hitler: Protokolle*, *Augenzeugen- und Tatsachenberichte aus den faschistischen Folterhöllen Deutschlands* (Zürich: Mopr-Verlag, 1933), pp. 5–6.

6. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp. 51, 54, 61; *RPWA* 7, (March 1933): 175–176.

7. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp.148 Rs; Testis, *Das Dritte Reich*, pp. 49–50; Theodor Krämer, *Blut-März 1933: Hakenkreuzbanditentum; Enthüllungen zum Reichstagsbrand* (Luxemburg: Selbstverlag, [1934]), p. 20.

8. *RPWA* 6 (March 1933): 138; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 333; *Braunbuch II: Dimitroff contra Göring; Enthüllungen über die wahren Brandstifter* (Paris: Edition Carrefour, 1934), p. 414.

9. *Angeklagter Hitler*, p. 9.

10. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 56; Testis, *Das Dritte Reich*, p. 6.

11. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 25.

12. Ibid., p. 59; Cassie Michaelis, *Die braune Kultur: Ein Dokumentenspiegel* (Zürich: Europa-Verlag, 1934), p. 108.

13. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 36 Rs; *Der braune Tod über Deutschland* (Paris: Comité d'aide aux victimes du fascisme hitlerien, ca. 1933).

14. Neugliederung der Brigade Berlin-Süd, 12.8.1933, in LAB, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 33; Bauakte Friedrichstrasse 234, in LAB, B Rep. 206 Nr. 5411.

15. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1., o.A.

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (HEDEMANNSTRASSE)

At the beginning of the 1930s there were several Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA offices located on Hedemannstrasse. For this reason, it has been difficult for witnesses to be precise about their place of detention. In reports there is reference to an "SA Barracks," a "blood cellar," and a "Brown House" in Hedemannstrasse, whereas others simply refer to "Hedemannstrasse." What has been documented is that there were SA detention sites in the buildings at Hedemannstrasse 5, 6, and 31/32.

Between April 1932 and the end of March 1933, the headquarters of SA-Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg was located on the third floor of Hedemannstrasse 31/32. During the months of February and March 1933, the SA primarily arrested members of the workers' movement and their affiliated political parties and brought them to this address. But a victim's Jewish background or an SA man's craving for personal revenge or just plain arbitrariness could equally be grounds for arrest. The prisoners were interrogated and brutally tortured. According to contemporary reports, SA-Gruppenführer (Major General) Wolf Heinrich Graf von Helldorf had the prisoners parade before him after they had been mistreated. The "interrogations" were carried out by, among others, SA-Sturmführer Julius Bergmann, head of SA section Ic (Intelligence Department) and commissioner in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. He had been shot in the leg in 1932 and since then had a wooden leg.[1] Precisely because of this noticeable characteristic, he was remembered by many prisoners. The detention site in Hedemannstrasse existed until March 31, 1933. The Berlin SA leadership then moved its offices to Vossstrasse 18.

Diagonally opposite the headquarters of the SA-Gruppe was Hedemannstrasse 5, which, since January 1933, housed SA-Untergruppe Berlin-Ost on its third floor. The records show that the SA began bringing arrested people to this

location in March 1933. On March 24, 1933, the leader of SA-Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg, Karl Ernst, declared Hedemannstrasse 5 to be the central detention site for the eastern part of Berlin.[2] Hedemannstrasse 6 was a twin building, but there were no SA offices in this building. Houses number 5 and 6 were connected to each other by way of an internal courtyard through which access was gained to the upper floors of both buildings, and they probably shared a common staircase. Rooms were occupied by the SA.

The room in which the prisoners were held only had straw on the floor. The "interrogations" and torture took place in two other rooms. Booty of the "national revolution"—Communist and Social Democratic flags, signs, and pictures—hung on the walls of another room. Prisoners who lost consciousness were brought back to life in a bathroom where water was poured over them.

Helmut Krautmann writes about his arrest on April 13, 1933: "When I entered the arrest room, there were about fifteen to seventeen prisoners there, some of whom had clear signs of torture and beatings. Some of the prisoners could no longer stand and the slightest movement caused them to groan in pain. . . . I myself was almost beaten unconscious."[3] Walter Stiller from Pankow was beaten up every hour on orders of Julius Bergmann because he had complained that he had been mistreated in an anteroom.[4] The SA had even prepared "punishment regulations" for Hedemannstrasse: "there were 'counted' blows, twenty-five to fifty on a covered or naked backside. There were 'running' blows from head to soles. There were 'rubdowns' with naked fists and fists with knuckledusters. There was 'coordination' whereby the prisoners had to beat each other."[5] The SA men beat the prisoners on their "genitals and backsides"; they forced a prisoner, close to unconsciousness, to drink a bowl full of spit; pills were given that caused pain and diarrhea; hair was pulled out in clumps; and fake executions took place.[6]

The prisoners received provisional medical care by an SA doctor, sometimes in return for money. The doctor also ordered transfers to the hospital. Depending on the seriousness of the injuries, he decided whether the prisoners should stand to attention when the call to salute was made, whether they should perform the salute lying down, or whether they did not have to make the greeting at all.[7]

The SA conducted its own investigation concerning Jewish businessman Leon Sklarz at Hedemannstrasse 5 in April 1933. A note written by the SA-Subgroup East contains the following: "We don't intend to quickly release this scoundrel. Before we hand him over to the police or the courts we will force him to open up about things which he no longer chooses to remember."[8]

There were deaths in Hedemannstrasse. Paul Pabst, a Communist laborer, jumped from the third-floor window of Hedemannstrasse 5 on April 23, 1933, and died on the spot.[9] Communist official Heinz Brandt recalls that "lifeless bodies were taken on a stretcher to be 'executed' in the courtyard" and that shots were heard the next moment.[10] Hans Spiro, a 17-year-old worker athlete, was mistreated in Hedemannstrasse in April 1933, and in May of the same year his corpse was pulled from the Spree Canal with his throat cut.[11]

Karl Ernst was head of the SA-Subgroup Berlin-East until his promotion to head of the Group Berlin-Brandenburg in March 1933. He was replaced by Richard Fiedler, who previously had been Standartenführer of the SA-Standarte 6 Berlin-Mitte. As subgroup leader, the early concentration camp at Hedemannstrasse 5 and 6 lay within his area of responsibility. Witnesses remember Julius Bergmann as head of the "interrogations," who gave the command for the number of beatings and set their rhythm. The building was used by the SA as a concentration camp until at least September.

After the war, the General State Attorney's Office of the German Democratic Republic instituted proceedings against Julius Bergmann for crimes committed at Hedemannstrasse. He was sentenced to death by the Berlin District Court on February 3, 1951, and executed on August 30, 1952.[12]

SOURCES Heinz Brandt in *Ein Traum, der nicht entführbar ist: Mein Weg zwischen Ost und West* (Munich, 1967) describes the author's experiences at Hedemannstrasse. Also useful are the books by Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), and Hans-Rainer Sandvoss, *Widerstand 1933–1945* [alternative title, *Widerstand 1933–1945, Kreuzberg*] (Berlin: GDW, 1997).

The SA files and construction and land registry files in the LA-B are essential reading for the history of Hedemannstrasse. The files of the VVN, the files of the former BDC, and the files of the state attorney's office of the German Democratic Republic are held in the BA and are also of significance. In the GStAPK are the files of the Gestapo and the bequest of Kurt Daluege, which provide further information on Hedemannstrasse.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. File Julius Bergmann, BA, SA (former BDC) D 0018.
2. State attorney's office at Berlin regional court, Proceedings against Schukar and Fors for breach of the peace, "Maikowski-Trial," LA-B, Rep. 358-01, Nr. 7059, p. 175; Oberstaffelbefehl Nr. 15.1.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03, Nr. 47; Gruppensonderbefehl 24.3.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03, Nr. 47.
3. Generalsekretariat VVN, Forschungsstelle, Ermittlungen und Untersuchungen der Rechtsabteilung zum Zwecke der Einleitung bzw. Durchführung von Strafprozessen und Spruchkammerverfahren wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/199, p. 77.
4. Ibid.
5. Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der USSR, 1934), p. 50.
6. Ibid., pp. 49–50; Theodor Balk, *Ein Gespenst geht um . . .* (Paris, 1933–1934), p. 7.

7. Generalsekretariat VVN, Forschungsstelle, Ermittlungen und Untersuchungen BA, DY 55/V278/3/199, Bl. 77.

8. File Julius Bergmann, BA, SA (former BDC) D 0018.

9. Bequest Daluege, GStAPK, VI. HA N1 Nr. 33, Bl. 14.

10. Heinz Brandt, *Ein Traum, der nicht entführbar ist. Mein: Weg zwischnen Ost und West* (Munich, 1967), p. 100.

11. *RPWA* 12 (May 1933): 438; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, Faksimile-Nachdruck des Originals von 1933 (Frankfurt am Main 1978), p. 342.

12. Aufstellung der Personen, die in der SBZ/DDR wegen Kriegsverbrechen/Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit verurteilt wurden, BA, DP/3 2386; Karteikarten der Generalstaatsanwaltschaft zu Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit und Kriegsverbrechen in der SBZ/DDR, BA, DP/3 2410. [The trial judgments against Bergmann are published under case number 1250 in C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam/Munich, 2004), 5: 609–624.]

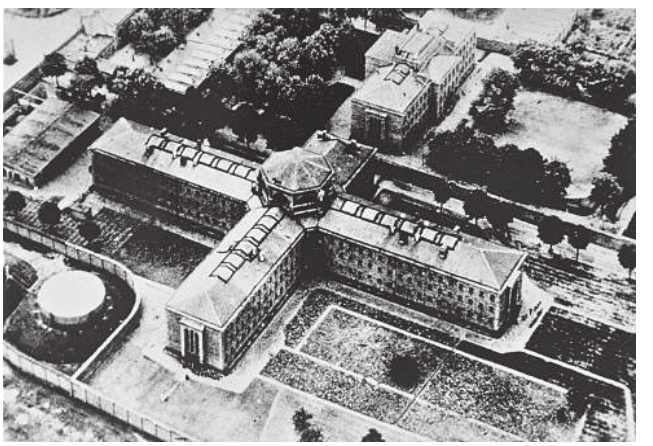
BERLIN-PLÖTZENSEE

In March 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp inside the Berlin-Plötzensee penal institution. On April 3, 1933, 60 SA men accompanied approximately 200 Plötzensee detainees to the new Prussian concentration camp at Sonnenburg.[1] This transfer amounted to approximately four-fifths of the Plötzensee camp's initial population of 250.[2] In September 1933, at least two transports of detainees left Plötzensee for the new Brandenburg concentration camp.[3] The second September transport included Polish citizen Roman Praschker, Nazi propagandist Kurt Lüdecke, and anarchist Erich Mühsam. According to the *Vossische Zeitung* newspaper, the prison held 350 detainees in October 1933. Under the direction of Oberdirektor Vacano and the supervision of professional warders, Plötzensee continued to hold political detainees until at least 1936. Details of Vacano's subsequent career are not known. Former Nazis and nationalist prisoners featured prominently among the groups detained at this institution.[4]

Although nothing is known about their treatment in March–April 1933, the detainees taken later that year experienced decent conditions. Their treatment initially stood in contrast to Plötzensee's convict population. Under Vacano, the punishment of criminals intensified, in keeping with the new regime's crime-fighting rhetoric. The *Daily Herald* later quoted Vacano as announcing that "we must make prison unpleasant for the prisoners." The *Vossische Zeitung* claimed that the prisoners' upkeep cost 40 pfennigs per day, half of which came from their own pockets. At a hypothetical 4 Reichsmark to the dollar, the prison thus allotted less than U.S. $0.03 per day to the prisoners. Convicts worked and performed close-order drill; they could not smoke or receive care packages. Those confined in the third, "panoptical" building, the political detainees, were exempt from work and drill. Their privileges also included permission to smoke and to obtain parcels. Their cell furnishings included tables, retractable beds, desks, and study lamps.[5]

Roman Praschker characterized Plötzensee as "very humane." Entering the camp on July 1, 1933, he had already been in custody since April, when the SA took him to the Horst-Wessel-Haus, a former Communist party building, for allegedly disseminating "atrocity stories." For three weeks the SA tortured him, before sending him to the Alexanderplatz jail. At the Berlin-Moabit holding center from May 15 to July 1, he awaited trial before a Nazi special court (*Sondergericht*), but his case never took place. At Plötzensee, Praschker encountered many Nazi prisoners, including Kurt Lüdecke and members of Otto Strasser's outlawed Schwarze Front (Black Front). He also met Erich Mühsam, who had been sent there from Sonnenburg.[6]

Lüdecke described Plötzensee as an institution where "the prisoner had a few privileges, however modest."[7] Blaming Nazi rival Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstängl for his arrest, his imprisonment probably had more to do with his criminal record. Despite his dishonest reputation, his report about Plötzensee may be corroborated with other accounts. In the police wagon from Alexanderplatz to Plötzensee in July 1933, Lüdecke encountered a "swarthy, broad-faced little man full of witty remarks" who turned out to be Friedrich Ebert, a Social Democratic Member of the Reichstag (MdR) and son of the Weimar Republic's first president.[8] (It is not known how long Ebert remained at Plötzensee.) In the prison, Lüdecke's chief concern was appeasing the "trusty" who, under a guard's supervision, dispensed food and other favors: "Though I loathed his visage and manners, I soon capitulated to the chief trusty of my station and paid him 'dues' to get my papers and books and run my errands."[9] Otherwise, the protective custody wing was relatively tolerable: "Yes, here was Prussian order: bedclothing changed twice a month, a fresh towel every week, and rules for everything—church services, prison library, writing, visitors, cell-cleaning, and so forth."[10]



An aerial view of Berlin-Plötzensee prison, an early camp, taken in the mid-1930s.
USHMM WS #19375, COURTESY OF NARA

For most of the time, Lüdecke occupied a solitary cell. When the wing was overcrowded, he briefly shared it with Artur Mahraun, founder of the Order of Young Germans (Jungdeutsche Orden) and the small German State Party (DSP). After Mahraun's transfer to another cell, Lüdecke got permission to have a day companion, Schwarze Front member Günther Kübler. For several days before their separate transfers to Brandenburg, they passed time conversing, reading, and playing chess.[11]

Although a German nationalist, the police accused Mahraun of spying on France's behalf. The SA tortured him at the General-Pape-Strasse early camp before sending him to Alexanderplatz. Immediately after his transfer to Plötzensee, Mahraun met the editor in chief of the illegal Communist daily *Rote Fahne*, Alfred Fendrich, who passed the latest rumors about the terror. While in Plötzensee, Mahraun wrote portions of "a dramatic Faust epic." Upon his release, the Gestapo confiscated this intended "protest against the present tyranny." Mahraun's connections in the Reich president's office facilitated his release in September 1933.[12]

After 1933, the distinctions between political and criminal prisoners blurred to the detainees' detriment. Prisoners' attempts to spread news about the declining conditions incurred severe punishment. Walter Köppe allegedly smuggled a letter outside Plötzensee with the assistance of "short-hand typist" Hildegard Freund. The Nazi Party organ, *Völkischer Beobachter*, denounced it for containing "the meanest and dumbest atrocity stories." For the offense, Köppe received 15 months' imprisonment and his accomplice 8 months.[13] By May 1934, political prisoners joined the criminals on work details. As part of their reeducation, they sang Nazi songs and, losing their segregated compound, shared cells with criminals.[14] By August 1936, the food situation worsened to the point that prisoners "search[ed] waste baskets for moldy scraps of bread." To deflect potentially embarrassing questions, the institution appointed the Schwarze Front's Major Schulz as prisoner "representative" to visiting foreigners.[15]

Among the detainees at Plötzensee in this period was Communist MdR Ernst Torgler. Torgler was the only German defendant in the Reichstag Fire Trial in the fall of 1933. After his acquittal on the charge of high treason, the police placed him in protective custody. He remained briefly at Moabit before the transfer to Plötzensee on January 14, 1934. Torgler was released from custody on December 1, 1936.[16]

Between 1933 and 1945, Plötzensee executed 1,574 political opponents. As part of Prussia's Nazi-era restoration of the death penalty, Plötzensee's first criminal executions took place in May 1933. Customarily, German prisons erected gallows on prison grounds before each execution and rang a bell at the time of death. In August and September 1933, Praschker heard the bell ring five times, although Lüdecke recalled only one such occasion.[17] In 1936, in order to restrict unauthorized news, the prison discontinued the practice of striking the bell. In 1937, in response to a Justice Ministry decree, Plötzensee established a permanent, guillotine-equipped death house, which further increased death penalty secrecy by removing executions from the view of the general inmate population. The institution's first political execution took place on June 14, 1934, with the hanging of Richard Hüttig. Among Plötzensee's wartime victims were members of the Red Orchestra and July 20 resistance groups.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Plötzensee memorial is recorded in Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: BPB, 1999). The list of executions is available in Willy Perk and Willi Desch, eds., *Ehrenbuch der Opfer von Berlin-Plötzensee: Zum Gedenken der 1574 Frauen und Männer, die wegen ihrer politischen oder weltanschaulichen Einstellung und wegen ihres mutigen Widerstandes gegen das faschistische Barbentum hingerichtet wurden* (Berlin [West]: Verlag das europäische Buch, 1974). The best work on the death penalty in Germany is Richard J. Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600–1987* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). A work of comparable importance on Nazi prisons is Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). For the use of law-and-order rhetoric as justification for Nazi dictatorship, see Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Useful background about Friedrich Ebert and Ernst Torgler can be found in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Politische Verfolgung, Emigration und Ausbürgerung, 1933–1945; Eine biographische Dokumentation*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994). Kurt Lüdecke's criminal past is carefully reviewed in Arthur L. Smith Jr., "Kurt Lüdecke: The Man Who Knew Hitler," *GSR* 26:3 (2003): 597–606.

Primary documentation for Plötzensee begins with SAPMO-DDR, Zentralparteiarchiv Bestand I, file 2/3/45 at BA-BL. This camp is briefly mentioned in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980). Photographs of the Plötzensee complex are available in Brigitte Oleschinski, *Gedenkstätte Plötzensee*, ed. GDW (Berlin: GDW, 1994). Valuable eyewitness testimony may be found in Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), 134–140; Kurt G.W. Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler: The Story of a Nazi Who Escaped the Blood Purge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938); and Artur Mahraun, *Politische Reformation: Vom Werden einer neuer deutschen Ordnung* (Gütersloh: Nachbarschafts-Verlag Artur Mahraun, 1949). Although Lüdecke's report on Plötzensee is reliable, his statements about leading Nazis must be used with considerable caution. After Plötzensee and Brandenburg, Lüdecke escaped Oranienburg concentration camp in early 1934 and arrived in New York days after the "Night of the Long Knives." Because of

his Fascist views, the United States refused to grant him citizenship, interned him during World War II, and deported him to Germany in 1947. Nazi and non-Nazi press reports documenting Plötzensee and Sonnenburg may be found in *DAN*, April 8, April 12, 1933; *DH*, May 19, 1934; *VB*, January 9, 1934; and *VZ*, October 14, 1933. The *VZ*'s feature reproduced lengthy extracts from an interview with Vacano and gave a mise-en-scène of Plötzensee's major compounds. The article afforded the director an opportunity to promote the regime's harsh approach to criminals. Publication information in *RF*, July 12, 1932, February 5, 1933, identified Fendrich as editor in chief. Plötzensee prison is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweiundtausendeins, 1990), 1:262.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. BA-A, SAPMO-DDR Zentralparteiarchiv Best. I file 2/3/45, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 55.

2. "Strafanstalt Sonnenburg als Konzentrationslager: Vorläufig 250 Gefangene," *DAN*, April 8, 1933.

3. Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 136; Kurt G.W. Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler: The Story of a Nazi Who Escaped the Blood Purge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 693.

4. "Der neue Strafvollzug: Ein Besuch in Plötzensee," *VZ*, October 14, 1933.

5. Ibid.; "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now," *DH*, May 19, 1934; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, pp. 687–688; Artur Mahraun, *Politische Reformation: Vom Werden einer neuer deutschen Ordnung* (Gütersloh: Nachbarschafts-Verlag Artur Mahraun, 1949), p. 110.

6. Praschker, "Brandenburg," pp. 134–138; ,"'Prominent' im Sonnenburger Konzentrationslager," *DAN*, April 12, 1933.

7. Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, p. 687.

8. Ibid., p. 686.

9. Ibid., p. 687.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., pp. 689–690, 692–693.

12. Mahraun, *Politische Reformation*, pp. 94–98, 100, 110–111 (quotations on p. 110); *RF*, July 12, 1932, and February 5, 1933; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, pp. 689–690.

13. "Greuelpropaganda aus dem Gefängnis," *VB*, January 9, 1934.

14. "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now."

15. *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), 3:1019.

16. "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now."

17. Praschker, "Brandenburg," p. 136; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, p. 693.

BERLIN-PRENZLAUER BERG [AKA WASSERTURM]

The densely populated district of Prenzlauer Berg was a stronghold of the Berlin workers' movement, where the Nazi Party (NSDAP) only managed to attain a below-average result of 22.1 percent in the parliamentary elections (*Reichstagswahlen*) of November 1932. Even before 1933, the district witnessed bloody confrontations between supporters of the workers' parties and the NSDAP. As of February 22, 1933, members of the SA took advantage of their new role as auxiliary police to arrest, rob, and ill treat individuals of the opposing political camp.

The waterworks, which had been built in 1856 and expanded over the course of the following decades, was put out of operation in 1914, as it could no longer accommodate the increasing water requirements of the city. The closure did not mean, however, that the 1.7 hectares (4.2 acres) water tower grounds were left unused. The water tower as well as the caretaker's rooms were used as living quarters. Both of the deep reservoirs as well as Engine Room II served as storage and warehouse space.[1] A recreational park was opened on the grounds for the local population in 1916.[2] When it was seized by the SA for its purposes in 1933, the water tower area was an inhabited, lively, and popular place for the neighboring population to relax.

"During the first weeks of the political changes, the SA ran its own concentration camp on the grounds of the water tower, where people who had been handed over to the SA on charges of subversion were held in detention," stated Dr. Thomas, the chief public prosecutor of the Berlin Court of Appeal, in his indictment of March 1935 dealing with the "Water Tower Case."[3]

The prisoners were locked up in the older and larger of the two engine rooms, Engine Room I.[4] The approximately 1,000 square meters (1,196 square yards) large building originally housed the power plant and boiler. For the most part, it had stood empty since 1914.[5] Engine Room I was chosen by the SA as a suitable location for a concentration camp since there was sufficient space to accommodate prisoners, conduct interrogations, and carry out torture. In addition, its prominent and central location in the district—the widely visible water tower is the symbol of Prenzlauer Berg—enabled the SA to demonstrate its newly attained position of power and to stir up anxiety within the population.

The exact date upon which the concentration camp was set up cannot be ascertained. Its existence can only be verified for an approximate period of three to three and a half months from March to June 1933.[6] Due to inadequate sources and the late assessment of the history of the camp, only 19 persons could be identified by name as prisoners. This number offers no basis upon which an estimation of the total number of detained persons might be reached. According to statements by former prisoners, individuals were detained from anywhere between one day and two weeks. Their reports describe

interrogations, brutal maltreatment, and forced labor. Members of workers' parties were frequently arrested at home or on the street by SA men and brought to the Penzlauer camp.

Jews were also imprisoned here, which is consistent with the fact that the district's synagogue and Jewish school were only around 200 meters (219 yards) from the concentration camp and the fact that there was a background of growing anti-Jewish repression, such as the April 1933 centrally orchestrated boycott of Jewish businesses, doctors, and lawyers.

The prisoners were guarded by members of the SA in the engine room. The SA conducted patrols around the buildings and along the surrounding wall. A sentry was also kept at the entrance to the gatehouse.[7] Karl Ziegler, a contemporary witness of the events, recalled that Engine Room I was filled with benches upon which sat prisoners facing interrogation, maltreatment, labor, or a similar fate.[8] According to statements by former prisoner Werner Rosenberg, there was also a room that served as a sleeping area in which the prisoners spent the night on sacks of straw.[9] According to the inmate Ernst Förstner, "two buckets of food" for the detained persons were supplied by a nearby restaurant frequented by the SA.[10] There were no public sanitary facilities on the grounds of the water tower or in the engine rooms, which had stood empty for over 15 years.[11]

Observations by eyewitnesses make clear that the inhabitants of Prenzlauer Berg were well aware of the existence of the concentration camp. In interviews conducted in the late 1970s, residents of houses bordering the water tower area reported that they could see the concentration camp prisoners and that their cries of pain were quite audible.[12]

Information about the responsible SA members can be gathered from copies of investigation, statement, and indictment reports of District Court VII of the Greater Berlin District and the chief public prosecutor's office of the regional court in the "Water Tower Case" of 1934 and 1935.[13] The Water Tower Case dealt with a number of crimes committed by the SA on the water tower grounds, such as theft, the accepting of stolen goods, and aiding and abetting the infiltration of the party by Communists. The former concentration camp and the unlawful detentions and grievous bodily injuries perpetrated there were only mentioned in passing and were in no way part of the criminal sentencing. It is therefore most probable that this case was primarily an internal SA purge. It followed the reorganization of the SA and the considerable reduction of its membership in the wake of the "Röhm Putsch" of June 30, 1934.

Nevertheless, records show that Ernst Pfordte was the senior commanding officer of the Prenzlauer camp. He was born on July 30, 1902, and became a member of the SA and the NSDAP in early 1932.[14] Testimony and contemporary witnesses described Pfordte's tendency toward extreme brutality and criminality, which led "to excesses under the influence of alcohol."[15] This was corroborated in further judicial inquiries against Pfordte on charges of bodily harm, which were held in the Berlin Regional Court in August 1934 and September 1935.[16] Also responsible for the events at the water tower was Willi Protsch, head of the Prenzlauer Berg SA Unit 4 of the East Berlin Brigade. No records have survived of the verdicts by the regional court, and the final results of the process remain uncertain. It is a fact, however, that Protsch had been previously convicted before this judicial inquiry, and a second inquiry before the Berlin Regional Court was opened in 1934 to deal with charges of murder and robbery as well as perjury.[17] It would appear that both Protsch, whose SA file ends with the Water Tower Case, and Pfordte, as a result of legal proceedings against him and possible sentencing, were barred from the SA. As for other members of the SA involved in events at the water tower, only names without biographical data or background information could be found.

On June 20, 1933, *Der Angriff* reported on the official opening of the SA recreational club on the water tower grounds by District Mayor Dr. Krüger and SA-Oberführer Fiedler.[18] Engine Room I, the former concentration camp, was turned into a dining room and lounge for up to 1,200 SA members.[19] The SA recreational club was, disbanded in the autumn of 1934 at the latest as part of the reorganization of the party troops, the grounds were to be redeveloped into a public park.[20] To this end, Engine Room I was demolished in June 1935, and all evidence of the area's past as a concentration camp was covered up.

SOURCES This entry is based on the article by Irene Mayer, "Das Konzentrationslager am Wasserturm: Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2003).

Archival sources concerning the waterworks and Engine Room I can be found in the BPA and in the LA-B. More information on the prisoners is provided at the VVN-B district group Prenzlauer Berg as well as in documents of the Verfolgten des Naziregimes in the LA-B. Sources about the responsible SA members can be gathered from leaflets by the political opposition; copies of investigation, statement, and indictment reports of District Court VII of the Greater Berlin District; and the collection of documents set up by the SA Berlin-Brandenburg at the LA-B.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28, p. 38; folder "Wasserturm," BPA, p. 133.

2. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28, pp. 154, 173.

3. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 337.

4. Interview with Karl Ziegler, August 20, 2002.

5. "Zur Geschichte des Wasserturmgeländes," in Annett Gröschner, *Ybbotaprag* (Berlin, 1998), p. 68.

6. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg; SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 26; *DAN*, June 20, 1933.

7. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch,

Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 39; folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, pp. 82, 84.

8. Interview with Karl Ziegler, August 20, 2002.

9. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, p. 87.

10. Ibid., p. 86.

11. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28.

12. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, pp. 82, 84, 88.

13. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899.

14. Ibid., p. 364.

15. Ibid., p. 38.

16. Namensregister der Geschäftstelle 88 des Landgerichts Berlin, BA-BL, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3909, Bd. 503; Ermittlungsverfahrensregister der Geschäftsstelle Js pol b des Landgerichts Berlin, LA-B, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3872, Bd. 169.

17. Ermittlungsverfahrensregister der Geschäftsstelle Js pol b des Landgerichts Berlin, LA-B, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3872, Bd. 169.

18. *DAN*, June 20, 1933.

19. Umbau des Maschinenhauses I, LA-B, A 6012.

20. Folder "Wasserturm," BPA.

BERLIN-SPANDAU

In Spandau, an industrial suburb of Berlin, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD) had numerous followers and maintained party offices and meeting points. On the other hand, Spandau, with its distinctive petit bourgeois milieu, belonged to those city districts in Berlin where the National Socialists achieved their biggest electoral successes in 1932–1933.

Since the beginning of the 1930s, the SA had grown strongly in Spandau. In the fall of 1933, its strength is reported to have been around 6,000 men. In Spandau, the independent Sturmbann 14—since June 1933 promoted to a regiment with the designation II/14—split up into a number of SA-Stürme. By 1933 a well-developed network of Nazi Party (NSDAP) local branches and the SA existed. Of particular importance were the SA clubhouses and SA quarters, which in the various districts served as initial gathering points, communications centers, social meeting points, sleeping areas, and a demonstration of power and operational bases for marches and attacks.

Many of these facilities, with the support or toleration of their operators, served as detention and interrogation sites for political opponents and others out of favor with the government shortly after the National Socialists assumed power. At this time, the organization of the Spandau SA also reflected the infrastructure of terror. The use of existing party structures facilitated the installation of an apparatus to persecute political opponents and groups out of favor with the government that was largely independent and unchecked by the police and judiciary. These facilities were located primarily in heavily populated areas; it was not concealed from the population when people were there, and it was possible to find out what the SA did with them.

In addition, the local SA also occupied public facilities. People were detained and abused in the following Spandau SA facilities:

- SA quarters "Drechsel" (also referred to as "Drechsler") at Wilhelmstrasse 20, which was the clubhouse of the Spandau SA-Sturm 107;
- Spandau city hall, Carl-Schurz-Strasse, which had served as regiment guardhouse (*Standartenwache*) of the Spandau SA since 1933; detention cells located in adjoining building;
- SA office (*Büro*) on Breite Strasse 66; building at the rear of a courtyard (*Hofgebäude*). This site was also known in Spandau as the "blood basement" (*Blutkeller*) or "GPU basement" (*GPU-Keller*) (for the Soviet secret police);
- Restaurant Hohenzollernkasino, Wegscheider Strasse/Grafenwalder Weg, clubhouse of the SA-Sturm II/14;
- Restaurant Hornemann, Brunsbütteler Damm/Nennhauser Damm, clubhouse of the SA-Sturm "Seeburg";
- Restaurant Lindengarten, Hakenfelder Strasse/Michelstadter Weg, SA-Caserne (SA-Kaserne) of SA-Sturm 98 (later: II/14);
- Restaurant Mönning, Schönwalder Strasse 57b;
- Restaurant Pepitas-Rah, Streitstrasse;
- Restaurant Drei Linden, Seegefelder Strasse 80;
- Restaurant Schwindelschmidt, Neuendorfer Strasse 51.

Generally these sites were in no way suitable for the imprisonment of people. While the Spandau SA illegally occupied some of these facilities, others were privately owned by restaurant operators or commercial tenants.

The use of clubhouses as detainment centers was the continuation of SA terror—like that already carried out on the streets with extreme brutality before 1933—with different, expanded means. The purpose of the Spandau SA's detention and interrogation centers consisted primarily in controlling, intimidating, or eliminating actual or potential opponents of the Nazis. In addition, they served as bases from which to attack the workers' movement and to destroy its organizations which influenced many areas of life (living, culture, education, athletics, etc.). With the imprisonment of functionaries, left-wing parties would also be put out of action on the local level. Through the use of torture, information about planned actions and persons in hiding was also extorted. Because of its close-knit network of bases—established over a period of many years—and by being firmly embedded in the local communities, the Spandau SA had detailed knowledge about the meeting points of its opponents, the structure of their organizations, and their political activists. In addition to politics,

other motives also played an important role in the persecution and detention of people out of favor with the government: greed, criminal activities, sadistic tendencies, and personal animosities.

The majority of those imprisoned at Spandau during the first months of 1933 were political opponents from the ranks of the Communists and Social Democrats but also occasionally Jews falling victim to racist attacks. Usually, they were people who only played a minor role on the political stage.

During the persecution of political opponents, SA-Sturm 107 in Wilhelmstadt, with its base at the SA quarters Drechsel, a restaurant in the Wilhelmstrasse, as well as the SA-Standarte II/14, which in June 1933 had moved its quarters into a wing of the Spandau city hall, stood out.

The pub Drechsel was in the Spandau petit bourgeois district Wilhelmstadt, across from a church and a police station, whose chief sympathized with the SA and largely tolerated the illegal detentions and abuses.

It was a freestanding two-story building. On the ground level were the lounge, kitchen, and toilettes, and on the first floor were plank beds for accommodating SA men. Hence, a certain number of SA men were always in the building. In addition, a laundry was located in the basement. In the courtyard of an adjoining building, there was a shed. The victims, who were taken there, were provisionally detained in bathrooms or in the courtyard; on the first floor, interrogation and abuse rooms were set up. The building was not suitable for extended imprisonment of people, which explains why the majority of prisoners were set free after a few hours or a day. The Spandau SA brought others to the central facilities in the city, for example, to the General-Pape-Strasse or to the Oranienburg concentration camp.

Not until June 1933 did the SA-Standarte II/14 set up a "guardhouse" in the building adjoining city hall, with which the Spandau SA demonstrated its desire for a state function to the outside world. In it were offices as well as a few small detention cells. In July 1933, when the Communists organized a large leafleting campaign, the Spandau SA struck again. This time the Drechsel was not the center of detention, interrogation, and abuse but rather the regimental guardhouse in the city hall, which was much better suited. The prisoners were initially detained here before most of them were taken to the Oranienburg concentration camp.

The July persecutions took place at a time when the persecution of political opponents had already been systematized and professionalized. Events in Spandau reflected that the actions of the SA were no longer welcome. The SA was no longer wanted as an instrument of persecution. Thus, detention and interrogation facilities such as Drechsel and the regiment guardhouse in the city hall were disbanded.

No records were kept on the inmates of the unauthorized Spandau concentration camps, so their numbers can only be estimated roughly. During sudden arrest campaigns, it is estimated that dozens of prisoners were arrested and taken together to an SA gathering place. If one assumes the SA terror lasted several months, with varying degrees of intensity, a total of several thousand prisoners were detained at least briefly (several hours to one day). Prisoners were seldom detained longer than one day in facilities such as Drechsel. Thus, no prisoners were used for slave labor in Spandau.

Murders of prisoners, so-called executions, were apparently planned at the Drechsel but never carried out, due to police intervention. Following a Spandau SA wave of terror on March 3, 1933, the police felt compelled to free the SA's prisoners in order to prevent an escalation of violence. On March 11, Erich Meier, a functionary of the Communist youth club in Spandau, was killed. Meier, described as charismatic and politically popular with young people, was especially hated in National Socialist circles. The young man was brutally abused at the Drechsel before being shot by SA members on a field near Spandau.

Two of those responsible for the events at the Drechsel were legally called to account in 1951: SA-Obersturmführer Gerhard Steltner and SA-Hauptsturmführer Hans Horn. In the first proceedings of September 1951, the 10th Criminal Court of the Berlin Regional Court sentenced Steltner to three years and six months in prison for crimes against humanity. Horn was sentenced to one year in jail. Due to a procedural error the sentence had to be rescinded, and in a second process, Steltner was sentenced to a minor prison term, whereas Horn was acquitted.

SOURCES In 1987, an essay on the unauthorized concentration camps and torture basements in Berlin in 1933–1934, summarizing the previous research and adding new insights, was published. In it knowledge about the situation in Spandau is discussed. It has been established that in Berlin there were 150 locations where people had been detained and abused by the SA and the SS—see Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gleich, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager in Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkeller 1933/34," in *Berlin-Forschungen II*, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe (Berlin: Colloquium-Verlag, 1987), pp. 141–178. In his essay about the Spandau SA in the years 1926–1933, Gleich goes into more detail about the unauthorized concentration camps in Spandau: Oliver C. Gleich, "Die Spandauer SA 1926 bis 1933. Eine Studie zur nationalsozialistischen Gewalt in einem Berliner Bezirk," in *Berlin-Forschungen III*, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe (Berlin: Colloquium-Verlag, 1988), pp. 107–205.

The essential information on the SA terror in Spandau and specifically on the detention facilities and the unauthorized concentration camps can be found in the 1951 court case files for Gerhard Steltner and Hans Horn in the regional court of Berlin: Reference 1 P KLs 21/51. They are stored in the LA-B under the shelf mark B Rep. 058 Vorl. Nr. 458.

Helmut Bräutigam
trans. Eric Schroeder

BERLIN-TIERGARTEN (UNIVERSUM-LANDESAUSSTELLUNGSPARK)

The Universum-Landesausstellungspark (Universe State Exhibition Park, (Ulap) was located in the center of Berlin

between the city railway lines, Invaliden Strasse, and Alt-Moabit Strasse. The area of the site was about 61,000 square meters (72,955 square yards) and was opened in 1879 as part of the Berlin Trade Fair. Until 1932, Ulap was used for exhibitions, charitable occasions, trade fairs, and markets. Beginning in the 1930s, Ulap was also used for gatherings of the Berlin National Socialist Workers Party.

Between March and November 1933, the SA brought opponents of the regime—Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, and intellectuals—to the Ulap for interrogation and mistreatment. The All German Workers' Union, fearful of further attacks, sent an anonymous report to senior government counselor Rudolf Diels, which detailed the events at the Ulap. According to the report, on Saturday, March 18, 1933, numerous persons were arrested in their homes by SA Auxiliary Police and driven off in a "truck." The report continues as follows:

> They were taken to Ulap via the Lehrter Railway Station. There were between 70 and 80 arrested people there, all of whom had been picked up in the same way. Upon entering the room they all had to stand to attention facing front and an order sounded: "stand straight." Any attempt to lean against the wall or to make even a hand movement was answered with a rubber truncheon. Next, the lawyer Joachim was asked how often he had put Nazi members in jail through trials. He answered: "None." The immediate reply was: "You pig. You shit. You're still lying." He was then beaten by one of the Nazis with a rubber truncheon on the mouth and in the face. . . . In the meantime, the lawyer's brother, who is a doctor and does not belong to any party, was also beaten until he collapsed. The same happened to the lawyer Friedländer, whom I know, and to three Jewish doctors, who were told: "we will now give you medical treatment." The lawyer Joachim and the other Jews were then asked how many Christian girls they had slept with. When they replied "none" they were beaten again with rubber truncheons. Another Nazi came and said: "Do you really want to dirty yourself with these pigs?", and he asked: "Who among you are Communists?" The Communists thereupon reported themselves. The two strongest among them were selected and forced to work over the Jews with rubber truncheons. When one of the Communists, who had been beating the attorney J. [Joachim], saw him collapse because of the blows to his head and only continued to hit him on the greatcoat, he was ordered to resume hitting him on the head. When the beating was over, all the Jews were put up against the wall and ordered to sing the German national anthem. They were then taken to another room. After a short period again a number of Communists were summoned and told to take from the Jews any money they had. The money was used to buy food and drink for the other prisoners. It was said that the Jews were to receive no water. . . . In the meantime, perhaps around 10 a.m., a member of the Reichsbanner was brought in, who had been beaten to a pulp. Water was fetched. But he could no longer lift his head. His clothes were drenched in blood. Even in this situation, several SA commanders came up to him and said: "You dog. You shit. You must get even more. Aren't you dead yet?"[1]

The lawyer Günther Joachim had been practicing in Berlin since 1928 and was known as a defense counsel for Social Democrats and Communists. He was arrested by the SA Auxiliary Police on the morning of March 18, 1933. On instructions from the police presidium, he was taken on March 20, 1933, to the state hospital on Scharnhorst Strasse, where he died on March 29 as a result of his injuries. According to the autopsy report, "there were traces of extensive bleedings in the skin and fatty tissue, a watery saturation of the brain and its membranes, heart and kidney modifications as well as a slimy pustulent catarrh of the lungs."[2] As charges were brought by his brother, Dr. Fritz Joachim, the general state attorney with the Berlin Regional Court opened up criminal investigations. On May 23, 1933, after consultation with Prussian Minister of the Interior Hermann Göring, the investigations were suspended under reference to the amnesty decree of March 21, 1933.[3]

Despite the arrests and mistreatments, the Ulap developed into the main base of SA-Sturmbann (Storm Unit) II of the Standarte (Regiment) 16 (Tiergarten and Moabit). In addition to the operational office, there was a canteen and an assembly room. In October 1933, there were evening gatherings at which the Sturmbann (on Tuesdays), the noncommissioned officers (on Thursdays), and the Sturm (on Fridays) got together, while on Sundays the Ulap grounds were used for training.[4]

SOURCES The history of the Universe State Exhibition Park can be read in Helmut Engel, Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, and Wilhelm Treue, eds., *Geschichtslandschaft Berlin: Orte und Ereignisse*, vol. 2, *Tiergarten*, part 2, *Moabit* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1987), pp. 366–378.

Useful are the construction files and the files of the general state attorney with the Berlin Regional Court as well as the SA files contained in the LA-B. Further information is to be found in the files of the Prussian Ministry of Justice, the Geheime Staatspolizei, and the State Secretary Grauert in the GStAPK.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Gestapo, Events etc. 1933, GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 90 P Nr. 71, pp. 20–21.
2. Prussian Ministry of Justice, GStAPK, Rep. 84a Nr. 12733, pp. 14–15.
3. Ibid., pp. 2, 41.
4. To II/I6 2.10.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 22.

BOCHUM

In the spring of 1933, SA-Standarte 17 at Bochum converted "Gibraltar," an abandoned mine, into a "protective custody" camp. Closed since 1925, Gibraltar was located at Oveneystrasse, near the Kemnader Stausee. SA-Standartenführer Otto Voss appropriated the site from the Stahlhelm in order to establish an SA leadership school, which was completed in June 1933. The prisoners consisted of an unknown number of trade unionists, Social Democrats, and Communists. The miners' union secretary, Hans Mugrauer, accounted for the SA's eagerness in erecting the camp: "In the eyes of the Nazis it [Bochum] was a 'red bastion.'"[1] Among the prisoners were Communist Party member Emil Schevenerdel and trade unionist Fritz Viktor. Detainees performed hard labor, but the details are not known.

Word spread about Gibraltar by official and unofficial means. The *Bochumer Anzeiger* newspaper published a photograph of it in June 1933, which revealed the two-story brick complex surrounded by SA, but did not explicitly identify it as a camp. An inset accompanying this picture showed Standartenführer Voss.[2] Although not imprisoned there, Mugrauer learned about Gibraltar's reputation while under SA torture. "To whom the Nazis would do evil," he recalled, "they dragged to 'Gibraltar'—soon a dreaded word!"[3]

The date of dissolution is uncertain. Although one witness maintained that Gibraltar was closed with the opening of Voss's leadership school, another claimed that it continued to operate until December 1933 or February 1934.[4] Prisoners not released were dispatched to the Emsland camps at Börgermoor and Esterwegen.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard account of Bochum-Gibraltar, Johannes Volker Wagner, *Hakenkreuz über Bochum: Machtergreifung und nationalsozialistischer Alltag in einer Revierstadt* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983). Maps, a photograph, and excerpts from the Wagner text may be found at the city of Bochum Web site, Stadt Bochum—Stadtarchiv, "Stationen der Leidenswege," www.bochum.de/leidenswege. The camp is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). A brief history can be found in Günter Gleising and VVN-BdA, Kreisvereinigung Bochum, eds., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Ein alternativer Stadtführer zur Geschichte in den Jahren 1933–1945* (Bochum: WURF Verlag, 1988).

Primary documentation for Bochum-Gibraltar begins with Hans Mugrauer, "'Deutschland erwache'—Rückblick auf die Vorgänge um die Vernichtung der Weimarer Republik," *GWM* 26: 7 (July 1975): 421–429. In his report, Mugrauer testified about the Nazi assault on the Bochum trade unions. After his release from an undisclosed Bochum torture site, Mugrauer went into Czech and then Swedish exile. Another source, cited by Wagner, are the papers of Franz Vogt, held at the Internationaal Instituut voor sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Vogt was a Social Democratic deputy of the Prussian Landtag (parliament) who, like Mugrauer, went into exile following SA torture. Like Mugrauer, it is not clear whether he was personally imprisoned at Gibraltar. His papers document the Nazi persecution of Bochum's trade unionists. As cited by Gleising et al., the *BA* published photographs of the Gibraltar camp and of Voss on June 12, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Hans Mugrauer, "'Deutschland erwache'—Rückblick auf die Vorgänge um die Vernichtung der Weimarer Republik," *GWM* 26: 7 (July 1975): 422.

2. *BA*, June 12, 1933, reproduced in Günter Gleising and VVN-BdA, Kreisvereinigung Bochum, eds., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Ein alternativer Stadtführer zur Geschichte in den Jahren 1933–1945* (Bochum: WURF Verlag, 1988), p. 19.

3. Mugrauer, "'Deutschland erwache,'" p. 423.

4. Johannes Volker Wagner, *Hakenkreuz über Bochum: Machtergreifung und nationalsozialistischer Alltag in einer Revierstadt* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983), p. 198. Wagner does not identify the witnesses in question.

BÖRGERMOOR [AKA PAPENBURG I]

On June 22, 1933, 90 skilled detainees from Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) [aka Ulmer Höh] arrived at Börgermoor, Gemeinde Hümmling, Emsland, the first of four subcamps of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) established for wetlands cultivation. Occupying two existing barracks, the Ulmer-Höh prisoners erected the "barracks camp." Designed to hold 1,000 prisoners in 10 barracks, Börgermoor assigned accommodations numerically in groups of 100. Thus prisoner 166, Rabbi Max Abraham, slept in barrack 2. Detainees wore green, 1918-vintage municipal police (Schupo) uniforms with numbers on armbands. The Börgermoor early camp came under four administrations: Osnabrück Schupo (until July 15, 1933), SS (July 15 to November 6, 1933), Prussian police (November 6 to December 20), and SA (December 20, 1933, to April 25, 1934). Thereafter, the detainees proceeded to Esterwegen, and Börgermoor became a Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry penal camp. Pending the SS takeover, the commandant, Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 166930, SS No. 2030) and 20 SS trained under police supervision in June 1933. By July 15, Fleitmann commanded 150 SS guards.[1]

Although this camp did not record any murders, mundane activities sometimes occasioned abuse. On August 20, 1933, Fleitmann granted a one-hour Sunday smoke break but after lights-out initiated a camp-wide contraband search. When it produced hidden tobacco, he ordered a snap assembly. In what detainee Wolfgang Langhoff called the "night of the long bars," the guards clubbed exiting prisoners on their way to

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

roll call. SS-Scharführer Johannes-Peter Kern (NSDAP No. 96828) also tormented prisoners. In the 32 cell arrest bunker, he made long-standing occupants beat initiates and taunted semiconscious victims with questions such as, "Are you awake?"[2]

Kern prepared a violent reception for the Oranienburg transport that arrived on September 13, 1933. The transport consisted of "Jews and bigwigs," including Friedrich Ebert, son of the Weimar Republic's first president, Ernst Heilmann, a Social Democratic Party (SPD) Reichstag member, and Armin Wegner, a novelist who protested against the "Jewish Boycott" to Adolf Hitler. In each barrack, the SS made Ebert and Heilmann introduce themselves as "traitors to the Fatherland." Later Kern forced Heilmann to crawl on all fours and bark like a dog. Because of continuous harassment, Heilmann attempted suicide by advancing upon a guard who shot him in the leg. The SS made Jews hand-clean latrine pits on the Sabbath, Rosh Hashanah, and Yom Kippur. Sally Silbermann, a Jewish detainee from the first transport, publicized the Oranienburg group's ordeal after release. Embarrassed by the press accounts, the Prussian Ministry of Interior reassigned the Jews and prominent inmates to Lichtenburg on October 17, 1933.[3]

Most detainees worked in land reclamation. While marching to work, the SS required them to sing. In October 1933, Langhoff's Kommando sang "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden." When asked why they chose this song, they reported hearing unofficial news about the murder of Otto Eggerstedt at Esterwegen II. The SS did not stop their mild protest. At work, prisoners divided into 30- to 40-man teams, overseen by guards and civilian foremen. While some dug peat, others pushed wheelbarrows.[4] As Nikolaus Wasser described, the labor exacted a heavy toll: "The work in the Ems marsh was very hard. Everyday, we had to break up the muddy moor. It began with digging a ditch, 10 meters long, 1.10 meters wide, and 1.20 meters deep (approximately 33 feet by 3.6 feet by 3.9 feet). Through the urging of the guards and the use of terror, we reached the limits of our strength. The food and the sleep permitted us could not renew our strength, so it was harder for us to perform the work from one day to the next."[5]

As the singing episode demonstrated, Börgermoor inmates asserted limited autonomy. In late July 1933, they "elected" Karl Schabrod, *Bergische Volksstimme*'s editor, camp spokesman. Despite some Communist–Social Democratic (KPD-SPD) tensions—the camp was 80 percent Communist, and they resented some SPD "bigwigs"—witnesses praised Börgermoor's strong comradeship. Mutual aid assumed many forms, including French and Esperanto classes. Prisoner initiative emerged foremost in the "Circus Concentrationary" (*Zirkus Konzentrazani*). After the "night of the long bars," Langhoff, a Düsseldorf actor, secured Fleitmann's permission to hold the circus. On August 27, 1933, a barker called the audience into the ring. Inside, talented prisoners performed gymnastic and acrobatic exercises, danced the "moor ballet," impersonated females, shadowboxed, clowned, and sang. The show culminated in the debut of the "Börgermoorlied." Anonymously composed, this first concentration camp song electrified the prisoners and SS. Fleitmann banned it two days later because the final stanza and refrain struck a subversive chord: "Thus for us there is no lament / Winter cannot last forever / Someday we will gladly say / Home, you are mine again. [Last refrain:] Then the moor soldiers / will no longer dig with the spades / in the moors!"[6]

One Sunday in late September 1933, 20 wives from Düsseldorf arrived unannounced to visit their husbands. Refusing an order to deposit care packages and leave, they waited outside for 90 minutes while the SS confined the prisoners to barracks. When the women rejected the offer to see their men individually, the SS let them enter as a group. Jean Kralik presented his wife, Lya, two baskets, one of which contained a photograph with the "Börgermoorlied" written on the back. Civilians soon sang the *Lied* (song) in Düsseldorf.[7]

In October 1933, poor staff discipline, including Fleitmann's involvement in a barroom brawl the previous August, prompted SS and Prussian Ministry of Interior investigations. Rudolf Diels, chief of the National Headquarters of the Secret State Police (Gestapa), ordered state prosecutor Günther Joel and 50 Berlin police to remove the SS. On November 4, Fleitmann's "Free Corps," armed with firearms and hand grenades, shot at Joel's men while prisoners took cover in the barracks. The rumor that the SS fleetingly considered arming prisoners is unconfirmed. The mutiny ended the next day, when SS-Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel ordered the Papenburg SS to stand down. The SS left Börgermoor on November 6.[8]

Under Prussian police, the prisoners conducted secret and public political activities. On November 7, every barrack quietly commemorated the Bolshevik Revolution. The November 12, 1933, Reich Plebiscite occasioned open dissent, however. In conversations that started with the coded message "Moritz has said," the camp underground urged prisoners to vote "No." Of 1,050 ballots cast in the camp (police included), fewer than 20 supported the regime. The police ordered penal exercises but otherwise refrained from retaliation.[9]

Under Obersturmführer Waldemar Schmidt, the SA treated the prisoners properly. On December 22, 1933, Börgermoor's population declined with the Christmas amnesty of 380 prisoners. Releases continued in the coming months. On April 1, 1934, Neusustrum's population arrived in the camp. Börgermoor's remaining 467 detainees entered Esterwegen II on April 25, 1934.[10]

On November 4, 1934, the Meppen civil court fined Fleitmann 150 Reichsmark (RM) because of the bar fight, but the Osnabrück state prosecutor dismissed the judgment after Fleitmann's appeal to Hitler. Fleitmann remained in the SS but was demoted to Untersturmführer and for a time served on the SS cadre branch staff (Stammabteilung), which amounted to career limbo. Attached to a Luftwaffe construction unit in wartime, Fleitmann died in Soviet captivity on November 14, 1944.[11]

According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, the SS reassigned Kern, probably for disciplinary reasons, to SS-Sturmbann Bad Oeynhausen on October 15, 1933. In an indication that Emsland service did not always compromise SS careers, he was promoted to Untersturmführer in 1936. The Oldenburg prosecutor indicted him for torturing Börgermoor inmates, but he committed suicide in 1949 before trial.[12]

SOURCES The most important secondary sources on Börgermoor are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Kurt Buck, "Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 176–184; Willy Perk, *Hölle im Moor: Zur Geschichte der Emslandlager, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1979); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). Biographical information about Fleitmann and other Börgermoor SS is found in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), was published after this entry was written.

Primary documentation for Börgermoor begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. Documents from the StA-Osn, Rep. 430 and 495, including the Grauert memorandum and Kern indictment, are reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites Fleitmann's BDCPF; Sally Silbermann's testimony in "Schandtaten im Konzentrationslager: Wie Abgeordneter Heilmann misshandelt wurde," *DF*, October 4, 1933; documents from StA-Osn; and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. On the police takeover, biased but useful testimony can be found in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). On the wives' visit, Lya Kralik's testimony is found in Klara Schabrod, "Wie das Lied der Moorsoldaten aus dem Lager geschmuggelt wurde," in *Widerstand gegen Flick und Florian: Düsseldorfer Antifaschisten über ihren Widerstand 1933–1945*, ed. Karl Schabrod (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978); and Hanne Höttges's testimony is found in Inge Sbosny and Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand in Solingen: Aus dem Leben antifaschistischer Kämpfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1975). Börgermoor generated many testimonies; the most useful is Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). The ninth edition contains two illustrations by prisoner Jean Kralik. Additional published testimonies include Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reproduced in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), pp. 119–167; Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979); Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, *"Welt vorbei": Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985); Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969); Nikolaus Wasser, *Bonner Kommunist und Widerstandskämpfer*, ed. Horst-Pierre Bothien (Bonn: Stadtmuseum, 1999); and Ernst Wasserstrass, "Als Reichsbannermann in den Konzentrationslagern Oranienburg und Börgermoor 1933," in *Peine unter der NS-Gewaltherrschaft: Zeugnisse des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung im Dritten Reich*, ed. Richard Brennig et al. (Peine: Vereinigung der VVN-Kreisvereinigung Peine, 1970), pp. 62–68. The anonymous testimony, *Als Sozialdemokratischer Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager Papenburg* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1935), is extensively quoted in Klausch. W. Gengenbach's testimony can be found in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20 RGVA Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 17–19. Photographic documentation of Börgermoor is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, Eggers, No. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 60; Regierung Düsseldorf, Politische Abteilung, Aktennotiz, June 21, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430-201-5/66 No. 18, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 66; quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191; on uniforms,

Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979), p. 192; Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), pp. 147–148; for a panoramic photograph of Börgermoor penal camp, see Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H), p. 3.

2. Wilhelm Fleitmann BDCPF and Dienstaltersliste der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP, Stand vom 1. Dezember 1936, as cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 61–62, 77; Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 136–155 (quotation on p. 136); quotation in testimony by E. Gengenbach in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGVA Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, p. 18.

3. "Anklageschrift gegen Johannes Peter K. [ern] vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Oldenburg (1948) wegen vorsätzlicher Körperverletzung," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 66–70; Abraham, *Juda verrecke*, pp. 146–152; Armin T. Wegner to Lola Landau, September 15, 1933, and October 30, 1933, in Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, *"Welt vorbei": Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999), pp. 19, 40; Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 220–226; Ernst Wasserstrass, "Als Reichsbannermann in den Konzentrationslagern Oranienburg und Börgermoor 1933," in *Peine unter der NS-Gewaltherrschaft: Zeugnisse des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung im Dritten Reich*, ed. Richard Brennig et al. (Peine: Vereinigung der VVN-Kreisvereinigung Peine, 1970), pp. 62–68; "Schandtaten im Konzentrationslager: Wie Abgeordneter Heilmann misshandelt wurde," *DF*, October 4, 1933, and Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430, in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 90, 98.

4. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 187, 201; Jean Kralik, "Moorarbeit im Herbst," drawing reproduced in Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, 9th ed., p. 199. On civilian overseers, Regierungspräsident Osnabrück to Kulturbaubeamten, Meppen, August 24, 1933, Betr.: "Vorschriften für die Auswahl von Vorarbeitern"; and Sagemüller, Kulturbaubeamte, "Verhaltungsvorschriften für die Techniker der Kulturbauleitungen Börgermoor und Esterwegen," September 14, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 62–63.

5. Nikolaus Wasser, *Bonner Kommunist und Widerstandskämpfer*, ed. Horst-Pierre Bothien (Bonn: Stadtmuseum, 1999), p. 40.

6. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 134, 141, 161, 165, 167, 171–185, 222 ("Börgermoorlied" on p. 182); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 51; Wegner to Landau, October 30, 1933, in Landau and Wegner, *"Welt vorbei,"* p. 41.

7. Testimony of Hanne Höttges in Inge Sbosny and Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand in Solingen: Aus dem Leben antifaschistischer Kämpfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1975), pp. 51–53; testimony of Lya Kralik in Klara Schabrod, "Wie das Lied der Moorsoldaten aus dem Lager geschmuggelt wurde," in *Widerstand gegen Flick und Florian: Düsseldorfer Antifaschisten über ihren Widerstand 1933–1945*, ed. Karl Schabrod (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 88–89.

8. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 192–194; Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 253.

9. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 238–239, 242 (quotation on p. 238); Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969), p. 42.

10. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933; and "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep(pen) No. 356, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.

11. Fleitmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 115, 119, 123–124.

12. Affidavits by Adolf Beckemeyer (October 4, 1947) and Franz Horach (October 15, 1945), NStA-Ol, Best. 140-145 No. 1154, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 100; "Anklageschrift gegen Johannes Peter K. [ern] vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Oldenburg (1948)," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 66–70.

BÖRNICKE [ALSO MEISSNERSHOF]

On May 26, 1933, Günther Freiherr von Rheinbaben, provisional rural district administrator of Osthavelland, reported to the district president of Potsdam: "In the community of Börnicke a concentration camp for fifty protective custody prisoners is being established and will begin operation on June 1, 1933."[1] In the same report, he announced that after "full completion of the camp," the "protective custody" prisoners "will be enlisted for forest and road work." The "concentration camps [must be created] in every administrative district under the direction of the SA, where the necessities exist. . . . The accommodation in prisons, as it has been the case until now, has not proven to be practical."[2] A subcamp was set up in Meissnershof, a farm located not far from Havel between the industrial towns of Hennigsdorf and Velten.

SA-Standarte 224 under Standartenführer Harry Rasmussen-Martensen assumed leadership of the concentration camp. Rassmussen, a 22-year-old businessman's son who did not finish high school, took pride in the 23 injuries, 5 serious, he sustained in SA service. By 1930, he had already been a member of the SS for three months.[3] Rasmussen was under the influence of Sturmbannführer Heinrich Krein, a brutal farmer 8 years his senior who directed the Meissnershof subcamp. Sturmführer Philipp from Nauen ran the Börnicke concentration camp as camp leader.

By May 15, 1933, as an inquiry from the International Nansen Office for Refugees German Branch (Internationales Nansen-Amt für Flüchtlinge, Vertretung für Deutschland) shows, Börnicke detained political opponents, such as Communists, Social Democrats, union members, and victims of racial persecution from police jails or city detention

centers.[4] Former prisoners also confirmed the camp's composition.[5] Prominent prisoners included the former Social Democratic rural district administrator Wilhelm Siering, the secretary of the German Agricultural Workers' Association (Deutscher Landarbeiterverband) in Nauen, and the director of the Nauen area waterworks, who was a Reichsbanner official.[6]

Located in a former regional cement factory that had belonged to the rural district, the concentration camp consisted of a manufacturing hall with a damaged roof and cement floors for the prisoners, as well as an administrative building where the SA guards and the torture cellars were located. At Meissnershof the 60 prisoners were locked in a basement.[7]

The general public already had access to information on the conditions in Börnicke. A report headlined "What's Going on in a Concentration Camp" appeared in the Saarland newspaper *Deutsche Freiheit* on June 27, 1933.[8] This report, written by prisoner Oskar Sander and smuggled out by relatives who had visited him, describes the conditions and torture.[9] Sander reports:

> At the moment, there are around eighty prisoners [in Börnicke]. In the sleeping room, a cold concrete building resembling a shed, straw serves as the only form of bedding on which the prisoners had to lay, fully clothed without cover or washing. The food is terrible and insufficient. The prisoners must either perform difficult work in the camp or are "rented out" to entrepreneurs. . . . On May 30, fifty-year-old O. Sander from Falkensee was first forced to jump up and down in the forest, then he was placed on a sandheap and shots were fired over his head, and finally he was stripped in the washing room and beaten to such an extent that he lost consciousness several times.[10]

Other testimonies underscored the guards' harsh and arbitrary behavior. Characterizing them as "the biggest sadists and rogues," prisoner Johann Langowski recalled that in the interrogation room the guards whipped the victims and beat their hands and feet. At this camp, he continued, the guards were "able to release their sadistic impulses, even commit murder, without incurring responsibility." To his comrade Karl Pioch, prisoner clerk Kurt Perl recalled how the SA extorted money from desperate Jewish prisoners in exchange for promises of release.[11]

After only two months, District President Dr. Fromm ordered the closure of Börnicke and the transfer of its remaining 79 prisoners to Oranienburg concentration camp.[12] Fromm demanded these measures since "incidents that are known in the entire region around Börnicke, Meissnershof, and Nauen have created tremendous unrest."[13] The transferred prisoners included Paul Albrecht, Hans Bodar, Emil Marzilger, Fritz Fenz, Walter Fenz, Otto Fourmont, Otto Heese, Franz Rettlich, Jakob Schweigert, and Heinz Wiechert. Following dissolution, the SA continued to use the camps as training facilities.

The shutting down of Börnicke concentration camp must also be seen in the context of the attempt to discipline the SA by the consolidation of the Fascist dictatorship. As a result of the killings of prisoners (Polish national Michail Kukurudza, artist Karl Thon, Communist official Richard Ungermann, Ernst Walter, and Lippmann, a Jew from Nauen), the gangster killings of Strasser's people (Grenzius and Kollwitz), the rape of women from Berlin and Velten, and the terrorization of the population (camp residents as well as the random checks on the local streets), Osthavelland's population increasingly turned against SA-Standarte 224 and the entire SA leadership.

In a letter on August 30, 1933, the Berlin-Brandenburg SA leadership placated Fromm: "On almost all sides it concerned claims and statements which . . . upon finding out the truth always emerged as being considerably different accounts. These matters from the first wild days of the Revolution should not be treated like this."[14] In August 1933, the uncertainty in the population led the Prussian Ministry of the Interior to order an investigation by the Hennigsdorf State Police Office. Its results[15] formed the basis for legal proceedings against Heinrich Krein, who on August 14, 1934, was sentenced to two years and six months in prison for rape by the Fourteenth Grand Criminal Court of the Berlin Regional Court.[16]

In 1948, in accordance with the Soviet Military Administration's Order No. 201, the crimes in Börnicke concentration camp became the subject of proceedings at the Potsdam Regional Court. SA members Alex Wendt and Karl Lemke (in absentia), as well as former Communist prisoner Hermann Lausch from Nauen, were convicted of crimes against humanity under Allied Control Council Law No. 10, Articles 1c and 2a.[17] Günther von Rheinbaben, who fled to Lüneburg at the end of the war, was exonerated by the local denazification appeals court in 1948.[18]

SOURCES Secondary literature on Börnicke and Meissnershof includes Volker Bendig, "Börnicke und Meissnershof," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 65–67; "Unter Regie der SA: Das Konzentrationslager Börnicke und das Nebenlager Meissnershof im Osthavelland," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Benz and Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 97–101. Older but still useful is Börnicke prisoner Heino Brandes's account, "KZ Börnicke im Osthavelland," in *Helle Sterne in Dunkler Nacht: Studien über den antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf im Regierungsbezirk Potsdam*, *1933–1945*, ed. Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED (Potsdam: Druckerei Märkische Volksstimme, 1988), pp. 263–270. This piece furnishes lists of camp staff and prisoners transferred to Oranienburg, but its chronology is somewhat convoluted. As cited by Bendig, Brandes also published a more extensive account, *Börnicke im Osthavelland: Ein dokumentarischer Bericht*, ed. Rat des Kreises

Nauen, Abteilung Kultur (Nauen, 1985). Also helpful is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Memorials for Börnicke, Meissnershof, and victim Richard Ungermann are recorded in Stefanie Endlich et al., eds., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

The most detailed and meaningful primary sources for Börnicke concentration camp are to be found at the BLHA-(P). The file "Schutzhäftlinge" (BLHA, Rep. 2 A Regierung Potsdam I Pol. No. 1183) contains Potsdam County's administrative council reports to the named higher authorities about the carrying out of protective custody. In addition to information about Börnicke (setup, number of prisoners, closure, and transfer of prisoners to Oranienburg), there is also information about escape attempts by prisoners, the inquiry from the International Nansen Office for Refugees about the whereabouts of the Russian prisoner Palyga, one of the first prisoners at the Börnicke camp, and an administrative council report about the murder of two former SA men near Nauen. The volume *Die politische Lage im Regierungsbezirk 1933* (same inventory, Pol. No. 1171) contains the August 1933 investigative reports from the State Police Office Hennigsdorf about the incidents in the Börnicke camp and Meissnershof subcamp, as well Fromm's letter to the SA-Group Berlin-Brandenburg (Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg) regarding "Vorfälle im Kreise Osthavelland" and their answer. In these documents, classified secret, the crimes at Börnicke and Meissnershof are described in detail, as well as the motives of the state authorities in proceeding against SA-Standarte 224. The file "KZ Oranienburg" (BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35 G) comprises the manuscript "KZ Börnicke," SED local group reports by named surviving prisoners ("Konzentrationäre"), as well as reports based on personal experience written in 1946. It is possible that the filing of these recollections in the file "KZ Oranienburg" led to the erroneous assumption that the Börnicke camp originated as a branch of the Oranienburg concentration camp. These reports then served as enquiries into the personal files (VdN) in collection Rep. 401. These files served as evidence of persecution, which formed the basis for the payment of an honorary pension. This compensation was paid by the rural district social insurance where the persecuted lived. The files contain portrayals of the persecutions. At the BA-DH, the personal files are interesting sources, left behind by the Abteilung IX/12 of the MfS and organized by name. The proceedings against Hermann Lausch, a prisoner-turned-murderer, can be found in Bestandsignatur VgM 10166, file 1; against SA man Wendt, in ZA 3327, Obj. 4; against SA man Karl Lemke, in ZB 1375, Obj. 4; and the file on rural district administrator Günther von Rheinbaben, in ZB II 6264 A.6. With respect to organization, the Nazi Party (NSDAP) membership cards supplement the perpetrator biographies. Heinrich Krein's SA personnel file, in the collection of the BDC, provides information about the 1934 internal SA proceedings against him and contains his conviction in the criminal matter of rape. Also in this collection is Harry Rasmussen-Martensen's personnel file, with his personal sheet from November 27, 1934. The 1933 editions of *DF* and *HE* can be found in the newspaper collection of the SSB-PK. An interesting account from the former district water director, one of the prominent Börnicke prisoners, is kept at the Nauen city museum. Published primary sources begin with Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam: Druckerei Märkische Volksstimme, 1978), which includes a document from BLHA on the camp's foundation, two photographs of Meissnershof by Walter Fenz (Documents 84 and 85), and testimony by Johann Langowski (Document 88). Karl Pioch's *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der DDR, 1978) contains Kurt Perl's secondhand account. Börnicke is also listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Klaus Woinar with Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. BLHA-(P), Rep 2A Reg., Potsdam I No. 1183, p. 28.
2. Ibid.
3. BA BDC, SA-Personenakte Rasmussen-Martensen.
4. Ibid., p. 387.
5. BLHA-(P), Rep. 401 VdN file No. 86, Johann Ahlers.
6. For Siering, see *HE*, June 27, 1933; for the Sekretär des Landarbeiterverbandes, see *HE*, May 11, 1933; the county water director's memoirs are in Woinar's possession.
7. Walter Fenz, comp., "Die Hölle von Osthavelland" (unpub. MSS, 1947), available at the AG-S Photo Archive (Fenz prepared the unpublished photographs for his son Alfred).
8. "Wie es im Konzentrationslager zugeht!" *DF*, June 27, 1933.
9. Alfred Fenz, "Erinnerungen" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), in Woinar's archive.
10. "Wie es im Konzentrationslager zugeht!" *DF*, June 27, 1933.
11. Testimony of Johann Langowski, n.d., reproduced in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam: Druckerei Märkische Volksstimme, 1978), p. 111; Karl Pioch, *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der DDR, 1978), p. 13.
12. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2A Reg. Potsdam I No. 1183, p. 198.
13. Ibid., p. 408.
14. Gruppenführer Ernst to Regierungspräsident Fromm, in BLHA, Pr. BR. Rep. 2A Reg. Potsdam I Pol. No. 1171, p. 433.
15. Ibid., p. 444.
16. BA BDC, SA-Personenakte Krein, p. 55.
17. For Wendt, see BA-DH, ZA 3327 Obj. 4, 4; for Lemke, see BA-DH, ZA IV 3429, file 27; for Lausch, see BA-DH, VgM 10166, file 1.
18. BA-DH, ZB II 6264 file 6, p. 6.

BRANDENBURG AN DER HAVEL

In 1933 the Brandenburg an der Havel concentration camp was one of four official State Concentration Camps (Staatliche Konzentrationslager) in Prussia. The other camps were Papenburg in the Osnabrück district, Sonnenburg in the Frankfurt an der Oder district, and Lichtenburg in the Merseburg district.[1] The genesis of the camp stemmed from a suggestion made by the Brandenburg police administration to Potsdam district president (Regierungspräsident) Dr. Fromm on May 26, 1933. It was suggested that the old prison the center of Brandenburg could be converted within a matter of days into a concentration camp for 150 to 200 prisoners. The building at Nikolaiplatz 4 could accommodate up to a maximum of 600 prisoners.[2]

The prison, whose sanitary conditions were appalling, had been closed in December 1931 after a new prison had been constructed in Brandenburg-Görden.[3] On August 10, 1933, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior decided to reopen the former prison as a camp for "protective custody" prisoners.[4] At the end of August 1933 the Brandenburg Police Academy established the camp and approached the Oranienburg concentration camp with a request for details on camp administration and regulations for the guards and inmates.[5] The Brandenburg city council considered the issue of the camp's establishment at a council meeting on August 16, 1933. The minutes of the council meeting are as follows: "The Prussian Ministry of the Interior is to be advised that the Council is in agreement with the establishment of an assembly camp [*Sammellager*] in the old prison on the condition that the state does not intend to use the prison to accommodate prisoners permanently."[6]

A report on August 24 in the *Brandenburger Anzeiger* headed "Brandenburg Concentration Camp: The First Prisoners Arrive Today" dealt with the arrival of the first 90 inmates. It further reports: "The protective custody prisoners are to be kept busy inside the prison for the time being; this will give them opportunity to consider in quiet their former actions and statements, to learn discipline and improve their ways."[7] There were about 1,000 inmates in the camp between September and November 1933.[8] For the most part, the prisoners were from the Potsdam district but also from the Berlin-Plötzensee prison and from the eastern parts of the Reich.[9]

Most of the time, a day in the camp began for the prisoners at 4:10 A.M.[10] A contemporary report describes the conditions in the camp as follows:

> The prison has 12 dormitories each with an area of 160 square meters (191 square yards). There are 12 lavatories which can only be reached from the stair well. The sleeping quarters in the cellar are so damp that bread will be covered in fungus within 12 hours; the air is musty even with open windows. The prisoners are allowed 30 minutes a day of fresh air. . . . The prisoners have to wait to go to the toilet—they can only go when they are accompanied by a guard. . . . There are about 15 buckets in the lavatories which have to suffice for 600 men. . . . The protective custody prisoners sleep on straw sacks which lie on the worm infested floor. Not every protective custody prisoner has a sheet; some only got a towel after weeks. . . . Sometimes the prisoners don't even have cutlery, there is absolutely no soap. . . . In the five weeks to which this report relates the prisoners were only allowed to bathe twice, the second time only after lice were confirmed at Station 2.[11]

Mail was delivered once a month, and the incoming and outgoing letters and postcards were censored.[12] According to a contemporary observer, the prisoners ate mostly peas and beans with a lot of water; there was little meat with the result that "many prisoners felt that their hunger was only satisfied for about 30 minutes."[13]

The inmates at the Brandenburg concentration camp were tormented, mistreated, and terrorized. Werner Hirsch, member of the German Communist Party (KPD) and editor in chief of the Communist Party's organ *Rote Fahne*, reported on his prison experiences: "We were beaten on average once or twice daily and many of us were beaten during the night. . . . In Brandenburg we were usually beaten with a barbaric instrument, something worse than the pizzles, rubber truncheons, or belts normally used by the SS and SA. It was a sort of leather hose filled with steel shavings. Just about every blow to the naked body or on the thin shirts we wore or trousers broke open the skin. The beatings ended, at least in my cell, only when I lost consciousness and had collapsed somewhere in a corner."[14]

The Communist city councilor Getrud Piter was taken to Brandenburg on September 22, 1933, and tortured by SS men in such a way that she died from her injuries the next day. A prisoner later stated that even an SS member had stated in dismay: "Such pigs, such scoundrels. This woman was beaten day and night but she remained so steadfast as to reveal nothing about who her comrades were. She was beaten worse than



A view of the Brandenburg an der Havel prison, before it became an early camp.
USHMM WS # 58316, COURTESY OF ALWH

a dog. . . . The commander was worse than a wild animal. . . . Bleeding from her many wounds, she was hung from the window in her cell by those monsters in an attempt to conceal the traces of this sadistic attack."[15]

Roman Praschker, a pharmacist of Polish origin, was admitted to the Brandenburg concentration camp on September 8, 1933. He later recalled the torture that the SS applied to Jewish prisoners:

> "In my cell there were four other Jews. I was the fifth. Every morning, before we left the prison to exercise, us Jews had to clean the stairs from the fourth floor down to the cellar as well as the toilets. This was done under strict supervision and accompanied by 'individual treatment.' There rained down blows to the face, we were kicked and punched. It was a serious misdemeanor if, while cleaning the steps, a drop of water fell on the step below. . . . Then there were the exercises! We had to do jump like frogs (*Froschhüpfen*), jump around for hours in a squatting position without a break and until we were about to collapse! Temporarily, a 'Jewish haircut' (*Judenfrisur*) was introduced. We Jewish prisoners had half of our heads shaved bald."[16]

He also stated that they had to sing the following song countless times a day: "I am a Jew, can't you tell from my nose? / In bold curves it sweeps ahead. / In the war I was as cowardly as a hare. / But I am your man for bargaining! / I am a pig, but I don't eat pork! / I am a Jew and always will be a Jew!"[17]

Prominent prisoners in the camp were author Erich Mühsam, lawyer Hans Litten, and Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Theodor Neubauer.[18]

The SS provided the guards at the Brandenburg concentration camp. The commandant of the camps was SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Tank.[19] His deputy was a man called Schmidt.[20] The director of the Brandenburg Police Academy, who simultaneously was the official director of the concentration camp, gave the SS guards a free hand in the operation of the camp.

On the order of Hermann Göring, a mass release of prisoners from the concentration camps was initiated at Christmas in 1933. It was thought that this was possible because the internal political situation in Germany had stabilized, and the National Socialists were firmly in control. The concentration camps were also thought to have had their educational effect.[21] Between 300 and 500 prisoners were released from Brandenburg.[22] The camp was dissolved on January 31, 1934, and the prisoners brought to the Lichtenburg, Papenburg, and Oranienburg concentration camps.[23]

The old prison in Brandenburg was to have an even more somber fate. It was used in 1940 as part of the "euthanasia" program "T4" as a killing center. A total of 9,772 people were murdered there in the autumn of 1940.[24]

SOURCES An overview of the history of the Brandenburg an der Havel concentration camp is provided in an essay by Volker Bendig, "'Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste.' Das Konzentrationslager in Brandenburg an der Havel 1933–1934," in *Instrumentarium der Macht. Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barabara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 103–109. More detailed information is to be found in the book by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Roman Praschker, a prisoner, wrote about his experiences in the Brandenburg concentration camp in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an; Dachau*, *Brandenburg*, *Papenburg, Königstein*, *Lichtenburg*, *Colditz*, *Sachsenburg*, *Moringen*, *Hohnstein*, *Reichenbach*, *Sonnenburg* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). In addition, several firsthand accounts are available: Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratie und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel, 1934); and Wilhelm Girnus, *Europäische Ideen 5/6*, ed. Andreas W. Mytze (Berlin, 1974).

Archival material on the Brandenburg an der Havel concentration camp is to be found in the ASt-BH, 21.13.-121, and in the BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. I Pol. Nr. 1183, pp. 16, 465–554, Nr. 1090, and 35 G KZ Oranienburg Nr. 8, p. 189.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 135.

2. Ibid., p. 69; Wolfgang Kusior, *Die Stadt Brandenburg im Jahrhundertrückblick. Streiflichter durch eine bewegte Zeit* (Berlin: Neddermeyer, 2000), p. 46.

3. Volker Bendig, "'Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste.' Das Konzentrationslager in Brandenburg an der Havel 1933–1934," in *Instrumentarium der Macht. Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 103.

4. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 69.

5. Bendig, "'Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste,'" p. 103.

6. Niederschrift über die Magistratssitzung 16.8.1933, ASt-BH, Sig. 21.16.-121, cited in ibid., p. 104.

7. *BrAnz*, August 24, 1933, cited in ibid.

8. Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager. Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1991), p. 103.

9. Bendig, "'Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste,'" p. 106; Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an; Dachau*, *Brandenburg*, *Papenburg*, *Königstein*, *Lichtenburg*, *Colditz*, *Sachsenburg*, *Moringen*, *Hohnstein*, *Reichenbach*, *Sonnenburg* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 136, 138–139.

10. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 115.

11. *DNW*, November 16, 1933, cited in ibid., pp. 109–110.

12. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 115.

13. *DNW*, November 16, 1933, cited in ibid., p. 113.

14. Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratie und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel, 1934), pp. 15–16.

15. Bernhard Bogedain and Klaus Hess, "Zum Kampf der Arbeiterklasse der Stadt Brandenburg gegen Imperialismus, Militarismus und Faschismus in den Jahren 1929 bis 1945 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der führenden Rolle der KPD." (Ph. D. diss., Potsdam, 1978), pp. 120–121, cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 128; see Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratie*, p. 18.

16. Praschker, "Brandenburg," p. 137.

17. Ibid., p. 142. The original lyrics read: "Ich bin ein Jude, kennst Du meine Nase? / Im kühnen Bogen schwebt sie mir voran. / Im Kriege war ich feige wie ein Hase. / Jedoch im Schachern steh ich meinen Mann! / Ich bin ein Schwein, doch ess' ich nichts vom Schwein! / Ich bin ein Jude—will ein Jude sein!"

18. Wilhelm Girnus, "Brandenburg. Oranienburg," in *Europäische Ideen 5/6*, ed. Andreas W. Mytze (Berlin, 1974), p. 10.

19. Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratie*, p. 15; Girnus, "Brandenburg. Oranienburg," p. 10; Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 69.

20. Praschker, "Brandenburg," p. 139.

21. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 104.

22. Ibid., p. 105.

23. Bendig, "'Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste,'" p. 108.

24. Ibid., 108.

BRAUWEILER

Brauweiler was an early National Socialist detention center for opponents of the regime. The Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute was located in a former Benedictine abbey, which had in part already been used as a prison between 1920 and 1925.

The first Communists from the Cologne administrative district were taken into "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*) immediately after the Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933. On March 13, 1933, the chief administrative officer of Cologne ordered that detention space in the Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute be kept available for police prisoners.

Within the penal administrative region of Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Hamm, the Höherer Polizeiführer West was named special commissioner for the allocation of protective custody prisoners. Under the aegis of the Höherer Polizeiführer West, Brauweiler became one of the central detention centers for political opponents of the Nazis from the Ruhr valley and especially from the district of Unna. At the beginning of April 1933, the Höherer Polizeiführer West turned to Ernst Scheidges, director of Brauweiler, with a request to expand the number of prisoners held at the Institute. Scheidges in turn went to his supervisor, the chief of the Düsseldorf government, not only to ask that the additional 60 prisoners be added to the 193 already in Brauweiler, but also to suggest imprisoning an additional 300 in the Institute's jail, and another 300 in its detention center, contingent upon the equipment being made available and the question of costs being sorted out. The Düsseldorf administrator forwarded this suggestion to the Höherer Polizeiführer West. But even before these questions could be sorted out—the Cologne police headquarters ultimately allotted the Institute 1.50 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day—the first prisoner transport arrived from Unna on April 15. With this transport, the number of prisoners rose to 260. Additional transports followed. At the end of May 1933, 795 people were being held at the Provincial-Work Institute. Brauweiler had thus become the largest detention center in Rhineland-Westphalia for protective custody prisoners. In October 1933, the number of prisoners held at Brauweiler peaked at 895. Fluctuation of the number of prisoners at the Institute was considerable, with four months being the average term of detention.

While the first prisoners were almost exclusively Communists, Social Democrats and trade union members also had been brought to Brauweiler since the end of April 1933. On May 3 the number of these two types of prisoners was 100. On August 20, 1933, two well-known Social Democrats, Karl Zörgiebel and Otto Bauknecht, were brought in. Zörgiebel had been chief of police in Cologne from 1922 to 1926, in Berlin from 1926 to 1930, and in Dortmund from 1931 to 1933; Bauknecht had been chief of police in Cologne from 1926 to 1932.

The cells in Brauweiler—each measuring 3.75 meters long by 2.10 meters wide (12 feet 4 inches by 6 feet 11 inches)—were occupied by at least three prisoners. Military-style discipline, beatings, humiliation at the hands of the guard personnel, and sentencing to mindless inactivity marked the daily existence of the prisoners. Visiting days for family members, contact by mail (censored by the Institute administration), and the possibility of participating in Sunday Mass and conversing with ministers at the Institute hardly alleviated this situation.

When it became apparent in April 1933 that Institute personnel could not properly guard the prisoners, the director of the Institute added 6 SA men to his staff from the neighboring community of Brühl. At the beginning of May, the number of SA assistant police, chosen because they were unemployed and unmarried, was increased to 15. These SA guards were then replaced in July by approximately 30 SS personnel. Another sign of the transition from "improvised" protective custody camp to formal concentration camp was the expression "Brauweiler concentration camp," which appeared in a document from the Prussian minister of interior in July 1933. Henceforth, the letterhead of the Institute leadership bore the phrase "The Director of Brauweiler concentration camp." Furthermore, beginning in early May 1933, Scheidges, the first director of the Institute, no longer signed correspondence. Instead, he signed "on behalf of" the acting director, Kirchsieben. Eventually, in March 1934, Albert Bosse, a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP), succeeded Scheidges as director.

In December 1933, approximately half of the prisoners in Brauweiler were released. Every former prisoner had to sign a

"Note of Obligation" (*Verpflichtungsschein*) upon his or her release. In signing this note, the former prisoner promised not to file any legal claims stemming from the period of detention. The signatory also promised not to engage in "activity hostile to the state" in the future. Minister President of Prussia Hermann Göring ordered the camp closed at the beginning of March 1934, even while 285 people were still being held there. The male prisoners were taken to the Papenburg concentration camp, the females to the regional factory (*Landeswerkhaus*) at Moringen. Those taken to Papenburg were stigmatized as "parasites [*Schädlinge*] on the German national body" whose "change of heart" was not foreseeable. Between March 1933 and March 12, 1934, when the camp was closed, more than 2,000 people, among them 81 women, had been imprisoned in Brauweiler.

The Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute remained a site of persecution even after its formal closing. Following the promulgation of the "Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases" on July 14, 1933, many people (referred to as "corrected" [*Korrigenden*]) were forcibly sterilized by the Institute physician on the authority of the Institute's director. After *Kristallnacht* in November 1938, more than 300 Jews were taken to the Institute for "safe custody." From there they were sent to the Dachau concentration camp. During World War II, Brauweiler functioned as an auxiliary prison and torture site for the Gestapo Sonderkommandos Kütter and Bethge, operating in and around Cologne. In 1940 and 1941, Dutch and Belgian prisoners, as well as Germans and non-Germans who had fought on the side of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, were detained in the cell block of the Institute. These prisoners were transported from Brauweiler to other prisons and concentration camps. Between 1940 and 1944, several members of the "Edelweiss Pirates" from Cologne, a defiant youth organization who clashed with the Hitler Youth and Nazi bigwigs, were also detained. In addition, between April 20 and September 14, 1944, 277 Poles, mostly prisoners of war from the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa), were held in Brauweiler. Members of the Gestapo would beat these prisoners unconscious during interrogations. Furthermore, in 1944, French prisoners of war, who belonged to the Action Catholique, were detained in Brauweiler, as were Belgians and Russians. In September 1944 these foreign prisoners were transported to various concentration camps. Those designated as "corrected," and others detained at Brauweiler, were transferred to the Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück concentration camps, as well as to the "youth protective camp" of Moringen. All told, in September 1944, 497 prisoners were transferred out of Brauweiler; how many of these died before the end of the war is not clear. Beginning on September 24, 1944, people from the vicinity of Cologne were detained in Brauweiler as protective custody prisoners, meaning those the Gestapo accused of belonging to the Communist resistance or who they suspected of being connected to the Hitler assassination plot of July 20, 1944. Among the latter was the former mayor of Cologne and later federal chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The Gestapo Sonderkommandos Kütter and Bethge tortured and murdered people in Brauweiler until shortly before the war ended. Bosse, the director of the Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute, took his own life in March 1945.

SOURCES Information about the typology of the early National Socialist detention sites can be found in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organizationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein, 1991). Josef Wisskirchen offers a detailed investigation of the early Brauweiler concentration camp in "Das Konzentrationslager Brauweiler 1933/34," *Pulheimer Beiträge zur Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 13 (1989): 153–196. Hermann Daners has researched the history of the Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute after 1934 and during World War II. See Hermann Daners, "Das Gestapo-Hilfsgefängnis Brauweiler und das Sonderkommando Bethge," *Pulheimer Beiträge zur Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 16 (1992): 237–267. Bernd A. Rusinek offers numerous references on the importance of Brauweiler as a Gestapo detention, torture, and murder site between 1944 and 1945 in his *Gesellschaft in der Katastrophe: Terror, Illegalität, Widerstand; Köln 1944/45* (Essen, 1989).

The following information about records comes from the essays cited above by Josef Wisskirchen (for the years 1933 and 1934) and Hermann Daners (for the following years until 1945): ALVR, Archivbeartungsstelle Rheinland, Abtei Brauweiler, Nr. 8148, 8164, 8214, 8215, 8228, 10537, 13076, 13121, 15080, 15113, 15114; NWStA-M, Bestand Kreis Unna, Politische Polizei, Nr. 14–16, 47, 56–60; and NWHStA-(D), Landgericht Köln, Sondergericht, Rep. 112/8565, as well as various files from the collection RW 34.

Michael Zimmermann
trans. Eric Schroeder

BREITENAU

On June 16, 1933, the Kassel police president opened a "concentration camp for political prisoners in protective custody"—according to the official designation—in a part of the Main Building (a church) in Breitenau. The regional state governor of Hessen—for the Federation of Local Government—and the Kassel police president entered into a contract pursuant to which the former stated his agreement to grant to the police rooms in the Breitenau institution to be used as "a concentration camp for prisoners in protective custody and as lodgings for the police guards."[1]

The establishment of the camp, "to be used by all police in the government district of Kassel," occurred largely because the existing police cells, court cells, and remand centers could not handle the mass influx of "protective custody" prisoners that occurred after March 1933. The SA quickly established "protective custody centers" in which mostly officials of the German Communist Party (KPD), other anti-Nazi organizations such as the Social Democratic Party's (SPD), Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (Reich Flag Black-Red-Gold), and trade

unionists were locked up and often beaten, tortured, or mistreated in other ways.

Breitenau held 470 political prisoners between June 16, 1933, and March 17, 1934, the date the camp ceased to operate. They were men of every age, but the majority were young and middle-aged.

The provincial government's president was required to report to the minister of interior by the end of September 1933 on the political affiliations of the prisoners. At this point in time, there were 170 prisoners in Breitenau. According to the report, 126 were members of the KPD, 9 were members of the SPD, and 35 were classified as "others."[2] There are indications that in a number of cases the persecuting authorities made errors in categorizing the prisoners in this way. However, the numbers confirm the well-known fact that the Communists were the first to bear the full force of persecution in Adolf Hitler's newly established state.

Under the category of "other" were subsumed those who opposed or disagreed with the regime, who deviated from the program, and above all Jewish citizens from town and country. "Geh' mit Jüdinnen spazieren, sonst wird man Dich konzentrieren!" (Go walking [only] with Jewesses; otherwise, you will be put in a concentration camp!), jeered the Nazi newspaper in Kassel in July 1933, as it denounced a German citizen by name as a Jew who had been seen with a non-Jewish girl.[3]

Next to prisoners who were predominantly anti-Nazi for political reasons, there were also prisoners at Breitenau who had fallen victim to the widespread and state-supported phenomenon of denunciation. Most of them were fellow citizens exposed as Jews—the denouncer always kept in tune with the times. However, the files reveal that in the first months cursing Hitler and his satraps was enough to get one into Breitenau.

Unknown are the circumstances that twice resulted in small groups of SA men being brought to Breitenau for "assaults." They were held in separate quarters from the other prisoners.

The Breitenau concentration camp was clearly under state authority, namely, that of the Kassel police president, which still had not been completely undermined by the SS or SA; the guards belonged, at least at the start, to a trained, serving senior police constable. Although SS men took over command of the camp in practice from August 18, 1933, on, the early Breitenau concentration camp can still be regarded as a state-controlled and -constituted camp.

Many prisoners had the impression that they were employed in a makeshift and somewhat senseless way. One result of this labor practice has survived to this very day (even though without the inscription chiseled at the time: "Built in 1933, the year of the national elevation, by inmates of the concentration camp Breitenau"): in October 1933 (at the time when Breitenau held the most prisoners), the prisoners were required to construct a "memorial in honor of the SS" (at nearby Fuldaberg). But this kind of work was not the main work of the prisoners: As its reports show, the Breitenau institution profited considerably from the prisoners' labor. The State Work Institution Breitenau, contractually responsible for boarding, lodging, and providing work for the protective custody prisoners, stated in its annual report for the financial year 1933 that 23,027 of the 51,955 workdays were accounted for by the protective custody prisoners. The report emphasized that the prisoners were not recompensed either with wages or in kind for their labor.[4] In addition to work in the institution—whether in the institution's workshops for the production of matting or in building maintenance work, also done "for the most part with the assistance of the political prisoners in protective custody"—the prisoners worked on the institution's estate or for private farmers, on the construction of roads, and clearing land in Fuldaberg.[5] Breitenau prisoners were also put to work on strengthening the banks of the river Fulda.

A former prisoner reported that the food was not as bad as in the prisons or in remand custody. Accommodation was in halls or large rooms, at first in the nave of the former monastery's church and later in the so-called Landarmenhaus (State Poor House). Bedding included a straw pillow, a straw sack, a sheet, and a blanket. The prisoners were divided into two groups in order to separate the "especially radical elements" from the rest. Family members could make short visits on Sundays but only in the presence of a guard.

Punishment could be the "removal of bed linen": then the prisoner had to spend the night on a wooden bunk. A few prisoners in Breitenau are known to have been repeatedly mistreated and severely abused.

At first, the Kassel Auxiliary Police, consisting solely of SA members, guarded the protective custody prisoners. Many reports, especially those based on the memory of former prisoners, give the impression that the SA guards, perhaps under special command of individual brutes and bullies, attempted to continue in Breitenau the raw terror that followed the Nazi assumption of power in March and April 1933. The torture sites Wassersporthaus, Bürgersäle, Karlshof, and others in the government district of Kassel were now relocated to Breitenau and continued to operate under police and state protection. Admittedly, there were SA men who did not participate in the terror and mistreatment of prisoners. One is said to have resigned from a squad because of the mistreatment, while another is reported to have been moderate in his behavior. In any case, the brutes and bullies set the tone. Not least, their manner and conduct, and/or word thereof filtering back to Kassel, may have strengthened the Kassel police president in his resolve to recall the SA guard unit after eight weeks.

On August 8, 1933, the SA guard unit was completely recalled. With the support of the Kassel provincial government's president and the consent of the Prussian Ministry of Interior, an SS guard unit, commanded by an SS officer, replaced it.[6] The new unit was quartered in rooms of the former State Charitable Institution (known as the Zehntscheune, or Tithe Barn, during the period when Breitenau was a monastery)

and remained in Breitenau until the dissolution of the camp. The majority of the SS Kommando, if not all, were members of the infamous Kassel SS-Sondersturm Renthof, specifically formed and trained for acts of violence (*Aktionen*) to mistreat, beat, and torture prisoners. The further careers of a few members of this Sondersturm illustrate that the type of person required by the SS state as a concentration camp supervisor (note: noncommissioned officers and not officers) was to be created and perfected here, in courses and at special institutions as in Merkers. The members of these commandos were capable of mistreating prisoners and of acts of cruelty. In this respect, the circumstances that led to the recall of the SA guard unit apparently did impose a special restraint on the new guards at Breitenau.

In order to sift out the hard-core political opposition, there was a thorough examination of the prisoners, as a result of which there began in the autumn of 1933 a phased release of groups of prisoners. Ninety prisoners remained and were transferred to larger concentration camps.

"Considering the favorable results of the Reichstag election, particularly in the concentration camps" (in fact, voting took place in the Breitenau concentration camp on November 5, 1933), Hermann Göring, as head of the Secret State Police, declared an amnesty in which 5,000 protective custody prisoners would be released in two stages.[7] Beginning in October 1933, week after week prisoners left the camp—the number of SS guards was also reduced—until its closure on March 17, 1934. Following the war, no trials took place regarding events that occurred at the Breitenau concentration camp.

SOURCES The most important sources are found in the ALWH (Landarmen- und Korrektionsanstalt Breitenau 1874–1949 [1976], above all, Best. 2); in the HStA-(M) (above all, Best. 165: Regierungspräsident Kassel); and in the HHStA-(W), (Dokumentation des biographisch aufgebauten Forschungsprojektes zu Verfolgung und Widerstand in Hessen; Spruchkammerakten).

Secondary sources include Dietfrid Krause-Vilmar, *Das Konzentrationslager Breitenau: Ein staatliches Schutzhaftlager 1933/34*, 2nd ed. (1998; Marburg, 2000); and *Breitenau: Zur Geschichte eines nationalsozialistischen Konzentrations- und Arbeitserziehungslagers*, ed. Gunnar Richter, with contributions by Wolfgang Ayass, Ralf Löber, and Gunnar Richter (Kassel: Jenior & Pressler, 1993).

Dietfrid Krause-Vilmar
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The contract was reproduced in several identical copies, for example, HStA-M, 165/3878.
2. HStA-M, 165/3982, vol. 11.
3. *HV,* July 12, 1933.
4. ALWH, Collection Breitenau. Annual Report of the Breitenau Nursing Home and Aged Home for the Financial Year 1933, sec. 2.
5. Ibid.
6. HStA-M, 165/3878, The Prussian Minister for the Interior to the Government President of Kassel, July 24, 1933, Re: Accommodation of Political Protective Custody Prisoners.
7. HStA-M, 165/3982, vol. 12, The Prussian President Minister Göring to the Inspector of the Gestapo, December 5, 1933.

BRESLAU-DÜRRGOY

In Breslau (Wrocław) a concentration camp for political "protective custody" prisoners existed from April 28 to August 10, 1933. Here hundreds of political opponents of National Socialism were interned in a warehouse of a fertilizer factory located in the Dürrgoy section of the city.

Subsequent to the Reichstag fire on February 27–28, 1933, mass arrests of leading activists of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) began in Breslau. At first, the protective custody prisoners were brought to the police presidium, which soon became overcrowded. When another large wave of arrests of more than 200 persons followed on April 10, the decision to establish a concentration camp had already been made.[1]

The initiative to establish the camp came from SA-Obergruppenführer Edmund Heines, who had held the office of Breslau police president since about the end of March. Not infrequently, Breslau-Dürrgoy was referred to as Heines's "private camp." The maintenance of the camp was the responsibility of the Breslau police presidium.

On April 28, 1933, the first 120 protective custody prisoners were brought into the new concentration camp in Dürrgoy in a triumphal procession preceded by a band.[2] Shortly afterward an official visit by journalists was arranged. Among the prisoners were prominent personalities such as attorney and charter member of the SAP Ernst Eckstein, the former Breslau mayor, the former police president, former rural district administrators, newspaper publishers and editors, physicians, actors, former city councilors, a former judge of a higher regional court, and university professors.[3] Toward the end of June 1933, officers of the Breslau State Police Office and the Breslau SA-Auxiliary Police (Hipo) arrested the former provincial president of Lower Silesia, Hermann Lüdemann, who was living in Berlin, and transported him to the Dürrgoy camp. While in protective custody in Berlin, former Reichstag President Paul Löbe (SPD) was tracked down by the Breslau SA and, without the knowledge of the Berlin Gestapo, carried off to Breslau-Dürrgoy.[4]

The number of camp inmates varied greatly. Aside from the arrival of new groups of prisoners from the overcrowded police prison (40 new prisoners in early June and another 100 in mid-July), there were releases (28 inmates at the end of May and a further 35 at the beginning of June). Altogether the camp had about 200 inmates during its early days and somewhat more than 400 during the last weeks of its existence.[5]

Typical for the Breslau camp were the SA-staged macabre "welcome spectacles" for prominent prisoners. There were

regular "processions" through the inner city in which the populace of Breslau participated. The prisoners, with fool's caps on their heads, were led through a gauntlet of SA men, while Police President Heines delivered speeches. Frequently prisoners were forced to extend "greetings" to the crowd, while others had to wave red flags or had to present bouquets of thistles and shrubs. All this was accompanied by music played by a "sham" band.[6] Hour-long standing at attention in the courtyard and drilling were also part of the "welcome rituals." Whoever could not stand up under the torture and collapsed was dosed with castor oil. Shortly after arrival the inmates' hair was cut; especially notable figures and SPD, KPD, or labor union officials were left with tufts of hair.[7]

At first the inmates had to work inside the camp: building barracks for new prisoners, constructing a 4-meter (13–feet) high barbed-wire barrier around the camp, sinking tall lighting poles, and digging a second well. Later on the inmates had to dredge a silted lake outside the camp, which was to be converted into an open-air bathing facility for the citizens of the Strehlen suburb. One group of prisoners had to participate in the construction of various police or SA buildings throughout the city.

The inmates frequently worked 9 to 12 hours a day. The arbitrary schedule of work and rest periods caused continuous nervous tension in the inmates, especially since work frequently began at 3:00 A.M.[8]

The transition from work to torture often occurred quickly: the "bedbug detail" (*Wanzenkommando*) had to clean the arrest cells at the police precincts; the "shithouse gang" (*Scheisshauskolonne*) had to clean out the latrines and to transport their contents in wheelbarrows to neighboring fields. The inmates were forced to sweep the dusty camp streets, to polish the commandant's motorcycle, to remove horse dung with their bare hands, and to remove political slogans from houses and bridges in the city. One inmate had to trot for hours through the camp with grain bundles under his arm and then had to collect all ears and pieces of straw that had dropped off. A popular amusement of the tormentors was to drag flags of black, red, and gold through the dirt and then have them washed by the prisoners. Three inmates were assigned to care for the pigs kept in the camp. They frequently were forced to grab the animals by the front legs and to address them as "comrade."[9]

Most feared, however, were the physical "education measures." Beatings on all parts of the body with rubber truncheons and riding crops were everyday occurrences. Up to five times a week there were nightly, often hour-long, "fire alarms." On these occasions the inmates had to leave their sleeping places and were compelled to do forced marches, undergo roll calls, and lie on the ground while singing. There were also nightly "hare hunts" (*Hasenjagden*). That was the name of the "game" in which the drunken Heines shot at prisoners while they were forced to "escape" inside the camp.[10] The greatest horror was caused by "special interrogations." Inmates were taken from the camp to the local Nazi headquarters, where they were psychologically and physically tortured by the Hipo in a variety of ways.[11]



Holding a bouquet of thistles, SPD Reichstag President Paul Löbe is forced to lead a procession of Social Democrats arriving in the Breslau-Dürrgoy camp, August 4, 1933. To the rear, the SPD governor of Lower Saxony, Hermann Lüdemann, holds the flag of the Iron Front, an anti-fascist paramilitary organization.
USHMM WS # 04020, COURTESY OF BPK

It has not been documented how many died in Breslau-Dürrgoy. Two contemporary reports assume that the attorney Eckstein was tortured to death in the camp.[12]

The camp guards were primarily young SS and SA men subordinate to Heines and members of the Stahlhelm and city police likewise appointed "auxiliary policemen." The camp commandant was SA-Sturmbannführer Heinze, and SA-Sturmführer Göbel was the deputy commandant (also called work commandant). Heines was removed (probably in July 1933) because of complaints about prisoner maltreatment and a blackmail attempt that had become common knowledge. The SA-Standartenführer Rohde became the next commandant. The barracks commandant, SS-Scharführer Simanowski, drew attention to himself because of his cruelty. Furthermore, three medical orderlies were employed, called "medical sergeants" (*Sanitätsfeldwebel*) by the prisoners.[13]

Inside and outside the camp there was resistance against the deprivation of liberty and the degrading treatment of prisoners. Individual complaints by the inmates were mostly unsuccessful and resulted in special sanctions. Opportunities for common resistance were hardly exploited. Solely in regard to the "national socialistic schoolings" in the form of readings from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* were the inmates united. They sabotaged the desired effect by engaging in intense discussions, which proceeded in a "not desired direction," so that the Nazis realized the inefficacy of the schooling evenings.[14]

The complaint of the wife of former Breslau Mayor Mache was successful, resulting in the removal of the camp commandant, Heines. He had, as was customary, attempted to blackmail prisoners. Many inmates were forced, under threats, to make parts of their salaries available to the camp—from Mache the demand was for the above-average sum of 500 Reichsmark.[15]

In Berlin, the wife of former Provincial President Lüdemann fought determinedly for her husband's release. Accompanied by an attorney, she had been able to visit him briefly in

the camp and subsequently had lodged a complaint at the Reichs Chancellery about the maltreatment of her husband.[16] Also, the American ambassador was brought into the picture. Because of her letter of complaint, Mrs. Lüdemann was likewise placed in protective custody and brought to Breslau. There, however, she remained in the police prison.

Paul Löbe is of the opinion that Mrs. Lüdemann's protest ultimately resulted in improvements in the camp and eventually triggered its closure.[17] Then Gestapo chief, Rudolf Diels, however, mentions the American journalist Lochner, who had drawn his attention to the conditions in Breslau in connection with Löbe's kidnapping. Thereupon it had been his personal concern to do something to oppose the "power-drunk and popular SA-Leader" (Heines) and to help bring about the disbandment of the camp.[18]

During the night of August 10–11, 1933, 343 inmates were sent in railroad cars to Osnabrück and from there were transported to the Emsland moor camps. The remaining 60 to 80 inmates were brought to the Breslau Police Presidium, where most of them were released.[19]

SOURCES The information about the Breslau-Dürrgoy camp is based above all on preserved witness reports and the contemporary press. An especially valuable document is the diary of Breslau printer Helmut Friese. He was imprisoned in the Dürrgoy concentration camp from May 1 to August 10, 1933, because of "production and distribution of subversive literature" (BA-B, NJ1033). Former Reichstag President Paul Löbe left further recollections as a former Dürrgoy camp inmate. See Löbe, *Der Weg war lang. Erinnerungen*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Arani, 1990), pp. 221–230. The same applies to Kurt Skupin, a member of the Reichsbanner who was brought to Dürrgoy in April 1933 and transferred to Börgermoor in August. See: Personal communication to Karol Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny we Wrocławiu w 1933 r. (na podstawie pamiętników byłych więźniów), in *Śloski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, Jg. XXII (1967), Nr. 1–2, pp 170–190. Walter Tausk, who at that time lived in Breslau and observed the political scene, wrote in his diary about the population's reaction to the camp. See Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940* (Berlin: Aufbau-Taschenbuchverlag, 2000).

The local National Socialist press reported in detail on the concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*, KZ) (*STP*, April to August 1933). Likewise, the Communist and Social Democratic exile press as well as the foreign press called attention to the Dürrgoy camp.See *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen*, *Beilage der AIZ zur Olympiade 1936*, 1 Juli 1936, Übersichtskarte Konzentrationslager; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland; Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Carrefour, 1936); *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror* (Basel, 1933), p.322; *NV*, August 13, 1933; *MG*, August 3, 1933.

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Fritz Gluckstein

NOTES

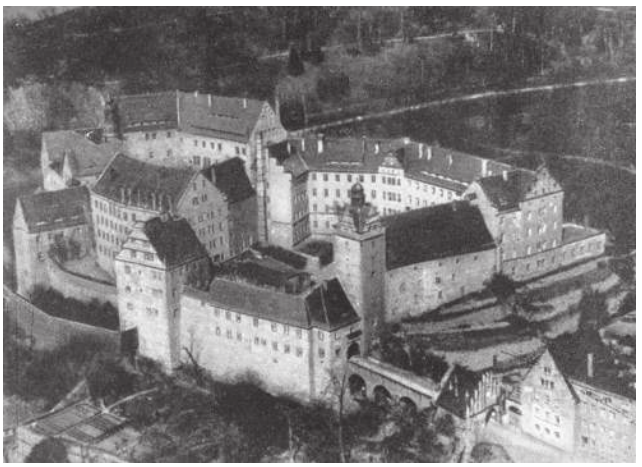
1. *STP*, April 11, 1933.
2. *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror* (Basel, 1933), p. 322.
3. *STP*, April 30, 1933.
4. Paul Löbe, *Der Weg war lang: Erinnerungen*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Arani, 1990), pp. 221–222; Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante portas. Es spricht der erste Chef der Gestapo* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1950), p. 263.
5. Bericht Helmut Friese, BA-B, NJ 1033.
6. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, pp. 222–223; Walter Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940* (Berlin: Aufbau-Taschenbuchverlag, 2000), pp. 78, 83; Karol Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny we Wrocławiu w 1933 r. (na podstawie pamietników byłych więźniów), in *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, Jg. XXII (1967), Nr. 1–2, pp. 170–190, 183–184.
7. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 225.
8. Bericht Friese; Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny, p. 182.
9. *MG*, August 3, 1933; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, pp. 224, 227–228; Bericht Friese; *NV*, August 13, 1933.
10. Bericht Friese; Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny, p. 181.
11. Bericht Friese.
12. *Braunbuch*, p. 322; Ruth and Max Seydewitz, *Unvergessene Jahre* (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1984), pp. 36–37.
13. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 225.
14. Bericht Friese.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 229.
18. Diels, *Lucifer ante portas*, pp. 263–264.
19. Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 230; Bericht Friese.

COLDITZ

On March 21, 1933, the penal and psychiatric institution at Colditz Castle in Saxony became a "protective custody" camp. Officially labeled a "workhouse," it held Communists, Social Democrats, and some nationalists. Under the commandant, Polizeikommissar Wagner, approximately 100 SA men from Standarte 139 guarded the camp, with 2 policemen and 2 SS men. The chief interrogator was Polizeileutnant Joseph Knöpke. Other Colditz guards included SS-Mann Kolditz, SA-Scharführer Barthel, SA-Scharführer Hemetner, and SA-Mann Grünzig. By April 15, Colditz had over 300 prisoners, a number that grew by August 1933 to 700. According to prisoner Otto Meinel, this population excluded 78 workhouse inmates.[1] In total, 2,311 protective custody detainees passed through Colditz.

Colditz played a central role in the consolidation of Saxon camps. In late March and April 1933, political opponents in Leipzig and Dresden were dispatched to Colditz. The dissolution of early camps at Pappenheim bei Oschatz and Hainichen in May and June 1933 led to additional transfers. Meinel's transport in early June included many Reichenbach prisoners.[2] As late as November 1933, prisoners from Dresden (Mathildenstrasse) continued to enter Colditz.

The Colditz guards employed music in the pursuit of reeducation and torture. Every evening, the prisoners participated in nationalist sing-alongs that included the "Deutschlandlied" and various Nazi marches.[3] Those who refused to sing were beaten. The guards at Colditz had a song written



A postwar photograph of Colditz Castle, which served as an early camp and a subcamp of Sachsenburg in 1933/1934.
USHMM WS # 63215, COURTESY OF DÖW

expressly about this sitaution. Titled "Der Posten," by Alfred Schrappel, the first, fourth, and seventh stanzas read:

1. Who watches over us by day and night?
   Who is it, who guards our sleep?
   The sentry!
   He circles us with every step,
   He goes with us during the walks,
   Whether with or without steps.
   The sentry! . . .

4. Who lets you smoke for money?
   Who is it who gives you the word?
   The sentry!
   Who teaches you to turn to the right and the left?
   Who praises you, if you succeed?
   From whom will you always learn well?
   From the sentry! . . .

7. Who leads you inside to the commissar,
   If you are finally released?
   The sentry!
   Who presents you with packets and letters?
   Who finally leads you through the gate?
   Everyone sing aloud in choir, it is
   The sentry![4]

The prisoners debunked this ideal portrait. Wearing civilian clothes, they slept on straw-covered floors in rooms holding between 20 and more than 40 occupants. Even the castle church housed prisoners. The guards banned communication between the 17 prison wards. Vicious treatment by the guards led to numerous suicide attempts. When Fritz Weisse slashed his wrists in an unsuccessful suicide attempt, the guards responded by prohibiting knives except as eating utensils. Meinel commented: "The surest way to prevent suicide, the humane treatment of prisoners, was not tried!"[5]

Detained in Dorfstadt and then Falkenheim prison in March 1933, Meinel was dispatched on June 2 to Colditz, as part of an 89-person transport. As they entered the gate, the SA directed the transport's last 4 members to the palace, where they were supposed to pick up "two long tables." Once inside a darkened room, SA guards assaulted the prisoners Paul Albert, Willy Baumann, Albert Leidel, and Kurt Herold with rubber truncheons.[6]

On three occasions, the guards tortured Meinel. In the first case, SA guard Dietrich slapped him senseless. In the second, he was conducted to the shower room and placed on a stool where a guard, Grünzig, knocked him unconscious. In the third, SS-Mann Kolditz beat him in similar fashion. After discovering that three neighboring prisoners shared his surname, Meinel, whose given name was Paul Otto, devised a ruse to elude additional torture. After disguising his appearance with a haircut, he had his cell mates address him by his middle name. The guards "never found the sought-after Paul Meinel in the camp again!" Meinel was transferred to Sachsenburg on July 29, 1933.[7]

Right-wing prisoners were also tortured at Colditz. The beating of landowner Wilhelm Gratz prompted SA-Scharführer Hemetner to brag, "See, it's not only the proletarians who get beaten by us! Here is the big landowner Gratz. He owns about twenty horses and about two hundred pigs. The scoundrel offended the SA!" Other maltreated nationalists were Geringswalde mayor Wilhelm Orphall and Stahlhelm member Max Fiedler.[8]

Walter Liebing documented resistance inside Colditz. Transferred from the Leipzig protective custody camp in September 1933, he served as camp elder (*Lagerältester*), which gave him a say over labor assignments. One of his tasks was to accompany supply details in town. While picking up sausage, he met a young saleswoman, whose brother was in Dachau, who gave him a quarter-pound of liverwurst. Inside the sausage, Liebing discovered a small "ampule" with a note from the district Communist underground, naming the reliable prisoners inside Colditz. His cell mates "By lrak" [sec] and Heinz Bausch were on the list.[9]

Liebing also went on tobacco supply runs. From an elderly female tobacconist, the SA purchased tobacco for sale to the prisoners. On the pretext of reducing their supply trips, she suggested the guards have the "Communist swine" recycle the packets. She could then refill them with a larger supply of the "cheapest weed." According to Liebing, the SA thrashed prisoners who did not cooperate in this scheme. The tobacco merchant turned out to be a Communist, which led Liebing to devise a two-way communications system. Liverwurst-embedded ampules carried messages into Colditz; empty cigarette packs contained notes to the outside. Bylak became adept at inserting tissue-paper notes inside the empty packs, without disturbing the manufacturer's tax stamp (*Banderole*).[10]

The group's delicate handling of empty cigarette packs and the daily consumption of liverwurst attracted SA attention. Liebing discovered too late that a new prisoner, Zahnke,

was spying on his group. To give the spy an alibi, the guards took Zahnke to a room one evening and simulated his torture. The lack of bruises on his body, however, belied the screams heard during the night. Zahnke's mysterious absence at morning roll call led the SA to pronounce him dead by suicide, a conclusion Liebing rejected. On the basis of Zahnke's reports, the SA punished the prisoners, including Liebing. He was dispatched to the police hospital in Leipzig, a move he took as a protective gesture by certain police officials.[11]

Communist prisoner Rolf Helm was held briefly at Colditz. Arrested in March 1933, Helm remained at Dresden (Mathildenstrasse) until November 3, 1933, when he was dispatched to Colditz with a 40-member transport. Upon arrival, the SA tormented the new detainees, who performed deep kneebends and other penal exercises while being struck with rubber hoses. For the new arrivals, "individual treatment," a code word for torture, soon followed. Released from custody on November 17, Helm was never able to understand this "privilege."[12]

Two international delegations visited Colditz in 1933 and 1934. The German Social Democratic Party (SPD) weekly in Prague, *Neuer Vorwärts*, mocked these efforts of the "Goebbels Ministry of Lies" to whitewash the camps, by recounting the testimony of an anonymous foreign national imprisoned at Colditz. Before the arrival of "foreign journalists" in 1933, the prisoners were warned that their indiscreet statements would result in retaliation. The visiting reporters heard the same monotonous response: "Everything is in the best order with us, we have nothing to expose."[13] Accounts of the second visit, an international delegation of jurists from Prague, are not immediately available, but it was standard practice for camp administrators to stage-manage prisoner interviews.[14] It is not known whether any postwar legal proceedings took place against the Colditz staff. On May 31, 1934, Colditz became a subcamp of Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzer, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). The Colditz early camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: BPB, 1999).

Primary documentation for Colditz begins with File No. 4842, Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, in the SHStA-(D), as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. On the Prague delegation's proposed visit in April 1934, the same source cites ZSA-P, Film 16 084, now in BA-BL, Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR. Alfred Schrappel's "Der Posten" is reproduced in Fackler. Eyewitness accounts for Colditz begin with Otto Meinel, "Colditz," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 146–156. The Sopade published this collection of testimonies. A second eyewitness account is Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 273–275. Finally, there is Rolf Helm, *Anwalt des Volkes: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1978). Colditz was also mentioned in at least two German exile newspaper accounts. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933; and "Besuch im Lager: Gefangene müssen Komödie spielen," *NV*, October 8, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Otto Meinel, "Colditz," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 149.
2. Ibid., p. 148.
3. Ibid., p. 151; "Besuch im Lager: Gefangene müssen Komödie spielen," *NV*, October 8, 1933.
4. Alfred Schrappel, "Der Posten," reproduced in Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), p. 268.
5. Meinel, "Colditz," pp. 149–150, 153 (original emphasis).
6. Ibid., pp. 146, 150–151.
7. Ibid., pp. 151–153, 157.
8. Ibid., pp. 154–155.
9. Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 273–274.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 274–275.
12. Rolf Helm, *Anwalt des Volkes: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1978), pp. 132–133.
13. "Besuch im Lager."
14. ZSA-P, Film 16,084, now in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 89.

COLUMBIA-HAUS

Starting in July 1933, the first prisoners were delivered to the so-called Columbia-Haus camp, a former military institution on the Tempelhof Field in Berlin, which stood unoccupied at that time. From December 1934, the prison came under the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) as the "Columbia concentration camp." It differed fundamentally from all other concentration camps in that the Berlin Secret State Police Office (Gestapa) used this concentration

camp for prisoners whose court investigations were not yet concluded and who therefore were not yet supposed to be taken to other concentration camps. This was a substation of the Gestapa's house prison (*Hausgefängnis*) in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8. A transport ran regularly between both detention sites.

The prisoners consisted primarily of political detainees, mostly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP). In total, approximately 10,000 men were held prisoner here through the fall of 1936. On average, more than 400 inmates were kept in the overcrowded prison cells at a time.

The actual number of prisoners who were murdered at Columbia-Haus is not known. Three known murder cases from November 1933 can presumably stand for many others. SS guards murdered Michael Kirzmierczik on November 20, 1933, and attempted to disguise his death as suicide. On November 24, 1933, Communist Erich Thornseifer was tortured with a cane and riding whip so severely that he had to be brought to the state hospital on the same day. He died there on November 26, 1933. On November 27, 1933, the SS murdered Karl Vesper (KPD), a mechanic who had been imprisoned on November 8, 1933. The murder of four Communist top officials—John Schehr, Rudolf Schwarz, Erich Steinfurth, and Eugen Schönhaar—is connected to Columbia-Haus as well. The Gestapa at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8 subjected these men to interrogation and torture multiple times throughout the day. They were murdered in Berlin-Wannsee on the evening of February 1, 1934, during a transport, which supposedly was to bring them from Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse back to Columbia-Haus.

The first commandant of Columbia-Haus (Leiter des Columbiahauses) on record is Walter Gerlach, who served in this position until December 1, 1934.[1] This man, born in 1896, had belonged to the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since 1930 and was a member of the SS from 1931. An SS-Obersturmbannführer, he was named commandant of Columbia-Haus on August 1, 1934. Dr. Alexander Reiner succeeded him. The only preparation that this dentist—born in 1885, a member of the NSDAP since 1931 and member of the SS since 1932—had before taking over the Columbia concentration camp on December 1, 1934, was a mere eight-day visit to the Dachau concentration camp. In the following year, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Otto Koch arrived. He was born in Darmstadt in 1897; as of March 1931, he was a member of the NSDAP, and from September 1931, a member of the SS. He served as commandant from April 21, 1935, to April 1, 1936. Heinrich Deubel was the last commandant. He was born in 1890 and joined the SS one year after joining the NSDAP in 1925. Deubel was relieved of his duties on September 22, 1936, because Inspector of the Concentration Camps Theodor Eicke viewed his apparently too lenient treatment of the prisoners as "unsuited" for the camp. Following this, Max Koegel served as commandant until September 1, 1936, without ever being formally appointed to this position. Koegel was born in Füssen in 1895 and first became part of the NSDAP and SS in 1932. Between July and November 1936, Kurt Eccarius was appointed to the headquarters of the Columbia concentration camp. He was born in 1905 and had been a member of the SS and NSDAP since 1929.[2] For the commandants of Columbia-Haus, this position was the beginning or intensification of a career that was distinguished above all by the readiness to unscrupulously fight against opponents of the National Socialist system.

The earliest actual information on the social backgrounds of the members of the guard staff is found in the second schedule of responsibilities of the Gestapa from January 1934, in which is cited: "SS-Kommando Gestapa: SS-Brigadeführer Henze; Kommandohaus: Berlin SW 29, Columbiastr. 1/3."[3] There is only fragmentary information on this unit. Until the turn of the year 1934–1935, the SS-Bodyguard Regiment Adolf Hitler (SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler) provided the guard staff. In March 1935, supervision was provided by 55 SS men who were housed in the residential building of the prison complex.[4] This changed on April 1, 1935, when the SS-Guard Force Oranienburg-Columbia (SS-Wachtruppe Oranienburg-Columbia) was created, which shortly thereafter was renamed SS-Guard Formation V Brandenburg (SS-Wachverband V Brandenburg). Their quarters were located in the Oranienburg Castle, while only the members of the headquarters—made up of almost 20 SS men, including some SS-Führer and SS-Unterführer—remained in Columbia-Haus. At the beginning of 1936, 30 members of the SS-Death's Head Formation Brandenburg (SS-TV) were assigned to the headquarters of the Columbia concentration camp.[5] Many members of the SS guard force later served in leading functions in other concentration camps.

The cover of the May 23, 1935, issue of the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*—which was published in exile in Prague—featured the photo of Hans Bächle in full SS uniform next to the headline "The Confession of an SS-Man." Along with a report on the inside were also sensational pictures from Columbia-Haus. Bächle, already a member of the NSDAP in 1931, joined the SS guard force in 1934 and later was sent to Columbia-Haus headquarters. In April 1935 he met with two prisoners, Hausmann and Wiendieck, who were both close colleagues of the former Silesian Gauleiter and Provincial President Helmut Brückner, who was also imprisoned in Columbia-Haus. Hausmann and Wiendieck met each other through Dr. Josef Römer, former head of the Free Corps Oberland and later co-leader of the Uhrig-Römer-Resistance Organization. Bächle told Hausmann, Wiendieck, and Römer that he was prepared to help them escape. The SS man rented a car in which he and two of the prisoners fled from Columbia-Haus and drove to Czechoslovakia on the night of April 20, 1935. Römer stayed behind because he ultimately decided not to flee. The escape was assisted by the fact that on April 18, 1935, Commandant Reiner was relieved of his duties after the murder of two prisoners and because of prevailing uncertainty among the SS guard staff caused by these events.

To make room for the extension of the Tempelhof airport, the Columbia concentration camp was closed on October 1,

1936. The prisoners were taken to the new Sachsenhausen concentration camp located north of Berlin. On November 16, 1936, a teletype message of the Gestapa wrote off the history of Columbia-Haus, stating succinctly, "The Columbia concentration camp in Berlin-Tempelhof was closed on November 5, 1936."[6] Sachsenhausen is thus documented as the successive camp to Columbia-Haus.

Only very few trials were held for the crimes committed in Columbia-Haus. In 1948 the 10th Grand Criminal Court of the Berlin Regional Court held a hearing against SS guard Karl Pfitzer. He was accused of cruelty toward prisoners. The accused was active as a cook in Columbia-Haus until September 1933, where he abused this position of power, beating defenseless prisoners in the face with a ladle during the serving of meals, stomping on them with his feet, or shoving prisoners' heads against the wall. He received a prison sentence of four years.

In 1964 a preliminary proceeding for murder was pursued by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL). But because both of the accused SS members had in the meantime died, the trial was stopped in the same year.

Another attempted prosecution of the ZdL against the now-dead commandants Alexander Reiner, Karl Koch, Walter Gerlach, and Heinrich Deubel also failed. Further investigations ceased. In addition, there were trials against a few people who had held leading positions for crimes in the other concentration camps. This is how in 1947 Eccarius received a lifelong sentence of forced labor from a Soviet military court for crimes committed in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After serving this sentence in Siberia, the Coburg Regional Court sentenced him to four years in prison in 1962.

SOURCES This contribution is based on Kurt Schilde, *Vom Columbia-Haus zum Schulenburgring: Dokumentation mit Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung von 1933 bis 1945 aus dem Bezirk Tempelhof* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1987), pp. 41–67; and Johannes Tuchel, *Columbia-Haus: Berliner Konzentrationslager 1933–1936* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990). In addition to these works, Schilde went back to local historical brochures and essays, among others, Emil Ackermann, ed., *Aus der Tempelhofer Geschichte: Naziterror und Widerstand* (Berlin: Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes Westberlin [VVN], Verband der Antifaschisten, 1984); Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gliech, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager in Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkeller 1933/34," in *Berlin-Forschungen II* (Berlin, 1987), pp. 141–178; Laurenz Demps, "Konzentrationslager in Berlin 1933 bis 1945," *Jahrbuch des Märkischen Museums*, Nr. III (1977): 7–19. Biographical information was taken from the published memoirs of former prisoners along with relevant reference works, including, among others, Kurt Hiller, *Schutzhäftling 231* (Neue Weltbühne 1935, Nos. 1–5); Henry Marx, "Als es noch kein Konzentrationslager war . . . Bericht über einen achttägigen Aufenthalt im Columbia-Haus," *Aufbau* (New York, June 17, 1988), pp. 24–25; Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz. Zeugnisse und Reflektionen eines Sozialisten*, with a foreword by Willy Brandt (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1975). Important information also came from contemporary texts, such as the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft Ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934); *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland; Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Carrefour, 1936); *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). In addition to this exile literature, one can include the book by Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: H. Boldt, 1991), with which the historical classification in the system of the concentration camp was carried out.

There are no coherent archived written records on the Columbia concentration camp. Still preserved is the "Sistiertenkladde" from December 29, 1933, to January 18, 1934, a book that lists all detainees and includes many entries of prisoner names (BA, R 58/742). An exemplary collection of memoirs and reports from prisoners can be found in the WL and in the YVA, Jerusalem, as well as in the GDW-B, in the ABI, and in the VVN-BdA. The archives of the state attorney's offices at the Berlin and Cologne regional courts and the ZdL all contain information on the legal proceedings against the personnel of the Columbia concentration camp. The BDC was also consulted for this project.

Kurt Schilde
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. BA-B, BDC personal files of Gerlach.
2. Ibid., personal files of Eccarius.
3. BA-B, R 56/840, fol. 8.
4. Ibid., NS 19/1472.
5. IfZ, Dc 01.06, 51.
6. ITS, Ordner Allgemeines 6-7a.

DRESDEN (MATHILDENSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police utilized the remand prison of the Dresden court of appeals at Mathildenstrasse as a "protective custody" camp. An undetermined number of prisoners from the dissolved early camp at Bautzen (Kupferhammer) were transferred to this jail on June 26, 1933. Known as "Mathilde" or the "little Mathilde castle," it functioned as an early camp until 1934.[1]

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Mathildenstrasse camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: BPB, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for this camp includes File No. 4842 in the SHStA-(D), MFAA. The camp is also listed in the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) exile newspaper *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

DÜSSELDORF (ULMENSTRASSE) [AKA ULMER HÖH]

On February 28, 1933, the remand prison at Ulmenstrasse 95 in Düsseldorf became a "protective custody camp." Called "Ulmer Höh," the camp held approximately 300 prisoners, mainly Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and intellectuals. Although professional policemen originally guarded the prisoners, SS, SA, and Stahlhelm deputies replaced this force after the German national election of March 5, 1933.[1] Responsibility for this camp was given to the Düsseldorf police president, SA-Obergruppenführer Fritz Philip Weitzel, and the leader of the city's SA, Standartenführer Lohbeck. Among the guards was an SS man named ter Heiden.[2]

Prisoner treatment ranged from strict to arbitrary and brutal. Under police supervision, the prisoners chatted and smoked on their 30-minute morning walk around the prison yard. By contrast, the SS forced them to march military style and took the opportunity to kick and beat them. They also tortured the detainees in two rooms set aside for the purpose. Among the victims was Albert Mainz.[3]

Wolfgang Langhoff was one of Ulmer Höh's first protective custody detainees. Arrested on the morning after the Reichstag Fire, February 28, 1933, the noted actor and director believed that his case would be resolved in time for that evening's theatrical performance. With 40 others he passed the first four days in a holding cell, in which everyone slept on straw mattresses on the floor. The detainee population quickly swelled to 200 prisoners.[4]

At Ulmenstrasse the SS established a brutal regime. Either from astonishment, uncertainty, or amusement, the police looked on and elected not to intervene as the SS beat or kicked the prisoners. Outraged, Langhoff registered a complaint with Weitzel: "In my name and in the name of the protective custody prisoners of Hall A of the Düsseldorf remand prison, I protest herewith against the inhumane treatment which the SS guards are meting out to us. We are political prisoners and desire to be treated as such. The hygienic condition of our accommodation is impossible. There exists the danger of illness and lousiness. I ask you to order that mistreatment by the SS be stopped immediately."[5]

The SS guards dressed down Langhoff because of the letter and transferred him to a four-person cell. To combat boredom, the group played skat, did deep kneebends, and ran in place. When the guards went on Sunday leave, the whole cell block took the opportunity to sing. In the distance, a lone guard on duty could be heard barking, "Stop! Enough with the glee club!"[6]

Visiting SS personnel also harassed the prisoners. On May 26, 1933, an SS officer and his driver inspected Langhoff's cell. Langhoff remembered the day as coinciding with the Schlageter Memorial Day, a Nazi holiday. The SS looked at the inmates "as if they were in the zoo." After establishing Langhoff's profession, the officer derided him in obscene language. The SS officer then announced that the prisoners should be "bumped off" at the Düsseldorf torture site, Oberhausen. To his driver, he said, "Here you still don't have the right methods!"[7]

By contrast, Langhoff cultivated a good relationship with an unnamed SA guard. In exchange for cigarettes, the guard sneaked contraband into Ulmer Höh for the prisoners. The smuggled goods included Karl Tucholsky's satire *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*. Unaware that the new regime had banned this work as unpatriotic, the SA man said: "Yes, yes, that is a nationalist thing, which he [Langhoff] must read!"[8]

The SS tortured Langhoff at Ulmenstrasse. Conducted to a special room, he was presented with a "yellow card" listing the names of associates to be denounced. Refusing to go along, the SS beat him with rubber truncheons and rifle butts. After the first blows, they tried to make him denounce his secretary and, in a typical Nazi allegation against leftist opponents, divulge the whereabouts of hidden weapons. Leaving him alone for 30 minutes to think it over, they beat him again when he still did not cooperate. At some point he lost his bearings and the blows ceased to hurt, he claimed. While Langhoff was recovering in a cell, Weitzel asked him in a mocking tone, "Are you ill? Have you hit yourself?" The compromised SA guard who sneaked in contraband for cigarettes put Langhoff in a cell by himself, brought bedding and water, and later arranged a visit with the police physician, Dr. Simon. The doctor threatened to inform Prussian Ministerpräsident Hermann Göring, the founder of the Gestapo, about the assault. It is not clear whether Simon acted on this threat.[9]

The Stahlhelm also seemingly disapproved of SS methods. After viewing Langhoff's injuries, two Stahlhelm guards offered to photograph him in preparation for a future disciplinary action. Looking at his wounds, one exclaimed, "Here you see the handwriting of the Third Reich!" These guards apparently did not make good their offer.[10]

In July 1933, the authorities transferred Langhoff to the early concentration camp at Börgermoor. By late May rumors already circulated at Ulmer Höh about a planned concentration camp in Emsland. Within one month's time, 50 prisoners with experience in the building trades were transported to the moors to build the camps. Before his transfer, a new prisoner told Langhoff about the torture of an artist named "Little Karl." In a cellar elsewhere in Düsseldorf, the SA brutalized



"First Night: The Questioning Continues," illustration by Karl Schwesig (1898–1955), an artist persecuted by the Nazis, who in the late 1930s depicted the Düsseldorf-Ulmenstrasse (Ulmer Höh) camp and the Schlegel Brewery torture site (pictured here) in a series of drawings.
COURTESY OF GALERIE REMMERT UND BARTH, DÜSSELDORF

and humiliated him. This torture included the cutting of a swastika into Little Karl's hair. The artist turned out to be Karl Schwesig, who was imprisoned at Ulmenstrasse in the weeks following Langhoff's transfer.[11]

A member of Das junge Rheinland artistic group, Schwesig infuriated the Nazis before their takeover with the appearance of *Maskenball* (1932). The painting depicted Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht sitting beside a woman wearing a gas mask, with boxer Max Schmeling and others in the background. This well-aimed attack on Nazi warmongering landed him in protective custody on July 11, 1933.[12] For three days, the SA tortured him in the basement of the Schlegel Brauerei, after which he was dispatched to police headquarters. On August 11, 1933, Schwesig was sent to Ulmer Höh to await trial on a spurious treason charge.

Schwesig's *Schlegelkeller* cycle of charcoal drawings, produced in the late 1930s, documented Ulmer Höh during and immediately after the closure of the protective custody camp. One drawing, *Spaziergang*, showed prisoners walking around the yard, with a guard standing in the center. Although the guard's unit is not clearly indicated in the drawing, the prisoners did not march during the exercise period, which contrasted with the SS-imposed routine.[13] With *Becher und Krug, Ulmer Höh, 1933*, the drawing of a pitcher, cup, and table, Schwesig expressed the monotony and frustration of confinement at Ulmenstrasse. He returned to this theme in the sketch *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*, which shows a pitcher in his cell.[14] During his time at Ulmer Höh, the highly publicized Reichstag Fire Trial took place in Leipzig. Schwesig recounted the prisoners' reaction to news that the principal defendant, Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, had publicly rebutted Nazi accusations of a Communist plot: "Dimitrov's words before the court warmed us in winter, even as the heating pipe did nothing to relieve our miserable freezing."[15] After his release from Wuppertal-Bendahl prison in November 1934, Schwesig fled to Belgium. There he organized anti-Nazi art exhibitions, which included the *Schlegelkeller* and *Ulmer Höh* series.

In the summer of 1933, most Ulmenstrasse detainees were dispatched to the cluster of early Prussian concentration camps in Emsland, Börgermoor, and Esterwegen.[16]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is listed in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). On Karl Schwesig's imprisonment at this camp, an excellent discussion is Annette Baumeister, "Verfolgung und Widerstand, 1933–1935," in *Karl Schwesig: Leben und Werk*, ed. Herbert Remmert and Peter Barth (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), pp. 57–80.

Primary documentation for Ulmenstrasse starts with Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager*, foreword by Werner Heiduczek (Zürich: Schweitzer Spiegel, 1935; repr., Köln: Röderberg, 1988). This memoir was one of the first camp testimonies. Langhoff devoted over 100 pages to Ulmenstrasse. Karl Schwesig's cycle of sketches, *Schlegelkeller*, foreword by Heinrich Mann (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), is another primary source. Although prepared in the late 1930s, *Schlegelkeller* was not published in book form during Schwesig's lifetime. Fortunately, the manuscript was held in the United States for safekeeping during World War II. Some of the *Ulmer Höh* series is documented in Schwesig's *Ausgewählte Werke*, *1920–1955: Ausstellung vom 17. September bis 19. November 1988* (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1988). The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum owns Schwesig's nine-drawing series *Rosenmontag*. The ninth graphite in this collection is *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, another testimony for this camp is the unpublished manuscript of Albert Mainz, "Esterwegen—KZ Lager III."

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager*, foreword by Werner Heiduczek (Zürich: Schweitzer Spiegel, 1935; repr., Köln: Röderberg, 1988), pp. 49–50.

2. Ibid., p. 56; Albert Mainz, "Esterwegen—KZ Lager III" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), p. 411, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 124.

3. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 64; Mainz, "Esterwegen," p. 411, in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 124.

4. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 46.

5. Ibid., p. 55.
6. Ibid., pp. 62–63.
7. Ibid., pp. 67–68.
8. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
9. Ibid., pp. 79–87, 92 (quotation on p. 86).
10. Ibid., p. 93.
11. Ibid., pp. 101, 105–107.
12. Vp, July 25, 1933, as cited in Karl Schwesig, *Schlegelkeller* (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), p. 144. *Maskenball* is reproduced as part of the *Volksparole* article.
13. Schwesig's *Spaziergang—eine halbe Stunde Täglich*, 1936, Galerie Remmert und Barth, Düsseldorf, in ibid., drawing 37.
14. Schwesig's *Becher und Krug*, *Ulmer Höh 1933*, 1938, Galerie Remmert und Barth, Düsseldorf, in Schwesig, *Ausgewählte Werke*, *1920–1955: Ausstellung vom 17. September bis 19. November 1988* (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1988), p. 49; Schweisg's *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*, in *Rosenmontag* series, 1938, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, Washington, DC.
15. Schwesig, "Schlegelkeller-Bericht des Künstlers," in *Schlegelkeller*, p. 112.
16. Mainz, "Esterwegen," n.p., in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 124.

ERFURT (PETERSBERG AND FELDSTRASSE)

In February 1933, the Erfurt police prison at Petersberg became a "protective custody" camp. Initially holding 44 detainees, Petersberg continued to function as an entry point for the Nazi regime's political opponents until at least November or December 1933. The number of prisoners dispatched from there to early concentration camps increased considerably over time. In slightly rounded figures, 20 percent of the Petersberg population was transferred elsewhere in June (38 of 182); 70 percent in August (137 of 198); and nearly 80 percent in November (203 of 257). The camp was under police direction, but the commander's name is not known.[1]

In April 1933, the overcrowding of the Petersberg's police prison prompted the Erfurt State Police Office to establish an early concentration camp at an abandoned metalworks factory located at Feldstrasse 18. The orders came at the behest of Kriminalkommissar Böning. The camp leader was Polizeiwachtmeister Böttcher, and the guards belonged to the SA. Feldstrasse held approximately 120 prisoners, and they were forced to work in gravel pits. The SA removed some prisoners from this camp to be tortured elsewhere. In at least three cases, this maltreatment resulted in the death of the prisoner. First, Communist editor Josef Ries was taken to Blumenthal, a local restaurant, and beaten to death on June 28, 1933. Second, Communist prisoner Heinz Sendhoff was removed to a wooded area and similarly killed on July 8, 1933. And finally, a Jewish prisoner, Waldemar Schapiro (born Chaim Wulf), was brought to the same woods as Sendhoff and murdered on July 15, 1933. Schapiro was a businessman accused of distributing the *Thüringer Volksblatt*, an illegal Communist publication. Feldstrasse was dissolved on September 9, 1933, and its remaining prisoners were transferred to the early SS camp at Esterwegen.

Both camps had active underground organizations. At Petersberg, prisoner self-help took the forms of morale strengthening by Communist leader Alfred Neubert, with illicit assistance by the German Communist Party's (KPD) organization Rote Hilfe (Red Help). At Feldstrasse, Communist prisoners entered into dialogue with their erstwhile Social Democratic rivals in order to promote anti-Nazi solidarity.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Erfurt early camps are listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). This compendium also records the deaths of Sendhoff, Ries, and Schapiro.

Primary documentation for this camp consists of Police File No. 10020 located in the THStA-W, Regierung Erfurt, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. Also available is a Zentrales Parteiarchiv der Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands file, V 241/7/58, in the BA-BL's collection of former East German papers, SAPMO. Erfurt is also listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

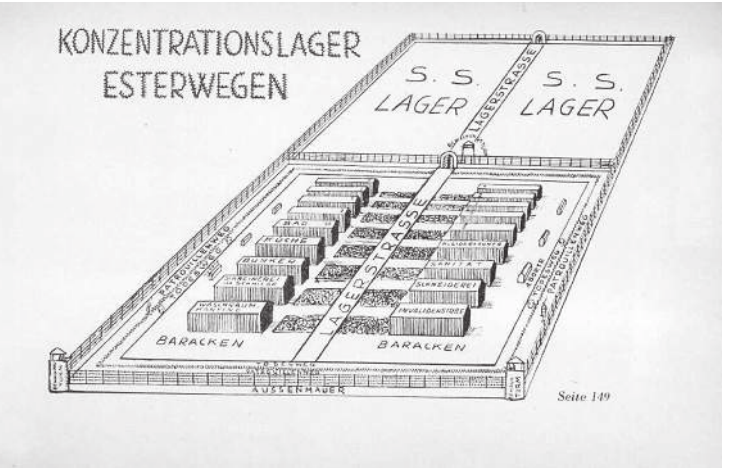
Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. The percentages were calculated from statistics for Petersberg police prison, in THStA-W, Regierung Erfurt, File No. 10020, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 43.

ESTERWEGEN, IKL

Between June and September 1934, the SS converted the Esterwegen camp at Gemeinde Hümmling from a Prussian to a Dachau model camp. Erected in August 1933 as two State Concentration Camp Papenburg's (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) subcamps, Esterwegen furnished labor for Emsland cultivation. As commandant, Heinrich Himmler appointed Dachau's guard commander, SS-Standartenführer Hans Loritz (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 298668, SS No. 4165), on June 29, 1934. Effective August 1, Loritz implemented Inspectorate of Concentration Camps's (IKL) "Special" and "Disciplinary and Punishment" Orders, thus bringing the camp into conformity with Dachau. With the establishment of SS-Guard Formation Ostfriesland (Wachverband Ostfriesland), Esterwegen's remaining SA joined Papenburg's Pionier-Standarte-Emsland in September 1934. In January



A map of Esterwegen concentration camp, sketched by an imprisoned Jehovah's Witness and which appeared in *Das Goldene Zeitalter* (Feb. 15, 1938). Bisecting the SS and prisoners' camps was "Camp Street," which the SS called Hitler Alley (*Hitlerallee*), but which the prisoners referred to as the "Alley of Sighs" (*Seuferallee*). The labeled prisoners' barracks (left) were set aside for a shower, kitchen, the "bunker," carpenters' and blacksmiths' workshops, washroom/canteen, and (right) a clothing warehouse, sanitation, tailors' shop, and infirmary. An external wall, patrol path, deadline (*Todesweg*), and guard towers surrounded the prisoners' area.
COURTESY OF WATCHTOWER BIBLE & TRACT SOCIETY, BROOKLYN, NY

1935, the SS numbered 368 but increased to 571 by June 1936. On April 1, 1936, Sachsenburg's former commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Otto Koch (NSDAP No. 475586, SS No. 14830), became this camp's last commandant, as Loritz assumed command at Dachau. Esterwegen held between 300 and 500 detainees until the summer of 1936, when its population rose to approximately 1,000. Political detainees wore field-gray uniforms with red stripes; criminal recidivists wore blue uniforms with green stripes. Prisoners displayed colored markings on breast and back, red for politicals, yellow "BV" (Berufsverbrecher) for career criminals, yellow for Jews, and black for Jehovah's Witnesses.[1]

The Special Order defined three detention categories, prisoner organization, and camp offenses. The first category consisted of model prisoners, whose obedience, political views, and denunciation of associates theoretically qualified them for release after three weeks. The second was composed of prisoners requiring three months' additional confinement. The SS reserved the third category for incorrigibles: leading politicians, "intellectuals," Jews, "people's enemies," criminal recidivists, and former Nazis. Every barrack formed a company, with SS company leader, "Prisoners' Sergeant," and detainee "Corporal Leader." Camp offenses included political agitation, mutiny, and sabotage.[2]

SS-Gruppenführer Theodor Eicke's dictum "Tolerance means weakness" framed the penalties. Criticizing the regime or absenting oneself resulted in 25 cane blows before *and* after 14 days' isolation. Receiving assistance from the German Communist Party's (KPD) Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD) carried the maximum bunker confinement of 42 days. Sabotage incurred punishments ranging from 8 days' isolation to death. Agitation or mutiny resulted in death by hanging or shooting.[3]

Most detainees cut peat in the wetlands, but Jewish "returnees" and Jehovah's Witnesses underwent what was called "education." Their details consisted of a 40-member "sullage gang" (*Jauchekolonne*), in which they handled excrement, underwent punitive "sport," and participated in sand-carrying details, in which they pushed wheelbarrows at a furious pace. On February 12, 1936, after Swiss Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff's assassination by a Jew, Jewish detainees endured seven hours of punitive labor and exercises.[4]

Music played a role in prisoner harassment. Anonymously composed, the "Esterwegen Lied" was popular among the SS: "Whether work or sport is forced from us/still a cheerful land always resounds." This song subsequently appeared at Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz. "Returnee" Paul Stargardt and Jehovah's Witness Arthur Winkler recalled how work details were made to sing. In 1935, political detainees who refused to entertain a visiting army delegation by singing the "Börgermoorlied" lost four days' noon rations.[5]

In the March 29, 1936, Reichstag "election," most prisoners voted for the NSDAP. Robert Neddermeyer recalled that the camp underground urged their doing so in order to avoid retaliation. The Jehovah's Witnesses was the only group that refused to comply.[6]

From 1935 to 1936, Esterwegen recorded 28 deaths. Listed among the causes of death were 10 shootings and 1 suicide, but not included were prisoners who subsequently died of gunshot wounds, such as Otto Peters, or victims of SS mistreatment, like Louis Schild. The reports also contained evident forgeries. Officially "found dead," Paul Löwy was taken to the forest south of camp and murdered. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, five more prisoners died in local hospitals.[7]

Esterwegen's conditions prompted domestic and foreign protests. In July 1935, Father Bernhard Lichtenberg of St. Hedwig's Catholic Church in Berlin-Charlottenberg received a report describing murders at Esterwegen. Affixing his signature to the report, he personally delivered it to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, where officials rebuffed his additional demand to meet with Hermann Göring. The report reached Eicke and the Gestapo's Dr. Werner Best. Arrested in wartime for sympathizing with Jews, Lichtenberg died en route to Dachau in 1943. In 2005, Yad Vashem named him a Righteous Gentile.[8]

The imprisonment at Esterwegen of *Weltbühne* editor and pacifist Carl von Ossietzky galvanized international opinion. Held in this camp from March 1934 to May 1936, Ossietzky contracted tuberculosis, thanks in part to the moor labor for which he was certified by the camp physician. Beginning in 1935, he remained in the infirmary, where Sturmmann Albert Lütkemeyer once threatened his life. In reports to Himmler and Göring, Eicke and Reinhard Heydrich justified Ossietzky's continued detention, despite the greater publicity that arose from his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in November 1936.[9]

In 1935 and 1936, Corder Catchpool, Carl Burckhardt (International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC]), and a Dutch delegation attempted to visit Ossietzky. As the British Quakers' representative in Germany, Catchpool visited him in June 1935. In October 1935, Loritz granted Burckhardt permission to see Ossietzky only after considerable pressure. As Burckhardt recalled, the prisoner's face was swollen, and his leg was broken. Representing the exiled Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, Clara Enthoven, H. van Zutphen, and Father N. Padt asked to see Ossietzky on May 22, 1936, but Koch dismissed their request. On Göring's orders, the police moved him a few days later to Berlin's State Hospital of the Police, Scharnhorststrasse 13, where he remained until his death on May 4, 1938.[10]

As Eicke's "exemplary prison camp," Esterwegen was a springboard for IKL careers. After Dachau, Loritz commanded Sachsenhausen from 1940 to 1942. In January 1946, he committed suicide in Allied custody. After a short stint at Sachsenhausen, Koch was Buchenwald's first commandant from 1937 to 1942, then commandant at Lublin-Majdanek in 1942. Following a corruption investigation, the SS executed him in April 1945. Unterscharführer Gustav Sorge was a Papenburg SS guard who returned to Esterwegen from 1934 to April 1936. In October 1958, the regional court Bonn sentenced him to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 67 murders and 20 attempted murders, including the Esterwegen deaths of Schild, Friedrich Ravensgaard, and an unnamed detainee. In February 1934, master baker Bernhard Rakers joined Papenburg VI/Oberlangen's SA staff. From 1934 to 1936, he headed Esterwegen's prisoner kitchen, earning the name "slave driver." Becoming Rapportführer at Auschwitz III-Monowitz in 1944 and Lagerführer at Buchenwald/Weimar (Gustloff-Werke) in 1945, he was sentenced to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 7 murders in 1953 by the regional court Osnabrück. Known as "Sharpshooter," Lütkemeyer was an Esterwegen guard from 1934 to 1936. At Neuengamme in 1943, he served as Schutzhaftlagerführer. In Neuengamme Case 8, the British executed him on June 26, 1947.[11]

In June 1936, Eicke ordered Esterwegen's closure. On July 12, the first 50 prisoners departed to construct Sachsenhausen. The remaining 900 prisoners followed by September 5. Although Konstantin Hierl's Reich Labor Service (RAD) contended for the property, the SS sold Esterwegen on September 23 to the Reich Justice Ministry, where it became Papenburg's seventh penal camp. The SS applied a portion of the 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM) proceeds to the financing of Sachsenhausen.[12]



A view of the SS camp at Esterwegen, ca. 1935–1936.
USHMM WS # 05129, COURTESY OF BPK

Esterwegen held "Night and Fog" prisoners during World War II. Under British military administration after 1945, Esterwegen deployed former Nazis in moor cultivation. The Federal Republic of Germany discontinued this practice in 1950.

Until 2005, when it was scheduled for closure, the Bundeswehr utilized Esterwegen as a military depot. In 1980, it erected a memorial plaque at the site.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the following secondary sources: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005); Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On the Prussian and Dachau models, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991). Biographical information on Lichtenberg may be found in Kevin P. Spicer, *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), and at Yad Vashem's (YV) Web site, http://www1.yadvashem.org/righteous/index_righteous.html. Information on the Catchpool mission is available in Karl Zehrer, "Quäkerhilfe für Ossietzky," *Standpunkt* 10 (1984): 289–291. On the Sachsenhausen transfer, see *Damals in Sachsenhausen: Solidarität und Widerstand im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East]:

Deutschen Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, "*Des Lagers Stimme*"*—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). On post-1945 forced labor, see Christof Haverkamp, *Die Erschliessung des Emslandes im 20. Jahrhundert: Als Beispiel staatlicher regionaler Wirtschaftsförderung* (Sögel: Emsländische Landschrift, 1991); and the DIZ-EL, Papenburg, Web site, www.diz-emslandlager.de. On the Papenburg memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). On the memorial plaque, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Information on the Bundeswehr base closure may be found at https://wwwbpa.init-ag.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., "*Der Ort des Terrors*": *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary documentation for Esterwegen begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:102. In draft form with handwritten corrections, Esterwegen's IKL regulations may be found in USHMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91. The BDCPFs of Loritz and Koch are summarized cursorily in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999); and more extensively in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, trans. Haim Watzmann (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987). On SS guard strength, Drobisch and Wieland cite *Statisches Jahrbuch der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP* (Berlin, 1937). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites Esterwegen death lists in the NStA-Os and the NStA-Ol. Lichtenberg's 1935 protest, Best's and Eicke's responses, and excerpts from the Rakers and Sorge judgments are found in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). Kosthorst and Walter also reproduce the IKL regulations, which may be compared against the draft available at USHMMA. Additional information on Sorge and Rakers is found in Fritz Bauer et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966*, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2005), 10: 347–391 (Rakers, 4 Ks 2/52) and 15: 399–659 (Sorge, 8 Ks 1/58). The Lütkemeyer trial is found in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, Public Record Office WO 235/301, USHMMA, RG 59.016 M, Reel 9, File of Albert Lütkemeyer, Neuengamme Case 8. Based upon interviews with Sachsenhausen prisoners, the camp *Lied* (song), "Esterwegen," is reprinted in Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962). The third volume of *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), contains valuable information on Esterwegen. On Ossietzky's confinement, see Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt, Gerhard Kraiker, Christoph Schottes, and Elke Suhr (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), which reproduces documents from the NStA-Ol, the NIO, the PAAA, and the IISG. See also Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980). Ossietzky's imprisonment was a cause célèbre in the exile and English press, as can be seen in "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June 28, 1935. Published Esterwegen testimonies include Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985); Robert Neddermeyer, *Es began in Hamburg: Ein deutscher Kommunist erzählt aus seinem Leben*, foreword by Heinz Heitzer (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980). Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936) contains anonymous testimony. Jehovah's Witness accounts, some available in English translation, can be found in "Aus einem deutschen Konzentrationslager (Ein von einem schlichten, jungen Mann geschriebener Bericht—Amtlich beglaubigt)," *GZ*, September 1, 1936, pp. 6–7, 10–11; "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13; Arthur Winkler, "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, March 1, 1938, pp. 12–13. The February 15, 1938, article has an excellent sketch map drawn by a prisoner. The Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee's report, anonymous Jewish testimony from August 1936, Dr. Fritz Friedländer's 1958 interview with Leo Zimmermann, and Paul Stargardt's statement are found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Archives of the WL, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 9. For Esterwegen under Justice authority, see Ernst Walksen, *Warten auf die Freiheit: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle eines Moorsoldaten, 1935–1939*, foreword by Johannes Rau (Wuppertal: P. Hammer, 1984).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. BDCPFs of Hans Loritz and Karl Koch, cited in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999), pp. 129, 148; Loritz BDCPF, as cited in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, trans. Haim Watzmann (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), p. 160; RFSS to Führer, SA-Gruppe Nordsee, July 6, 1935, in Oberparteigericht Schäfer v. Loritz, BDC, as cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 289; *Statisches Jahrbuch der Schutzstaffel der*

NSDAP (Berlin, 1937), p. 51, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 195; December 1936 Report in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), 3: 1615 (hereafter *Sopade* with volume and page).

2. Theodor Eicke, "Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangenen-Barackenlager," August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in USHMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91, pp. 1–10 (hereafter RM-11.001 M.20, 91/1367/2, with page number); compare with published order in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), pp. 85–89.

3. Theodor Eicke, "Disziplinar- u. Strafordnung für das Gefangenenlager," August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in RM-11.001 M.20, 91/1367/2, pp. 1–6, quotation on p. 1; compare with published order in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 89–94.

4. P III h. No. 684 (Esterwegen), Anonymous Report by Jewish "Returnee," August 1936; P III h. No. 1076 (Esterwegen), Interview of Leo Zimmermann by Dr. Fritz Friedländer, Melbourne, Australia, December 22, 1958; Unsigned Statement of Paul Stargardt, April 1936, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Archives of the WL , Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 9 (hereafter *Testaments*, 1/2/9); "Aus einem deutschen Konzentrationslager (Ein von einem schlichten, jungen Mann geschriebener Bericht—Amtlich beglaubigt)," *GZ*, September 1, 1936), pp. 6–7, 10–11, translated as "From a German Concentration Camp (A Report Written by a Plain Man. Attested by a Notary Public)," *Golden Age*, June 2, 1937, pp. 567–570; Arthur Winkler, "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, March 1, 1938, pp. 12–13, translated as "In the Esterwegen Concentration Camp," *Consolation*, August 10, 1938, pp. 12–15; "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13; on the Jauchekolonne and Gustloff incident, see August 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3: 1010–1011.

5. "Esterwegen," in *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern*, comp. Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962), p. 28; Stargardt statement in *Testaments*, 1/2/9; Winkler, "In the Esterwegen Concentration Camp," p. 12; January 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3:48.

6. Robert Neddermeyer, *Es began in Hamburg: Ein deutscher Kommunist erzählt aus seinem Leben*, foreword by Heinz Heitzer (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980), p. 182; on Jehovah's Witnesses, August 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3:1012.

7. "Namentliche Liste über diejenigen Personen, die in den Jahren 1933, 1934 und 1935 im KZ Lager Esterwegen verstorben sind," NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362; and Standesamt Esterwegen, Sterbesregister, 1936, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1239, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 293–294; "Auszüge aus dem Urteil gegen Gustav Hermann Sorge vor dem Schwurgericht beim Landgericht Bonn (13. Oktober 1958) wegen Mordes u.a.," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 100, 102; on Löwy's possible murder, August 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3:1615.

8. "Der Protest des Berliner Domkapitulars Lichtenberg wegen Gefangenenmisshandlung im KL Esterwegen (1935)" and "Stellungsnahme der pr[eussische] Geheimen Staatspolizei zur Beschwerde des Domkapitulars Lichtenberg," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 104–108.

9. Doc. D 455, "Bericht des Lagerarztes von Esterwegen, 27.8.1934"; Doc. D 504, "Amtsarztliches Gutachten des Kreisarzten von Meppen 632 im Auftrag der Staatspolizei," July 24, 1935; Doc. D 581, Eicke to RFSS, April 3, 1936; D 590, Heydrich to Göring, May 22, 1936, all reproduced in Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt, Gerhard Kraiker, Christoph Schottes, and Elke Suhr (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), pp. 577–578, 631–632, 718, 725–727; "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June, 28, 1935.

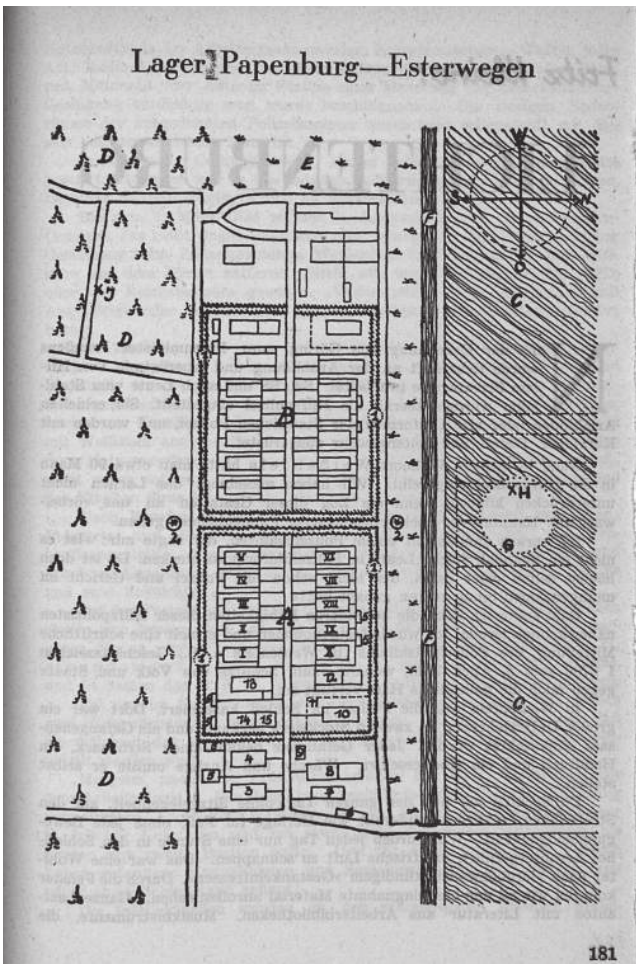
10. Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980), pp. 60–62; Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, *Mitteilungen* (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 9–10, in *Testaments*, 1/2/9.

11. Eicke quotation in Loritz BDCPF, as cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, 293; Loritz and Koch BDCPFs, as cited in Segev, *Soldiers of Evil*, pp. 144, 147, 160–162; Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, in Fritz Bauer et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966*, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2005), 15:415, 418–420; "Urteil gegen Bernhard Rakers vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Osnabrück (5. Januar-10.Februar 1953) wegen Mordes u.a." (4 Ks 2/52), excerpted in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 97–98; Confirmation of Death Sentence, June 26, 1947, and Defendant Deposition, 11/4/1946, in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, Public Record Office WO 235/301, USHMMA, RG 59.016 M, Reel 9, File of Albert Lütkemeyer, Neuengamme 8 Case, pp. 6, 185.

12. Himmler to Reich Justice Ministry, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 172–173.

ESTERWEGEN II [AKA PAPENBURG II]

On August 11, 1933, Esterwegen II, State Concentration Camp Papenburg's (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) second "barracks camp," admitted 450 Breslau-Dürrgoy prisoners.[1] Erected by Börgermoor Gemeinde Hümmling detainees along the Coastal Canal's (Küstenkanal's) southern bank, the subcamp was designed to hold 1,000 inmates who worked in wetlands cultivation. It reached full strength on August 14, after which its adjacent twin, Esterwegen III, began admitting prisoners. Esterwegen III was located to the west of this camp and therefore farther away from the Küstenkanal Bridge, the link between the camps and the moors. Börgermoor was approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the west and north of the canal.[2] In early August, Papenburg's



A prisoner's sketch map of Papenburg-Esterwegen II (A) and III (B), as it appeared in 1933. Letter C represents the moors; F is the canal; and H and J indicate the murder sites of Hans Alexander and Otto Eggerstedt. Inside the camp, number 10 is the "bunker" or arrest cells, encircled by a separate fence; number 15 is the infirmary, and numerals I to X indicate prisoner barracks. Numbers 3 and 4 are the cultivation and commandant's offices.

PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934

chief camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, dispatched three SS officers to Esterwegen II, Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 113151), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus, and Sturmführer Emil Faust (NSDAP No. 151165). At first, Katzmann and Seehaus shared command, after which Katzmann directed Esterwegen II and Seehaus headed Esterwegen III. Until he assumed command of Neusustrum in late September 1933, Faust served as Esterwegen II's adjutant but moved freely between the camps. Like Brinkmann and Börgermoor's Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann, SS-Group West's chief (SS-Gruppe West) Obergruppenführer Fritz Weitzel nominated Katzmann, Seehaus, and Faust for Emsland service, according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch. Esterwegen II's brutality contributed to the Prussian Secret State Police Office's (Gestapa) decision to dismiss the SS from Papenburg.[3] From November 6 to December 20, 1933, the Prussian police controlled the camp.

Esterwegen II's first tasks were the completion of prisoner accommodations and the construction of Esterwegen III. According to prisoner "A.E.," the daily rations, divided among 1,000 men, consisted of 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of peas, 150 kilograms (330 pounds) of potatoes, and 11 kilograms (24 pounds) of meat.[4] As Börgermoor detainees contacted Esterwegen II's inmates during work assignments, they organized modest food relief until the guards stopped the practice.[5] The long distance between Esterwegen II and its work assignments necessitated the use of field trains. Called the "Moor Express," transport like this one continued to operate during the Prussian Justice Ministry's penal camp phase, as can be seen in a photograph album by SA-Mann Walter Talbot from 1935.[6] According to anonymous testimony from Esterwegen II, a prisoner's daily work quota consisted of digging a ditch 18 meters long, 80 centimeters wide, and 90 centimeters deep (59 feet by 2.6 feet by 3 feet).[7] Until their reassignment to Lichtenburg on October 17, 1933, Jewish prisoners installed pipes for the camp's water supply and experienced constant abuse.[8]

In the barracks, Katzmann and Faust harangued prisoners. According to Clemens Lessmann, they thrashed a detainee who threatened Adolf Hitler's life.[9] On August 11, 1933, when a 195-member transport from Altona arrived, they struck leading Reichsbanner (RB) members and leftists with rubber truncheons.[10] When Barracks 7 prisoners assaulted a Nazi informant, Katzmann, Faust, and 12 more SS took revenge in what was called "Italian Night," September 13, 1933, which amounted to all-night clubbings and penal exercises. The alleged ringleader, Fritz Erichsen, was placed in the 32-cell arrest bunker, where he was forced to ingest castor oil, a torture employed by Italian Black Shirts in the early 1920s.[11]

Three murders took place at Esterwegen II, including the first recorded killing at the Papenburg concentration camp. The cases showed the perpetrators' determination to settle Weimar-era scores and how wetlands cultivation furnished opportunities for killing enemies with few witnesses. The first victim was Jewish prisoner Hans Alexander. On September 2, 1933, Faust told two SS, Willy Kleingünther and Rudolf Podschwadek, to escort him to the moor. The SS shot Alexander and ignored prisoner entreaties to call for an SS field medic. SS-Mann Georg Bonengel then administered a fatal pistol shot.[12]

The second victim was Richard Danisch. Accused of supporting the Polish insurgency in Upper Silesia in the early 1920s, he had already endured 10 days in the arrest cells, thanks to Podschwadek. He subsequently reported to the infirmary, where the camp doctor, Dr. Alfred Zwecker, recommended his urgent transfer to Brandenburg for medical purposes. But citing Danisch's political activities, Papenburg's senior physician, Polizeiobermedizinalrat Grunow, countermanded Zwecker's order. On October 10, Podschwadek and Bonengel, along with SS-Mann Hermann Köster, shot Danisch en route to the wetlands.[13]

The third victim was Altona's former police president, Otto Eggerstedt. On August 11, Altona's new police president informed Brinkmann of Eggerstedt's imminent arrival and about his previous political activities: "Through personal agitation he [Eggerstedt] has promoted Social Democratic interests with special emphasis throughout the whole province [of Schleswig-Holstein] and has administered his office as police president as an exponent of his party." The Nazis blamed him for Altona's "Bloody Sunday," a July 17, 1932, street battle between the SA and Communists. Upon arrival, Katzmann announced to Eggerstedt, "Well, you are the pig from the Bloody Sunday in Altona." Thus began Eggerstedt's torment in this camp.[14]

On October 8 or 9, the first attempt to kill Eggerstedt ended in failure because Scharführer Theodor Groten fired and missed. On Saturday, October 12, Brinkmann visited Esterwegen II, and the staff immediately organized a 300-man detail (Kommando), to which Eggerstedt was specifically summoned, for leveling ground in the forest south of camp. In a departure from routine, the Kommando set off after prisoners had already returned for their regular Saturday afternoon rest. Groten, Kleingünther, and Scharführer Martin Eisenhut conducted Eggerstedt to a worksite away from other prisoners. Groten shot him twice with a carbine, after which Eisenhut fired a point-blank pistol shot. The prisoners' immediate return to camp then put the lie to the Kommando's pretext for entering the forest to begin with. In 1933, the Prussian Justice Ministry investigated Groten and Eisenhut, but State President of Prussia Hermann Göring closed the case. In 1949, the regional court Oldenburg sentenced Groten to life in penitentiary, primarily because of Eggerstedt's murder. Katzmann, however, was not held accountable for this or other killings. In 1951, the regional court Osnabrück sentenced him to four years' imprisonment for 15 counts of "bodily injury," including 11 severe cases.[15]

Two escape attempts took place at Esterwegen II. Imprisoned Silesian miners dug a tunnel beneath barracks 9 and 10, but an informant betrayed their plan before it could be implemented. Another Silesian prisoner, Werner Hesse, fled on September 1, 1933, but was rearrested near Hamburg, placed in Esterwegen III, and murdered on September 26.[16]

Armed with machine guns, Wilhelmshaven and Osnabrück Municipal Police (Schupo) units arrived at Esterwegen II on November 4, 1933. Although Katzmann locked down the barracks, the SS surrendered without incident on November 6.

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Sturmhauptführer Heinrich Remmert became commandant. On December 22, two days after the SA handover, a Christmas amnesty reduced the population by 380 detainees. Under Remmert, the camp entered another violent phase. For mistreating prisoners at Esterwegen, the regional court Osnabrück sentenced him to 15 months' imprisonment in November 1934 and preempted a complete dismissal of the verdict by crediting him with time served in investigative custody. Remmert subsequently became camp leader at Lichtenburg. Just as Börgermoor's 467 remaining inmates entered the camp on April 25, 1933, Esterwegen II had 373 prisoners.[17]

From May to June 1934, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel commanded Esterwegen II and III. On June 20, 1934, he consolidated the two camps by moving the prisoners to Esterwegen II. Carl von Ossietzky, originally held at Esterwegen III, addressed a letter to his wife on July 13 from Esterwegen II.[18]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Esterwegen II are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), was published after this entry was competed.

Primary documentation for Esterwegen II begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), reproduce extracts from the Groten Trial judgment (9 Ks 25/49), which quote in full the Altona Police president's letter to Papenburg concentration camp, August 11, 1933, and an article from the *EZ*, December 23, 1933. Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites or quotes extensively a wealth of archival sources and published testimonies: the BDCPFs of Katzmann, Seehaus, and Faust; testimonies and investigations deposited at the NStA-Os, the NStA-Ol, and the BA-P; Fritz Erichsen, "Esterwegen 1933," h-IM, September 10, 1966; "'Auf der Flucht erschossen': Im Moor von Esterwegen," *DAN*, March 3, 1934; Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933–KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.); Herbert Baade, "Eine Mahnung an die Lebenden" (unpub. MSS, Hamburg, n.d.); and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. Remmert's BDCPF is cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001). Nazi accusations against Eggerstedt can be found in "Die rote Einheitsfront richtet in Altona ein furchtbares Blutbad an," *VB*, Berlin Ausg., July 19, 1932. For "barracks camps" terminology, see Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). A.E.'s testimony in Kurt Bürger, comp., *Aus Hitlers*

Konzentrationslagern (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), should be compared with K. Posener's testimony in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGDA Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 3–4. An account that documents changes in Esterwegen's administration from 1934 to 1935 is Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985). Carl von Ossietzky's letters to Maud are found in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994). An anonymous, detailed account of Esterwegen II with excellent map can be found in "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 170–181. On contacts between Börgermoor and Esterwegen II, see Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). On the distance between the two camps, see Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schünau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reprinted in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003). A Jehovah's Witness drew a sketch map of Esterwegen after its consolidation that appeared in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13. A German press reference to Hans Alexander's murder is found in *FZ*, September 9, 1933. Photographic documentation of a field train is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Alfred Bartneck Statement, Munich, June 27, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 167; quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191.

2. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 180–181 (map of Esterwegen II and III with legend); on distance from Börgermoor, see Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schünau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reprinted in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), p. 147.

3. BDCPF of Heinrich Katzmann, Ludwig Seehaus, and Emil Faust, as cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 127, 130, 184, 222.

4. A.E.'s testimony in Kurt Bürger, comp., *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), p. 83.

5. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 199–201.

6. Quotation in Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933–KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.), cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 203–204; for an image of a prisoners' field train, Photograph LC-USZ62–93204 in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

7. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 174.

8. NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933, in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 98.

9. Clemens Lessmann statement, Düsseldorf, December 17, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 132.

10. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 171.

11. Lessmann statement, Düsseldorf, December 17, 1949; "'Auf der Flucht erschossen': Im Moor von Esterwegen," *DGA*, March 4, 1934; and Fritz Erichsen statement, Osnabrück, April 4, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 136–138.

12. Verfügung des LG Osnabrück (II. Strafkammer), April 23, 1953, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–144 No. 847; Paul Schwarzer, Augustusburg, February 23, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 610 Teil I; and Alfred Bartneck, December 6, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 612, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 150–152; *FZ*, September 9, 1933.

13. Dr. Alfred Stecker statement, Baden-Baden, July 1, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 610 Part 2; Deutsche Justizverwaltung, Sowjetische Besatzungszone/Deutschland, to Oberstaatsanwalt, LG Osnabrück, October 1, 1946, BA-P, Z/M 1283; and Rudolf Podschwadek statement, November 3, 1950 (Abschrift), NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 363, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 157–158.

14. Quotation from Altona Polizei Praesident to Staatliche Konzentrationslager Papenburg, August 11, 1933, found in "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten vor dem Schwurgericht des LG Oldenburg (2.-12. November 1949) wegen eines Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit und Mord" and reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 80; "Die rote Einheitsfront richtet in Altona ein furchtbares Blutbad an," *VB*, Berlin Ausg., July 19, 1932; Katzmann quotation in Herbert Baade, "Eine Mahnung an die Lebenden" (unpub. MSS, Hamburg, n.d.), available at DIZ and quoted in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 133.

15. "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 79–84; Ernst Stoltenberg, June 12, 1945, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 Acc. 38/97 No. 31; Heinrich Bringmann statement, Hamburg, November 26, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 Acc. 38/97 No. 31; and Urteil des Landgerichts Osnabrück gegen HK [Heinrich Katzmann], 6/5/1951, in NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 363, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 160–161, 175.

16. Fritz Erichsen, "Esterwegen 1933," h-IM, September 10, 1966, n.p.; and Otto Schwarz statement, n.d., in NStA-Os,

Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 140–141, 150.

17. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, and NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285; Remmert BDCPF, cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001), p. 365.

18. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 287; Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, July 13, 1934, Doc. 447, reproduced in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), p. 571; Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 53; sketch map by anonymous prisoner reproduced in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, p. 12.

ESTERWEGEN III [AKA PAPENBURG III]

On August 14, 1933, Esterwegen III in Gemeinde Hümmling, Emsland, became the third subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). After their camp opened three days earlier and even as it was still being outfitted, Esterwegen II prisoners started building this prisoner "barracks camp." Under SS-Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 9154, SS No. 705), Esterwegen III admitted detainees when Esterwegen II reached full capacity. Built to Esterwegen II's west and along the Küstenkanal's (Coastal Canal's) southern bank, the camp's distance from the canal bridge necessitated a longer march than its twin in order to reach Emsland reclamation sites. Violence at Esterwegen III, which resulted in three murders and one suicide, in addition to fights with locals, helped to spur the Prussian Secret State Police (Gestapa) Office's removal of the Papenburg SS in November 1933.[1]



Prisoners wearing disused Prussian police uniforms march at one of the Esterwegen camps, circa 1933.
USHMM WS # 78425, COURTESY OF IPN

In early August, SS-Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel, head of SS-Group West (Gruppe West), assigned Seehaus, Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann, and Sturmführer Emil Faust (NSDAP No. 151165) to Esterwegen II. Until Esterwegen III's opening, Seehaus shared Esterwegen II's command with Katzmann. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, Weitzel nominated these future commandants for Emsland duties, but the evidence concerning Seehaus is circumstantial. Like Weitzel, Seehaus was a Hessian, a locksmith, and an "Old Fighter," on which basis Klausch argues that Weitzel probably knew of him. Before he became Neustrum's commandant on September 27, 1933, Faust was Esterwegen II's adjutant but played an unofficial role at Esterwegen III.[2]

Three hundred prisoners arrived the first day, including a 240-man transport from Köln Bonner Wall and others from Silesia. In a development unusual during the SS phase, 5 SA men who were escorting Breslau detainees joined the staff. On August 15, a 150-prisoner transport came from Düsseldorf, and subsequent transports in September originated from Moringen. After completing the camp, the prisoners toiled in the wetlands. As was the case at Esterwegen II, remoteness from work assignments required the use of the "Moor Express," an open field train running north of the Küstenkanal. Photographic evidence from 1935, taken by SA-Mann Walter Talbot when most Papenburg camps belonged to the Justice Ministry, showed that these trains were commonplace.[3]

Especially for Jews, "bigwigs," and prisoners from Hesse, Seehaus imposed a harsh regime. He compelled detainees to wear signs describing their alleged "crimes," such as "I have shot an SA man!" or "I am a Jew." With Faust's input, he established a punishment column that anticipated Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) practices, called the Abteilung z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment). Under the successive command of SS-Mann Fritz Vogel and Truppführer Hans Leuchter, it consisted of 40 leading leftists and Jews who performed exhausting labor. With pocketknives, the SS carved swastikas onto Abteilung z.b.V. detainees' heads.[4]

As was the case at Esterwegen II, the staff murdered certain detainees in a bid to settle scores. The first murder took place on September 15, 1933, when Abteilung z.b.V. member Erich Bergmann, a Communist blamed for killing an SA man in 1932, was shot in the moors. On September 26, the SS murdered another Abteilung z.b.V. prisoner, Werner Hesse, a Silesian transferred from Esterwegen II following an escape attempt. An anonymous prisoner from Esterwegen II opined that this succession of two murders in 11 days engendered a grisly competition between the camps' guards, because Esterwegen II's second murder followed shortly afterward.[5]

On October 25, 1933, after undergoing torture in the 32 cell arrest bunker, Fritz Böhm hanged himself. Three days later, the SS murdered Alfred Kleindienst. Ordered to carry wood to a cottage, his guards, including an SA man, gunned him down as he did so. After the working parties heard the news and were ordered to sing on the train, they chanted: "On Hümmling's fields one finds his corpse, on Hümmling's fields one finds his death!" After Seehaus found out about this

protest, he unleashed what Paul Krüger described as "Walpurgis Night," a nightlong round of beatings and penal exercises.[6]

On August 15, Jewish detainee Alfred Benjamin entered Esterwegen III from Düsseldorf. On behalf of the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam, he later described how the prisoners dug 15 cubic meters (530 cubic feet) of earth daily on a starvation diet; suffered rheumatism and other ailments due to cold and polluted marsh water; and slept in unheated barracks during autumn. Except when working in the Abteilung z.b.V., the SS segregated Jews from others. Sick Jews could not secure treatment in the infirmary. On October 17, 1933, Benjamin was one of the 150 "Jews and some Marxist functionaries" that the Prussian Ministry of Interior dispatched to Lichtenburg.[7]

During the police takeover, the Special Duty State Police Group Wecke (Landespolizeigruppe Wecke z.b.V.) arrived at Esterwegen III. Under Walter Wecke's command, it set up mortars near the perimeter. His group thus came closest to fulfilling Gestapa chief Rudolf Diels's original proposal for deploying artillery against the SS. Esterwegen III staff did not resist but burned the administration building and camp records before evacuating on November 6, 1933.[8]

Three days after the police removed Seehaus from command, the SS promoted him to Obersturmführer. As an Old Fighter, he earned the Gold Party Badge in 1935 but was released from the SS later that year without explanation. His dismissal from Esterwegen III was the likely reason. Serving with a field police detachment in Belarus, he was shot by partisans on May 20, 1943, and died the following day.[9]

Like Börgermoor, Esterwegen III overwhelmingly rejected the November 12, 1933, National Plebiscite, which took place under the police administration. According to detainee Franz Holländer, approximately 800 prisoners cast "No" ballots, against 34 "Yes."[10] Unlike Börgermoor, however, the police retaliated by forcing the prisoners to perform penal exercises in the snow. Prisoner Paul Elflein, member of the German Communist Party (KPD), remembered seeing posters supporting the new regime's "leaving" the League of Nations before the plebiscite.[11] After the vote, a policeman accused Elflein's group of voting against the regime. With tongue in cheek, Elflein denied the charge: "We have not voted No, we say, we have all voted Yes. He said, I was present during the count, in the entire camp only 12 [*sic*] men voted Yes, and you are already 11, so you will not say to me that you voted Yes. We said, No, everyone voted yes, that the whole concentration camp voted Yes, and therein we expressed in the clearest way the good relationship between *Führer* and people."[12]

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Obersturmführer August Linnemann ran Esterwegen III. Two days after he assumed command, 380 prisoners were released during the Christmas amnesty. On April 25, 1934, Esterwegen III's population stood at 322.[13]

By March 25, 1934, Carl von Ossietzky entered Esterwegen III, where he was prisoner number 384. Editor of *Weltbühne* and renowned pacifist, Ossietzky had been in "protective custody" since March 1933 and remained at Esterwegen until May 1936. In contrast to IKL regulations, which strictly curtailed prisoners' letter-writing privileges, he was able to compose lengthy letters to his wife, Maud, during the SA phase.[14]



Gestapa chief Rudolf Diels addresses prisoners to be released from one of the Esterwegen camps, December 22, 1933.
USHMM WS # 79588, COURTESY OF BA

From May to June 1934, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel commanded Esterwegen II and III. On June 20, 1934, he merged the camps by moving prisoners to Esterwegen II. From July 1934 to September 1936, when the camp became part of the IKL system, Esterwegen III became SS accommodations.[15]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Esterwegen III are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006).

Primary documentation for Esterwegen III begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (*CCP*), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), reproduce an article from the EZ, December 23, 1933. Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites or quotes extensively a wealth of archival sources and published testimonies: the BDCPFs of Seehaus

and Faust; testimonies and investigations deposited at the NStA-Os and the NStA-Ol; "Mord im Moor," DGA, December 12, 1934; Kurt Elling, "Als es um ihren 'Job' ging, versuchten die SS-Mörder, sich mit ihren Opfer zu verbrüdern," available at DIZ-Emslandlager, Papenburg; Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933—KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.); Albert Mainz, "*Deutsche Schande auf griesischer Erde*" (self-published, n.d.); and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. For "barracks camps" terminology, see Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). Alfred Benjamin's unpublished testimony can be found in P III h. No. 280 (Esterwegen-Papenburg), "KZ Papenburg und Lichtenburg; Bericht für das Comitée für jüdische Flüchtlinge," in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Section 2, Reel 56. Paul Elflein's memoir, *Immer noch Kommunist?* ed. Rolf Becker and Claus Bremer (Hamburg: VSA, 1978), is based upon taped interviews with the editors that began in 1973. Another testimony is Hermann Kempf, *Erinnerungen*, *Teil II: Kampf gegen den Faschismus—Widerstand unter schwersten Bedingungen—Politische Arbeit bis heute* (Bad Marienburg: H. Kempf, 1980). An account that documents changes in Esterwegen's administration from 1934 to 1935 is Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985). Carl von Ossietzky's letters to Maud are found in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994). An anonymous account from Esterwegen II that comments on Esterwegen III and contains an excellent map is "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 170–181. A Jehovah's Witness drew a sketch map of Esterwegen after its consolidation that appeared in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13. Photographic documentation of a field train is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191; "Mord im Moor," *DGA*, December 12, 1934; and BDCPF of Ludwig Seehaus, both cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), pp. 131, 179–180; map in "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 180–181.

2. BDCPFs of Seehaus, Heinrich Katzmann, and Emil Faust, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 127, 130, 184, 222.

3. "Mord im Moor"; and Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933—KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.), both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 184, 203–204 (Krüger quotation on p. 203); for an image of a prisoners' field train, Photograph LC-USZ62-93204 in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

4. Quotation from Karl Mache statement, December 1, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1218; Theodor Meier statement, Dortmund, August 8, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 612; quotation from Albert Mainz, *Deutsche Schande auf griechischer Erde* (Meerbusch-Lank: Albert Mainz, ca. 1989); Karl Schmengler statement, Koblenz, August 11, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354; Albert Mainz statement, Hohenmölsen, NStA-Os, Rep. 947 Lin. I No. 791, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 186–187, 189.

5. On Hesse's murder, "Mord im Moor"; and Peter Saar statement, Köln April 26, 1951, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 542, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 193–194; on Bergmann's murder, Wilhelm Hasenberg statement, Hagen, April 25, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354; and Karl Hofmeister, Hagen, August 25, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 196, 198–199; "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 178.

6. "Mord im Moor"; and Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933," both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 203–204 (Krüger quotations on p. 203).

7. P III h. No. 280 (Esterwegen-Papenburg), Alfred Benjamin, "KZ Papenburg und Lichtenburg; Bericht für das Comitée für jüdische Flüchtlinge," *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Section 2, Reel 56.

8. On artillery, see Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, p. 193; on Wecke's force, see Kurt Elling, "Als es um ihren 'Job' ging, versuchten die SS-Mörder, sich mit ihren Opfer zu verbrüdern," available at DIZ-Emslandlager, Papenburg; and Franz Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 211.

9. Seehaus BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 212–214.

10. Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 280.

11. Quotation in Paul Elflein, *Immer noch Kommunist? Erinnerungen von Paul Elflein*, ed. Rolf Becker and Claus Bremer (Hamburg: VSA, 1978), p. 89.

12. Ibid., p. 90.

13. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933; and "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.

14. Carl von Ossietzsky to Maud von Ossietzky, March 25, 1934, Doc. D 428, reproduced in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), p. 550.

15. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 287; Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, July 13, 1934, Doc. 447,

reproduced in Boldt et al., *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 571; Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 53; sketch map by anonymous prisoner reproduced in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, p. 12.

EUTIN

On June 18, 1933, the women's section of Eutin prison in Oldenburg became an early concentration camp.[1] Established by the Landesteil Lübeck (Lübeck region) Regierungspräsident SA-Oberführer Johann Heinrich Böhmcker, the prison had already served as a "protective custody" camp since the Nazi takeover, as indicated by the detention of Social Democratic Landtag (parliament) member Karl Fick between March and September 1933.[2] Eutin held 10 to 20 male detainees in June 1933, then 43 in September.[3] Of 345 detainees taken into custody in Landesteil Lübeck in 1933 and 1934 (Eutin and Ahrensbök-Holstendorf), there were 141 Communists, 46 Social Democrats or Reichsbanner members, 3 union members, 18 so-called asocials, 12 right-wingers, including 5 Nazis, 2 officials held for misconduct, and 2 Jehovah's Witnesses. The police logs did not indicate a reason for arrest or political or religious affiliation for the remaining 121 prisoners.[4] In late September 1933, Eutin received 19 new inmates classified as "undesirables."[5] The right-wing prisoners included Witt, a member of Erich Ludendorff's antisemitic Tannenbergbund. Among the three female prisoners, one was held for insulting Adolf Hitler.[6] A small number of detainees, who were held at Eutin under an agreement between Böhmcker and the Bad Schwartau police, came from the protective custody camp at Bad Schwartau.

Eutin's monthly ration records between April 1933 and March 1934 indicated a prisoner population that ranged from 4 to 37.[7] These figures are misleading, however, because many detainees were released shortly after paying a "fine," posting bail, or paying detention costs or an "allowance." There was a positive correlation between the imposition of fines and expedited release. For example, Otto Jäde, a Stahlhelm member arrested on June 20, 1933, left detention the next day, after paying a 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) fine. Altogether the protective custody account recorded 7,325 RM in fines, but the dividing line between fines and bail or detention costs was ambiguous.[8] The financial irregularities prompted a Nazi Party (NSDAP) court investigation of Böhmcker in the mid-1930s. Despite problematic bookkeeping, the court cleared him on the charge of misappropriating camp finances.[9]

Böhmcker was the driving force behind the Landesteil Lübeck camps. Holding the office of Regierungspräsident for the Landesteil since July 1932, he mobilized SA troops as deputy police in order to intimidate the political opposition during the July 1932 national election. As indicated in the *Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck* (*AFL*) in July 1933, he held political prisoners in contempt: "From now on all these obstructionists are to be processed ruthlessly, without consideration for position, age, sex, and political attitude. They are to be viewed as saboteurs of the National Socialist reconstruction and therefore have no place in one national community, which is inspired by the unanimous will to bread and freedom. Their destruction serves people and Fatherland."[10]

Böhmcker's protégé SA-Sturmführer Theodor Tenhaaf commanded Eutin and related camps. Tenhaaf joined the NSDAP (member number 177428) and SA in 1929. Imprisoned in 1917 for fencing stolen goods and falsifying records, he allegedly participated in the August 1932 bombing of a Socialist consumers' association in Eutin. Despite accusations by Eutin's mayor Otto Stoffregen, he eluded justice with his patron's protection.[11] Joining Tenhaaf's staff on October 2, 1933, was SA-Scharführer Siegfried Beilisch, who served as camp accountant until the dissolution of Eutin.[12] Until early October 1933, Eutin had eight staff members. The administrator of Landesteil Lübeck's protective custody camps was Gerichtsassessor Heinz Seetzen (NSDAP number 2732725). Seetzen advanced to the rank of SS-Standartenführer and in occupied Russia commanded Sonderkommando 10a in Einsatzgruppe D and subsequently Einsatzgruppe B.[13]

Böhmcker used Eutin to settle political scores. Among his rivals and critics was the former mayor and Nationalist Party member Stoffregen, who was arrested on July 25 for "political activity." His release, on August 4, 1933, came after losing a 3,000 RM allowance. The authorities arrested Dr. Genf for allegedly complaining about local government, for which he paid a 50 RM fine. Nazi Ortsgruppenleiter Ontjes got into similar trouble with Böhmcker, but the authorities fully refunded his bail after he apologized.[14]

The murder of SS-Mann Karl Radke showed how Weimar-era political feuds carried over into the early Nazi camps. Radke was killed in a street fight with the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold on November 9, 1931, the eighth anniversary of the Beer Hall Putsch. After the Nazi takeover, the police targeted Reichsbanner members, including youth leader and Social Democratic reporter Adolf Burhke, for arrest and torture. The local press fanned the flames by reminding readers that Radke's killer had gone unpunished for almost two years. On August 24, 1933, after reporting the arrest of three additional suspects, the *AFL* opined that Radke's murderer possessed "blind, fanatical hatred." On August 20, 1933, Tenhaaf and guard Walter Tiesch (NSDAP member number 113416) thrashed the lead suspect, Ernst L. of Stokkelsdorf, with a whip and rubber truncheon. When another guard offered to shoot him, Tenhaaf and Tiesch replied: "No, first he should go up against the walls, a bullet would be too good for [him]." A policeman threatened to shoot Ernst L. if he talked about this ordeal. After two weeks in Eutin, L. was transferred to Lübeck prison.[15]

Beginning on July 19, 1933, the Eutin camp administration assigned detainees to moor clearance at nearby Lindenbruch, a former labor camp for the unemployed. As captured in a photograph, the prisoners marched daily through Eutin on the way to the work site. On July 2, 1933, *AFL* reported that the prisoners were expected to place an estimated 22 tons of arable soil at the 2.5-hectare (6.2-acre) work site while

working in "God's free, beautiful Nature." The same article boasted about this assignment's purported role in reeducation, explaining that by working for the national community, "this element" learned to "obey necessity, not their urges." Böhmcker assigned Eutin prisoners to this "light cultivation work" for six hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to noon, "because of health and moral grounds." Böhmcker directed that the two escorts, Tiesch and "Laborer T.," carry Model 98 rifles with 10 rounds each. Inside the prison, the detainees were expected to perform two additional hours of daily chores. On September 3, 1933, *AFL* announced that the prisoners had restored "2.2 [hectares] of land."[16]

Tenhaaf transferred his command from Eutin to Holstendorf on October 3, 1933. As he indicated to Böhmcker on September 20, 1933, the influx of "undesirables" in the previous month necessitated the search for a larger camp. In the meanwhile, he dispatched the prisoners to two road-building assignments at Neukirchen and Nüchel. Communist prisoner Otto Ehler experienced these institutional changes. Already imprisoned on political grounds when the Nazis came to power, he was placed in protective custody at Eutin in June 1933. After toiling at Nüchel, Ehler was finally released with Ahrensbök's closure in May 1934.[17]

None of Eutin's prisoners died in protective custody. Böhmcker died of a heart attack in 1944, and Seetzen committed suicide in 1945. Between 1948 and 1950, the Lübeck Landgericht (State Court) tried Tenhaaf, Tiesch, and Beilisch for "crimes against humanity." In 1948, Tiesch received a three-year prison sentence, but he was released after two years. In 1949, the court pronounced Tenhaaf "guilty in eleven cases of crimes against humanity in coincidence with dangerous physical assaults and for aiding and abetting forced confessions." It sentenced him to three and one-half years of penitentiary. In 1950, the court sentenced Beilisch to a short term of confinement.[18]

SOURCES This essay is based upon the groundbreaking scholarship of Lawrence D. Stokes. In a series of publications spanning three decades, Stokes has documented the Landesteil Lübeck camps. His articles relating to this camp include: "Adolf Buhrke (1908–1978)," *Dem-Gesch: Jahrbuch zu Arbeiterbewegung und Demokratie in Schleswig-Holstein* 3 (1988): 441–446; "Böhmcker, Johann Heinrich Adolf," in *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck*, ed. Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte und des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Neumünster, 1991), vol. 9; "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27: 4 (1979): 570–625; "Konzentrationslager im Spiegel der Provinzpresse: Eutin 1933/34," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 60–77; "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus, 1933—1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 189–210. These articles have recently been reissued together with several others in Stoke's anthology "*Meine kleine Stadt steht für tausend andere*": *Studien zur Geschichte von Eutin in Holstein, 1918–1945* (Eutin, 2004). Also helpful for researching Eutin is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). This camp is briefly described in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn, 1999). Helpful background on the transfer from Eutin to Holstendorf may be found in Jörg Wollenberg, "Das Konzentrationslager Ahrensbök-Holstendorf im oldenburgischen Landesteil Lübeck," in Benz and Distel, *Terror ohne System*, pp. 223–250. A listing for Eutin can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil 1 (1982): 1574.

The primary documentation for Eutin is exceptionally rich. As specified in the notes, Stokes reproduces the most important documents in his *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin, 1918–1945* (Neumünster, 1984), chap. 5, and refers to other documents in his articles. The following archival collections contain substantial material: LA-Sch-H, NSta-Ol, and ASt-Eu. The LA-Sch-H Bestände are 260 (Landeskasse Eutin and Regierung des Landesteils Lübeck in Eutin), 320 (Kreis Eutin), 352 (Landgericht und Staatsanwaltschaft Lübeck), 355 (Amtsgericht Eutin), and Regierung Eutin. LA-Sch-H 320 contains the testimony of Otto Ehler. LA-Sch-H 352 includes witness testimony by Ernst L. and the trials of Tenhaaf (4a KLs 8/48), Tiesch (14 Ks 11/49), and Beilisch (2 Ks 7/50). LA-Sch-H 355 includes the Eutin prison records. NStA-Ol has two important collections: 205 (Revierabteilung der Ordnungspolizei Bad Schwartau), no. 631, which includes Böhmcker's letter to the Bad Schwartau police, dated June 17, 1933, and 133 (Ministerium der Justiz) has statistical material concerning rations at Eutin prison. The ASt-Eu 2481 (Polizeidienst in der Stadt Eutin) includes a letter from Mayor Stoffregen to Böhmcker, accusing Tenhaaf of the August 1932 bombing. The BDC collections, now available at BA-BL and, in microfilm, at the NARA in Washington, DC, hold personnel files and party cards for Beilisch, Seetzen, Tenhaaf, and Tiesch and Böhmcker's Nazi Party court proceeding. As reproduced or cited by Stokes, important local press accounts on Eutin include *AFL*, March 14, July 2, July 28, August 24, September 3, and September 22, 1933. The *Lübecker Nachrichten*, June 17, 1948, and the *LFP*, May 17, 1949, contain stories about Tiesch's and Tenhaaf's respective convictions. A photograph identified as prisoners marching to Lindenbruch in 1933 appears in Jörg Wollenberg, "So fing es an: Arbeitslose im Arbeitsdienst: Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager," in *Ahrensbök: Eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus; Konzentrationslager—Zwangsarbeit—Todesmarsch*, by Wollenberg with Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes (Bremen, 2000), pp. 64–169. Eutin is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main, 1990), vol. 1:97; and in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher, 1933–1934, LA-Sch-H, 260 (Landeskasse Eutin) /1704, cited in Lawrence D. Stokes, "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus*, *1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), p. 197.

2. *AFL*, March 14, 1933; Gefangenen-Verzeichnis des Gerichtsgefängnis Eutin 1930–1933, no. 520, LA-Sch-H, 355 (Amtsgericht Eutin)/265, reproduced in Lawrence D. Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin*, *1918–1945* (Neumünster, 1984), p. 521; "Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung unseres Landesteils," *AFL*, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527 n.3.

3. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205 (Revierabteilung der Ordnungspolizei Bad Schwartau)/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer," in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 525; "Schutzhaft verhängt," *AFL*, September 22, 1933, in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 531.

4. Reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555, these statistics are based primarily upon LA-Sch-H, 355 (Landgericht und Staatsanwaltschaft Lübeck)/265–266, 352/535–537; ASt-Eu, Nr. 1752, "Polizeihaft"; Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer," reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 567.

5. Vermerk der Lagerführers T[enhaaf] und Erwiderung Böhmckers, September 20, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7.

6. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27:4 (1979): 594, table 1.

7. The protective custody population estimate was derived by dividing the detainees' ration days by the number of days per month. It is based upon "Bericht des Vorstehers der Gefangenen-Anstalt O 4 (Amtsgerichtsgefängnis), Eutin, to Minister der Justiz, Oldenburg, Aug. 14, 1934," NStA-Ol, 133 (Ministerium der Justiz)/592, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 535. The report separates ration days into "Without Protective Custody" and "With Protective Custody," which necessitates an initial calculation to isolate detainee daily rations from other prisoners.

8. LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, as cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," pp. 594–595, table 1.

9. BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 595.

10. "Bekanntmachung der Regierung Eutin," *AFL*, July 28, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 538.

11. BDC, BDCPF for Theodor Tenhaaf, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 568; ASt-Eu, 2481 (Polizeidienst in der Stadt Eutin), Stoffregen to Böhmcker, October 31, 1932, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 597.

12. BDC, Central Party card for Siegfried Beilisch, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 600, table 5.

13. BDCPF Heinz Seetzen, cited in Stokes, "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager," pp. 193–194.

14. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 594; on Ontjes, BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in ibid., p. 593.

15. "Findet die Bluttat an dem Eutiner SS-Mann Karl Radke doch noch ihre gerechte Sühne?" *AFL*, August 24, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 550; BDC, Central Party card for Walter Tiesch, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 600; Vernehmung der Arbeiters Ernst L., Stockelsdorf, March 5, 1946, LA-Sch-H, 352/536, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 550–551.

16. Photograph in Jörg Wollenberg, "So fing es an: Arbeitslose im Arbeitsdienst; Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager," in *Ahrensbök: Eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus; Konzentrationslager—Zwangsarbeit—Todesmarsch*, by Wollenberg with Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes (Bremen, 2000), p. 107; "Tatkräftige Aufbauarbeit der Eutiner Regierung—22 Tonnen Land werden urbar gemacht," *AFL*, July 2, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Stokes notes that this article reproduced verbatim a Landesteil Lübeck press release, found in Presseamt der Oldenburgischen Regierung/Landesteils Lübeck, June 29, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin/A XXIII 13, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer"; "Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung unseres Landesteils," *AFL*, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527n.3.

17. LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555; Aussagen von Otto Ehlers vor dem Wiedergutmachungsausschuss, Eutin, LA-Sch-H, 320/Eutin, nos. 64, 75, 83 (1945–1946).

18. Trial records for Tiesch (4a KLs 8/48), Tenhaaf (14 Ks 11/49), and Beilisch (2 Ks 7/50), LA-ScH-H 352/535–537, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 572; quotation in "Unmensch zu Zuchthaus verurteilt," *LFP*, May 17, 1949.

FUHLSBÜTTEL [AKA HAMBURG-FUHLSBÜTTEL]

As of March 1933 the State Police (Stapo) in Hamburg arrested political opponents of the Nazi regime. Those arrested were either brought to the Wittmoor concentration camp set up in April 1933, held in pretrial custody at the police station, or sent to the Fuhlsbüttel prison.[1]

The Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp opened officially on September 4, 1933, as part of a large prison complex, following the formal transfer of command and surveillance to the SS and SA. The camp's particular function was to persecute and suppress political opponents of the Nazi regime as well as to intimidate the general public.

Initially, the concentration camp fell under the jurisdiction of the Hamburg State Judicial Administration (Landesjustizverwaltung) and Correctional Service (Strafvollzugsbehörde).

The president of the Correctional Bureau (Strafvollzugsamt) was the direct superior of the camp commander, while the Hamburg minister of justice (Justizsenator) was the highest official in charge of all concentration camp personnel and camp affairs. The extent of administrative involvement with the camp was unique in Nazi Germany. On December 1, 1933, the concentration camp was put under the control of the Stapo. The political police used this concentration camp, on the one hand, as a sort of remand prison, when they intended to bring an accused person before a court and therefore conducted further interrogations. On the other hand, prisoners were kept in this camp for an indefinite period of time as a way of fighting political opponents and rendering them harmless. From the beginning, the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was also a torture site of the Stapo.

First and foremost, members of Social Democratic and Communist resistance groups as well as well-known opponents of the Nazi regime from all of northern Germany were interned at Fuhlsbüttel.[2] From 1934 on the Stapo increasingly arrested Jehovah's Witnesses, whom they also viewed as political opponents, and sent them to the Fuhlsbüttel camp.[3] Jews followed from 1935 on after the pronouncement of the Nuremberg Laws.[4] By 1933, individuals who were not political opponents of the Nazis were also sent to the concentration camp such as those considered "asocials," "community aliens," "harmful to the Volk," "abnormal," and "dangerous." Among others, this group included homosexuals, beggars, and prostitutes.[5]

At first the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was solely for men, but from August 1934 on, women were also detained in a special section of the camp.

Ten prisoners died in Fuhlsbüttel in the months from September 1933 to January 1934 alone. They died from torture by the political police and mistreatment by the guards.

One of the murdered individuals was Social Democratic editor Dr. Fritz Solmitz from Lübeck. In March 1933, the Lübeck Gestapo arrested him for being an active anti-Fascist and a Jew, and he was taken publicly through Lübeck in a hay cart. Along with other Gestapo prisoners, Solmitz was transferred to Fuhlsbüttel in May 1933, where he was severely mistreated by the guards. Solmitz secretly kept a diary during his imprisonment by writing on thin cigarette paper and hid these notes in his pocket watch. They have been preserved as a unique document testifying to the inhumanity of the guards. The notes of Solmitz end shortly before September 19, 1933, the day of his violent death.[6]

Terror was a part of the Fuhlsbüttel prisoners' everyday life. The SS guards let their lust for vengeance and their sadism run wild. Beatings with pizzles, whips, rubber truncheons, chair legs, and steel rods were commonly employed to degrade, humiliate, and torture prisoners or to force confessions from them. At night the guards, some under the influence of alcohol, would roam through the stations and beat up prisoners.

The prisoners, in particular those in solitary confinement, could count on being beaten into unconsciousness by the guards at any time of the day. Prisoners were sometimes put "in irons" for a week with their hands and feet chained together behind their backs.

In the basement of the prison, two "kennels," that is, iron cages, had been installed in the detention cells. A prisoner would be fastened for many days to the iron bars of the cage in the position of a crucifixion, while the guards would beat him repeatedly. Other prisoners would have their arms locked to an iron pole, then be hung at a height of two meters (almost seven feet) or more for many days at a time.

Prisoners were systematically driven to death, and murders were covered up as suicide. The Gauleitung (Nazi Party Province Administration), the State Judicial Administration, and the Stapo all knew of these crimes and helped cover them up.

The systematic terror was supposed to keep prisoners in a constant state of fear and excitement, to humiliate them, to take away their privacy, and to break their will.

Paul Ellerhusen (born in 1897) was appointed camp commandant in September 1933. He was adjutant and confidant to Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann and had been a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA since March 1927. As camp commandant he was in charge of the camp administration and the camp employees.

Ellerhusen was considered an alcoholic and a rather idle person, and he treated the prisoners in a rampantly brutal way. At the end of 1934 he was arrested in connection with the "Röhm-Putsch," the murder of SA Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm and others. Gauleiter Kaufmann successfully petitioned Heinrich Himmler for Ellerhusen's release, but he could not resume his position as camp commandant.

Johannes Rode (born in 1889), secretary of the Criminal Police (Kriminalsekretär), who had become a member of the NSDAP in May 1933, succeeded Ellerhusen in July 1934. While Rode, who had worked for the Hamburg police since 1919, prohibited arbitrary cruelty toward prisoners by the guards, he nevertheless claimed the right to bully and beat "protective custody" prisoners as he liked and at his own discretion. He particularly targeted Jews, homosexuals, transvestites, and prostitutes.

By the end of 1933, 80 members of the SS and SA had been employed as guards for the newly set-up Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. Almost all of them had long been unemployed. Many of them were still young and often poorly educated. Several of them were fanatical supporters of National Socialism and had previously been convicted for participating in violent political battles during the Weimar Republic or other criminal offenses. To them, working in the camp was primarily a continuation of their political struggle.[7]

From August 1934 on, some of the guards at Fuhlsbüttel were women, who worked as employees of the Gestapo in the women's section of the concentration camp. Their behavior toward the prisoners did not differ from that of their male colleagues.

For the "defense against agitation and atrocity propaganda," Heinrich Himmler ordered that the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp be renamed Police Prison Fuhlsbüttel

(Polizeigefängnis Fuhlsbüttel) in 1936. This did not affect the actual character of the camp nor the composition of its staff. It existed as such until April 1945.

For the hundreds of former persecuted individuals, the names of the male guards at Fuhlsbüttel became synonyms for despotism, cruelty, and blackmail. Many reported to the state attorney's office and testified as witnesses to the cruelty toward prisoners and the extortion of statements from them.

In August 1948, the first guard from Fuhlsbüttel to be tried by a Hamburg court was found guilty of "crimes against humanity" and received a prison sentence. A series of other trials followed. Until 1952 at least 19 former guards of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp as well as Commandant Ellershusen were tried and received prison sentences. All of them were pardoned during the 1950s.

The trial against the deputy of Fuhlsbüttel's first commandant, Willi Dusenschön, was conducted in the early 1960s and was the only trial for murder carried out by a Hamburg court against former staff of Fuhlsbüttel. The end of the trial in October 1962 created a stir when the court acquitted Dusenschön. The numerous crimes Dusenschön had committed fell under the statute of limitations.[8]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on the camp: Herbert Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das KZ im Justizgefängnis," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie 1996), pp. 101–129; Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das Konzentrationslager in der Verantwortung der Hamburger Justiz," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 261–308; *Gedenkbuch "Kola-Fu": Für die Opfer aus dem Konzentrationslager, Gestapogefängnis und KZ-Aussenlager Fuhlsbüttel*, comp. Herbert Diercks (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1987). The author's research, which began in 1982, is in tune with Henning Timpke's work: Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (1964; repr., Hamburg: Christians, 1983), pp. 227–266; Timpke, "Das KL Fuhlsbüttel," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Martin Broszat (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1970), pp. 11–28.

Because the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was administered by the city of Hamburg from 1933 to 1936, the collections of many city authorities (among others, the State Judicial Administration and Police Authorities) in the StA-HH provide extensive sources on the history of this early concentration camp. After the war, British and German courts held the members of the guard staff accountable. The prosecution and trial records are available at the PRO and the StA-HH.

Herbert Diercks
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Willy Klawe, "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 251–259.

2. Ursel Hochmuth and Gertrud Meyer, *Streiflichter aus dem Hamburger Widerstand 1933–1945: Berichte und Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1969).

3. Detlef Garbe, "'Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen': Neuzeitliche Christenverfolgung im nationalsozialistischen Hamburg," in *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet: Zu den "vergessenen" Opfern des NS-Regimes*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes in Hamburg e.V. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), pp. 172–219.

4. Detlef Garbe and Sabine Hofmann, "Jüdische Gefangene in Hamburger Konzentrationslagern," in *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung "Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg,"* ed. Arno Herzig with Saskia Rohde (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991), pp. 545–559.

5. *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet*.

6. Christian Jürgens, *Fritz Solmitz: Kommunalpolitiker, Journalist, Widerstandskämpfer und NS-Verfolgter aus Lübeck* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1996).

7. Herbert Diercks, "Die Wachleute des Konzentrationslagers Fuhlsbüttel ab 1948 vor Gericht," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland: Die frühen Nachkriegsprozesse*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997), pp. 75–92.

8. Ibid.

GLÜCKSTADT

In March 1933, the Altona police presidium, with support from Gauleiter Hinrich Lohse, established Schleswig-Holstein's first concentration camp at the Glückstadt workhouse. Founded in 1870, the workhouse originally served as Schleswig-Holstein's prison, but its mission was expanded during the Weimar period to include an institution for alcoholics. Joachim Hampe became the director in 1923 and was still in charge during the time of the concentration camp.[1] As a former imperial army officer, he imposed a strict regimen on the institution, as evidenced by two photographs, one of Hampe with his staff, most of whom wore gendarmerie uniforms, a second showing the inmates' spotless sleeping accommodations.[2] Commanded by SA-Sturmführer Schöning, the guards consisted of six SA men from Sturm 24/213 (Glückstadt). Nazi mayor Wilhelm Vogt oversaw the guards' appointment. The prisoners addressed guards by police, not SA, titles. One guard, Paul Gravert, died of natural causes while on duty. Some 731 political detainees from all parts of Schleswig-Holstein passed through Glückstadt. No prisoners died at this camp. According to the *Glückstädter Fortuna* newspaper, the first 150 detainees arrived in early April 1933.[3]

Through labor, Nazi ideology, and religious instruction, Glückstadt attempted to reeducate political detainees. The prisoners wove mats, bags, and fishnets or worked on the 50-hectare (124-acre) farm.[4] A small number were assigned to private contracts. Prisoners were compelled to read Nazi

newspapers and to parrot Nazi positions on Socialist or Communist propaganda. They were also required to participate in Protestant religious services. As part of his reeducation, Communist prisoner Wilhelm Passing painted a portrait of Martin Luther. Undermining the prisoners' reeducation was access to the anti-Nazi publication *Blick in die Zeit*. Prisoner Friedrich Hansen's subscription to this weekly paper, which was still published in Berlin during the Nazi regime's first year, prompted Hampe to query his superiors about appropriate reading material.[5]

Prisoner testimony presented the Glückstadt staff in mixed terms. According to prisoner Waldemar Vogeley, the guards Schulz and Paulsen were "two wonderful people."[6] Richard Hansen of the exile organization Sopade in Copenhagen reported that prisoners were not harmed, according to information furnished by newly released inmate Friedrich Hansen.[7] In fact, a small number did suffer maltreatment. On Gestapo orders, Communists were denied a midday meal for three days in August, in retaliation for the alleged vandalism by leftists of the German Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Tempelhof on May 1, 1933. Among the camp's torture victims were Johannes Klünder and Fritz Wollert. Karl Scheer was sexually abused, but the perpetrator's identity is not known.[8] The camp also had a bunker for close arrest.

Two important events at Glückstadt concerned the food relief of certain prisoners and the November plebiscite. Upon arrival, detainees from Eckernförde received what prisoner Heinrich Reumann called "grub packets."[9] These parcels included the little smoked fish popular in northern Germany, *Kieler Sprotten*. It is unclear who initiated this effort or precisely when it took place. On November 12, 1933, Glückstadt participated in the Nazi plebiscite. Twenty-four prisoners spoiled their ballots, but there was no retaliation.

According to the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newspaper, eleven Elmshorn prisoners were released on August 15, with the remaining 13 from that community dispatched to the Kuhlen concentration camp.[10] Among the Elmshorn prisoners was Ernst Behrens, a Socialist town council member and poet.

Although the majority of Glückstadt's prisoners were released in December 1933, most of those remaining in custody were dispatched to the Papenburg, Esterwegen, and Oranienburg early camps.[11] The transfers began in June 1933 but increased greatly during the autumn months. Glückstadt concentration camp was officially dissolved on February 26, 1934, but the institution remained a workhouse throughout the Nazi period. Schöning subsequently headed a forced labor camp for Poles and Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter) at this facility during World War II.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the excellent studies by Reimer Möller: "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager*, *1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109; "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," *ZSHG* 114 (1989): 125–228; and "KZ Glückstadt," in *Bei uns . . . 1933–1945*, ed. Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt (Engelbrechtsche Wildnis [Herzhorner Rhin 23]: K.-J. Lorenzen-Schmidt, 1983). According to Möller, the Glückstadt workhouse was torn down at the end of the 1970s. See also Gerhard Paul, with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996). Glückstadt is also briefly mentioned in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988). A commemorative bronze tablet for this camp is reported in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. I, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Also helpful is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited by Möller, primary sources for Glückstadt begin with LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189. This file includes Hampe's query about Friedrich Hansen's reading material. The order for the camp's dissolution is found in ASt-Gl, No. 2048 II. Several photographs are also located in the same archive, as reproduced in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984). Unfortunately, this volume does not specify individual photo credits. Richard Hansen's report is found in AdsD-FES Best.-, Emigration Sopade, Folder 48. Möller conducted oral history interviews with Glückstadt detainees, including Heinrich Reumann and Waldemar Vogeley. He also accessed prisoner case files, such as Karl Scheer's, available at the VVN-AH. Additional information on Glückstadt and Director Hampe comes from the *GF* (December 20, 1923; April 9, December 23, 1933), as cited by Möller and Paul; *LAnz* (December 8, 1933), as cited by Möller; and the *SHZ* (August 16, December 20, December 27, 1933), as cited by Möller and Jenner. A listing for Glückstadt is found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:75.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *GF*, December 20, 1923, cited by Reimer Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager*, *1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109.

2. These images appear in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984), pp. 197, 199.

3. *GF*, April 9, 1933, cited by Gerhard Paul with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996), p. 61.

4. Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 103, reproduces a photograph of prisoners weaving mats, from the ASt-Gl; the same photograph appears under a different caption in *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, p. 200.

5. Hampe to Steinburg Landrat, October 24, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189, cited in Reimer Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," *ZSHG* 114 (1989): 182–183 n.223.

6. Waldemar Vogeley interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 102.

7. Richard Hansen to Otto Wels, June 23, 1936, AdsD-FES, Bestand: Emigration Sopade, Folder 48, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 105. It is not clear whether Richard and Friedrich Hansen were related; Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 183.

8. Report on Karl Scheer, VVN-AH, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," pp. 105–106.

9. Heinrich Reumann interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 104.

10. "Elf Entlassungen aus dem Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 16, 1933, cited in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 47.

11. *GF*, December 23, 1933; and *SHZ*, December 20 and December 27, 1933, both cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 107. Also *LAnz*, December 8, 1933; Steinburg Landrat, Politische Bericherstattung, October 15–December 31, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189; and Steinburg Landrat, Rundschreiben, n.d., ASt-Gl, No. 2038 II, all cited by Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 174.

GOLLNOW

Beginning in March 1933, the *Zentralgefängnis* (central prison), formerly a fortress at Gollnow (later Goleniów, Poland), a small town not far from Stettin (Szczecin), served as an internment center for "protective custody" prisoners from the surrounding area. In April 1933, the prison increasingly assumed regional importance when Stettin Police President Eldor Borck ordered that the prison at Gollnow be used extensively for protective custody prisoners, since local police detention centers were overcrowded. As a result, the president of the Correctional Bureau, Dr. Wilhelm Mosler, declared that he was willing to make 110 spots available in the Zentralgefängnis for political prisoners. The total prison capacity amounted to 621 male prisoners. An entire four-story wing of the building, the so-called E-wing or North wing, was now available to the police. The original inmates were subsequently transferred to other prisons.[1] Women taken into protective custody were not held at the Zentralgefängnis but rather at the local prison in Gollnow.

On April 11, 1933, the first 40 prisoners were brought by truck from Stettin to Gollnow, and in the coming days, another 33 arrived from Stargard.[2] Nineteen additional prisoners arrived on April 20, and another 51 prisoners from Stettin were interned in Gollnow on May 5.[3] All told, there were around 200 people whose names are known that passed through Gollnow's central prison as protective custody prisoners. As not all departures and arrivals were recorded, however, it is assumed that many more people had been prisoners in Gollnow for longer or shorter periods. The average age of the prisoners was 35, and most were craftsmen and manual laborers.

On April 13, 1933, the *Pommersche Zeitung* newspaper reported the internment of Stettin's Communists in Gollnow and took this opportunity to emphasize the necessity of a Pomeranian concentration camp due to "the increased activity" of the German Communist Party (KPD).[4] In fact, since the middle of April, a possible location for a Pomeranian concentration camp was intensively being sought. From its initial use, the Gollnow Zentralgefängnis had been considered an interim arrangement.

Nevertheless, the head of the penitentiary endeavored to work out guidelines for the handling of protective custody prisoners in Gollnow, about which the police administration was informed a few days after the prisoners' arrival. According to these guidelines, the police authorities that ordered the arrest of a prisoner could issue visiting passes for immediate relatives. Visitors were allowed twice a month, letters every 10 days. If necessary, the prisoners could also receive dental treatment from the institutional dentist to be paid for by the responsible police administration.[5]

The prisoners were detained in single cells equipped with a mattress and a toilet bucket. They could only communicate with each other upon coming and going to their recreation period. Many of them knew each other from their joint activities in the KPD, Rotfrontkämpferbund, Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD), Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition, Erwerbslosenstaffeln, Kampfbund gegen Faschismus, and other political groups. Despite the solitary confinement, they found various ways to communicate with and support each other. When the prisoners were forced to listen to a radio broadcast speech by Adolf Hitler on May 1, 1933, they did not stand up at the playing of the national anthem, and they began singing "The Internationale" in the corridors. The prisoners' submitted a written request to the director of the penitentiary asking for a march in the courtyard in honor of May Day, but it was not granted.[6]

A group of prisoners succeeded in producing an illegal newspaper and distributing it among fellow inmates. Two copies existed, and it carried the title "Signal—Organ of the Proletarian Protective Custody Prisoners in Gollnow" (*Fanal—Organ der proletarischen Schutzhaftgefangenen in Gollnow*). During the recreation period, it would be passed around from cell to cell. According to an account from Hans Geffke, one of the publishers, the paper's main concern was to "continue the struggle in the spirit of the party and the antifascist struggle behind prison walls and at the same time to give all comrades instructions on how to behave in solitary confinement."[7] It reported, for instance, that books and papers could

be officially exchanged through the sentry and also encouraged political discussion with cell neighbors: "It's easy: one writes down a discussion question and gives it to his neighbor at the beginning of free period. During the next free period the other returns his answer and posts a new question. The discussion over the question continues until it is settled." Suggestions for "sample questions" follow, for example, the reasons why massive political protests did not take place when Hitler took power. A tap alphabet for conversation from cell to cell was also developed and explained. In addition, there were tips on dealing with guard personnel and employees.

Judicial officers employed in the penal institution guarded the prisoners. By and large it does not appear that there was much abuse of prisoners at the hands of the guard personnel. Former prisoner Karl Lawonn reported that the officers operated with the motto "Calm in the prison, everything clean, don't bother me and I won't bother you." They were lazy and did not wish to be bothered. SA auxiliary police supported the guards, but they mainly remained in the background.[8] There were only beatings when the Stettin detectives came to Gollnow to interrogate prisoners. Kurt Groth reported that a prison guard came to help as two Stettin detectives beat him, and he also spoke out against the beating of prisoners.[9]

Nevertheless, there was often harassment. It became worse when the prison newspaper, after a short time in circulation among the cells, fell into the hands of guard personnel while being passed on. All cells were searched, and the prisoners were ordered into the hall of the cell building to be interrogated by the prison police officer. The investigation, however, was unsuccessful: the culprits were not found and did not turn themselves in. As a punishment, visits, letters, and packages were banned for all prisoners; smoking and borrowing books were also forbidden, and all private books were taken away from the prisoners. Many prisoners protested these measures by going on a hunger strike.[10] In order to end the reprisals, Geffke came forward as publisher of the paper one week later. He was put in a completely dark cell, and criminal proceedings were initiated against him.[11] On June 1, 1933, the director of the penitentiary lifted the ban on visitors and packages that had been imposed on the protective custody prisoners. Visitor permits would only be allowed in urgent cases with immediate family members, and visits could last no longer than 15 to 20 minutes.[12]

The paper *Fanal* also ended up on the desk of Rudolf Diels, head of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapa), who immediately informed all district presidents (Regierungspräsidenten) about the emergence of the "inflammatory communist newspaper." All heads of prisons and concentration camps should be on their guard against "a revival of communist agitation." Surveillance and control measures were intensified.[13]

In the middle of May 1933, the Gestapa in Berlin announced to the Stettin district presidium the transportation of political protective custody prisoners to the central concentration camp at Sonnenburg. Due to prisons overflowing with protective custody prisoners, the penitentiary directors had increasingly put pressure on Regierungspräsident Konrad Göppert. On May 22, 1933, he inquired at the Gestapa "when the promised transport of prisoners to Sonnenburg internment camp can be expected, as the overcrowding of prisons in the district has led to conditions that must be described as simply intolerable."[14]

A week later Gestapa Chief Diels personally called Regierungspräsident Göppert and requested a list of names of 150 Communist prisoners from Stettin and the surrounding area who could soon be transferred to the Sonnenburg concentration camp. As a result, a transport of "Gollnowers" was prepared. This concentration camp now became the central internment site for political opponents of National Socialism in Pomerania. The penitentiary at Gollnow was, however, still used as a prison and "transit station" for protective custody prisoners beyond June 1933. Most of these prisoners were transferred to the Papenburg and Sonnenburg concentration camps and in some cases to Lichtenburg and Brandenburg.[15]

SOURCES Extensive material on the organization of the internment of prisoners at Gollnow can be found in the files of the Stettin district presidium at the APSz, Szczecin Notary, President's Department (APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny). At the BA-B there are personal accounts from former Stettin KPD functionaries, some of whom were inmates in the protective custody section at Gollnow Zentralgefängnis. Original publications about the history of the central prison in 1933/34 are not available.

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 591; ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
2. Ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
3. BA-B, R 58/2518, pp. 33; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 437.
4. *PZ*, April 13, 1933.
5. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 379.
6. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26.
7. Erlebnisbericht Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–10.
8. Erlebnisbericht Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 18; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny, Nr. 12045, pp. 543, 619.
9. Erlebnisbericht Kurt Groth, BA-B, Sgy 30/1498, pp. 48–49.
10. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26; Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–3; Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 16.
11. BA-B, R58/2518, p. 67.
12. Ibid., p. 74.
13. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 619.
14. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 93, 95.
15. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 101, 159, 963, 985, 999.

GOTTESZELL

When in March 1933 political opponents were arrested in all of the Reich, "approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in Württemberg between March 10 and 15."[1] These arrests took place on orders from the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior. The Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State (Reichstag Fire Decree), issued on February 28, 1933, provided the legal basis for the arrests. Due to overpopulated prisons, the Ministry of the Interior ordered in mid-March 1933 that an autonomous concentration camp for men be built on the Heuberg in Stetten am kalten Markt (see Early Camp Heuberg), as well as a separate "protective custody section" for females with the same function at the Gotteszell women's prison. One can assume that it was simply not profitable to construct an autonomous camp for the small number of female protective custody prisoners—there were merely 50 to 100 in comparison with the large number of men.

This corresponds to previous knowledge about how female protective custody prisoners were dealt with in other parts of the Reich: in the first years, no autonomous concentration camps were set up for women with the exception of Moringen. Accordingly, women were placed either in separate protective custody sections in prisons similar to that in Gotteszell, which were used as concentration camps, or they were sent to small sections set up separately for female prisoners within already existing concentration camps for men in 1933–1934. The only autonomous early women's concentration camp with a centralized structure was the Moringen provincial workhouse (*Provinzialwerkhaus*) in the region of Hildesheim. As of June 1933, Moringen had become the central women's camp for Prussia and central Germany and later for the entire Reich.

In a letter from the police presidium of Stuttgart, Württemberg State Office of the Criminal Police (Landeskriminalpolizeiamt), dated March 17, 1933, the decision was announced that women, held in protective custody in local prisons since the wave of arrests, were to be transferred to the local branch Weimarstrasse of the Court Prison I Stuttgart (Gerichtsgefängnis I Stuttgart-Zweigstelle Weimarstrasse).[2] In the days following this order, a decision must have been made for the establishment of a concentration camp in the women's prison in Gotteszell. The above-mentioned statement of affairs from mid-July 1933 states: "From the very beginning female prisoners were interned separately from male prisoners. To this end a section was set up in the women's state penitentiary (*Frauenlandestrafanstalt*) in Gotteszell for protective custody."[3] One can assume that March 31, 1933, the day when the majority of women were brought by truck from Gerichtsgefängnis I to Gotteszell, marked the opening of the concentration camp. In the case of 30 women, their first date of imprisonment in Gotteszell is known to have been March 31, 1933. Initially there were 50 to 60 women at the Gotteszell concentration camp, but their numbers decreased steadily throughout the year.[4]

In November 1933, six women were still in protective custody at Gotteszell.[5] The last women were released from this section of Gotteszell on January 21, 1934. Their release brought an end to existence of the concentration camp section of the Gotteszell women's prison.

The Political Police, part of the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, was responsible for the protective custody section in the Gotteszell prison. Then, on April 28, 1933, orders came for the formation of an autonomous Württemberg Political Police Office within the Ministry of the Interior, which would be responsible for protective custody prisoners. The Ministry of Justice, however, retained its responsibility for the penitentiary.

With regard to this separation between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, one can assume that the Ministry of the Interior indeed had the authority to imprison and release women but could not directly intervene in the Ministry of Justice's jurisdiction in specific cases dealing with prisoners in jail. This can be concluded from various documents that the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the protective custody camp Heuberg and the Gotteszell penitentiary, which deal with the treatment of protective custody prisoners.[6]

There was a clear arrangement between the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior with regard to financing the camp. The Ministry of the Interior covered the costs of all expenditures for prisoners who were interned in state penitentiaries or local prisons. Included in these costs was the procuring of necessary clothing, medicine, and treatment by dentists or other medical specialists.[7]

In March 1933, Government Councilor (Regierungsrat) Henning was the director of the Gotteszell state penitentiary and therefore also director of the Gotteszell concentration camp. Earlier, he had been director of the Moringen workhouse. Soon, however, he was transferred from this position. His successor as director of the prison and concentration camp was Siebert, a man who kept a tight rein on operations and who did not differentiate between criminal and political prisoners.

During the time of the concentration camp's existence (March 31, 1933, to January 21, 1934), between 60 and 80 women had been imprisoned in Gotteszell. The duration of imprisonment ranged from less than one month to the entire time the prison was in operation. The youngest woman was 20 years old at the time of her incarceration, while the oldest was 54. The reason for this particular age range was involvement in political activities, which all of them had in common.[8]

Of the 39 female prisoners for whom information is available, it can be proven that 21 were members of the German Communist Party (KPD). The same can be assumed for many others. Membership in the KPD was the primary reason for internment. Whereas around 3,000 men in Württemberg alone were arrested in the first months after the National Socialists assumed power, the arrests of women were limited in many cases to those who had held leading positions within political parties, primarily the KPD. Often, married women

had organized resistance with husbands who had been well-known KPD functionaries, and they were arrested at the same time.

In a series of cases the arrest and imprisonment of women served as a way to extort information about the activities or the whereabouts of their husbands. Religious or social grounds for internment in the Gotteszell concentration camp—in the sense of "racial general prevention" (*rassischen Generalprävention*) as formulated by historian Ulrich Herbert—are not known at this time.

Some women lost their jobs because of their time in Gotteszell. Other women suffered for years afterward from health problems that were a result of their imprisonment. Several women emigrated due to their persecution. The evidence shows that 10 women continued to fight actively against the National Socialist state. This led to further persecution in prisons and penitentiaries, in the women's concentration camps Moringen, Lichtenburg, and Ravensbrück, and, in the case of Gertrud Schlotterbeck and Emmi Ramin, to their execution.

The protective custody section was set up in a separate part of the Gotteszell women's prison. These premises had previously been used for regular prisoners. In their function as part of the concentration camp they were also divided into spaces for sleeping and "recreation."

Women were not allowed to work and were therefore not integrated into the employment programs of the prison. Accordingly, these women had to find a way to keep themselves busy on their own. Gertrud Leibbrand stated, "Whoever could sought handicraft from their relatives. Most women knitted. One could not stand being idle all day long. We kept ourselves busy in other ways, of course. For example, I initiated a stenography group. Paula Acker (née Löffler) tried to teach some Spanish to those who were interested. If I'm not mistaken, we also had a group for those interested in literature, however I can't swear to that."[9]

The women in Gotteszell chose the song "Thoughts Are Free" ("Die Gedanken sind frei") as their anthem, to which both Leibbrand and Julius Schätzle attest.

Leibbrand wrote in one of her letters, "We not only sang the song 'Thoughts are free, who can guess them' . . . (as Julius Schätzle writes). It was our song and we sang it especially when bad news from outside dampened our spirits. It almost always helped to turn disheartenment into courage."

On May 1, 1933, the women in Gotteszell sang this song while getting together for a special occasion: a breakfast with somewhat wilted flowers and a piece of red fabric was transformed into a celebration.

After the authorities caught wind of this action, the women were interrogated while the guards looked for the red flag that allegedly had been used. All the prisoners remained silent until Lotte Weidenbach leaped onto the table, lifted her skirt to reveal her petticoat, and shouted: "This is our red flag." Puzzled, the guards left the room.

SOURCES This contribution on the Gotteszell concentration camp is based on Marcus Kienle's book *Gotteszell—das frühe Konzentrationslager für Frauen in Württemberg* (Ulm: Verlag Klemm & Oelschläger, 2002) and an article with the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System. Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

Former prisoners are quoted directly for the first time after the war in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945*, ed. Lagergemeinschaft Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1974).

Lina Haag, a former prisoner of Gotteszell, described her experiences there in *Eine Handvoll Staub*, (1985; Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995).

A few scattered records exist on the concentration camp. A few documents in the records of the RMdI in the BA-B make references to Gotteszell. Further references to most of the prisoners of the Gotteszell concentration camp can be found in the records of post-1945 indemnification of victims of Nazi rule. The original files of the reparations process are located in the StA-S (Bestand: Wü 33) for South Württemberg and in the StA-L (Bestand: EL 350) for North Württemberg.

An important resource are prisoners' reports from different perspectives, located in the archive of the VVN in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK in Ulm.

The most important references with regard to oral history were provided by Gertrud Leibbrand, who passed away in 2003, in her correspondence with the author during the years 1998–2001.

Marcus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. BA, R 13/25734, Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23.
2. AKr-SH, B137/1.
3. Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23; BA, Bestand, R 13, shelf mark 25734.
4. Ibid.
5. Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 58.
6. AKr-SH, B 137/Schutzhaft allgemein, p. 39.
7. AKr-RM, A 5 Oberamt Schorndorf 6220 Schutzhaft, p. 50.
8. The basis for these statements are the author's evaluations of the reparations files of those prisoners in the Gotteszell concentration camp known by name.
9. All citations of Gertrud Leibbrand come from letters to the author on August 29, 1998; February 16, 2001; and October 19, 2002.

GRÄFENHAINICHEN

In 1933, the SA formed a "protective custody" camp in Gräfenhainichen, Prussian Saxony.[1] The camp was situated in the abandoned Stolzenberg factory, which was located at a railway crossing. The number of political prisoners and camp personnel is not known. In August 1933, the camp was closed

and the detainees dispatched to the large early concentration camp at Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry is based upon Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), which also records a memorial to political opponents held at this camp. Other than the memorial plaque, Endlich does not cite other sources in connection with Gräfenhainichen.

One available primary source for this camp is its listing in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper article "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

GREATER NÜRNBERG CAMPS

In March 1933, the directorate of the Bavarian State Police in Nürnberg-Fürth established at least two and possibly three "protective custody" camps in Nürnberg and Fürth, in Gau Central Franconia. The known camps were the Nürnberg pretrial detention center at Fürther Strasse and the "emergency prison" (*Notgefängnis*) at the Polizeidirektion (Police Head Office) in Fürth. The third suspected camp was the Nürnberg Rathauswache (City Hall Guard Post), located at Rathausplatz, then called Adolf-Hitler-Platz. The Nürnberg SA also established at least five torture sites: the SA headquarters at Breitegasse; the Hotel Deutscher Hof at Frauentorgraben 29; Georgenstrasse police station; Nürnberg Castle; and Arbeitersamariterwache (Workers Benevolent Association), Hallplatz 4, an erstwhile emergency aid center.[1] By April 3, 1933, Greater Nürnberg held 978 protective custody prisoners, including local politicians, Jews from Nürnberg and Fürth, and numerous leftists.[2] In late March 1933, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, then chief of the Munich Political Police, assumed control of the police directorate and, through his newly appointed subordinate SS-Oberführer Johann von Malsen-Ponickau, arranged for the removal of Greater Nürnberg's detainees to Dachau concentration camp. An immediate consequence of Malsen's appointment, noted the *Fürther Anzeiger* newspaper, was the roundup of "50 of the worst Muscovites [Communists]."[3] Three major convoys of police wagons departed for Dachau in April 1933.

The Nürnberg pretrial detention center operated under the supervision of Oberregierungsrat Hop. One protective custody prisoner, Willi Gesell, had already been held there for Communist activities beginning on February 20, 1933, well before the Reichstag Fire Decree and the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria.[4] Nürnberg's former Socialist mayor Hermann Luppe, prosecutor Dr. Alfred Rosenfelder, physician Dr. Theodor Katz, Communist youth organizer Dr. Rudolf Benario, and Arthur Kahn were also confined at the pretrial detention center, as well as Staudt, a local Socialist politician, and Riepekohl, a local editor. Prisoners could read newspapers and books, take walks, and have access to Protestant and Catholic clergy. The detainees shared cells with common criminals but quietly exchanged information among themselves on walks. The police arrested Luppe on March 18, 1933, and brought him to the police barracks at Bärenschanzstrasse, where he was held in an officer's quarters for two days. On March 28, Luppe entered the pretrial detention center, where he remained until his release on April 25, 1933. At the time of his arrest and while in custody, he experienced comparatively decent treatment. According to historian Hermann Hanschel, the claim that Luppe suffered humiliating treatment at the SA's hands at the time of his arrest appears to be apocryphal.[5] Upon release, the police expelled the Luppes from Nürnberg. They relocated to Berlin, where the former mayor endured further arrests and harassment.

In contrast to the pretrial detention center, the Fürth emergency prison had primitive accommodations and brutal conditions. Two noncommissioned officers, SS-Scharführer Faschingbauer and SS-Scharführer Bräu, were in charge. Further research is needed to establish their career tracks. The detainees included Wilhelm Galsterer, Ernst Goldmann, Anton Hausladen, possibly Hausladen's wife Kunigunde, Karl Pfeiffer, and Richard Schumann. All but possibly Goldmann were Communists. The accommodations, as Pfeiffer recalled, consisted of approximately 25 "field beds" with two prisoners per bed. Galsterer reported that he was tortured while in Fürth. Schumann's ordeal in Nazi custody only started with confinement in this camp. He remained a prisoner in Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, and related camps until his liberation in 1945.[6]

Pfeiffer furnished testimony about the Rathauswache camp. Arrested on April 21, he was tortured at the Georgenstrasse police station, then dispatched to the Rathauswache, where he spent four days. On April 25, the Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth transferred him to the emergency prison with 15 other detainees under SA guard. It is not clear whether the others were also held at the Rathauswache. It is not clear whether Rathauswache was a protective custody camp or a temporary detention site.[7]

Composed of prisoners from both confirmed Nürnberg camps, the first major Dachau transport took place on April 11. The transferred detainees included Benario, Gesell, Goldmann, Katz, Rosenfelder, and Schumann. Because they were Jewish, the SS shot Benario, Kahn, and Katz on the following day. Together with a Jew from Munich, they were the first murder victims recorded at Dachau.[8] The second transport included Galsterer and Lehrburger. The site of Lehrburger's detention in Nürnberg is not known. The last major transport occurred on April 26 and included the last 96 detainees from Fürth. Among the Fürth prisoners were Anton Hausladen, Pfeiffer, and a Jewish student named Rosenbusch. The SS and SA beat the prisoners on the way to the wagons. En

route to Dachau, Pfeiffer offered Rosenbusch part of an orange, which prompted the Bavarian State Police to strike him. While doing so, they condemned him for showing kindness to a "Jewish pig."[9]

A key figure in Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth was Kriminalrat Ottomar Otto. A veteran of Bavaria's 1919 counterrevolution against the short-lived "Soviet Republic," he had closely monitored local Communist activity for almost a decade. In the summer of 1933, Otto established a special duty SA-Sturm (SA-Sturm z.b.V.) in order to torture political suspects. Under the successive commands of SA-Sturmbannführer Eugen Korn and SA-Sturmführer "Braun" (a pseudonym assigned by German prosecutors at his postwar trial), SA-Sturm arrested Communists in advance of the September 1933 Nazi Party rally, the first held after the regime's takeover. On August 17–18, Korn's unit murdered Oskar Pfläumer at the Workers Benevolent Association (Arbeitersamariterwache). A Jewish detainee, Schmitz, sustained such severe injuries in the Sturm's hands that he died three days after transfer to Dachau, on August 29, 1933. The Nürnberg Castle was a favorite torture site for Korn's unit. The SA beat victims in its cellar, oblivious to the tourists within earshot. Pfläumer's murder prompted a legal investigation by Bavarian Justice Minister Dr. Hans Frank. Despite strong evidence, Adolf Hitler quashed the legal proceedings against Korn. In spite of Otto's role, the ministry's investigation did not focus upon him. Otto remained with the political police and committed suicide in April 1945. Korn died in 1946. In 1948, Oberlandgericht (Higher State Court) Nürnberg-Fürth tried other members of SA-Sturm, including Braun, but the judgments and sentences are not readily available. On-site research is needed to determine whether any Sturm victims were held at Nürnberg's pretrial detention center.[10]

Further research is also needed to ascertain the degree of Franconian Gauleiter Julius Streicher's culpability in the early arrests. Streicher's dispute with Mayor Luppe certainly contributed to the latter's detention. In 1925, Luppe brought a libel action that resulted in the Nazi publisher's brief imprisonment.[11] A conflict shortly before the Nazi takeover between Streicher and Nürnberg's SA leader SA-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Stegmann resulted in Stegmann's dismissal on Hitler's orders. On three occasions in the spring of 1933, the police arrested him on the trumped-up charge of attempting to murder the Franconian Gauleiter. According to historian Eric G. Reiche, the Stegmann dispute may have spurred the Nürnberg SA in 1933 and 1934 to exaggerated displays of loyalty through political violence.[12] Although Streicher later asserted, in a letter to Rudolf Hess on October 12, 1933, that he ordered the SA to avoid anti-Jewish violence for fear of international repercussions, the targeting of prominent Jews during the regime's first months contradicted this claim.[13] Although Streicher specifically denied in this letter responsibility for the arrest of 50 local Jews, a Jewish prisoner observed in 1934: "Most Jews [at Dachau] had been arrested in Nürnberg and Central Franconia."[14] The same anonymous source listed other Jewish prisoners from Greater Nürnberg at Dachau: Dr. Hans Max Cohn, Eric Gans, Max Gottlieb, Heinrich Heilbrunn, Siegfried Klein, and Martin Stiebel.[15]

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard history of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Helpful information about the Greater Nürnberg camps and torture sites can be found in Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977); Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 237–264; Hermann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974); and Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980). Background about Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth, Ottomar Otto, and SA-Sturm can be found in Reiche, Strauss, and Martin Faatz, *Vom Staatsschutz zum Gestapo-Terror: Politische Polizei in Bayern in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik und der Anfangsphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Würzburg: Echter, 1995). On the murder of Greater Nürnberg Jews at Dachau, see Hans-Günter Richardi, *Schule der Gewalt: Die Anfänge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau 1933–1934; Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983). The standard biography of Julius Streicher is Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001). On the Stegmann-Streicher affair, see Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Primary documentation for Greater Nürnberg camps begins with the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The testimonies of Willi Gesell, Georg Hausladen (the son of Anton and Kunigunde), and Karl Pfeiffer are available in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*. Helpful testimony about the Nürnberg Untersuchungsgefängnis can be found in the posthumous autobiography of Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977). The papers on which it was based are found in Nachlasse Luppe, available at the BA-K and ASt-N. Anonymous but valuable testimony about Jewish prisoners from Nürnberg at Dachau can be found in "Als Jude in Dachau," *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. On Breitegasse, Hotel Deutscher Hof, and Nürnberg Castle, see AStaLG-NF, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 261nn. 8, 13; 263n.61; on Georgenstrasse, see the testimony of Karl Pfeiffer in Her-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

mann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974), p. 105; on Arbeitersamariterwache, see Document 923-D, Correspondence related to Bavarian Justice Ministry's Investigation of Eugen Korn, August 1933 to July 1934, in IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 36:23 (hereafter 923-D, *TMWC*, with volume and page).

2. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 45.

3. *FüA*, March 28, 1933 (quotation), and *NBZ*, March 29 and 30, 1933, as cited in Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980), p. 426.

4. Gesell testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 103.

5. Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977), pp. 290–293; Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977), p. 328n.27.

6. Testimonies of Pfeiffer and Georg Hausladen and reports about Galsterer and Richard Schumann, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, pp. 106–108, 112–113, 173–174.

7. Pfeiffer testimony, in ibid., p. 106.

8. *NBZ*, April 15, 1933, cited in Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise*, p. 446; "Als Jude in Dachau," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 82.

9. Pfeiffer testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 107.

10. 923-D, in *TMWC*, 36:11–36 (for Otto, 21); for SA-Sturm cases, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," pp. 261nn. 8, 13, 263n.61; on Schmitz, "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 79.

11. BA-K, Nachlasse Luppe Folder 10, pp. 548–549, as cited by Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001), pp. 20–23.

12. Stegmann BDC Personnel File, cited by Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 229; Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," p. 238.

13. Streicher to Hess, October 12, 1933, in BDC Streicher Berlin Police File, as cited by Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power*, p. 231.

14. "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 83.

15. Ibid., p. 82.

GUMPERTSHOF

In October 1933, the Merker-Meseritz district administrator established an early concentration camp for itinerant Germans at Gumpertshof. Anticipating the aggressive campaign later waged against "asocials," Gumpertshof demonstrates that not all early camps were organized for the purpose of political persecution. In a misrepresentation of the concentration camps typical of the Nazi press, the party's official newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, published a photograph of Gumpertshof on October 4, 1933. Titled "The First Concentration Camp for Beggars in Germany," the image shows a staged display of joviality as the guards and the front rank of prisoners smile at each other. In the background, a few inmates avert their eyes or stare at the camera. The prisoners are clad in civilian garb. In the foreground a female prisoner wears a white work smock. The caption reads: "At the instigation of the district administrator of Merker-Meseritz, a concentration camp for beggars and tramps was erected in Gumpertshof near Meseritz, which currently accommodates 50 inmates, for combating the presence of beggars and tramps. Here beggars are employed with agricultural labor, in order to be placed as farm workers after a probationary period."[1]

It is not known when this camp was disbanded.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The primary documentation for Gumpertshof consists of the *VB* article of October 4, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. "Das erste Konzentrationslager für Bettler in Deutschland," *VB*, Norddeutsche-Ausg., 46: 277 (4.10.1933).

HAINEWALDE

On March 27, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hainewalde Castle in Saxony. Initially SA-Sturm III (Dresden), under SA-Sturmführer Ernst Jirka, guarded the camp, but in May this responsibility fell to SA-Standarte 102 (Zittau) under SA-Standartenführer Paul Unterstab. Altogether there were about 150 guards. The camp's commandant was SA-Sturmbannführer Müller, and the adjutant was SA-Sturmbannführer Mittag. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 259 prisoners, but that number subsequently increased to almost 400. In total, approximately 1,000 prisoners passed through the camp. An itemization for Hainewalde revealed that protective custody cost the Saxon government over 130,000 Reichsmark (RM).[1] When the camp was dissolved on August 10, 1933, the remaining prisoners were transferred to larger early concentration camps at Hohnstein Castle and Sachsenburg.

Hainewalde's prisoners consisted mainly of leftists and Jews. About 150 were crammed into one barrack, where the prisoners slept on multitiered bunks with straw mattresses. The prisoners were required to attend Protestant religious services, as well as nightly Nazi indoctrinations. For the latter



Nazi propaganda photo of prisoners and guards at the Hainewalde early camp.
PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

purpose, younger and older prisoners were housed separately, on the theory that the young prisoners would be more susceptible to Nazification if isolated from their elders. The SA forced the prisoners to perform penal exercises, conducted torture under the pretext of interrogation, and directed all but the most serious cases of injury or illness to a cellar for warehousing without medical treatment. The SA used an administrative office and a special bunker for interrogations. Prisoners were also compelled to work in woodcutting and latrine details. Jews and intellectuals were singled out for humiliation and brutal treatment.

The outlawed German Social Democratic Party (SPD) continued to assist Hainewalde's prisoners. For example, the Prague-based Socialist newspaper *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* reproduced the photograph of a Hainewalde detainee. A sympathetic SA guard had smuggled the image out of camp, which revealed a prisoner in terrible condition. Zittau's underground Communist organization also smuggled propaganda into the camp that let the prisoners know their suffering had not been forgotten: "We know that you have remained loyal to the cause of the working classes with unfaltering courage, in spite of all the terror and despite the harassment to which you have been exposed. . . . We know very well—and also the working classes know—what you have suffered. If we send you this greeting despite all difficulties of illegality inside the concentration camp, take it as an avowal of our undivided solidarity with you."[2]

The camp administration imposed strict conditions for release from custody. On pain of arrest, released prisoners signed a declaration swearing not to discuss conditions in Hainewalde. According to another declaration, dated August 5, 1933, the released detainee promised not to associate again with "Marxist parties." Well-known screenwriter, playwright, and novelist Axel Eggebrecht recalled a rumor that the prisoners would be released on May Day, but it turned out not to have any foundation.[3]

Eggebrecht was held at Hainewalde from April to May 1933. A resident of Berlin, he was visiting his father in Leipzig at the time of his arrest, March 5, 1933, which coincided with Germany's election day. After a month in jail, he was delivered to Hainewalde. As the prisoners entered the gate, a teacher among them joked that the castle once held the "favorites" of the Saxon king, August the Strong. A guard then put them through a mindless initiation rite. With the command "Right leg, high!" Eggebrecht raised his leg like a "stork." When the SA next issued the impossible order to raise the left leg as well, he refused to do so, in the gruff language of the barracks. In the exchange that followed, the guard ascertained that Eggebrecht was a World War I veteran. Eggebrecht soon realized, however, that his military service meant little to the guards. Stereotyped as an intellectual, he was ordered to work in a humiliating labor command. "Aha—the scriptwriter from Berlin!" Sturmführer Jirka exclaimed, "I have something extra fine for you—the shit detail!"[4]

Eggebrecht's bunk mate, a Jewish prisoner named Benno Berg, experienced a rare moment of humor after a reeducation session. A Nazi Kreisleiter lectured the detainees on the Jewish threat, quoting the stock phrase, "The Jews are our misfortune." After the speech, he inspected the prisoners and stopped in front of Berg. In response to the Kreisleiter's questions, Berg gave his name and birthplace: "Berg, from Reichenberg, Bohemia." Not realizing that the prisoner was Jewish, the Nazi announced: "A Sudeten national comrade! Bravo! All of you will come to us again!" Eggebrecht added: "The big shot's fat hand struck the 'non-Aryan' appreciatively on the shoulder. 'For myself, you are the model of the true SA man! Heil Hitler!' Hand raised, he strutted away."[5]

Eggebrecht was interrogated but not tortured. In this regard his experience contrasted with other Hainewalde prisoners. Eggebrecht recalled the interrogator's interest in how he had gotten mixed up with the Communists, after growing up in a "good home." His release came through his father's intercession with an influential Saxon official, Professor Apel. Eggebrecht's father wrote him about Apel's interest in his case. Sometime later, his father visited him at the camp. Exclaiming that the conditions were "unworthy" of his son, the father added that he should be patient, because "it won't last much longer!" Several days later, Eggebrecht was released after signing a promise not to circulate "atrocity stories."[6]

In 1948, the Bautzen State Court sentenced 39 guards to penitentiary terms for their role in the maltreatment of Hainewalde prisoners. The trial was conducted under the auspices of the Soviet occupation, but further details are not known.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. A listing for Hainewalde can also be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesntschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1575. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich,

Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). A very good history of this camp, which unfortunately does not cite primary sources, is found at the Web site "Mahnung gegen Rechts-Städte und Gemeinden in der Zeit von 1933–1945—Zittau," www.mahnung-gegen-rechts.de/pages/staedte/Zittau/pages/wahlschlager.htm.

Primary documentation for Hainewalde begins with File Nos. 4842 and 4852 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. Additional primary documentation may be found in the AVB-StFA (formerly the SHStA-B), Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, No. 7542, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. An important personal account is Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975). Eggebrecht's camp testimony constituted a small portion of his autobiography. As a screenwriter, he faithfully recaptured the guards' poor German. Hainewalde was also mentioned in the National Socialist and exile press. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933. As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, it was mentioned in the OlsTZ, March 28, April 15, and August 30, 1933; and an unspecified issue of the *AIZ* (Prague). Photographs of the castle, the latrine and woodcutting details, and certain SA leaders, including Standartenführer Paul Unterstab, and the reproduction of the release document for Fritz Seiler may be found at the "Mahnung gegen Rechts" Web site.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. These figures are listed in AVB-StFA, Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, no. 7542, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 87.
2. Ibid., pp. 159, 178. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a date for the *AIZ*. For the Communist message, they cite Heinz Vosske, ed., *Im Kampf bewährt: Erinnerungen deutscher Genossen an den antifaschistischen Widerstand von 1933 bis 1945* (Berlin: Dietz, 1977), p. 193.
3. Erklärung, August 5, 1933, stamped Schutzhaftlager Hainewalde, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 138. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a provenance or archive for this reproduction. Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975), pp. 279, 282.
4. Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg*, pp. 275–276.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 281–282.

HAINICHEN

On April 4, 1933, Amtshauptmann Döbeln ordered the formation of a labor camp in a community and sports center located at Öderanstrasse in Hainichen, Saxony. Ortsgruppenleiter Georg "Zuff" Ziegler was the commandant, and Friedrich Zill served as his deputy. The guards were from SA-Sturm 5/139, later supplemented by SA-Sturmbann II/148 from Colditz. Despite the nomenclature, Hainichen was an early concentration camp for leftist detainees. Its population fluctuated from an initial 50 prisoners to 144 by April 12, then to nearly 300 before its dissolution on June 13, 1933.

Hainichen prisoners were divided into three arrest categories. These categories depended upon the degree of suspected involvement with leftist political parties: nonmembers, who were supposed to be immediately released; party members, who faced detention for an indefinite period; and party officials, who were considered to be the most serious cases. Although the SA occupied a community center, the prisoners were made to sleep on a garbage heap. After Hainichen's closure, the detainees were dispatched to early concentration camps at Colditz and Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002).

Primary documentation for this camp, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, consists of File No. 551 in ASt-Lsn. The camp is also listed in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper, *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

HALLE (MERSEBURGER UND PARACELCIUSSTRASSE)

In the barracks at Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse in Halle, the Prussian police and the Stahlhelm established an early concentration camp in April 1933. Following the camp's dissolution in June 1933, the prisoners were dispatched by rail to another early concentration camp at Lichtenburg. Townspeople in Halle gave the prisoners food on their march to the train station.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work about the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary sources are not available for this camp. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a specific source for the gifts of food to Halle prisoners.

Joseph Robert White

HAMBURG (*STADTHAUS UND UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNIS*)

In March 1933, the Hamburg "townhouse" (*Stadthaus*) police headquarters at Stadthausbrücke 8–10 and the neighboring remand center at Holstenglacis 3 became "protective custody"

camps. Under 14-year police veteran Kriminalinspektor Peter Kraus, the institutions operated as camps at least through November 1933. Although the total number of detainees is not known, the Stadthaus and Holstenglacis held many Communists, Social Democrats, young leftists, trade unionists, and Jews. Among the Social Democratic detainees were Gustav Dahrendorf and Karl Meitmann. In May and June 1933, according to prisoner Heinrich Braune, there were about 150 prisoners.[1]

Instrumental in arresting, interrogating, and guarding the prisoners were the Special Duty Detachments (K.z.b.V.). Established on March 24, 1933, the unit consisted of 310 SS, SA, and Stahlhelm police deputies.[2] The unit was disbanded on January 4, 1934. Its commander, Polizeioberleutnant Franz Kosa, garnered fulsome praise from Hamburg Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann. In a letter dated July 21, 1933, Kaufmann wrote: "You have dedicated the greatest prudence and sacrifice to the difficult task according to K.z.b.V.'s mission assignment, so that it is actually thanks to your energy and determination, if the Kommando's previous work has contributed to a decisive defeat of Marxism in Hamburg."[3]

At the Stadthaus, K.z.b.V. tortured certain detainees. One prisoner under interrogation, Gustav Schönherr, died after falling or being pushed out of a five-story window. K.z.b.V. had several interrogation sites within the Stadthaus complex. According to an anonymous prisoner's account that circulated in some Hamburg churches, the Stadthaus had separate rooms for the interrogation of Socialist and Communist prisoners, each outfitted with pictures of the respective parties' heroes. Lenin's portrait decorated the Communists' room.[4] Another detainee, Albert Peldszus, learned that torture took place "in the second-story room."[5] His account supported the anonymous prisoner who identified the place as "Room 203." Based on the report of his late comrade Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Matthias Thesen, Fuhlsbüttel detainee Willi Bredel claimed in his novel *Die Prüfung* that the torture site was "the feared Room 103."[6] Other prisoners recalled that torture took place at K.z.b.V.'s headquarters, located in a building adjacent to the Stadthaus called Grosse Bleichen.

In *Die Prüfung*, Bredel reveals the pattern of torture. The interrogation subject anxiously awaited summons in overcrowded basement cells. The professional police would politely question him about his political activities. After denying the allegations, he would be returned to the cells, only to be summoned by K.z.b.V. K.z.b.V would conduct him to the special room, make him stand facing the wall, beat him unconscious, and revive him with cold water, all the while berating him as a Communist, leftist sympathizer, or Jew. After this ordeal, he would be transferred to Holstenglacis, pending a decision on his fate. In broad outline, Bredel's novelistic account of the Stadthaus accords with Stadthaus testimonies.[7]

Not every Stadthaus detainee suffered torture, however. Several witnesses, such as Socialist Karl Schmalbruch and Braune, reported hearing about mistreatment or seeing injured prisoners but did not personally experience violent interrogation. It is not clear whether their nonviolent treatment resulted from cooperation or whether the Communists were singled out for special harassment. Nevertheless, many Social Democratic and trade union witnesses reported nonviolent treatment. Twice held at the Stadthaus in 1933, Braune "was treated completely differently" during interrogation. Confined to a "mass cell" with 30 to 45 detainees, Peldszus was not beaten at the Stadthaus but experienced maltreatment later at Fuhlsbüttel. The police detained Peldszus for having a fight with an SA man in the early 1930s, for which he had already served a year's imprisonment. Another Socialist, Ernst Bähr, was delivered to the Stadthaus from the Holstenglacis prison for interrogation in a "cellar room." Although questioned for two hours, he was not harmed. As he explained, "The arrests were not carried out so entirely brutally in the first years of National Socialism as later—the regime was not yet so solidly established." By contrast, prisoners with affiliations to Communist groups such as the Kommunistische Jugendverband (Communist Youth Association) or Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus (Fighting League against Fascism), like Helmut Heins and Herbert Baade, suffered torture.[8]

The Holstenglacis prison functioned as a way station for the early concentration camp at Fuhlsbüttel. The detainees recuperated from wounds suffered at the Stadthaus, shared experiences, and sang songs to combat boredom.[9] The prison's physician, Schädel, cared for many victims and got into trouble with the Nazis for submitting frank reports about K.z.b.V. activities.[10] Certain detainees remained at Holstenglacis in preparation for show trials, such as Schmalbruch, who was tried in November 1933 as part of the Socialist Workers Youth trial and sentenced to four months' imprisonment.[11] The prison also served the purpose of judicial terror. Approximately 1,850 prisoners were executed by gallows and guillotine between 1933 and 1945. The first three executions took place between August 1933 and January 1934.

Among the execution victims taken into custody during the protective custody camp phase was Fiete Schulze, a member of the German Communist Party (KPD) arrested in the spring of 1933. His confinement documented the transformation from protective custody camp to political prison. While at Holstenglacis, he carried on a censored but nevertheless illuminating correspondence with his wife and other relatives. His letters showed that some prisoners could communicate with relatives, receive parcels, and see visitors. The censors let pass Schulze's occasional Stalinist remarks, such as crediting the First Five-Year Plan for transforming the Soviet Union or commenting to his daughter about the "conditions of dying capitalism." The Hanseatic Higher Regional Court condemned Schulze to a triple death sentence plus 240 years, because of his participation in the October 1923 Hamburg Uprising. His execution took place on May 6, 1935.[12]

Information on whether any Hamburg police or K.z.b.V. members faced postwar criminal proceedings in connection with prisoner maltreatment is unavailable.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also helpful is Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983). For the Untersuchungsgefängnis's role as execution site, see Andreas Seeger, with Fritz Treichel, "Hinrichtungen in Hamburg und Altona 1933 bis 1944," *Kein abgeschlossenes Kapitel: Hamburg in "Dritten Reich,"* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Karsten Linne (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1997), pp. 319–348. Memorials to victims held at these detention sites between 1933 and 1945 are listed in Ulrike Puvogel, Martin Stankowski with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). For the memorial's documentary background, see Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943* (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981). A helpful account about Willi Bredel's novel *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946) is Lilli Bock, *Willi Bredel: Leben und Werk* (Berlin [East]: Volk und Wissen Volkseigner Verlag, 1973).

Primary sources for this camp begin with two documents from StA-HH, as reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann. These papers consist of the regulations governing Nazi police deputies from March 16, 1933, and Kaufmann's letter to Kosa dated July 21, 1933. Prisoner testimonies by Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Heinrich Braune, and Helmut Heins, and testimonial summaries for Albert Peldszus and Karl Schmalbach, can be found in ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg.* This collection also reprints the leaflet containing anonymous prisoner testimony, culled from A-Osta-H 461a. Also included are reproductions of the investigative reports that ÖTV conducted in support of the memorial site, as well as photographs of witnesses and Stadthaus blueprints. A useful contemporaneous fictional account of the Stadthaus, the Untersuchungsgefängnis, and Fuhlsbüttel is Willi Bredel's *Die Prüfung.* It was the first novel about Nazi concentration camps. While generally accurate, Bredel erroneously places Fuhlsbüttel officers SA-Brigadeführer Paul Ellernhausen and SS-Sturmführer Willi Dusenschön in charge of K.z.b.V. In Bredel's account, their names and Ellerhausen's rank slightly differ. While Bredel used mostly composite characters for the prisoners in his novel, he reproduced the actual names of the perpetrators, so the inaccuracy in this case reflects problems with secondhand testimony. An excellent collection of prisoner letters from the Holstenglacis prison is Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959). Weinert unfortunately did not elaborate on the provenance of these letters, other than to report that they were found in Gestapo files.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Heinrich Braune testimony reproduced in *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943*, ed. ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981), p. 24.

2. Die Polizeibehörde Hamburg, March 16, 1933, Betr.: "Einberufung und Verwendung von Hilfspolizei," Anlage III, in StA-HH, Polizeibehörde Ablieferung 45 Liste 1, No. 310, reproduced in Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983), pp. 139–142.

3. Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann to Polizeioberleutnant Kosa, Betr.: "Kommando zbV," July 21, 1933, in StA-HH, Senatskanzlei Präsidialabteilung 1933 A 94, reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich*, p. 143.

4. Streckenbach, Staatspolizei, to Generalstaatsanwalt Drescher, February 7, 1934, Betr.: "Anonymes Rundschreiben über die Behandlung der Schutzhäftlinge," in A-Osta-H 461a, reproduced in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, Document 3; hereafter "Anonymes Rundschreiben."

5. Summary of Albert Peldszus testimony in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 15.

6. Willi Bredel, *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946), pp. 5, 42; citations refer to the Aufbau edition.

7. Ibid., pp. 49–62.

8. Quotations from testimonies and testimony summaries for Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Braune, Helmut Heins, Peldszus, and Karl Schmalbruch, in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, pp. 13, 15–17, 22 24.

9. On singing, see Bredel, *Die Prüfung*, p. 67.

10. "Anonymes Rundschreiben."

11. Schmalbruch summary in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 14.

12. Letters of July 19, 1933 (to Hedde Schulze), August 26, 1934 (to Wilma Schulze), and March 3, 1935 (to Hedde Schulze), in Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959), pp. 61–62 (quotation), 86 (quotation), 98.

HAMMERSTEIN

Beginning on June 28, 1933, around 250 "protective custody" prisoners were detained in a former military training area at Hammerstein (later Czarne, Poland), located in the Prussian district of Schneidemühl. The camp at Hammerstein was one of the official concentration camps recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. The property itself belonged to the Prussian Finance Ministry, which in April 1933 had the grounds' suitability as a concentration camp for political prisoners evaluated by the Schneidemühl district presidium. At the site, which also included a military training section, a forest rangers' farm, residential buildings, garages, a retraining center, and vacation lodgings, two empty barracks, each with a capacity for 100 men, were determined suitable for

prisoner accommodation. As a result, the Prussian Finance Ministry made the grounds available to the Interior administration, and the Prussian Ministry of Interior made money available for the expansion. The local government in Schneidemühl, in cooperation with the police, the rural district administrator in Schlochau, the fiscal authorities in Neustettin, and the structural engineering office (*Hochbauamt*) in Schlochau, assumed responsibility for the construction of the camp. Construction contracts were given to local construction workers, some furniture items were extracted from the inventory at the military training camp, and other items were delivered by the Berlin and Königsberg police administration as well as by the Norddeutsche Lloyd supply administration. The expansion of the barracks into a prison camp cost 5,800 Reichsmark (RM). The Schlochau rural district office was responsible for the routine administrative work, while the Schneidemühl police directorate oversaw the economic management of the camp.[1]

Citing its proximity to the Polish border, the president of the State Financial Office in Stettin objected to the construction of the concentration camp: "With consideration for the protection of this area in case of complications, in my opinion this site should be kept free of unreliable persons."[2] The Neustettin headquarters (Kommandantur) also raised serious reservations about filling the camp with Communists, because it felt significantly more exposed to the threat of espionage.[3] The Schneidemühl district president, however, supported the building of a concentration camp but did speak out against the suggestion by the Prussian Ministry of Interior to expand the camp's capacity up to 1,000 men. The renovation of more empty barracks would cause a lot of expenses; in addition, they would be difficult to guard due to the tree and shrub population, and the military training courses would no longer be practicable "in a military acceptable manner."[4]

Little is known about the prisoners in Hammerstein. There are only short accounts from two former prisoners, Paul Schulz and Otto Gerdtke.[5] It can be assumed that most of the prisoners came from the small cities and communities of the Posen-West Prussian borderland and were admitted to Hammerstein on the orders of the rural district police departments (i.e., in most cases the rural district administrator) after they had already spent some time imprisoned in the local police stations or local prisons. Later, prisoners from East Prussia and Pomerania also were interned in the camp. Primarily, the prisoners were Communists and other opponents of National Socialism. The type of work they had to carry out is not known, but as the camp existed for only one and a half months, it is assumed that they primarily took part in construction work. In a report before the camp was opened, the district president drew attention to the fact that although there were enough eating utensils, they were "in a condition requiring cleaning. But in my opinion, the necessary cleaning can be carried out by the prisoners themselves."[6]

The provisional Polizeidirektor of Schneidemühl drew up camp rules for Hammerstein, according to which the prisoners had no right to lodge complaints, and if they tried to escape, they would be shot immediately. Once a month the prisoners could write a letter to relatives, but receiving visitors was forbidden. The prisoners were prevented from having any direct contact with the outside world. There were different levels of designated penalties for disobeying camp rules. In addition to inflicting certain random punishments during the daily routines, like punitive service (*Strafdienst*), or showing up to report, there were also various detention punishments: mild detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were kept in solitary confinement but could use books and writing instruments; medium detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were held in uncomfortable conditions with only water and bread; and severe detention (up to 14 days), in which prisoners were kept in a dark cell. On the fourth, eighth, and every third day thereafter the prisoner had a so-called good day, on which he or she received a bed, full rations, and access to fresh air.[7]

There was no systematic murder of prisoners at Hammerstein. Some prisoners, however, did die as a result of torture. Several witnessed the death of the Jewish prisoner Siegmund Salinger, who succumbed as a result of physical abuse at the hands of the SS. Prisoners would also be pulled from their barracks at night and shot while "trying to escape." We also know of the June 30, 1933, murder of Russian revolutionary Wladimir Kotkow, who—along with prisoners Paul Prüfert and Paul Schabe—was murdered by the SS on the way from Hammerstein to Sonnenburg.[8]

In the first two weeks, Polizeileutnant Gieraths ran the camp. He was supposed to train and instruct SS-Sturmführer Furbach and the SS guards. Later, SS-Sturmführer Furbach was named camp commandant, and the camp was handed over to the SS. Up to that point, 10 Polizeiwachtmeister had reinforced the SS guard commando. Later, only SS men were active as guards. Usually they were unemployed men from the area. They were hired on as auxiliary police, under the immediate supervision of the district president, and paid accordingly.[9] The original plan to use SA personnel as camp guards was dropped on the expressed wish of Kurt Daluege, director of the police department in the Prussian Ministry of Interior, as only the SS should now undertake the guarding of all concentration camps. According to statements from former prisoners, camp commandant Furbach and SS-Truppführer Adrian and Deutsch stood out because of their cruelty. Heinz Adrian's violent outbursts, also known as "re-education methods," even led to protests from the foreign press and resulted in his demotion to a "simple" SS-Scharführer and transfer to Sonnenburg concentration camp.[10]

Little is known about everyday life in the camp, but it is doubtful that an independent prisoner culture developed because the camp existed for only a short time, and most of the prisoners did not know each other from earlier political connections.

In the course of the Prussian Ministry of Interior's attempt to centralize the concentration camps, Hammerstein was abandoned. The dissolution of the camp probably took place on August 8, 1933, but in any case before August 14,

1933.[11] The prisoners were either released or transferred to the concentration camps at Sonnenburg or Lichtenburg. After dissolving the concentration camp the site was used as a police training ground and as an SA sports school; beginning in 1939, it became a prisoner-of-war camp.[12]

In 1948, supervisor SS-Truppführer Adrian was sentenced to death by the District Court Schwerin German Democratic Republic [GDR] for abusing prisoners. Primarily, however, this concerned prisoner abuses in the Sonnenburg concentration camp, where he later worked.[13]

SOURCES There are both German and Polish essays about Hammerstein concentration camp: Andrea Rudorff, "'Anhäufung vaterlandsfeidnlicher Elemente': Das Konzentrationslager Hammerstein im Regierungsbezirk Schneidemühl," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 179–185; Andrzej Czarnik, "Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny w Czarnem w 1933 r.," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej 1933–1945*, ed. Andrzej Czechowicz (Koszalin, 1968), pp. 42–48.

There are additional accounts on Hammerstein in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu hitlerowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962).

A comprehensive source base on the construction of the camp is located in the files of the Schneidemühl local government, which are kept in the APP. Occasional notes on Hammerstein can also be found at the BA-B (Sammlung von Häftlingberichten) and in the AAN (Akten des Polnischen Konsulats in Stettin).

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, pp. 3, 7, 23, 41, 61.
2. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
3. Ibid., pp. 30–31.
4. Ibid., pp. 32–33, 37–38.
5. BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Berichte von ehemaligen Häftlingen.
6. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, p. 25.
7. Ibid., p. 64.
8. BA-DH, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stetting, Mikrofilm B-4045, pp. 24–26; Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.
9. APP, Regierung Schneidmühl, pp. 61ff.
10. BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 187.
11. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 91; Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 135.
12. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 93; Czesław Pilichowski, et. al., Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–45: informator encyklopedyczny, Warszawa 1979, pp. 141–142.
13. BA-B, DP 1/SE 3508.

HASSENBERG

The Hassenberg "protective custody" camp existed from April 13 to July 10, 1933. At Hassenberg, opponents of Nazism from the city of Neustadt near Coburg were interned and suppressed. The rural district of Coburg is located on the northern edge of Bavaria. Until 1918 it was an independent duchy in a confederation of three small Thüringen states (Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha). After a plebiscite in 1920, it joined Bavaria. The small city of Neustadt on the edge of the Thüringen Forest, which had approximately 10,000 inhabitants, was rather petit bourgeois and proletarian in contrast to the seat of the duchy Coburg. The majority of the population worked in factories or at home, mostly in the toy and doll industry. They were mostly Protestants in the Thüringen tradition. During the Weimar Republic the workers' parties Social Democratic Party (SPD) and German Communist Party (KPD) played a dominant role in the political and social life in Neustadt.[1]

In the process of consolidating political power, the National Socialists there began to persecute political opponents in March 1933. This included SPD and KPD functionaries and their closely allied associations and clubs, others who were out of favor for political reasons, and individual Jews. At first all political opponents were held in the prison or in specially set up rooms in the town hall or the police caserne in Coburg. They were guarded by SA commandos who supposedly severely mistreated some of the prisoners.

By April 1933, the synchronized Neustadt city council started to make plans for its own protective custody camp, most likely because Coburg's capacity to intern political opponents reached its limits. The right place was found in the former women's prison in Hassenberg, about eight kilometers (five miles) from Neustadt. The building in which the camp was established was situated on a hill in the village of Hassenberg (later part of Sonnefeld, Coburg rural distict) and was visible from afar. For years the prison had been considered a symbol of the state's power. However, this is only partially in accordance with its history. It was established toward the end of the seventeenth century as the castle of a Franconian nobleman. It had three floors. In the middle of the nineteenth century a fourth floor was added, and from 1870 it was used as a prison for women. From the beginning of the twentieth century, it was used as a textile and toy factory; during World War I, part of it was used as an internment camp for civilian prisoners. In 1933, it was owned by a Neustadt small businessman who produced glass wool and similar products in the building. The top floor remained available to be rented by the town of Neustadt.

The rooms on the top floor were used from the middle of April 1933 by the National Socialists to hold their political opponents. A report by the Neustadt police stated: "On 13

April, the 13 prisoners from Neustadt held in Coburg in protective custody were transferred to Hassenberg near Coburg. The Neustadt council has rented rooms in the former castle to intern protective custody prisoners. An SA commando from Neustadt near Coburg will guard the protective custody prisoners."[2] Six of the prisoners were SPD members, five were members of the KPD, and the political affiliations of the remaining prisoners remain unknown. It is not known whether they were subjected to physical or mental torture, but it can be assumed that the common background of the victims and perpetrators kept the mistreatment in check.

An article in the *Coburger Nationalzeitung* (*CoNZ*) on April 15, 1933, gives an idea of how the National Socialists saw the prison. To some extent they considered the imprisonment of their opponents in Hassenberg like a stay in a sanatorium. "The rooms are in every way suitable for their current use. An SA guard unit from Neustadt takes care of security and order. . . . Perhaps now Messieurs Geuss and his companions can reflect in Hassenberg on how they have sinned against the workers over the last years. Other than for the loss of their freedom, the prisoners are in good shape and even 'Reichsbanner Uncle' (*Reichsbanneronkel*) Bender praises their treatment and their food, which is the same as for the guards."[3] Whether the protective custody in Hassenberg really was so harmless, as claimed in the *CoNZ*, cannot be answered.

All in all, probably between 20 and 25 opponents of the Nazis from Neustadt were interned in Hassenberg. They were held for a few weeks. The aim of the National Socialists was to cut them off from political life while the dictatorial National Socialist rule was consolidated. The Hassenberg protective custody camp was dissolved on July 10, 1933. The last 6 prisoners were released with restrictions on where they could live.[4] A few days earlier, at the beginning of July 1933, those Nazi opponents who were regarded as politically more dangerous had been transferred to the Dachau concentration camp, which had become the main concentration camp for south Germany. Here awaited them a longer, more torturous imprisonment. A few of them were allowed to return home only in December 1933.

Toward the end of the Third Reich, the rooms of the Hassenberg camp were used once again by the Nazis. During the last months of the war in 1944–1945, prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were held in the attic of the former castle to develop instruments essential to the war effort for the Reich Postal Research Institute (Reichspostforschungsanstalt).[5]

SOURCES Hassenberg was a small camp that was established during the Nazi consolidation of power in the spring of 1933 near the north Bavarian industrial town of Neustadt. Altogether approximately 20 to 25 opponents of the Nazis were held there for a few weeks. Due to its provisional character, few sources on the camp exist.

The following works are worth mentioning: Helmut Scheuerich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Neustadt bei Coburg: Stadt Neustadt, 1989). The author based his work on the material in the ASt-Ne/Co and knowledgeably depicts the struggles between the Nazis and the workers' parties, the KPD and SPD, at the local level. This analysis benefits from individual archival records in the ASt-Ne/Co, particularly the semimonthly reports of the Neustadt police for the first half of April 1933 and the first of July 1933.

In addition, the *CoNZ* of April 15, 1933, reports about the imprisonment of Nazi opponents from a National Socialist perspective. It mentions the names of two protective custody prisoners.

Information on the history of the building in which the camp was located was obtained from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann.

Horst Thum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Protestant minister in Gnodstadt/Unterfranken. For a long time Hofmann was the local Hassenberg minister and has conducted numerous conversations with his parish about the local history.

2. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33), ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 149.

3. *CoNZ*, April 15, 1933.

4. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg für die Zeit vom 1. bis 15. Juli 1933, ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 169. This report deals with Rudi Hanft, Emil Luthardt, Hans Sonntag (all KPD), Konrad Köhn, Franz Neubauer, and Robert Kehr (party affiliation unclear).

5. Kurt Höfer, "Frühling in Berlin und Hassenberg. Die Tage zwischen Krieg und Frieden" (unpub. autobiographical MSS). MSS in the possession of Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Gnodstadt; see note 1.

HAVELBERG

On May 16, 1933, the SA formed an early concentration camp in a vocational secondary school at Havelberg in Potsdam. The approximately 95 prisoners performed forced labor, first on roads and then in the establishment of the early concentration camp Perleberg. The detainees were officially transferred to the latter camp on May 31, 1933.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Havelberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, which is available in the BLHA.

Joseph Robert White

HEINERSDORF

In early April 1933, the former sport school at Heinersdorf Castle in Prussia/Liegnitz was converted into an early

concentration camp. SA personnel guarded leftist political prisoners. On April 6, in a letter addressed to Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, the deputy chair of the Liegnitz committee of the General Federation of German Trade Unions (ADGB), David Grausurt complained about brutal treatment at Heinersdorf. Grausurt stated:

> It has been reported to us that on the night of the 5th and 6th of April of this year, officials of the SPD and the trade unions, who are in protective custody, were taken from the local police and court prison to the camp of the SA at Heinersdorf and maltreated.
>
> Among these cases of ill-treatment, Mr. Israel and the brothers Kurt and Georg Moser are supposed to have suffered particularly severely.
>
> Most honored Mr. President, we politely request that care be taken that such cases not happen again in the future, and that the sternest investigation is ordered in the cases of last night.
>
> Please permit us to assume that you share our view that it is not permissible to maltreat defenseless prisoners in protective custody.[1]

Two Czechoslovakian nationals were confined at Heinersdorf, which prompted their government to lodge an official complaint.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for Heinersdorf can be found in the Reichsministerium des Inneren papers at BA-BL (R1501). This collection includes the Grausurt letter, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 174).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. David Grausurt, ADGB, Liegnitz, to Reichspräsident von Hindenburg, April 6, 1933, in BA-BL, R1501 (Reichsministerium des Inneren), Nr. 25727, p. 149, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 174.

HEUBERG [AKA STETTEN AM KALTEN MARKT]

After the Reichstag election on March 5, 1933, Reich Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick appointed Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Dietrich von Jagow as Reich commissar for the Württemberg police force. Dr. Frick determined that the maintenance of safety and order was no longer guaranteed in the state of Württemberg, where Eugen Bolz, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei) was acting as prime minister.

Von Jagow began his service on March 10 by forming an auxiliary police force, drawn primarily from members of the SA and SS as well as members of the Stahlhelm. During the night of March 10 and into the next day, the first statewide wave of arrests began in Württemberg. As can be gathered from a secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police of July 1933, "approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in the days from March 10–15, 1933."[1] Due to the fact that the prisons were overfilled, in mid-March von Jagow gave Stuttgart Police President Rudolf Klaiber the orders to set up a "closed concentration camp for political prisoners" on the military training area Heuberg near Stetten am kalten Markt.

On March 20 and 21, "protective custody" prisoners from most of the local prisons and larger municipal prisons in Württemberg were taken to Heuberg.[2]

Already by mid-August it was decided that the Heuberg military training area would be reinstated to full military use, and therefore the Heuberg concentration camp was supposed to be closed by the end of the year. This is why those in charge in Stuttgart decided in October 1933 to prepare the fortress of Oberer Kuhberg as a successor concentration camp.

While releasing prisoners before Christmas, the Heuberg camp was permanently vacated over the course of the month of December. During the second half of December, the remaining prisoners from Baden in the Heuberg camp were taken to the Ankenbuck concentration camp (a former state-owned country estate between Bad Dürrheim and Donaueschingen) and Kislau Castle (near Bad Schönborn in the Karlsruhe area). The remaining 264 prisoners from Württemberg were sent to the Oberer Kuhberg near Ulm. The prisoners in Heuberg came from similar backgrounds as those of other early camps from the time of the "seizure of power." Since the camp only operated in 1933, political prisoners, especially members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its affiliated organizations, made up the vast majority of the prisoners. In addition, there were members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and a few members of other parties, such as the German People's Party (DVP) and the German Democratic Party (DDP). In 1933 it was for the most part still too early for the internment of Catholic priests. As in other early camps, Jewish prisoners were interned not only because of their beliefs and backgrounds; they were also, always, political prisoners. There are references to imprisoned Jehovah's Witnesses ("Ernste Bibelforscher"), but no further information about them is available.

There are likewise few references to other groups of prisoners, like Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), beggars, and "asocials." Various reports mention criminals, but one can assume that their imprisonment at Heuberg was limited to that of singular cases.

In total, between 3,500 and a maximum of 4,000 men from Württemberg, Baden, and Hohenzollern were held prisoner for a certain period of time in the concentration camp. The

Heuberg camp was thus the largest concentration camp in the Reich at the beginning of the takeover.

The camp was under the control of the Stuttgart police presidium and, from the end of April 1933, was controlled by the independent section "Württemberg Political Police," and thus it was always part of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior and therefore a state-run institution.

The guards were from the Württemberg municipal police and the SA men recruited as auxiliary police, who in many cases only first received any training—and a meager preparation at that—upon deployment to Heuberg on the grounds of the SA Sportschule, where they were housed. Former Polizeioberst Gustav Reich led the camp after its opening but handed over the power to former Major Max Kaufmann after only a few days. In April Nazi Party (NSDAP) Kreisleiter and SA-Führer Karl Gustav Wilhelm Buck became camp commandant.

During the 12 years of National Socialist rule, Buck served as commandant in several camps (Heuberg, Kuhberg, Welzheim, Schirmeck). After the war, he was sentenced to death. The sentence, however, was not carried out, and Buck was released from prison in 1955.

Although there is no written documentation and only very sparse and contradictory information exists, the daily routine in the camp was probably as follows: Wake-up at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. (probably summer/winter). Afterward, washing at the water troughs in the yard and breakfast. At 6:30 (in winter probably an hour later), departure for work. The way to work has been variously described, which is probably due to the different places of employment. The path to work could be as long as one and a half hours. Prisoners worked primarily in road construction, in clearings, and in building roll-call areas for the military. Sometimes the prisoners came back at noon and received a bowl of soup before marching back to work. Around 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. they washed at the water troughs and had dinner; there was an irregular and not standardized roll call, then afterward leisure time in the living area. Quiet hours began around 9:00 P.M.. The evening roll call was often incalculable; many times no end was in sight. It could happen that the prisoners were made to stand outside in the freezing cold until well into the night or forced to do knee-bends in the snow. The night's sleep was disturbed from time to time by unexpected attacks from the guards.

The work experience in the Heuberg concentration camp varied among prisoners. Many viewed work as a way to escape the boredom of camp life. Those who were physically fit felt that work in the Heuberg concentration camp was a privilege, since there was not enough work for everyone despite propaganda to the contrary. Many prisoners were simply not up to the physically demanding work of laying down streets and clearing trees. For those who were not used to this physical work, it became torturous.

Work was especially used as a means of oppressing and degrading the prisoners of the "celebrity block" (*Prominentenblock*). They were explicitly not permitted to do "meaningful work"; rather, they had to do punitive labor from time to time. Emptying baskets of pebbles only to recollect the stones, pulling out grass, or splitting wood with dull saws and axes are all examples from the wide range of Sisyphean tasks, which are also known from other early concentration camps. Those in charge used work not only as punishment but also as a way of demonstrating power and humiliating the prisoners.

Cruelty and torture had been part of the everyday life of the Heuberg camp ever since the change in camp leadership from Kaufmann to Buck in mid-April. Roughly two forms of mistreatment can be distinguished at this time: against the body and against the psyche of the prisoners. The body was beaten with wooden clubs and belts and stomped on with police boots. Prisoners were beaten into unconsciousness in the attic or in the "beating cell" (*Schlagzelle*); they were chased up and down the stairs and tortured at the water trough.

The threat of being shot to death led to nervous breakdowns and irreparable psychological damage.

In addition, prisoners were constantly humiliated, which amounted to further psychological attack. The prisoners were made to feel their own powerlessness in order to recognize the power of the rulers. Some prisoners were left with a swastika on their heads after being shorn of their hair; and little swastika-shaped noodles were placed in the soup. A high point of the absolute disregard for any acceptable bounds was illustrated on the occasion when certain prisoners were forced to clean the toilets with toothbrushes.

Violence was exercised unexpectedly and was seldom attributable to a concrete act for which the prisoner could count on a punishment. Many were tortured and humiliated daily and others, virtually not at all. Arbitrariness dominated, and the treatment was often dependent upon the mood of single members of the guard force.

Only one case of murder in the concentration camp has been proven. However, there are clues to a series of other fatalities in the camp. In Heuberg, the death of prisoners was not a clear goal, even if prisoners were threatened daily with death. The murder of Simon Leibowitsch, a Communist of Jewish descent, who succumbed to the results of gruesome torture in Heuberg, demonstrated in September 1933 what would later on be the order of the day in other concentration camps.

SOURCES This text is based on Markus Kienle's book *Das Konzentrationslager Heuberg bei Stetten am kalten Markt* (Ulm: Klemm & Oelschläger, 1998) and the author's article of the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System: Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

After the end of National Socialism, a few prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp put their experiences down in writing. Notable above all are Erich Rossmann, the former SPD leader in Württemberg, *Ein Leben für Sozialismus und Demokratie* (Stuttgart: Wunderlich, 1946); Georg Bayer, *Dabei bis zu den Pyramiden von Miramas* (Tübingen, 1979); and Werner Gross, whose life story was written by Joachim Schlör, *In einer Nazi-Welt lässt sich nicht leben: Werner Gross; Lebensgeschichte eines Antifaschisten* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1991).

Julius Schätzle, himself a prisoner of Heuberg, wrote an account of the early concentration camps in Württemberg and Baden: Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945* (commissioned by the camp community Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim; repr., 1974). This account is based on testimonies by former prisoners immediately after the end of the war.

A complete inventory of files on the Heuberg concentration camp does not exist. All of the records, which were reviewed for the author's research, are scattered in various archives, of which only a small selection is cited here. A complete index can be found in the author's aforementioned book.

The Heuberg concentration camp is mentioned in the documents of the Reich Ministry of Interior (RMdI) in the BA-B. The "secret situation reports of the Württemberg police," which contain important basic information about the Heuberg concentration camp, are also located there. Further references to the majority of prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp can be found in the reparations files, which originated after 1945 within the framework of the trial for compensation of those persecuted under National Socialism. The original files of the reparations trial for Südwürttemberg are located in the StA-S (holding: Wü 33), and for Nordwürttemberg in the StA-L (holding: EL 350).

The main part of the available files are the records (Oberamtsakten) that were created in 1933 on the level of rural district head offices (Oberämter), which are located in the StA-L and StA-S as well as partly in the archives of the rural districts (Kreisarchive). Besides edicts and decrees of the Ministry of Interior, for which the rural district head offices were the recipients, prisoner lists are still available for a few rural district head offices. These lists, which were written down at the instruction of the Ministry of Interior, contain details on the composition of the prisoners, their times of arrest, and their origin. These details had to be ascertained, and copies remained in the records of the rural district head offices. Prisoner reports of varying character are kept in the VVN archive in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK. A "special edition on Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg (Sonderheft Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg)" containing additional important information can be found at the ZdL.

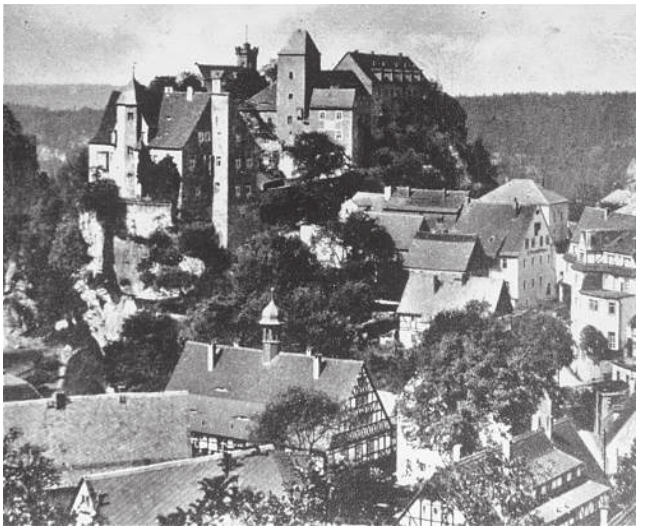
Markus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, Juli 1933, 22/23, BA-P, R 13/255734.
2. AKr-RM, A6 Bü Po.

HOHNSTEIN

On March 14, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hohnstein Castle. Located on a mountain peak in Saechsische Schweiz, the castle had served as a youth hostel during the 1920s. The early camp had 439 detainees on April 12, 1933, and 600 in August 1933. In total, Hohnstein had



Hohnstein concentration camp, 1933–34.
USHMM WS # 63216, COURTESY OF DÖW

5,600 prisoners by August 1934. The predominantly Communist prisoner population also included Social Democrats, Jews, Christians, and intellectuals; a few Czechoslovakian, French, and Polish citizens; and one person of African descent. Approximately 400 teenaged and 109 female detainees were also imprisoned at this camp. In May, June, and August 1933, Hohnstein admitted prisoners from dissolved Saxon camps at Struppen, Königsbrück, Königstein, Bautzen (Kupferhammer), and Hainewalde. Additional detainees came from the Sachsenburg concentration camp and the Bautzen prison complex. Several persons arrested during the Night of the Long Knives entered the camp in June and July 1934. A total of 140 people died at Hohnstein. Among the suicide victims were Emmerich Ambross, Kurt Glaser, Gerhard Schubert, and Pastor Rudolf Stempel. In September 1933, the SA murdered Eugen Frisch, editor of the *Volkszeitung für Vogtland*, during a transport to Hohnstein.[1]

SA-Sturmbannführer Rudolf Jähnichen was camp commandant, and his deputy was SA-Sturmbannführer Friedrich. The adjutant was SA-Sturmführer Heinicker. The 90-member guard force included the SA-Sturm 177 from Pirna and the SA-Stürme 5, 14, 22, 23, and 25 from Dresden SA-Standarte 100. The guards devised novel methods to torment detainees, including an apparatus for water torture.[2] Certain staff members were accused of sexually molesting male and female prisoners.[3]

The SA forced detainees to perform penal exercises and sing nationalist or Nazi songs. New arrivals were normally held in House IV and put through two weeks of unceasing abuse.[4] According to an anonymous account, the detainees performed "calesthenics, knee bends, and military exercises: drop, stand up, drop, stand up . . . and in the stomach only a little bit of water and a little piece of bread."[5] Compounding the prisoners' misery was a shoe shortage, which forced many to exercise in stocking feet. According to Otto Urban,

imprisoned at Hohnstein from November 1933 to June 1934, "sport" did not cease with initiation, because Sundays were reserved for camp exercise. Neither the physically infirm nor wounded veterans were exempt.[6]

Another anonymous prisoner, identified as a Social Democrat, described a typical day during the camp's early months. At dawn the prisoners gave the Hitler salute and offered a prayer for the Fatherland. After breakfast, they sang the "Horst Wessellied" and exercised. After three hours of work, they ate a noon meal of bread and soup. Twice weekly meat was served with this meal. After completing two more hours of penal exercises, the prisoners had an indoctrination class, with more singing of the "Horst Wessellied." The day closed with the singing of the "Deutschlandlied."[7]

After completing the two-week initiation, Hohnstein inmates performed forced labor. The early detachments hauled sand and wood from nearby forests into the camp or constructed barracks inside the castle.[8] In order to build roads connecting the castle and town, the camp imported 250 prisoners from Sachsenburg, including Urban, on November 29, 1933.[9]

A few detainees worked or remained inside the camp. These prisoners wore special armbands color-coded by function: foreigners (red), skilled craftsmen (green), camp elders (yellow), the sick (blue), and camp functionaries (white). For security concerns, "Reds" were not permitted on external work details. It is not clear what work they performed. "White" included musicians, canteen attendants, or "staff swings." Otto Urban defined a *swing* as a "boy, cleaner, chamber servant, or however you will call it." "Whites," "Greens," and "Yellows" had the run of the camp, and only high-ranking SA issued orders to "Whites." Hohnstein prisoners all wore a crew cut, except for "Whites." On January 22, 1934, Urban became a swing for Jähnichen, Friedrich, Heinicker, Küchler, Schupp, and Flott.[10]

At a given time, Hohnstein held between 25 and 44 female detainees, whose ages ranged from 16 to 60. The women were confined to a single room. Many were hostages taken after their husbands escaped the Reich. Most of the women worked in the camp laundry; two exceptions were Frau Schulz and Eva Knabe, who painted portraits for the camp staff. Hohnstein's lack of female guards contributed to the concerns about sexual misconduct by the staff.[11]

Hohnstein had two bunkers and a standing cell for close arrest. Located beneath Houses I and IV, the bunkers had low ceilings without fresh air or illumination. Bunker inmates subsisted on bread and water. According to Urban, SA guards Walther and Sauer dispatched a swing, Miede, to a bunker after discovering his notes about Hohnstein guards. In the standing cell, a prisoner could neither lie nor sit down. A 22-year-old woman endured six days' confinement in this cell.[12]

Hohnstein's most prominent visitor was Saxon Gauleiter Martin Mutschmann. In the company of almost 100 dignitaries, he participated in the ritual humiliation of a prisoner, the Saxon Social Democratic minister Liebmann. Mutschmann brought a transcript of Liebmann's address to the Saxon parliament especially for the occasion. The minister was forced to read it for the Nazis' amusement. After the spectacle ended, the guards beat him.[13]

On June 30, 1934, during the Night of the Long Knives, a small number of right-wing prisoners were sent to Hohnstein. Among them was Saxon Stahlhelm leader Prince Ernst Heinrich of the Wettin family, who was held for five days. After receiving a uniform, he was placed in "honorary custody," presumably because of his title. Upon release, the camp billed the prince 176.50 Reichsmark (RM) for five days' detention.[14]

Hohnstein prisoners resisted in several ways. First, the local underground organization, United Climbing Detachment (VKA), quietly exchanged information with and distributed illegal newspapers among Hohnstein prisoners assigned to road details. The police caught VKA members Kurt Bretschneider, Alfred Richter, and Karl Täubrich, however, and placed them in the camp. Second, in the clerk's office, the former editor of the *Dresdener Volkszeitung* (DrVZ), Sieber, sneaked detainees' mail past camp censors. Finally, in the event of a "mass liquidation," certain prisoners planned a mass escape, with the goal of fleeing to the nearby Czechoslovakian border. Although this plan was never implemented, approximately 30 prisoners successfully escaped from Hohnstein.[15] After each flight, the SA imposed two weeks of penal exercises and a smoking ban on the camp's remaining prisoners. In June 1934, Jähnichen discontinued the smoking bans because the collective punishment hurt the canteen, which enjoyed a monopoly on tobacco and alcohol sales.[16]

Under the new SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), Hohnstein was closed on August 25, 1934. It is not known where the remaining detainees were dispatched, but Sachsenburg was the most likely destination.

In spring of 1935, the state court of Dresden convicted Jähnichen and 24 others for the torture of Hohnstein detainees. Under pressure from Gauleiter Mutschmann to reduce or dismiss the sentences, Reich Justice Minister Franz Gürtner commented: "Such oriental sadism as these atrocities could find no explanation or excuse, even in the most bitter struggle."[17] In an example of Nazi antisemitism's effect on the German judicial system in the months before the enactment of the Nuremberg Racial Laws, Gürtner proposed the lowering of Jähnichen's prison sentence. He reasoned that Jähnichen's torture of the Jewish prisoner Ambross, who subsequently committed suicide, was excusable because the victim in question was a "race defiler."[18] Gürtner's pleas for punishing the Hohnstein guards fell on deaf ears. Hitler dismissed all Hohnstein-related verdicts and proceedings.[19]

Between 1946 and 1949, the Soviet Military Administration and the German Democratic Republic tried 83 Hohnstein guards in four legal proceedings. Most defendants were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement. The highest-ranking administrators, including Jähnichen, were not among them, although the Soviets executed Heinicker without trial in 1950.[20]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Gün-

ther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief entry can be found in Wolfgang Benz, s.v. "Hohnstein (KZ)," in *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml, and Hermann Weiss (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997). See also Klaus Drobisch, "Frühe Konzentrationslager," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60. Another helpful source is Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), believes that Hohnstein may have had a camp orchestra. About Hohnstein Castle, including the protective custody camp, see "Geschichte der Burg Hohnstein," at Naturfreundehaus, Burg Hohnstein, www.nfh.de/burg/gesch.htm. The most important sources for the Hohnstein trials are Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich*, *1933–1940: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001); and Annette Weinke, "Dem 'Klassengegner' hingegeben? Die Dresdner Prozesse gegen das SA-Wachpersonal des 'Schutzhaft'-Lagers Hohnstein," in *Münchner Platz*, *Dresden: Die Strafjustiz der Diktaturen und der historische Ort*, ed. Norbert Haase and Birgit Sack, with Gerald Hacke (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2001), pp. 153–170. Weinke focuses on the preparations for the Arlet trial.

Primary documentation for Hohnstein begins with the testimony of Otto Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 217–238. As a swing, Urban was unusually well situated to report on the camp administration. His account revealed the guards' debauched behavior, one possible source of postwar misconceptions about Nazi perpetrators. A second, anonymous testimony appeared in "SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer*, *unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936). German Communists smuggled this *Tarnschrift* (disguised anti-Nazi publication) into Germany during the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The anonymous Social Democrat's account was published in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290. Another helpful testimony is Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen's *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968). As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, documentation on the Hohnstein population includes File No. 4842 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. As cited by Schmeitzner, the August 1933 population figure may be found in File No. 8186, also in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. On Eugen Frisch's death, see "Unsere Totenlist! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder," *DF*, July 19, 1934. The Gürtner correspondence can be found in documents 783, 785–788, and 3,791 PS, reproduced in the International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:321–327 and 33:56–63. Useful reports on Hohnstein's female detainees are Käte Kenta's articles, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 100–104; and "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238. The second is an excerpted brochure, which appears to be a fictional synthesis of eyewitness accounts. The exile weekly magazine, *DNW* published numerous anti-Nazi articles of various political views in the period from April 6, 1933, to August 31, 1939. The VVN published two accounts of resistance at Hohnstein, *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948) and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), which are excerpted in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). Schmidt does not explain whether these sources were primary or secondary. The imprimatur and early publication dates strongly suggest that they were probably written by former Communist detainees. The 21 sentences issued in the Arlet trial (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48) may be found in Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965). Following East German practice, only the defendants' first names and last initials are provided. As cited in Weinke, the trial of Hohnstein guard Helmut Haupold is Case No. 1 Ks 35/46. The remaining two trials against Hohnstein defendants, cited by Weinke without case numbers, were *Kurt Stachowski alias Staak*, *et al.* (1949), with 30 defendants, and *Felix Sikora*, *et al.* (1949), with 31 defendants. The Hohnstein camp is listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, which placed the camp population at 600.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, (August 27, 1933; Otto Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 217, 231, 233; "Unsere Totenliste! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder," *DF*, July 19, 1934.

2. Document 785-PS, Franz Gürtner, Unsigned Memorandum for Adolf Hitler on Hohnstein Proceeding (n.d.), in International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:313; hereafter *TMWC*.

3. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 221, 234; Käte Kenta, "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238.

4. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," p. 227.

5. "SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p.

6. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 223, 228; Document 785–PS, p. 312.

7. World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290.

8. Ibid., p. 289.

9. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 217, 219.

10. Ibid., pp. 219, 221, 223–224.

11. Ibid., pp. 233–235; Käte Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 101–102; Kenta, "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 236.

12. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 220, 227, 230; Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 103.

13. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 229, 236.

14. Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen, *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968), pp. 221, 223–225.

15. *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948), n.p., and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), n.p., excerpted in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 293–294.

16. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 222–223.

17. Document 783-PS, Gürtner to Mutschmann, January 18, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26:301.

18. Document 785-PS, p. 313.

19. Document 3791-PS, Gürtner to Frick, May 14, 1935, in *TMWC*, 33:56–63; Document 787-PS, Gürtner to Hitler, June 18, 1935; Document 786-PS, Kaulbach to Gürtner, November 29, 1935; and Document 788-PS, Meissner to Gürtner, June 25 and September 9, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26: 321–327.

20. For the sentences from the trial of *Paul Arlet, et al.* (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48), see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965), p. 35.

KISLAU

Kislau Castle, which was to become Baden's first concentration camp, is situated about 20 miles north of Karlsruhe. In the eighteenth century it was used as a residence by the bishop of Speyer and, after secularization, as a state prison. On April 23, 1933, the local Nazi daily, *Der Führer*, announced the establishment of a "protective custody" camp for North Baden on the castle grounds, while the manor house continued to be used as a men's workhouse (*Arbeitshaus*), as it was for the previous 50 years. There was a close relationship between the two institutions. This is illustrated by the fact that they not only shared a common interim administration; they also shared a rather lax division of inmates—for example, political prisoners and inmates of the Arbeitshaus labored together at some of Kislau's several workshops. Even the Baden administration had problems differentiating between the two institutions and continued to send political prisoners to Kislau long after the protective custody camp had been closed down. During its existence, the concentration camp remained under the jurisdiction of the Baden Ministry of Interior, even though most other concentration camps at the time came under the control of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).

Baden's first concentration camp was established as a protective custody camp for political adversaries. However, it also served as a model camp and place of detention, especially for Social Democrats and Communists, whom Gauleiter Robert Wagner regarded as his personal enemies. Wagner used the shooting of two policemen by the Freiburg Social Democrat Christian Nussbaum, who had panicked during a police visit to his home, as the pretext to arrest most members of the regional political Left. On May 16, 1933, seven prominent Social Democrats, among them the country's former ministers Adam Remmele (Interior) and Ludwig Marum (Justice), were brought to Kislau from Karlsruhe, where they were paraded on the back of an open truck. Their journey along the main street of Karlsruhe was met by a howling and hissing mob of spectators. The regional Nazi papers commented that "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust" ("Hiking is the Miller's Pleasure"),[1] a quotation from an old German folk song, which alluded to the former profession of Adam Remmele. The few people who protested about this public humiliation, such as Albert Nachmann, a lawyer and former partner of Marum, risked joining their colleagues on the truck. Marum and his comrades made up 7 of the 65 political prisoners who arrived at camp Kislau during May and June 1933. This was roughly the average number of inmates held at the camp at any one time, although in 1937 the total peaked at 173. Due to the camp's limited capacity, several prisoners had to be sent to the Heuberg camp at Württemberg and later even to Dachau. Meanwhile, Kislau also became a transit camp for Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and others viewed as undesirables by the Nazis, who had served sentences in state prisons and were "being sent into 'protective custody'" at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald. In December 1934, returning German Foreign Legionnaires were temporarily imprisoned at Kislau as potential French spies and underwent questioning as well as indoctrination for 4 to 12 weeks.[2] As a result, the former Legionnaires worked alongside the other inmates in the camp's workshops, making baskets, brushes, shoes, and clothing or alternatively working in the kitchens and gardens or farming Kislau's 270 acres. Although the products were of interest to local companies in neighboring Mingolsheim and Bruchsal, there is nothing to suggest that any firms or institutions profited from the labor of prisoners. The working day at Kislau lasted from quarter past seven in the morning until bedtime at eight o'clock. Camp inmates had about one and a half hours of spare time. They could write and receive letters once a fortnight and receive visits once a week



SA and SS personnel take seven SPD prisoners to Kislau concentration camp, in a staged procession along Kaiserstrasse in Karlsruhe, May 16, 1933. Among the prisoners is SPD Reichstag member Ludwig Marum, who was murdered at Kislau on March 29, 1934.
USHMM WS # 04034, COURTESY OF YIVO

from a single family member, a priest, or a local Bruchsal physician. Remmele was even released on parole for several days to attend the funeral of his wife.

Kislau was neither the model camp Nazi propaganda made it out to be nor a camp with a high mortality rate. The only documented death was the murder of Marum on the night of March 29, 1934, on the orders of the Gauleitung. Among the executioners sent by Wagner were the vice-commander of the camp, Karl Sauer, and the leader of the guards, Heinrich Stix. Together they strangled Marum in his cell and then hung him from a window bar to make the murder look like a suicide. Nazi officials claimed that the former minister had suffered from depression, as he could not hope to be released from Kislau.[3] However, Marum's family and friends never accepted this version of events and had the corpse secretly examined by a physician who was able to ascertain the real cause of Marum's death. The perpetrators also helped to undermine the official version of events by talking about their crime in public.[4]

On the night of the murder, camp commander Franz Konstantin Mohr (1882–1950) was away on holiday. Mohr, who was a former member of the colonial troops in southwest Africa and who later retired from the police as a captain, seems to have been on bad terms with the SA and SS guards whom he detested for being brutal and primitive. This attitude was already in evidence at his previous post, Baden's second concentration camp, Ankenbuck. Mohr went to Kislau on June 7, 1933, and stayed there until his move to the Administration of Justice in 1937. For the last two years of this period, he was also director of the workhouse. The reason he gave on his application to the Baden administration for wanting this move was: "I don't want to spend the rest of my youth among the beggars, tramps and Jews imprisoned here."[5] While some of the prisoners described Mohr as comparatively humane, working relationships between officials and the administration seem to have suffered due to his overbearing behavior.

Commander Mohr's relationship with the 18 SA and SS guards of the concentration camp was tense. However, these Nazi activists were not the only guard personnel at Kislau. At the various work sites, political prisoners normally encountered guards who had worked and even lived at the workhouse for decades. Some of these guards, who were comparatively older, seemed to have been less watchful and turned a blind eye to inmates' dealings in tobacco.[6] At least one spectacular escape from the camp was documented. In October 1933, the Communist functionary Robert Klausmann not only escaped imprisonment but also managed to flee to France. In reaction to this, the camp commander proposed installing higher fences but could not obtain the necessary resources for such a move.[7]

The Marum murder was brought to court at Karlsruhe in 1948. The main perpetrator, Sauer, received a life sentence, while his two surviving accomplices both served long terms of imprisonment.[8] Mohr as well as the Kislau guards merely had to undergo denazification.

SOURCES Published literature on the Kislau concentration camp is scarce. Jürgen Stude provides a small chapter on North Baden's concentration camp in his *Geschichte der Juden im Landkreis Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1990), pp. 185–189, 317–318; Ursula Krause-Schmitt et al. include a cursory article in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Baden-Württemberg I: Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 52–56. *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002), includes a contribution on KZ Kislau by Angela Borgstedt.

Kislau was subordinated to the Baden Ministry of Interior, the source material of which was nearly completely destroyed at the end of World War II. However, fragments can be detected in other record groups such as the Ministry of State or the Ministry of the Attorney General, which are preserved at the GLA-K (GLA 233/28351; 237/36353 and 508/425–429; 309/4807–4824 as well as 309/Zug. 1987/54). The prisoners' files from Kislau's times as a state prison in the nineteenth century till the end of World War II are deposited in their own record group (521/Zug. 1982/48), and those of the guards can be found among the personal documents of Baden's judicial officers (240/Zug. 1997/38). Further information on them can be obtained from their denazification files (e.g., 465a/51/12/14998; 465a/51/68/664; 465a/51/68/863; 465a/51/69/84). Camp commander Franz K. Mohr's career can be reconstructed from his different personnel files (444/Zug. 1983/65; 465e/1164; 466/12819).

Angela Borgstedt

NOTES

1. *DFü*, May 16, 1933; *DA*, May 17, 1933.
2. GLA-K, 309/Zug. 1987/54, no. 723.
3. "Suicide of the Jew Marum," *DFü*, March 29, 1934, evening edition.
4. GLA-K, 465a/51/69/84; 465a/51/68/664; and 480 EK 7700.
5. Letter by Mohr, dated August 16, 1935, GLA, 466/12819.
6. GLA-K, 240/Zug. 1997/38, nos. 2053–2055.
7. GLA-K, 311/Zug. 1992/15, no. 621.
8. GLA-K, 309/4807–4824. The sentence is partly published in *Ludwig Marum: Briefe aus dem KZ*, ed. Elizabeth Marum-Lunau Kislau and Jörg Schadt, 2nd ed. (1984; Karlsruhe, 1988), pp. 150–158.

KLEVE

On April 1, 1933, the SA and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the prison at Kleve near Aachen.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); see also Johannes Tuchel, "Organisationsgeschichte der 'frühen' Konzentrationslager," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 9–27.

Primary documentation for Kleve consists of an ITS entry in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:224.

Joseph Robert White

KÖLN (BONNER WALL)

The detention center at Bonner Wall 114–120 came into being on the grounds of a former prison fortress dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. Originally used as a military detention center, the building had already served as a prison in the 1920s until it was shut down due to economic reasons in 1930.[1] The Bonner Wall was located at the southern edge of the inner city, flanked by a railroad line. The use of the building for the accommodation of political prisoners between 1933 and 1934, however, was not concealed from the population.[2]

On March 4, 1933, the Cologne police presidium put the Bonner Wall into operation on a "provisional basis."[3] The authorization was triggered by the mass arrest of Communist functionaries after the Reichstag Fire. More detention space was evidently needed for housing "protective custody" prisoners after the Cologne prison Klingelpütz (see Early Camps/Köln (Klingelpütz)) became overcrowded and could no longer take in any political prisoners.

No exact information exists on the number of prisoners and staff at Bonner Wall. While during the 1920s up to 400 people were supposedly interned on the premises, a report from 1936 speaks of 200 detention places.[4] This corresponded to the capacity of the central fortress building.[5] The capacity limit appears to have been reached for the first time in mid-April 1933 at the latest. Thus, prisoners from Bonner Wall had to be transferred to out-of-town prisons.[6] As protective custody prisoners were coming and going during the following months, several hundred men may have passed through the prison.

Generally, prisoners remained incarcerated for several weeks before they were deported to camps such as the Brauweiler workhouse (*Arbeitsanstalt*), the Emsland moor camps, or the Sonnenburg camp.[7] Some of the prisoners were handed over to courts at the initiation of proceedings or temporarily to the local Gestapo office for interrogation. Thus, the police prison at Bonner Wall served as a kind of assembly camp for the Cologne area. From here, political prisoners were allocated to local institutions and larger, national camps.

In the early months of the Nazi regime, terror in the Cologne area was mainly directed at members of the German Commu-

nist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations. Thus, this group comprised the majority of prisoners at Bonner Wall.[8] From late June 1933 onward, after the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had been banned, Social Democrats were also incarcerated.[9] According to eyewitness accounts, the Cologne police also sent several Jewish residents of Cologne, who previously had been victims of antisemitic riots by SA and SS, to the police prison in early April.[10] In exceptional cases, members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) would also be taken into custody at Bonner Wall for "behavior damaging to the Party."[11] There are no indications that female prisoners were interned at Bonner Wall.

Detailed information about the prison staff is lacking. Evidently, the local detention site at Klingelpütz provided personnel to take care of cooking and medical attendance for the prisoners.[12] The Cologne police were in charge of guarding the prisoners; it remains unclear whether the camp received support from the local auxiliary police. The police prison appeared, however, to be accessible to members of the NSDAP and its suborganizations. Evidence suggests that besides the police, members of the SS and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) delivered and interrogated prisoners at Bonner Wall.[13]

Indeed, the police prison was not a torture site per se, for "detailed interrogations" were generally carried out in the Gestapo office at the Cologne police presidium on Krebsgasse, where most abuses and extortions of statements took place. According to contemporary witnesses, prisoners at Bonner Wall were nevertheless assaulted, primarily by party formations.[14] In view of the high fluctuation of inmates, it is not very likely that a permanent prisoner aid organization came into being. As in many other protective custody sites in 1933, however, it seems that the prisoners at Bonner Wall informed one another about the situation outside the prison walls, talked about their experiences with the police and the party, and coordinated their statements. This was evidently aided by the prison's construction, which allowed some cells to hold 15 prisoners.[15] After Klingelpütz stopped admitting protective custody prisoners in the early fall of 1933, the police prison at Bonner Wall temporarily became the central protective custody site in Cologne. When the camp system was centralized, however, it too was shut down on March 26, 1934. The remaining prisoners were moved to Klingelpütz, where they presumably awaited transfer to pretrial confinement or transportation to other prison sites.[16]

After 1945, the State Attorney's Office neither investigated the Bonner Wall police prison's role as a camp for political prisoners nor the reported prisoner abuses. Judicial authorities in Cologne initiated several investigations and conducted trials dealing with police arrests and terror measures after the Nazi seizure of power.[17] They concentrated, however, on events at the Cologne Gestapo office in the former police presidium and did not include Bonner Wall.

SOURCES The police prison at Bonner Wall is mentioned in a general survey of the history of the camps: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74. Various articles about National Socialism in Cologne refer to the prison as well: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361. All references are rather short, at times inaccurate, and rarely exceed a mention of the camp. The most detailed reference is Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), pp. 80, 82.

The nature of the sources accounts for the few references to Bonner Wall in the secondary literature. Original records exist only from the time of the Weimar Republic: NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216–219. Since the Cologne district president, the Cologne police presidium, and the local Gestapo office hardly left any relevant documents behind, the prison's role during the Nazi period is poorly documented. The reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapa (BA-B, R 58) and the reports of the Cologne State Attorney's Office to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21—also do not explicitly mention the police prison at Bonner Wall. One thus has to rely on selective references in the files of the Cologne general state attorney (NWHStA-(D), Düsseldorf Gerichte Rep. 22), in records of the rural district office (NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365), but primarily in accounts of former protective custody prisoners. Books by former prisoners are relevant sources: Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979). Also testimonies from postwar trials in Cologne: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231. In addition, there are relevant collections of contemporary witness interviews at the HAStK (Best. 1344) and the NS-Dok (Best. Z). Due to the complex situation with regard to sources, it is possible that new material will be discovered in the future. Additional information might possibly be found in the prisoner files of the Cologne penitentiary (NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132) or in the records of contemporaneous political trials against Communists and Social Democrats.

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. For the early history, see NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216; *KöSa*, December 3, 1930; HAStK, Best. 903/94, p. 114.

2. *WdtB*, July 27, 1933; Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979), p. 41.

3. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 04.03.1933, in NS-Dok, *NbStPVK*.

4. Polizeipräsident Köln an Regierungspräsident Köln vom 20.10.1921 und 6.12.1926, in NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; Strafanstaltsoberdirektor Köln an Generalstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.10.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 321/875, p. 52.

5. See Bericht vom 12.7.1919, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216, p. 150.

6. Strafanstaltsvorsteher Trier an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 14.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 34; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

7. Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 3; Aussage des Ludwig F. vom 09.04.1952, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, pp. 9, 41, 185. References also in ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler 15113 and 15114.

8. See DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 41; and the various references in HAStK, Best. 1344.

9. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365; and NS-Dok, Z 10029.

10. Statement of Helene F. vom 08.08.1946, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/120, 4R; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

11. See Strafanzeige des Josef H. vom 27.03.1935, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1473, p. 1; Gesuch des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift), in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

12. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 04.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 179; Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert L. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 9.

13. DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 185; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

14. See note 13 and NS-Dok, Z 10013.

15. NSDAP-Reichsleitung an Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, Abt. III vom 16.01.1934, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 103; Aussage des Josef B. vom 12.11.1951, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, 30R.

16. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 26.03.1934, in NS-Dok, *NbStPVK*.

17. Vgl. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/229, pp. 275–299, 460–461.

KÖLN (KLINGELPÜTZ)

The Cologne "Klingelpütz," the central court prison for Cologne since 1838, not only served as a regular penitentiary under the Nazis but also temporarily functioned as a detention site for political "protective custody" prisoners during the period of mass arrests following February 28, 1933.

The Cologne penitentiary's administration and the correctional bureau, which at this time still supervised the penal system in the southern Rhine province, were responsible for accommodating the new prisoners. The police apparatus, however, was not without influence over prison conditions. A higher police leader in the West (Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen) had been appointed a coordinating position for the Rhineland and Westphalia provinces in October 1932. Not only did he collect data on organizations, personnel, and activities of the leftist workers' movements; he was also, as a February 11, 1933, decree from Prussian Minister of Interior Hermann Göring stipulated, special commissar in charge of allocating protective custody prisoners to individual detention sites. He also attempted to provide unified guidelines for the treatment of prisoners. These special responsibilities were soon rescinded, however, and taken over by the interior administration in June 1933.[1]

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison began on March 1, 1933. On this day the penitentiary reported the admission of 170 "radical left-wing" political prisoners.[2] After further arrivals, the prison reached its highest occupancy in April 1933 with around 350 prisoners, before leveling off in May and June to an average number of 220, including 10 to 20 women. As an additional 800 to 850 prisoners and detainees were being held at Klingelpütz, and the prison at this time was designed for 975 inmates, constant overcrowding prevailed. The local judiciary administration reacted by moving regular prisoners to the local jails or suspending the sentences of minor offenders, demanding a ban on admittances for further protective custody prisoners or requesting relocation from Klingelpütz to other detention sites.[3] Some of the prisoners were also transported to the Brauweiler camp northwest of Cologne.

The protective custody prisoners at Klingelpütz did not come exclusively from the municipal area. A large number came from the cities around the Cologne region. According to several surviving lists of names from the administrative district, the prisoners were almost exclusively members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations, the Communist Youth (Kommunistische Jugend), the Red Labor Union Opposition (Rote Gewerkschaftsopposition), Red Help (Rote Hilfe), or the Fighting League against Fascism (Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus). After the first wave of arrests, ordinary KPD members, members of workers' sports clubs, or representatives of clubs and culture organizations associated with the KPD occasionally were interned.[4] Members and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Unions (Freie Gewerkschaften) were in the minority. In the second week of March, however, several prominent Cologne Social Democrats were sent to Klingelpütz. As symbolic figures of the SPD and the "Weimar system," they had previously been arrested and at times been severely abused by SA and SS units. Among them were former Cologne police chief Otto Bauknecht, city councilors Dr. Ernst Fresdorf and Johannes Meerfeld, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* Hugo Efferoth, and Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann.[5] Occasionally, members of the Catholic milieu were also interned. In addition to the politically active university professor Benedikt Schmittmann, several people in leading positions in local authorities or businesses during the Weimar Republic were detained on the basis of usually groundless accusations of corruption.[6]

The prison administration incarcerated all prisoners in the C-wing of Klingelpütz, which had been made available by relocating other prisoners and crowding cells with multiple occupants. Prison officials took over supervising the prisoners and in principle were supposed to follow the traditional penitentiary rules.[7] Due to the increased workload, however, four assistants were hired.[8] In contrast to other penal institutions, such as in the Düsseldorf district, for instance, neither state police officers nor the auxiliary police had significant influence on conditions in the protective custody wing. Indeed, a security detachment consisting of a regular police officer and eight auxiliary policemen was created at the prison in early March. Yet they were only to be put into action in cases of unrest inside the prison or outside attacks.[9]

Due to the deployment of penal institution officers in the protective custody wing, violent outbursts and harassment of the prisoners appear not to have occurred. At least in the accounts from contemporary witnesses, there are no references to mistreatment.[10] Medical treatment for the prisoners was also ensured at Klingelpütz, while the lack of sanitary conditions can be primarily explained by the old age of the penitentiary.[11] Traces of Nazi terror were always present, however, as the local Gestapo consistently brought prisoners to the penitentiary with clearly visible injuries. In addition, the prison sickbay admitted victims of abuse by Nazi Party (NSDAP) units, for example, from the Braunes Haus on Mozartstrasse.[12]

As far as prison conditions allowed, the protective custody prisoners used the time in Klingelpütz to catch up on the situation in the city's workers' quarters with the newly arrived prisoners, evaluated the political situation, and developed strategies for Gestapo interrogations. In early March, around 40 KPD prisoners collectively took action and protested against the unlawful imprisonment and revocation of their voting right for the upcoming Reichstag and local elections with a hunger strike. After talks with the prison administration, however, the strike ended after a few days.[13]

While some of the few "prominent" prisoners were able to leave Klingelpütz after only a short time, most of the remaining prisoners spent several months in protective custody. In the course of the reorganization and centralization of the camp system, prisoners were released in a more systematic way. Thus, the better part of the protective custody prisoners from the Cologne rural district were set free in several waves, beginning in August 1933.[14] In the course of these releases, the protective custody wing at Klingelpütz was gradually emptied. It cannot be determined precisely when it was finally shut down. Yet since a directive from the Prussian Ministry of Interior from October 14, 1933, allowed no further admittance of protective custody prisoners to local penal institutions, it is likely that Klingelpütz was closed in late October or early November 1933.[15] In 1934, the penitentiary still reported one protective custody prisoner, kept there with special permission.[16]

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison was resumed once again toward the end of World War II.[17] As the Cologne Gestapo required more detention space, it set up its own section for state police prisoners in Wing III of the penitentiary in November 1944. At first it was designated as a "reception center" (*Auffangstelle*) or "auxiliary police prison" (*Polizeihilfsgefängnis*).[18] A state police officer headed the section. At his disposal were several guards and a few prisoners as trustees. The prison administration had no influence on the conditions in the "Gestapo wing" (*Gestapoflügel*). As the other parts of the complex were for the most part unusable after air raids, the administration gave up Klingelpütz and moved most of the regular judicial prisoners to the Siegburg and Rheinbach penitentiaries in November 1944.[19] In contrast, the Cologne Gestapo's mass arrests led to extreme overcrowding in the Gestapo wing. A contemporary witness estimated that on average 500 prisoners were incarcerated here. In November 1944, this number rose to 800 prisoners, so that in some cases up to 14 people shared a single cell. The inmates were designated as "political" or "criminal" prisoners. Reasons for imprisonment were membership in a resistance group, "remarks hostile to the state" (*staatsfeindliche Äußerungen*), "crimes related to the war economy" (*Kriegswirtschaftsverbrechen*), or "gang formation" (*Bandenbildung*). The majority were foreign laborers who were imprisoned on "racial" grounds and often for minor offenses. They awaited further transport to a concentration camp or to the Gestapo office at Elisenstrasse, a major Gestapo execution site since 1944. Until early March 1945, several hundred Klingelpütz prisoners, most of them foreigners, were presumably killed this way. In the Gestapo wing, poor nutrition, catastrophic hygienic conditions, a typhus epidemic, and the physical terror of the guard personnel resulted in several fatalities. At the end of May 1945, the American military authorities found seven bodies in the inner courtyard of the prison, which evidently had been buried there in February 1945.

Similar to inmates of other Cologne camps, prisoners at the Klingelpütz Gestapo wing were evacuated to the right bank of the Rhine as the Allies drew closer. In the first days of March, prisoners still able to walk were transported by foot to the Wipperfürth and Hunswinkel labor education camps in the Upper Bergische region; around 80 prisoners, most of whom were ill with typhus, stayed at Klingelpütz. They were liberated on March 7, 1945.

After the war, there were several preliminary proceedings against members of the guard personnel and the prison physician at Klingelpütz.[20] Due to a lack of suspicion or evidence, however, the investigations were discontinued. They focused on a complex of crimes, such as the use of Klingelpütz as an execution site for inmates and Night-and-Fog prisoners, or Gestapo crimes committed during the final period of the war. The internment of protective custody prisoners in 1933, however, remained unmentioned.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history and camp memorials make reference to the role of Klingelpütz during the Nazi period: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie

Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), pp. 73–74; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 570–571; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Köln: Emons, 1999), pp. 101–102. Also, various contributions on National Socialism in Cologne mention Klingelpütz: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 11; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), p. 263; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HAStK* (Cologne: HAStK, 1974), p. 366. Publications on Cologne judicial history also touch on this topic: Leo Günter, "Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des alten 'Klingelpütz' in Köln," *ZfSV* 11 (1962): 32–45; Adolf Klein, "Strafvollzug in Köln," in *Rheinische Justiz. Geschichte und Gegenwart; 175 Jahre Oberlandesgericht Köln*, ed. Dieter Laum et al. (Cologne: O. Schmidt, 1994), pp. 503–551. These contain few details and mainly focus on the use of the prison as an execution site for the western German special courts. Its role as a protective custody prison in 1933 is at most touched upon. Additional references to the internment of prisoners at Klingelpütz can be found, however, in biographical studies of former prisoners such as Wilhelm Sollmann or Benedikt Schmittmann. The use of Klingelpütz by the Gestapo, its role as an execution site, and the evacuation marches in 1944–1945 are examined by Gabriele Lotfi, *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2000), p. 293; and Bernd-A. Rusinek, *Gesellschaft in der Katastrophe. Terror, Illegalität, Widerstand—Köln 1944/45* (Essen: Klartext, 1989), p. 441. Liberation of the Klingelpütz prisoners is described by Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Cologne, Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), p. 52.

Archival sources on the use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison are sparse. With regard to numbers of prisoners and their internment, however, there are accumulative files (Sammelakten) from the penitentiary and the Cologne correctional bureau: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322 and 22/353. The prisoner lists of the Cologne rural district provide information on the political profiles of the prisoners: NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365. Neither the reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapa in Berlin (in BA-B, R 58) nor the Colonge State Attorney's Office reports to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 21—specifically mention the protective custody prison at Klingelpütz. As far as the perspectives of former prisoners are concerned, there are sparse references in the records of the Cologne postwar trials—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231—and in a collection of interviews with contemporary witnesses kept by the NS-Dok Cologne, Best. Z. A blend of memoirs, original research, and personal comments are provided by Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler," *KöRS*, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971). Additional information might be found through a systematic inspection of the still existing prisoner files from Klingelpütz—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132—and by examining political trials of the Nazi period. More documents exist on the history of the Gestapo wing in 1944–1945. They are accessible through two postwar preliminary proceedings—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95 and 248/265–266—that specifically dealt with Klingelpütz. In addition, various proceedings on Cologne Gestapo crimes of the final period refer to the Gestapo wing (e.g., NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/492). The PRO, War Office 309/1145, provides information on the evacuations.

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the activities of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353; Landratsamt Siegkreis Nr. 44; Regierung Aachen Nr. 22757, p. 7, and Nr. 23886, p. 11. On the replacement of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see Rundschreiben der Landespolizei-Inspektion West vom 12.06.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 120, and ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler Nr. 8228, p. 12.

2. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 177.

3. See Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 and Strafvollzugsamt Köln an Preussisches Justizministerium vom 11.05.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177, 199, as well as the numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353.

4. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

5. See Bericht Sollmann in HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Cologne an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 182; for another case, see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/364, p. 57.

6. Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler," *KöRS*, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971)—see in this case Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15693–15697 and 231/334–335; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 17.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 187.

7. Vermerke des Strafvollzugsamtes Düsseldorf vom 02.04.1933 and 05.04.1933 and Schreiben des Höheren Polizeiführers im Westen vom 05.04.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, pp. 29, 65, 108; Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 70 (March 24, 1971) and Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971).

8. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 und Verfügung des Strafvollzugsamtes Köln vom 03.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177–178.

9. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 15.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 185; Vermerk des Obertstrafanstaltsdirektors Köln vom 18.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 35 as well as the reference in note 7.

10. See also the complaints of the Cologne SS about the supposedly too "mild" prison conditions at the state-run detention sites in the Cologne region: Nachrichtenführer 58. SS-Standarte an SS-Abschnitt V vom 12.06.1933, in BA-B, R 58/3859, p. 6.

11. See, for example, Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 und 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180, 182.

12. Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Oberstaatsanwalt Köln an Preussischen Justizminister vom 14.12.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/87, p. 2380.

13. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 and 09.03.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180–181.

14. According to references in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

15. The Fernspruch des Landrates Köln vom 31.10.1933, in ibid., also refers to this.

16. Vermerk des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 19.01.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 164.

17. Unless otherwise noted, the following details are based on the Ermittlungsakten in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95, 231/492, 231/522, and primarily 248/265–266. There are slight variations in numbers and dates, depending on the source.

18. Bericht der Gestapo Köln vom 09.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/8, p. 1; Rundverfügung der Gestapo Köln vom 14.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/24. According to Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971), the Gestapo supposedly already had its own section in Klingelpütz in 1942. This information, which has also been incorporated in some of the literature, cannot be confirmed elsewhere.

19. See also Vermerk vom 02.11.1944 and Bericht des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 30.01.1945, both in BA-B, R 3001/3374, pp. 152–153, 158.

20. See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/72, 231/95, 231/166, 231/212, 248/265–266, 248/304, 248/334–337. The preliminary proceedings dealing with the crimes of Cologne Gestapo and the executions at Elisenstrasse are not mentioned here.

KÖLN (MOZARTSTRASSE) [AKA BRAUNES HAUS]

The so-called Brown House (Braunes Haus), a building at Mozartstrasse 28 in Cologne, accommodated the Nazi Party (NSDAP) Province Administration (Gauleitung) Cologne-Aachen from October 1932 until November 1934. In 1933, it served for several months as a detention and torture center for opponents of the Nazi regime. The 1st Company of the Cologne SS (1. SS-Sturm Köln) provided the majority of the guard personnel, who were also housed in the building. The detention facility was under the command of SS-Regiment 58 (Standarte 58), established in April 1933, which belonged to SS-Upper Sector West (Oberabschnitt West) under Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel (1904–1940). In practice, however, the Braunes Haus was not just a self-contained SS facility; it was also used by other Cologne Nazi groups: in addition to the SS, SA patrols, the Gauleitung's intelligence service, and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) also brought in prisoners.[1] At the same time, the Braunes Haus was part and parcel of the police terror system. The Cologne Gestapo had apparently approved of the establishment of a detention and torture center and—from May 1933 at the latest—maintained regular contact through separate liaison officials who came to Mozartstrasse to "hand over" and take back prisoners, examine confessions, and verify information.[2]

The first references for the use of the Mozartstrasse building as a detention and torture site can be found in March 1933. During the summer months, the Braunes Haus became the center of Nazi terror in Cologne.[3] Among the prisoners were numerous functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations; there were also ordinary supporters of the Communists who were apprehended for distributing leaflets or making dissident comments, as well as members of other left-wing oppositional groups. Social Democratic Party (SPD) Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann was the most prominent victim of the Cologne workers' movement. He recorded his experiences at Mozartstrasse in a memoir shortly after his release. Together with Hugo Efferoth, editor of the Social Democratic newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, he was repeatedly mistreated on March 9, 1933, and subsequently turned over to the Cologne police presidium.[4]

Since various Nazi groups and organizations took part in the arrests and did not always strictly follow political principles, not only political activists or members of the workers' movement ended up among the prisoners at Mozartstrasse. The SS and party intelligence services also brought ordinary citizens to the Braunes Haus, if they had attracted public attention for "indiscipline" (*Disziplinlosigkeiten*) or "defeatism" (*Miesmacherei*) or were considered Jewish.[5] In addition, several members of the SA, SS, and NSDAP were brought to Mozartstrasse as punishment for embezzlement or other criminal offenses.[6]

The detainees were interned in a room in the basement that on average held 10 to 20 people.[7] Generally, political prisoners were incarcerated until they signed a confession concerning their political activities or disclosed information about other dissidents. Afterward, they were released or turned over to the political police. Though most prisoners remained only a few days at the Braunes Haus, some had to spend several weeks in the so-called district cellar (*Gaukeller*). Thus, the Braunes Haus can be considered a combination of

interrogation site, torture site, and early concentration camp. As prisoners were constantly being brought in and transported to other sites, it is probable that the total number of victims reached triple digits. During the interrogations, abuse was common practice and could not even be avoided by confessing quickly. Violence was not only a means of extorting statements about the political opposition; it also aimed at the permanent intimidation and humiliation of dissidents. Thus, the prisoners were exposed to torture both before and after interrogation. Torture often was accompanied by degrading rituals: the SS forced prisoners to put on ridiculous costumes, to sing satirical songs about themselves, to destroy leftist writings or party material, to abuse fellow prisoners, or to jump into a sump where the prisoners' excrement had been poured. The torture did not stop at the physical destruction of political opponents: it led to self-inflicted wounds and attempted suicides among the prisoners who tried to avoid the suffering. At least one person died at Mozartstrasse.[8] In view of this situation and the fact that prisoners in the basement at Mozartstrasse were constantly subject to surveillance, joint actions or detailed discussions among the prisoners were out of the question. Solidarity, however, manifested itself at certain times, for example, when prisoners helped each other after abuse, shared food, or gave each other moral support. The prisoner Ludwig Jacobsen, who did time at Mozartstrasse from mid-June to mid-July because he was a functionary of the left-wing German Communist Party Opposition (KPO), grew into the role of a trustee and "camp elder." He gave newly arrived prisoners support and assistance in standing up to the terror. The personnel at Mozartstrasse consisted of several SS guards, a rotating torture commando of 3 to 10 SS men, and several men who performed arrests and interrogations. In addition to SS men, NSDAP functionaries took part in interrogations and abuses. Those substantially responsible included SS-Truppführer Josef Balzer (born in 1898) from the staff of SS-Regiment 58. He was both chauffeur and close confidant of Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé (1902–1987) and was involved in abuses, as was special duty SS-Sturmführer Arthur Ruhland (born in 1907), who led most of the questionings and stood out due to his exceptional cruelty. Their immediate superior was Adolf Marx (born in 1898), leader of the SS-Regiment and also a Cologne "old fighter," who headed the local SS since 1931 and belonged to the local Nazi elites' inner circle. His office was at Mozartstrasse, and he regularly inspected the detention center.[9] Gauleiter Josef Grohé resided in the same building. In 1934, he stated in an internal party investigation that he knew nothing about the prisoner abuses in the district cellar. Due to the mere fact that it occurred in the same building, this is highly implausible.[10]

Arrests and prisoner abuses ended at Braunes Haus after the Nazi leadership announced the completion of the "national revolution" and prohibited nonstate camps. According to a report from the Cologne district president, the "private" SA and SS prisons were disbanded by the end of July 1933.[11] SS-Gruppenführer Weitzel oversaw the official closing of the detention site on Mozartstrasse; he visited the district cellar in late July (probably on July 27) and ordered the transfer of the remaining prisoners to the political police.[12]

The scale of prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse, however, led to further investigations. At the behest of the NSDAP Reich Leadership, special duty Reichsinspekteur Wilhelm von Holzschuher examined the extent of the Cologne District leadership's involvement in the terror at the Braunes Haus in late July 1934. In August 1934, an investigation by the Reich Leadership SS (Reichsführung) carried out by a representative in Cologne who interrogated witnesses followed.[13] Apparently the widespread knowledge in Cologne of the events at Mozartstrasse was the starting point for the proceedings. Not only the victims and members of the workers' movement but also the general public knew about the prisoner abuses; one could clearly hear the screams of the tortured on the streets, and numerous rumors circulated about the Braunes Haus.[14] It was more important for the regime, however, that former or displeased "Party comrades," some of whom had themselves been victims of abuse, turned to the party leadership with complaints or pressed charges.[15]

Based on these complaints, investigations were initiated against several Mozartstrasse activists. The consequences, however, were minimal. The State Attorney's Office closed its proceedings. Holzschuher's final report on Mozartstrasse cleared Gauleiter Grohé of any responsibility. Indeed, the central figures at the Gaukeller, Ruhland and Marx, and several other guards were expelled from the SS. At Grohé's urging, however, the NSDAP Party Court abstained from imposing further sanctions. The responsible SS men were honored as "merited" and "unselfish" members of the "movement," while the mistreated "Party comrades" were portrayed as "criminals" who had "crept their way into the Party."[16] As compensation for losing their SS posts, Ruhland and Marx were assigned positions in the party apparatus; Balzer was allowed to continue his career as Gauleiter Grohé's adjutant and in 1942 even took over the provisional leadership of SS-Regiment 58.[17]

After 1945, the mistreatment of MdR Sollmann and the fact that a well-known athlete had been a member of the guard unit at Mozartstrasse both led to judicial proceedings in Cologne.[18] The State Attorney's Office and the Regional Court were able to reconstruct the events in the Braunes Haus; however, they could not identify direct participants, nor could they doubtlessly assign any of the reported abuses to specific perpetrators. The proceedings ended with dismissals and court acquittals.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history mention the detention site at Mozartstrasse: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), p. 65. In addition, studies of local history refer to the camp: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th

rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), pp. 66–67; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), p. 64; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361, here p. 290. The authors usually limit themselves to a few details and refer to the testimony of Wilhelm Sollmann. As Mozartstrasse is seen as the center and symbol of local Nazi terror, it is occasionally misinterpreted in the literature, i.e., some attribute the detention site to the Cologne SA or Gestapo: Helmut Fussbroich, *Gedenktafeln in Köln: Spuren der Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: Bachem, 1985), pp. 131–132; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 572–573.

The sparse documents of the Cologne NSDAP, SA, or SS that remain do not contain any direct references to the detention and torture site on Mozartstrasse. Two testimonies from victims, however, offer rather detailed information. For one, there is a short account by MdR Wilhelm Sollmann, which has been published numerous times. See, for example, Stadt Köln, ed., "*. . . vergessen kann man die Zeit nicht, das ist nicht möglich . . . :*" *Kölner erinnern sich an die Jahre 1929–1945; zum 40. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes*, ed. by Horst Matzerath at the HAStK (Cologne: HAStK, 1985), p. 67; HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HAStK* (Cologne: HAStK, 1974), p. 112. Furthermore, there is Ludwig August Jacobsen's account *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der "nationalen Erhebung" in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987). Jacobsen delivers not only a solid and differentiated picture of the conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses but also valuable information about his fellow inmates and the personnel at Mozartstrasse. References from other sources confirm the account's high level of accuracy and credibility. In addition to Jacobsen's account, postwar documents from the Cologne courts—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241—as well as records of contemporaneous preliminary proceedings in the inventory of the Cologne special court—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112—are available. A trial against a former NSDAP member documented the rumors circulating about Mozartstrasse in Cologne. He had gathered incriminating material on the Cologne Gauleitung and also tried to document the prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse. In 1936, he was convicted of "spreading horror stories" (*Verbreiten von Gräuelmärchen*) and false accusations; see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15166 and 112/16692–16694. A systematic examination of the Cologne special court files might turn up similar finds. More detailed information on the perpetrators can be found in the collections of the former BDC in the BA-B. Information on Josef Grohé's role can be found in his Spruchgerichtsverfahren (BA-K, Z 42 IV/1806 and 1806b).

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. See numerous references in Ludwig August Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der "nationalen Erhebung" in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987); in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692; and in the BA-B (former BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

2. See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 22, 26, 50, 66, 129; Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Stadtverband Köln an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 04.06.1949, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/278, p. 722; Statement from Ludwig F. from 09.04.1952 in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 81; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln from 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485; excerpt from report of the Reichsinspekteur z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers from 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

3. See the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.

4. See Bericht Sollmann in HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64.

5. See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 44, 47–48, 58–59, 77–78, 120.

6. See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692, p. 27; and Berichte in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

7. On conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses, see Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen;* the testimonies in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241; and Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.07.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. vom 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift) and Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert Ley an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, both in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, pp. 2, 9; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 27; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; Eidesstattliche Erklärung des Walter N., in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 2; HAStK, Best. 1344 Nr. 185 (Archiv Walter Kuchta/VVN). Part of these records can also be found at the BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

8. Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 106, 116–117, 126.

9. References to the central roles of Balzer, Ruhland, and Marx in Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*; in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/2494, 112/5004, 112/16692, and 231/12; and in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur. For the past history of the Cologne SS, see the references in the LHRP-Ko, Best. 403/16749, 16750, and 16753.

10. Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935, in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln vom 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485.

11. Lagebericht des Regierungspräsidenten Köln vom 14.08.1933, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 94.

12. Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.7.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. from 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; and numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, and BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

13. Excerpts from the Bericht des Reichsinspekteurs z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers vom 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Emil R. vom 18.09.1934 and Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, pp. 55, 81; and numerous references in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/9455.

14. Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 84, 120; NS-Dok, Z 1008 and Z 10037.

15. See references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, 112/9172, 112/9455, 112/15166, and 112/16692–16694.

16. See note 13 as well as Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935 and Bericht der 2. Kammer des Obersten Parteigerichts vom 04.02.1935, both in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

17. References in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5126 and 112/6177; BA-BL (BDC), SSO, Balzer, Josef.

18. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.

KÖNIGSBRÜCK BEI DRESDEN

On March 22, 1933, the Saxon State Criminal Office ordered the establishment of a labor service camp for "protective custody" prisoners at Königsbrück bei Dresden. Situated in Hostel Stenz, Königsbrück existed until May 28, when the 71 prisoners were transferred to Hohnstein, a larger early concentration camp.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The number of prisoners at Königsbrück can be found in Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002).

As reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 48), primary documentation about Königsbrück can be found in the files of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, located in the SHStA-(D).

Joseph Robert White

KÖNIGSTEIN

On March 15, 1933, the Königstein SA converted a workers' nature retreat on the Elbe River into an early concentration camp. SA-Sturmführer Erich Rossig headed the camp, and SA-Sturmführer Johannes Delin commanded the guard unit. The number of guards is not known. On April 12, 1933, the camp population stood at approximately 215 prisoners. The prisoners included Communists, Social Democrats, and at least one Jew.

At Königstein, the guards forced the prisoners to conduct demoralizing and debilitating exercises. An anonymous prisoner left an account of this "sport": "We had to run on the double for three-quarters of an hour, then stood at attention for an hour without stirring, at the same time we were threatened with a revolver and beaten with rubber hoses, horsewhips, and carbines. Then we had to kneel for an hour, head facing the ground. If this drill were carried out sloppily we were kicked in the face and neck, namely with hob-nailed boots. Then we got another hour-long beating. Individuals were beaten half to death."[1]

The five-day ordeal of Max Tabaschnik demonstrated the antisemitism, sadism, and greed of Königstein's guards. Born in Ukraine on April 20, 1893, Tabaschnik had lived in Germany as a stateless person since 1910. He practiced dentistry in Pirna near Dresden after World War I. On March 25, 1933, the police took him into "protective custody" at Pirna's Fronfest prison on suspicion of circulating atrocity stories against the regime, a common Nazi allegation against Jews. About protective custody, he observed, "From whom should I be 'protected,' or who from me?"[2]

With other Fronfest prisoners, Tabaschnik was transferred to Königstein on May 5, 1933. The initiates were kicked and verbally abused, but the guard commander ordered Tabaschnik to step forward because he was Jewish. On the first day, while working in the stone quarry an SA guard ordered him to run. Remembering that others had been "shot while attempting to escape," he stood pat. While working, the guards shouted antisemitic epithets at him: "Isidor, Sahra [*sic*], garlic, onion!" When the others returned to the camp, Tabaschnik endured "extra training": "Forward march! Lie down! Stand up! Lie down!" After striking him several times, the guards played a joke, prepared in advance, by presenting him a certificate of permission for emigration to Palestine. The reverse bore Nazi slogans, however: "Germany awake! Perish Juda!"[3]

Denied food and water, Tabaschnik was returned to the cellar. The guards disrupted his sleep by "pouring water over [his] feet." Rossig and Delin summoned him to the camp leaders' office at 10:30 P.M., where they demanded that he surrender the 100 Reichsmark (RM) in his possession. He did so and admitted to having an additional 250 RM at home but refused to let them have it, because he would not leave his wife and 10-year-old son in distress. Rossig nevertheless called Frau Tabaschnik at midnight to demand the money. Returned to the cellar before 2:00 A.M., he was roused three hours later, when Rossig wanted another 20 RM, allegedly in order to pay for the fueling of the quarry truck.[4]

As his involuntary fast entered a second day, Tabaschnik watched the other prisoners eat lunch. A guard kicked him when he attempted to drink some water. By now, his thirst

was all-consuming. In the cellar, the guards made him do 150 deep knee bends. The guard adjutant, Baron von Pose, stood over him, screaming, "Faster! Faster!" He was exhausted after 80 repetitions. Delin exclaimed, "But he still has not licked up our spit!"—at which point the SA made him lick the ground. The camp cook then presented him with his first bread and water in two days, but only to drag out the torture, because the concoction consisted mainly of salt and pepper. When Tabaschnik refused to eat it, the "ruffian" punched and kicked him, forcing him to admit, "That is a rump steak, that is a little piece of apple, that is a glass of beer." Afterward, he was made to sing Russian songs, as the guards danced Russian style. Before this session was over, Rossig and Delin told him, "Either you go to [the early camp at] Sonnenstein . . . or you die. One of the two."[5]

Tabaschnik's third day began with the SA bringing him before a policeman. The SA announced that if he did not pay any more, the policeman would shoot him. Rossig later handed him a pistol so that he could commit suicide. Without food or rest for three days, he pulled the trigger but discovered that this was another joke at his expense, because the firearm was unloaded. Conducted to the quarry, the guards told him, "There is no Sunday for Jews." After lifting heavy stones, he performed penal exercises. Two guards struck him in the chest and put their boots on his head, so that he ended up with "sand in his eyes." When work resumed, he had to load huge stones onto a truck. The guards harangued him when he proved unable to do so.[6]

In camp, the guards gave Tabaschnik a rough-hewn Mohawk. Around his arm they placed a band in Reichsbanner colors—black, red, and gold. Although the publication of his testimony in a Social Democratic compilation suggested that he was a Social Democrat, he never explicitly indicated his political leanings. The Nazis probably labeled him as Reichsbanner because he was Jewish. In another extortion tack, Delin asked about his business associates. The prisoner mentioned his dental goods supplier, Firma Zahndepot Timmel in Dresden, with which he had enjoyed a standing line of credit for a decade. The testimony never indicated whether the SA contacted the Timmel firm. In the cellar, Tabaschnik attempted suicide by slitting his wrist with a razor blade. The SA stopped the bleeding, but the torture continued. Catching him with some food, Baron von Pose "tore the bowl from my hands and poured out the contents, as if I had committed a terrible crime." The cycle of "quarry—exercise place—quarry—exercise place" began anew on the fourth day.[7]

On his fourth night at Königstein, Tabaschnik's treatment began to change. The guards allowed him to rest undisturbed. On Tuesday morning, the SA sheared off his Mohawk, which he took as a sign of his imminent execution. Summoned to the camp leader's office, Rossig instead prepared him for the visit of his wife and child. The camp leader listed some rationalizations to explain away Tabaschnik's terrible appearance: "Your hair was shaved off—good, in the camp your beard was plaited! Your hand is bandaged—you injured yourself in the quarry! Your clothes are filthy—that's from the work!"[8]

The visit was painful for father and son. Werner Tabaschnik recalled: "I didn't even think that he was our father." Tabaschnik was released on May 10 and sent to recover in a Pirna hospital. Upon release, Rossig returned half of his 100 RM but threatened to kill him if he talked about Königstein. In late March 1934, the Tabaschniks illegally crossed the Czech border.[9]

It is also known that guards stomped Communist prisoner Fritz Gumbert to death. Anonymous prisoner testimonies singled out SA-Mann Bienert and Truppenführer Fuhrmann as especially cruel. An account that ran in the Prague *Sozialdemokrat* alleged that these guards engaged in "sadistic orgies" of torture and sexual abuse.[10]

Königstein was dissolved on May 31, 1933. The remaining prisoners were transferred to the larger early camp at Hohnstein. It is not known whether Rossig, Delin, or other camp staff were tried after the war.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work about the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

The most important primary documentation for this camp comes from the testimonies of Max and Werner Tabaschnik, which were published in the Social Democratic compilation *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Despite the stated place of publication, the book was printed in Prague. A second primary source consists of an anonymous letter by a Königstein prisoner that was secretly smuggled into Germany by the Communist Party. It was published in Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936). This ostensible guide to the 1936 Berlin Olympics was a piece of camouflage containing several brief camp testimonies and an accurate map of concentration camps and detention centers. The account originally ran in longer form in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "SPORT: Wie er in den 'Sportkommandos' der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Aus dem Brief eines Gefangenen aus Königstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p. A longer version of this account with slightly different wording appeared earlier in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 290–291.

2. Max Tabaschnik, "Königstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 90–94.
3. Ibid., pp. 95–97.
4. Ibid., pp. 97–98.
5. Ibid., pp. 100–101.
6. Ibid., pp. 102–103.
7. Ibid., pp. 104–105, 107.
8. Ibid., pp. 107–108.
9. Ibid., pp. 108–112; Werner Tabaschnik, "Ein Kind erzählt vom Dritten Reich," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 115.
10. The accounts are reproduced in World Committee, *Braunbuch*, pp. 290–291.

KUHLEN [AKA RICKLING, FALKENRIED, INNERE MISSION]

On July 18, 1933, Segeberg rural district administrator Werner Stier established a small concentration camp outside Rickling (Gemeinde Rickling), at the Landesverein für Innere Mission (State Association for Inner Mission) in Schleswig-Holstein. This camp had several names, including Kuhlen, Rickling, Falkenried, and Innere Mission. Founded in 1875, the Landesverein was a psychiatric and relief institution owned by the Evangelical state church. By the time of the concentration camp's foundation, the Innere Mission had come under the pro-Nazi German Christian movement (Deutsche Christen). In 1933, the Mission's director was Dr. Oskar Epha. Intended to relieve overcrowding at Schleswig-Holstein's first early concentration camp at Glückstadt, Kuhlen occupied the Falkenried barracks, one of several barracks established at Innere Mission for work relief during the Great Depression. The first detainees, recalled prisoner Albert Stange, refitted the civilian barracks as a concentration camp, including the digging of post holes for the camp fence.[1] The Innere Mission's deacon, Franz Schuba, handled camp finances through the Mission's estate administration. Mission documents indicated the administrative relationship: "Landesverein für Innere Mission, Det[achment] Concentration Camp Kuhlen."[2] The Mission did not issue direct orders to the prisoners, however.

Kuhlen had a mixed SS and SA administration. The commandant was SS-Mann Othmar Walchensteiner. His deputy was Erwin H., an SS trooper from Neumünster. The remaining eight guards, called "camp police," were SA members. The prisoners addressed the guards by police, not SA, titles, such as "Hauptwachtmeister." For a brief period, Innere Mission contributed to the guards' health insurance but ceased to do so after Oberlandjägermeister Denker of the Bad Segeberg police informed the deacon that it was not necessary.[3] The Austrian-born Walchensteiner belonged to the Artamanen youth movement. He joined the Nazi Party in 1925 (membership number 1083), but his membership lapsed while he was studying at an Evangelical monastery for the deaconry.[4] In the early 1930s, he reactivated his party membership. A letter from the Schleswig-Holstein Gauleitung (Nazi Party province Administration), dated August 5, 1933, praised his concentration camp work: "How valuable and how necessary is your activity in the interests of the National Socialist State." The Gauleitung suggested that Walchensteiner's name was under consideration for promotion as head of "one of the larger institutions."[5] This possibility failed to materialize; Walchensteiner headed the Innere Mission's barracks for chronic alcoholics for approximately two years after the concentration camp's closure. In the late 1930s, he served at Sachsenhausen concentration camp and at SS academies at Vogelsang and Krössinsee. After military service from 1939 to 1941, he was promoted to SS-Obersturmbannführer and served with an Einsatzgruppe in the Soviet Union. He was killed near Minsk on December 10, 1943, while holding the post of Gebietskommissar.[6]

In total, Kuhlen held 191 mostly political prisoners. Nearly all originated from Schleswig-Holstein, with the exceptions of 3 prisoners from East Prussia, Sweden, and Switzerland.[7] No Jewish prisoners were interned in the camp. Of the 191 prisoners, the majority (133) came from Neumünster, Pinneberg, and Segeberg. The prisoners' ages ranged from 18 to 63. Most detainees were Social Democrats and Communists, although at least 2 were held for alleged petty theft and spreading rumors.[8] On August 31, 1933, the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newpaper boasted that with the admission of 13 Communists and 7 Socialists to Kuhlen "a blow" had been struck "against Marxism in Bad Oldesloe" and Altona.[9] The majority of detainees were imprisoned between 31 and 40 days, but no one remained in the camp for the entire time span. Although there were no deaths recorded, the prisoners suffered maltreatment. Walchensteiner had a reputation for harsh and arbitrary behavior.

The camp population exceeded available space. Although the *Norddeutsche Rundschau* newspaper reported that it could accommodate 60 prisoners when Kuhlen opened, reports in the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* and the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* subsequently alleged that space was available for 100 prisoners.[10] As indicated by an Innere Mission report, prepared when Falkenried was still a civilian labor camp, the barracks were originally designed to house 40 people.[11] After the first weeks, Kuhlen's population exceeded the Nazi press estimates: the camp had 19 prisoners in July, 102 in August, 141 in September, and 115 in October. The presence of arrest cells contributed to the space shortage. Falkenried also had a library for political reeducation. The camp lacked an infirmary, however. As prisoner Christian Zabel recalled, the sick and healthy shared bedding space. Serious cases were transferred to local hospitals.[12]

The detainees performed agricultural labor for Innere Mission. In total they worked 75,000 hours for the Mission, against an outlay for the camp of slightly more than 9,000 Reichsmark (RM).[13] Kreis Segeberg paid the Mission for inmate deployment, at a daily rate of 1.50 RM per person per day, but Deacon Schuba unsuccessfully attempted to secure a higher rate. The prisoners worked from 6:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.[14] After work, they sang Nazi songs.

On August 21, 1933, the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* painted a highly idealized picture of detainee labor. Claiming that "the prisoners find themselves in an outstanding food situation," the article cited a "camp administrator" who averred "that educational labor [shows] great early success. By and large the prisoners are polite and willing to work." One "of our Elmshorn prisoners," the *Kreisblatt* continued, a legal counselor, performed kitchen duty before setting off for agricultural labor. In peeling potatoes, "he finds himself in the best society of a former mayor." Former Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Reinhold Jürgensen, depicted in the same article as "the pride of Elmshorn," reported that he "feels well and gladly works in the fresh air."[15]

Visitors to this camp included the Elmshorn mayor and the Hamburg Swedish consul. Mayor Krumbeck inspected the prisoners from his town and contrasted the Nazis' alleged humanity with the Communists'. After giving the Hitler greeting, he announced: "Lord God, we Nazis are so humane. Where would we be if the Communists had managed to gain control over the State[?]"[16] Consul Jänson visited Kuhlen to interview Swedish citizen "P.," an unemployed sailor who lived in Trittau. Conversing with the detainees alone in Swedish, Jänson discovered that P. got into trouble while joking with someone he thought was a friend, who in turn denounced him to the authorities. P. also complained that Walchensteiner threatened that the sailor would "never see his wife again" if he failed to carry out the commandant's orders to the letter.[17]

The Kuhlen detainees included the Zabel family, Adolf and sons Herbert and Christian, who entered the camp on August 18, 1933. Accused of being an "intellectual" who flouted Nazi press decrees, the 63-year-old Adolf was compelled to work on the farm. Walchensteiner called Herbert a "Jew and Bolshevist." A World War I veteran with a weak heart, Herbert received permission from Hauptwachtmeister D. not to participate in morning exercises, but Walchensteiner furiously belayed the order. Breaking several of Herbert's teeth, Walchensteiner ordered the same guard to strip Herbert's Iron Cross from his uniform. The commandant similarly maltreated Christian. When Christian replied sarcastically to a question, Walchensteiner flew into a rage. Threatened with the Emsland camps, Christian was escorted off premises at gunpoint. Either Walchensteiner staged this scene or his anger quickly abated, because he suddenly led Christian back to camp and had him returned to quarters.[18]

Kuhlen was formally dissolved in October 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the Emsland camps. In a postwar account, director Epha attempted to distance himself from the concentration camp by claiming that he was in Berlin in the fall of 1933, lobbying at the Prussian Ministry of Interior for its dissolution.[19] The Kiel Regional Court tried Erwin H. in 1948 in connection with his Kuhlen activities. Dissatisfied with the court's lenient sentence (one year), the British occupation authorities ordered H.'s retrial, which resulted in a three-year penitentiary sentence. Credited with time served in an Italian camp at war's end, the former camp deputy was released in July 1950.[20]

SOURCES This essay is based upon three excellent studies by Harald Jenner: *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), which contains an extremely helpful statistical abstract of prisoners, in addition to numerous reprinted documents; "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 130–175; and "In Trägerstadt der Inneren Mission: Das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 111–128. Also helpful is the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A listing for Kuhlen may be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG) vom 24. November 1982," *BGBl.*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1576. Listed under Rickling, the Kuhlen memorial is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). The Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein has a Web site at www.landesverein.de.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the ALIM, as cited by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*. Particularly valuable are the Mission's 1932 report, File DD 410, which furnishes an estimate for Falkenried's accommodations as a "free labor service camp" and the Mission's accounting records. Jenner also reproduces some reports related to this camp from the LA-Sch-H. These include the 1948 proceedings against Erwin H.; Jenner does not cite a case number for this trial. Reproduced as the appendix to this volume is a Swedish consular report from Hamburg to the Berlin embassy, dated September 12, 1933, which is from FMAS-(S). As cited by Jenner, information on Walchensteiner's career may be found in his BDCPF. Jenner reproduces the testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel but does not cite an archival source. Christian Zabel's report is dated Neumünster, November 30, 1933, but it is not clear when or where the other two reports were produced. Press reports for Kuhlen include a Socialist exile article, "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, which lists this camp as "Rickling." Jenner reproduces many local press reports from the *HoCu*, October 14 and 17, 1933; *NdtRu*, July 18, 1933; *PiKb*, August 21, September 23, and October 5, 1933; *SHZ*, August 17, 21, 28, and 31, 1933; and *SKTb*, September 7, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Albert Stange interview, 1987, cited by Harald Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch*

zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), p. 138.

2. KZ Kuhlen to Blaschenhagen, November 29, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 97.

3. Innere Mission to Denker, September 9, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 84.

4. Othmar Walchensteiner, BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.

5. NSDAP Gauleitung Schleswig-Holstein to Walchensteiner, August 5, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 81.

6. Walchensteiner BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.

7. "Schwedischer Seemann beschimpft SA und kommt ins Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 61; Schweizerisches Konsulat, Hamburg, to Frau Emilie S., September 21, 1933, reproduced without archival source in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 63; Alfred Stamer interview, March 11, 1988, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 139.

8. "Ins Konzentrationslager geschickt," *HoCu*, October 14, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 57; "Ein Gerüchtemacher ins Konzentrationslager eingeliefert," *SHZ*, August 17, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 58.

9. "Ein Schlag gegen den Marxismus in Bad Oldesloe," *SHZ*, August 31, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 55.

10. "Konzentrationslager bei Rickling," *NdtRu*, July 18, 1933; "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," *PiKb*, August 21, 1933; and "Es ist noch Platz im Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 28, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 41, 68, 71.

11. Innere Mission Bericht, 1932, File DD 410, in ADW-B, as quoted in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 68.

12. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.

13. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.

14. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, as reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.

15. "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," *PiKb*, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 71.

16. Ibid.

17. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.

18. Testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 75–77.

19. Oskar Epha, "Der Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Dritten Reiches," in *Festschrift zur Feier des 100 jährigen Bestehens des Landesvereins am 30. September 1975* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1975), p. 60, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 103.

20. LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 352 Kiel file 1702, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 157.

LANDAU [AKA SCHUTZHAFTLAGER IN DER LANDAUER FORTKASERNE]

On March 9, 1933, the National Socialists seized power in Bavaria and therewith also in the Bavarian Palatinate. The government, sustained by the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), was removed from office and fled Munich. As in Bavaria, Nazi sympathizers also celebrated this event in the Palatinate with mass rallies on March 10, 1933. Simultaneously, the new rulers began arresting political opponents, primarily members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). By March 11, 1933, 13 citizens of Landau had been taken into "protective custody" and brought to the local court prison: 9 of these individuals were Communists, 2 were members of the RB, 1 was a Social Democratic city councilor, and 1 was a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP). The latter 2 were Jews.[1]

The number of protective custody prisoners increased rapidly as political opponents of the Nazis not only from Landau but also from the entire southern Palatinate and from Speyer were brought to the Landau local court prison. By April 3, 1933, their number had grown to 50 people, and the prison was completely overcrowded. As a result the political leadership in Landau sought out and found a solution to this problem: "When during the days of the National Socialist revolution many protective custody prisoners were delivered to the Landau local court prison, Obersturmbannführer Keim, special commissioner for the Landau district office, agreed with the provisional mayor of Landau that protective custody prisoners had to work."[2]

In order to enforce this decision, a working place for the Landau prisoners was set up in the second half of March 1933. From this point on, it was referred to as "protective custody camp in the Landau fort barracks" (*Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne*). The prisoners had to clear away the torn-up cement floor of the military barracks of the fort and prepare the area as a sports field for the SA.[3] The city council of Landau, represented by the welfare office, had to provide the necessary tools and aids for the job, as well as suitable work clothes for the prisoners.[4] Also, the accommodations for prisoners and their guards (SA and SS men), which provided shelter during bad weather, were financed with state funds. In total the costs for the city of Landau amounted to 1,138.53 Reichsmark (RM).[5]

The prisoners working in the Fortkaserne also received their meals there. They were, however, still housed in the Landau local court prison, where the SS picked them up, took them to work, and brought them back in the evenings.[6]

The local press reported extensively about the prisoners' work. On April 11, 1933, and again on May 18, 1933, the *Landauer Anzeiger* reported on the work of approximately 35 to 40 prisoners in an article replete with photographs under the title: "A sports field emerges from the stony desert: the work of the protective custody prisoners in the Landau Fort for the creation of an SA club house with a sports field."[7] The photographs show the prisoners working, preparing lunch, and having lunch with SA and SS men. The caption reads, "We can see from their happy faces that it tastes good."[8] Both articles represent Nazi propaganda of that time that intended to play down the situation in the camps. They reveal little truth about the daily life of the prisoners.

Nevertheless, the conditions in the Landau camp still seem to have been bearable in comparison with many other camps. The prisoners received meals from the SA kitchen in addition to their prison rations.[9] They were also allowed to receive visitors and move around freely with them in a designated area.[10]

Only one case of prisoner abuse in the Landau camp is known. In June 1933, an arbitrary action initiated by the SS and later stopped by the district leader took place against Landau's Jews. Jewish citizens were arrested and first brought to the "Schwan" hotel, an SS clubhouse, and then imprisoned in a barrack at the Fortkaserne. The SS men abused the prisoners cruelly: "I was injured, beaten so severely in the Fortkaserne that I had to go to the hospital in Basel, Switzerland, for treatment and was unable to work for a year."[11]

After the sports field was completed, the protective custody camp was dissolved. On July 15, 1933, the local press reported the release of the last protective custody prisoner.[12] From mid-March 1933 to July 15, 1933, a total of 135 prisoners had been interned at Landau. The length of imprisonment varied greatly and ranged from a few days up to three months.[13]

The authorities had to deal with the camp's funding well into 1935. The city of Landau attempted to get reimbursed for the funds that they had spent on setting up and maintaining the prison. The city argued that neither the local police authorities nor the welfare authorities should have to pay for political protective custody.[14] The Palatinate government in Speyer deferred all responsibility in a countermove: it did not even know of the Landau camp's establishment.[15] In August 1933, the four Jewish prisoners in the protective detention camp received a request for payment from the city of Landau. They were supposed to pay a retroactive allowance for food of 10 RM per day.[16] This form of refunding failed, however, due to the insolvency of the Jewish citizens.[17] Also, SA-Regiment 18 (Standarte 18), which had benefited from the prisoners' work, was not willing to cover the costs, since it supposedly did not have the necessary financial means. In addition, the prisoners' work had been carried out on state property; since that area of land now supposedly possessed a higher value, no financial damage had been inflicted on the city of Landau.[18]

SOURCES The Landau protective custody camp has not been extensively researched; references to the camp in literature are correspondingly sparse. The comprehensive work by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), mentions Landau twice in connection with other early concentration camps. The Landau camp is briefly explored in Ursula Krause-Schmitt, Angelika Arenz-Morch, and Hans Berkessel, "Von 'Schutzhaft' and 'Umerziehung' zur Vernichtung: Zu einigen Aspekten des nationalsozialistischen Lagersystems in Rheinland-Pfalz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *"Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!,"* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 2000), pp.17–31. The most complete is Rolf Übel, "Das Landauer Schutzhaftlager (März bis Juli 1933)," *Heimatjahrbuch 1989 des Landkreises Südliche Weinstrasse.* This essay offers a good overview on the seizure of power in Landau and the development of the camp.

There are only a few sources on Landau. The records of the city welfare office with special reference to "protective detention camp" are located at the ASt-Ld, A II 3062. The thin folder contains documents that deal primarily with the costs and refunding of the camp.

The prisoner book (*Gefangenenbuch*) of the Landau penitentiary for the period between January 19, 1932, and April 22, 1936, can be found at the LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4. It contains information on numbers and origin of protective custody prisoners as well as duration of their imprisonment. The records of the trial against Johann Meyer, who was sentenced for crimes against humanity in October 1948, are located in the files of the state attorney's office at the Landau Regional Court (the LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375). The above-mentioned action against the Jews of Landau prompted the proceedings against Meyer. The interrogation protocols, witness statements, and detailed opinion of the court contain few and partially very contradictory references to the conditions in the camp, particularly with regard to Jewish prisoners.

Contemporaneous press coverage, particularly the *LdAnz*, may also provide additional sources; the propagandistic intention of these articles, however, must always be taken into account.

Martina Ruppert
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.

2. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.

3. Ibid.

4. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, various orders and invoices.

5. ASt-Ld A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.

6. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.

7. "Aus der Steinwüste entsteht ein Sportplatz: Die Arbeiten der Schutzhäftlinge in Landauer Fort zur Herrichtung eines SA-Heims mit Sportplatz," *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.

8. Ibid. The caption read: "Dass es schmeckt, sehen wir an den fröhlichen Gesichtern."

9. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.

10. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.

11. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Schreiben von Sally Dreyfuss an Staatsanwalt Dr. Rebholz, 13.09.1949.

12. *DRbPf*, July 15, 1933.

13. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.

14. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.

15. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der Regierung der Pfalz an den Politischen Polizeikommandeur München, in Abschrift an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 14.07.1933.

16. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Formbrief des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes betr. Verpflegung im Schutzhaftlager, einzusetzen bei Juden, 16.08.1933.

17. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben von August Schönfeld an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933; Schreiben von Kurt Levy an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933.

18. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der SA-Standarte 18 an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 23.06.1934.

LANGLÜTJEN II

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.[1] Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus, regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the "national" revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant improvisation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.[2] A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

As defense against potential attacks from enemy naval forces, between 1869 and 1880 the German imperial navy had built two fortresses, Langlütjen I and II, on the sandbar between the right and left shipping channels of the Weser. Langlütjen II consisted of a gun emplacement and an outer wall that were separated from each other by a roughly 8 meters (26.2 feet) wide by 5 meters (16.4 feet) deep moat. In the middle of the fortress stood the guns: five 280 mm and two 150 mm turrets. Centered around the gun emplacement were several levels of casemates as well as large and small rooms as if predestined to become communal and single cells. When the Bremen senate decided to rent the fort, these rooms were in a state of neglect, as the island had not been used in the Weimar years.[3] Indeed, the Bremerhaven Gestapo department had been busy establishing the camp since September 9, 1933; the traces of decay, however, had to be removed by the first prisoners, among whom were several skilled workers who came from Bremen and arrived on the island on September 13 or 14, 1933, accompanied by 10 SA men and several regular police.

Polizeihauptmann Möller, head of the police station at Bremerhaven Kaiserhafen, ran Langlütjen II and twice a week ferried over to the island to check that everything was all right. Under his command were 10 to 12 Schutzpolizei officers who operated shifts on the island in groups of three: after seven days at a time they were relieved and brought back to land with the supply ship. In addition, there were roughly the same number of SA men: they were armed with pistols, carbines, and rubber truncheons and wore a white armband with the inscription "Hilfspolizei." The police officers were in charge of the provisions for the prisoners and the SA, detailing the guards and controlling their schedules, reading the names of prisoners at roll call, and performing the morning exercises with them. Möller emphatically exhorted his police not to tolerate any excesses from the SA. To rule out from the beginning incidents such as those at Missler, the SA was not allowed to enter prisoner cells. These measures had little chance of success, however, for the SA people only reluctantly obeyed the police orders. Möller intervened and issued warnings when after only a short time he received complaints about individual SA men who carelessly performed their duty and conducted themselves defiantly vis-à-vis the police. Through his visits to the island, he received additional information: prisoners, who later characterized him as an upright and respectable officer, came to him and complained about the SA harassment, so that Möller forced the dismissal of the guilty. In this way, by around the end of October 1933, SA men, who had been in the interim newly recruited

from Bremerhaven, replaced almost the complete guard staff from the city of Bremen. With the new guards, there were few excesses worth mentioning in the treatment of inmates.

There are no definite references as to how space within the camp was divided. It can be assumed that guard units were accommodated in a separate living house that no longer exists, while the prisoners stayed in the casemates. As the camp was only designed for a maximum of 50 people, there may have been 7 to 10 rooms, 3 communal cells, and 4 provisional detention cells that served as single cells. These deep, dark, and damp basement rooms were located in the center of the embankment structure, in a narrow passage, rather far down, inaccessible, and difficult to ventilate. They primarily served to isolate those prisoners who refused to give evidence to the Gestapo. Hardly anything is known about the furniture of the cells, but they were probably similar to those on Barge 86 and also limited to the necessities: long tables with several seats and beds with thin straw mattresses arranged on top of each other.

As at Ochtumsand, separate kitchens were set up for prisoners and guard personnel; guards apparently also had a small canteen available to them. There are contradictory statements concerning provisions. They were probably rather modest but not nearly as bad, however, as in the later camps. The prisoners' relatives, who were very well informed of the prisoners' whereabouts, could send them mail and tobacco on a weekly basis. On the occasion of a visit to the island fortress in June 1933, the head of the Bremen Office in Bremerhaven (Bremisches Amt), along with a doctor, became convinced that the prisoners required medical treatment due to the dampness in the cells. In conversations with the Gestapo and others involved, he asserted that regular examinations were necessary.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau, or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS; nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen"; those proceedings, however, were soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.[4] Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner on Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, such as Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.[5]

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen regional court, which concern the so-called Missler trial. These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

Lothar Wieland
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1; and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."

2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhaft politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.

3. See various witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 3.

4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, in StA-Br, 8 KMs, 1/51, Bd. 3.

5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

LEIPZIG

On March 10, 1933, the Leipzig Police Prison and related facilities became a "protective custody" camp. With the arrest of numerous leftists in Saxony after the promulgation of the Reichstag Fire Decree, the police president of Leipzig also sent detainees to the prison on Beethovenstrasse and to an annex of the police headquarters on Wächterstrasse. On

April 12, 1933, Beethovenstrasse by itself held 191 prisoners. Although the details are sketchy, the Wächterstrasse prisoners worked under SS and SA supervision in the erection of a shooting range. Some may have been held in a pub frequented by the SA. Although Leipzig remained operational as a protective custody camp until at least September 1933, the detainees were transferred to larger camps at Colditz Castle, Hainichen, and Sachsenburg.

The Leipzig detainees included Walter Liebing, Helmut Müller, and Arno Henschel. The three formed what Liebing later characterized as a "resistance group" inside the prison. In nine weeks' detention in the "Gestapo cellar," Liebing was subjected to "lengthy interrogations and tortures." On approximately September 15, 1933, he and his comrades were dispatched to Colditz.[1]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Drobisch and Wieland do not furnish any details about the SA pub, except that it was an early camp with the Leipzig Police Prison. See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with File No. 4842 of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten in the SHStA-(D), as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. There is a listing for the Leipzig investigative prison in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 241. A brief personal account of Leipzig can be found in Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), p. 273.

LESCHWITZ BEI GÖRLITZ [AKA WEINHÜBEL]

As early as March 1933, the Görlitz SA established a so-called private concentration camp in the former town of Leschwitz, on the bend of the Neisse River. Official documents referred to the camp as Weinhübel. It was located in the unused Hossner cloth factory, which, according to Paul Schwerin, had been owned by a Czech. Prior to the establishment of the camp, the so-called Braun Haus (Schützengasse 6) in the center of Görlitz had been used for a number of purposes, including torture.

The camp population probably ranged between 1,300 and 2,000. According to contemporary documents, only around 300 prisoners from Görlitz and its surrounding area were permanently held in the camp. This suggests a large fluctuation in the prisoner numbers. The facility was not a large one, with the result that the prisoners were quartered together in confined spaces. They were political opponents of the Nazi regime, Communists (KPD), Social Democrats (SPD), and anti-Fascists without party affiliation.

The SA occupied the Görlitz community center (*Volkshaus*) on Mittelstrasse as well as the trade union center (*Gewerkschaftshaus*) on March 13, 1933. The SPD officials and unionists were arrested and taken to the Leschwitz concentration camp or the police prison. According to Karl Würzburg, on May 2, 1933, 70 members of the leftist parties the KPD and 120 members of the SPD were arrested. Schwerin refers to new arrestees, mostly KPD members from towns to the north and northwest of Görlitz such as Rothenburg, Weisswasser, and Niesky. In a letter dated June 3, 1933, reporting to the president of Liegnitz, there is an accurate list of the camp inmates, including the following information: (1) number; (2) first name and surname; (3) date of birth; (4) residence; (5) location of "protective custody"; and (6) cursory details of the reasons for protective custody. In the relevant files for July 1, 1933, it is recorded that 2 members of the SPD and 2 KPD leaders were taken from Neu-Tschöpeln bei Muskau as protective custody prisoners to the Leschwitz concentration camp.

The concentration camp was under the control of SA-Standarte 19, which had its base at Furtstrasse 3 in Görlitz. It was still located at this address in 1941–1942, the last telephone book to be published before 1949–1950. Memoirs also refer to the SA-Sturm 19. The commander was SA-Truppführer Ernst Krüger from the town of Kohlfurt (Węgliniec) to the northeast of Görlitz. He and his wife lived on the first floor of the former factory's administration building. On the ground floor were the guards' room and the kitchen, as well as a cobbler's workshop, where the prisoners repaired the shoes and boots of their oppressors. According to Schwerin, the SA stole the furniture and kitchen utensils from the homes of the prisoners. In February 1938 there was a trial of former Leschwitz guards, in which Krüger and 15 others were called to account.

There was no real productive work in Leschwitz. Ten to 20 prisoners worked on large farms in the area, guarded by the SA. The prisoners who remained in the camp peeled potatoes, swept the yard, worked on Krüger's vegetable garden, or did other personal jobs for Krüger. A few had to do tasks that were clearly aimed at humiliating the prisoners. For example, sand had to be shifted without any obvious reason for the whole day from one corner of the courtyard to another. According to Alex Horstmann, the leading KPD comrades were not allowed to work on the farms, were not allowed to receive visitors, and were subject to mistreatment and torture.

Schwerin was transferred with his colleagues from the Görlitz police prison to the Leschwitz concentration camp on

June 26, 1933. The Brown rulers helped them along the way, beating them and kicking them. Camp Commandant Krüger was also present with sarcastic jokes and depraved insults. Pictures of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and August Bebel were obtained to mock the prisoners. For the amusement of the SA, the prisoners had to take part in so-called sport. The SA chased them up trees and then made jokes about the apes in the trees. Fritz Pobig has described the interrogation room as the room of a "thousand fears." There was a special rack where the unlucky prisoners were held while they received up to 25 lashes. Especially feared were the gallows. The prisoners were locked into a dark room that held the transmission wheels of the former cloth factory. Here they were forced to stay in confined spaces in the most unusual positions. Otherwise, the prisoners were confined every evening at 8:00 P.M. (work stopped at 6:00 P.M.) to their quarters. Initially the prisoners slept on the concrete floor, then later on, wooden plank beds. According to Schwerin, the Communist prisoners, but not the Social Democrats, had their heads shaved. They were even threatened that their heads would be branded with the hammer and sickle. Concentration camp reports reflect the different treatment of Communist and Social Democratic prisoners. These reports should not be accepted without care. What is certain is that the most famous of Social Democrats in Görlitz, Member of the Reichstag Otto Buchwitz, was held in a special cell in Leschwitz that was half filled with water. Buchwitz escaped, living at first illegally in Berlin and later emigrating to Denmark. However, not all survived—Max Hirschel from Schmiedberg (probably Riesengebirge) died on May 14, 1933, in Leschwitz from mistreatment. A 17-year-old Jewish prisoner and one unknown Czech prisoner were murdered, and two prisoners committed suicide. Those two escaped their mistreatment—one prisoner slashed his wrists while under arrest, and the other hanged himself.

The camp inmates who wanted could go to the usual Sunday services in the local church, about 200 to 300 meters (656 to 984 feet) away, but under the supervision of uniformed SA guards. On other days, guarded by the SA, the prisoners returned from work, singing. Screams could be heard from the camp, which suggested torture. Religious care was only temporary in the Leschwitz concentration camp. According to contemporary reports, Görlitz Superintendent Georg Bornkamm was not impressed. As part of the Deutsche Christen movement, he wanted to bring Christians into the National Socialist fold. He protested against the inhuman terror at Leschwitz.

Krüger was eventually removed from his position as camp commandant because he incarcerated "nonpolitical citizens" in the camp. For example, he arrested a tradesman who he required for his personal use. In a letter dated August 10, 1934, Krüger, looking back, wrote that because of his sudden release from command, he was not in a position to hand over leadership to his successor Sturmführer Langner, in accordance with the regulations. According to Schwerin, Langner did not publicly beat any of the prisoners. The interrogations took place in the factory's former administration building. A Gestapo man from Liegnitz (Legnica) and two SA Truppführers did the interrogations. Efforts were made not to use particularly brutal forms of torture. Did this have something to do with the imminent end of the camp? Contemporary records show that Leschwitz was dissolved on August 30, 1933, due to the constant and increasingly vocal protests from the local population. The protests reflect the population's civil courage. Nevertheless, there are doubts whether that was the main reason for the closure of the camp. Perhaps the Nazis had plans that extended beyond the region. In any event, the report in the next sentence states that the prisoners were transferred to other concentration camps, mostly to Sonnenburg, Hainewalde, and Hohnstein in the Sächsische Schweiz.

The regional daily press reported relatively extensively in a number of articles on the trial of former personnel at Leschwitz. This was done in rather emotional tones. The former camp commandant Krüger admitted that he had joined the SA and the party in 1929 and was the longest-serving SA man who "looked after the camp."[1] Unlike most of the other guards, he admitted his deeds. On the other hand, he denied the existence of the gallows as alleged by the prisoners or that he buried two prisoners alive. The state prosecutor had argued for lifelong imprisonment. He was sentenced to 15 years. On March 6, 1948, the other guards were sentenced to terms of between 2 months and 8 years. Krüger was stripped of his citizen's rights for life and the others for 10 years. All the convicted were sentenced accordingly. The Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN) called the people of Görlitz together on March 11, 1948, to a demonstation against the Nazi criminals in the Evangelical Vereinshaus. Former prisoners from Leschwitz, Stadtrat Horstmann and Kleinert spoke at the demonstration. More than a year later, on June 23, 1949, the press reported on another trial of a former member of the guard staff before the Zweite Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Bautzen (Second Major Criminal Division of the State Court of Bautzen) in Görlitz.[2]

SOURCES A longer version of this essay appears as Roland Otto, "Rache an politischen Gegner und Privatinteressen: Das Konzentrationslager Leschwitz bei Görlitz," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 237–244. An older study by Ernst Kretzschmar, *Widerstandskampf Görlitzer Antifaschisten 1933–1945* (Görlitz, 1973), reproduces the most important extracts from the memoirs and provides a commentary. Kretzschmar puts more emphasis on the SPD resistance than was usual in the early 1970s. A chronicle of documents, which reproduces press and other articles from the archives, is Erich Koksch and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation*, vol. 2, *1918–1945* (Görlitz, 1984). As part of an eight-part series, there is a useful illustrated history of the town in *Görlitz unter dem Hakenkreuz* (n.p., 1982), which deals with the Leschwitz concentration camp. The pictures are reproduced from the city's art collections.

One press article about this camp was published in the Nazi publication *NGA*, May 13, 1933. Press reports on the postwar trials may be found in the *LR*, 1948. Further details are to be found in a collection of newspaper articles compiled in 1948 at the RAG on the themes of justice and the proceedings. Two

other articles were published in 1961 and 1974. In RAG, there are only a few files that deal directly with the Weinhübel (Leschwitz) concentration camp. A few files of the VVN touch on the subject. Memoirs of mostly Communist resistance fighters from the area deal with Leschwitz in more or less detail. Understandably, they are often emotional and reflect the tensions with the Social Democrats. Paul Schwerin's report "Erinnerungen aus meiner 10½-jährigen politischen Inhaftiertung" (unpub. MSS, RAG) is more informative. Useful are the still unpublished documents of the Weinhübler local historians Fritz Wünsch and Joachim Morgenstern. See also the files of the RAG, 1188, Konzentrationslager Weinhübel May 13, 1933 to August 11, 1934, Rep. IV, S. 6, Nr. 189, R34; F7.

Roland Otto
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

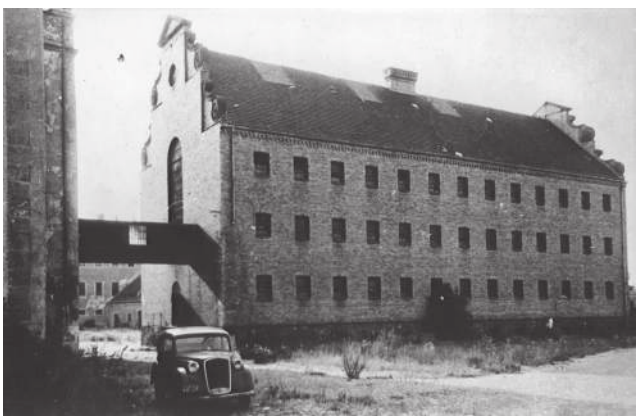
NOTES

1. "Der SA-Schläger vom Lager Leschwitz," *LR*, March 8, 1948.
2. Ibid.

LICHTENBURG

The Lichtenburg concentration camp, a so-called collection camp (*Sammellager*), was established in June 1933 in a Renaissance castle in Prettin an der Elbe, between Wittenberg and Torgau in the then-state of Prussia (province of Saxony, Government District of Merseburg). The camp existed as a camp for males until 1937; the prisoners were transferred in August to Buchenwald. Between December 1937 and May 1938, it functioned as the main women's concentration camp for the whole of Germany. After May 1939 the women were taken to Ravensbrück. In its early period, Lichtenburg was the main concentration camp in central Germany.

Despite sanitation problems that led to the closure of an earlier prison on the site in 1928, the president of the district government and police president in Halle decided in 1933 to use the castle for 1,000 "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). The impetus for the decision stemmed from the Prussian Ministry of Interior, which on March 17, 1933, issued an inquiry as to a possible site for a camp that could hold political opponents of the National Socialist regime. At the beginning of June, a prisoner detachment began work to prepare the castle for the prisoners. On July 13, it was announced that the camp had opened. It was overcrowded shortly after it was opened. There were 1,600 prisoners in the castle in July 1933, and in September there were 2,000. A directive of the Merseburg district president on July 7, 1933, stated the following: "The primary function of the Sammellager in Lichtenburg is to hold elements opposed to the state, who in the interests and preservation of state security must be held under arrest for a long period of time."[1]



A postwar view of the inner court of the Lichtenburg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 56158, COURTESY OF BA

The prisoners were brought to Lichtenburg from a variety of torture sites, police prisons, and judicial prisons—for example, from the police prison in Halle in June; from the Magdeburg barracks camp in the Magdeburg sports stadium Neue Welt in August; from the Emsland camp Börgermoor in the autumn and winter of 1933; from the Sonnenburg concentration camp in March 1934; and from the SS prison in Berlin, Columbia-Haus, in August 1934. Until the summer of 1934, the Lichtenburg concentration camp functioned primarily as a holding camp for prisoners from the early SA camps. For example, inmates from the early Oranienburg concentration camp were brought here after its closure in July 1934. This camp functioned for several years as the second main camp in the eastern section of central Germany.

Initially, the Lichtenburg concentration camp was secured by a regular detachment of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police). These guards were replaced in the middle of August 1933 by an SS detachment under the command of SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger. "We could observe in this unit how quite normal young men developed into sadists, killers and murderers," wrote the former prisoner Walter Kramer, whose memoir is one of the most important witness testimonies on the camp.[2] In September–October the camp was classified as a state concentration camp and reorganized according to Prussian requirements. These requirements envisaged that prisoners would be treated as if they were in prison. Civilian administration would be separated from the security and control provided by the SS. In reality, this practice failed, as can be seen from the example of Lichtenburg. The civilian camp directors, August Widder and Hans Faust, were no match for the infamous SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger, who was notorious for his brutality. Widder even feared for his life.

SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke was in command of Lichtenburg between May 29 and July 1934. He established a political department (*Politische Abteilung*) and by June 1, 1934, had reorganized Lichtenburg along the lines of the Dachau model, which envisaged an elaborate system of rules, mistreatment, and punishment. In June 1934, Heinrich Himmler transferred control of all civilian camps to the SS; at the same time, he took control of Lichtenburg from the Merseburg district president.

There were five SS commandants of the men's camp between May 1934 and its dissolution in August 1937 (Eicke, Bernhard Schmidt, Otto Reich, Hermann Baranowski, Hans Helwig) and at least five camp directors. The commandants of

the women's camp were Günther Tamaschke, until February 1938; Alex Piorkowski, until September 1938; and Max Koegel, until its dissolution in May 1939. In December 1935 there were 359 male SS guards. In July 1936, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Elbe" (Death's Head Battalion Elbe), which was stationed in Lichtenburg, had 538 men. The little Elbe town of Prettin only had a population, on the other hand, of 2,000 inhabitants. The SS wardresses who guarded the female prisoners between 1937 and 1939 were trained for service in Ravensbrück.

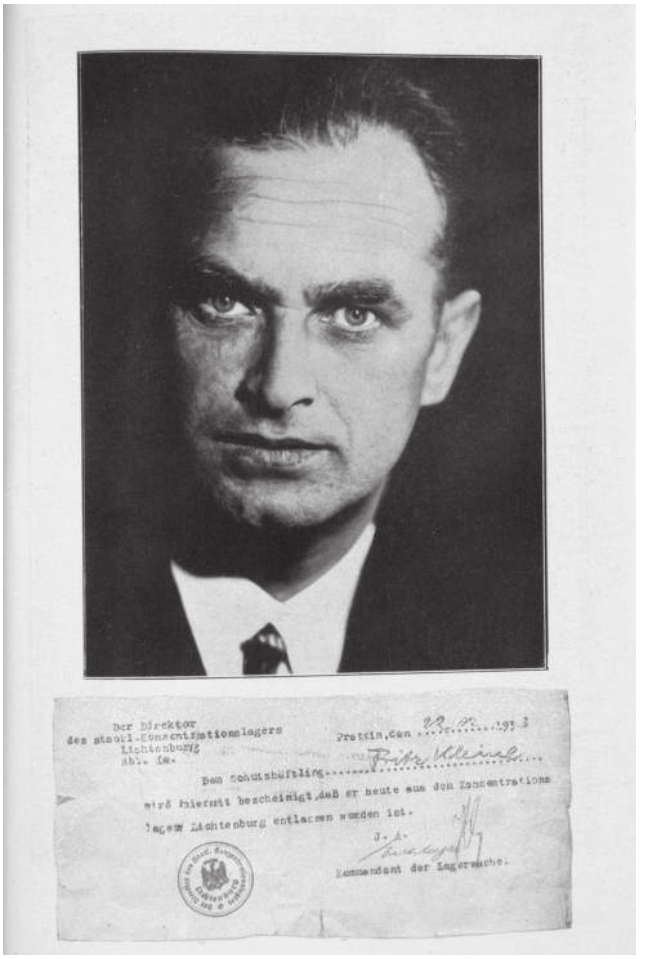
More than 5,000 names of Lichtenburg's male prisoners are known. According to the political conditions, the numbers varied between several hundred and around 2,000. The variations were large.

The men's camp was dissolved on August 18, 1937. Four months after its dissolution, the whole contingent of female prisoners in the Moringen women's concentration camp was transferred to Lichtenburg. The first transport of 200 women arrived in December 15, 1937. Other transports followed, with the last on March 21, 1938. As with the men's camp, the numbers increased rapidly, above the predetermined number of 600. In November 1938 there were 800 women. Other sources say 1,200 women. When the women's camp was dissolved on May 15, there were between 900 and 950 women who were taken in several transports to Ravensbrück. It is estimated that there were 1,400 women in Lichtenburg, all told. The names of 1,115 are known.

If one looks at the reasons why prisoners were held at Lichtenburg, there is a changing picture over the course of the years. It reflects the stages and emphases of persecution by the National Socialist state between 1933 and 1939: in the initial phase the focus was on political opponents, and in later years this was expanded to the persecution of other groups who for various reasons were excluded from the National Socialist "people's community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

In the initial phases, the prisoners were almost exclusively opponents of the National Socialist regime, mostly Communists but including Social Democrats and citizens who were active politically but not as part of any political group. A large number were Jewish prisoners. In the autumn and winter of 1933, targeted Jews and intellectuals were taken from the Emsland camps to the Lichtenburg concentration camp. "Unlike as in the prisons 'Aryans' and 'Jews' were differentiated in the camp," according to the Jewish prisoner Ernesto Kroch, who arrived at the Lichtenburg concentration camp in 1936.[3] For a while they were separately held under tight security. Between 1937 and 1939, Jewish women were allocated to the most difficult labor detachments. The Lichtenburg concentration camp clearly shows the antisemitic and racial characteristics of early National Socialist terror.

In addition to opponents of the regime, there were other groups who for a time were the majority of the prisoners in the camp. After the "Röhm Putsch" (Night of the Long Knives) of 1934, there were around 60 SA members held in July 1934. In June 1935, after the use of Paragraph 175 was intensified, there were 325 homosexuals registered among 711 prisoners. They especially suffered from mistreatment and


Der Direktor
des staatl. Konzentrationslagers
Lichtenburg
Abt. IA.

Prettin, den 22. 12. 1933

Fritz Kleine

Dem Schutzhäftling

wird hiermit bescheinigt, daß er heute aus dem Konzentrationslager Lichtenburg entlassen worden ist.

Heil Hitler!

Kommandant der Lagerwache.

Photograph and release certificate of Lichtenburg prisoner Fritz Kleine, December 22, 1933.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934

discrimination. Other groups were the so-called asocials—beggars, alcoholics, and others who were rounded up because their lifestyles did not conform or because they had prior convictions and were punished with forced labor and taken to concentration camps—and preventive custody prisoners (*Vorbeugungshäftlinge*), people classified as "common criminals" (*Gewohnheitsverbrecher*), or "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) who were transferred to concentration camps after they had served their time in prison.

A large proportion of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses (Ernste Bibelforscher), who were banned within Germany in 1935. They were a majority of the female prisoners. Most were classified as incorrigible and were held in a special punishment area. Reports relate that they were brutally punished because they refused to give the Hitler salute (*Hitlergruss*) and were not prepared to listen to Hitler's speeches broadcast over the loudspeakers. "They attached fire hoses to the hydrants. In the evening when they demanded that we listen to the speech and when we refused they turned the hydrants on and turned the strong jets of water on us. Station

Four was soon under water, running down the stairs. If the water did not force you outside the door you were forcibly taken out to the court yard. Wet to the skin we had to stand for the duration of the speech in a cold October evening in the court yard. We were given fourteen days' arrest and Station Four was given three weeks' arrest."[4] Seventy male and 424 female Jehovah's Witnesses were held here. There were also a few female "Gypsies" in Lichtenburg concentration camp.

The female Lichtenburg prisoners included all important prisoner groups in the area under National Socialist control in the years 1937 to 1939, including Austria, which was annexed in March–April 1938.

The building greatly influenced the prison conditions in Lichtenburg: a worn-out, cold, damp structure with hygienic conditions from the Middle Ages, large dormitories in a Renaissance building, and tiny cells in a multifloor prison that had been added in 1872. In 1928 the authorities decided that Prussian criminals could not be held there because the conditions were so poor. The 1937 decision to establish a women's concentration camp there following the transfer of the men to the "modern" Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald camps marks the lack of respect that the National Socialist regime had for its female prisoners in the prewar period.

Everyday prison life was hard. The prisoners were treated with great brutality by the SS. The new arrivals had to undergo a spiteful, humiliating procedure. The men were driven into the castle with cudgels and rifle butts. The women had to stand for hours at roll call. The men and women were threatened with death, told that they would only leave Lichtenburg in a coffin. The castle courtyard, which functioned as the roll-call square and exercise yard, was called by the prisoners the Death Curve (*Todeskurve*). Visits from relatives were permitted in the beginning; they could meet and speak with the prisoners in the courtyard, but they were separated by a 2-meter (6.6-feet) control distance. Later, even letter-writing became difficult. Food was of poor quality and deteriorated during the years, with the result that many prisoners did not have sufficient strength to do their work.

The prisoners were forced to do meaningless work, the sole purpose of which was to humiliate them. For example, there was "drawing water" (*Wasserschöpfen*) done at negative temperatures. On the other hand, the prisoners were caught up in a network of forced labor both inside and outside the institution: working in gravel pits, on farms, on drainage systems, or on community projects such as building city parks or the Prettin training ground; laying gardens in the castle grounds; and building. There was also handicraft work, for example, making wooden slippers, basket weaving, tailoring, shoe making, carpentry, electrical work, and book binding. The prisoners worked inside the camp, cleaning toilets, carrying coal, and doing other general tasks and cleaning work for the guards, the majority of whom were based in the castle.

Overcrowding was the norm. Up to 300 male and 140 female prisoners slept in the halls inside the old castle walls, sometimes under the damaged roofs, sometimes without heating. In the small cells in the Prussian prison, there were between 3 and 6 prisoners. Sanitary conditions were completely inadequate. For example, in one large dormitory there were two to five toilets, sometimes only a bucket.

As at Dachau, official visitors, National Socialist sympathizers, and foreign journalists were shown a fictitious show camp. Sometimes the SS were depicted as prisoners and the SS accommodations as the prisoners' accommodations. For the prisoners, everyday life was determined by a system of torture and mistreatment: food deprivation, bans on letters, confiscation of spectacles and walking sticks, hour-long roll calls, being bound to posts, beatings, and whippings, some of which took place on a whipping block (from 1938 this punishment was also meted out to women). It has also been reported that prisoners' heads were stuck in excrement. Yet there were cultural activities. There is said to have been a prison library, readings, musical evenings, and even a cabaret.

Part of the castle had been converted to a jail even when the castle was used as a prison. It had cells for special arrest: the Bunker. The prisoners called it the "paint room" (*Färberei*) because here they were beaten until they were red and blue. "One night a comrade was taken from our dormitory for interrogation. . . . When he returned three days later we scarcely recognized him. He had not eaten for three days and had been in the Bunker. His backside and his back had been beaten so that there was no white skin to be seen. . . . Our comrade often fainted because of the pain. The smell of pus permeated the area."[5] In the 12 unheated cells there was confinement in darkness (*Dunkel-Arrest*), and there was a standing cell (*Stehzelle*). A particularly brutal torture method that was first applied here was the *Krummschliessen*, where a prisoner's arms were pushed backed under the shoulder blades and held in place with chains; the twisted body was then affixed with rope to the bars of the cell. Murders committed in the Bunker were classified as suicides.

Prettin city registers recorded 14 deaths, including a woman who died as the result of SS mistreatment. There were almost certainly more deaths, including at least one female prisoner who died soon after her release as the result of her treatment in prison; others also died at home after their release, and a Prettin bricklayer was beaten to death by the SS because he had greeted the prisoners on the street with the "Red Front" greeting. Many Lichtenburg prisoners were to die later in Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück. Twenty deaths are documented in the archives of the memorial.

In postwar trials, the Lichtenburg concentration camp hardly rated a mention. The SS personnel were transferred to other camps where the conditions were worse. The result was that there were few trials of former Lichtenburg guards that attracted attention. The commandants of the camp died, if they survived the war, without being prosecuted. SS-Truppführer Edgar Entsberger was sentenced to five years' prison in February 1936 for homicide and five counts of physical abuse; the historian Johannes Tuchel suspects that his conviction had something to do with Entsberger's questioning of Hitler's authority. A 1964 proceeding against Entsberger and three other SS men, as well as police members, for the

suspected murder of five Lichtenberg prisoners was halted in 1966, not because there was any doubt as to the deaths but because the prisoners' participation in the acts could not be proven and a charge of accessory to murder was subject to the statute of limitations. In 1948, former SS-Wachmann Martin Schneider and in 1961 former SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer were sentenced to death. The camp commandant Egon Zill—later based in Ravensbrück, Dachau, Natzweiler, and Flossenbürg—was sentenced in 1955 to life imprisonment but was released early. The camp commandant Heinrich Remmert was sentenced in 1966 to two years' prison for crimes committed in Esterwegen and Lichtenburg. Other proceedings were halted.

SOURCES This essay is based on an extensive article that the author wrote for the second volume of the new series *Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*: Stefanie Endlich, "Die Lichtenburg 1933–1939: Haftort politischer Prominenz und Frauen-KZ," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz und Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002). See also Stefanie Endlich, "Lichtenburg," in Das Ort des Terrors: *Geschichte der nationalsoziallistischer Konsentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang, Benz and Barbara Distel, Bdz: *Frühe Lager*, (Munich, 2005), pp. 151–159. The first book on the Lichtenburg concentration camp was published in 1987 in Weimar by Klaus Drobisch; it was republished in 1997 without the ideological constraints imposed by the German Democratic Republic: Drobisch, *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (1987; repr., Wittenberg, 1997). There are two comprehensive works on the early concentration camps and the Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (IKL) that research the development and role of the Lichtenburg concentration camp: Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993); and Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991). A book on the Jehovah's Witnesses in concentration camps deals extensively with Jehovah's Witnesses in Lichtenburg: Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "Und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste," in *Zeugen Jehovas in Moringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen, 2001). About Prettin today and its association with the concentration camp, see the television film by Silke Heinz and Steffen Lüddemann in the MDR-Reihe, "Heimat unterm Hakenkreuz" (November 22, 1999), *Das KZ am Rande der Stadt*.

The AG-L in the Museum Schloss Lichtenburg has collected copies of the most important archival records and has begun to compose a list of prisoners; there is a review of documents that are held in the ASt-Pre and in regional archives. Documents on the development of the concentration camp are primarily held in the LHSA-Me, BA-B (BA-BL and BA-DH), AG-B, AG-R, GDW-B, DIZ-EL, as well as GAZJ. The autobiographical works that should be mentioned are: Lina Haag and Eine Handvoll Staub, *Widerstand einer Frau 1933–1945* (1947; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995); Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten* (1935; repr., Berlin and Weimar, 1975); Irmgard Litten, *Eine Mutter kämpft gegen Hitler* (1940; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1984); Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel, die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–212.

Stefanie Endlich
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. LHSA-Me, Rep. C 48, Tit. Le, Nr. 1189a.
2. In the KZ Lichtenburg. AG-L, G 831, p. 259, original document in AG-B.
3. Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 70.
4. Memoirs of Ilse Unterdörfer, GAZJ.
5. Memoir of Gustav Flohr, Reichstagsabgeordneter der KPD und Mitglied der Internationalen Brigaden, AG-L, 809 G, p. 10.

MAGDEBURG

At the close of May 1933, the SA established an "assembly camp" at Neue Welt Stadium in Magdeburg, Prussia. The republican paramilitary organization Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB), was the stadium's rightful owner. Despite the nomenclature, Neue Welt was an early "protective custody" camp. Formed at the behest of the Magdeburg police president, it was intended to relieve the overcrowded town jail of political detainees. The prisoners from another temporary camp, a gymnasium belonging to the river police, were also dispatched to Neue Welt. Magdeburg held approximately 200 leftist prisoners, including Social Democrats, Communists, trade unionists, and Reichsbanner members.[1]

The Magdeburg police president's adjutant, SA-Führer Gabel, held mock court for Neue Welt detainees. In this connection, some prisoners were conducted to nearby Dornburg Castle for torture. They remained in a cellar, into which they had been rushed at gunpoint, until their kangaroo trial. An account by Richard Stuwe, a Dornburg torture victim but not a Neue Welt prisoner, made clear that the prisoners were beaten bloody during their ordeal.[2]

The authorities dissolved the Magdeburg camp in August 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary documentation consists of eyewitness testimony by Richard Stuwe, which is available in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg*, part 2, *1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970). According to Drobisch and Wieland, the AG-L also possesses a file, No. 249, on Neue Welt.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Richard Stuwe testimony in *Volksstimme*, *V.* October 13, 1952, reproduced in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg*, part 2, *1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970), p. 62.
2. Ibid.

MISSLER (WALSRODER STRASSE) [AKA BREMEN-FINDORF]

To mark the first anniversary of the National Socialists' coming to power, Bremen's mayor, Dr. Markert, presented on March 6, 1934, a "current balance" of persecution and arrest:

> From March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, a total of around thirty-one thousand new detainees have been processed by the Secret State Police; of these around 4,200 have been dealt with by the executive. Around 950 houses have been searched, around 450 people have been arrested in high treason proceedings, around 260 people brought before court. . . .
>
> A total of 1,305 people have found themselves in "protective custody" from March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, and at this time fifty-five people are in protective custody at Ochtumsand concentration camp, five are in prison awaiting trial, thirty-seven are in prison, one person is in the hospital; all told ninety-eight people.[1]

These numbers document the extent of persecution during the first year of the Nazi seizure of power. Most of the 1,305 people who found themselves in Bremen "protective custody" passed through the Missler concentration camp. How did it happen that of all places the Missler halls of Norddeutscher Lloyd in Bremen-Findorff—in the middle of the city and situated close to the main train station—were converted into a concentration camp?[2]

Dr. Markert, appointed head of the Reich Commissariat for Bremen on March 6, 1933, by edict of Nazi Reich Interior Minister Frick gave the office of police chief to SA-Sturmbannführer Theodor Laue on March 8, 1933. Laue, for his part, assigned the police administration to the head of the Criminal Police, Dr. Georg Pott. Thus the names are mentioned of those responsible for the setting up of the Bremen concentration camp—as a state institution under the superintendence of Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Laue.[3]

After February 28, 1933, the number of arrests surpassed the capacity of the prisons in Bremen. Like many new leaders in those parts of Germany where concentration camps came into being in the first months after the Nazis' seizure of power, the Bremen police chief was also compelled by March 1933 at the latest to seek out a concentration camp for his numerous protective custody prisoners. On March 31, 1933, the police president delegated the administration and supervision of the prisoners to 40 auxiliary police officials from the ranks of the SS. While the SS took over "looking after" the protective custody prisoners in Missler, beginning on April 13, 1933, the SA administered the confiscated German Communist Party's (KPD) clubhouse and there took on the dirty work of torture in the so-called *Gosselhaus* of the Gestapo.[4]

The arrest of opponents during the "struggle for power" period initially affected members of the KPD. Already on March 4, 1933, the Bremen police took 40 Communist functionaries into protective custody. Prominent Socialists and unionists soon followed, including Social Democratic Party (SPD) Members of the Reichstag (MdRs) such as Alfred Faust and Bremen state parliament members. The population of Bremen was informed about the arrests in detail, especially about the "reeducation methods" in the Missler concentration camp.[5]

The Missler halls were well known in Bremen. In 1905, Johann Friedrich Missler set up the emigration halls for Norddeutscher Lloyd on the Walsroder Strasse grounds, with four halls for 250 East European emigrants. During World War I, the building was used as a reserve sick bay. In 1919, it served as lodging for the "Freikorps Caspari," which defeated troops of the Bremen Soviet Republic on February 4, 1919.

In August 1932, the four camps of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) came into being for members of the Reichsbanner, the Labor Welfare, Wehrwolf, and the Deutsch-Nationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband (German National Clerks' Association). In accordance with a senate resolution, the emigrant halls were converted into a concentration camp at the end of March 1933.[6]

The conditions at the Missler concentration camp were not concealed from the Bremen population. In addition to the numerous reports about Missler in both Bremen newspapers, information made its way outside through released prisoners and relatives who had visited. Mothers and wives publicly displayed the bloody laundry of tortured concentration camp prisoners, and some prisoners could inform their relatives about the conditions while on short-term leave due to a death in the family. In addition, the grounds were visible for residents of Bremen-Findorf, who became eye- and ear witnesses to mistreatment. Residents on neighboring streets (Walsroder Strasse and Hemmstrasse) had a direct view from their balconies and windows of events in the camp. At the beginning of May 1933, Laue had to investigate complaints in Missler with a senior public prosecutor. The Polizeisenator felt compelled to replace the SS guard unit with SA people. In

the senate file there is a short note from May 6, 1933: "SS guards relieved, replaced by SA."[7]

The senate's press campaign as well as the numerous warnings and orders published in the daily papers did not have the desired success. On the contrary—with the publications the camp inmates were certain that the resistance would be continued despite all deterrents. The Nazi concept of reeducation did not work. At the beginning of July 1933, the Polizeisenator proposed to dismantle Missler and transfer the prisoners outside of Bremen. On July 11, 1933, the senate protocol records: "in view of continuous communist machinations he (Laue) intends to abolish the concentration camp on Walsroder Strasse and house around fifty especially dangerous prisoners at Fort Langlütjen II. . . . The remaining prisoners will be appropriately enlisted for profitable work at the so-called Ochtumsand."[8] Only in September 1933, however, was the Bremen concentration camp moved to less accessible outlying districts. Langlütjen II concentration camp was closed on January 25, 1934. The inmates went to Ochtumsand concentration camp, which had been established in September 1933 on a former Norddeutscher Lloyd barge. On May 15, 1934, this concentration camp closed its small holds, in which up to 100 prisoners had been held, guarded, and often abused by 30 SA men.[9]

Laue was put on trial before the Bremen Spruchkammer in January 1949. He was sentenced as a "major activist" (*Grossaktivist*) to four years of special labor and was stripped of 25 percent of his assets. As Laue was given credit for three years and four months in internment, he was able to immediately resume his successful job as a businessman.[10]

In March and April of 1951 several Nazi staff stood before the Grand Criminal Court of the Bremen Regional Court. Former members of the guard at Missler were pronounced guilty, sometimes collectively and sometimes individually, of doing bodily harm while on duty; to the extent that they beat with a rubber truncheon or kicked with boots, they were also pronounced guilty of causing severe bodily harm. The regional court proved in the "Missler Trial" that the 15 accused had abused 78 protective custody prisoners. They got off with sentences from six months to two years and six months. Because of time served in internment and labor camps, most of the accused were in this case immediately released as well.[11]

SOURCES The author's article goes back to an earlier study: "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ. Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150. A recently updated version appeared under the title "Gleichschaltung, Unterdrückung und Schutzhaft in der roten Hochburg Bremen: Das Konzentrationslager Bremen-Missler," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt. Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 245–273. References to the concentration camp are also in Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4: 102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Lothar Wieland, *Das KZ Langlütjen II und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

The main files are stored in StA-Br, primarily among the files of the Polizeidirektion 4.65/17. On the Gestapo, State Police Office Bremen, for 1933–1934, see 3-D.9, Nr. 86; on the protective detention of political opponents, see the Senatsregistratur 3–5.1a. On the Missler trials after 1945, see the files of the attorney at the Bremen Regional Court (4.89, 2–8). As for oral sources, I refer to the 30 former concentration camp prisoners who got a chance to speak in the author's 1982 study.

Jörg Wollenberg
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. StA-Br, 3-s 1a, Nr. 27.
2. On the history of the Missler halls, see Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager: Zur Geschichte der frühen KZ am Beispiel von Bremen Missler und Ahrensbök/OH," *Information zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte* 36 (1999): 16.
3. Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4:102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ: Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150.
4. StA-Br, 4.65/17 (Polizeidirektion).
5. *BrN*, April 2, April 6, April 29, June 17, 1933; *BNZ*, July 7, July 23, August 13, 1933.
6. *BrN*, March 25, 1933; Annegret Waldschmidt, "Der freiwillige Arbeitsdienst in Bremen," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 62–80.
7. StA-Br, Senatsregistratur 1a Nr. 277, 64, Nr.1.
8. StA-Br, Senatsregistratur 1a Nr. 277.
9. *BrN*, September 13, 1933.
10. *WeKu*, January 20–25, 1949.
11. *WeKu*, April 17, 1951.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (MEN)

On April 8, 1933, the Hannoverian police opened a concentration camp at Moringen, located inside the existing provincial workhouse. Polizeioberleutnant Müller was its first commandant.[1] Situated near the Solling River, northwest of Göttingen in Prussian Hannover, Moringen had successively served as an orphanage, penitentiary, and workhouse between 1738 and 1933. In the summer of 1933, it officially became a state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*), while maintaining its role as a detention site for political prisoners. Its correctional inmates (*Korrigenden*), who were criminals, beggars, vagrants, welfare recipients, alcoholics, and prostitutes, performed therapeutic labor. During the Great Depression, the correctional population dwindled. Except for political content and SS violence, the concentration camp, which the Nazis grafted onto Moringen's multiple functions, followed a workhouse model of reeducation.

On March 15, 1933, Oberinspektor Gottschick of Hannover telephoned workhouse Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack, to inquire about the establishment of a 200-prisoner camp on the premises. Space was immediately available for 4 women and 10 men; indeed, two male detainees entered Moringen in March. Krack relocated the infirmary and the male nurse dorms, originally found in the men's long house, to the women's house, thus opening space in the infirmary for the camp. He announced that the detainees' daily charge would be 1.45 Reichsmark (RM).[2]

Although the male population averaged 321 detainees per month during its seven-month existence, turnover was rapid. The extant prisoners' medical files reviewed by historian Hans Hesse show that 59 were released after three weeks, 32 after one month, 30 following two months, and 31 after three months.[3] Most detainees were Communists. According to Hermann Wenskowski, the first Jehovah's Witness entered Moringen in June 1933.[4] Unlike male and female correctional inmates, who wore black uniforms, the detainees wore civilian clothing. The political prisoners were strictly segregated from correctional inmates.

Müller and 50 Hannoverian municipal police officers (Schupos) arrived on April 8. Augmenting their force were 30 SA, SS, and Stahlhelm deputies, mostly from Göttingen or Moringen. Patterned after asylum orders, Krack and Müller established the camp's House and Day Regulations (*Haus- und Tagesordnungen*), providing for political reeducation and nonviolent punishment, such as mail restrictions and isolation.[5] Detainee labor was voluntary. A recurrent source of friction existed between Krack, who assumed the title of camp director, and the four successive commandants, because Krack demanded their deference. The first 100 male detainees arrived from Hannover on April 11.

Prisoners were encouraged to attend religion services in the institutional chapel. Initially few did so, but attendance jumped to 264 by April 30. Müller soon discovered that the prisoners were holding secret political discussions in the chapel.[6]

On May 1, 1933, the National Labor Day, the camp authorities put the detainees on public display and made them listen to Nazi broadcasts. On May 2, the day of the trade union ban, the *Northeimer Beobachter* newspaper boasted that Moringen's "iron discipline" prepared detainees for admission into the Nazi Socialist Factory Cell Organization (NSBO).[7] By May 31, 300 detainees had been released. Some 177 of the 264 prisoners, or 67 percent, worked in the workhouse or on external projects.[8]

On June 1, the Hannoverian police appointed Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe as the new commandant. On June 3, the first two female detainees arrived at Moringen, thus opening the "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzhaftabteilung*).

On the evening of June 21, Stockhofe heard prisoners chanting songs of the German Communist Party (KPD). Drawn pistols silenced the detainees, but the guards were unable to stop the ensuing hunger strike. Organized by August Baumgarte, Johannes Engelke, Kurt Fröse, August Steffens, August Tünnermann, and Viktor Zudrowitz, 28 prisoners protested political reeducation and demanded improvements in food and working conditions.[9] Stockhofe blamed the incident on the recent arrival of 15 Osnabrück detainees, accustomed, he claimed, to generous quantities of good food.[10] Stockhofe's press blackout did not prevent unofficial news about the strike from spreading beyond Moringen's walls.[11]

To suppress the strike, Krack moved the women's section to the women's house, segregated the strikers in the emptied room, and ordered them to be deprived of water. For health reasons, Stockhofe and the workhouse physician, Dr. Otto Wolten-Pecksen, initially objected to the latter course. To Polizeimajor Bergin of the Hannoverian Schupo, Krack made clear that the consequences did not bother him: "We must not shrink away from the implementation of this measure, even if it yields around thirty-forty deaths."[12] At 7:00 P.M. on June 24, Stockhofe closed the taps but opened negotiations with the strikers the next day. The protestors felt the immediate effects of Krack's order, as Baumgarte recalled: "It was a hot summer. We had awful thirst. Soon the sanitary facilities also had no more water!"[13] On June 26, the protest ended with the (unfulfilled) promise of better food. During the strike, Stockhofe, Wolten-Pecksen, and Krack force-fed a weakened detainee.[14]

In retaliation for the strike, the Hannoverian police curtailed mail privileges.[15] Parcels were now accepted only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Effective August 1, prisoners could write two, two-page letters monthly to a single addressee on the second and fourth Tuesdays; letters addressed to prisoners were accepted monthly on the first and third Fridays and returned to sender if received on other days. Under the new regulations, prisoners could receive 5 RM monthly and exchange one washing packet per month.[16]

On August 1, SS-Sturmführer Otto Cordes assumed command of Moringen. Although Krack had demanded that Bergin replace the Schupo with SS staff during the hunger strike, the handover followed Heinrich Himmler's appointment the previous June as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapa). The guards consisted of 41 SS and SA, including 24 locals. Cordes secured new labor contracts, including rock quarrying and assignments at the German Air Sport League (DLV) and the Töneshof airport, but only 31 percent (117 out of 380) of the detainees worked in August. In collective punishment imposed upon Prussian detainees for the May 1, 1933, Hindenburg Tree incident, Moringen's prisoners were denied noon rations for three days in early August.[17]

On September 1, SS-Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr became Moringen's last commandant and imposed a harsher regime. Prisoners had to give the Hitler salute, wear military haircuts, and listen to Nazi broadcasts on a loudspeaker specially ordered in time for the Nürnberg party rally. Under Cordes, the SS tortured detainees in isolation cells, but Flohr restricted beatings to the "joy room" (*Freudenzimmer*), in an unsuccessful attempt to muffle the screams. One prisoner,

Otto Bokelmann, died from torture at Moringen, and a second, August Witte, succumbed due to injuries sustained at police prison Leonhardtstrasse. Krack repeatedly complained to the Hannoverian police about SS violence.[18]

From July to October 1933, the Prussian Ministry of Interior and the Moringen staff discussed the camp's future. On June 27, Krack urged the admission of more women, in the expectation that they were easier to control and could provide a niche for the underused facility. On October 12, the Prussian Ministry of Interior dispatched 80 men from Moringen to Papenburg, in exchange for 150 women. On November 1, Moringen became a women's state concentration camp. On November 28, the Ministry of Interior sent the remaining 168 men to Oranienburg, thus closing the men's camp. Krack headed the Moringen women's camp from 1933 to 1938 and remained the workhouse director until 1944. In 1948, he resumed this post until retiring in 1954.[19]

Cordes died at St. Mère Église in June 1944.[20] In 1948, the Göttingen Court of Assizes sentenced Flohr to six years in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity. The Göttingen Spruchgericht also sentenced him to one and a half years for SS membership. Krack and Wolter-Pecksen testified against him in both proceedings.

SOURCES The standard work about the Moringen men's camp is Hans Hesse, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003). A helpful overview of the three Moringen camps is Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 111–146. A valuable survey of the workhouse is Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen: KZ-Gedenkstätte Moringen, 2004). On the Moringen memorial, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Gedenkstätte Moringen maintains an informative Web site at www.gedenkstaette-moringen.de.

As cited in Hesse's publications, primary sources for this camp begin with the NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (No. 1 consists of Krack's files on the men's and women's camps); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1 (Verschiedenes, 1933–34, including Meldungen der Kommandanten des KZ Moringen), No. 3 (Krankenakten der Insassen des KZ Moringen), and No. 4 (Entlassungen); BDCPF for Wolter-Pecksen, Flohr, and Cordes; and the judicial proceedings against Flohr: BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; NHStA-H, 721 Göttingen, Acc. 93/79, No. 58, Gerichtsverfahren gegen Friedrich Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifierungsakte Flohr. Many of the patient files (Krankenakten) were lost at the end of World War II. The most important prisoner testimony for this camp consists of letters by Hannah Vogt, Moringen's first female detainee, which contain information applicable to the men's camp. Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, reproduces the memoir of Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbewegung im Harz" (unpub. MSS, Goslar, 1964). The testimonies of prisoner Karl Ebeling and August Baumgarte are located in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965); and more of Baumgarte's testimony can be found in Zorn, *Widerstand in Hannover: Gegen Reaktion und Faschismus, 1920–1946* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1977). The latter source also reproduces a photograph of Moringen detainees with Schupo guards. An interview with former prisoner Otto Kreikemeier is located in Wolfgang Schäfer, "'Schutzhaft' im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), pp. 80–82. Anonymous testimony by witnesses 3A1 (M) and 63 Ge (as encoded by URF) about SS torture can be found in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936). On the hunger strike, useful testimony by the wife of prisoner Theodor Gassmann can be found in Dora Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," in *Antifaschistische Reihe*, vol. 2, *Hannoversche Frauen gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945; Lebensberichte, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte* (Hannover: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten-Niedersachsen e.V., Kreisvereinigung Hannover, 1982), pp. 40–45. Gassmann's account also reproduces Stockhofe's report to Bergin, dated June 24, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Kommandobefehl, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1570, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 118–119.

2. Krack Memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 114–115.

3. Meldungen der Kommandanten des KZ Moringen, 15.4.-16.11.1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752; and Krankenakten der Insassen des KZ Moringen, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 3, cited in Hans Hesse, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April-November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), pp. 113–115.

4. August Baumgarte testimony in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965),

p. 72; Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbewegung im Harz," reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 134.

5. Haus- und Tagesordnungen, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1582–1585, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 120.

6. Müller Report in NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1602, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 41, 47.

7. Quotation in "Fruchtbringende NSBO-Arbeit in dem Konzentrationslager Moringen," *NB*, May 2, 1933, reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 51–52.

8. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1626, in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 35.

9. Hannover Regierungspräsident to PrIM, October 3, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1775, and Stockhofe to Bergin, June 23,1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1726, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.

10. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 22, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1768, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 66.

11. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 23, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1726, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 74; Theodor Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," in *Antifaschistische Reihe*, vol. 2, *Hannoversche Frauen gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945; Lebensberichte, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte* (Hannover: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten-Niedersachsen e.V., Kreisvereinigung Hannover, 1982), pp. 40–45, 42.

12. Quotation in Krack to Bergin, June 24, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 92, quoted in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.

13. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 24, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1769, reproduced in Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," p. 42; quotation from Baumgarte testimony in Gerda Zorn, *Wilderstand in Hannover-Gegen Reaktion und Faschismus 1920–1946* (Frankfurt am Main-Röderberg Verlag, 1977), p. 73.

14. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 25, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1770–1771; and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, 96, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 69–70.

15. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1704, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 72.

16. Letters of July 19, 1933; July 27, 1933; and August 5, 1933, in Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 127, 128, 130.

17. On labor, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1826, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 88; Letter of August 5, 1933, in Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis*, p. 130.

18. Flohr to Bergin, September 1, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1937, reproduced in Wolfgang Schäfer, "'Schutzhaft' im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), p. 82; Karl Ebeling testimony in Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand*, p. 33; witnesses 3A1 (M) and 61 Ge in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936), pp. 18, 26; testimonies of Hugo Krack, Otto Wolter-Pecksen, Niels-Joachim Krack, and Dr. Tolle in BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifierungsakte Flohr, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 102–106.

19. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, pp. 85, 90, 169, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 79, 83.

20. Otto Cordes BDCPF, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 187.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (WOMEN)

On November 1, 1933, the state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*) at Moringen-Solling in Prussian Hannover became a women's concentration camp.[1] Camp Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack headed the staff, which consisted of the chief overseer, Frau Rehmer, and four unarmed members of the National Socialist Women's Association (NSF).[2] Although local SS escorted outside details, Moringen was never a camp administered by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). Averaging 90 female detainees per month, it held approximately 1,350 women between 1933 and 1938. Peaking at 450 in the fall of 1937, its population consisted of Communists, Social Democrats, regime critics, Jewish "returnees," and most prominently, Jehovah's Witnesses.[3] With the introduction of Bavarian and Swabian women in February 1936, Moringen became the only women's camp in the Reich.[4] In 1937, some criminals and prostitutes entered the camp, instead of the workhouse, where they would have been female "correctional inmates" (*Korrigendeninnen*).[5] Until 1937, the detainees occupied the second floor of the women's house, then moved to a bigger space in the men's long house. Called the "black maidens" (*schwarze Mädchen*) because of their uniforms, the female correctional inmates lived on the first floor of the women's house. The administration strictly separated the two groups.

Beginning on March 15, 1933, Hannover planned to hold female detainees at Moringen.[6] The "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzhaftabteilung*) opened on June 3, with the admission of Communists Hannah Vogt and Marie Peix. The female prisoners moved twice that month, first to a larger room in the men's long house infirmary and then to the women's house, while their former quarters were used for the isolation of those men who were conducting hunger strikes.[7]

When Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe was commandant, Krack asserted exclusive control over the women's detachment. Less deferential to him were commandants Sturmführer Otto Cordes (August 1 to 31) and Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr (September 1 to November 28), whose SS guarded the section until November 1, 1933. The SS were strict with the women but—unlike their treatment of male prisoners—stopped short of torture.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

On October 3, 1933, Prussian Ministry of Interior officials Janich and Schubotz inquired about the establishment of a 150-prisoner women's camp at Moringen. Since June, Krack had called for expanding the women's detachment. Calculating that detention would create a niche for the underused workhouse, he expected that holding female prisoners would obviate the need for guards and that daily confinement costs could thus be reduced from 1.45 to 1.35 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner.[8] On October 12, the Ministry of Interior ordered the transport of 80 men from Moringen to the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) and dispatched 150 women to the camp. In a bid to secure employment for the camp, Krack offered to establish laundry services for the 4,000 prisoners at Papenburg.[9] Papenburg's recent command shake-up may explain why he did not receive a response. During the 1933 Christmas amnesty, 102 women were released. When the Prussian Ministry of Interior closed Brauweiler in March 1934, Moringen became the only women's camp in Prussia.

In April 1934, Krack's "Service and House Regulation for the Women's Protective Custody Camp Moringen" prescribed a daily routine, which included work, exercise, and coffee breaks. It also provided for religious services, originally including the observance of Jewish high holidays, and for nonviolent punishments, like deprivation of mail. The smoking ban reflected the regime's disapproval of tobacco use by German women. Particularly onerous were collective postal bans because with their husbands often in custody elsewhere and their children with relatives or in institutions, the detainees attempted to hold their families together through correspondence. Rehmer censored the mail, as evidenced by her trademark initial found on prisoners' letters. The library furnished Nazi propaganda, and listening to regime broadcasts was compulsory.[10]

On August 19, 1934, the prisoners voted in a Reich plebiscite. According to Elizabeth von Gustedt, a former NSF member imprisoned after the "Night of the Long Knives," only two detainees cast ballots against the regime. In order to avoid prolonging time in custody, Rehmer advised the women to take their families into consideration when voting.[11]

In the spring of 1935, Elizabeth Fox Howard and her cousin, Marion Fox, of the British Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee visited Moringen. They interviewed Milli Beermann, a Jewish woman who appealed for assistance from the American Friends and who subsequently attributed her release to their visit. Howard and Fox also met the other prisoners and commented favorably on the Witnesses' sacrificial attitude.[12]

The women worked, ate, and talked in day rooms. Named after arrest categories or places of origin, the rooms were the Prussian Hall (Preussensaal), the Jews' Hall (Judensaal), the Bavarians' Hall (Bayernsaal), and the Jehovah's Witnesses' Hall (Bibelforschersaal). Although Jews were not supposed to enter the "Aryan" halls, the women often ignored this restriction. The other accommodations were Spartan: the detainees shared two toilets and slept on bunks in a drafty attic.[13]

Lack of privacy, family worries, and boredom took a hard toll. Some women, such as Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), volunteered for summertime agricultural work.[14] In order to earn income for family support, many prisoners embroidered handbags, pillows, and other goods in the evenings. The intricate patterns attested to the considerable time on their hands.[15] According to historian Hans Hesse, health records indicated that 77 percent of the prisoners gained weight in custody. This figure reflected Moringen's lack of work and edible, if monotonous, rations.[16]

In the winter of 1936–1937, most prisoners worked for the Winter Relief Campaign (WHW). The absence of laundry facilities rendered impossible the cleaning of filthy clothes, and the availability of only two sewing machines slowed repairs. Many donations ended up as fuel for the stove. Detainee Gabriele Herz considered the overseers' mismanagement of WHW goods a scandalous waste.[17]

The Jehovah's Witnesses refused to work for the WHW or other activities that supported the Nazis. In November 1936, Krack retaliated by segregating them in a hall and imposing a six-week postal ban. Ironically, the isolation stiffened their resolve and led to an intensification of their Bible studies. Responding to an anguished letter by Hans Thönes, Krack reported that Thönes's mother, Katharina, was well but not permitted to write for shunning WHW work.[18]

After Heinrich Himmler visited Moringen on May 27, 1937, the Gestapo prepared for its closure. The desire to integrate women detainees into the IKL system figured in this decision. In transports dated December 15, 1937, February 2, 1938, and March 21, 1938, 514 Moringen women were sent to Lichtenburg.[19] Many of the Jehovah's Witnesses later were sent to Ravensbrück. From 1940 to 1945, Moringen operated as a "Youth Concentration Camp."

Before becoming workhouse director in 1930, Krack was a teacher. A member of the German Democratic Party (DDP) during the Weimar Republic, he joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA on May 1, 1933. Facilitating the release of some prisoners, he also ordered the sterilization of one detainee and occasionally threatened to denounce released prisoners or their relatives to the Gestapo. The prisoners' files revealed that the former democrat had little difficulty in appropriating Nazi language. Directing the workhouse until its closure in 1944, he served during World War II with the Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover. Acquitted of Nazi activities by the Göttingen Spruchgericht in 1948, he resumed the directorship until his retirement in 1954. The Federal Republic awarded him the Federal Cross of Merit (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) for alleged acts of resistance while Lagerdirektor. He died in 1962.[20]

In 1966, the workhouse became the Lower Saxon State Hospital for Forensic Psychiatry (Niedersächsischen Landeskrankhaus für forensische Psychiatrie). A memorial site was established in 1993.

SOURCES This essay follows the careful scholarship of Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002); "Von der

'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung'; Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 111–146; and, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003). On Jehovah's Witnesses, Hesse and Jürgen Harder, *". . . und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste . . .": Die Zeuginnen Jehovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Mohringen*, *Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen: Klartext, 2001). Krack's role is reviewed sympathetically in Matthias Kuse, "Zwischen Kooperation und Konflikt: Hugo Krack als Werkhaus- und KZ-Direktor in Moringen," in *Entgrenzte Gewalt: Täterinnen und Täter im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Herbert Diercks (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2002), pp. 80–91; and critically in Hesse, "Bundesverdienstkreuz für einen KZ-Direktor? Eine Entgegnung auf Matthias Kuse von Hans Hesse," in *Zwangsarbeit und Gesellschaft: Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, ed. Herbert Diercks (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004), pp. 163–166. Helpful background information about the workhouse can be found in Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen: KZ-Gedenkstätte Moringen, 2004). On the regime's attitude toward female smokers, see Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). On the Moringen memorial, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Gedenkstätte Moringen maintains an informative Web site at www.gedenkstaette-moringen.de.

As cited in Hesse's publications, the primary sources for this camp begin with NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (including Lagerdirektor files and prisoners' Gesundheitsblätter); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 1-327 (Personalakten, including 133 health reports). As cited by Hesse and Kuse, two files concerning Krack's denazification and the award of the Bundesverdienstkreuz are NHStA-H, 171 Hildesheim, No. 39367, Entnazifierungsakte Hugo Krack; and BA-K, B 122/38575, Krack file. A partial reproduction of the "Dienst- und Hausordnung für Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen" and Krack's letter to Hans Thönes may be found in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen*, *Lichtenburg*, *Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen*, *Lichtenburg*, *Ravensbrück 1933–1945"* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997). On the Society of Friends' visit, see Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941). Reports about this camp can also be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, *1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). An important memoir recently published in English is Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany*, *1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). As cited by Caplan in Herz, additional information about the Friends' visit may be found in Milli Beermann letter, November 1, 1935, in FHLA-(L), FCRA Political Prisoners, Correspondence 1933–1938, FCRA/19/1. Centa Beimler-Herker's interviews are found in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57; and in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); another published testimony is Rita Sprengel, *Der rote Faden: Lebenserinnerungen; Ostpreussen*, *Weimarer Republik*, *Ravensbrück*, *DDR*, *Die Wende*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit, afterword by Wolfgang Jacobeit (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994). For the early history of this camp, see the letters of Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Unpublished testimonies about Moringen include P III h 159 (Moringen) Testimony of Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), taken by Mrs. Midia Kraus, November 1955, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, at www.tlemea.com/testaments/index.htm. As cited by Hesse, Elizabeth von Gustedt's 70-page diary is found in BA-K, Best. N 1121 Gustedt No. 5, KZ Moringen. Hesse also cites the GAZJ, which contains numerous Jehovah's Witness testimonies.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 168, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 126.

2. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 189, cited in ibid., p.127.

3. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, Nos. 6, 7 (Personalblätter); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96 (Personalakten); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2 (Belegungsstärke des Direktors), all cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002), pp. 41–45.

4. Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, reproduced in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.

5. *Sopade*, IV (July 1937): 713.

6. Krack memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 114–115.

7. Letters of June 4, 1933, June 12, 1933, and July 4, 1933, in Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 103, 107, 122.

8. PrMdI to Lagerdirektor, October 3, 1933, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, pp. 160, 168, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 125–126.

9. Krack to Lagerdirektion Papenburg, November 11, 1933, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 185, cited in Hans Hesse with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April-November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), p. 86.

10. Dienst- und Hausordnung für das Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen, April 1934, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2, p. 144, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, pp. 45–50; partial reproduction of this document in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück 1933–1945"* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997), p. 19; for Rehmer's initial, indicating his reading of prisoner mail, Anna Remmy letter, November 7, 1937, reproduced in Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, *". . . und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste . . .": Die Zeuginnen Jehovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Mohringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen: Klartext, 2001), p. 54; Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 92–94.

11. BA-K, Best. N 1121, Gustedt, No. 5, KZ Moringen, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 39n.132.

12. Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941), pp. 89–91; Milli Beermann letter, November 1, 1935, in Friends House Library and Archives, London, FCRA, Political Prisoners, Correspondence, 1933–1938, FCRA/19/1, cited in Caplan introduction to Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 24.

13. *Sopade*, IV (July 1937): 713; Beimler-Herker interview, quoted in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 30; Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 100.

14. P III h. 159 (Moringen) Testimony of Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), taken by Mrs. Midia Kraus, 11/1955, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, at www.tlemea.com/testaments/index.htm.

15. Photographs of Moringen needlepoint in Freyberg and Krause-Schmitt, *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück*, p. 47.

16. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 1-327, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 52.

17. Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 151; Beimler-Herker testimony, 11/1972, in Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand*, p. 107.

18. Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, pp. 110–111; Krack to Hans Thönes, January 11, 1937, reproduced in Freyberg and Krause-Schmitt, *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück*, p. 21.

19. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2, p. 119, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 40; NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 8, 5, 14, 17, 19, 20, 55, in ibid., pp. 110–111.

20. NHStA-H, 171 Hildesheim, No. 39367, Entnazifierungsakte Hugo Krack, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, pp. 97, 98, 103, 107; on sterilization, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 235, in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 134; for a denunciation case, Krack to Flora K., April 23, 1935 (*sic*), NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 326, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 83; on Krack's comments, Prisoner "H" file, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 140, p. 22, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 135.

MÜNCHEN (ETTSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police prison at München (Ettstrasse) became a "protective custody" camp. Under Bavarian police, SA, and SS guards, it served as the clearinghouse for München-Stadelheim prison and the neighboring early SS concentration camp at Dachau. The protective custody population, which consisted of Communists, Bavarian People's Party (BVP) members, monarchists, and journalists, ranged between about 60 and 150 in the spring and summer of 1933. Other sections of the jail held common law prisoners.[1]

Ettstrasse's superintendent, SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Ostberg, exemplified the National Socialist term "Old Fighter." On March 1, 1933, the official Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter* (*VB*), celebrated his thirteenth anniversary as a party member. His membership number was 1035. Serving in the List Regiment during World War I, the same unit as Adolf Hitler, he participated in right-wing politics immediately following the war. In 1924 these activities resulted in his dismissal as Ettstrasse's Oberwachtmeister. Originally joining SA-Sturm 1, Neuhausen-München, he became the Sturmführer of Sturm 18 in 1928 and Adjutant of SS-Standarte 1 in September 1930. In a bar fight with Social Democrats at Ramersdorf in December 1930, he sustained a head injury that necessitated a three-week recovery. For the SS, he worked as a public spokesman. In this capacity, he drew criticism from the *Münchner Post*, whose staff subsequently languished in his custody in 1933.[2]

Ostberg was a fanatical antisemite. Stefan Lorant, a prisoner of Hungarian nationality, the editor of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (MIZ), described in his diary the superintendent's joy in tormenting Jewish prisoners: "Now that he has been made prison superintendent, he thinks himself Lord God Almighty. He is always prancing along the corridor in his SS uniform. Jews, to him, are like a red rag to a bull. He'd like to hang the lot of them."[3]

Generational and professional tensions surfaced between the youthful Nazi guards and older Bavarian police. The professional guards treated the detainees with respect and occasional leniency, in contrast to the younger and less disciplined SA and SS. Although the older guards seemingly sympathized with the new regime, they found bewildering the concept of protective custody. Lorant paraphrased a conversation among guards: "If a man does anything wrong, he should come up before the magistrate . . . and either be sentenced or discharged. But to lock people up and never tell them what they're in the jug [under arrest] for—well, we've never heard of such a thing here before."[4]

At Ettstrasse, the SS tortured prisoners. A case in point was Communist Reichstag deputy Hans Beimler, held at Ettstrasse from April 11 to 25, before transfer to Dachau. In one session, the SS hit him over 60 times with a rubber truncheon, poured water on his face, and then, when he did not dress himself quickly enough, beat him once more. As discussed below, the torture of Dr. Fritz Gerlich sparked an exchange between the Austrian and German press. Lorant was more fortunate. He credited not being tortured to a professional warder's firm refusal to leave him alone with SS interrogators.[5]

Ettstrasse's conditions reflected both the improvised use of this jail as a protective custody camp and the tensions between established and Nazi methods of prisoner treatment. The protective custody ward contained several cell configurations, but all were filthy and most were dark. Some prisoners remained in solitary confinement, while others shared space with two, three, or more detainees. Initially kept in close confinement, the prisoners were finally permitted to pace the corridor outside the cells in April 1933. To combat boredom when not permitted to exercise, some detainees played chess with partners in other cells by shouting the moves to each other. The corridor walks became known as the "bourse" because they afforded opportunities for exchanging information. Only on May 15 were the prisoners permitted to go outside. This privilege, they discovered, had been intended for the amusement of visiting Nazis, who took satisfaction in their misery. Because he was Jewish, a prisoner named Dr. Kahn was not permitted outside his cell.[6]

The better-off detainees augmented prison rations with parcels from home or purchases from the prison canteen. Prisoners who ran out of money depended on Ettstrasse's Spartan and monotonous meals, as Lorant described: "On Monday we have vermicelli soup, on Tuesday potato soup, on Wednesday cabbage soup with dumplings, on Thursday rice soup, on Friday macaroni and *Sauerkraut*, on Saturday pea soup with a piece of stinking sausage, and on Sunday rice soup. . . . Supper is invariably the same every day. Watery soup and breadcrumbs. Although I always feel ravenous, I have never yet managed that evening meal. I can't stand the smell of it."[7]

Female protective custody inmates occupied a ward one floor below the males. Among them were the wives of Beimler and Lorant. Arrested on April 21, Centa Beimler-Herker was held at Ettstrasse for two days before being dispatched to Stadelheim, where she remained for three years. In the course of transfer to the early women's concentration camp Moringen in January 1936, she was once more incarcerated at Ettstrasse. Niura Lorant was detained at Ettstrasse from May 19 to June 30, 1933. Because the cell had three prisoners and one bed, she slept on a straw mattress on the floor.[8]

Foreign governments and organizations worked on behalf of certain Ettstrasse detainees. Lorant, Walter Tschuppik, and Gerlich were politically moderate or apolitical journalists who were arrested, along with their colleagues, in March 1933. Unlike the Beimlers, who were Communists and therefore high priority, the non-Communist journalists remained in limbo at Ettstrasse until July 1933. Among the detainees were the publishers and staff of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (*MNN*), *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (*SüdS*), *Münchner Post* (*MP*), and *MIZ*. Arrested on March 14, Stefan Lorant was held at Ettstrasse until July 24, when he joined the journalists, editors, and publishers who had already been dispatched to Stadelheim. The Hungarian government worked tirelessly on his behalf. On September 20, he was sent back to Ettstrasse. The Hungarian efforts bore fruit when, on September 25, Lorant was allowed to return to Budapest.[9]

Tschuppik, editor of the *SüdS*, was a Czechoslovakian citizen of German nationality who similarly owed his freedom to international protest. An outspoken anti-Nazi, he was arrested on March 9. *Aufruf* (*ASfM*), a publication of the Prague-based League of Human Rights, pressed the Czechoslovakian government and the German embassy for his release. The publicity may have helped, because he returned to Prague in early November 1933. He then became a contributor to the journal that had agitated for his release.[10]

International pressure did not bring about the release of Fritz Gerlich, however. The Austrian newspaper *Vorarlberger Volksblatt* (*VorVB*) reported on May 19, 1933, that the respected Catholic journalist had *not* been murdered in custody as previously thought but had been blinded in one eye under torture; his other eye had been seriously injured; and he was not permitted contact with his wife. At Ettstrasse, the SS forced him to sign a denial of these allegations, which was published in the *VB*: "The determination that I am alive corresponds with the truth. It is untrue, however, that I am 'blind in one eye and in danger of losing the other,' 'owing to kicks,' with which my 'eyeglasses were driven into my eyes.' What is more I have never received such a kick and possess complete health and vision in both eyes. My wife has been repeatedly given permission to see and speak with me."[11] Gerlich was imprisoned at Ettstrasse and Stadelheim until June 30, 1934, when he was murdered during the "Night of the Long Knives."[12]

Although Ettstrasse remained a holding and interrogation center throughout the Nazi period, its use as a protective custody camp effectively ended in the fall of 1933. It is not known whether any postwar proceedings arose out of the torture of prisoners at this camp.

In the SS, Ostberg rose to the rank of Standartenführer. He died on June 4, 1935.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

For München (Ettstrasse) the most important primary source is the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Niura Lorant and the

remainder by Lorant. The Munich edition of the *VB* contains tendentious stories on Superintendent Karl Ostberg and Fritz Gerlich. The SS weekly newspaper *Das Schwarze Korps* (*SchK*), contains Ostberg's obituary and the funeral. The biweekly journal *ASfM* documented the efforts on Walter Tschuppik's behalf. Upon release, he published his testimony in the November 15, 1933, issue. Hans Beimler was the first escapee from the Nazi concentration camps and published the first camp testimony, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980). It was originally published in Moscow in 1933. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony deals briefly with her stints at Ettstrasse, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 176, 298 (entries of June 3, August 30, 1933).

2. "Einer der ersten: Pg. Ostberg, München, 13 Jahre im Kampf für die Bewegung," *VB*, March 1, 1933, Münchner-Ausg.; E.S., "Wir trugen SS-Mann Springer zu Grabe," ibid., March 27, 1933.

3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 142 (entry of May 18, 1933).

4. Ibid., pp. 58–59 (entry of March 22, 1933).

5. Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), p. 15; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 232 (entry of July 6, 1933).

6. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 98, 141, 230 (entries of April 24, May 15, July 5, 1933).

7. Ibid., p. 191 (entry of June 16, 1933).

8. Testimony of Centa Beimler-Herker, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 105–106; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 150, 202 (entries of Niura Lorant, May 19, June 30, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282.

9. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 9, 204–206, 279, 307–311, 316–317 (entries of March 19, June 25, August 1, September 20, 22, and 25, 1933).

10. "Helft Walter Tschuppik!" *Auf* 3: 11 (July 1, 1933): 11–12; "Walter Tschuppik," *ASfM* 3: 16 (September 15, 1933): 13; Walter Tschuppik, "Acht Monate in der Hölle," *ASfM* 4: 4 (November 15, 1933): 104–105.

11. "Der 'erblindete' Gerlich: Die beispielose Lügenhetze der roten Pest in Österreich," *VB*, June 14–15, 1933, Münchner-Ausg.

12. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 188 (entry of June 14, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermorderter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.

MÜNCHEN-STADELHEIM

In March 1933, the Bavarian Justice Ministry and the SA established a "protective custody" camp at the München-Stadelheim prison. The camp held approximately 100 male and female political opponents and hostages. Located near Giesing, Stadelheim was established in 1894. Four years later, overcrowded conditions led to the construction of a southern wing, known even in the Nazi period as the New Building. In addition to the protective custody camp, the Nazis used the prison as a penitentiary and execution center. In Munich, detainees were normally taken into custody at the Ettstrasse police prison and transferred either to Stadelheim or to the early SS concentration camp at Dachau. According to prisoner Hans Beimler, sick or injured Dachau prisoners were temporarily moved to Stadelheim in the spring of 1933. Male detainees were held in both the old and newer buildings.[1]

The protective custody inmates shared cells with common criminals and imprisoned Nazis. According to Stefan Lorant, who kept a diary in Ettstrasse and Stadelheim, the male detainees were not allowed to work, except for making "paper bags" in their cells. The cells were designed either for solitary confinement or for three or more prisoners but "[n]ever two." The latter policy was intended to forestall homosexual relations. Rebellious prisoners, such as a Communist who protested a Nazi religious service, were placed in a so-called dark cell. In daytime, prisoners were not permitted to lie down on the beds. Prisoners could borrow books from the prison library, however. According to Dr. Karl Alt, Stadelheim's Lutheran pastor from 1934 to 1945, the authorities removed books offensive to the new regime, including the Old Testament.[2]

Stadelheim had stern disciplinary regulations. Prisoners were subject to search at any time, and incorrigibles could be placed in chains. Penalties for disobedience ranged from simple warning to "close arrest." On July 29, 1933, Lorant described "A typical day at Stadelheim": "Rise at seven. Place bucket outside cell, fetch wash-basin, breakfast on thin coffee and a piece of bread. Eight-thirty to nine-thirty, exercise in the yard. Lunch at eleven-thirty, consisting of a plate of vegetables, including some potatoes, and a piece of bread. Supper at five-thirty, consisting of soup and a piece of bread. Then the folding bed is let down and we are left in peace for the night."[3]

Despite the strict regimen, the detainees secretly communicated between cells. The prisoners tapped Morse-coded messages on the walls, which their neighbors then relayed to the intended recipient. Lorant said: "There is not a sound to be heard all through the day. It is like being in a cemetery. But later, after the warder has done his rounds, a sound of knocking begins. . . . I cannot yet quite make out what all the raps mean, but some letters are already familiar."[4]

From mid-July until September 1933, Stadelheim held a small number of non-Communist journalists from Munich. Until late August, they were not allowed to communicate with each other, possibly because the regime was building a legal case against them. Among them were Lorant, the editor

of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*MIZ*), Walter Tschuppik, the anti-Nazi editor of the *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (*SüdS*), and Dr. Fritz Gerlich, who published articles for various Catholic papers. On August 30, the authorities inexplicably placed the journalists together in one cell and released most via München (Ettstrasse) within one month's time.[5]

The case of Munich trade union leader Gustav Schiefer demonstrated the role that chance played in protective custody. Arrested on May 5, 1933, he was briefly detained at Ettstrasse, then sent to Stadelheim. Schiefer attributed his "extraordinarily fortunate circumstance" of neither being transferred to Dachau nor tortured to prison physician Dr. Geisendorfer. The two had known each other for many years, because Schiefer sat on the managing board of the local health insurance fund. Geisendorfer refused to permit Schiefer's interrogation by the Bavarian Political Police no fewer than five times, explaining that the prisoner suffered from an intestinal rupture. Schiefer was released on health grounds on August 25, 1933.[6]

Although the men's camp was closed in the fall of 1933, the women's camp was operational until January 1936. After his release in November 1933, Tschuppik drew public attention to the women confined at Stadelheim, in an article for the Prague human rights journal *Aufruf* (*ASfM*). Among the prisoners were a newspaper editor's secretary, Fräulein Federschmidt, and a Jewish legal counsel's wife, Frau Kaiser. To these non-Communist prisoners should be added four Communists not mentioned by Tschuppik—Centa Beimler-Herker, Dora Dressel, Maria Götz, and Emma Stenzer. The exact number of female detainees is not known.[7]

Centa Beimler-Herker was the focus of international attention during her three years at Stadelheim. Her husband, Hans Beimler, fled Dachau in May 1933 and became the first concentration camp escapee. Already detained at Stadelheim, Beimler-Herker was informed that her release was contingent upon her husband's surrender, which effectively made her a hostage. In September 1933, her sister Maxi was arrested and also placed in Stadelheim. Beimler-Herker participated in resistance activities. After hearing about Franz Stenzer's murder at Dachau, she staged a hunger strike with other prisoners in order to agitate for his wife's, Emma Stenzer's, release. The female detainees were permitted to work outside their cells, which facilitated, Beimler-Herker later recalled, "a lively exchange of news" between the male and female camps. As a laundress, she surreptitiously circulated banned political publications among the prisoners. The German exile press took up Beimler-Herker's cause. A visit by an international delegation to Stadelheim resulted in her improved treatment, but further details about this visit are not available. In January 1936, she and her sister were transferred from Stadelheim to the early women's concentration camp at Moringen.[8]

During the "Night of the Long Knives," SA-Stabschef Ernst Röhm was murdered at Stadelheim. On his first day as pastor there, June 30, 1934, Alt saw SS men surrounding the prison. Arriving from Berlin, they carried orders from Hitler to liquidate top SA leaders and certain regime opponents, including Gerlich. According to Alt, when the prison director, Dr. Robert Koch, protested Stadelheim's use as a killing site, the SS put him on the telephone with Nazi Party secretary Rudolf Hess. Koch summarily dropped his objections. The newly appointed Inspector of Concentration Camps, SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke, shot Röhm in his cell on July 1, after the former SA chief refused Hitler's offer of committing suicide.[9] Between 1933 and 1945, 1,035 persons were executed at Stadelheim, including numerous political prisoners. Alt described three execution methods: hangings, shootings, and beheadings by guillotine. The most common was hanging by slow strangulation. Perhaps in order to distance himself from personal responsibility for what transpired, Alt attempted to distinguish between Stadelheim and the concentration camps, alleging that "penal institutions had . . . nothing to do with KZ [concentration camp] methods." In the 1930s, the hangings were so commonplace, he recalled, that the authorities dispensed with the customary execution witnesses except for a spiritual adviser.[10]

Little is known about the protective custody camp superintendent, Müller, or Stadelheim's director, Koch. Alt described the latter as a "humane" individual concerned about the prisoners' well-being, but his degree of culpability with the early protective custody camp is not clear. Alt's predecessor as Lutheran pastor, Schöbel, was an outspoken Nazi whose sermons stressed the "Aryan" origins of Jesus Christ. Witnesses recalled that two Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Sigisbert and Karl Kinle, treated the prisoners with great consideration.[11] It is not known whether postwar legal proceedings were undertaken against any Stadelheim staff.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). An excellent historical overview of Stadelheim can be found at the Web site Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblck/Geschichte/muehist. A helpful account of Röhm's murder is Charles W. Sydnor Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death's Head Division, 1933–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). On Centa Beimler-Herker, see Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57.

Primary documentation for München-Stadelheim starts with the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of München-Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Stefan's wife, Niura, and the remainder by Lorant. Lorant's comrade Walter Tschuppik published several articles in the biweekly journal of the Liga der Menschenrechte (Prague), *ASfM*, about Stadelheim. The United States entered Gustav Schiefer's statement into

evidence before the IMT at Nürnberg. The first concentration camp escapee, Hans Beimler, was held briefly at Stadelheim. His account, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), was first published in Moscow. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony is available in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978). The international protest that attended Beimler-Herker's confinement is available in "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5,1934, and *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936). Another important account of Stadelheim is Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946). Quoting at length prisoners' correspondence and religious poetry, Alt included drawings of Stadelheim during the Nazi years. His intentional or unintentional ignorance of the protective custody camp limits this source's value. According to Drobisch and Wieland, papers relating to Stadelheim may also be found in the AG-D (testimony of Claus Bastian) and the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), pp. 40–42; Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 269, 274, 277 (entries for July 26, 27, and 29, 1933).

2. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 268, 273, 277, 284, 289–291, 303 (entries for July 26 and 27, August 17 and 20, September 5, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282; Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946), p. 12.

3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 275–277 (entries for July 28 and 29, 1933).

4. Ibid., p. 285 (entry for August 11, 1933).

5. Ibid., pp. 277–278, 296 (entries for July 29, August 30, 1933).

6. Sworn Statement of Gustav Schiefer, November 19, 1945, USA-748, 2277-PS, IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946* (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1947–1949), p. 30.

7. Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," p. 282; Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.

8. Beimler-Herker testimony, pp. 105–110; Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau*; "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5, 1934; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 100.

9. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 8–9; Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermorderter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.

10. "Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblick/Geschichte/muehist; Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 10n., 12–13, 35–38, 43, 65, 86.

11. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 11, 13; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 289–291, 301 (entries for August 17 and 20, September 9, 1933).

NEUSTADT AN DER HAARDT [AKA RHEINPFALZ]

In Bavaria, and therefore also in the Bavarian Palatinate, the National Socialists seized power on March 9, 1933. The government of the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), led by Dr. Heinrich Held, was removed and fled from the state capital of Munich. As in many parts of the German Reich, this event in the Palatinate was celebrated with large-scale marches, and Swastika flags were hoisted up on public buildings. At the same time as these festivities, the persecution of National Socialism's political opponents began. The new holders of power wanted "in the interest of public safety to take all Communist functionaries and Reichsbanner leaders into protective custody and to perform weapons searches."[1]

In the Palatinate Neustadt an der Haardt, those in charge immediately translated this March 10, 1933, order into action: on the same day 32 political opponents were taken into "protective custody."[2] Some of these prisoners were housed in the local prison on Lindenstrasse; others were delivered directly to the newly estabished protective custody camp in the former airmen's barracks (*Fliegerkaserne*).[3] In these barracks, built by French occupational troops, the camp "Rheinpfalz" had already been in existence since October 1932 as a section of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD).

Soon, the number of prisoners in the newly created protective custody camp increased rapidly. One week after the establishment of the camp, approximately 200 political prisoners were interned there.[4] Only a few days later, the press reported that there were between 275 and 300 prisoners in the "protective custody camp Rheinpfalz."[5] With that, the Neustadt camp was hopelessly overfilled, and a transport of prisoners from Landau was not carried out, due to the overcrowding of the camp.[6]

The prisoners were political opponents of National Socialism, functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). They were not only from Neustadt; prisoners were also delivered to the Neustadt camp from all areas of the Palatinate, especially from Kaiserslautern, Pirmasens, and the area of Kusel.[7]

SA and SS men, who were housed in a block of the larger barrack grounds alongside members of the Labor Service and prisoners, took on the task of guarding the camp.[8] Approximately 200 SA and SS men, as well as members of the Stahlhelm, participated in ongoing educational and professional training courses. A large number of the SS men came from an SS unit in Ludwigshafen. "Most of the SS men were unemployed and hoped to become employed again through these courses and similar activities."[9] The participants in these courses were enlisted into guard duty in the prison camp.[10] The SA and SS men were placed under Standartenführer Adam Durein.

The Neustadt camp is particularly relevant to historical research since the first preserved set of concentration camp regulations comes from there. This "camp regulations for political prisoners" from March 18, 1933, regulated the daily routine and lives of the prisoners in the camp. The times for labor service were precisely established. Prisoners older than 50 years, as well as prisoners who were not in proper physical condition, were exempted from labor service. Prisoners who did not work were allowed to spend two hours outside everyday. Smoking was prohibited but was promised for good conduct during the time outside. The prisoners could receive visitors on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, for two hours each. Visitors were allowed to bring food, clothing, blankets, and reading material. Political magazines and books with Marxist content were exempt from this allowance. As the representative of the prison camp, Colonel Durein signed the camp regulations.[11]

In the labor service, the prisoners were deployed in the construction of an airfield near Lachen-Speyerdorf (later part of Neustadt an der Weinstrasse)[12] and also in work on the grounds of the barracks themselves, for there was most likely not enough work outside the camp.[13] Guards frequently used this work to humiliate prisoners. Intellectuals in particular were forced to do this physical work, which they were not accustomed to, and they were mocked in the process.[14] The guards never passed up an opportunity to torture and intimidate the prisoners: "The prisoners had to haul straw into the courtyard and they were then forced, by both pushing and pulling, to move a wagon on which two SA men sat. . . . Several guards accompanied the transport. In the course of this they shot into the area with a pistol."[15]

No specific details exist regarding the provisions of prisoners. The press, however, described the food in typical harmless-sounding propaganda articles as "good home cooking"[16] and "simple yet nourishing and sufficient."[17] The prisoners as well as the SA and SS men who guarded them received their food from the FAD kitchen. This quickly brought the city of Neustadt into financial distress. In a letter to the district office on March 17, 1933, the provisional mayor of Neustadt asked for help, since due to the feeding of prisoners, the financial means of the FAD had been fully used up.[18] On March 22, 1933, the city commissar of Neustadt reported to the Palatinate government in Speyer that the city was 12,800 Reichsmark (RM) in debt due to the provisions for the SS, SA, and prisoners.[19] The Bavarian Ministry of Interior ultimately took responsibility for the costs of 15,000 RM, which the ministry allocated to the "Rheinpfalz" camp on April 26, 1933.[20]

Not only harassment and humiliation during work but also physical mistreatment was the order of the day in Neustadt. "Some of the prisoners were severely beaten with rubber truncheons and steel rods by the SA and SS men. These violent acts were carried out by bringing individual prisoners to a separate room where they were randomly beaten by several SA and SS men at the same time."[21] One prisoner was forced to clean a backed-up toilet with only his bare hands. When he hesitated, an SS man kicked him in the backside and hit him on the head with a rubber truncheon.[22] Another guard took his anger out on prisoners by threatening them with a truncheon and forcing them to stand upright and give the "Heil Hitler" greeting and sing National Socialist songs.[23] Another prisoner reported about "running the gauntlet" (*Spiessrutenlauf*): the prisoner had to run through a cordon of SS men, and each one hit the prisoner with a rubber truncheon. Especially notorious for such punishments were the SS men from Ludwigshafen, against whom a trial was carried out after 1945 for crimes against humanity.[24]

After Nazi Party (NSDAP) Gauleiter of the Palatinate Josef Bürckel visited the camp on March 18 or 19, 1933, and heard the complaints of prisoners, the mistreatment supposedly decreased.[25]

The most sensational incident in Neustadt occurred on March 16, 1933. Hermann Zahm, the Neustadt RB leader, had particularly aroused the ire of the guard staff because he was suspected of having taken part in an attack on two SA men in February 1933.[26] From the first day of his imprisonment, he was beaten with steel rods and rubber truncheons and questioned again and again. Fearing further mistreatment, he jumped out a third-story window after only a few days. He suffered serious injuries to his legs, three dorsal vertebrae, and his head. He received treatment in a hospital for one year and four months, but he remained largely incapable of working.[27] Another prisoner attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor.[28]

The Neustadt barracks was supposedly closed in June 1933. After this point in time, prisoners from the Palatinate were taken to the Dachau concentration camp. The barracks were used by the Wehrmacht as of 1936.

SOURCES The most important sources on the protective custody camp in Neustadt an der Haardt are in the LA-Sp and consist primarily of files of the judicial authorities. Probably the most important source are the files of the trial against Eugen Huber et al., guards in the Neustadt concentration camp, for crimes against humanity, located in the files of the State Attorney's Office in the Frankenthal Regional Court under the shelf marked J 72 No. 332 and 378. Additional important information on the Neustadt camp can be found in the files of the Court of Honor against Dr. Rudolf Hammann at the Higher Regional Court Zweibrücken J 71, No. 428. Both files contain extensive statements on the mistreatment of prisoners. One can consult the prisoner book of the local

prison Neustadt (under the shelf marked J 89 No. 1) for information about the numbers of prisoners and their social backgrounds. Other important sources can be found in the extensive collection of the Antifa-Archive of Hermann Morweiser in Ludwigshafen. The camp order of Neustadt, for example, can also be found there.

In addition, there are many articles in contemporaneous newspapers, above all in the *LdAnz* and in the *NSZR*. Downplaying the situation in the camps, they are, however, prime examples of the propaganda at that time as well and thus must be viewed very critically.

There is no monograph on the Neustadt protective custody camp. Hermann Morweiser reports about the camp and on the events surrounding prisoner Zahm in an article in *dt* from October 23, 1981, titled "Deported from the Rheinpfalz Camp to Dachau. The Provisional Concentration Camp in Neustadt Is Virtually Forgotten." The booklet *Neustadt an der Haardt 1933 bis 1945: Das Geheimnis der Versöhnung ist die Erinnerung; Stätten des Leidens, der Verfolgung, des Terrors und Widerstandes*, ed. Eberhard Dittus, Karl Fücks, and Heiko Müller, (Neustadt: Arbeitsstelle Friedensdienst der Evangelischen Kirchen der Pfalz, 1998), mentions the camp as one of many places of pain, persecution, and resistance in Neustadt.

Several additional publications mention the Neustadt camp briefly: for instance, the comprehensive work by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Ursula Krause-Schmitt, Angelika Arenz-Morch, and Hans Berkessel, "Von 'Schutzhaft' and 'Umerziehung' zur Vernichtung: Zu einigen Aspekten des nationalsozialistischen Lagersystems in Rheinland-Pfalz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *"Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!,"* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 17–31; as well as the regional studies by Heinz Friedel, *Die Machtergreifung in Kaiserslautern, deren Vorgeschichte und ein Vergleich zu Neustadt/Weinstrasse* (Kaiserslautern: Stadtarchiv, 1980); and Gerhard Wunder, *Die Sozialdemokratie in Neustadt an der Weinstrasse seit 1832: Zum hundertzehnjährigen Bestehen des Ortsvereins 1875–1985* (Neustadt: Verlag Neue Pfälzer Post, 1985).

Martina Ruppert
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. LA-Sp, H 41 No. 304, "Anordnung des Kommissars für das Innenministerium in Bayern Adolf Wagner," March 10, 1933.
2. LA-Sp, J 89 No. 1, "Amtsgerichtsgefängnis Neustadt, Gefangenenbuch B," January 2, 1933–April 4, 1941.
3. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Schreiben der Polizei Neustadt a.d. Haardt an den Stadtkommissar," March 10, 1933.
4. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Schreiben des kommissarischen I. Bürgermeisters Neustadt a.d. Haardt an das Bezirksamt," March 17, 1933.
5. *LdAnz*, March 20, 1933; *NSZR*, March 23, 1933; *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
6. *EDR*, March 25, 1933.
7. *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
8. Ibid.
9. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 332, "Urteil gegen Eugen Huber u.a. wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit," April 20, 1950.
10. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Major Schauer an die Regierung der Pfalz in Speyer," April 13, 1933.
11. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Lagerordnung für politische Gefangene Neustadt a.d. Haardt," March 18, 1933.
12. *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), p. 293.
13. *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
14. *NSZR*, March 23, 1933.
15. LA-Sp, J 71 No. 428, "Ehrengerichtsverfahren gegen Dr. Rudolf Hammann," verdict of June 28, 1951.
16. *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
17. Ibid.
18. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Schreiben des kommissarischen I. Bürgermeisters Neustadt a.d. Haardt an das Bezirksamt," March 17, 1933.
19. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Neustadt a.d. Haardt an die Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Innern in Speyer," March 22, 1933.
20. BHStA-(N), MF 67 403, unpaginated.
21. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Beschluss in der Strafsache gegen August Dambach und Fritz Scheib des Strafsenates des OLG Neustadt/Weinstrasse," February 28, 1992.
22. Ibid.
23. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Verfahren gegen Jakob Rodrian," January 14, 1948.
24. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 332, "Aussage von Fritz Ciriaci"; LA-Sp, J 72 378, "Verfahren gegen Eugen Huber u.a. wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit," April 20, 1950.
25. LA-Sp, J 71 No. 428, "Ehrengerichtsverfahren gegen Dr. Rudolf Hammann," verdict of June 28, 1951.
26. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, article of March 17, 1933.
27. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Verfahren gegen Eugen Huber u.a. wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit," April 20, 1950.
28. *LdAnz*, April 13, 1933.

NEUSUSTRUM [AKA PAPENBURG V]

On October 2, 1933, Neusustrum became the fourth and final subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Commanded by SS-Sturmführer Emil Faust (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 151165), this 1,000-man "barracks camp" furnished labor for Emsland cultivation.[1] Unlike Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen subcamps, Neusustrum was situated near the Dutch border, within the Sustrum and west of the Bourtanger Moors. As its numerical designation suggested, the Prussian Ministry of Interior once intended it to be the fifth subcamp. Hermann Göring's state secretary Ludwig Grauert allocated the same financial resources for Neusustrum as for the two Esterwegen camps, 700,000 Reichsmark (RM), because he originally foresaw it being a 2,000-prisoner camp.[2] The details of Neusustrum's construction are not available, but the task probably belonged to the first inmates. Prisoner Gerd Nixdorf remembered the camp's unfinished state from his arrival at the beginning of October 1933.[3] Violence at this and other

Papenburg camps prompted the Prussian Gestapa (Secret State Police Office) to remove the SS in November 1933. Neusustrum heightened the level of violence, as three murders and one suicide took place there in a 10-day period.

On October 2, the first 240 prisoners arrived at the Lathen railway station from Anrath, Brauweiler, Köln (Bonner Wall), and Wuppertal-Barmen. Before they set off on an 11-kilometer (6.8-mile) journey by foot and field train to camp, Faust warned would-be escapees about his staff's shooting prowess.[4] His outburst was typical. Detainee Josef Hawlas, who entered the camp on October 19, recalled Faust saying to his group: "You pigs, shooting you down is the dearest wish of me and my comrades, the carpenter's shop will make the coffins." He continued: "All of you are very close to St. Peter. If you don't believe it, then you will get out quickly. My comrades shoot well, as you have already learned for yourself."[5] Faust's last statement alluded to the murders committed en route of Russian inmate Simon Koje on October 10 and of Recklinghausen Communist Wilhelm Wieden on the day of Hawlas's arrival.[6]

Two additional deaths occurred the next day, October 20. Former Polizeimeister Paul Guse committed suicide, after enduring torture and penal exercises. In their rush to cover up their involvement, the SS recorded the time of death as "0715 hours in the afternoon."[7] At 2:30 P.M., in front of the commandant's headquarters and at Faust's behest, a guard ordered Jewish prisoner Isaak Baruch to run, then shot him as he obeyed. Shortly after these incidents, according to Fritz Schulte, the SS emptied the barracks in a nightlong beating similar to incidents at Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen camps.[8]

New prisoners underwent harsh rituals. According to Nixdorf, Faust announced that his staff would "smack them down." The initiates then ran through a gauntlet of SS ranks and suffered blows "from all sides." According to Peter Meter, the SS chose 10 prisoners from his group of detainees from Cologne's Bonner Wall camp. They made them strip and race, with guard dogs chasing them.[9]

At Neusustrum, music performed the dual roles of prisoner coping and SS harassment. Prisoner Kaufmann composed the camp's song, "Exiled to the Emsland's Far North." In contrast to the "Börgermoorlied," it closed in a more somber tone: "We long for our wives / our joy at home— / we now look again inconsolably; / Freedom when will you return?"[10] The SS employed nationalistic music for reeducation and as an excuse for brutality. Rudolf Nagorr remembered that the prisoners were forced to sing "Oh, Deutschland, hoch in Ehren" on the way into camp. Artur Korn recalled that when the guards demanded a song on return from work, one prisoner was too exhausted to comply. Struck with a "birchwood cudgel," he nearly collapsed but got help from another prisoner, Paul. A detainee shouted, "Comrades, don't let yourselves be provoked. They want a blood bath!" After striking Paul for intervening, the SS ordered him to beat the prisoner with the cudgel. When Paul refused, they thrashed him.[11]

Like other Papenburg commandants, Faust received his Emsland assignment from SS-Group West (Gruppe West) chief Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel. But according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, he was transferred from his native Koblenz because of his poor disciplinary record. Faust served time in youth prison in 1914 and 1915 for theft and was prone to violent rages. Earning the Iron Cross Second Class in 1918, participating in Free Corps Förster-Löwenfeld from 1919 to 1920, and fighting Communists in the SS in the early 1930s explained why he had not been dismissed earlier. Between the Free Corps and SS stints, he joined the French Foreign Legion from 1920 to 1924. According to Hawlas, the prisoners knew about this detail from Faust's past. In early August 1933, he became Esterwegen II's adjutant and helped to organize the notorious "Special Duty Detachment" (Abteilung z.b.V.) at Esterwegen III. The exact circumstances of Faust's September 27, 1933, appointment as commandant are unclear.[12]

At Neusustrum, medical attention was nonexistent. At Esterwegen II, Faust met Silesian prisoner and medical student "Dr." Albert Thiel. After Neusustrum opened, he arranged for Thiel's release and appointed him camp physician. Thiel's extreme nationalism and brutality—Hawlas called him a "sadist"—made him an SS ally. In 1935, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 J 403/34) sentenced him to five years in a penitentiary and denied him a medical license for his actions at Neusustrum. Unlike other Nazi-era cases against early camp perpetrators, the regime did not quash this verdict because Thiel was a former detainee.[13]

On November 6, 1933, the SS surrendered the camp to the Prussian police. Before doing so, they sabotaged the camp's rations. As was the case at Börgermoor, a rumor circulated of their intention to arm prisoners in preparation for resisting the police. About the takeover, Hawlas exclaimed, "Now the camp is occupied by the police. As a reward therefore the churches hold a service of thanksgiving, because this horde of people is gone!"[14]

Faust's violent outbursts continued after Neusustrum. The SS did not take action against him when he assaulted a Krupp director in 1935 but dismissed him in 1936 when his role in the Thiel case came to light. In World War II, he served in France with Organisation Todt (OT), but the Hauptamt SS-Gericht denied his Waffen-SS enlistment in 1944. Arrested by the British in July 1946, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 Js 172/49) sentenced him to life in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity on November 30, 1950. Released in December 1965, he died on April 13, 1966.[15]

From December 20, 1933, until April 1934, the SA administered Neusustrum under the command of Hans Giese. On December 22, 1933, 380 prisoners were released because of a Christmas amnesty, including German Communist Party (KPD) prisoner Albert Stasch. Under Giese, the killing of prisoners resumed once more. In early January 1934, the SA shot to death the Schmalkalden *Volksstimme*'s editor Ludwig Pappenheim and Düsseldorf's KPD town councilor August Henning. Neusustrum's closure on April 1, 1934, marked the first step in the Prussian Justice Ministry's establishment of Papenburg penal camps. The "protective custody prisoners"

entered Börgermoor before proceeding with that camp's population to Esterwegen II on April 25.[16]

As a penal camp, Neusustrum continued the regime's persecution of outcast groups, including homosexuals convicted under Paragraph 175 and Jehovah's Witnesses.[17] From 1940 to 1945, it held Polish and Jewish penal prisoners.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Neusustrum are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; for Neusustrum's closure date, see Willy Perk, *Hölle im Moor: Zur Geschichte der Emslandlager, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1979); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). On the Papenburg memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). On Neusustrum today, Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Information on the plaques may be found at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary documentation for Neusustrum begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:102–103. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), reproduce the Grauert memorandum and extracts from the "Urteil gegen Emil Faust vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Osnabrück wegen eines Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit, Mord u.a." (4 Js 172/49). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites or quotes extensively a wealth of archival sources and published testimonies: BDCPF of Emil Faust; testimonies and investigations of Faust and Thiel deposited at the NStA-Os, NStA-Ol, and HStA-D; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, and *OZ*, October 25, 1935. Based upon a 1956 interview with prisoner Wilhelm Leder, "Fern verbannt nach Emslands Norden" is reprinted in Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962). For "barracks camps" terminology, Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). Josef Hawlas's testimony is found in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 11–12. Artur Korn's testimony is in *ND*, November 18, 1956, reproduced in Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). Peter Meter's testimony is excerpted in Perk, *Hölle im Moor*. Gerd Nixdorf's testimony is quoted in VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Kreis Herne, ed., *Herne und Wanne-Eickel im Jahre 1933: Machtergreifung, Verfolgung und Widerstand* (Herne: VVN, 1983). Albert Stasch's testimony is reproduced in Irene Hübner, *Unser Widerstand: Deutsche Frauen und Männer berichten über ihren Kampf gegen die Nazis* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1982). Harry Pauly's testimony about Neusustrum's homosexual prisoners is found in Hans-Georg Stümke and Rudi Finkler, *Rosa Winkel, Rosa Listen: Homosexuelle und "Gesundes Volksempfinden" von Auschwitz bis heute* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981). The testimony of Jehovah's Witness Walter Hamann is located in USHMMA, RG-32.015, Acc. 1994.A.0071, Walter Hamann Collection, 1992. Ludwig Pappenheim's killing was reported in "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1934. Photographic documentation of Neusustrum is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. BDCPF of Emil Faust, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 216; quotation from Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191.

2. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, Nr. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 60.

3. Testimony of Gerd Nixdorf in VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Kreis Herne, ed., *Herne u. Wanne-Eickel im Jahre 1933: Machtergreifung, Verfolgung und Widerstand* (Herne: VVN, 1983), p. 45.

4. "Urteil gegen Emil Faust vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Osnabrück wegen eines Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit, Mord u.a." (4 Js 172/49), extracted in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, p. 74; Arnold Jantz statement, Stolberg, August, 9, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 224.

5. Quotations from testimony of Josef Hawlas, in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 11–12.

6. "Urteil gegen Emil Faust" (4 Js 172/49), in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, p. 75.

7. Ibid.

8. "Urteil gegen Emil Faust" (4 Js 172/49), in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrationslager- und Strafgefangenenlager im Dritten Reich: Beispiel Emsland; Zusatzteil: Kriegsgefangenenlager; Dokumentation und Analyse zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; mit historisch-kritischen Einführungstexten sowie statistisch-quantitativen Erhebungen und Auswertungen zum Strafvollzug in Arbeitslagern*, 3 vols. (Düsseldorf: Drost Verlag, 1983), 1: 306; and Fritz Schulte report, July 12, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945, Akz. 6/1983, No. 417, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, 228.

9. Quotation from Nixdorf testimony in VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Herne, *Herne u. Wanne-Eickel im Jahre 1933*, p. 45; testimony by Peter Meter in Willy Perk, *Hölle im Moor: Zur Geschichte der Emslandlager, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1979), p. 31.

10. Wilhelm Leder interview, Berlin, 1956, in Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962), pp. 39–40 (quotation on p. 40).

11. Rudolf Nagorr testimony in Perk, *Hölle im Moor*, p. 33; Artur Korn testimony in *ND*, November 18, 1956, reproduced in Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958).

12. Faust BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 215–216, 218–222; Hawlas testimony, p. 11.

13. Thiel investigation in Faust BDCPF; "Grosse Strafkammer Osnabrück: 4 Jahre Zuchthaus für ehemaligen Schutzhäftling," *OZ*, October, 25, 1935; and "Urteil des Landgerichts Oldenburg gegen Albert Thiel," October 24, 1935, HStA-D, Best. G 30, Marienschloss GP, No. 748, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 239–241, 246–247; quotation from Hawlas testimony, p. 11.

14. Heinz Hähner statement, Aachen, November 24, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140-145, No. 1218; and Max Hempel statement, Halle, November 24, 1948, NStA-Os, Rep. 947 Lin 1 No. 789, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 230–231; quotation in Hawlas testimony, p. 12.

15. Faust BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 251; "Urteil gegen Emil Faust" (4 Js 172/49), in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 70–79.

16. Hähner testimony, Landgericht Oldenburg, September 25, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140-145, No. 1221; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933; NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep., No. 356, "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 285–286; Albert Stasch testimony in *Unser Widerstand: Deutsche Frauen und Männer berichten über ihren Kampf gegen die Nazis* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1982), p. 98; on Pappenheim shooting, "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1934; on Henning's murder, Meter testimony in Perk, *Hölle im Moor*, p. 32.

17. Harry Pauly testimony in Hans-Georg Stümke and Rudi Finkler, *Rosa Winkel, Rosa Listen: Homosexuelle und "Gesundes Volksempfinden" von Auschwitz bis heute* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981), pp. 299–300; USHMMA, RG-32.015, Acc. 1994.A.0071, Walter Hamann Collection, 1992; a panoramic view of Neusustrum penal camp is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H), p. 3.

NOHRA

The Nazi Party (NSDAP) received 11.3 percent of the votes in the Thuringia state elections in December 1929. That vote translated into 53 seats in the state parliament. The conservative parties and the NSDAP joined together to form a government. Hitler gave his blessing to the coalition only after Dr. Wilhelm Frick was assured of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education. Frick had been a close associate of Hitler since 1923 and was a convinced Nazi and a determined opponent of the Weimar Republic. He took part in the attempted putsch on November 9, 1923, in Munich and from 1927–1928 was leader of the NSDAP parliamentary group in the Reichstag. On January 25, 1930, Frick became the first Nazi minister in one of the German states. During the 15 months as a member of the government, Frick laid the foundations for National Socialism in Thuringia. On April 1, 1931, he was forced to leave the government following a vote of no confidence.

Hitler gained the majority of votes in the presidential elections in March–April 1932 in Thuringia—with 44.3 percent of the votes, he received 8 percent more than his average throughout the rest of the Reich. It seemed for the National Socialists in Thuringia that the time had come to decide their struggle for power. The elections on July 31, 1932, for the



Nohra concentration camp (n.d.), showing the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V.
COURTESY OF UDO WOHLFELD

sixth Thüringia state parliament gave the NSDAP the breakthrough. They gained 42.5 percent of the votes and 26 of 61 seats. Together with the Thüringian Farmers' Alliance (TLB) they formed a coalition government. Head of government and minister of the interior was Fritz Sauckel. The TLB received a state council (*Staatsrat*), a ministerial office without portfolio. This Nazi-led ministry commenced operations on August 26, 1932. Between August 1932 and March 1933, Sauckel and other members of the government publicly threatened their political opponents over and over again. For instance, Sauckel announced on October 19, 1932: "We might become brutal beyond your imagination." However, there are no direct hints of plans for camps in Thuringia.

By February 1933, the new power structures had been consolidated and were stable. For example, the industrial towns of Suhl and its surroundings and Meiningen in the Thuringia Forest, both areas heavily effected by the world economic crisis, developed from bastions of the workers' parties into Nazi strongholds. Measures taken to repress the Communists and the Social Democrats were easier to push through in Thuringia than in the rest of the Reich.

Following the Prussian model, an auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) was established in Thuringia on February 28, 1933. It consisted of members of the SA, the SS, and the Stahlhelm. The Hilfspolizei officers were armed with pistols. They continued to wear the uniforms of their respective organizations, but they wore a white armband with the police star for the state of Thuringia on the upper left arm. They were only allowed on duty while under the command of the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) or a gendarmerie post. They had to swear an oath of allegiance and were subordinate to Minister of the Interior Sauckel. In the spring of 1933, the Hilfspolizei was a part of the state police force. There are no details about the number of Hilfspolizei in proportion to the police in Thuringia. All that is known is that 592 SA men served 732 days in supporting the Thuringia police and that 1,185 SS men served 31,758 man-days.

The National Socialists had formed part of the Thuringia government from 1930. Following the Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933, several hundred Communists were quickly arrested. The district and regional court prisons were immediately overcrowded. In order to relieve the situation, the Thuringia Ministry of Interior decided to establish a concentration camp in the military-oriented Homeland School (Heimatschule) Mitteldeutschland e.V. on March 3, 1933. The Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V. was founded in 1928. The first Nazi concentration camp in Germany was based at the former Nohra airfield, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Weimar.

The Heimatschule in Nohra consisted of two buildings that were connected by a low-rise building. The Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) was accommodated in the left building. The ground floor of the building on the right accommodated the school's administration and a large refectory. The first floor was reserved for military sport training camps (*Wehrsportlager*) of the Stahlhelm. The concentration camp was established on the floor above the Wehrsportlager. It was divided into three large rooms, each of which was equipped with straw and blankets. The hygienic conditions were catastrophic, as there were too few toilets and washing facilities. At times, the camp was completely overcrowded. Several Hilfspolizei officers guarded the entrances to the rooms, as the Heimatschule was surrounded neither by barbed wire nor a fence or a wall. It was not isolated from the rest of the world. At first Nohra was referred to as an "assembly camp." The term *concentration camp* is used in relation to Nohra for the first time on March 8, 1933, in a newspaper. The choice of wording had no relevance for the camp's character.

The Thuringia Ministry of Interior was in charge of the guards and camp administration. The guards consisted of Hilfspolizei and selected students from the Heimatschule. They were supported by members of the SA and Stahlhelm. The supervisors of the Heimatschule were also in charge of the Nohra concentration camp guards. The Ministry of Interior established a police station in the school where the prisoners were interrogated. It was from here that the prisoners were transferred to other detention centers or released. The chief of the police station in the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland—his name is unknown—can be considered the commander of the Nohra concentration camp.

On March 3, 1933, the first day of the camp's existence, 100 prisoners arrived directly from the Weimar Schutzpolizei barracks, via the Weimar regional court prison or from various other regional court prisons. Many of the prisoners came from Thüringian industrial cities, which traditionally counted as "red" bastions. On the second day, the number of prisoners increased to 170. Around March 12, 1933, the camp reached its maximum number of prisoners, 220. In March 1933, a large number of prisoners were released, but on March 31 the camp still held 60 prisoners. The releases were offset by only a few new arrivals. On average, there were 95 prisoners in Nohra.

Nohra exclusively held Communists from the free state of Thüringia. Five of the 10 Thüringia Communist members of the state parliament were interned here: Fritz Gäbler, Richard Eyermann, Rudolf Arnold, Erich Scharf, and Leander Kröber. A large proportion of the Communist city councilors and other Thuringian Communist functionaries, such as the German Communist Party (KPD) local chairmen, the treasurers and the members of the Rot-Front-Kämpfer-Bund (RFKB), and activists of the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD) were also taken to Nohra. A few women were also held in the Heimatschule for a short period of time.

The prisoners did not work in the Nohra concentration camp. They were locked up in the dormitory during the day. This monotony and isolation was only interrupted by interrogations and the arrival of new prisoners. In the early days of the camp, new prisoners used to arrive every day. The prisoners had no contact with the outside world. In their memoirs, former prisoners mention that they were mistreated by the guards.

"Protective custody" in Thuringia was a form of police-administered protective custody; accordingly, the Communists were prisoners of the police. As a result, they were allowed

to vote in the Reichstag elections. Nohra's inmates voted on March 5 at the same polling station as other Nohra inhabitants. Thus, the KPD gained 172 votes in Nohra, whereas a few months earlier at the local elections in December 1932, it had only received 10 votes.

The Nohra concentration camp was one of the first to be closed; it lasted only until April 12, 1933. By then around 250 people had been interned in the camp.

The remaining 32 prisoners were taken on April 12, 1933, to the Ichtershausen penitentiary near Arnstadt. This prison already had a protective custody section. Therewith, the Nohra concentration camp was dissolved. By September 1933, just about all the former Nohra prisoners had been released from Ichtershausen. A few remained there until the Bad Sulza concentration camp was opened—among them were the two members of the state parliament, Richard Eyermann (Bad Salzungen) and Leander Kröber (Meuselwitz), who received the prisoner numbers 23 and 24 in Bad Sulza.

SOURCES The basis for this article on the Nohra concentration camp is the author's book *das netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen 1933–1937* (Weimar: Geschichtswerkstatt Weimar/Apolda, 2000). Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland also refer to the Nohra camp in their book *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The very few archival files on the Nohra concentraton camp are mainly to be found in the THStA-W. Other primary sources are the VdN files in the THStA-W, the TStA-R, TStA-M, the THStA-G, and the BA-B. References can alse be found in the smaller city archives.

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBERFRANKEN AND UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Following the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria, the police established at least 10 small "protective custody" camps in the northern Gaue of Oberfranken and Unterfranken (after 1935: Mainfranken). In Oberfranken, the Coburg local prison, Hof an der Saale state court prison, and Straubing penitentiary became camps, in addition to the Bayreuth (St. Georgen) workhouse, Bamberg Wilhelmsplatz state court prison, and Hassenberg women's prison. In Unterfranken, the Aschaffenburg, Hassfurt, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg local prisons had protective custody camps. Aschaffenburg, Coburg, Hassfurt, Hof, Schweinfurt, Straubing, and Würzburg confined more than 600 detainees in March 1933. According to the Bamberg state prosecutor's memorandum to the Bavarian Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, Bad Kissingen's local prison may also have held detainees, but additional information is needed to verify this claim.[1]

OBERFRANKEN CAMPS

In June 1929, Coburg elected the first Nazi-dominated government in Germany. Since 1930, its mayor was Franz Schwede, the Bezirksleiter and future Gauleiter of Pomerania. In March 1933, Schwede wasted little time in settling old scores against leftists and others critical of his three-year rule. On March 10, the police dispatched 15 Communists to the prison, together with some members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The prisoners included SPD city council members (Dürrkopp, Christian Reichenbecher, Schneider, and Voyé); the business manager of the SPD-affiliated *Coburger Volksblatt*; Reinhold Scheller and several others, for harboring an arms cache at the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) headquarters; agricultural officials Voll and Görner; and Jewish physician Dr. Engel, who was tortured in custody. On March 26, two consumer association leaders entered the camp.[2] When the prison exceeded capacity, Schwede set aside the city hall's "old hostel" for temporary confinement.[3] The state hospital admitted several prisoners for the treatment of wounds sustained in custody. By April 5, Coburg prison released most detainees, but 13 were transferred to Hassenberg.[4] The local prison continued to take in protective custody prisoners, such as cattle dealer Ludwig Goldmaier, a Jew from Lichtenfels arrested on April 19 in a probable case of economic persecution. By mid-May, 14 Coburg citizens went to Dachau, with 12 transported to the camp on May 18.[5] In a speech before the city council on October 13, 1933, Schwede took responsibility for the arrest of 84 citizens, 34 of whom went to Dachau. Invoking the Nazi slogan "Community benefit before private gain," he vowed that those not working for or racially fit to belong to the national community would face similar treatment.[6] In 1935, Hitler honored Schwede's role in the town's nazification by giving him a second surname, "Coburg." On September 29, 1951, the Coburg Regional Court sentenced Schwede to 10 years' imprisonment, in connection with the March 1933 persecutions. Amnestied in 1956, he died in Coburg on October 9, 1960.[7]

The Hof an der Saale prison held at least 260 detainees between March and June 1933. By March 12, the Hof police had arrested "hundreds" and detained at least 43 Communists and 8 Social Democrats. The Social Democrats included the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung*'s editors, Döhler and Münchmener, town council member and trade unionist Arthur Mähr, and councilman Fraas. With their editors in custody, the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung* laid off its 34 employees for one week. SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Hans Seidel entered the camp on March 14, as did two SPD youth leaders.[8] By March 21, the population swelled to 200, double its capacity, which led the prison to refuse the admittance of 4 Social Democrats from Plauen, Saxony. Arrested for convening "a secret conference" in Hof, Emmerich, Fritsch, Nitzsche, and Steinkamp were dispatched to Grafenwöhr, en route to Plauen.[9] By March 31, Hof had admitted SPD council member Rauh, businessman Hermann Starer, agricultural unionists Drechsel and Weiss, and 5 "foreign Jews, of whom 4 are stateless."[10] Among those held for a prolonged period were Mähr, who remained in Hof until June 6, and Seidel, whose first detention lasted until April 13.[11] Rearrested on June 30, 1933, with other SPD

leaders throughout Bavaria, he was transferred to St. Georgen on July 15 and released on August 29.[12]

In March 1933, the maximum security prison at Straubing held 200 detainees. On account of the massive influx, 50 detainees were housed in the prison gymnasium. Built at the turn of the twentieth century, the penitentiary had also housed a criminal psychiatric ward since 1917.

UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Already on March 1, one day after the Reichstag fire, the Aschaffenburg police placed local Communists under surveillance.[13] Between March and May 1933, the prison held at least 31 political prisoners. On March 9, the police arrested 6 Communists plus 3 Social Democrats. Twelve or more members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the SPD entered Aschaffenburg in the coming days. Among the political prisoners were Alois Brand, August Büttner, Josef Büttner, Georg Dewald, Fritz Fronoher (briefly), Karl Griesemer, Josef (Seppl) Grimm, Matthias Haab, Xaver Haberl, Otto Kläre, Josef Koch, Valentin Köhler, Josef Kraus, Franz Kuhn, Josef Mensch, Eugen Ostheimer, Friedrich Panocha, Martin Pfarrer, Alfred Richter, Alois Schallenberger, Johann Schwarzmann, Heinrich Siemen, Jean Stock, and August Volz. After the police banned Stock's SPD paper *Aschaffenburger Volkszeitung*, he entered the camp on March 15. Nine trade union secretaries, arrested by the SA for harboring weapons, were taken to Aschaffenburg on March 20. Released days later because of insufficient evidence, they were Johann Brummer, Otto Dietz, Albert Krimm, Paul Lill, Adam Mantel, Karl Opel, Eugen Ostheimer, Sebastian Rollmann, and Leonard Schäfer.[14] Communist writer Kuhn entered the camp on March 29 and was let out on April 29. In an indication that Weimar custom still prevailed in Aschaffenburg, the authorities permitted political inmates to have family visits.

At least four Aschaffenburg detainees went to Dachau. Dewald was at Dachau from April 24 to May 18, after a brief stay at Würzburg prison. Communist inmates Koch, Richter, and Schallenberg entered Dachau on May 8.[15]

On March 12, the Hassfurt prison admitted 15 Communists and Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF) members. Two local councilmen, Süssmann and Georg Wirth, entered Hassfurt on March 17, but another, Baum, was released. Two Hassfurt prisoners went to Dachau as part of the April 25, 1933, Northern Bavarian transport. By early May, Hassfurt's remaining detainees were sent to Bamberg before dispatch to Dachau.[16]

On March 11, 1933, the Schweinfurt prison admitted 40 detainees. Most were Social Democrats, including the mayor, Dr. Merkle, and councilmen Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, and Mauer. On March 24, 3 Jewish prisoners, Arthur Bildstein, Lehmann, and Max Dreyfus, were also taken into protective custody. Because Bildstein and Lehmann were horse dealers and Dreyfus was a banker, their arrests probably involved economic persecution. On May 8, the prison released Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, Mauer, and Merkle, but the June 22 SPD ban led to their rearrest on June 25.[17]

On March 10, 1933, the Würzburg prison admitted over 100 detainees. Among them were more than 50 Communists, 9 Social Democrats, RB members, and Bavarian People's Party (BVP) leaders. On March 17, the editor of the Christian Socialist weekly *Neue Volk*, Vitus Heller, became a detainee. The editor of the *Fränkischen Volksblatt* (*FräV*), Page, left custody on April 14, but his arrest date is not known. On April 19, a Jewish cattle dealer, Bernhard Goldener, was arrested, on the likely spurious charge of cheating local farmers. The Bamberg Special Court sentenced Siegmund Weissmann to an unspecified term of imprisonment for spreading news about the maltreatment of Jews in Würzburg prison. On May 5, 37 Würzburg detainees, including Communist leader Dr. Kellner, were sent to Dachau.[18]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). On arrests in Coburg and on Schwede, see Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005). Additional information on Coburg's early Nazi government, but not the arrests in 1933, may be found in N.F. Hayward and D.S. Morris, *The First Nazi Town* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). About Hassenberg, see Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaftlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 231-235. The background for Hans Seidel may be found in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994). Some background on Straubing, unfortunately not including the protective custody camp, may be found at the Bavarian Justice Ministry Web site at www.justizvollzug-bayern.de. On Aschaffenburg arrests and on Georg Dewald, see Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), pp. 433–540; and Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayerischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002). Some information on arrests in Würzburg may be found in Bruno Fries, *Würzburg im Dritten Reich* (Würzburg: Selbstverlag, 1983).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry, March 11,1933, in the KZ and Haftanstalten collection, now in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland. The ITS lists the Aschaffenburg, Bad Kissingen, Hassfurt, Hof an der Saale, Straubing, and Würzburg prisons in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:178, 188, 205, 219, 221. As cited by Thum, a police report mentioning the transfer of Coburg prisoners to Hassenberg is the "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei

Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," in ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2, No. 2, p. 149. As cited by Albrecht, Schwede's order allocating space at Coburg City Hall for detainees (A-7.870), his October 1933 speech before the city council (A-8.074), and his prosecution (Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80) may be found in the ASt-Ne/Co. As cited by Schumacher, Seidel's name appears on an undated Gestapo List, in BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312. Schmittner cites an Aschaffenburg police report of March 1, 1933, which lists many KPD members taken into custody after the takeover. It is found in StA-Wü, Best. Landesratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309. As cited by Grossmann, information on Aschaffenburg prisoners sent to Dachau comes from undated reports in the *AschZ* and the file of Alfred Richter, Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35. In the period from March to June 1933, the "Fränkische Nachrichten" features in the National Conservative's *BT*, and the BVP's *BV* supplied numerous reports about Northern Bavarian protective custody camps.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Generalstaatsanwalt bei den Oberlandesgerichte Bamberg to Staatsministerium der Justiz, RE: "Schutzhaft," No. 2882, March 11, 1933, KZ and Haftanstalten collection, in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as reproduced in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 44.

2. "Fränkische Nachrichten: In Coburg," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, March 20, 1933.

3. ASt-Ne/Co, A-7.870 Schwede Order, March 22, 1933, as cited in Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005), p. 186.

4. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Misshandlungen)," *BV*, March 16, 1933; ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 No. 2, "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," p. 149, as cited in Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaftlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 232.

5. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Lichtenfels (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, April 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Ins Konzentrationslager nach Dachau verschickt)," *BT*, May 19, 1933.

6. ASt-Ne/Co, A-8.074 Stadtratsprotokolle, 1931–1934, October 13, 1933, as reproduced in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, pp. 218–219.

7. ASt-Ne/Co, Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80; and *NPC*, April 10, 1951, as cited in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, p. 188.

8. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen, Hof," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Neue Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 15, 1933.

9. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 22, 1933.

10. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 27, 1933; quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftet)," *BV*, April 1, 1933.

11. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Aus Schutzhaft entlassen)," *BT*, June 7, 1933.

12. BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312, undated Gestapo List, as cited in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994).

13. StA-Wü Best. Landratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309 "Polizei Bericht No. 918," March 1, 1933, as cited in Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayerischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002), p. 65.

14. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Aschaffenburg. (Zum Kommissar für das Bezirksamt)," *BT*, March 23, 1933.

15. *ABZ* (n.d.), and Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35 (Richter file), as cited in Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), p. 530.

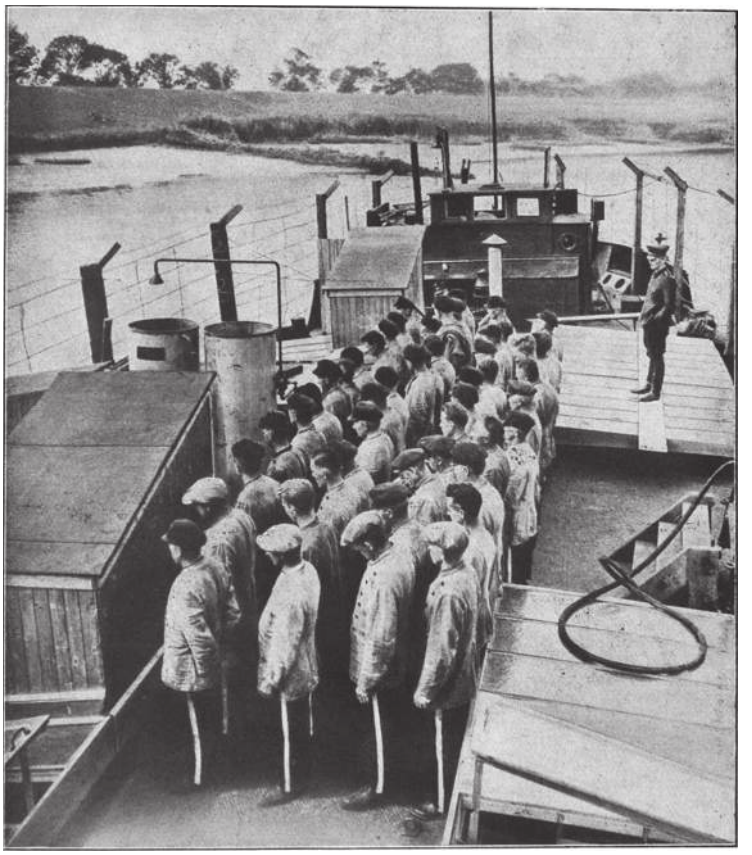
16. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen . . . Hassfurt," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hassfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, March 18, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Konzentrationslager Dachau verschickt," *BT*, April 26, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Arbeitslager Dachau transportiert," *BT*, May 13, 1933.

17. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BT*, March 25, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt," *BT*, May 8, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BT*, June 26, 1933.

18. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Massenverhaftungen in Unterfranken," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Im Zeichen der neuen Zeit," *BT*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Kommunistische Brandstifter), Würzburg (Polizeiliche Aktion gegen Kommunisten.)," *BV*, March 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Neue Kommunisten-Razzia)," *BV*, March 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Aus der Schutzhaft entlassen)," *BV*, April 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Verhaftet)," *BT*, April 19, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten: Tagung des Sondergerichts Bamberg; Vier weitere Fälle," *BV*, May 6, 1933.

OCHTUMSAND

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.[1] Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in



Roll call at Ochtumsand concentration camp, 1933.
PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts, as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the "national" revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant improvisation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.[2] A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

The Ochtumsand concentration camp was improvised to an even greater degree than the Missler camp in that the prisoners were housed on a former barge, No. 86, of Norddeutschen Lloyd, which had washed ashore on the embankment of the Ochtum in the heights of Altenesch.[3] The ship, rented from the Bremen senate, had four storage rooms; the two in the middle were for the prisoners, and the ones fore and aft were used by the guards. The prisoners' quarters received only basic necessities: beds pushed together in groups of four, a long table with chairs, and hooks on the wall for hanging clothes. A stairway led to the deck. In both rooms a total of around 100 prisoners could be penned up. As there was no heat, the rooms were cold and damp, corresponding to the seasons. Both groups of prisoners chose a respective room elder in addition to a camp elder as speaker for the collective. Communist municipal council member Hermann Prüser was the first camp elder and simultaneously elder for room one. On deck two kitchens were installed, one each for the guard unit and the prisoners (who also had to provide cooks). According to the kitchen plan, both groups would receive the same food, which was checked once a week by a police doctor.

To prevent escape attempts, a barbed-wire fence as high as a man was installed on the rails of the barge. A small tower on the foredeck superstructure ensured the guard posts a good overview of the entire camp. A shower installation was located midship, with more washing facilities as well as toilets and an equipment shed on land. The way off the ship led over a wooden plank and a tubelike footbridge made from planks

and surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners had to report at 7:00 A.M. for roll call and exercise, followed by the march to the work sites. Work was interrupted for an hour at midday when the prisoners received a warm meal. Around 5:00 P.M. the work troops returned to the barge. After the evening meal the prisoners had time for diversions, chess playing, or even to read the paper, which may be surprising at first but corresponded perfectly well with the ideas of Laue, who hoped to convince political opponents of the positive aspects of National Socialism.

For the guarding of Ochtumsand, which not only had a higher prisoner capacity than Langlütjen II but also offered prisoners more opportunities to escape simply because of its location, around 30 SA men and 3 policemen were detailed there from the Bremen police directorate. Although there were no written regulations governing the daily routine at Ochtumsand, it was strictly organized and regimented. According to the disciplinary regime, the prisoners had to "stand at attention" at every opportunity, "click their boots," and ask any guard for permission, for example, when they wanted to go to the bathroom. The smallest incident could have terrible consequences, as abuses—despite the presence of the Schutzpolizei—were also the order of the day at Ochtumsand. Most of the excesses happened in the sleeping room of the SA, where—in order to remove the possibility of screaming—a woolen blanket was first thrown over the head of the prisoners who were then dragged across a table and beaten with rubber truncheons.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS, nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen" but which, however, was soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.[4] Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner in Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, like Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.[5]

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen Regional Court, which concern the so-called "Missler trial." These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

Lothar Wieland
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1, and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."

2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhaft politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.

3. See the witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1.

4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, StA-Br, 8 KMs 1/51, Bd. 3.

5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

OELSNITZ IM ERZGEBIRGE

On March 9, 1933, SA-Standarte 183 in Saxony formed an early camp in the basement of the bank at Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge. The camp was established only a few days after this unit had attacked political opponents on the streets of Oelsnitz. Neither the camp population nor the guard strength is known. Among the victims was Communist Party member Dalmatius Konietzny, whom the SA murdered in the course of interrogation. Konietzny's interrogator was a Nazi against whom he had previously brought a lawsuit for an injury suffered during a bar fight. His murder is an example of the SA's settling of old scores in the early camps. The date of Oelsnitz's dissolution is

not known. On December 7, 1948, the Chemnitz state court in the Soviet Zone of Occupation convicted 12 defendants for the brutal treatment of political prisoners at Oelsnitz. Two, including Edwin Eckhardt, received life sentences, and the remainder were sentenced to various lengths of confinement in penitentiaries or prisons.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); additional information on Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge can be found in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). On the Oelsnitz trial, see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik/Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965).

Primary sources about Oelsnitz are available at the BA-BL's collection of former East German papers. These documents include reports to the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid of Germany) and the Archiv des Generalstaatsanwalts der DDR, File No. 243-20-1975. The Oelsnitz trial is case number StKs 43/48.

Joseph Robert White

OLDENBURG

In March 1933, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the police prison in the city of Oldenburg. Before the camp opened, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm were publicly deputized as police near the Oldenburg horse market. The first 15 Communist Party detainees were admitted to the camp on the night of March 3; by July, there were 90 prisoners. In August, however, the camp population decreased to 60. The detainees resisted by sneaking illegal manuscripts for publication outside the camp. Oldenburg served as a clearinghouse for the neighboring early concentration camp and prison at Vechta.

SOURCES This entry follows Karl-Ludwig Sommer, "Oldenburgs 'braune' Jahre (1932–1945)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Oldenburg*, *1830–1995*, ed. Udo Elerd (Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, 1996), 2:391–486. See also the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for the Oldenburg early camp, as cited in Sommer, consists of files in the ASt-O, Best. 133, 136, 205, and 298. According to Sommer, the *OSZ* reported on this camp on April 15, June 29, and July 6, 1933. See also the ITS listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:100.

Joseph Robert White



Prisoners bring pails of food into Oranienburg concentration camp with an SA guard outside the wire in the foreground.
USHMM WS #73936, COURTESY OF NARA

ORANIENBURG

The Oranienburg concentration camp was established as one of the first concentration camps on March 21, 1933, overshadowed by the Day of Potsdam. After the "Night of the Long Knives," the SA-run camp was taken over by the SS in July 1934 and dissolved a little later.[1] The Oranienburg concentration camp is not to be confused with the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which was established by the SS in July 1936 on the edge of the town of Oranienburg.

Initially SA-Regiment 208 (Standarte 208) established the Oranienburg concentration camp without notifying the responsible authorities in Berlin beforehand.[2] The first inmates were 40 prisoners who were dragged to the small town 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) north of Berlin on the evening of March 21, 1933. The first concentration camp in Prussia was thus situated on the grounds of a former brewery on a main road in Oranienburg. From September 1933, subcamps existed at the Elisenau manor in Blumberg near Bernau and in Börnicke.[3]

Only a few days after the establishment of the camp, SA-Standartenführer Werner Schulze-Wechsungen transferred control of the camp to the Potsdam district president.[4] Henceforth the camp as well as the guards were paid from tax money. In total, the German tax payer paid 280,000 Reichsmark (RM) between August 1933 and July 1934 to sustain the camp.[5] Internment in the camp was initiated not only by the police and party authorities but also by local administrative authorities. Only because of its location in the town, the camp proved to be a "transparent concentration camp."[6] The town of Oranienburg had the political prisoners perform communal work.[7] The camp commander, SA-Sturmbannführer Werner Schäfer, compiled an apologetic "Anti-Brown Book" (*Anti-Braunbuch*), in which he characterized allegations about the Oranienburg concentration camp as "atrocious propaganda."[8] Repeatedly he invited German and foreign journalists to tour the camp.[9] A radio program "reported" from the



New prisoners stand at attention at Oranienburg, August 10, 1933. Among them are Ernst Heilmann (foreground far left) and beside him Fritz Ebert, the son of the Weimar Republic's first president, Friedrich Ebert.
USHMM WS # 61450, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

concentration camp.[10] The local press wrote extensively about the new institution.[11] Also, movie theaters showed propagandistic photos of the new concentration camp.[12]

About 3,000 prisoners were deprived of their liberty in the Oranienburg concentration camp. The number of prisoners varied considerably. It rose rapidly until August 1933, from 97 to 911, but declined by the end of June 1934 to 271. The prisoners were mostly between the ages of 20 and 40, laborers, unemployed, from Berlin and from the area north of Berlin. Many were taken to Oranienburg after the dissolution of smaller Brandenburg concentration camps (including Alt Daber, Börnicke, Havelberg, and Perleberg) in June and July 1933. Prisoners from the concentration camps in Börgermoor, Lichtenburg, and Sonnenburg were interned at Oranienburg in September and October. Most of the inmates were members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and smaller left-wing organizations such as the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) and the German Communist Party Opposition (KPO). It is noteworthy that about 50 Jewish youths were also carried off to the camp from a home dedicated to advanced pedagogical ideas that was operated by the German Jewish Community Association (Deutsch-israelitischer Gemeindebund) in Wolzig. They had been abducted because of "Communist activities."

In addition to mostly working-class prisoners, a few celebrities were held in Oranienburg, including the son of the former Reich president, Friedrich Ebert; the director of the Reich Broadcasting Association (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft), Dr. Kurt Magnus; the chairman of the Prussian SPD parliamentary group, Ernst Heilmann; the editor in chief of the official KPD organ Rote Fahne, Werner Hirsch; the pacifist writers Kurt Hiller and Armin T. Wegner; and SPD Member of Parliament Gerhart Seger. Seger managed to escape in December 1933, fleeing first to Czechoslovakia and later to the United States of America. His book on the terror in Oranienburg was one of the first books written about the conditions in a concentration camp from firsthand experience.[13]

Usually, the prisoners were held for two or three months in the camp. The main goal for holding the prisoners was to prevent representatives of the workers' movement from being politically active. In principle, the killing of the prisoners was not intended. However, as the prisoners were exposed to the whims of their political opponents, some lost their lives. They became victims of mistreatment, torture, and lack of medical care. At least 16 prisoners, including the writer and anarchist Erich Mühsam, died in Oranienburg.

The guards at Oranienburg were recruited from the ranks of "proven" SA men, many of whom had previously been

unemployed. Their numbers increased from March to summer from 50 to 170 but declined to 74 by June 1934.[14] The camp command was composed of men of petit bourgeois background who were born in the first decade of the twentieth century in agricultural areas and had not participated in World War I. They were active in radical right-wing organizations in the first years of the Weimar Republic and had later joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP).

SA-Standartenführer Schulze-Wechsungen initiated the construction of the Oranienburg concentration camp. A farmer by training, he had joined the NSDAP and SA in 1925. He had a prior conviction for a raid in 1932 on a Berlin allotment settlement, which was mostly used by Communists. The camp commander was Werner Schäfer, a former member of the Free Corps "Olympia" and policeman, who had joined the NSDAP in 1928. At first SA-Sturmbannführer Hans Krüger was in charge of the "interrogation unit" (Vernehmungsabteilung). He was succeeded by SA-Sturmführer Hans Stahlkopf. Both revealed extreme brutality. Stahlkopf had joined the People's Freedom Party (Völkische Freiheitspartei) in 1921 and had been a member of the Free Corps "Rossbach" from 1922 to 1927 and a member of the NSDAP since 1930. Between 1923 and 1931 he earned his living as the manager of a large farm. From May 1933, Stahlkopf was in charge of the Vernehmungsabteilung. Seger characterized him as "a stereotypical sneaky, especially disgraceful sadist."[15] After the Oranienburg concentration camp was dissolved, Stahlkopf became a member of the SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. In 1935 he committed suicide.

Stahlkopf's predecessor, Krüger, a farmer by training, had joined the right-wing radical organization Wehrwolf in 1925 and the NSDAP in 1930. For unknown reasons he was relieved of all his official duties in October 1933. Having joined the SS in 1938, Krüger was appointed Kommandeur der Sipo und des SD (KdS) for the District of Galicia after the attack on the Soviet Union. Here he siginificantly participated in the systematic murder of the Jewish civilian population. His career reflects the radicalization of terrorist capacity of the Nazi regime. Krüger was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Münster Schwurgericht in 1968. Dr. Carl Lazar, a Bernau phycisian and SA functionary who was in charge of the camp's "medical unit" (Sanitätsabteilung), regularly tried to cover up the mistreatment and murders at the Oranienburg concentration camp.

Criminal acts at Oranienburg were ignored by the German judicial authorities. Complaints against guards never resulted in an indictment. Also, after 1945, none of the perpetrators at the Oranienburg concentration camp were brought to justice. Then again, people who during the Nazi period distributed information about the criminal acts committed at the camp were repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment for spreading "atrocity propaganda" by the Berlin Regional Court's Special Court (Sondergericht beim Landgericht Berlin). No one would have dared to criticize the conditions in the camp, which were well known through press coverage, the radio, and rumors.

SOURCES The best overview of the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp is the collection of essays by Günter Morsch, ed., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg* (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994). The essays provide details about various aspects of the concentration camp. Special attention should be paid to the contributions by Klaus Drobisch, "Oranienburg: Eines der ersten Konzentrationslager" and Martin Knop, Hendrik Krause, and Roland Schwarz, "Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Oranienburg." A short overview on the topic is to be found in Bernward Dörner, "Ein KZ in der Mitte der Stadt: Oranienbug," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 123–138. An important work for putting the Oranienburg concentration camp into the context of the concentration camp system is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The main sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentratoin camp system are contemporaneous publications that deal with the conditions inside the camp: Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934); Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Teplitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1934); Werner Hirsch, *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen in den Konzentrationslagern und Gefängnissen Hitlerdeutschlands* (Zürich: Mopr-Verlag, 1934). The most important unpublished sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp only became accessible after German Reunification in 1989–1990. They are held today at the BLHA-(P), Rep. 35 G KZ Oranienburg Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam; the GStAPK, Rep. 90 P; and the BA-B, R 3001.

Bernward Dörner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1192, p. 72.; and Nr. 1193, p. 2.
2. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193, pp. 2, 7; and Nr. 1192, p. 72.
3. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1183, p. 198.
4. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1191, p. 21.
5. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193.
6. Winfried Meyer, Günter Morsch, and Roland Schwarz, "Einleitung," in *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg*, ed. Günter Morsch (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994), p. 9.
7. BA-DH, ZD 9209 A. 13.
8. Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Buch- und Tiefdruck-Gesellschaft, 1934).
9. Ibid., pp. 106–107; BLHA-(P), ehem. Oranienburg Nr. 8.
10. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 29.
11. For example, *OBGZ*, March 29, 1933.
12. Photographs by the Emelka-Filmgesellschaft taken on April 13, 1933, were shown at movie theaters in Berlin and Oranienburg.
13. Seger, *Oranienburg*.
14. BLHA-(P), former Oranienburg Nr. 4 and Nr. 8.
15. Seger, *Oranienburg*, p. 31.

OSTHOFEN

The publication by Dr. Werner Best, a lawyer and National Socialist Member of the Hessen State Parliament, of an article in the autumn of 1931 caused a political scandal. In the article he specified the emergency decrees and proclamations that would be made, should the National Socialists seize power. The smallest infraction against the state authority was to be met with the death penalty. Immediately after he was named state commissar of police–Hessen, at the beginning of March 1933, he put his views into practice and created the Osthofen concentration camp, the first in Hessen. According to an ex post facto decree, dated May 1, 1933, all who were arrested by the police in Hessen for political reasons and "whose imprisonment had lasted more than a week or would last longer than a week" were to be taken to the concentration camp. The Hessen Central Police Office carried the responsibility for sending the prisoners to the concentration camp—that is, the political police, which had been separated from the general police by Best and which was later to be renamed the Gestapo (Secret State Police). There were precise rules governing the length of imprisonment, the prison conditions, and the grounds for arrest.[1] As early as March 13, larger groups were sent to the concentration camp. Orders to take someone into "protective custody" were in the main issued by the distict council offices in Hessen.

The first wave of prisoners was composed primarily of Communists. Among the earliest inmates of the Osterhofen concentration camp were leading officials of the Communist Party but also leading Social Democrats, trade unionists, and members of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) and the Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF). They were followed by Jewish civilians, especially those who were members of left-wing political groups. By August 1933 at the latest, Jews were arrested even if they did not fall under the detention provisions of the Reichstag Fire Decree (Reichstagsbrandverordnung). From the summer of 1933, members of the Center Party, Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists, Separatists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others also increasingly became the target of the persecuting authorities.

Best named the Osthofen SS man Karl d'Angelo, who was also temporary chairman of the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) group, as the "honorary head of the Hessian concentration camp." Although he was never accused of massive personal involvement in the mistreatment of prisoners, he did nothing to prevent severe violations of human dignity in the Osthofen concentration camp or to put a stop to the daily mistreatment and harassment of prisoners. After the Osthofen camp was dissolved, d'Angelo became head of the protective custody section in the Dachau concentration camp. He was, however, soon demoted by Theodor Eicke and dismissed from the camp guard detail on the basis that he was "as soft as butter" and completely unsuitable for service in a concentration camp.[2] Despite this, he still had a career in Nazi Germany. He advanced to police president in Cuxhafen and later in Heilbronn. He died, presumably in a motorbike accident, in his Hessian home state on the Rhine.

In the first few months, the guard detail consisted of SS and SA men who had been appointed as auxiliary police as well as regular auxiliary police from Osthofen, Worms, and the surrounding areas. Former prisoners consistently point to the fact that a number of individual guards were feared for their beatings, and others were more humane. In the autumn of 1933, all the SA men were withdrawn from guard duty. They were replaced with SS men from the special units and guard detachments from Darmstadt and Offenbach. These men were particularly feared in the camp. After 1945, not a single guard was called to account for his actions at the Osthofen concentration camp.

Accommodations and hygienic circumstances in the empty former Jewish paper mill were extremely primitive. At the beginning, the prisoners slept on the bare concrete floor; later they built double wooden bunks as well as tables and benches. As it became colder, they were given a rough woolen blanket, in addition to their straw sacks. In autumn they built chimneys for small wood-fired stoves. These efforts, however, never warmed the drafty, wet, and cold factory hall. Many prisoners suffered from the cold, and some developed kidney and bladder problems, which continued to plague them for the rest of their lives. Despite the miserable conditions, not one prisoner died in Osthofen. Terror and disregard for any human dignity were, however, the order of the day. The Jewish prisoners particularly suffered from mistreatment and indignities. One Jewish prisoner was forced to eat pork on Yom Kippur, the most solemn of Jewish holidays. When at first he refused, he was beaten until he was unconscious.[3] Other Jewish prisoners were put on a stand and were insulted and abused by the camp commandant and then chased for hours inside a barbed-wire enclosure. Almost worse than the living conditions was the attention given to hygiene. Only on rare and exceptional occasions were the prisoners given a bit of fluid soap to wash themselves and their clothes. As a rule, they had to wash themselves and their clothes with sand and cold water running from three taps in the open air. Altogether almost 3,000 prisoners, nearly all men, were held in the Osthofen concentration camp until it was closed. On average, the camp housed about 200 inmates at any time during its existence.

At the morning roll call, the prisoners were separated into working groups. They either worked on the camp's own construction or were allocated to outside detachments. For example, there was a labor detail for construction and decorative work at the "Brown House" in Worms, while others had to clean the blood from the torture cellars of the SA and SS. Local National Socialists, above all Karl d'Angelo, profited from the cheap or unpaid labor. Several prisoners had to work regularly in his printing establishment. This kind of work was only stopped when d'Angelo ran into difficulties with his superiors. Farmers and landowners could also use the prisoners for no charge for their harvesting. Often the work was used as a means solely to humiliate and victimize the prisoners. Jewish prisoners, for example, had to clean the latrine ditches with tins or with their bare hands. The Worms police president Maschmeier, who had been removed by the Nazis, was exposed to the mockery of the local population. He had to sit in the street in front of the concentration camp and grind coffee. Another prisoner, almost 2 meters (6.6 feet) tall, had to

sweep the yard with a broom, the handle of which had been sawn off. And Dr. Carlo Mierendorff, the former Member of Parliament and spokesman for Social Democrat Minister of Interior Wilhelm Leuschner, was forced for days to straighten nails, which his fellow prisoners had to bend.[4]

A few prisoners were able to escape, particularly in the first few months. Prisoners who were the subject of particular suffering or mistreatment by certain guards were slipped into safer outside work details by their fellow inmates. A well-known Jewish lawyer from Mainz escaped in July 1933 with the help of his friends from Mainz and of his fellow prisoners. Even as late as May 1933, he had courageously defended members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and RB, who had been accused of political "offenses." Also, at the beginning of March 1933, he had published a very detailed and critical newspaper article directed against the Reichstag Fire Decree. After his escape, the camp leadership imposed a ban on mail and visitors.

For detention under aggravated conditions, Camp II was constructed in an empty sawmill in the vicinity of the concentration camp.[5] Occasionally, this kind of detention was also imposed in the prison of the Osthofen local court. Conditions were much more severe under such a regime. Thus, several prisoners were locked up in a wire enclosure, in the middle of which was the so-called Devil's Wheel. This was a kind of sleeping bench that had been placed on an angle. To add to this harassment, the light burned day and night so that it was impossible to sleep. The food consisted of watery soup and occasionally a small ration of bread.

Following power struggles and a restructure within the police leadership in Hessen, Best was deposed as State Police president in the autumn of 1933. From the end of March 1934, responsibility for ordering that someone be sent to Osthofen concentration camp was exclusively in the hands of Hessian State Minister Philipp Jung and the Hessian State Police Office, which, since December 1933, was formally headed by Heinrich Himmler. According to the state minister's implementation decree of March 28, 1934, as of April, 15, all ordered protective custody measures were suspended unless the State Police Office had ordered their extension.[6] In practice, this signaled the end of the Osthofen concentration camp. It was one of the last of the early concentration camps to be dissolved in July 1934 as a result of Himmler's centralization program. Until then, the number of protective custody prisoners in Hessen had fallen dramatically. Thus, from May 1, 1934, to August 8, 1934, only 84 persons from the People's State of Hessen remained in protective custody, among whom was Dr. Mierendorff, who was held in the Lichtenburg concentration camp; 2 others were in the Dachau concentration camp, 1 in Börgermoor, and the others in the state police jail in Darmstadt or the Offenbach police jail.

SOURCES In 1946, the state of Rhineland-Palatinate was formed from parts of the former Hessian, Prussian, and Bavarian states. In 1933–1934 Osthofen belonged to the state of Hessen, which included the provinces of Rheinhessen (later Rhineland-Palatinate), Starkenburg, and Oberhessen. The seat of government was Darmstadt. As a result, the relevant files are today in the HStA-D (Hessen Districts) and the Rheinland-Pfalz LA-Sp (Rhein Hessen Districts). The collections in Darmstadt are in particular (HStD): G 15, Dieburg, G 15, Friedberg, G 15, Alsfeld, G 15, Erbach and G 15, Heppenheim: foremost "Schutzhaftangelegenheiten" (protective custody issues) and the collections H5 (Reichsstatthalter-Reich Governor) and G 12A 25/8 (Hessian Police) as well as the collections in Speyer H 51, H 53.

The files of the Worms Police Office, which was responsible for the administration of the Osthofen concentration camp, were almost totally burned during the war. Apparently also destroyed were the files that were kept at the camp itself.

In her novel *The Seventh Cross* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1942), first published in the United States in 1942, Mayence author Anna Seghers erected a literary "memorial" to the Osthofen prisoners. She tells of the escape of seven prisoners from the imaginary Westhofen concentration camp. However, there was never a concentration camp in Westhofen, but there was one in neighboring Osthofen. The story is fictitious but includes much information on everyday life in Nazi Germany, which Seghers obtained while in French exile, where she wrote the novel between 1937 and 1938, from eyewitness reports, newspapers, and information gathered from other exiles. So the story is both "true" and "fictitious."

In 1979 the Röderberg-Verlag Frankfurt published the first set of documents by Paul Grünewald on the Osthofen concentration camp, *KZ Osthofen: Material zur Geschichte eines fast vergessenen Konzentrationslagers*. This was followed by the "Projekt Osthofen" with the title *Osthofen—Erinnern und Vergegenwärtigen*, another set of documents by Angelika Arenz-Morch and Eike Hennig (Frankfurt, 1986). In *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mayence: Verlag Hermann Schmidt Mainz, 2000), there are further contributions on the Osthofen concentration camp: Angelika Arenz-Morch, "Das Konzentrationslager Osthofen 1933/34" (pp. 32–51); Volker Gallé, "Karl d'Angelo—Lagerleiter des Konzentrationslagers" (pp. 69–79); Heribert Fachinger, "Leben und Alltag in einem frühen Konzentrationslager im Spiegel von Häftlingsberichten und Erinnerungen" (pp. 80–90); and Alexander Stephan, "Authentizität und Fiktion: Das KZ Osthofen und der Roman 'Das siebte Kreuz' von Anna Seghers" (pp. 104–115). Alexander Stephan published *Anna Seghers: Das siebte Kreuz; Welt und Wirkung eines Romans* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997).

Angelika Arenz-Morch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 38.
2. Letter of the SS-Section Rhine to the SS-Administration, dated February 29, 1936, BA-B, former ZSA-P Film Nr. 8681, AN 407369–407370.
3. Ernst P. Katz, "Die Geschichte eines Juden aus Hungen," in *Juden in Hungen*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Spurensuche Hungen" (Hungen, 1990), pp. 40–59.
4. Karl Schreiber, "Schriftliche Erinnerungen im Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand Frankfurt," n.d.
5. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 75.
6. HStA-D, G 15, Friedberg, Q 290, Bl.16 and 17.

PAPENBURG [AKA EMSLAND]

On August 2, 1933, Papenburg became a Prussian State Concentration Camp (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Intended for reclaiming the vast Ems River wetlands, its four subcamps held 4,000 detainees by October 1933.[1] Papenburg was the senior camp commandant's (Oberlagerkommandant's) headquarters and location of the hospital and railway station. In 1933, the subcamps were Börgermoor (camp I of the complex) (opened July 15), Esterwegen (II) (August 11), Esterwegen (III) (August 14), and Neusustrum (V) (October 2). In early 1934, Brual-Rhede (IV) and Oberlangen (VI) opened as Justice Ministry penal camps. (The apparent misnumbering was intentional.)

The Reich Settlement Law of 1919 spotlighted Emsland cultivation. In 1923, Osnabrück county founded the "Emsland"–Society for the Facilitation of Wasteland Reclamation (Gesellschaft zur Erleichterung der Urbarmachung von Oedlaendereien) and slowly created settlements before the Nazi takeover. In 1933, the new regime greatly expanded these efforts for four reasons. First, new farms theoretically reduced food imports, eased Germany's foreign exchange crisis, and promoted autarky. Second, new peasant settlements lent force to the nebulous "Blood and Soil" ideology. Third, with over 15,000 detainees in the summer of 1933, Prussia wanted to recoup incarceration costs through forced labor. Finally, the Emsland embarrassed Prussia. In 1934, the Prussian Justice Ministry's Rudolf Marx contrasted its "desolate, endless marsh" with the neighboring Dutch Groningen province's "fields, green meadows, and pastures."[2]

In February 1931, Adolf Hitler listed the "increasing" of arable soil as an immediate economic goal.[3] On March 15, 1933, the Reich cabinet noted that hardliners of the German Communist Party (KPD) would "eventually" proceed to "labor camps."[4] Prussian Prime Minister and Interior Minister Hermann Göring then authorized the Emsland camps. On March 17, his state secretary, Ludwig Grauert, commissioned Osnabrück's county president, Bernhard Eggers, to locate accommodations for 250 to 300 detainees.[5] On April 4, Eggers was dispatched again to find sites for 3,000 to 5,000 prisoners. On June 22, 1933, 90 Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) inmates arrived to build Börgermoor. On the same day, Grauert outlined the moor cultivation plan, which called for four camps scheduled to open, respectively, on July 15, August 1 and 15, and September 1, 1933. Only Esterwegen II and Neusustrum failed to meet Grauert's timetable. Each camp would hold 1,000 to 2,000 prisoners, 100 prisoners per barrack, and have guard, administration, bathing, and kitchen buildings. A barbed-wire fence and guard towers would enclose them. Signifying their innovative design, Secret State Police Office (Gestapa) chief Rudolf Diels referred to them as "barracks camps."[6]

Papenburg underwent numerous staff changes. On June 7, 1933, the Prussian Interior Ministry's SS-Gruppenführer Kurt Daluege secured Heinrich Himmler's appointment as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Gestapa. Himmler detailed Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel of SS-Group West (Gruppe West) to staff Papenburg. As Düsseldorf police president, Weitzel directed Ulmer-Höh, so it was not accidental that Börgermoor's first prisoners came from there. Weitzel named his protégé, Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, Oberlagerkommandant, and assigned other officers who would become subcamp commandants: Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann (Börgermoor), Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Esterwegen II), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Esterwegen III), and Sturmführer Emil Faust (Neusustrum). Weitzel did not consider all of them suitable for command, however. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, the Papenburg SS commandants came from cities with strong KPD enclaves, had distinguished war records, participated in nationalist-racist organizations, joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SS before 1930, and were enthusiastic street fighters.[7]

In the fall of 1933, 11 suspicious deaths and international publicity concerning the treatment of Jews and "bigwigs" called the SS administration into question. The Prussian Interior Ministry moved 150 Jews and prominent prisoners from Papenburg to Lichtenburg on October 17. In the same month, Himmler directed SS-Court III (Gericht III) in Munich to investigate the camp, but little came of his effort to forestall outside interference.[8] In November 1949, the regional court Oldenburg trial of Esterwegen II guard Theodor Groten established Brinkmann's culpability in Otto Eggerstedt's murder.[9]

In October 1933, Diels visited Papenburg. Finding that the SS "move through this region like marauding Swedes in the Thirty Years' War," he sent State Prosecutor Günther Joel with 50 Berlin policemen to seize the complex.[10] Organized as "Free Corps Fleitmann," the Börgermoor SS fired on the police, who retreated, which led Diels to secure Hitler's permission to deploy Reichswehr artillery. Figuring in Hitler's and Göring's decision for removal was the rumor that the SS were arming their prisoners. On November 6, the Prussian police under Polizeioberst Hans Stieler von Heydekamp deposed the SS without firing a shot. For several years, Brinkmann was persona non grata in the SS. He died in 1941. None of the Papenburg SS commandants ran another camp.[11]

Papenburg's new commandant and office manager, Polizeioberst von dem Knesebeck and Polizeimajor Gümbel, stipulated that future staff consist of 80 percent SA and 20 percent SS and that previous guards never be rehired.[12] Thus when SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser applied for his old post, his request was rejected.[13] The November 12, 1933, Reich Plebiscite embarrassed the regime because Börgermoor and Esterwegen III detainees overwhelmingly voted against Nazi rule.[14]

On December 20, 1933, the SA relieved the police of their responsibilities. Polizeimajor Gotthilf Hoffmann and his adjutant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel, commanded 420 SA and 80 SS. On December 22, 1933, 1,500 detainees were released in a "Christmas amnesty." Diels attended the Börgermoor and Esterwegen ceremonies.[15] Except for Börgermoor, the SA were violent overseers: Ludwig Pappenheim's murder at Neusustrum in January 1934 was one of five committed under their administration.[16] On March 11, 1934, Göring

banned the creation of new camps and, in a bid to assert control, demanded that camp guards become state employees.[17]

Except for Esterwegen, the Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry converted Papenburg into penal camps on April 1, 1934. The penal prisoners included many political convicts and members of outcast groups. Merging party and state functions, it staffed the camps with SA-Pioneer Regiment "Emsland" (Pionier-Standarte-Emsland) under Oranienburg's controversial commandant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Werner Schäfer. At Christmas 1935, SA guard Walter Talbot produced a photographic album for Hitler that represented prisoner labor in the moors. These images roughly accorded with early camp testimonies: prisoners cut peat, removed it by railed handcarts, dispersed sand and granite, and unloaded barges along the Küstenkanal.[18] Under wartime pressure, the Justice Ministry suspended moor cultivation in 1942.

Because Göring appointed Himmler Gestapo inspector on April 20, 1934, the SS reestablished control over Esterwegen. The consolidation of political detainees at Esterwegen took part in two stages, with Neusustrum's population transferred to Börgermoor on April 1 and Börgermoor's moved to Esterwegen II on April 25. On the latter date, the total "protective custody" population was 1,162.[19] On June 20, 1934, Esterwegen III closed, and its population moved to Esterwegen II. Esterwegen continued as an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) camp from August 1, 1934, to September 23, 1936. After its closure, the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and Reich Justice Ministry competed for the property. In January 1937, the SS sold it to the Justice Ministry for 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM), using some proceeds to finance Sachsenhausen.[20]

Papenburg exemplified what Johannes Tuchel calls the failed "Prussian model" of state-run concentration camps. For the Emsland project, it registered modest gains, creating 66 settlements and opening 722 hectares (1,784 acres) to cultivation in 1933 but a negligible proportion of the 1934 reclamation output.

By 1939, Papenburg consisted of 15 camps, of which some became Wehrmacht or Neuengamme subcamps in wartime.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the following secondary sources: Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Kurt Buck, "Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 176–184; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On the Prussian model, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991). The standard study of German prisons under the Nazis, Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), sets the Justice Ministry phase in context. Essential economic background is found in Christof Haverkamp, *Die Erschliessung des Emslandes im 20. Jahrhundert: Als Beispiel staatlicher regionaler Wirtschaftsförderung* (Sögel: Emsländische Landschrift, 1991). As cited in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), more cultivation statistics for 1933 and 1934 come from Hubert Herzog, "Die grosszügige Siedlungsarbeit des Staates im Emsland," *Jahrbuch des Emsländischen Heimatbundes* 1 (1953): 26–37. A careful collective biography of Papenburg SS commandants is Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). On the memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). DIZ maintains a Web site, with brief histories of the 15 camps, at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary sources for Papenburg begin with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. A recently discovered document sheds light on Hitler's pre-1933 economic goals and is fully reproduced in Ralf Banken, "'An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst': Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des "Dritten Reichs,"* ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), pp. 511–557. The Reich cabinet minutes are found in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983). Important but biased information on the November 1933 police takeover may be found in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). The BDCPFs of Brinkmann, Faust, Fleitmann, Katzmann, and Seehaus, NStA-Os documents, and the *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, are cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, reproduce numerous Papenburg documents from the NStA-Os and the BA-K, including Grauert's June 1933 memorandum and the Groten trial. An important policy statement on the Justice Ministry takeover is Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732–734. One of the most important prisoner testimonies for the

Papenburg complex is Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). A report on the Pappenheim murder appeared in "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933. USHMMPA, CD # 0430, WS #55152, contains a series of images of Rudolf Diels at Papenburg in December 1933. Valuable if tendentious photographic documentation of moor labor can be found in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Daluege, Prussian Interior Ministry (PrMdI), to Verwaltungsdirektionen der staatlichen Konzentrationslager in Papenburg (Bez. Osnabrück), in Sonnenburg (Bez. Frankfurt a/O), und in Lichtenburg (Bez. Merseburg), II 1600/4, August 2, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 57.

2. Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732.

3. Ralf Banken, "'An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst': Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des "Dritten Reichs,"* ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), p. 550.

4. Ministerbesprechung vom 15. März 1933, reproduced in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983), 1:214.

5. PrMdI to Reg. Präs. Eggers, March 17, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Dez. 201-204 5/66 No. 17, cited in Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager, 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985), p. 231n.26.

6. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, Eggers, No. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 59–61; quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191.

7. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 105–106; BDCPFs of Paul Brinkmann, Emil Faust, Wilhelm Fleitmann, Heinrich Katzmann, and Ludwig Seehaus, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), pp. 21, 28, 51, 64, 128–129, 222.

8. NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933; and SS-Gericht III, München, report in Wilhelm Fleitmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 51, 98.

9. "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgericht Osnabrück," (9 Ks 25/49), reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 80, 82.

10. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 192–194; quotation on p. 193.

11. Ibid., p. 193; Brinkmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 53–59.

12. *EZ*, November 10, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 52; Gümbel to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, November 15, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 64.

13. Reg. Präs. Osnabrück to SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser with Freiherr v. Oeynhausen, Reg. Präs. Minden i.W., IF 15/24, December 1, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 65.

14. Langhoff, *Moorsoldaten*, p. 242.

15. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285; USHMMPA, CD #0430, Three Photographs of Diels addressing Börgermoor and Esterwegen Prisoners, 12/1933.

16. "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933.

17. Göring to Inspekteur der Geheimen Staatspolizei die nachgeordneten Poliziebehörden, March 11, 1934, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 65–66.

18. Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

19. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.

20. Himmler to Reich Justice Ministry, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 172–173.

PAPPENHEIM BEI OSCHATZ

On April 8, 1933, the SA converted a school vacation hostel at Pappenheim bei Oschatz, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Under the command of SA-Sturmführer Schiemann, approximately 20 SA men guarded between 120 and 150 prisoners at Pappenheim. Conditions were brutal. For example, the guards forced the prisoners to hang from a stake or on beams for hours on end. In another form of torture, the prisoners' hair was shorn by bayonet. A Communist cell was active at Pappenheim but was subsequently suppressed. As in other early camps, church attendance was mandatory, but this requirement afforded the prisoners the opportunity to make furtive contact with the outside world. On May 27, 1933, the camp was disbanded and the prisoners transferred to the much larger Saxon camps at Colditz Castle and Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for this camp, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, consists mainly of the Kreisleitung Oschatz der Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED), ed., *Kampferlebnisse: Persönliche Erinnerungen und biographische Skizzen bewährter Genossen des Kreises Oschatz im Kampf um die Herausbildung einer einheitlichen marxistisch-leninistischen Partei der Arbeiterklasse* (Oschatz, 1976).

Joseph Robert White

PERLEBERG

At Perleberg in Potsdam, the SA and SS established an early concentration camp in an artillery depot. Prisoners from the then dissolving early camp at Havelberg refitted the structure and became the first inmates. Under the commander, SA-Standartenführer Felix Marnette, Perleberg lasted from May 24 to June 28, 1933, after which the prisoners were dispatched to the much larger concentration camp at Oranienburg. Because of transfers and releases, Perleberg's population fluctuated a great deal, with 95 detainees on May 31, 31 on June 8, and 40 on June 23.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Perleberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, in the BLHA.

Joseph Robert White

PLAUE BEI FLÖHA

The SA opened an early concentration camp at Plaue bei Flöha on March 8, 1933. The first concentration camp in Saxony and, after Nohra in Thuringia, the second concentration camp in Nazi Germany, Plaue was situated in a workers' gymnasium. Categorized as a "labor service camp," it held 174 "protective custody" detainees by April 12. The SA humiliated prisoners by cutting swastikas into their hair. Most prisoners worked in agriculture, but 40 were reassigned to build the huge early concentration camp at Sachsenburg on April 19. The Plaue camp was dissolved on June 10 and its remaining prisoners transferred to Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland and in Schmeitzner, primary documentation about Plaue can be found in the files of the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten.

Joseph Robert White

PORZ [AKA HOCHKREUZ]

At the instigation of the mayor of the community of Porz (Rheinisch-Bergischer Kreis), an SA "protective custody" camp was established in a former explosives factory at the "Hochkreuz" near the village of Eil in July 1933.[1] The camp was under the command of a "special commissar" (Sonderkommissar), SA-Sturmbannführer Schreiber (Sturmbann III/65) from the district town of Bergisch Gladbach. The guard squad came from Porz, Cologne, and the surrounding district.[2]

On July 14 and 15, 1933, more than 45 members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) were interned in the camp. They were interrogated in an extremely brutal manner in order to find out information about the publishers and distributors of the underground newspaper *Roter Sender*.[3] At the end of June, the men were released; proceedings were initiated against 4 of them for high treason. Three of the men were convicted.

One week later, seven more men were interned. The Bergisch Gladbach police had arrested them on suspicion of criminal activities, but as the police had not made progress in their questioning, they decided to have the SA thugs in the camp at Hochkreuz continue the interrogation.

Their torture methods led to numerous other arrests without a court order. Proceedings were initiated against 24 prisoners for high treason and other criminal activities, while the others were released at the beginning of August. At the beginning of August 1933, the camp was shut down by order of the Cologne district president.

Several of the prisoners retracted their confessions and through their lawyers brought charges for bodily harm and extortion. The Cologne State Attorney's Office began proceedings against several SA members. A few were taken into pretrial confinement, but the proceedings were closed in August on higher orders. The records survived World War II and served as the basis for criminal proceedings that led to convictions of several former SA men in 1946–1947.

SOURCES The author's chapter on the Porz camp formed the basis for this article: "Das Schutzhaftlager der SA am Hochkreuz in Porz-Gremberghoven," *Rechtsrheinisches Köln: Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Landeskunde* (ed. Geschichtsverein Rechtsrheinisches Köln e.V.) 8 (1982).

This chapter was based to some extent on several interviews with eyewitnesses but above all on the 1933–1934 Cologne State Attorney's Office records, which are located in the NWHStA-(D), Best. Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291. The prosecution of the perpetrators after the war was carried out on the basis of these records. During the author's initial research in 1981, however, the corresponding trial records were not available. Photocopies from these files and from the personnel file

of Hermann Odekoven, Nazi mayor of Porz, as well as the eyewitness interviews are located in the HAStK-P, Best. E Nr. 117 and M Nr. 14.

Gebhard Aders
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. The community of Porz—about 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Cologne—was elevated to city in 1951 and in 1975 was incorporated into Cologne.

2. This information is based on the investigation records of the Cologne State Attorney's Office at the NWHStA-(D), Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291.

3. According to witness statements, there was a list with 45 to 65 names, 32 of which could be identified by the author. See HAStK-P, Best. E Nr. 117; and Best. M Nr. 14.

QUEDNAU

The Quednau Fortress was built between 1872 and 1884 as 1 of 12 large forts of the new belt of fortifications to the north of Königsberg. Supposedly a camp was erected there in January 1933 by the Königsberg police and other agencies in order to house the leaders of the East Prussian Nazi Party (NSDAP) who were to be arrested in the event of an anti-Nazi coup that Kurt von Schleicher was allegedly planning. Between March and June 1933, the camp was used for male opponents of the NSDAP and then was closed in August of the same year.

During the course of the persecution of political opponents, 400 officials of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD) were arrested in March alone in the district of Königsberg. Entire Königsberg apartment complexes were surrounded, combed through systematically, and thousands of apartments were searched. The prisoners were taken to the police prison, where they were treated relatively well, or to the temporary detention camp at Fort Quednau (Übergangslager Fort Quednau), which was generally considered a "forerunner of a concentration camp" and was guarded by the SA and Stahlhelm. Hardly anything is known about the conditions of the detention. The prisoners were held in the casemates of the fortress, in each of which 8 to 12 men had to sleep on straw. The costs for running the camp of 3,000 Reichsmark (RM) until June 1933 were extremely low, which could indicate a short period of existence or very poor living conditions for the prisoners. Some reports written in exile about the terror in the early camps only mention the name Quednau; others speak in detail about religious services but also about draconian punishment and torture.

Quednau was, however, not a "wild concentration camp" but one of the six state camps officially recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. In June 1933 the district president of Allenstein reported the transfer of 55 prisoners to Quednau; according to a report by the district's Stapo, 47 political opponents were imprisoned here in September 1933. It appears that the East Prussian prisoners were assembled here and then transported farther into the Reich. At first the transports went, among other places, to Hammerstein near Schlochau and later mostly to the Emsland moor camps.

SOURCES The basis for this entry is the essay by Wilhelm Matull and Max Sommerfeld, "Der Anteil der ostpreussischen Arbeiterbewegung am Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus," *Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg* 17 (1967): 164–178. Besides historical findings, this essay also deals with the Social Democrat Matull's experiences in the camp. Further references to Quednau can be found in the book by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993); as well as in the two volumes by Fritz Gause, *Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968, 1971). A few references to the existence of the Quednau camp are also found in Richard Bessel's analysis of the rise of the SA in East Prussia, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925–1934* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and in Christian Tilitzki, *Alltag in Ostpreussen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz 1940–1945* (Leer: Rautenberg, 1991).

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

REICHENBACH [AKA LANGENBIELAU]

On March 8, 1933, the Nazi SS established a "transit camp" in the Social Democratic Party (SPD) community center at Reichenbach, Saxony. Despite the nomenclature, Reichenbach was a concentration camp in everything but name. The commandant was Albert Greiner, and the guards came from SS-Standarte 7. The detainees consisted mainly of Social Democrats but also included Communists and at least two Stahlhelm members. The size of the camp population is not known.

Under the pretext of interrogation, the SS tortured the prisoners. These sessions normally took place at night, after the guards' drinking binges. Those who did not cooperate faced an escalating series of punishments: 5 blows for "stuttering," 10 for lying, 15 for "silence," and 20 for "pausing to think." These regulations were posted in the former restaurant where portraits of Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg continued to hang on the walls. Prisoners who fainted under torture were revived with cold water, and the thrashings began anew. To muffle the screams, the guards held a cushion over the prisoners' faces.[1]

Among the Reichenbach perpetrators were Toni Grunwald and Dr. Kassebaum. Grunwald, a former Communist, forced prisoners to injest castor oil, after announcing his intention of releaving their "thirst." The camp physician, Kassebaum, berated detainees for "faking" injuries sustained during interrogation.[2]

On March 22, one day after Reich President Paul von Hindenburg officially received Hitler's government at Potsdam, the SS celebrated by parading battered SPD members through

the neighboring marketplace. At least two torture victims, Social Democrat Hermann Schencker and Communist leader Albert Janka, died as a result of their injuries. Among the Reichenbach prisoners was SPD Reichstag deputy Erwin Hartsch.[3]

On May 11, the camp was moved to the nearby foundry at Greizerstrasse. Reichenbach was disbanded in late May or early June 1933, and its detainees were transferred to the early concentration camps at Zwickau, Colditz, and Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows in part the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is also mentioned in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

The one primary source available for this camp is a contemporary report by Colditz and Sachsenburg prisoner Otto Meinel, who gathered secondhand information from transferred Reichenbach prisoners: *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 164–169.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 165.
2. Ibid., p. 168.
3. Ibid., pp. 166–167.

REMSCHEID-LÜTTRINGHAUSEN

In March 1933, the Gestapo ordered the Lüttringhausen penitentiary at Remscheid in Prussian Düsseldorf to make a wing available for "protective custody" detainees. The prisoners numbered in excess of 100 and consisted mainly of Communists and some Social Democrats. Justice Ministry guards administered the wing, but the supervisor's name is not known.

In 1983, former Communist Reichstag member and Lüttringhausen detainee Willy Spicher described the conditions at this camp. Prisoners subsisted on inadequate rations. Communists faced the additional burden of enforced isolation, as the authorities would not permit them to mail letters or receive visitors. Torture was commonplace. A prison guard conducted Spicher to a police interrogation. After the guard left the room, two policemen tortured him on the pretext of his "hiding a box of dynamite," a common charge that the Nazis leveled against Communists in 1933.[1]

At Lüttringhausen, Spicher participated in two protests. The first, a hunger strike, took place because of the communications ban against Communist prisoners. During exercise times, he organized this strike with other prisoners, but the result is not known. The second strike occurred after one detainee suffered ill treatment at the hands of a guard. As Spicher recalled, "A storm of protest broke out. All the political prisoners thundered against the cell doors. At the time it was labeled a mutiny by the political police."[2]

As the alleged ringleader of the spontaneous protest, Spicher was placed in a so-called dark cell for an unknown period. Stripped naked, he was unable to stand up or lie down in the pitch-dark cell but rested on his knees. Another prisoner, Social Democrat Emil Hirsch, had just entrusted him with a letter intended for Hirsch's wife. Rather than risk its discovery, Spicher quickly disposed of the letter while proceeding to the dark cell.[3]

In August 1933, an unknown number of Lüttringhausen detainees were dispatched to the early concentration camp at Wuppertal-Barmen (Kemna). This transport included Hirsch and Spicher.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief but useful history of the protective custody camp can be found in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]). This book focuses mainly on the penitentiary's role in the legally sanctioned terror against political opponents between 1933 and 1945. The Nazi-era victims of Lüttringhausen are mentioned in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with its listing in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:140. Hinz reproduces an abbreviated form of Spicher's 1983 interview in the *Ronsdorfer Zeitung* (*RonsZ*).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Willy Spicher interview in *Ronsdorfer Zeitung*, October 22, 1983, abbreviated in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]), n.p.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

ROSSLAU

On August 30, 1933, the SA converted a Rosslau community center owned by a local trade union into a transitional concentration camp for "protective custody" detainees. The camp was established in order to relieve Anhalt's remand

prisons of overcrowding. The first 25 prisoners entered the camp in October. Forty more detainees were subsequently transferred to Rosslau from the early Oranienburg concentration camp, because they hailed from neighboring Dessau. The prisoners consisted of leftist opponents and at least two hostages. Under the commandant, Wachtmeister Otto Marx, 12 to 14 SA guards oversaw the camp. Custody of Rosslau passed to the SS and Gestapo in January 1934.

Rosslau was a site of murder and torture. Communist Party member Franz Wilkus, who was suspected of murdering an SA man, was himself murdered at Rosslau. After the SS takeover, two unidentified Communists were hanged in the presence of the camp population. The prisoners were compelled to sing during the execution. The SS may have appropriated this technique from the torture sessions taking place in this camp, in which the prisoners were made to sing in order to drown out the victims' screams.

As was the case in other early camps, Rosslau prisoners participated in the November 12, 1933, national plebiscite. As the detainees voted, the authorities bent a corner of their ballots so their votes could be singled out for propaganda or retaliation. A sympathetic citizen from Dessau seized this opportunity to display solidarity with the persecutees, by earmarking her ballot in like manner.

Rosslau became the focus of an international cause célèbre. On December 4, 1933, Social Democratric Party (SPD) Reichstag deputy Gerhart Seger escaped from Oranienburg. In exile, he published one of the first concentration camp testimonies.[1] In retaliation, the Nazis arrested his wife and two-year-old daughter in the same month. They remained in custody at Rosslau until late May 1934. On April 23, 1934, the London *Daily Herald* reported: "A 20 months old baby has been labeled by the Nazis 'Political Prisoner No. 58.' With her mother, 'Political Prisoner No. 57,' she is booked for an indefinite stay at a concentration camp in Rosslau. . . . The baby is Renate Seger, daughter of the exiled Reichstag member, Gerhard [*sic*] Seger . . . [stated:] 'When people showed sympathy with my wife during her unguarded walks outside the camp with Renate, the governor had them stopped. Now they can only go out accompanied by two warders and a dog.'[2] Seger's tireless publicity on his family's behalf attracted the attention of Lady Nancy Astor, a Member of Parliament. Astor appealed to the German ambassador in London and secured the Seger family's release.[3]

After the appointment of SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke as inspector of the concentration camps, Rosslau was closed on July 31, 1934, as part of the effort to consolidate the SS concentration camps. At the time of dissolution, the camp held approximately 18 detainees. It is not clear whether these prisoners were transferred or released.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also useful are Klaus Drobisch, "Frühe Konzentrationslager," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60; and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. A listing for Rosslau can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1572. The camp is also listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for this camp consists of File St 3/226 (on the Seger affair) and various papers from the KZ und Haftanstalten collection. Both of these references can be found in the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR. The Rosslau camp was also mentioned in the German and British press, including the *Anh-A*, August 30, 1933; *FZ*, September 1, 1933; *DH* (London), April 23, 1934; and *T-LO*, May 24, 1934. The *Anh-A* and *FZ* articles are cited in Drobisch and Wieland.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg*: *Erster authentischen Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten*, foreword by Heinrich Mann (Karlsbad: "Graphia" Verlag, 1934).
2. "Baby Labeled 'Political Prisoner No. 58,'" *DH*, April 23, 1934.
3. "Frau Seger Released—Woman MP's Efforts," *T-Lo*, May 24, 1934.

SACHSENBURG (AND SUBCAMPS)

On May 2, 1933, the SA formed a "protective custody" camp inside the abandoned Tautenhahn mill in Sachsenburg near the city of Frankenberg. Situated on the Zschopau River, the four-story building required renovation before it could be occupied. This task fell to the SA's first 100 prisoners. By May 30, Sachsenburg had 376 inmates. Its history is divided into two phases, with administration by the SA (1933–1934) and then the SS (1934–1937).[1]

Sachsenburg was the largest Saxon camp. Its prisoners were Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, Protestant and Catholic clergy, Jehovah's Witnesses, some nationalists, criminals, and "asocials." The camp's population fluctuated significantly. Between May 1933 and February 1934, it grew with transfers from the dissolved camps at Pappenheim, Zschorlau, Hainewalde, and Zwickau. In August 1933, the population stood at over 1,200 detainees but fell to 750 by November and 456 in December. A year later, in August 1934,



The Sachsenburg early camp, n.d.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934.

there were 316 detainees. The population rose to 576 on April 8, 1935, then peaked at 1,305 on October 31, 1935. On March 18, 1936, there were 877 prisoners.[2]

Sachsenburg's first commandant was SA-Standartenführer Hähnel, commander of SA-Standarte 182 (Flöha). The second commandant was SA-Obersturmbannführer Kleditsch, who relieved Hähnel after the November 1933 plebiscite (see below). By November 1933, 300 SA guarded the camp.[3]

The SA converted the windowless wool mixing room into an arrest bunker and torture chamber. The interrogation room, under SA-Scharführer Vinne, was used to break "stubborn deniers," in prisoner Otto Meinel's words. Among the tortured victims was Bruno Kiessling, whose death on October 31, 1933, was officially attributed to a lung embolism.[4]

In August 1933, the prisoners composed an unauthorized camp song, "Das Lied von Sachsenburg." Credited variously to prisoners R. Seidel or Rudi Reinwarth, it circulated among the prisoners in an illegal pamphlet. The opening of the song commented on the irony of so many workers trapped in an abandoned mill: "Its machines don't rattle, the wheels stand still, / But you find many working people there." From a Marxist viewpoint, the second stanza resolved the contradiction by claiming ownership of the camp, who "is now the world of the [Marxist] fighting group, who has been imprisoned in battle." A prohibition against singing it on outside detachments came too late to prevent some Frankenberg civilians from learning the lyrics.[5]

On November 12, 1933, the camp participated in the Reich plebiscite. Unlike most camps, the prisoners resisted considerable pressure and rejected the Nazis. Of the 650 eligible prisoners, 516 cast "no" votes in answer to the question of whether they supported the Hitler regime. Detainee treatment worsened considerably thereafter.[6]

From 1933 to 1934, Sachsenburg established five subcamps: Augustusburg (May 1–December 31, 1933), Chemnitz (May 22, 1933–September 4, 1934), Colditz (May 31–August 15, 1934), Dresden Trachenberge (September 4–October 31, 1934), and Lützelhöhe (officially listed from April 19 to August 16, 1934, but eyewitness testimony indicated activity already in mid-1933). The Augustusburg labor camp had 120 prisoners in the summer of 1933. According to Meinel, Lützelhöhe was an SA housing project subcontracted to the Kell construction firm. Colditz had 31 prisoners in July 1934. The SS closed Chemnitz, Colditz, and Lützelhöhe but opened Trachenberge.[7]

The SS phase began in August 1934, when Inspector of Concentration Camps SS-Gruppenführer Theodor Eicke dispatched special commander "Sachsen" to the camp. By 1936, this guard unit was renamed the 3rd SS-Death's Head Battalion "Sachsen." Eicke's protégé, SS-Sturmbannführer Max Simon, became the first commandant and later headed the guard unit. Between October 1934 and April 1935, Sachsenburg had several commandants: SS-Oberführer Alexander Reiner, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Otto Koch (future Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Majdanek commandant), SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Gerlach, and SS-Standartenführer Bernhard Schmidt. Schmidt held the post until July 1937. Schmidt's first protective detention camp leader was SS-Scharführer Gerhard Weigel, whom the prisoners ironically called "the uncle." Promoted to Untersturmführer by 1936, Weigel became Schmidt's adjutant, and SS-Obersturmbannführer Arthur Rödl was appointed protective detention camp leader. A Nazi Old Fighter, Rödl was Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine and South Russia during World War II. Three commanders of prisoner companies were SS-Scharführers König, Plaul, and Kampe.[8]

Schmidt implemented the "Eicke system," which meant rigorous procedure and institutionalized brutality. The service diary recorded the prisoners' routine: wake-up at 5:30 A.M., breakfast at 6:00, roll call by 6:30, labor from 6:35 to 11:30, lunch at noon, labor from 12:30 to 5:00 P.M., evening roll call at 6:00, and lights out at 9:00 P.M. On Sundays, prisoners awoke an hour later, attended a mandatory church service, showered, and played sports in the afternoon. Another characteristic of the Eicke system was careful recordkeeping, which included Labor Service reports. A record from January 19, 1936, showed that 18 inmates were allocated to the "football" detachment, presumably building an SS sports field, but 1 was removed after reporting for medical treatment.[9]

The SS instituted flogging in May 1935 under their new system. According to prisoner Hugo Gräf, the first victim was held over a desk, but the furniture broke under the blows. Schmidt then had inmate carpenters build a wooden stand for use during beatings. At evening roll call, the victim would be fastened against the stand in a leaning position, his arms strapped below and legs trapped in a pillory. Before the first blow commenced, the victim sang, "I am going to climb the mountain over there, that gives me great joy." Two SS took turns lashing the victim with bullwhip or rubber truncheon. With the first blow, the prisoner started singing the "Deutschlandlied." The last was timed to coincide with the anthem's final note, but often the victims passed out beforehand. Many prisoners, such as Helmuth Kademann, received lashes far

exceeding the normal 25. The SS twice imposed a 25-lash punishment on Jewish prisoner Dr. Curt Boas, a World War I army physician. Boas responded, "A German officer can stand anything." Because Sachsenburg lacked an infirmary, the SS regularly dispatched flogging victims to the Chemnitz hospital for treatment. The hospital became an important conduit for information about the camp.[10]

Scharführer König commanded the Jewish and Penal Company, for which labor was torture. Originally consisting of criminals and recalcitrant prisoners, this company added at least 40 Jews in the summer of 1935. Deployed to the Zschopau's banks, the prisoners quarried stone, performed demoralizing tasks, and endured penal exercises or "sport." Transferred from Bautzen penitentiary in early 1935, Communist prisoner Walter Janka got into trouble on his first day and was immediately dispatched to the Penal Company. For six weeks, he broke rock with a sledgehammer, at a pace of three swings per minute. Communist prisoner Hugo Gräf, who headed the camp library and bookbindery, secured Janka's transfer to his detachment under false pretenses. Jewish "returnee" Paul Wolff, at Sachsenburg between May and October 1935, recalled that the Jews, mainly returning emigrants and "race defilers," experienced unceasing harassment at the quarry. Intellectuals among the Jews were singled out for "ladling" liquefied manure. At least 2 members of the Jewish company were murdered: Wertheimer, who was arrested due to "race defilement," and Dr. Max Sachs, business editor of the *Dresdner Volkszeitung*.[11]

Although Eicke ordered commandants on May 24, 1935, to report unusual death cases to the Reich Interior Ministry and to other authorities, the Sachs case demonstrated how easily the camp's commandant could circumvent this directive. According to Wolff, Schmidt warned prisoners not to talk about Sachs's death immediately before a Saxon prosecutor came to the camp to investigate. Wolff dismissed the prosecutor's interviews with the prisoners as a farce. Meanwhile, one of Sachs's former employees, Röbricht, was placed in the Bunker for 42 days in order to prevent his talking about the murder.[12]

Two important events occurred at Sachsenburg in the spring of 1935. First, 10 trombonists from Pastor Georg Walther's Thomaskirche in Leipzig performed Easter hymns near camp, in protest of his imprisonment. As a scare tactic, the Nazis confined them to Sachsenburg until evening. Walther was 1 among 21 Protestant clergymen in Sachsenburg custody until early June 1935. The SS made them quarry stone and subjected them to racist indoctrination. Second, a British Quaker inspected Sachsenburg in late April or early May. After interviewing inmates, he complained to the SS on behalf of one detainee who had been in camp for two years. The SS feebly tried to dismiss this case as an isolated incident.[13]

Sachsenburg's commandants devised elaborate insignia to designate reasons for arrest and prisoner rank. Under the SA, the prisoners wore green jackets and gray pants, but the SS supplied them with blue-and-gray-striped uniforms. All prisoners wore a red triangle, but criminals also bore a green stripe. Jews wore a yellow star, and homosexuals, a violet triangle. Jewish "returnees" bore red arm- and leg bands. The prisoner hierarchy simulated the military: a company Gefangenefeldwebel (prisoner sargeant) displayed three triangles, foremen two, and valets ("swings") one.[14]

In July 1937, Eicke ordered Sachsenburg's dissolution. The remaining 700 prisoners were dispatched to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by October 1937. The first Buchenwald transport consisted of 75 skilled workers. The camp staff, including Rödl, was transferred to Buchenwald, while Schmidt became protective detention camp leader at Sachsenhausen and later Dachau. It is not certain whether any guards were tried in connection with their activities at Sachsenburg.[15]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Sachsenburg subcamps are listed in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996). Also helpful is Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Photographs of the textile mill are available at the Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands Web site, "Gedenkstätten Arbeiterbewegung und Mahnung gegen Kriege und Unterdrückung," www.gedenkstaetten.kjvd.de/sachsen/sachsen.html. A chronology of the Augustusburg Castle subcamp is available at www.die-sehenswerten-drei.de. Valuable biographical information about Max Sachs may be found in Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, *Biografische Notizen zu Dresden Strassen und Plätzen, die an Persönlichkeiten aus der Arbeiterbewegung, dem antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf und dem sozialistischen Neuaufbau erinnern* (Dresden: Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, 1976).

Primary documentation for Sachsenburg begins with BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald, Files 10 (Sachsenburg Quittungsbuch über Postsendungen, 1934–1936), 11 (Dienst-Tagebuch, April 7, 1935–January 18, 1936), 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzler Stellen, 1935–1937), 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, January 19, 1936–July 27, 1936), and 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst-Zettel, 1936–1937), available on microform at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Especially helpful are the handwritten Dienst-Tagebücher, which contain daily schedules, total camp population, available labor, transfers, and releases. Each page bears the protection detention camp leader's signature. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, data on camp population and subcamps can be found in SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393. As cited by Tuchel, the BDCPF are available for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max

Simon, and Gerhard Weigel. Sachsenburg is listed in ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 2:638. This volume also documents the Augustusburg and Lützelhöhe subcamps, but the dates for Augustusburg are inaccurate. For Chemnitz, Colditz, and Dresden-Trachenberge, Drobisch and Wieland cite the ITS, Arolsen, Abteilung Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12. "Das Lied von Sachsenburg" is reproduced in Fackler, p. 276. Detailed reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). Published and unpublished testimonies support many *Sopade* reports. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Tuchel, a valuable collection of detainee testimony is Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978). The most important eyewitness testimonies are by Otto Meinel and Otto Urban, available in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Detained in Colditz and Sachsenburg, Meinel was released on November 9, 1933, three days before the plebiscite. Before his transfer to Hohnstein, Urban worked in the camp clerical office, a privileged position, between August 1 and November 29, 1933. The testimony of Helmuth Kademann (in camp from February to November 1935) is found in *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936); and Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1617. Another important witness is Hugo Gräf, a former Communist Reichstag member, who was confined at Sachsenburg from circa May 1934 to around September 1935. Gräf published several articles in the mid-1930s, including "Prügelstrafe," *DNW*, March 19, 1936, pp. 353–358. Gräf's comrade Walter Janka, who subsequently headed the East German film corporation DEFA, devoted a chapter of his autobiography to Sachsenburg (he was in the camp from circa January to August 1935): *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991). His testimony must be used with caution because the chronology is convoluted; perhaps under the influence of postwar accounts, Janka significantly overestimated the camp's population. The testimony of Paul Wolff (in Sachsenburg from late May to the end of October 1935) may be found in File P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58. The typewritten copy of Wolff's letter, titled "Summer 1936," came into the Wiener Library's possession in 1957. Composed while the author was in the Netherlands awaiting emigration to Paraguay, it appears to be addressed to the Vorstand of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, Berlin. Wolff's testimony helps to document the Wertheim and Sachs murders. The Wertheim case was published in "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264. A report about the Sachs murder is also found in File P III h. No. 572 (Sachsenburg), "Geheimnisse einer Todesanzeige. Der Fall Sachs," Sept. 25–Oct. 11, 1935, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. On the Quaker visit and the trombonists' protest, see file P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posaunenchor. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager," 1936, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. Other Nazi and non-Nazi newspaper reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *NV*, August 27, November 26, 1933; *SchK*, June 12, 1935, September 3, 1936; and *BanZ*, January 12, 1938.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Otto Meinel, "Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 157–158; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 63.

2. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 157; "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler: Sensationelles Wahlergebnis in einem Konzentrationslager," *NV*, November 26, 1933; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 63; *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980), 3 (1936): 1023 (hereafter *Sopade* with volume, year, and page); USHMMA, RG-14.023M, BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald File 11 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Apr. 7, 1935–Jan. 18, 1936), Apr. 8, 1935, p. 2 (hereafter NS4/Bu with file, date, and page); NS4/Bu 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Jan. 19–July 27, 1936), March 18, 1936, p. 60; ITS, Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, File 2, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 204.

3. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," pp. 157, 161; Otto Urban, "In der Schreibstube Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 231; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933.

4. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 160.

5. *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, reproduced in Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), p. 276.

6. "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 163; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr. with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweiundtausendeins, 1990), 2:638; Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12, ITS, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 191; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 158.

8. *SchK*, June 12, 1935; "Saure Wochen, frohe Feste," *SchK*, September 3, 1936; BDCPF for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max Simon, and Gerhard Weigel, as cited in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991), pp. 195, 375, 379, 387, 389–391, 393–394; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58 (hereafter *Testaments*, 1/2/58).

9. NS4/Bu 11, Apr. 11, June 30, 1935, pp. 5, 60; NS4/Bu 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst, 1936–1937), Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg, SS-Oberscharführer vom Arbeitsdienst, Arbeitstrupp Fussball, January 19, 1936, n.p.

10. Hugo Gräf, "Prügelstrafe," *NWB*, March 19, 1936, pp. 356–357; Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1615; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022–1023.

11. Alfred Richter, "SS-Karrieren," *DNW*, July 9, 1936, p. 881; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; Walter Janka, *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991), pp. 48, 56–59; P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), Paul Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 3–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 91.

12. NS4/Bu 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzter Stellen, 1935–1937), Eicke to KL Commandants, Betr: "Unnatürlichen Todesfällen," May 24, 1935, n.p.; Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 4–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58.

13. P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posaunenchor. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager," ca. 1936, pp. 1–3, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; *Sopade* 2 (1935): 1293; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 760–707; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938.

14. Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978), p. 20, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 207; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 705–706.

15. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, Dokumentationszentrum der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung, Bestand KZ und Haftstätten, No. 19, cited in Drobisch and Wieland *System*, p. 269; Otto, *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, p. 24, as cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 199.

SCHLEUSINGEN

In the spring of 1933, the SS and Prussian police opened a "protective custody" camp in the district court prison at Schleusingen, near Erfurt.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation about this camp is not available except for an entry in the ITS list of German prisons and concentration camps. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 222.

Joseph Robert White

SENFTENBERG

In March 1933, the police and SA established a "protective custody" camp at the police prison in Senftenberg (Oberspreewald-Lausitz County [Landkreis]), Prussia. The director's name is not known. The first detainees included leading leftists and deputies from the Brandenburg Landtag (parliament). On the night of June 25–26, 1933, the police and SA deputies rounded up 265 Communists and Social Democrats. On June 26, the *Potsdamer Tageszeitung* newspaper averred that they were "taken into protective custody for their own security. The operation proceeded without incident."[1] The authorities temporarily dispatched the prisoners to the gymnasium (*Turnhalle*) at Senftenberg's Elementary School I (Volksschule I), where the SA had established a torture site. The police moved most or all female detainees to the prison on June 27 and dispatched at least some male prisoners to the same location before month's end.[2] It is not known how long the gymnasium at Elementary School I remained a torture site.

The official announcement about the June 25–26 raid sharply contrasted with eyewitness testimony. According to Martha Wölk, the police tore apart families and ransacked homes. She recalled that when her husband, Arthur, inquired about the reason for this—his second—arrest, the police replied, "That you know best and if a question is going to be asked, then we'll do it! You Communists are finally done for."[3] In fact, the June raid did not eliminate anti-Nazi activity in Oberspreewald County, because in August 1933 more Communists were arrested after distributing leaflets among SA and SS members.[4] In addition to Wölk, Senftenberg held Elsa Barufka, Max Birke, Hans Blaczewski, Andreas Dembinski, Christian Fabricus, Anna and Karl Freter, Paul Handke, Robert Harnau, Max Homa, Willi Karich, Reinhold Kaspar, Ernst Kosul, Max and Josef Kowall, town councilor Marianne Seidel, Felix Spiro, Hans Stecklina, Gerhard Tschieter, and August Ulbrich. Seidel, who was pregnant at the time of arrest, was the camp's only murder victim.[5]

Inside the police prison, detainee treatment ranged from tolerable to brutal. A June 1933 photograph of prisoners Fabricus, Harnau, Blaczewski, and Wölk created an impression of domestic tranquility. Seated on benches in the sunshine, the four prisoners peeled potatoes. Harnau was shirtless, and Blaczewski sat with his sleeves rolled up in the front. Over Blaczewski's shoulder, Wölk smiled at the camera. A kitchen knife appeared conspicuously in the foreground. By contrast, a second photograph taken that summer showed Anna Freter behind bars. While she and her husband remained in custody, a "Nazi family" cared for her children. In the image, her face betrayed a desperate look. It is not certain whether the guards took these photographs.[6]

Seidel's murder demonstrated that the torture of inmates begun at the gymnasium continued in the police prison. When Elfriede Dembinski visited the prison, she found her neighbor, Marianne Seidel, in terrible shape. Seidel had a "high fever" and "red spots" on her body. She also suffered great mental anguish. Dembinski recalled: "At night she was not able to listen to the cries of beaten prisoners any more and for that purpose wrapped a blanket around her head." So serious was Seidel's condition that the physician, Dr. Beiche, arranged her release and transfer to a local hospital. Injuries sustained under torture jeopardized Seidel's pregnancy, and she died on July 10, 1933, her second day

in the hospital. The authorities unsuccessfully attempted to forestall public knowledge of her murder. Armed with truncheons, SA deployed along the streets to obscure the view of the hearse transporting Seidel's body to the town crematory.[7]

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999). Although Endlich categorizes the gymnasium as a protective custody camp, Drobisch and Wieland list it as a torture site.

Primary documentation for Senftenberg may be found in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), vol. 1, which reproduces testimonies by Elfriede Dembenski, Anna Freter, Richard Koal, and Martha Wölk; photographs in the Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933); and the article from the *PoT*, June 26, 1933. The volume also contains the Volksgerichtshof judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934 (14 J 327/33) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34). The latter is an indictment against Arthur Wölk et al. for the illegal distribution of leaflets. The collection extracted the Wölk and Freter testimonies from *Zum 25: Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971). Senftenberg is listed in the German Social Democratic exile publication *Das Deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland* (Paris, 1936).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "265 Funktionäre der KPD und SPD in Schutzhaft," *PoT*, June 26, 1933, reproduced in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), 1:181.

2. Report by Elfriede Dembinski [n.d.], testimony of Anna Freter, photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183, 261; Freter's testimony originally appeared in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971), p. 10.

3. Testimony of Martha Wölk in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181; Wölk's testimony appeared originally in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED*, pp. 8–9.

4. Volksgerichtshof Judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934, (14 J 327/33), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 230–235.

5. Wölk testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181.

6. Photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Freter testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183.

7. Reports by Dembinski and Richard Koal [n.d.], in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 261.

SONNENBURG

The Sonnenburg concentration camp near Küstrin in Neumark existed from April 3, 1933, until April 23, 1934. It was located in the Sonnenburg penitentiary, which originally had been established in 1832–1833 as a Royal Prussian penitentiary. (After the war, Sonnenburg became the Polish town of Słońsk in the county of Gorzow.) The penitentiary was located 600 meters (656 yards) outside of the town on the arterial road leading to Posen (Poznan). In 1931, this relatively large prison, which accommodated 637 inmates and was economically significant for the town, was closed due to catastrophic sanitary conditions. Wilhelm Kube, the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) leader and later Gauleiter of the Gau Kurmark, promised during the 1931 election campaign to reopen the prison as soon as possible. The wave of arrests that followed the Reichstag fire after February 28, 1933, quickly exhausted the capacity of the Berlin prisons and SA cellars. As a result, the former Sonnenburg penitentiary was requisitioned and placed under the control of the Berlin Police Headquarters as a state concentration camp (*Staatliches Konzentrationslager*).

An inspection of the Sonnenburg penitentiary complex by Berlin Correctional Bureau officials on March 23, 1933, revealed that in three wings there was room for 941 prisoners, in both single cells or in dormitory cells, which held 20, 30, and 60 prisoners. Heating and plumbing in part did not function, and water would have to be obtained from the well in the courtyard. The Correctional Bureau provided 900 bed frames and 300 stools free of charge.

The first prisoners, from Berlin, were overwhelmingly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD). They arrived on April 4, 1933. Two days later, a group of prominent Nazi opponents was transferred to Sonnenburg, including Carl von Ossietzky, Erich Mühsam, Ernst Scheller, and Hans Litten. The *Sonnenburger Anzeiger* newspaper reported about this event on April 7, 1933: "The prisoners had to march from the railway station to the former penitentiary singing the national anthem and were driven by the rubber truncheons of the Berlin auxiliary police [Hilfspolizei]."[1]

The large majority of the prisoners in Sonnenburg were left-wing parliamentarians and intellectuals. A few National Socialists, however, were incarcerated for various reasons; most of these were supporters of Gregor Strasser.

There were only a few Jewish prisoners in Sonnenburg. The only Jewish prisoner to leave a memoir behind, Hans Ullmann, who was imprisoned in Sonnenburg in mid-September 1933



Sonnenburg prisoners pose for a group photograph, June 1933. Second from left in the back row, with his hands crossed, is Carl von Ossietzky.
USHMM WS #62057, COURTESY OF ROSALINDA OSSIETZKY-PALM

with his father and brother on account of "economic espionage," recalls four other Jewish prisoners. "Only Christian prisoners were sent to Sonnenburg. The Jews went to Papenburg."[2] Many eyewitness accounts unanimously report that the guards particularly targeted Jewish prisoners, especially the three Ullmanns, and mistreated them brutally.

From October 1933 on, several freemasons were supposedly interned in Sonnenburg, including Dr. Leo Müffelmann, the grandmaster of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany (S.G.L.v.D.), who died on August 29, 1934, from the consequences of his internment.

Hans Ullmann also refers to a "head foreman in a brown coal mine who got drunk at a rally instead of listening to the Nazi orator" and an "owner of a basalt quarry in west Germany. Someone had offered him illegal newspapers, he declined the offer as he was not interested but said to the offeror that perhaps this person or that person would be interested. He was denounced to the authorities and arrested. He was a civilized man and said that he would probably go bankrupt."[3]

All in all, far more than 1,000 men were interned and tortured in Sonnenburg. According to Willi Harder, who several times received orders from the Kommandantur to determine the exact number of prisoners, reports that the prison population reached its peak at 1,226 "protective custody" prisoners.[4] A criminal police examination report dated November 30, 1933, speaks to "approximately one thousand prisoners." Due to a significant fluctuation in prisoners during the camp's year of existence and a lack of archival sources, it remains difficult to determine the exact number of prisoners.

The prisoners, who wore discarded police uniforms, were employed in various ways. In addition to a locksmith's shop, a blacksmith's shop, plumber's shop, and a carpentry, there was a tailor's workshop with 81 sewing machines, a willow cultivation, and a cane chair manufacture. Other prisoners had to construct a shooting range, which was used to train SS men. In addition, the prisoners undertook other tasks. For example, there were barbers who cut the prisoners' hair on a regular basis and shaved them twice a week, kitchen hands, and laundry workers. There was also a "toilet paper cutter, who cut old newspapers—discarded by the political police, who had marked selected articles in different colours—into small pieces and distributed them to the various toilets."[5]

From September 1933 to the closing of the camp in April 1934, a nationwide "regulated camp counseling" (*geregelte Lagerseelsorge*) was conducted in Sonnenburg, which had been initated by the Committee of the German Protestant Church (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenausschuss) in June 1933. The counseling was basically limited to regular church services with mandatory attendance for all prisoners.

All contemporaneous reports published outside Germany in the years 1933 and 1934 unanimously testify that even in comparison with other concentration camps the guards in Sonnenburg were exceptionally brutal and high-handed. The camp quickly became known as "torture hell" (*Folterhölle*) outside Germany. Rudolf Diels, the head of the Gestapo at the time, later on remembered a visit to Sonnenburg:

> The appearance of the prisoners was simply indescribable. They were reminiscent of spooks or guises of some demonic dream. Their swollen heads stuck out of their rags like pumpkins; yellow, green and bluish faces that no longer bore any resemblance to human faces. Their bare skin was covered with weals and congealed blood. A shiver ran through my body as if I had seen a ghost. . . . When I asked for Kasper [Wilhelm Kasper, the former treasurer of the KPD parliamentary group in the Prussian Landtag, Kasper Nürnberg (KN)], a creature reported to me; only his smouldering eyes were reminiscent of a once lively and vital man. Notwithstanding I would see worse things, seeing this agonized man was the most shocking experience of that year.[6]

The "dark cell" (*Dunkelzelle*) and the "eastern cellar" (*Ostkeller*) were notorious places, especially for sexual abuse. Harder reports: "Any imaginable form of sadist cruelty was practiced in the Ostkeller. The prisoners were forced to place their genitals on the edge of a table and whereupon those beasts slapped them!"[7]

The guard units were initially composed of SA men from Berlin SA Stürme (companies) I ("Horst Wessel") and 33 ("Mordsturm Maikowski"). From the middle of April they were joined by members of the Police Detachment Wecke (Polizeiabteilung Wecke), named after Polizeimajor Walther Wecke, who in 1933 commanded three large police detachments (which reached regimental strength in May 1933) and operated a large torture chamber in the police garrison Friesenstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg. By the end of April, SA members from Frankfurt an der Oder replaced the Berlin SA. According to the testimony of SS-Scharführer Heinz Adrian, 150 SS men from SS-Regiment 27 (Standarte 27), after having received basic training and instructions, replaced first the SA and then the police by the end of August 1933. From then on, they were in charge of security at Sonnenburg. Adrian was sentenced to death by the grand criminal court of the Schwerin regional court on September 29, 1948, and was executed in November 1948 at the Dreibergen penitentiary.

The camp's commanders also reflect the changes in responsibility between the SA, police, and SS: Polizeioberleutnant Gerhard Paessler and his colleagues Leutnant Bark and Oberleutnant Siegmund succeeded SA-Sturmführer Bahr. SS-Truppführer Paul Bruening was appointed camp commander in late summer. In December he was given responsibility for administrative matters, which was withdrawn from Polizeioberinspektors Pelz and Reschke.

Following its dissolution in the spring of 1934, Sonnenburg was converted once again to a penitentiary under the supervision of the Reich Ministry of Justice. Mainly criminals were interned here but still also political prisoners. Later on the inmates included deserters, recalcitrant forced laborers, and following arrests after the so-called Night-and-Fog-Decree of August 8, 1942 ("Nacht-und-Nebel"-Erlass), Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, and Luxemburgers. Among them were Jean Baptiste Lebas, the postal minister in Leon Blum's government, who died in Sonnenburg on May 10, 1944. Herschel Grynszpan had supposedly been brought to Sonnenburg in the spring of 1944 and remained there until his transfer to the Brandenburg penitentiary in early 1945. Sonnenburg gained notoriety again on the night of January 30–31, 1945, when SS men, before fleeing to the west, shot almost all the remaining prisoners, leaving a huge heap of corpses for the approaching Soviet soldiers. The soldiers buried the dead and erected a memorial with the following inscription: "Here are buried 819 citizens, bestially shot and burned by the Germans when they gave up Sonnenburg. Soldier! Remember and retaliate."

SOURCES The history of the Sonnenburg concentration camp has not been researched in great detail. The only monograph is a history of the camp in Polish: Przemysław Mnichowski, *Obóz koncentracyjny i wiezienie w Sonnenburgu* (Słońsku) (The Sonnenburg Concentration Camp and Prison) (Warsaw, 1982).

In addition, the Research Group Former Concentration Camp Sonnenburg (Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg) has published three volumes of source material: *Geschichte und Funktion des KZ Sonnenburg: Sonnenburger Häftlinge: Carl von Ossietzky*, *Hans Litten*, *Erich Mühsam*, *Ernst Schneller*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg, vol. 1 (Berlin: C. Niess, 1987); *Bibliographie zum KZ Sonnenburg: Verzeichnis der Sammlungen des Arbeitskreises: Amtliche Schriftstücke*, *Erinnerungsberichte*, *Flugschriften*, *Presseberichte*, *wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen*, *Fotos*, *Filmdokumente*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1992); *Bausteine zu einer Liste der Sonnenburger Häftlinge in der Zeit vom 4. April 1933 bis 23. April 1934*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 3 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1991).

The most important sources from the 1930s include the eyewitness account of Willi Harder, in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 117–133; a section in the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), pp. 285–289; two anonymous reports in the *DNW* on June 21, 1934, and July 5, 1934; "Die Hölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachenbericht von einem deutschem Arbeiter," *AIZ* 12 (1933): 740, 758, 762; and the publication *Folterhölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachen- und Augenzeugenbericht eines ehemaligen Schutzhäftling* (Paris: Mopr-Verlag, 1934).

Also worthy of mention are Irmgard Litten, *A Mother Fights Hitler* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940); and Kreszentia

Mühsam, *Der Leidensweg Erich Mühsams* (1934; repr., Berlin: Harald-Kater-Verlag, 1994). Litten and Mühsam both devote a chapter to Hans Litten's and Erich Mühsam's imprisonment in Sonnenburg. A few recent publications need to be mentioned: Erwin Nippert, "Die Hölle Sonnenburg," in *Die Maske des Kunsthändlers*, ed. Erwin Nippert (Berlin: Militärverlag der DDR, 1983), pp. 170–203; Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 76–91.

The personal papers of an independent scholar and local resident of the Sonnenburg region, Erich Schulz, at the GStAPK (PK VI. HA N1 Erich Schulz), include a substantial collection of sources on the history of the penitentiary and the Sonnenburg camp. Further sources can be found in the Bestand KL Hafta, Sonnenburg, at the BA-DH.

Kaspar Nürnberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SonA, April 7, 1933.
2. Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 82.
3. Ibid., 83–84.
4. Willi Harder, "Sonnenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 127.
5. Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," p. 89.
6. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 256.
7. Harder, "Sonnenburg," pp. 128–129.

STETTIN-BREDOW [AKA VULKANWERFT]

The construction of a concentration camp in the Bredow district of Stettin (today Szczecin-Drzetowo) went back to an initiative of SS-Abschnittsführer Fritz-Karl Engel, who, since September 1933, was also acting police president in Stettin. Officially it served as an additional police detention center for "protective custody" prisoners. The camp, located on the grounds of the Vulkanwerft, which had been closed and torn down in 1928, became a special interrogation and internment site for the Stettin Gestapo and SS. The camp was under the jurisdiction of SS-Sturmführer Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, a Criminal Police employee with the Stettin State Police Office since the fall of 1933.[1]

By the end of October 1933, between 25 and 40 male prisoners were permanently interned in the Vulkanwerft camp. Only a few of them were active political opponents of National Socialism, as most political opponents in Stettin had already been arrested in the first months after Hitler took power. Often members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) or its organizations were imprisoned at Stettin-Bredow.[2] Various trivial "offenses" could result in being taken into protective custody and being sent to Stettin-Bredow. Some were arrested due to denunciations by company superiors or party offices, while others had complained to various authorities about administrative measures. Drunks were arrested in pubs and carried off to the camp. Landlords were punished in Stettin-Bredow for supposedly demanding too much rent.[3] Several prisoners who found themselves in pretrial confinement for criminal offenses were blackmailed into confessions at Stettin-Bredow—they had been taken there sometimes without consent, sometimes at the instigation of the criminal police.[4] Several well-off Stettin citizens were brought to the camp with the intention of extorting money and payment in kind in order to finance the camp. At this time the Prussian Ministry of Interior only financed the central state concentration camps (*staatliche Konzentrationslager*), to which Stettin-Bredow did not belong. Thus, independent money sources had to be developed; large sums of money or payment in kind like food items, clothes, or items of furniture were extorted from prisoners; property of prisoners was confiscated, or houses from imprisoned home owners were held, and the rent was taken. In addition, a special fund of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was available from the SS district (SS-Abschnitt).[5]

At Stettin-Bredow, prisoners were systematically beaten with whips in a cellar room called the "bunker." The beatings were ordered most often by Hoffmann but also in some cases by Fritz-Karl Engel. The number of blows administered was based on the Berlin Columbia House example of "wind strength" (*Windstärken*): "wind strength 1" indicated 25 and "wind strength 2" 50 double-blows on the naked buttocks. The guard units also carried out numerous individual and collective abuses on their own initiative. The camp had at its disposal its own SS physician, Dr. Wilhelm Seegers; however, he pretended not to notice the prisoners' injuries.[6]

The work the prisoners were forced to do also bordered on torture. While at a jog and under whip lashes, the prisoners had to carry gravel, stones, and other building materials. This work was intended for the expansion of the camp.[7] Whether there were fatalities in Stettin-Bredow cannot be clarified. The judicial investigations in 1934 and 1950 did not confirm any deaths. Nevertheless, several eyewitnesses and newspapers reported that bodies, with hands and feet tied and weighted down by a stone, were found in the Oder.[8]

An on-site camp leader managed the camp. The first camp leader was SS-Scharführer Bruno Vater, who was relieved at the beginning of November by SS-Obertruppführer Otto Meier. From February 1 through February 28, 1934, SS-Truppführer Karl Salis was camp head, followed by SS-Truppführer Fritz Pleines, who ran the camp until it closed on March 9, 1934. None of them had had careers in police service and had been hired as criminal police employees at the Stettin State Police Office in 1933. About 10 to 12 SS men from Stettin, in most cases unemployed, guarded the camp and were paid out of the camp budget.[9]

Very little is known about everyday life at Stettin-Bredow camp, since the primary sources of information about the camp were trials, which focused on the mistreatment of prisoners rather than on their living conditions.

Apart from isolated cases of refusals to work and verbal protests against their treatment, nothing is known about active prisoner resistance. Several prisoners attempted to inform the police president about abuses whenever he visited the camp. It was not clear to them that he actually knew about the abuses and tolerated or supported them.[10] One prisoner successfully managed to escape from the camp. Nothing is known about the circumstances of the escape or the reaction it caused.[11]

The cruel treatment of the protective custody prisoners at Stettin-Bredow soon became the talk of the town. Requests for legal counsel from relatives of the prisoners piled up at lawyers' offices in Stettin. The senior state attorney in Stettin, Dr. Reinhard Luther, began investigations into the matter that were, however, hampered by SS authorities.[12]

Stettin District President Konrad Göppert learned about the camp at the end of November 1933 when the Swedish consulate inquired about the whereabouts of a Swedish citizen who was imprisoned at the camp. He demanded an account from Engel about the operation of the camp and submittal of a document of the camp's authorization issued by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. Police President Engel endeavored in Berlin to obtain such permission for running the camp several times but without success.[13]

During a visit to the Stettin-Bredow camp in mid-February, the head of the Secret State Police Office Rudolf Diels did not detect any peculiarities; the camp functioned "like everywhere else." However, the visit had previously been announced. Police President Engel and the guard units considered this visit a confirmation of the legitimacy of their conduct.[14]

A few weeks later, high-ranking Stettin police officials took advantage of the absence of the police president, who was on vacation in Austria, to complain to Göppert about the conditions at the Stettin State Police Office and the abuses of prisoners at the Vulkanwerft camp. Göppert sent an investigation committee to the camp and turned to Hermann Göring with the request to take action against the camp. Göring also had a complaint from influential Feldmarschall August von Mackensen, who learned about the mistreatment of prisoners from a former inmate.[15]

After a directive from Hermann Göring, Vulkanwerft was closed on March 9, 1934, and a large number of guards as well as Hoffmann were arrested. The Berlin Central State Attorney's Office, headed by Werner von Haacke, brought a case before the Stettin Regional Court against Joachim Hoffmann, Karl Salis, Fritz Pleines and four SS guards for misuse of authority and grievous bodily harm. On April 6, 1934, they were sentenced to several years in prison or penitentiary.[16] The trial caused an international sensation, as even the *New York Times* reported on it.[17]

The central state attorney's office initiated further proceedings against Engel in June 1934; however, the evidence did not at first suffice for an indictment. Only after their conviction did the former camp leaders and guard units incriminate him. This case was dismissed at Heinrich Himmler's instigation.[18]

After the war, the Flensburg State Attorney's Office became aware of Engel. In 1949 proceedings against him were initiated for crimes against humanity. Over 50 witnesses to the events were found. On May 23, 1950, Engel was sentenced to a total of five years and one month in prison for crimes against humanity, causing grievous bodily harm while on duty, and grave deprivation of liberty. This sentence was reduced on appeal to two years and six months on April 22, 1952, and on June 16, 1952, a plea for clemency for a remittance of the remaining sentence was granted.[19]

SOURCES Several authors have written about the Vulkanwerft camp at Stettin-Bredow: Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu hitlerowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962); Robert Thévoz, Hans Branig, and Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, *Pommern 1934/35 im Spiegel von Gestapo-Lageberichten und Sachakten: Die geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostrprovinzen 1934–36*, vols. 11–12 (Köln: Grote, 1974); Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Hans-Gerd Warmann, "Vergangen und vergessen?—Das Schutzhaftlager Bredow," *StBü* 26 (2000): 49–59.

The extensive files of the Prussian Ministry of Justice on the criminal proceeding against Engel from June 1934 are located at the GStAPK. A copy of the sentence from April 6, 1934, against Joachim Hoffmann (and others) is also there. The records of the 1949–1950 trial against Fritz-Karl Engel for crimes against humanity before the Flensburg Regional Court are at the LA-Sch-H.

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 50, 155–156.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid., pp. 35, 42, 52, 56, 88, 150, 226; VLA-G, Rep. 79 Polizeipräsident Stettin Nr. 598, p. 1.
4. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 38, 57, 65–66, 69, 93–94, 127; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Erich Wegner am 4.10.1949, Paul Dost am 1.11.1949.
5. Urteil vom 23.5.1950; Aussagen Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949, Konrad Schmidt am 1.7.1946, Hans Homann am 19.5. and 25.5.1950, Heinrich Vitzdamm am 4.6.1946; Liste Erpresster von Hans Homann (n.d.); GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 13, 57, 114, 116–117, 137, 181–182, 195; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 28a; ibid., Rep. 90 P. Nr. 104, pp. 102, 104; APSz, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 11987, pp. 53, 209; ibid., Nr. 12211, p. 101; *PZ*, January 14, 1934; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 303.
6. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826: extensive descriptions in the indictment and sentence in the trial against Joachim Hoffmann and comrades, in addition, pp. 90, 109, 112, 117–118, 121, 145, 147, 173, 178, 182–183, 187, 195, 232, 235; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949.
7. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 53; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305.

8. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 102, 180, 185, 187; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Eugen Hoffmann am 26.11.1949, Martha Elze am 5.12.1949; *VSS*, May 17, 1934; *NV*, May 27, 1934; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 178.

9. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 34–35, 50–51, 69, 100, 109, 110, 130–131, 134,157, 234.

10. Ibid., pp. 52, 111, 116, 161; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 4.10.1949, 2.11.1949 und 21.5.1950; Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 21.10.1949; Urteil vom 23.5. 1950.

11. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 60.

12. AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 307; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 128; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Struck am 25.10.1949; Aussage Victor Knipp am 16.9.1949; Aussage Günter Joel am 7.10.1949.

13. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Urteil vom 23.5.1950 und schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167.

14. GStAPK I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167, 187, 224, 226–227, 231–232; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 5.9.1949; Aussage Heinrich Schnitzler am 16.12.1949; Aussage Rudolf Diels am 26.10.1949; *PZ*, February 16, 1934.

15. Aussage Heinrich Vitzdamm am 13.3.1946; schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949.

16. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 49.

17. *NYT*, April 8, 1934.

18. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 148; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 2.

19. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Strafakten Fritz-Karl Engel wegen Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit.

STOLLBERG-HOHENECK

In March 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp in the Hoheneck penitentiary.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The only primary documentation available for Stollberg-Hoheneck is its ITS listing, available in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:234.

Joseph Robert White

STRUPPEN

In March 1933, the SA converted their leaders' school at the former manor at Struppen, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Among the detainees was leftist political opponent Artur Tiermann. The camp was dissolved in May 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the early concentration camp at Hohnstein Castle.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Struppen early camp is also briefly mentioned in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten fuer die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

No primary sources have been found for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

STUTTGART

On March 1, 1933, the barracks at the Stuttgart women's prison became a "protective custody" camp. The present location of this facility is not known. Under the direction of Polizeiwachtmeister Nauer, the female detainees received decent treatment. The number of detainees is not known. The most memorable event at Stuttgart took place when an SS officer addressed the detainees. The officer, named Jagow, proclaimed: "The Third Reich has begun, all misery and moaning ends now."[1] The women later invoked these words humorously in order to bolster morale. The camp was dissolved on March 31, 1933, and the detainees were dispatched to the first women's concentration camp, Gotteszell in Schwäbisch Gmünd.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The most detailed information about Stuttgart comes from Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980).

Primary documentation for Stuttgart consists of a file in the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The file number is Zentrales Parteiarchiv St 10/138/22 a. As also cited by Drobisch and Wieland, another file about this camp is found in the BA-P. It is Reichsministerium des Inneren, No. 26,058.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 25. Schätzle does not cite the source for this quotation.

ULM–OBERER KUHBERG

The Württemberg concentration camp, "Württembergisches Schutzhaftlager, Ulm a.D. (an der Donau,)" existed between

November 16, 1933, and July 11, 1935, in Ulm an der Donau, which is located on the border of Württemberg and Bavaria.

The Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg camp was the direct successor to the Heuberg [aka Stetten am kalten Markt], concentration camp, which was closed at the end of 1933 and transferred to Ulm. The camp was located in a purpose-built military building, Fort Oberer Kuhberg.

There were around 600 Württemberg prisoners who were held in the Ulm camp, the "hard core" of political resistance and other opponents of the regime who were deemed incapable of "improvement."

Both Heuburg and Kuhberg were state concentration camps under the administration, from the end of April 1933, of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior's Political Police Office. The Ulm camp was an instrument of the political police whose task was defined in the Stuttgart *NS-Kurier* on January 30, 1934, "to research the enemies of the Third Reich, to observe them and if necessary to take immediate ruthless action against them."

In practice that meant that, until its closure, the Ulm concentration camp was under the authority of the state and not under Theodor Eicke's authority via the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). From 1934 on, the Reich assumed about a quarter of the costs of the Ulm concentration camp. The majority of the costs were paid for by the state. The prisoners had to bear a small percentage of the "accommodation costs" (*Unterkunftskosten*).

The first president of the Württemberg Political Police and Chief of the State Concentration Camps was the Württemberg judge and SA-Standartenführer Dr. Hermann Mattheiss (1893–1934), who was shot on July 1, 1934, during the so-called Röhm Putsch. His successor until 1937 was SS-Mann Walther Stahlecker (1900–1942).

From April 1933 on, the former Württemberg professional officer and later engineer Karl Buck (1894–1977) was the commandant of Heuberg and, later, commandant of Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg. He joined the National Socialist Party and the SA in 1931. As a member of the Württemberg Political Police, he was appointed concentration camp commander in 1933 and retained that post until the end of the war. Three months after the closure of Ulm, on October 1, 1935, a new Württemberg state concentration camp was opened in the Police Prison Welzheim. Buck was also the commandant of that camp. From 1941, with the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer, he was the commandant of the Elsass "security camp" (*Sicherungslager*), which held mostly French political prisoners who were incarcerated by the German occupation authorities.

The prisoners at Heuberg and Ulm have stated that Buck was brutal, but he exercised brutality with a degree of cynicism. He had a basic education, was intelligent, and exercised self-control. His deputy at Ulm is described as primitive and brutal. The deputy, Hermann Eberle (1908–1949) from Württemberg, was an unemployed tradesman who joined the party and the SA in 1931. He was appointed an auxiliary guard in the Heuberg concentration camp. He was Buck's deputy at Ulm and continued in that role at the Welzheim concentration camp until Buck's departure to Schirmeck-Vorbruck at the beginning of 1941. From then until 1945, he was the commandant at Welzheim.

In November 1933, there were 120 guards and 5 administrative personnel in Ulm. With the subsequent reduction in prisoner numbers, the guards' numbers also declined so that when the camp closed, there were only 29 guards and 3 administrative personnel. Initially the guards were members of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police) and a few SS members. This situation changed following the Röhm Putsch, and in the following months, the guards were absorbed into the SS.

The names and other data of 430 of the approximately 600 prisoners in the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp are known. They were aged between 19 and 71 and were mostly from Württemberg. More than half were from Stuttgart and the other large cities, that is, from areas where industrialization was most advanced and the Socialist workers' movements' organizations were most developed.

All the prisoners were classified as "enemies of the National Socialist State," opposed politically, ideologically, and socially to the regime. This was sufficient reason for arrest. About half the prisoners had connections to the German Communist Party (KPD), and a fifth to the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Two virulent opponents of the National Socialists from before 1933 were KPD Member of the Landtag Alfred Haag (Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1904–1982) and SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Kurt Schumacher (Stuttgart, 1895–1952). For the National Socialist persecutors, they were the "enticers and manipulators" (*Verführer und Drahtzieher*) of the people and were the target of mistreatment and other special measures in the punishment bunkers in Ulm (particularly Schumacher after 1933).

Of particular political significance, extending beyond Württemberg, was the news that appeared in the press (which was still free) in January 1934 that three Catholic priests who had publicly criticized the National Socialist authorities as part of their pastoral duties had been classified as "Saboteurs of State Order" (*Saboteure der staatlichen Ordnung*) and sent to Ulm.

The prisoners who did not fit into the above-mentioned groups have not been the subject of biographical research. They were not defined as party politicals. However, they represented a political/ideological and social protest potential within the population. The use of racial labels such as "asocial" (*asozial*) or "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*) appears instead.

What can be stated with certainty is that until 1938 the Jews and "Gypsies" (*Zigeuner*) were not separately classified as "enemies of the national community" (*Feinde der Volksgemeinschaft*). If such people were imprisoned, they were held as members of the SPD or KPD.

Half of the prisoners were held for around three months and the others for between three and nine months. In exceptional cases, such as with Schumacher, prisoners were held from the first to the last day of the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp.

According to surviving prisoners, the prison conditions and everyday life inside Ulm were worse than in Heuberg.

The April 1933 confinement regulations (*Haftordnung*) for Heuberg, which were very similar to those for the Justice Department's prisons consisting of stages of imprisonment (Entry Stage, Stages I to III), were cast aside by the "almighty" Commandant Buck. He determined the day-to-day rules; he interrogated, blackmailed, verbally humiliated, punished, beat, or had others beat the prisoners.

The hallmarks of everyday life were the withdrawal of meager rations, alarms at night, punishment roll calls, military-type abuse, senseless heavy labor, withdrawal of postal privileges and any other beneficial activity, holding fake executions, and torture. The aim of such actions was to have prisoners betray other prisoners or to reveal underground activities so as to arrest those members of the resistance who had not yet been arrested.

But according to the postwar reports of surviving prisoners, what was worst was the site itself, the nightmarish fort with its damp, cold, dark, stinking casemates, in which the prisoners lived and in which were missing nearly all means for personal hygiene.

The psychological survival of the prisoners was made possible by some strong personalities within the prisoner population and because most of the prisoners identified themselves as political opponents to the regime. It was also facilitated through political discussions, conducted in whispers; the singing of Swabian songs or songs from the workers' movement; and games of chess (the figures were made by the prisoners and were rather primitive). The prisoners' solidarity was relatively intact because the prisoners had relatively similar social and intellectual backgrounds, and there was not yet a strong Kapo system.

Those responsible at Ulm were brought to justice after 1945, albeit in a limited way: Buck was arrested in Elsass in 1945 and sentenced to death by a French and a British Military Court for homicides committed in Schirmeck-Vorbruck. In 1953–1954, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he was extradited from France to the German Federal Republic in April 1955 as a war criminal. He was released and lived until his death close to Welzheim. An attempt by former Heuberg, Kuhberg, and Welzheim prisoners to bring him before a court after 1955 was unsuccessful. He could not be charged because of the statute of limitations (it could not be proven that he had committed murder in these camps) and because of the defense that he was "acting in accordance with orders" (*Befehlsnotstand*). Eberle was arrested in 1945 and sentenced by a British Military Court to 13 years' imprisonment. He committed suicide while in prison in 1949. Only 1 guard was tried, and that was in 1947. He was sentenced to jail. The other 41 guards were investigated around 1950.

SOURCES Information on this camp can also be found in the following published sources: Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, ed., *"Doch die Freiheit, die kommt wieder": NS-Gegner im Württembergischen Schutzhaftlager Ulm 1933–1935* (Stuttgart, 1994); Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politzischen Häftlings Max Wittmann*, 2nd ed. (Wildbad, 1947); Silvester Lechner, *Das KZ Oberer Kuhberg und die NS-Zeit in der Region Ulm/Neu-Ulm* (Stuttgart, 1988); Lechner, "Das Konzentrationslager Oberer Kuhberg in Ulm," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 79–103;. DZOK e.V., *Mitteilungen*, vols. 1–38 (1983–2002).

There are no complete administration files for the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg camp. In particular, a list of admissions and releases is missing. The LA-B-W in Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and Sigmaringen have some files regarding administration matters during the period of the concentration camp. Files of the "compensation" (*Wiedergutmachung*) after 1945 are also held here but particularly in the archive of the state branch of VVN in Stuttgart. Files on the criminal trial of Karl Buck and other members of the camp staff are mostly held in BA-L (formerly ZdL). Probably the most complete file on the concentration camp history is the Ulm DZOK, but most of the material consists of copies from private collections and provided by prisoners.

Silvester Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VECHTA

Vechta, a district town in Lower Saxony, lies between Bremen and Osnabrück. Until 1946, it was part of the state of Oldenburg. The Free State Oldenburg (since 1934, Land Oldenburg) had an overwhelmingly Evangelical population and a strong agricultural economy. Next to the Oldenburg area, the state included the distant areas of Lübeck (Eutin) and Birkenfeld until 1937. The National Socialists very early gained greater support here than anywhere else. From 1928, they were represented in the state parliament, and from June 1932, they were able to form a state government on their own.

From as early as March 1933, there was talk of establishing a concentration camp in the Oldenburg district. It was to be based on the Dachau model. It was established in July of that year in a former women's prison in Vechta, which from 1931 had stood empty. It was administered by the Oldenburg Ministry of Interior. At the beginning of August, the camp contained about 60 police prisoners, that is, prisoners in "protective custody." It was envisaged that their numbers could be increased to 100. From August on, those held in protective custody for longer periods of time were taken from the local police cells and jails to Vechta, mostly in group transports via Oldenburg.[1]

In the beginning, the protective custody arrest orders were issued by the city magistrates (in Oldenburg, it was mostly the city Police Department, which became subordinate to the Secret State Police Office [Gestapa] once its office had been established) or by the senior administrative officials (comparable to the Prussian rural district administrators). More and more, however, these orders came from the interior minister. From 1935, such orders, first occasionally and from 1936 more frequently, came from the Gestapa, which by 1937 seemed to have become exclusively responsible for them.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Most of the concentration camp inmates were Communists. They came primarily from Oldenburg, Wilhelmshaven-Rüstringen, Delmenhorst, and Nordenham. In addition, there were some Social Democrats, members of the Center Party and the Stahlhelm, and people with no party affiliations. There were also Jews who had fallen into political disfavor. The prisoners were held in one- or two-man cells. According to witnesses, the food was the usual prison food. Occasionally there were special rations. An early inmate recalls, however, that the food was served in small portions (in the morning, two slices of black bread with a tablespoon of watered-down jam; at lunch, a bowl of stew). Forced labor and protective custody went together. The prisoners had to work usually between 10 to 10.5 hours a day. Some of the prisoners had to work on the moors; others had to peel potatoes daily for the whole prison institution.[2] The protective custody prisoners had a relatively large degree of freedom. In exceptional cases, prisoner conditions were even relaxed. There are documented examples of this. In August 1933, the Communist underground newspaper *Dimitroff* was published in the prison.

The number of prisoners increased from 50 in July to 75 in August, to 90 in September, to 100 in October, and to 113 at the beginning of November. Thereafter, the numbers averaged 80 a month. Following the 1933 Christmas amnesty, the numbers were 20 at the end of December, and in January 1934, 25.[3] As the numbers of protective custody prisoners receded in the spring of 1934, the building was used also, from April 1, for prisoners on remand and for convicts. From the spring of 1934, the operation of the Vechta concentration camp gradually wound down. Between July 1933 and July 1934, more than 100 prisoners alone were transferred from the Oldenburg jail to the Vechta concentration camp. From July on, the transfers ceased.[4]

The 113 prisoners in the concentration camp on November 12, 1933, were able to vote (as a separate polling district) in the Reichstag elections and on the referendum on whether Germany should remain in the League of Nations. Of the 88 returned votes for the Reichstag elections, 22 percent were held to be invalid. For the referendum, 7 percent voted "no," while 4.5 percent of the votes were listed as invalid. The election results were even published in the newspapers. Note also that in the referendum on the unification of the offices of Reichs president and Reichs chancellor of August 19, 1934, the "State concentration camp" with its 11 prisoners formed one of the city's seven electoral districts.[5]

The head of the camp was an official from the judiciary, Senior Prison Superintendent Friedrich (Fritz) Fischer (1888–1965). Prisoners, after the war, described him as correct and spoke about him in positive terms. On March 1, 1935, he was transferred as court secretary to the remand prison at Oldenburg. In Vechta, he ensured that the SS guards from Oldenburg and the surrounding area were not permitted to exceed their authority, although there were isolated cases of harassment. The SS was mostly deployed externally. Its only internal function was to lock the prisoners in their cells. When there were visitors, it was the judicial officials who supervised. At the suggestion of the SS-Standarte 24 in Oldenburg and with the approval of the minister of interior, the SS became responsible for guard duty and were appointed as auxiliary guards. From the summer of 1934—from June, to be precise—they wore disused uniforms of the Oldenburg order police with shoulder pads denoting their function as prison auxiliary guards.[6]

The Gestapo officials, who regularly came to Vechta from Oldenburg for interrogations, were considerably more ruthless and brutal and, at the very least, employed methods of psychological terror. Nonetheless, their interrogation methods were less feared than those of their Bremen colleagues.

So far as is known, only one person died in the concentration camp, namely, a protective custody prisoner who committed suicide after being held in remand.[7]

As judicial official, Fischer remained subordinate to the director of penal institutions in Vechta and thus also to the Oldenburg chief state prosecutor. The concentration camp itself, headed by Fischer as "prison chairman," fell under the Oldenburg minister of interior, however. The responsible police official in the ministry was also head of the Oldenburg Gestapo office, which was formed in November 1933. The Gestapo itself had, however, nothing to do with the concentration camp administration. Its activity was restricted to the interrogation of protective custody and political remand prisoners.

The dissolution of the concentration camp was decided upon no later than February 1935. The six guards (SS men) were given their notice on February 28, and three of them went to work for the judiciary as auxiliary guards. On April 1, 1935, the concentration camp formally ceased to exist, and the building was again used as a normal male prison until 1937, after which it once again became a prison for women.[8]

Notwithstanding that the Vechta concentration camp was situated in a former female prison, it was a camp for men only. According to statements of witnesses, the concentration camp, which existed from July 1933 to the end of March 1935, was not of the worst type, in part due to the moderating influence of its head, Fischer. It is not clear, however, where within the Justice Department Fischer and his assistants received the authority to act.

SOURCES There are four essays on the Vechta concentration camp by Albrecht Eckhardt: "Vechta," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 212–215; "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta (Oldenburg) 1933–1935," in *Archiv und Geschichte: Festschrift für Friedrich P. Kahlenberg*, ed. Klaus Oldenhage, Hermann Schreyer, and Wolfram Werner (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000), pp. 700–726; "Das KZ in Vechta 1933–1935: Kurzfassung," in *Nationalsozialismus im Oldenburg Münsterland*, ed. Heimatbund für das Odenburger Münsterland (Cloppenburg, 2000), pp. 89–97; ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Angelika Königseder (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 211–221. The author first came across a reference to the

establishment of the concentration camp when working on publication of the Oldenburg Gestapo reports. His findings were published as *Gestapo Oldenburg meldet—: Berichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei und des Innenministers aus dem Freistaat und Land Oldenburg, 1933–1936*, collated and commented upon by Albrecht Eckhardt and Katharina Hoffmann (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002). Those who are interested in the history of the state of Oldenburg to 1946 and the Nazi period should consult the *Geschichte des Landes Oldenburg: Ein Handbuch*, 4th ed., ed. Albrecht Eckhardt in collaboration with Heinrich Schmidt (1987; Oldenburg: H. Holzbery, 1993).

There is only fragmentary material in the archives on the Vechta concentration camp. The prison books for the Oldenburg jail and the Vechta jail, housed in the StA-Ol, provide the most detail about the prisoners (Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23, Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2). However, a prisoners' log and lists of the inmates of the Vechta camp are missing. Otherwise, there are only scattered files in the collections of the Ministry of Interior (Best. 136), Ministry of Justice (Best. 133), and others. For the initial period at least, the regional and local newspapers such as the *OSZ* and the *NSLO* or the *OVV* contain important information. The surviving Gestapo reports on the camp for the years 1933–1936 and the reports of the Minister of Interior in Oldenburg to Berlin contain little information (see the publication by Eckhardt and Hoffman listed above).

Albrecht Eckhardt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. StA-Ol, Best. 136 Nr. 2897, Bl. 326ff., 514ff.; cf. Best. 133 Nr. 590, Bl. 505.
2. *OSZ*, August 3, 1933 1. Beilage; *OVZ*, August 4, 1933, 3. Blatt, August 10, 1933.
3. *OSZ*, January 25, 1933 1. Beilage S. 2; *OVZ*, January 11, 1934 2. Blatt.
4. StA-Ol, Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23; Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2.
5. StA-Ol, Best. 262-11 Nr. 772; Best. 136 Nr. 795; Best. 231-4 Nr. 18; also *OVZ*, November 14, 1933 2. Blatt, August 20, 1934.
6. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 617.; Best. 136 Nr. 2884; Best. 205 Nr. 590.
7. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 387, Bl. 306ff.
8. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 692–693, and Nr. 363, Bl. 292–803; Best. 136 Nr. 30190 (Nr. 4677).

WALDHEIM

Between March 18 and May 12, 1933, a section of Waldheim, the largest penitentiary in Saxony, served as a "protective custody" camp. The camp maintained strict discipline. The administration censored the detainees' letters and refused to permit the discussion of political topics during visits by relatives. A document from 1935 noted that the penitentiary guards included 31 SA. Whether these personnel guarded the early camp in 1933 is not certain but possible.[1] Neither the number of prisoners nor their destination following the closure of this camp is known. Throughout the Nazi dictatorship, Waldheim held male and female political prisoners who were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); see also Bert Pampel, Norbert Haase, and Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer Politischer Gewaltherrschaft, *Spuren*, *Suchen und Erinnern: Gedenkstätten für die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft in Sachsen* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1996). For an excellent history of the penitentiary during the Nazi period, which unfortunately does not discuss the protective custody camp, see Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1988). Habicht lists many anti-Nazi resisters among the Waldheim penitentiary population. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisoners: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), situates the abysmal treatment of Waldheim prisoners in the overall context of Nazi terror.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Habicht. The penitentiary is also listed in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:236. As cited by Wachsmann, the volume by Union für Recht und Freiheit, eds., *Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung* (Prague, 1936), includes a contemporary account of conditions in Waldheim.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1988), p. 41.

WEISSENFELS

The baroque castle Neu-Augustusburg was constructed between 1660 and 1694 as the residence for the dukes of Sachsen-Weissenfels. Between 1869 and 1920, it was used as a noncommissioned officers' school. From 1928 to 1945, municipal police squads (Schutzpolizei) were based at the castle. The Weissenfels police president and the criminal investigation unit of the police (Kriminalabteilung) were based in the castle from 1931.

A concentration camp was established in the castle in early March 1933. After a large number of people, mostly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social

Democratic Party (SPD), had been arrested in the region and local prisons as well as police detention centers were overcrowded, it became necessary to establish a concentration camp. The prisoners were initially interned in a large police classroom on the second floor of the castle. As the numbers of "protective custody" prisoners continued to grow, the camp expanded into the gymnasium. Fritz Kleine, a former prisoner, recalls his internment in the classroom: "We had to squat the whole day on the straw sacks, crammed together like herrings in a can. It was impossible to move. We were taken downstairs into the courtyard only for one hour a day to get a breath of fresh air. That really felt good after having 'eaten the stench' (*Gestankfressen*) for twenty-four hours."[1]

Nearly all of the prisoners in Weissenfels had been active in the workers' movement. The camp on average held 180 prisoners, the majority of whom were male and under 40.

Kleine describes everyday life in the camp: "Everyone was given a sack of straw, a towel and cookware. Linen and clothes had to be obtained by the prisoners. . . . There were only two toilets in the camp for two hundred prisoners. They could only be used between 6 A.M. and 7 A.M., 1 P.M. to 2 P.M. and in the evening from 7 P.M. to 8 P.M. The SS ensured that everyone left the toilet as quickly as possible by scattering chlorinated lime on the floor, into the toilet pit and on the toilet seat so that you could not breathe in. It was impossible to stay in there for longer than one minute, even if the next one in line had not urged you to hurry."[2]

Although it was planned to use the prisoners to reconstruct the gymnasium, they were never forced to do physical work during the camp's existence. After breakfast, however, the prisoners had an opportunity to volunteer for work. "Working had several advantages: one was exempt from cleaning the rooms and the toilets as well as getting water. One could spend the whole day in the fresh air and if there was some food left over at lunch you could be first to get an extra serving. Imprisoned Communists and Social Democrats built a shooting stand for the SS to be able to enjoy these personal freedoms!"[3] Those working were also subject to victimization. Above all, "the intellectuals were forced to do the dirtiest work. The SS and SA had a lot of fun watching the school's inspector Benda, the Jewish engineer Lomitzsch, the teacher Gleitsmann, and others, who were not at all accustomed to physical labor, struggle with the toilet barrels (old herring vats), whose contents squirted onto their clothes and faces."[4]

Political indoctrination of the camp inmates was emphasized. Each week there were two hours of lectures on National Socialism, and there were regular radio broadcasts of selected speeches and rallies.

There were several cases of physical mistreatment in the Weissenfels camp. The news spread very quickly among the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) when SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Albert Bergholz was brought to the camp. He "had been beaten blue and green by the SA in Zeitz and then been thrown in the Elster River." "Bergholz is here. . . . Two auxiliary policemen even drew their revolvers and forced Bergholz to take a full spittoon in each hand, which he had to carry around the gymnasium. He was threatened that 'if he spilt a drop he would get a bullet in the stomach' and forced to run in front of the drawn pistols, despite the fact that Bergholz could barely move after the mistreatment he suffered in Zeitz!"[5]

There are no known fatalities in the Weissenfels camp. There was, however, one suicide attempt. "The prisoner Zippe from Berlin, who lived in Zeitz, was so deranged by the miserable, pointless camp life, that he slit his wrists with a razor blade."[6]

The attempted escape by 22-year-old SPD and Reichsbanner member Helmuth Fritz is also known. He had been attacked by Nazi Party (NSDAP) members in 1930 or 1931. Fritz attempted to defend himself with a pocket knife, mortally wounding the Zeitz leader of the Hitlerjugend, Gerhard, by stabbing him in the stomach. Fritz was sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment because he exceeded appropriate self-defense by killing Gerhard. He was released from prison before the end of his sentence. He was arrested again on March 11, 1933, for the same offense and taken to the Weissenfels camp. Simultaneously a memorial was erected to the Hilterjugend leader. Fritz, fearful of what could happen on the Sunday that the memorial was to be unveiled, escaped from his work detachment outside the camp. All the remaining prisoners were punished—for a fortnight they were neither allowed to receive visitors nor permitted to smoke. Fritz was caught only a few days later and taken to the Lichtenburg concentration camp.[7]

The guards in Weissenfels were mainly recruited from the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm. The men were mostly between 21 and 35 years old, often unemployed, and predominantly from Weissenfels and the surrounding area. They wore armbands identifying them as auxiliary policemen. They were armed with rifles, pistols, side arms, and rubber batons. Initially, the camp commander was probably Oberleutnant Hennecke. He was later on supported by Polizeiobermeister Schmale as his deputy. The prisoners were guarded round the clock by the auxiliary police, escorted to meals and the toilets, and supervised while working. Two of the police officials were permanently stationed in the prisoners' dormitory. Nevertheless, according to Kleine, it was possible for the prisoners to have political discussions, and it is even said that some of the auxiliary police participated in those discussions.[8]

Many of the prisoners were interned in Weissenfels for only a few days. Others were held for weeks or months. From June 1933, there were prisoner transports to the Lichtenburg concentration camp, which opened in the same month. That camp was located near Prettin in what became Sachsen-Anhalt after the war. The Weissenfels camp had served as the regional model for the Lichtenburg camp. A last transport of 60 inmates to the Lichtenburg camp took place on August 12, 1933, while 48 prisoners were released from Weissenfels. The auxiliary police was dissolved, and Police President Neubauer bid them farewell. In the context of these events, the camp was eventually dissolved as well. In isolated cases, the gymnasium of the castle was still used after the camp's closure to intern protective custody prisoners.

SOURCES Extensive information on the Weissenfels camp and the prisoners held there can be found in Ramona Ehret, "Schutzhaft im Schloss Neu-Augustusburg: Das Gefangenensammellager in Weissenfels," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), pp. 239–259. Further details are to be found in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Fritz Kleine reported in detail about his experience in Schloss Neu-Augustusburg in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–188.

During the period of the establishment of the early camps, the Nazis wanted the public to know about protective custody and reeducation measures in order to frighten the population and to prevent the formation of new opposition. For these reasons the local press reported at regular intervals on the Weissenfels camp. Articles were published in the *WeiTb*, *MNZ*, and the *HaNa* between March and August 1933.

Relevant source material is to be found in the ASt-WsF, HZ 37 Hochbauamt Zeitz/Schloss, Bauliche Unterhaltung 1933–1934, 1936; and in the LHSA-Ma, Regbez. Merseburg Rep. C 48 Ie Polizeiregistratur Nr. 1189a.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–183.
2. Ibid., p. 182.
3. Ibid., p. 183.
4. Ibid., p. 184.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 185.
8. Ibid., p. 183.

WEISSWASSER

In March 1933, the SA established the Weisswasser early concentration camp in an SA hostel in Liegnitz, Prussia.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary sources are not available for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

WERDEN

In the spring of 1933, the detention center in Werden, Prussian Düsseldorf, became a "protective custody" camp under unknown authority. The camp was dissolved in June 1933.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for Werden can be found in the BA-BL, Abteilung Potsdam, Film 14929.

Joseph Robert White

WITTMOOR

After Hitler took power, the Nazis began to put the police and justice system in Hamburg under their control. At the same time, the number of imprisoned political opponents rapidly increased to 1,750 people between March and May 1933 alone.[1]

The prisoners held in "protective custody" were initially interned in the Hamburg remand center at Holstenglacis. In view of the constantly growing number of prisoners and the increasing length of imprisonment, the correctional service made an empty building complex on the grounds of the Fuhlsbüttel penal complex available in March 1933. The dreaded Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp later emerged out of this provisional camp.

At the same time, the police president tried to find accommodations for protective custody prisoners that would make it possible for them to be employed in productive agricultural work. The choice fell on the site at Wittmoor. (From a legal point of view, Wittmoor was considered a "protective custody camp." In original documents, however, it is again and again referred to as a "concentration camp for Communists.") A visit to the site revealed that the rooms in the Wittmoor peat factory were adequate for the immediate accommodation of those prisoners currently on hand. For the further accommodation of around 200 people, the interned Communists were supposed to make the necessary preparations.[2] The construction of the Wittmoor camp was therefore ordered on March 31, 1933.

Wittmoor was initially occupied by 20 prisoners who were watched by a guard unit of 14 police officers. The camp was under the supervision of the police authority. The first inmates were to repair the buildings on the construction site. Occupancy of around 150 prisoners was planned.

In the following months the number of prisoners at Wittmoor steadily increased; already in May, 100 prisoners were accommodated at Wittmoor. The highest occupancy was reached in October 1933 with 140 prisoners, then went down to 110 in October.[3]

The prisoners were deployed—in addition to the extension and maintenance work on the buildings—in peat extraction and processing: cutting peat, laying it out to dry and piling (curling) it, and processing it into bales or fuel. A witness reports: "During the day we had to meet our quota in the bog or on the bank. In our free time we could go walking outside. I still have a picture from when I had a visitor. In any case I had already had a girlfriend. We still went into the bogs; we could do that, we could receive visitors and the women passed themselves off as fiancées. We could only receive visitors on Sundays. Our camp leader was a police officer and he was really humane. We were



Prisoners at Wittmoor concentration camp, near Hamburg, perform penal exercises under SA supervision, 1933.
USHMM WS #25686, COURTESY OF LUBA WIEN ROSENKRANTZ

after all prisoners, our freedom had been taken; but he recognized us as political prisoners, as was right."[4]

In the early days of the camp, there were protests from the prisoners:

> The food was delivered from the Glasmoor penal institution. This institution, however, was not provided with extra provisions for us, so the kitchen at Glasmoor diluted the soup. They were watery soups with hardly any potatoes and no meat at all. When I then one day also found a dirty washcloth in my food, I went to the commandant with my cup and explained to him that my comrades refused to go back to work. "We'll stay seated in front of the mess kit (cup) and won't pick up anything until we get something decent to eat!" At that time that was still possible. Later in any one of the other camps no one would have had the courage to go to the camp commandant at all. The commandant was rather shocked and immediately called the Gestapo. Then a number of officers showed up and there was a meeting in which a representative of camp leadership and the boss of the peat factory participated. In the following days the food became better. For the time being though, we stayed on hunger strike.[5]

In the meantime, the public also learned about life in the Wittmoor camp. The Hamburg newspapers published several reports (some with pictures), and Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann visited the camp several times.[6] The author and Communist Willi Bredel, who was later incarcerated at Fuhlsbüttel and who described that time in his novel *Die Prüfung*, published a short story about one of these visits.

The business of selling the extracted peat was going well. Simultaneously the need for further accommodations increased. In this context and because there was evidently a large demand for the peat that the prisoners had cut, the police authority considered expanding Wittmoor to a size of 400 to 500 men in August 1933. For reasons of time and money, the plan to construct a solid building was discarded, and an extension of the camp with three barracks of approximately 6 meters by 30 meters (19.7 feet by 98.4 feet) for 80 prisoners each was suggested instead.[7] In order to bring off this extension the police authorities requested 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) from the treasury, explicitly remarking "that the governing mayor has declared that approval is necessary as state security renders the expense essential."[8] Neither the monies nor the planned extension came about.

After a visit to Wittmoor in August 1933, Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann ordered the camp to be handed over to the penal authorities since "there was too little beating up there."

Justice Senator Rothenberger rejected that order for reasons of security and ordered the prisoners to be transferred to Fuhlsbüttel; after that the Wittmoor camp would once again be made available to the police.

On October 18, 1933, Wittmoor was shut down. Due to peat deliveries and cleaning still to be conducted, 30 prisoners remained temporarily on the grounds.

The prisoners of Wittmoor were transferred to Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. The sudden and, for those responsible, probably surprising closure of Wittmoor and the transfer of the prisoners to the female wing of the Fuhlsbüttel penitentiary presented police authorities with the problem of keeping prior commitments to the tenant of the peat processing factory, as well as fulfilling outstanding delivery agreements, in addition to completely exploiting the remaining materials. For these reasons, the police chief suggested in a letter to the provincial administration dated October 17, 1933, that even after the closing of the camp 30 prisoners should be driven from Fuhlsbüttel to Wittmoor every day in order to process the remaining peat there.[9]

Wittmoor differed from other concentration camps in various ways. With a maximum of 140 inmates, it was a small camp; it was subordinate to the Hamburg police authority and was run by a police officer; and finally, it only existed for a short time. These circumstances prevented Wittmoor from becoming a "typical" concentration camp—that is, it lacked several characteristics of later concentration camps. Thus, the institutionalization of a distinct, sophisticated camp hierarchy was not necessary and in the short time also not possible.

Even if there were only a few victims at Wittmoor itself, this camp was a link in the chain of Nazi instruments of power and played its role here. Even the short time of its existence reflected fundamental aspects of the camp system established later: deterrence—reeducation—exploitation of labor. "Extermination through work" and purely exterminatory measures were reserved for the later camps.

SOURCES The history of Wittmoor concentration camp was reconstructed for the first time in 1983–1984 by a project of the Department of Youth Didactics at the Norderstedt Adult Education Center. Within the framework of this project, "Searching for traces: National Socialist everyday life in Hamburg and its vicinity" ("Spurensuche: Nationalsozialistischer Alltag in Hamburg und Umgebung"), a research group, including the author, by chance discovered a document about Wittmoor in an exhibition on Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. As a result, the group conducted interviews with contemporary witnesses and did research in various archives. The results of nearly two years of research were published for the first time in the book by Willy Klawe, *"Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .": Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), as well as in Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg e.V., Kreisgruppe des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Heimatbundes e.V., *Heimatkundliches Jahrbuch für den Kreis Segeberg* (Sülfeld: Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg, 1987).

In 2001, Klawe published another article on Wittmoor, which basically referred to the data in the first publication and at the same time served as the basis for this essay: "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2001), pp. 251–259. A few of the former prisoners at Wittmoor have written about their internment in the camp—for instance, Helmuth Warnke in his memoir *Der verratene Traum: Langenhorn; das kurze Leben einer Hamburger Arbeitersiedlung*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1995). Hamburg author Heinz Liepmann, who portrayed the Nazi seizure of power in his novel *Das Vaterland: Ein Tatsachenroman aus Deutschland* (Hamburg: Konkret-Literatur-Verlag, 1979), also published an article on Wittmoor: "Ein Alltag im Konzentrationslager [Wittmoor bei Hamburg. Erlebnisbericht. Mit einer Vorbemerkung der Redaktion]," *Weltbühne* 38 (1933): 1179–1182. Author Willi Bredel, who was imprisoned in Fuhlsbüttel as a Communist (his experiences there are depicted in detail in his novel *Die Prüfung*, 4th ed. [1946; repr., Berlin: Aufbauverlag, 1985]), published a short story on Wittmoor under the title "Das missglückte Experiment" (no bibliographical information available). Presumably he himself was never kept there but used one of the scattered articles that appeared on Wittmoor in the Hamburg newspapers as inspiration.

The number of sources on Wittmoor in archives is sparse, which is due not only to its short period of existence but also to the fact that as a small, temporary protective custody camp Wittmoor was not considered especially important. Finally, it was also subordinate to different authorities. Accordingly, the StA-HH primarily holds documents relating to costs and the profitability of the camp operation. The same can be said about the AG-NG. All of the documents and materials that the above-mentioned research group found and used in the framework of its project, as well as a small exhibit, are located in the ASt-No, the archive of the community in whose area the grounds of the former Wittmoor camp are located today.

Willy Klawe
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. From Henning Timpke, quoted in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1981), p. 9.

2. AG-NG, Schreiben der Domänenverwaltung vom 0l.04.1933.

3. Henning Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (Hamburg: Christians, 1983), p. 266.

4. See the statement of Arthur Stapelfeldt as quoted in Willy Klawe, *"Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .": Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), p. 35.

5. See the statement of Helmuth Warnke as quoted in Klawe, *Wittmoor*, p. 44.

6. *HHNa*, May 26, 1933; *HHFb*, June 4, 1933; *HHTb*, June 2, 1933.

7. StA-HH, Baubehörde l. Hochbauabteilung am 18.08.1933.

8. StA-HH, Polizeibehörde an Finanzdeputation am 22.08.1933.

9. AG-NG.

WUPPERTAL-BARMEN [AKA KEMNA]

The Wuppertal-Barmen concentration camp was established in Wuppertal at the beginning of July 1933. Wuppertal was an industrial metropolis at the southern border of Germany's principal industrial region, the Ruhr Valley. To most locals the camp was known as "Kemna" because it was located in the Wuppertal neighborhood of Kemna. The date of the camp's opening is not precisely known. On July 6, 1933, a representative of the district presidium in Düsseldorf first mentioned the camp in a report addressed to the Prussian minister of interior. The representative requested permission to establish and use the factory building as a concentration camp as 15 prisoners had already been detained there temporarily.

Although the Prussian Ministry of Interior denied the authorization, the district president of Düsseldorf and the provisional police president in Wuppertal considered the Kemna concentration camp a necessary institution. As the records show, Kemna was not a "wild" camp, since it was not created spontaneously or irrespective of the existing administrative structure. Rather, the establishment of the camp was discussed by the responsible authorities, and they supported it at least for a short period of time. The camp was thus an integral part of the evolving Nazi state and fulfilled what was deemed a necessary task, namely, detaining and maltreating political opponents.

The initiative to establish the Kemna concentration camp apparently arose from the SA-Oberführer and Nazi Party (NSDAP) local branch leader in Wuppertal, Willi Veller, who had been the provisional police president in his hometown since the beginning of July 1933.

The camp was established in an abandoned cotton waste factory in Wuppertal. On the first floor of the main building, a guard room, a registry for new prisoners, and a kitchen were installed. The second floor was used as a sleeping and common room for the guards. The other two floors and the other factory buildings at ground level were used as living quarters for the prisoners. A former coal cellar, called "the bunker," was used as a cell. About 200 to 300 prisoners were supposed to be accommodated in these factory buildings. In the fall of 1933, however, there were around 1,000 inmates imprisoned in Kemna. About 4,500 prisoners were interned in the camp at one time or another.

The first commandant of Kemna was SA-Sturmbannführer Hugo Neuhoff. SA-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Hilgers soon replaced him. Hilgers was the decisive personality in the camp and formed its character. He was commandant until December 1933. His successor, SA-Sturmbannführer Wolters, only led the concentration camp for a few weeks until it was closed in January 1934.

Like the commandants, the camp guards were also SA members. About 35 SA men were permanently assigned to the camp. They were on duty in the areas of the barracks, the administration, and the kitchen and were responsible for camp security. For guard duty, the SA men were divided into three groups of 10 men. Nearly all the SA men came from Wuppertal and were "Old Fighters" of the Nazi movement. The majority of the guard personnel were between 22 and 28 years old and were recruited overwhelmingly from the ranks of workers, skilled laborers, and craftsmen.

The prisoners came from a similar social background as their guards. This can be explained by the fact that in the early days of Nazi rule it was primarily the members of the workers' parties who were persecuted. Many prisoners also came from Wuppertal and were likewise involved in street fights in preceding years with the SA men who were now guarding them. However, some prisoners were brought to Kemna from other cities and regions of the Lower Rhineland. The most prominent prisoners included the former deputy of the Prussian prime minister and welfare minister, Heinrich Hirtsiefer, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei); later Rhineland-Palatinate Minister of Labor Wilhelm Bökenkrüger; the editors Oskar Hoffmann and Emil Quitzau, both members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD); German Communist Party (KPD) member and Member of the Reichstag (MdR), Willy Spicher; and several Wuppertal police officers who had monitored the Nazi movement before the "seizure of power."

From the beginning, living conditions in the camp were very poor. Food consisted of thin soup and a few slices of bread. SA men often stole the meat or fish that was actually provided for the prisoners. The hygienic conditions were miserable: most of the prisoners had to sleep on the bare cement floor in the living quarters. Only a little straw was distributed for some insulation. Just shortly before the camp was closed, beds were installed and paillasses were distributed. Buckets in the dormitories were used as latrines. The buckets were small, and they overflowed regularly.

The camp commander and the guards believed that sufficient medical care for the prisoners was not necessary. Practicing physicians, two of whom were SA members, performed rounds of the wards, but the daily medical "care" was under the supervision of an incompetent and brutal SA man. Therefore, as was common in later SS concentration camps, some prisoners took care of other inmates who had fallen ill.

Work in the Kemna concentration camp was torturous. Only a few prisoners were employed "usefully," working in the camp office, in the kitchen, or as skilled laborers, when things had to be repaired. The majority of the prisoners had to exercise in the factory yard, in any kind of weather, or they had to collect stones from the nearby Wupper River and dump them at another place in the river.

As many prisoners reported after the war, they were tortured at every opportunity. Upon their arrival at the camp, they were beaten with cudgels and straps. The torture continued in the receiving room during registration. Eventually, all new prisoners were kicked and struck as they were driven into the dormitories or the bunker. At night, the prisoners were taken away for "interrogation." There, the SA men and sometimes even camp Commandant Hilgers beat the defenseless prisoners. The prisoners then had to undress and lie down on

a table in the SA common room. They were then thrashed until they lost consciousness. After being revived with cold water, they were forced to count the lashes or to sing songs. It is understandable, then, why the guards called their torture chambers "singing cells" (*Singstube*).

Torture was not carried out by the guard detail alone. Every once in a while, the police came to the camp to question the inmates regarding hidden weapons or in an effort to extract the names of KPD members. If the interrogated persons did not provide the information, both the policemen and the SA would beat the prisoners.

During a weapons search action at a sewage plant on August 26, 1933, prisoners were forced to search for weapons in the sludge. A group of onlookers gathered around the prisoners and the guards to watch them working. To drive away the onlookers, the SA fired into the crowd and killed a child. The crime remained unpunished, legal proceedings were discontinued, and the father of the child was paid compensation. No prisoners were killed in Kemna. At least two prisoners, however, died after their release from maltreatment and injuries they had suffered in the camp.

As the killing of the child illustrates, the Kemna concentration camp was relatively well known in Wuppertal. Newspapers also reported about the camp. After a visit of Prussian Crown Prince August Wilhelm to the concentration camp, an article describing the "idyllic camp" appeared in the local coordinated press on September 18, 1933.

When the camp was closed on January 19, 1934, most of the prisoners had already been released. Around 200 prisoners who had been classified as particularly dangerous, however, were taken to the Börgermoor concentration camp, one of the so-called Emsland moor camps.

The first legal investigations began only a few months after Kemna was closed. The Prussian Ministry of Justice authorized the State Attorney's Office in Wuppertal to initiate investigations into the abuses at Kemna. The leading investigating officer, state attorney Gustav Winckler, questioned numerous former prisoners and came to the conclusion in his final report on December 29, 1934, that "many protective custody prisoners had been exposed to serious abuses."

At the same time as the state attorney's investigation, the Supreme Nazi Party Court in Munich carried out its own proceedings against those chiefly responsible at the Kemna camp. On April 1, 1935, the party court acquitted them of the accusations of extreme cruelty. Virtually, this also put an end to the state attorney's proceedings. On February 25, 1936, it was struck down by a Führer Decree.

The Führer Decree, however, only temporarily suppressed judicial reckoning of the atrocities committed in Kemna. After the end of World War II, former Kemna prisoners successfully appealed to have the case reopened. On February 28, 1948, the first German concentration camp trial of the postwar period began at the Wuppertal Regional Court. Twenty-six former guards—among them Hilgers—sat in the defendants' dock. More than 200 witnesses appeared, and during the 43 days of hearings, they reported on 220 different cases of abuse.

On May 15, 1948, the presiding judge, Landgerichtsdirektor Dr. Heineberg, pronounced the judgment: Former camp commandant Hilgers was condemned to death, and four other accused were sentenced to life imprisonment. Some of the other accused received extended imprisonment, and eight men were acquitted. In the ruling of the court, Judge Heineberg spoke of "a torture chamber of the worst kind." Later the death penalty against Hilgers was changed to life imprisonment and finally into a 15-year prison sentence. Shortly before Christmas 1956, Hilgers, the last of the former SA guard staff still imprisoned, was released.

The Kemna concentration camp was representative of the early camps; in these camps, the characteristics of the later concentration camp system could already be recognized. Admittedly, no one was systematically murdered in Kemna. Nevertheless, the camp was rightly referred to as—as the prisoners had named it—the "Hell of Kemna."

SOURCES Hardly anything has been published on the Kemna camp. Besides some local historical studies, there is a memoir by Karl Ibach, *Kemna: Wuppertaler Lager der SA; 1933* (Wuppertal: VVN, 1948).

In 1984, the ASt-W published a small volume of source material: *KZ Kemna 1933–1934. Eine Quellendokumentation* (Wuppertal: Stadtarchiv, 1984). Most of the source material is located in the NWHStA-(D) and mostly consists of investigation and trial records.

Jan Erik Schulte
trans. Irene Mayer

ZSCHORLAU

On April 21, 1933, the SS, SA, and Aue police established an early concentration camp in Zschorlau, Saxony. The authorities occupied the grounds of an abandoned factory, Firma August Wellner & Söhne, without paying rent. Although Zschorlau had a capacity for holding approximately 500 detainees, the total population did not exceed 207. Eighty percent of the prisoners were Communists. One prisoner was Jewish. The commandant, SS-Scharführer Robert Philipp Weissmann, was a fanatical National Socialist. The camp administration used Communist Party funds for the procurement of prisoners' eating utensils, clothing, and other supplies. Confined to an industrial waste pit, the prisoners were chained by the legs to prevent escape. Zschorlau's harsh conditions and rough interrogations caused the deaths of Otto Hempel, Paul Höhl, Albert Höhnel, Erich Pilz, and Alfred Schädlich. The camp was disbanded on July 12, 1933, and its prisoners removed to larger early concentration camps at Sachsenburg and Zwickau.

The trial of Weissmann reveals the career pattern of an early camp commandant. Joining the Nazi Party (membership number 147328) and SA on August 1, 1929, and the SS on December 22, 1930, Weissmann expressed early hostility toward Jews and Communists. In the late 1920s he quit a job as store assistant at Firma Nickel und Co., on grounds of its

allegedly "Jewish" character.[1] Weissmann participated in anti-Communist street brawls in the early 1930s. After Zschorlau's dissolution, he joined the Security Police in 1935. For the mass murder of Jews in the Nowy Targ district in Zakopane, Poland, in 1942 and 1943, the Freiburg state court sentenced him in 1965 to seven years' imprisonment. He was not held accountable, however, for crimes perpetrated at Zschorlau.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); the memorial for the Zschorlau early camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary sources about Zschorlau include AKr-A-Sch, Komitee der Antifaschisten Widerstandskämpfer der Kreis Stollberg-Aue-Schwarzenberg, ed., *83 Tage KZ Zschorlau* (Aue, 1978), as cited in Endlich et al. Additional references appear in the SHStA-(D), Kreishauptmannschaft Zwickau, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. Robert Weissmann's *Lebenslauf* (curriculum vitae) appears in his trial summary, case number 1 Ks. 1/64, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:175–178. A gloss of the Weissmann case is available at the Justiz und NS-Verbrechen Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/juns/brd/files/brd593.htm.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Case 1 Ks. 1/64, Lebenslauf of Robert Weissmann, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:176.

ZWEIBRÜCKEN

The penal institution at Zweibrücken, in Bavaria, served from March to June 1933 as a "protective custody" camp under unknown authority. The detainee population fluctuated considerably during these months: there were over 400 prisoners in April, 91 in late May, and approximately 300 by June 30.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

An ITS listing for Zweibrücken can be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:174.

Joseph Robert White

ZWICKAU

On approximately March 10, 1933, the SA and SS in Zwickau established a "protective custody" camp inside Osterstein Castle, located at Katherinenhof 12. Used as a penitentiary from 1775 to 1962, Osterstein was the second early concentration camp in Saxony, following the establishment of Plaue bei Flöha. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 108 detainees. By August 1, 1933, the population had increased to 275. Overall, some 750 prisoners were held at Zwickau, primarily leftists, Christians, and Jews. Among them was a Social Democratic deputy to the Saxon Diet, Eugen Fritsch.

Zwickau imposed a severe regimen. The diet consisted of thin soups with little nutritional value. For at least one month, the detainees slept in dank cells without light or warmth. Their beds were retractable cots suspended from the walls. As a form of degradation, they had to march in an enclosure in view of the local population.

The SA designated a room in the castle expressly for interrogation and torture. Passersby reported hearing the victims' agonies from adjacent streets, but the details are not available. Among the victims was Communist official Martin Hoop, who had been held at Zwickau for less than one week. Hoop was shot to death on the night of May 12, 1933. As per convention, the SA blamed his death on an escape attempt.[1] Still other prisoners committed suicide following maltreatment.

The Osterstein protective custody camp was dissolved on February 1, 1934, and its detainees were removed to the early concentration camp at Sachsenburg.

On April 17, 1948, during the Soviet occupation, the Zwickau State Court convicted four Osterstein guards for their activities in 1933. The published record does not specify the charges, their unit, or following German practice, their last names. Convicted were Kurt B., who received life imprisonment; Wilhelm Sp., confined to penitentiary for 15 years; Willi R., sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary; and Kurt K., who was also sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary.[2]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). An excellent overview of this camp may be found in Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Osterstein does not have a memorial. See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for Zwickau-Osterstein, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Schmeitzner, begins with File No. 4842 in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten. Also available in the same archive is file KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, concerning the death of Martin Hoop. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, there

is also survivors' testimony for Zwickau and three other camps in a booklet by Felix Burger (pseud. Kurt R. Grossmann), *Juden in brauner Hölle* (Prague, 1933). During the first years of the Nazi regime, Grossmann interviewed 270 early camp survivors in Prague on behalf of the Liga der Menschenrechte. An overview of the Zwickau proceeding, case number St Ks 25/48, is found in Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965). The Zwickau camp is also listed in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 233. The Social Democratic exile press also listed the early camp. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

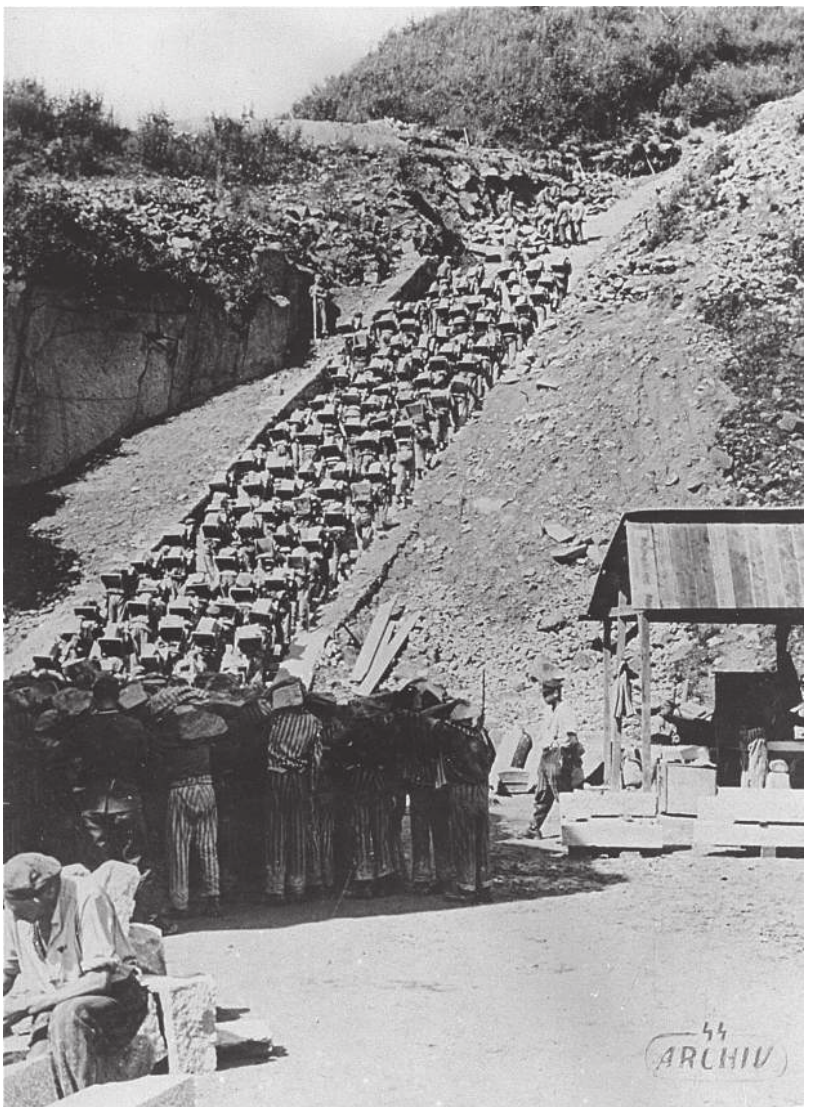
NOTES

1. KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, SHStA-D, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.

2. Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965), p. 41.

SECTION II

CAMPS AND SUBCAMPS UNDER THE SS-INSPECTORATE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS/ BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION MAIN OFFICE



The "stairs of death" at Mauthausen's Wiener Graben granite quarry, 1942.
USHMM WS # 15622, COURTESY OF AG-M

THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

FROM POLITICAL PROTECTIVE CUSTODY CAMP TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

During the first year of the National Socialist regime, the National Socialists established a large number of prisons that soon held tens of thousands of prisoners.[1] The prisons were established to terrorize the regime's opponents. The orgy of violence that took place was aimed, first, against the political opponents of the National Socialists. It marked a fundamental break with the Weimar Republic, even though Weimar was marked by a comparatively high level of violence. German and international opinion noted that the violence had escalated to a new level.

In hindsight and in light of the later years of the National Socialist regime, this assessment becomes relative. The terror in 1933–1934 was the consequence of the establishment of an authoritarian dictatorship. It was not necessarily the first step of a plan to establish a comprehensive system of terror and extermination. The camps created in 1933–1934 show little uniformity and were fundamentally different from those that were established after 1936. The differences relate to the institutional support for the camps, the organizational structures, the persecution methods, the groups targeted for persecution, the prison conditions, and the number of victims. If one wants to grasp this analytically, for this phase the term *concentration camp* has to be discarded. The more appropriate term, which is already used by some researchers, is the term *early camp*.

The appointment of Heinrich Himmler in April 1934 as head of the Prussian Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office, Gestapa) and the murder of Ernst Röhm and the SA leadership in June of that year marked a change: the Bavarian group of the SS leadership under Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich prevailed in their struggle with the rival SA, the newly appointed heads of the states, and Nazi Party provincial chiefs (Gauleiter) for control over the Political Police and the camps. These events formed the basis for Himmler's unification of the Political Police throughout the Reich, as well as the subsequent unification of the existing camps and prisons. In 1933, Theodor Eicke had developed in Dachau,



the earliest SS camp, the model for camp governance. Himmler appointed Eicke as inspector of concentration camps and instructed him either to dissolve the existing camps or to restructure them in accordance with the Dachau model. He also established a subordinate and at first a small administrative office, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). This office would in time develop into the central administrative body for all concentration camps: the IKL regulated all matters related to the conditions of concentration camp inmates and ultimately decided on the life or death of the prisoners. The only matters that the IKL did not decide were the admission and the release of prisoners from the concentration camps (although the camps later were places from which most people did not return, prisoners did obtain releases before the war and even sometimes after it began). These decisions rested not with the IKL but with the Political Police.

The period between 1934 and 1936 is marked by the dissolution and reorganization of the existing camps and by Himmler's efforts to remove the camps from the influence of other authorities. However, this change did not automatically result in the development of the camp system. During this period there was open discussion on whether to dissolve the whole camp system and to hand over the "protective custody" prisoners to the judicial authorities who would integrate them back into the normal prison system. This shows that the establishment phase of the National Socialist regime had come to an end—it had politically isolated its opponents, locked them up, or murdered them. The number of prisoners sank to its low point, as did the number of camps, which had been subordinated by Eicke to the IKL during the reorganization.

That the protective custody camps were retained is the result of a number of fundamental decisions made by Hitler in 1935: using Himmler's model, Hitler decided not only that prisoners would continue to remain under the control of the SS but that the guards would be expanded into a military organization. By the middle of the 1930s there existed five so-



Official portrait of SS-Obergruppenführer Theodor Eicke, the first Inspector of Concentration Camps (1934–1939), taken after he assumed wartime command of the SS-Totenkopfsdivision.
USHMM WS #80530, COURTESY OF NARA

called SS-Death's Head Battalions (Totenkopfsturmbanne), which were stationed at the early IKL camps, designated Upper Bavaria (stationed at Dachau), East Friesia (Esterwegen), Elbe (Lichtenburg), Sachsen (Sachsenburg), and Brandenburg (Columbia-Haus).[2] Hitler also approved Himmler's suggestion that the state finance both the guards and the protective custody camps and that the camp system be removed from the judicial system.[3]

The consolidation process came to an end in the summer of 1936 with the third Gestapo Law, the appointment of Himmler as chief of the German police, and the consolidation of the Political Police and the Criminal Police (Kripo) under the roof of the Security Police (Sipo). Himmler, with the express support of Hitler, had once again prevailed over the state premiers, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Justice. From this point on, the traditional authorities lost all influence over the camps. It was only now that the preconditions for a camp system had been created. Within a year, Himmler had dissolved those camps that were already under the control of the IKL. They proved to be too small for his plans. In the summer of 1937, all the camps, with the exception of Dachau, were dissolved or handed over to other institutions (for example, the Gestapo or the judicial authorities). In their place appeared a new type of camp—the National Socialist concentration camp.

Five new concentration camps were established between 1936 and the beginning of the war—Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück. Dachau was significantly enlarged during the same period. These concentration camps are to be treated as part of a system, separate from the earlier camps and prisons not only because they were established within the same period and were under the same organizational umbrella of the IKL but because the SS leadership strived to ensure that it was only these camps that were called "concentration camps." There were a number of other factors that made these camps novel: all the camps were structured on the basis of the Dachau model with a uniform administrative and organizational structure. An essential structural element was, first, the separation of the guards and the camp command. Depending on the size of the concentration camp, the guards were divided into several companies, while the camp command split into several subgroups, the so-called departments: the command/adjutant's office, the political department, the protective custody camp, administration, and the camp or station doctor, as well as the guards.[4] The basic features of this division of the command staff remained in force in all concentration camps until the collapse of the Third Reich.[5]

Second, all the prisoners were subject to the same "camp order," which is characterized by the attempt to systematize terror by standardizing it. Further, the expansion of the concentration camp system after 1936 was closely connected with preparations for war. As an example, one can mention political security aspects such as considering whether to establish a concentration camp in the border areas of the German Reich or in central regions (such as close to the capital city or in areas regarded as politically unstable, such as Thüringen) or whether to establish a wide net of SS-controlled detention sites. Himmler was also successful in building the armed SS formations into the "nation's second bearer of arms." He had the SS-Death's Head Units, which supplied the concentration camp guards, transformed into a military unit.[6] The SS leadership merged the SS-Death's Head Battalions into three units. Known from April 1, 1937, as the SS-Totenkopfstandarten (Death's Head Regiments), the units were transferred to the Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald concentration camps as the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Totenkopfstandarten, respectively. In the autumn of 1938, the 4th SS-Totenkopfstandarte Ostmark was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Another, but decisive, factor that justifies designating the camps established after 1936 as National Socialist concentration camps is the fundamental change in persecution. From the middle of the 1930s the principle of "racial general prevention" (Ulrich Herbert) began to prevail within the Gestapo leadership. The waves of arrests in 1937 and 1938, which were aimed at so-called asocials (and no longer at the regime's political opponents), show that viewing the opposition in socioracist and racial-biological terms had gained hold in the practice of the persecuting authorities.[7] The number of prisoners in the concentration camps grew considerably in 1937–1938—the result of expanding the definition of those groups seen as a threat to the state and the German Volk and massive arrests of "criminals" and "asocials." They reached a high-water mark with the 1938 November pogrom (*Kristallnacht*). Dragging around 30,000 Jews into concentration camps for six to eight weeks and their barbarous treatment served to increase the pressure on the Jews to emigrate from Germany, while leaving behind their property.[8]

From 1937 to 1938 one has to assume an increase in the exploitation of the concentration camp prisoners. During the first years of National Socialist rule, prisoner labor involved completely senseless tasks or was used to expand the camps. Now the SS used the prisoners for its own economic interests. Oswald Pohl, the SS administrative head, coordinated economic activities, in particular, those of the SS-owned companies such as the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works Ltd., DESt) or the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works Ltd., DAW), both of which Himmler ordered formed in this period. In 1938, he offered to supply building materials for the planned National Socialist city building program; the materials were to be produced by concentration camp prisoners. Albert Speer, in his role as general building inspector for the Reich Capital, seized the offer because at this time there was a noticeable shortage of labor in the building sector. The location of new concentration camps was now dependant on whether quarries or clay sites were in the vicinity. The prisoners were to produce the necessary building materials in specially constructed brickworks. However, productivity fell far short of Himmler's promises. The quarries were particularly brutal work detachments where the SS caused the deaths of many people. The waves of arrests in 1937–1938 that had been directed in particular against the so-called asocials,

professional criminals, and the "work-shy" were a "preventative measure to protect the racial community" and to forcibly recruit labor.[9] Both aims complemented one another.

From 1937 to 1938 there was a fundamental change in the composition of the prisoner population. The SS adapted to the changes by altering the means of camp control: in reaction to the admission of new victim groups, they now began to mark the prisoners. It was only now that the prisoners were categorized according to a uniform scheme and marked with a triangular patch whose color indicated the supposed or actual reason for imprisonment. The systematic categorization of the prisoner groups proved to be an instrument of control. The division of the prisoners into subgroups enabled the SS to shift the terror to the prisoner groups. This was also achieved by transferring defined administration and guard duties to selected prisoners, the so-called prisoner-functionaries.

The transfer of a comprehensive sociobiological and racial concept into the practice of the persecuting authorities proved to be a decisive moment. Not only political opponents of the National Socialist regime were threatened with persecution and imprisonment but also, and even foremost, social groups that for social-hygienic or racial reasons had to be "kept safe." Until its collapse the National Socialist regime followed both goals—the persecution of political as well as "racial" opponents of the state and the racial community. As the camps were transformed into enforcement sites for "racial general prevention" and the composition of the prisoner groups fundamentally changed, a new type of camp arose that was historically unique: the National Socialist concentration camp.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE WAR

The concentration camp system expanded once the war began. During the first half of the war, the IKL opened five new concentration camps: Auschwitz, Neuengamme, Natzweiler, Gross-Rosen, and Majdanek (as well as the concentration camp at Niederhagen near Paderborn and the SS-Special Camp Hinzert in the Hunsrück, which had a special position within the concentration camp system). In less than three years the number of prisoners quadrupled: from around 21,000 in August 1939 to an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 in the spring of 1942.[10]

The number of SS guards had also increased considerably: since the end of the 1930s the SS-Death's Head Regiments had gradually lost their importance as a pure concentration camp guard force. In order to have a replacement force for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (SSVT) in case of war, Himmler expanded and militarized the SS-Death's Head Units. Hitler supported this development with a fundamental order. The decree of August 17, 1938, required that the SS and police tasks be redefined and that those of the SS be distinguished from those of the Wehrmacht. The decree (and the supplementary decree of May 18, 1939) enabled the armed SS units, especially the SSVT, to become the "Nation's second bearer of arms."[11]The militarization of the SS-Death's Head Units occurred not least because the Wehrmacht was successful in preventing an enlargement of the SSVT. According to a report by Eicke to Himmler, by the middle of 1939, the strength of the Death's Head Units had increased to 22,033 men.[12] If this is correct, then the number of SS guards at this time exceeded the number of concentration camp prisoners.

The expansion and training of the Death's Head Units did not occur solely with the aim of deployment in war. The SS anticipated that after the outbreak of war there would be an increase in the numbers of "enemy elements" within the state and in the conquered countries, which were to be "fought" inside the concentration camps. Simultaneously, with the military training of the Death's Head Units, the reservists were called up and added to the concentration camp guard force.[13] The so-called reinforcement of the Death's Head Units (also referred to as police reinforcements) essentially consisted of older men from the Allgemeine (General) SS. The call up was based on the "emergency decree" of October 15, 1938.[14] An important stage on the road to a unified "state security corps" (to which, first and foremost, the fusion of police and SS personnel was an essential part) was the dovetailing of the SSVT and Death's Head Units, the pace of which had increased since summer 1938.[15] At the beginning of the war, Himmler gave Eicke, who until this time had been



SS-Gruppenführer Richard Glücks, the second Inspector of Concentration Camps (1939–1945).
USHMM WS #79545, COURTESY OF BA

the inspector of concentration camps and leader of the Death's Head Units, the military command of the SS-Death's Head Regiments, which until now had been based in the concentration camps. In October 1939, these units were merged into one division: the SS-Totenkopf Division.[16]

At the commencement of the war, the SS-Death's Head Regiments marched into Poland and later were merged into the SS-Totenkopf Division under Eicke's command. While this was happening, the police reinforcements took over the role of guarding the concentration camp prisoners. At the same time, many SS members who were serving in the concentration camp command offices remained at their posts. The IKL needed them to expand the concentration camp system: they developed into the leadership group of the "SS concentration camps," into a group expert in terror.[17] In the middle of November, Himmler named Richard Glücks as Eicke's successor. He had been Eicke's deputy for many years and was chief of the IKL staff.[18] For the time being, the IKL continued to be subordinate to the SS-Main Office (Hauptamt). In August 1940, when the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt) was formed, Himmler ordered that IKL be subordinate to this office.[19] The SS Main Command Office had the task of coordinating and organizing the military leadership of the Waffen-SS, so the SS personnel deployed in the concentration camps were now members of the Waffen-SS.[20] This bureaucratic restructure had scarcely any practical consequences; it was essentially a matter of form. The IKL remained, as it did before the war, directly responsible to Himmler. Likewise, the authority over admissions to and release from the concentration camps changed in form but not in substance. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), which had been formed in September 1939, now had the responsibility. Reinhard Heydrich was appointed chief of the RSHA. It represented the organizational fusion of the Security Police (that is, the Kripo and the Gestapo) and the Security Service (SD) of the SS. It was the core of the planned "state security corps" that came to be under the command of the SS leadership.

Shortly after the outbreak of war, a number of actual or potential National Socialist opponents were placed in protective custody, including those who had been in prison but subsequently released (for example, members of the labor movement or Jews who had not emigrated after their release from concentration camps in 1938–1939). However, for the first time, other groups were taken into custody, such as members of the clergy, those who had previous convictions, those accused of being "work-shy," or those who were suspected of causing "unrest" in the population. The significant increase in prisoner numbers was, however, first and foremost the result of the incarceration of people from countries conquered by the Wehrmacht.

The arrests in Western Europe were primarily directed against resistance groups and saboteurs; in Eastern Europe, they also partially took the form of summary waves of arrests that were aimed to support the implementation of National Socialist population policy as well as the forcible recruitment of labor. From 1940, the non-German prisoners, especially Poles, constituted a significant percentage of the prisoners; in some concentration camps they constituted the majority of the prisoners during the first half of the war. This tendency steadily grew stronger. Leaving aside the differing developments in the different concentration camps, one can say for the concentration camp system as a whole that during the war the German prisoners became a small minority. The group of "Reich Germans," that is, the German and Austrian prisoners, constituted by the end of the war around 5 to 10 percent of all concentration camp prisoners.

The increasing internationalization of the prisoners fundamentally changed the internal structure of the prisoner groups, possibly to an even greater degree than that which occurred in 1937–1938. The triangle marking system of the prewar period was replaced by a national hierarchy of prisoner groups, based on "racial" criteria. For the most part, the SS gave the so-called Reich German concentration camp prisoners a privileged position (regardless of which triangle they wore) within the system of prisoner-functionaries or a protected position in a work detachment. However, Slavic or Jewish prisoners were subject to exceptional persecution and the worst work detachments.

The outbreak of the war resulted in a worsening of the prisoners' conditions: the SS reduced the food and increased the work as well as the mistreatment. From the first winter of the war, the most common reason for deaths in the concentration camps may have been malnourishment. The reduction in food, the worsening accommodations, and the nonexistent or limited medical care in the concentration camps increased the rate of malnutrition, disease, and epidemics; the death rate increased dramatically, especially in winter.[21] The effect of this worsening situation was not the same for the different national and social groups. Prisoners in the punishment companies, Jewish concentration camp inmates, Slavic prisoners, and the "Red Spaniards" in Mauthausen/Gusen had the highest death rates. The SS exposed most of the prisoners to conditions that were on the edge of a subsistence level of survival but did not intend their extermination. However, some groups in the first half of the war were the target of a deliberate policy of extermination. The deadly terror of the SS was directed in the first instance against prisoners of Slavic origin as well as Jews.

In the first half of the war, the IKL concentration camps were not an instrument that served primarily to imprison and terrorize the Jewish population. Jews were held in the concentration camps, but their numbers, both relatively and absolutely, were small. The majority of the Jews who came within the German sphere of power during the war were driven into other places of detention, above all, to the numerous ghettos and "forced labor camps for Jews." The concentration camp system was only one element of the National Socialist policy of persecution and extermination. There were other types of camps and forms of terror, especially against the Jews. Within the concentration camp system, the Jewish prisoners, though, were exposed to special, sometimes fatal, harassment.

PLANNED MASS KILLINGS AND PILOT PROJECTS ON LABOR USE

The year 1941 marked a qualitative new level of terror in the concentration camp system. The SS had used the concentration camps since the very beginning to kill particular individuals or prisoner groups; in a few concentration camps the murders in part took on a systematic nature. In the spring of 1941, there occurred the first planned and systematic mass murder throughout the entire concentration camp system.[22] The murders are to be regarded not only as typical for individual concentration camps but as typical for all the camps. The first such action was directed against the sick and weakened prisoners, who were increasingly regarded by the SS as a burden in the overcrowded camps. The second action was against Russian prisoners of war (POWs) designated as "Russian commissars." From April 1941 on, a doctor's committee engaged in "euthanasia," a killing organization known as "T4" after its location in 4 Tiergarten Strasse, Berlin, toured the concentration camps to select out the ill and weakened prisoners. T4 was active in at least 10 concentration camps between April 1941 and April 1942. The selected prisoners were killed by carbon monoxide in the "euthanasia institutions" at Bernburg, Sonnenstein, or Hartheim. The camp SS also used the killing actions to have Jewish and politically unwanted prisoners murdered. At least 10,000, possibly between 15,000 and 20,000, prisoners were killed.[23] From the summer of 1941 the murder program, named "14f13" after the IKL file, overlapped with the murder of Soviet prisoners of war.

Himmler had formed an agreement with the Wehrmacht that some Soviet prisoners of war would come under his jurisdiction. Beginning in October 1941, he ordered two large camp complexes established for this purpose: the Waffen-SS prisoner of war camps Majdanek and Birkenau. Both were subordinate to the IKL; Majdanek was an independent concentration camp, while Birkenau was a subcamp of Auschwitz until 1943. In the autumn of 1941, the Wehrmacht handed over to Himmler several tens of thousands of Soviet POWs. They were distributed among the existing concentration camps and the so-called prisoner of war camps (or prisoner of war labor camps), which were now adjunct to all concentration camps. In essence, they were specially fenced off areas of the protective custody camps into which the SS crowded the Soviet soldiers (who were not entered in the camp registers). Apparently, Himmler planned to use them as a labor force if required; de facto, without food, they were left to die.

The soldiers were not only exposed to hunger and epidemics, but it is known that at least in Auschwitz a Gestapo special commission selected the so-called political commissars and shot some of them.[24] The majority of the "political commissars" who were killed in the concentration camps came from Wehrmacht camps. A decree of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) provided that Soviet prisoners of war who were determined to be "commissars" were to be handed over to the SS-Einsatzgruppen or the Einsatzkommandos of the Security Police and the SD. Heydrich's *Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8* of July 17, 1941, set the criteria for determining who were "political commissars" and how they were to be "eliminated" from the POW camps. On July 21, Heydrich determined that they were to be murdered in the nearest concentration camp.[25] Mass shootings began in all concentration camps in the late summer of 1941; it is thought that at least 34,000 (possibly more than 45,000) Soviet POWs were victims of the shootings.[26]

It would be a mistake, however, to view 1941 only from the perspective of planned, mass killings. During the same time period, the foundations were laid for the use of concentration camp prisoners in industry.[27] There were only a few "pilot projects" at this early juncture: since the spring of 1941, the IKL had leased a few hundred prisoners from Auschwitz to IG Farben and 300 prisoners from Mauthausen to Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG. Both companies were trying to compensate for a labor shortage by using forced laborers; both initially used the concentration camp inmates exclusively for construction work and unskilled labor. Admittedly, however, the majority of personnel during the first half of the war were not recruited from concentration camp prisoners.

The SS leadership accommodated attempts by the companies to access concentration camp labor so long as the demands did not run contrary to its own interests. Himmler was speculating about material gain: in the case of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, on cheaper armaments for the Waffen-SS, and in the case of IG Farben, on urgently required building material for the expansion of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Moreover, the SS did not relinquish control over the prisoners, who continued to be accommodated in the respective main camps and who were guarded by SS men while working.

From the companies' point of view, the cooperation with the SS was anything but smooth. They complained that the daily transport of the prisoners to and from work reduced their output and that the prisoners were inefficiently used because there was a shortage of guards. Complaints about the mistreatment of the prisoners had little effect. After about a year, both companies, independently of one another, suggested that the prisoners should be quartered close to the construction sites. After some initial resistance, the SS agreed with the suggestion.

Cooperation with industry during the first half of the war, when considered in light of the whole concentration camp system, was of only small significance. It was only when the function of the concentration camps changed once again and they came to be seen as a labor reservoir for the armaments industry that the cases outlined here came to be seen as a type of model.

The reorganization of labor utilization that the IKL undertook in the autumn of 1941 was at first not aimed at the war industry but primarily on the extensive plans for settlement "in the east." In the summer of 1941, Himmler had commissioned the Generalplan Ost (General Plan East, GPO), which provided an overall plan for population and settlements in the east. The settlement plans were supplemented by an extensive construction program, the "preliminary peace construction program." Himmler wanted to realize his plans almost exclusively with forced labor: with Soviet POWs, concentration

camp prisoners, Jewish prisoners, and foreign civilian workers. It was for this reason and with a view to the "later settlement of the Danzig-West Prussian Gau" that Himmler, at the end of 1941, decided to place the camp at Stutthof, near Danzig, which had been established at the beginning of the war, under the control of the IKL.[28]

FORCED LABOR AND GENOCIDE WITHIN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM

Himmler dropped the idea of the "preliminary peace construction program" when it became clear during the winter of 1941–1942 that the war against the Soviet Union would be drawn out. It was replaced with a focus on the armaments sector, whose significance in the eyes of the National Socialist leadership rapidly increased. For reasons of pure power politics, Himmler intended to restructure the concentration camps, which had an apparently inexhaustible supply of labor, into a labor reservoir for the war economy. In the first half of 1942, a number of measures were introduced that were aimed to restructure the concentration camp system. In March, Himmler integrated the IKL into the recently established SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) as Office Group D. In doing so, he was trying to prevent Fritz Sauckel, who had been appointed plenipotentiary general for labor deployment, from seizing control of the concentration camp system. With Pohl's appointment as head of the WVHA, and the subordination of the IKL under the WVHA, Himmler cemented a long-standing development: Pohl's constantly increasing influence on the concentration camp system.

Pohl began to restructure his office in order to "mobilize all prisoner labor."[29] Moreover, he began negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry. The plans that were initially pursued for the production of weapons in the concentration camps quickly faltered because the Armaments Ministry feared that Himmler would succeed in expanding the power of the SS by virtue of its own armaments production. In September 1942, Hitler, Himmler, and Speer agreed that concentration camp prisoners would be leased to armaments firms and would be accommodated in specially constructed subcamps.[30] It was only now, in the winter of 1942–1943, that the IKL began to open subcamps on any meaningful scale; in 1944–1945, the numbers increased significantly.

The fundamental decision made in the autumn of 1942 had different consequences for the various concentration camp prisoner groups. The decision meant the death penalty for Jews held in concentration camps within the Reich. A directive was sent to all concentration camp commands at the beginning of October 1942 that Himmler wished "to free the concentration camps within the Reich of Jews."[31] At least 1,559 Jewish concentration camp prisoners (1,037 men and 522 women) were deported to Auschwitz, where they were probably murdered.[32]

For non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, the decision meant the implementation of institutionalized forced labor in private or state armaments factories. In order to force the use of prisoner labor, the SS command stopped the two planned mass shootings for 1941. Moreover, they succeeded in significantly increasing the number of concentration camp prisoners. In the winter of 1942–1943, Reich Minister for Justice Otto Thierack handed over to Himmler 12,000 so-called *Sicherungsverwahrte* ("preventive detainees" transferred from the judicial system to the concentration camp system) for, in the express words of the minutes of the meeting between the two, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit" (extermination through work).[33] In addition, large-scale roundups and mass arrest operations took place in the German Reich, largely against Polish and Soviet forced laborers. Within the course of six months, the number of concentration camp inmates almost doubled: from around 110,000 prisoners in September 1942 to 203,000 in April 1943. In August 1943, there were 224,000 prisoners in the concentration camps, and one year later, 524,286.[34]



The SS-WVHA chief, SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl (left) and an IG Farben official drink wine at a hunting party for Auschwitz SS officers in late 1944.
USHMM WS #34786, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR



The chief of the SS-WVHA Office Group D II (labor allocation), SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer (left), in civilian clothes with an SS officer at the Solahütte retreat near Auschwitz in late 1944.
USHMM WS #34789, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR

The intended restructuring of the concentration camp system into a labor reservoir for the war economy did not lighten the lot of the concentration camp inmates; it is true that there are many surviving WVHA directives that aimed to improve the efficiency of the labor deployments and to increase the concentration camp prisoners' productivity. However, a look at the camps shows that most of the directives were not put into practice. Only two directives brought about an improvement: first, the camp SS applied for and actually distributed food supplements for those doing heavy labor; and second, from the autumn of 1942, Himmler allowed food packages to be sent to the concentration camps.

The question of the evolution of the death rate is more difficult to judge. What can be shown is that the WVHA explicitly required the camp doctors and commanders to lower the death rate. Viewed in relation to the entire concentration camp system, the death rate in fact did decline: from 10 percent in the second half of 1942 to 2.8 percent in June 1943.[35] However, there are three arguments that can be made against the thesis that this represented a general improvement in conditions.[36] First, the absolute number of murdered concentration camp prisoners declined far less than the percentages would suggest, due to the large number of new prisoners entering the camps; second, the numbers given to Himmler about the decline in the death rate were partially falsified (so as to demonstrate to him that his demands had been met); and third, the death rates in the concentration camps partially declined because the SS sent the sick and dying prisoners to the killing centers and murdered them there, without registering them.

The rise in value attributed to the labor force did not increase the survival chances of the concentration camp prisoners. On the contrary, the SS valued the labor force even less because it had a mass supply. The chances of surviving a concentration camp were dependent upon the position one had within a work detachment or within the prisoner hierarchy, which was based on "racial" criteria. The restructuring of the concentration camps into a labor reservoir and the actual use of a large number of the prisoners as forced labor did not result in an improvement in prison conditions but rather in their deterioration.

For only a minority of prisoners at the top of the camps' racial hierarchy, or whose professional qualifications benefited the SS, did this not apply. These groups, mostly the German prisoner-functionaries as well as the slowly emerging group of skilled prisoner laborers, were permitted by the SS to have better working and living conditions. It was these two groups alone that benefited from the so-called bonus system introduced in May 1943 and that promised financial bonuses and improved prison conditions for special achievements.[37] However, the idea for such a system did not come from the WVHA but from the industries that were using the concentration camp prisoners.

Moreover, in the second half of the war the concentration camp system was not exclusively characterized by attempts on the part of the SS leadership to enforce the principle of forced labor. Along with the concentration camps, most of which lay in the Old Reich (Altreich), Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek developed into killing centers during this period. Both of these developments, which had already become apparent in 1941, marked the concentration camp system in the second half of the war: the simultaneity of forced labor and genocide. These factors did not contradict each other because they affected different groups of victims: Jews, on the one hand, and non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, on the other hand.

The basic features of the history of the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center are known. The genocide of European Jews in Auschwitz II-Birkenau began at the beginning of 1942; it took on its systematic form in the summer of 1942.[38] At first sporadically—but from July 4, 1942, on a regular basis—SS doctors and members of the command staff selected Jews who had been transported to Auschwitz.[39] The majority, probably around 80 percent, were sent directly to their deaths.[40] Those regarded as "capable of working" were deployed in Auschwitz or one of its numerous subcamps until they were physically no longer capable of working. Himmler stopped the extermination in the late summer of 1944. At least 1.2 million people, of whom around 1 million were Jews, had been murdered by the SS.[41]

The history of the Majdanek camp falls into four phases. Polish historians describe the camp as a "multi-functional provisional arrangement" because the camp's function often changed and because it never really got out of the planning stage.[42] The first period (October 1941 to the middle of 1942) is marked by the construction of the camp; the second (to the end of 1942) is marked by an increase in the number of prisoners (mostly Jews and Poles from the Lublin area but also Polish Jews from the Warsaw and Białystok ghettos).[43] Majdanek functioned as a killing center from 1943; the SS also used



SS-Standartenführer Dr. Enno Lolling (*second from left*) attends the handover of the SS troop hospital at Birkenau, September 1, 1944. Lolling headed the SS-WVHA's Office D III (Hygiene). To his right is the Auschwitz camp doctor, Eduard Wirths. To his left are: Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer; Baer's adjutant, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker; and the head of SS-WVHA Office D I (Personnel), SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss.
USHMM WS #34810, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR

it as a holding area for Polish and Soviet farmers. While Majdanek was developing into a center of genocide of the Jews, there were attempts to integrate the few remaining Jewish prisoners in the General Government (GG) into the economic empire of the WVHA. Indeed, Pohl was able to take the first steps in this direction, but in the autumn of 1943 the National Socialist leadership decided to murder these Jews. They were shot on November 3–4, 1943. The mass murders took place almost simultaneously in three camps—Poniatowa, Trawniki, and Majdanek. The SS units, which gathered at these camps, killed an estimated 40,000 to 43,000 people. In Majdanek, 17,000 Jews were shot, including the camp's approximate 8,000 Jews as well as others from nearby camps.[44] Operation Harvest Festival (Aktion Erntefest), the code name for the shootings, is one of the largest mass shootings in the history of the National Socialist extermination of the Jews.

In the last phase of the camp's history, until the evacuation of Majdanek, Pohl attempted to reorganize the use of labor for the DAW factories in the Lublin area. The attempts failed. Majdanek functioned more as a place of execution for Polish civilians and a reception camp for sick and weakened concentration camp prisoners. The number of victims at Majdanek lies between 170,000 and 250,000 people, of whom at least 90,000 were Jews.[45]

A final expansion of the concentration camp system occurred in the summer of 1943. Between July and September 1943, Pohl took over the Jewish ghettos, the Reichskommissar Ostland's so-called forced labor camps for Jews, and the Gestapo prison in Warsaw. In January 1944, he took over the forced labor camp for Jews in Kraków. These camps were turned into the independent concentration camps Riga, Kauen [aka Kaunas], Vaivara, Warschau, and Krakau-Plaszow.[46] He also established in January 1943, in the occupied Netherlands, the Herzogenbusch concentration camp. From the summer of 1943, the WVHA administered 20 independent main camps.

Little is known about the camps that the WVHA took control over in 1943–1944. They were not converted into concentration camps in the strict sense, except for the Warsaw concentration camp, which Himmler established to remove the traces of the crimes committed in Warsaw. There is only a limited structural similarity with the concentration camps located inside the German Reich if one considers the internal administration and organizational structure, the composition of the prison groups, and the personnel. Herzogenbusch functioned as a transit camp for Jewish prisoners on their way to the killing centers, whereas, because of the murderous nature of the living and working conditions in the Baltic camps, which held Jews almost exclusively, they must perhaps be regarded, at least in part, as killing centers.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM IN THE LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

The last year of the war was marked by a significant increase in the number of prisoners, as well as the number of newly opened subcamps. Attempts by the National Socialist regime to ward off the impending defeat by all means possible were accompanied by ever more urgent demands by the war economy for labor, which in turn resulted in a broadening of the scope of arrests. The retreat of German troops was accompanied by roundups and waves of arrests, now also in Western and Northern Europe. The number of prisoners increased to 524,286 in August 1944, and in January 1945, to almost 715,000.[47]

In the spring of 1944, moreover, the demand for labor led the authorities to abandon the principle of keeping the Reich "free of Jews." Himmler exempted some of the Hungarian Jews, who had fallen within the German sphere of control, from immediate extermination and transferred them from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Reich. Moreover, starting in the summer of 1944, Pohl ordered the concentration camps in the Baltic to be evacuated to the west. As a result of both these events, within a short period of time, several tens of thousands of Jewish prisoners reached the Reich and the concentration camps that existed there. The people who were held in the concentration camps experienced the onset of this dramatic overcrowding as the emergence of a life-threatening chaos in the conditions within the camps. The drastic reduction in resources, which was accompanied by an intensification in mistreatment and an expansion of forced labor, led to a mass mortality that reached previously unknown levels in the concentration camps.

Different types of concentration camps now emerged within the concentration camp system, each of which served a different function: the killing center Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the main concentration camps, and the network of subcamps must be mentioned. Now, there also appeared two completely new forms of concentration camps, which could be called "subterranean factory camps" and "mass mortality camps."

The genocide in Birkenau reached its terrifying climax in the late autumn of 1944: within a few weeks the SS killed 350,000 Hungarian Jews, those held in the "Theresienstadt Family Camp," the prisoners in the "Gypsy Camp," as well as those deported from the Łódź ghetto. However, the might of the SS had its limits. Resistance began to increase in 1944 (for example, the uprising by the Jewish "Special Details"), as did the number of escape attempts. These facts, plus the approach of the Red Army, caused the SS to relocate 70,000 prisoners from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Old Reich in the second half of 1944.[48]

In the last year of the war, the main concentration camps registered another burst of growth. They increasingly developed into reception and transit camps, that is, into distribution centers for their subcamps. Looking solely at the number of prisoners, the relationship between the main camps and the subcamps gradually turned around. Proportionately and in absolute numbers, the SS held ever more concentration camp inmates in the subcamps.

Beginning in 1944, the number of subcamps rapidly increased; even in the first months of 1945 this trend continued.[49] State and private armaments firms grabbed at the labor reservoir in the concentration camps to overcome the drastic

shortage in labor. This was so even though their performance, when compared to free workers or even forced laborers, was significantly poorer and even though their productivity remained low. Initial estimates suggest that their output did not reach more than 15 percent of that in private industry.[50]

At least two types of subcamps gained significance because of the large numbers of prisoners they held: the factory camp (*Fabriklager*), on the one hand, and the construction camp (*Baulager*), on the other hand. It is thought that these two types of camps used by far the majority of concentration camp prisoners who were assigned as forced labor. The essential difference between both types of camps is in the type of work done: in the factory camps, the prisoners were primarily used in the production of armaments, whereas in the construction camps, the prisoners were used for construction, excavation, and rubble clearance operations. It would also seem that the death rate mirrored the type of camp: lower in the factory camps than in the construction camps. The distinction between factory and construction camps already points to the fact that in the last year of the war there were a multitude of different subcamps with a large variance in confinement and work conditions. Over and above that, a new structure developed as some subcamps developed into extensive complexes, to combinations of diverse subordinate and satellite camps where often several thousand prisoners were held.

The subterranean factory camps (*Konzentrationslager der Verlagerungsprojekte*) also consisted of a whole complex of subcamps.[51] The origins of these camps can be traced back to 1943. At first they served exclusively the goal of relocating the production and assembly of "revenge weapons" (*Vergeltungswaffen*) to bombproof locations. Himmler agreed to the use of concentration camp prisoners for the gigantic construction projects and ordered the opening of the Buchenwald subcamp Nordhausen ("Dora") in August 1943. The prisoners excavated a gigantic cavern in the Harz where the V weapons were to be produced. Himmler also appointed Hans Kammler, until then head of the Office Group C (Construction) in the WVHA, as special emissary for construction.

The organizational and expertise structure that developed in Dora had only limited similarities with the administrative structures in the existing concentration camps. It developed into a model for the relocation underground of armaments industries, which in 1944 took on immense proportions. Senior management and coordination was under the control of the Armaments Ministry; specially incorporated companies (in the case of Dora, it was the Central Works Ltd. [Mittelwerk GmbH]) were responsible for the entrepreneurial leadership; while the Sonderstab Kammler (Special Staff Kammler) coordinated the extensive construction activities. In addition, many other organizations were involved in the relocation projects, including numerous industrial firms, construction firms, and the Organisation Todt (OT). Half of the estimated 480,000 concentration camp prisoners who were classified by the SS at the end of 1944 as "capable of work" (the total number of prisoners was around 600,000) worked as forced labor for private industries, and the other half were involved in the Kammlerstab relocation projects and OT construction projects.[52]

A second new type of concentration camp developed in the last year of the war: the "mass mortality camp."[53] By 1944, all main concentration camps (and also in most subcamp complexes) contained "zones of impoverishment" where newly delivered prisoners or severely overworked, sick, or completely weakened prisoners were left to die. The camp SS did not kill here with shootings or poison but through hunger, thirst, epidemics, cold, and the systematic withholding of provisions. Only one of these camps was raised to the status of an independent concentration camp: Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler established Bergen-Belsen in 1943 as a holding camp (*Aufenthaltslager*); he wanted to concentrate certain groups of Jews in one place and use them as bargaining chips, before they were deported to the killing centers, for a possible exchange for German citizens. In fact, such exchanges occurred only on a small scale. Beginning in 1944, a transformation process gradually developed that accelerated rapidly in the second half of the year. Bergen-Belsen became a receiving camp for a constant stream of new transports full of the sick, the dying, and the dead. It developed into a camp for the dying, the infernal destination of the collapsing concentration camp system.

THE EVACUATION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The evacuation of the concentration camps took more than a year.[54] It is marked by monstrous brutality and huge numbers of dead; the "evacuation marches" are indeed correctly called "death marches."

One must not overlook the fact that, despite the chaotic course of the evacuations, they were preceded by detailed planning. The camp commanders worked out the evacuation plans apparently in partial consultation with the responsible Higher SS and Police Leaders (HSSPF) or the Gauleiter and acted accordingly.

There were three stages to the evacuation of the concentration camps: from April to September 1944, from the middle of January to the middle of February 1945, and from the end of March to the end of April 1945. Pohl ordered the evacuation of the Majdanek killing center in the spring of 1944 and of the concentration camps in the Baltic states in the summer of that year. In the autumn of 1944, he ordered the evacuation of the most westerly concentration camps—Herzogenbusch and Natzweiler. The second stage of the evacuation was triggered by the Soviet winter offensive: from the middle of January the SS began marching at least 113,000 concentration camp prisoners in a westerly direction: 58,000 from Auschwitz, 11,000 from Stutthof (a large number of prisoners remained in Stutthof, and it was only in April 1945 that they were "evacuated"), and 44,000 prisoners from Gross-Rosen. At least 24,500 prisoners did not survive the marches; the total is probably higher, as it is not even possible to estimate how many prisoners died on the marches from Gross-

Rosen.[55] The arrival of the completely weakened, sick, and dying prisoners in the concentration camps inside the German Reich led to a last stage of the escalation.

Up until the end of March 1945, there was still no order to evacuate the remaining concentration camps. The camp SS used this interim period to prepare its own escape and to remove all traces that could provide evidence of the crimes that had been committed in the concentration camps. Moreover, as part of this process, the SS proceeded to kill two groups of concentration camp prisoners: those who, from the SS point of view, would not be able to survive the exertions of the "evacuation march" and those who might prove "dangerous" at the approach of enemy troops.

While these groups were being murdered, the plans for the evacuation of the remaining concentration camps became more concrete and radical. Consideration was now given to murdering all concentration camp prisoners at the approach of Allied troops. Himmler, for tactical reasons, rejected such ideas in March 1945 because he was now attempting to begin negotiations with the Western Powers for a separate peace. He used the Jewish prisoners as hostages and ordered that no more Jews were to be killed. This order had no effect on the reality in the concentration camps.

During this period, Himmler met with Carl J. Burckhardt, the president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as Count Folke Bernadotte, the vice president of the Swedish Red Cross. Himmler agreed to the demands of Bernadotte to gather together all Scandinavian concentration camp prisoners and release them. In fact, the Scandinavian prisoners were relocated to Neuengamme and then taken to Sweden before the end of the war. More than 20,000 concentration camp inmates, including around 8,000 Scandinavians, gained their freedom because of "Operation Bernadotte."[56]

The remaining concentration camps were not dissolved until the beginning of April. Pohl first had Mittelbau (formerly Dora) evacuated, followed by Buchenwald (at least in part). American troops arrived at these two camps on April 11 and 13, respectively, and two days later Bergen-Belsen was surrendered to the British. The surrender of this mass mortality camp is a unique event in the history of the evacuation of the camps; it occurred because of a local cease-fire that was arranged between the Wehrmacht commander and the British chief of staff, Brigadier Taylor-Balfour.[57] Both feared the spotted fever epidemic that was raging in Bergen-Belsen and the possibility of combat in this infected area. In the end, however, the surrender took place only because Himmler had not given the order to evacuate Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler gave the order to "evacuate" Flossenbürg and Dachau immediately after the Allies had taken Mittelbau, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen. The order included a directive that no prisoner was to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.[58] In the remaining concentration camps, there then occurred two developments: first, the conclusion of the killing of those prisoners who were not able to march or who were regarded as dangerous, which had been going on since the end of January or the beginning of February (as well as the destruction of the camp files and removal of all traces of the crimes): second, the removal of all prisoners who were declared capable of marching. There were two routes for the marches: the southern route for the columns from Flossenbürg and Dachau, whose goal was the so-called Alpine Fortress; and the northern route for the prisoners from Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, and Ravensbrück, who marched in the direction of the Northern Fortress. The division into a northern and southern route was precipitated by the Red Army's major offensive that accelerated the division of Germany into northern and southern halves.

The Alpine Fortress, contrary to National Socialist propaganda, was basically a chimera.[59] Plans to construct a fortress in the Ötztal Alps were never realized, not even conceptually. It would seem, however, that the Northern Fortress (which was to be not only a collecting point for concentration camp prisoners but also the area where the numerous retreating SS units and Himmler would assemble together) was more than just an illusion.[60] After the war, a few camp commanders testified that the northern route had a concrete destination. They named Lübeck, Fehmarn, or Sweden. There are also a number of indicators that lead to the conclusion that the first steps were actually being taken to construct a concentration camp in Norway. The SS made great efforts to keep the concentration camp prisoners under their control and to move them north. Allied formations prevented the prisoners from Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück from reaching their goal; the prisoners were liberated while on their way to Schleswig-Holstein.

The prisoners from Neuengamme, on the other hand, were taken via Lübeck to the Neustadt harbor, where at the end of April or the beginning of May they were loaded onto three ships. A short time later, the prisoners from Stutthof also arrived in the Bay of Lübeck. They had been shipped on lighters across the Baltic to Neustadt where they were crammed into ships in the Neustadt harbor; a few were unloaded onto the beach. It should not be assumed, as the prisoners feared, that the SS planned to sink the ships. They lay for another five days in the Bay of Lübeck without any such attempt being made by the SS; in any event, there were many SS men on board the ships. Lack of source material means that it cannot be proven that the ships were to steer in the direction of Fehmarn, Sweden, or Norway, but it is conceivable. However, before the plans of the SS could be realized, whatever they may have been, British fighters on May 3, 1945, bombed the *Thielbek* and *Cap Arcona*, which were lying in the Bay of Lübeck, as well as the *Athen*, which had just returned to the Neustadt harbor. The attack was made because it was thought that they were war ships with German crews. The *Athen* was only slightly hit and remained largely undamaged. The almost 2,000 prisoners in the ship's hold survived. However, the *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* caught fire. Only a few hundred prisoners could rescue themselves from the foundering ships and reach what they thought would be the safety of the beach. However, neither they nor the Stutthof prisoners who had been left on the beach survived; they were massacred.

THE VICTIMS—A BALANCE SHEET

The number of Holocaust victims is known: at least 5.29 million—with a maximum of just over 6 million—Jews were murdered.[61] The various forms of death are known: mass shootings; dying of misery in the ghettos, camps, and other places of detention; and murder by poison gas. Almost 3 million Jews were murdered by gas. Around 2 million died in Chełmno and the killing centers of Operation Reinhard (Aktion Reinhard): Sobibór, Treblinka, and Bełżec. More than a million Jews were murdered by Zyklon B in the death camps of the WVHA: at least 1 million in Auschwitz II-Birkenau and at least 50,000 in Majdanek.[62] In addition, the SS murdered another 40,000 Jews in these concentration camps by means other than gas.[63]

The number of dead in the concentration camps is less accurately known; until now there have been only old estimates. On the basis of research through 2005, the total number of people killed in the concentration camps of the IKL and the WVHA (including Jews murdered in Auschwitz and Majdanek) ranges from more than 1.8 million to more than 2 million.[64] The SS probably murdered many more prisoners, however. Only the number of registered deaths is known; beyond that, there are only estimates—and sometimes not even those.

The majority of the concentration camp victims died in the second half of the war. If one excludes the WVHA death camps and focuses solely on the concentration camps, then it must be emphasized that the majority were not murdered directly; they died because of the catastrophic conditions of their confinement. During the last weeks of the war, the death rate reached a terrible climax. At least a third of the more than 700,000 registered concentration camp prisoners in January 1945 died, perhaps even half, on the death marches or in the mass mortality camps; the percentage of Jewish prisoners among the dead was high.[65]

SOURCES Sources on the concentration camps are many and varied, but most of the works that touch on the subject do so only peripherally or focus on particular facilities. This bibliography will only address a few of the specific sources that are not already shown in the notes; readers should also examine the source sections within the entries that interest them.

Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* was still a work in progress as of this writing, but several volumes have been printed, and they represent some of the best new work in German on the subject. While Eugen Kogon's *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (New York, 1950) is dated, it is still a standard work on the subject. Hermann Kaienburg, *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945* (Opladen, 1996), provides valuable information on the links between the concentration camps and the German economy, while Michael Thad Allen approaches the subject differently, but with no less value, in *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002).

The recent release of the records of the ITS, while coming too late to contribute much to the creation of this volume, will nevertheless be extremely useful for future volumes in this encyclopedia.

Karin Orth
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The following contribution is based on Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999).

2. There was also to be a guard unit for the planned but never realized camp at Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel (Hansa). Martin Broszat, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945," in *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, ed. Hans Buchheim et al., 3rd ed. (Munich, 1982), 2: 62.

3. See Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn, 1996), pp. 168–170; Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 39) (Boppard, 1991), pp. 307–315.

4. For example, see "Zweck und Gliederung der Konzentrationslager" o.D. [prior to 1.9.1939], BA-K, NS 3/391, as well as "Aufgabengebiete in einem Konzentrationslager" o.D., ebd.

5. Occasionally, the sources, or literature, refer to other command staff departments such as "Weltanschauung Education," "Motorpool," or "Judges." However, they were not to be found in all concentration camps. If they did exist, it was most often one person combining more than one function (for example, the adjutant was often the judge; the administration commander was the motor pool commander); or because of the increasing duration of the war, they remained vacant, either temporarily or permanently.

6. See the extensive analysis by Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945*. Studien zu Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite, 2nd ed. (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 95–105, 112–123.

7. Wolfgang Ayass, *"Asoziale" im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 139–165; Karl-Leo Terhorst, *Polizeiliche planmässige Überwachung und polizeiliche Vorbeugungshaft im Dritten Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtsgeschichte vorbeugender Verbrechensbekämpfung* (Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Verfassungsrechts, Reihe A: Studien, 13) (Heidelberg, 1985), pp. 115–130.

8. For the National Socialists' anti-Jewish policies during this period, see the extensive analysis by Saul Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, vol. 1, *Die Jahre der Verfolgung 1933–1939* (Munich, 1998), pp. 291–328.

9. Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," 2: 77; Patrick Wagner, "'Vernichtung der Berufsverbrecher': Die vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung der Kriminalpolizei bis 1937," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), p. 98.

10. The numbers are from Hermann Kaienburg, "*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*": *Der Fall Neuengamme. Die Wirtschaftsbestrebungen der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn, 1990), p. 229n.9.

11. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–123.

12. Charles W. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction. The SS Death's*

Head Division 1933–1945, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990), p. 34. The Stärkemeldung (strength report) of SS-Totenkopfverbände according to the 1939 budget names 15,496 members; BA-K, NS 3/479, B. 111 f, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993), p. 338.

13. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–124.

14. Notdienstverordnung vom 15.10.1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1938, Teil I, p. 1441.

15. Hans Buchheim, "Die SS—das Herrschaftsinstrument," in Buchheim et al., *Anatomie*, vol. 1: 101–113; Wegner, *Soldaten*, p. 124.

16. For the history of the division, see Sydnor, *Soldiers*.

17. Karin Orth, *Die Konzentrationslager-SS. Sozialstrukturelle Analysen und biographische Studien* (Göttingen, 2000).

18. Glücks was named on November 18, 1939, but with effect from November 15, 1939. Ernennungsurkunde, BA-BL/BDC, Pa. Glücks, SSO. The head of the SS-Hauptamt, August Heissmeyer, was in command of the IKL during the transitional phase. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 83.

19. Buchheim, "SS," p. 205; Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," p. 83.

20. The term "Waffen-SS" began to be used in the winter of 1939–1940 and replaced the older terms used for armed SS units (i.e., "Verfügungstruppe" or "Totenkopfverbände"). Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 127–129.

21. Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Historische Perspektiven, 12) (Hamburg, 1978), pp. 81, 259n.73.

22. For more detail, see Orth, *System*, pp. 113–131.

23. Numbers from ibid., p. 116.

24. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 143; Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 12.

25. Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 17.7.1941, printed in Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg. Berichte und Dokumente 1941-1945* (Heidelberg, 1982), pp. 202–211; Einsatzbefehl Nr. 9 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 21.7.1941, printed in *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa." Eine Dokumentation* (Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, 1981), p. 322.

26. Number from Orth, *System*, p. 130.

27. On the following, see ibid., pp. 142–148.

28. Brief Himmler an Pohl vom 19.12.1941, BA-BL, NS 3/52. For a more extensive analysis on Stutthof, see Orth, *System*, pp. 69–76, 152–156.

29. Brief Pohl an Himmler vom 30.4.1942, Dienststelle des Generalinspekteurs in der Britischen Zone für die Spruchgerichte, ed., *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der Britischen Zone* (Hamburg, 1947), G.J. Nr. 110.

30. For more extensive details, see Ulrich Herbert, "Arbeit und Vernichtung. Ökonomisches Interesse und Primat der "Weltanschauung" im Nationalsozialismus," in *Europa und der "Reichseinsatz": Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945* (Essen, 1991), pp. 406–408.

31. Runderlass WVHA an die Lagerkommandanten vom 5.10.1942, Nürnberger Dokument PS-3677.

32. Numbers from Orth, *System*, p. 174.

33. Protokoll der Besprechung zwischen Thierack und Himmler vom 18.9.1942, *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der britischen Zone*, G.J. Nr. 104.

34. Numbers from: Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," p. 131.

35. Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 182.

36. Miroslav Kárný, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit': Sterblichkeit in den NS-Konzentrationslagern," in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* (Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits und Sozialpolitik, 5) (Berlin, 1987), pp. 133–158.

37. Prämien-Vorschrift Pohls vom 15.5.1943, Nürnberger Dokument NO-400.

38. Franciszek Piper, "Die Rolle des Lagers Auschwitz bei der Verwirklichung der nationalsozialistischen Ausrottungspolitik. Die doppelte Funktion von Auschwitz als Konzentrationslager und als Zentrum der Judenvernichtung," in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 392–394; as well as ders., *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz. Aufgrund der Quellen und der Erträge der Forschung 1945 bis 1990*, (Oświęcim, 1993), table D, pp. 144–145.

39. Czech, *Kalendarium*, pp. 241–243

40. For the calculation of the percentage, see Martin Broszat's explanations in *Rudolf Höss, Kommandant in Auschwitz, Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*, ed. ders., 13th ed. (Munich, 1992), p. 163n.1.

41. On the number of the victims and the debate about the numbers, see Piper, *Zahl*.

42. Tomasz Kranz, "Das KL Lublin—zwischen Planung und Realisierung," in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 381.

43. Kranz, "KL Lublin," p. 372.

44. Yisrael Gutman et al., eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Berlin, 1993), 3: 418; Kranz, "KL Lublin," p. 377; Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 3: 559.

45. Numbers from: Kranz, "KL Lublin," pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn. 72, 73.

46. Orth, *System*, pp. 213–221.

47. Stärkemeldung des WVHA 15.8.1944, Nürnberger Dokument NO-399; Liste der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Belegung vom 1. und 15.1.1945, BA-BL, Slg. Schumacher/329.

48. Andrzej Strzelecki, *Endphase des KL Auschwitz. Evakuierung, Liquidierung und Befreiung des Lagers*, German ed. (Oświęcim, 1995), pp. 89–92.

49. At the end of 1943, there were 186 subcamps; in June 1944, there were at least 341; and in January 1945, at least 662. The often-mentioned number of 1,000 or even 1,200 subcamps that are said to have existed at the turn of 1944–1945 is a cumulative number that does not take into account the closure of numerous camps at this time.

50. Ulrich Herbert, "Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten für die Verfolgten des NS-Regimes: Perspektiven, Kontroversen und internationale Vergleiche*, ed. Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Brandenburg (Berlin, 1992), p. 25.

51. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 243–255, as well as the literature that is referred to.

52. Vernehmung Pohl vom 25.8.1947, cited in Herbert, "Arbeit und Vernichtung," p. 413.

53. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 260–269.

54. Ibid., pp. 270–336.

55. Numbers from ibid., p. 286.

56. Numbers from ibid., p. 304.

57. For a detailed analysis, see Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen Belsen: Geschichte des "Aufenthaltslagers" 1943-1945* (Hannover, 1962), pp. 157–164. The text of the cease-fire agreement is printed on pp. 225–227.

58. For an extensive review of the existence and history of this order, see Stanislav Zámečnik, "'Kein Häftling darf lebend in die Hände des Feindes fallen': Zur Existenz des Himmler-Befehls vom 14./18. April 1945," *DaHe* 1 (1985): 219–231.

59. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 27) (Munich, 1995), pp. 937–939.

60. For the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 328–335.

61. Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 33) (Munich, 1991), p. 17; Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299.

62. Numbers from Benz, *Dimension*, p. 19; see also Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299; on Auschwitz-Birkenau, see Piper, *Zahl*, p. 202. For an extensive review on issues regarding problems with source material and the public perception of the number of dead in Western and Eastern Europe, see Piper, *Zahl*, pp. 54–100.

63. On Majdanek, see Kranz, "KL Lublin," pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn.72–73.

64. Numbers from Orth, *System*, pp. 345–347.

65. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 132 (a third); Yehuda Bauer," The Death Marches January–May 1945," in *The Nazi Holocaust. Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, ed. Michael R. Marrus (Westport, CT, 1989), 9: 492 (50 percent).

ARBEITSDORF



The light metal foundry erected by Arbeitsdorf prisoners, nd
STIFTUNG AUTOMUSEM VOLKSWAGEN

ARBEITSDORF MAIN CAMP

The *Arbeitsdorf* (labor village) camp was one of the very first concentration camps created in affiliation with the German armaments industry. It was located on the premises of the Volkswagen corporation's main factory in the Lower Saxon city of Wolfsburg, which, at that time, principally consisted of huts and barracks. The city carried the awkward name Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben, since the Volkswagen automobile was being marketed by, and was named after, the Nazi Party organization for mass leisure program Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy KdF). Arbeitsdorf was, technically, an independent camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), but it never became a fully operational main camp. From its creation on April 8, 1942, until its closure late that same year, it maintained close connections to—if not semidependency upon—the Neuengamme main camp in Hamburg, from which it received the majority of its prisoners, SS guards, and managerial personnel, including its camp commandants, Martin Weiss (initially) and Wilhelm Schitli (from September 1, 1942).

Following the frustration of Germany's attempt to achieve a rapid victory over the Soviet Union and the German declaration of war upon the United States, Nazi armaments, economic, and labor policies were submitted to major scrutiny. Early in 1942, Albert Speer was appointed minister of armaments after the deceased Fritz Todt, and Fritz Sauckel, as Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, was made responsible for relieving the Reich's serious manpower deficit by way of recruiting—by various degrees of force—foreign labor from the territories occupied by Germany. In this new situation, the SS expanded its activities into the armaments sector and, according to some scholars such as Hans Mommsen, aimed at building an outright economic empire. In postwar statements that were part of his Nuremberg Tribunal defense efforts, Speer—diminishing his responsibility for the Nazi forced and slave labor programs—vastly exaggerated the role and aggressiveness of the SS. Recent research does not support Speer's contention but instead stresses the reactive and defensive nature of the SS venture into armaments and the priority of Heinrich Himmler's civilian postwar goals. The SS began leasing slave laborers to German industry in order to keep control over the concentration camp system and to stock up capacities for its grand settlement drive in Eastern Europe. Ideas for expanding the SS economic activities had already surfaced in 1940, and plans of opening concentration camps for Jewish slave laborers were close to becoming a reality in early 1941 in the Stadt-des-KdF-Wagens and other major industrial sites but were wrecked by Hitler, who forbade all import of Jewish labor into the Old Reich. The initiatives were, however, primarily on the side of private and state-run enterprises and corresponded to no long-term economic planning or strategy on behalf of the SS.

The decision to establish a concentration camp at the Volkswagenwerk main factory was taken at a meeting that brought together Volkswagen chief executive Ferdinand Porsche, Reichsführer-SS Himmler, and Hitler on January 11, 1942. Porsche, the leading personality in the Volkswagen triumvirate, belonged to the Führer's inner circle and had staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on a number of occasions since the early days of his developing the "People's Car." Thus, at the Volkswagenwerk, special SS units performed the factory police duties. Porsche, an Oberführer of the Allgemeine (General) SS since early 1942, was always short of labor for the expansion of the company that he—in spite of its being owned by the Nazi labor organization Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)—treated as his own private property. It seems that Porsche, possessing inside information about the approaching change in labor policy, rushed to approach Himmler in order to gain privileged access to the new pool of manpower that was about to be opened: the concentration camp inmates. The company wished to resume the construction of a light alloy foundry that had been halted in the summer of 1940 because it lacked military relevance. To Himmler, Porsche's initiative provided an opportunity to test a model for SS cooperation with industry.

The order (*Führerweisung*) he arranged for Hitler to issue did, however, go too far, as it provided for the foundry to be constructed and run by concentration camp prisoners (*Häftlinge*) under SS responsibility. Thus, Arbeitsdorf would gain permanency, and the SS would take control of a major armaments enterprise with an expanding production of motor vehicles, airplane parts, and small arms. The Arbeitsdorf camp would have been the first concentration camp to be opened at an existing industrial facility outside the concentration camps, but its establishment was delayed by a typhus epidemic in Neuengamme, which caused the main camp to be placed under quarantine and took a heavy toll among the prisoners who had been selected for Arbeitsdorf. Only after the quarantine was lifted on March 31 could the prisoners and replacements leave for Fallersleben. By this time, negotiations had proceeded between Volkswagen, the WVHA, and Speer's Ministry of Armaments, which was not keen on the SS/Volkswagen cooperation. A narrower commission was agreed upon: the SS would provide the manpower for completing the construction of the foundry, but the purpose of the facility would be reviewed once again by military authorities in the meantime. By September 1942, Speer had strengthened his foothold in the Nazi regime so much that he could make the Führer concede in halting anew the Volkswagen foundry project, once again because of its alleged lack of military relevance. The construction of the huge melting and foundry complex, supervised by the leader of the SS department for engineering, SS-Oberführer Hans

Kammler, and company engineers, was completed on time by mid-September, but the plan for equipping it was shelved until further notice. The majority of the prisoners were transferred to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by early October, with only a small labor detachment remaining to clear and clean the site. By late 1942, the Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was closed, and the remaining prisoners and SS were transferred to other camps.

After inspection of the building site and future camp location on January 30, 1942, Kammler—whose hope of including the camp in a new system of SS-Baubrigaden (construction brigades) under his command was frustrated—estimated the number of prisoners needed at 800, but the fact that more than 150 SS-Totenkopf guards seem to have been assigned to the camp by mid-April indicates that the envisioned prisoner strength would be 1,500 or more. The number of prisoners probably never exceeded 500, but quantitative information on this camp is scarce, and witness testimony extremely contradictory. A first transport of 100 to 150 prisoners arrived from Neuengamme on April 8, 1942, followed by a larger transport from Sachsenhausen. The prisoners had been trained in construction work on the SS brickyard building sites of these camps. Many nationalities were represented, including a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The proportion of German political prisoners who would be available as Kapos and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*) was rather high, just in case the prisoner population was enlarged. Among the political prisoners were a small number of Jews. Information found in some literature indicating that a large number of Arbeitsdorf prisoners were Sinti and Roma ("Gypsies") is not confirmed.

Arbeitsdorf did not resemble the typical main camp, nor the decentralized subcamps that grew so numerous during the later years of the war. Its prisoners were accommodated in a row of concrete air-raid shelters on the lower level of the unfinished foundry building. Seven standard huts were raised to accommodate the SS guards and offices as well as offices of the civilian companies involved in the construction project; a small number of skilled and "prominent" inmates were also placed in these huts and allowed the "privilege" of access to daylight and fresh air. The security was atypical, as there were no watch towers or barbed-wire fences; the area was surrounded by a chain link fence typical for building sites but guarded by a string of SS guards armed with submachine guns and patrolled by SS dog patrols. Since the concentration camp area was identical with the building site, and was located inside the larger factory compound, a prisoner who attempted to flee from the camp would have to escape the SS factory police who frequently patrolled the outer compound and cross the barbed-wire fence surrounding it. No prisoner is actually known to have attempted to escape.

Slave labor was the sole purpose of the Arbeitsdorf camp. The work involved heavy construction: the laying of concrete floors and roofs, masonry, plumbing, glazing, and so on. A large number of the prisoners were assigned to pushing trolleys with liquid concrete from a centralized cement mixing station; others functioned as *Träger*, carriers of iron profiles and other heavy materials. Work was conducted under the surveillance of the SS and civilian construction management that represented the German private companies Wiemer und Trachte (Berlin, main contractor), Philip Holzmann (Hannover), Christian Salzmann (Leipzig), and Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugewerbe/Bauinnung Osnabrück. Civilian foremen and technicians from these companies were in command of the various groups of prisoners and provided them with instruction, but there were normally no civilian workers at the building site, so it can be considered a model concentration camp enterprise (*KZ-Betrieb*) and obviously was viewed as such by leading SS personalities such as Oswald Pohl.

In the interest of the swift and orderly completion of the project, prisoners' provisions were substantially better than in most concentration camps. Three daily meals were served: breakfast consisted of bread, marmalade, cottage cheese, and ersatz coffee; the noon meal was distributed at the work site and consisted of good and plentiful hot stews, low in fat but rich in protein; and bread, cheese, and cold meat or a hot meal of surplus food from the Volkswagen factory lunch rooms were served in the air-raid shelters after work. Food distribution was, however, neither even nor just, for extra rations were used as awards primarily to the privileged prisoners who performed Kapo and Vorarbeiter jobs or who operated valuable machinery. The majority of the carriers and other prisoners with heavy duties were rarely given extra rations. All testimony underlines, however, the high quality of the food that was delivered by the Volkswagenwerk factory kitchen and the model hygienic conditions. Prisoners who were weak and skinny after the Neuengamme typhus epidemic were even able to regain weight and strength in spite of performing hard work at the building site. For the same reason, morbidity was low, and the medical orderlies who were in charge of the small infirmary (*Revier*), under the surveillance of camp doctor SS-Obersturmbannführer Vetter, mostly were occupied with treating victims of the work accidents that frequently occurred. No deaths were registered at Arbeitsdorf, but survivors' testimonies indicate that some prisoners were transferred to other main camps in order to receive punishment or because they were too weak to go on working.

Clearly, Volkswagen and the subcontracting companies had a common interest in facilitating the project by providing tolerable living and working conditions for the inmates, while the SS wanted this camp to give private companies a taste of exploiting concentration camp slave labor, so that they would enter into similar arrangements in the future. This explains why the prisoners were given new prison uniforms, including underwear, and used leather shoes, instead of wooden clogs, and why clean clothing was handed out twice a week. Considering the large number of inspection visits by SS, political, and business leaders, the inmates had to present themselves as efficient workers; cleanliness clearly constituted an important part of this image.

Even if the productive exploitation of the prisoners was now the centerpiece in Arbeitsdorf and future "industrial"

concentration camps, the established, notorious SS regime of terror, which envisioned work as a form of punishment aiming at breaking the opponents of the Nazi Party, was only slightly modified. Arbeitsdorf prisoners worked from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. with a 30-minute meal break as their only rest period, and they had to perform their work at a speedy pace; there was no walking, only "Running, always running" ("Laufschritt, immer Laufschritt").[1] Civilian foremen, Kapos, and SS overseers would incite them with a flow of curses and insults. There was, however, little beating and brutality on the work site, and according to survivors' testimony, the prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*)—mostly political prisoners with a labor movement background—generally administered their difficult task with decency, avoiding excess violence and encouraging prisoner solidarity and mutual help. The Porsche hagiography, however, ascribes the low level of violence to an intervention by the leading executive, forbidding public punishments on the work site, but the evidence—recollections of an SS physician who was facing a war crimes sentence—is doubtful. Instead of immediate punishment, the SS men who were in charge of the individual work details reported prisoners whom they suspected of sabotage or slowing down work, as well as anyone they disliked for some reason, to be punished after the end of the working day. One air-raid shelter was fitted with a flogging bench (*Prügelbock*) and various other instruments of torture—as well as with a miniscule prisoners' canteen (*Häftlingskantine*) where prisoners who were allowed to receive money from family outside the camp, or who were awarded bonus vouchers, could buy conserves from a vegetable farm on the Volkswagenwerk premises. For reasons of discretion, punishments were carried out in this air-raid shelter, not in front of civilian personnel and passersby. Apart from floggings, the hideous torture of binding a prisoner's arms behind him and hanging him by his wrists from the ceiling (*Pfahlhängen*) was used to enforce discipline and work eagerness. From what company personnel could see, the camp presented the impression of a quasi-militarily organized work site, where the prisoners (allegedly criminals and Jews) had to work hard but where just treatment would prevail. This was also the picture presented to them in a briefing by camp commandant Weiss on the day the first prisoners arrived.

Unseen by anyone, prisoners spent their off-duty hours in the air-raid shelters, which were rarely inspected by the SS. The low, narrow bunkers were crowded and lacked proper ventilation. Furniture was restricted to two-tier bunk beds with straw mattresses, plank tables, and benches, but at least the prisoners were left largely to themselves. They could visit other bunkers, discuss or engage in barter and black marketeering, even listen to Nazi radio since the so-called People's Radios (*Volksempfänger*) that were part of the original air-raid shelter equipment had not been disconnected. Sleeping was the preferred activity, however, as the work was extremely exhausting. Extra work occurred on Sundays because building materials arriving by rail had to be speedily unloaded that same day. This assignment was voluntary and was rewarded with extra rations, but prisoners who did not volunteer frequently and willingly enough were punished corporally or by being deprived of a meal or an entire day's rations.

The SS's interest in developing Arbeitsdorf into a model for the exploitation of concentration camp labor in industrial enterprises was reflected in the choice of the Neuengamme camp commandant to command Arbeitsdorf simultaneously. SS-Hauptsturmführer Martin Gottfried Weiss had a long career at Dachau behind him, ending as adjutant before he was appointed the first camp commandant of Neuengamme in 1940, when this camp gained the status of a main camp. Weiss was an electronics engineer by profession and combined a strong devotion to Nazi ideology with a "technocratic" approach to prisoner treatment. This balance allowed economic goals to exist alongside the more purely destructive practices that had dominated within the camp system. Weiss spoke the language of business decision-makers at the same time as being popular among the SS rank and file. He did not perform acts of cruelty himself but instigated his men to maintain the system of terror, thus consciously using terror, together with minor improvements and petty material incentives, to "motivate" prisoners. As reward for demonstrating that concentration camp labor could be productive, he was promoted to camp commandant of Dachau on September 1, 1942. SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Schitli, who had been Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme and Weiss's second in command in Arbeitsdorf, succeeded him as the second and last commandant of the camp.

The Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was a main camp and was probably intended to be expanded well above the level attained; however, it never did obtain the full structure of a main camp during its short existence. Its main historical significance is that it tested a new form of SS cooperation with German industry—which proved successful. Even if the organizational model of Arbeitsdorf remained unique, it provided the SS with experience in dealing with slave labor in a modern profit-oriented production process and thus paved the way for the subcamp system that was to expand vastly during the last two years of World War II. The tolerable prisoners' conditions as compared to other concentration camps must be ascribed to its intended function as a "model camp," meant to impress industrial decision-makers, as well as to the acts of solidarity by its prisoner "self-administration."

SOURCES The Arbeitsdorf camp is referred to in numerous works on the Nazi concentration camp system and on automotive history. This essay is based primarily on the author's research for the book by Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), pp. 766–799; see the detailed source references in this work. See also Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 34 (1993): 89–136; Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Jan-Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS* (Paderborn, 2001), p. 211; Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentra-*

tionslager (Düsseldorf, 1999), p. 169; and Michael Thad Allen; *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, 2002), pp. 167, 207. Preliminary data on Arbeitsdorf may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

Key documents about the Arbeitsdorf camp have been published by the city archivist of Wolfsburg, Germany: Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), pp. 56, 152. The ASt-WOB and VWA hold original documents and copies from AG-NG, NHStA-H, BA-B, BA-K, ZdL (now BA-L), and other archives. This material includes survivors' and eyewitness records. Some Arbeitsdorf SS functionaries faced postwar trials for atrocities committed in other camps, such as camp commandant Martin Weiss in the Dachau main trial (available at NARA), but only scanty information can be gained from these trial records about the Arbeitsdorf camp.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Arbeitsdorf survivor Willi Leeuwarden in an interview with Therkel Straede, Munich, September 22, 1989.

AUSCHWITZ



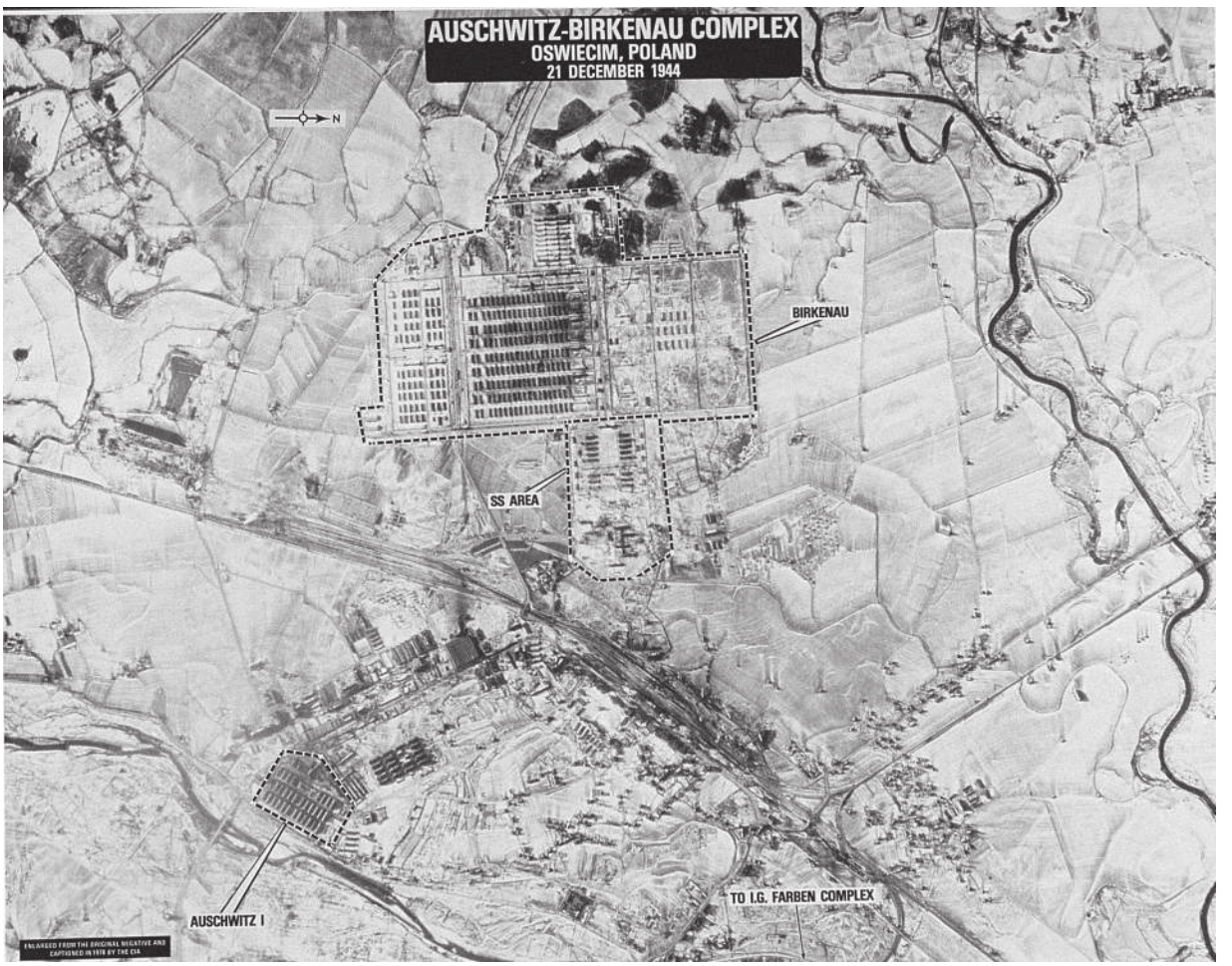
Postwar photograph of the Auschwitz I camp gate, with the sign, "Arbeit Macht Frei" (Work Will Make You Free).
USHMM WS #00001, COURTESY OF IPN

AUSCHWITZ I MAIN CAMP

The Auschwitz complex of SS concentration camps was the largest and most lethal that the Germans built. In less than five years, the SS and their auxiliaries killed nearly 1.3 million people in the Auschwitz camps. Over 90 percent of the victims were European Jews, and for many people, Auschwitz remains synonymous with the Holocaust itself. The Auschwitz main camp, also known as Auschwitz I, located outside the small Polish city of Oświęcim, was the center of the Auschwitz system.

The camp came into being because of the efforts of Heinrich Himmler's plenipotentiary in Breslau (later Wrocław), the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Silesia, SS-Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, together with his deputy, the inspector of the Security Police (Sipo) and the Security Service (SD) in Breslau, SS-Brigadeführer Arpad Wigand. By December 1939, these two SS leaders wanted to establish a concentration camp for Polish resisters and criminals in Silesia, since the jails in the region were already overcrowded. Eventually they succeeded in persuading Himmler to establish a camp; Himmler issued the order on April 27, 1940, and on May 4, he named SS-Haupsturmführer Rudolf Höss camp commandant. The camp's initial capacity was to be at least 10,000 inmates.[1]

The first prisoners—300 local Polish Jews—arrived shortly thereafter to begin work on the site. By early June, the original fence was complete, and Höss had approved arrangements with the Erfurt firm of J.A. Topf & Sons to build and install the first crematorium. By midsummer, renovation was also



Aerial photograph of the Auschwitz complex, from December 21, 1944. The Allied aerial reconnaissance mission photograph was enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top is Auschwitz II-Birkenau, to the lower left is Auschwitz I, and to the lower right is the IG Farben chemical complex.
USHMM WS # 91529, COURTESY OF NARA



Post-liberation photograph of the Block 11 execution wall at Auschwitz I.
USHMM WS #14843, COURTESY OF NARA

completed on the building designated Block 11, which housed large holding cells, offices, and interrogation rooms for the Auschwitz camp Political Section and the regional Gestapo, as well as a basement complex serving as a punishment block of torture rooms, darkened cells, and tiny standing cubicles, where prisoners would be crammed in and left to starve. On June 14, 1940, Auschwitz received the first transport of 728 Polish political prisoners. More than 7,800 prisoners were registered in Auschwitz by the end of the year.[2]

During the camp's first months in operation, Höss received only meager assistance from the SS and virtually no support from other government or military agencies or private companies. The situation changed dramatically, however, when Auschwitz attracted Himmler's attention for its economic and ideological potential. Within a year, plans for the facility were expanded to incorporate construction, industrial production, agriculture—and mass killing.

Meanwhile, the camp's role in terrorizing the inmates remained. Prisoner transports arrived regularly, and by the spring of 1941, Höss had established a firm collaboration with the regional SS and police in carrying out the growing number of killings in Block 11. There, SS camp personnel shot uncounted numbers of Polish hostages and Gestapo detainees, prisoners they never registered or noted in Auschwitz records, after perfunctory trials by Gestapo courts that sat at least monthly in Block 11.

Auschwitz grew steadily. In March 1941, in connection with the recently agreed establishment of the IG Farben project at the neighboring hamlet of Dwory and the preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Himmler ordered Höss to increase the inmate capacity to 30,000. By that spring, the Germans had already registered 15,000 prisoners, and 3,000 had died. All told, between May 1940 and January 1945, approximately 405,000 men, women, and children from every country in Europe and from many lands overseas arrived at Auschwitz I for registration, tattooing (after August 1942), and assignment to one of the other camps in the complex. Of those 405,000, approximately 200,000 perished. The 49 percent mortality rate for registered inmates was much higher than that of the SS concentration camps at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald and higher even than the death rate at Mauthausen, which by SS classification standards was a harsher concentration camp than either the Auschwitz main camp or Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[3]

Within the diverse inmate population, different groups occupied different roles and places in the camp hierarchy. Originally, German violent and professional criminals ("greens," in the SS color designation for inmate categories) held the most trusted positions as prisoner-functionaries in Auschwitz: camp elder (*Lagerältester*), block elder (*Blockältester*), room leaders (*Stubendienste*), work overseers (Kapos), and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*). The SS counted on them, as violent criminals, to physically mistreat the inmates under their authority. During 1941, however, Polish political prisoners gradually replaced the German greens as the most numerous inmate functionaries. Until early 1941, the heaviest influx of prisoners into Auschwitz consisted of Poles, followed by German, Austrian, and Western European transfers from other SS concentration camps. These inmates were enemies of the state by Nazi definition—politicals, "asocials," Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and Protestant and Catholic clergymen. Between July and December 1941, approximately 10,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to Auschwitz, and by May 1942, most of these soldiers had been murdered or had died of starvation, disease, and exhaustion. About one-half of all the inmates registered in Auschwitz each year were Jews. The remaining non-Jews were overwhelmingly Poles.

Jews from all over Europe began arriving in Auschwitz on deportation trains in the spring of 1942. Only a fraction of these people survived the on-arrival selections. By mid-1943, all registered Jewish inmates had been moved from the Auschwitz main camp to the Birkenau main camp. Small numbers of "Gypsies" were registered in the Auschwitz main camp in 1942 and then deported en masse to a special compound in Birkenau until their murder in August 1944. "Gypsies," Soviet POWs, and Jews were considered the lowest-ranking inmates. They were the most frequent



Mug shot of Jerzy Gumiński (26596), born March 20, 1923, shot to death at Auschwitz August 14, 1942. Note the triangle on the left breast with "P" for Pole.
USHMM WS # 02708, COURTESY OF APMO



"Roll Call," by Auschwitz prisoner Wincenty Gawron, 1942
USHMM WS # 27942, COURTESY OF APMO

objects of SS and prisoner-functionary abuse and were routinely selected for systematic killing.

In practice, all inmates at Auschwitz had to work. Forced labor was essential to the SS culture of inmate persecution as well as to economic priorities. Inmates worked within the Auschwitz camps in administrative, service, and clerical jobs and in skilled trades and crafts. Outside, they worked on roads, farms, swamps, fish hatcheries, factories, mines, chemical plants, armaments works, utilities, and other industrial concerns. Between June 1940 and January 1945, the SS and the Nazi state cleared in net profit more than 60 million Reichsmark (RM) from the exploitation of Auschwitz inmates.[4] The inmates received no payment of any kind; the SS, the German state, private industries, and individuals used them as slaves.

In 1943, the number of Auschwitz subcamps near regional industrial and chemical plants multiplied rapidly, and by mid-1944 the Auschwitz main camp served as the SS command and administrative center for a network of more than 30 smaller outside subcamps. The number of private or non-SS concerns using inmate forced labor grew to include IG Farben's coal mining works at Fürstengrube, Janinagrube, and Günthergrube; Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG's electrical components plant; the Reich Railway Rolling Stock Repair Yard; the Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works); the Trzebinia oil refinery and reprocessing plant; as well as approximately 150 smaller German firms that subcontracted with the SS for slave laborers in smaller ventures such as textile mills, shoe factories, and retail businesses.

Thousands of men and women perished at slave labor from hunger, dehydration, exposure, disease, and exhaustion. Others were beaten to death by Kapos, killed or maimed in accidents and bombing raids, or shot by SS guards for sport or for minor infractions or while trying to escape. Still others were torn to pieces by SS guard dogs or, at the end of their strength, pulled from ranks by SS doctors and sent back to the Auschwitz main camp or Birkenau to be killed by toxic injection or gas. The endless stream of new arrivals constantly replenished the supply of victims, and the relentless selections and gassing of exhausted, broken, and enfeebled inmates completed the self-renewing process of exploitation and extermination.

The gas chambers in Auschwitz give the camp its distinctively horrible character in most people's minds. In addition to registered prisoners, the Germans gassed approximately 1.1 million Jews and others (some "Gypsies," physically and/or mentally disabled, and transfers from other concentration camps) who never appeared in the camp's records. Most of these killings took place in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From early 1942 on, the only Jews who survived arrival and selection to be registered in Auschwitz were those who could work. Gassing in Auschwitz claimed more than 90 percent of the Jewish victims who perished there. Thus, the development of gassing techniques—in an unauthorized experiment—was one of the most important events in the camp's history. At the end of August 1941, while Höss was away on business, his deputy, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritzsch, sealed the basement of Block 11 and gassed to death several hundred Soviet POWs with a powerful commercial-grade prussic acid gas, then commonly known as Zyklon B and used in the camps for delousing inmate clothing. When Höss returned to Auschwitz, Fritsch repeated the procedure for him several days later, using more Soviet POWs.[5] Höss and Fritsch grasped the possibilities and modified the original crematorium in the Auschwitz main camp into the first permanent gas chamber. Later the gassing operations moved to Birkenau.

The task of guarding the Auschwitz main camp, as well as Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz, and all the subcamps, was the responsibility of the SS-Death's Head Guard Battalion (Totenkopfsturmbann) for Auschwitz. This unit grew along with the camp, from 500 guards in late 1940 to 2,000 in July 1942 and over 4,500 in January 1945. It started with a mix of older men from the police, SS reservists, and transfers from the SS guard units in other concentration camps, from the Allgemeine (General) SS, and from Waffen-SS reserve and replacement formations. Later, it received increasing numbers of wounded or older Waffen-SS men from the Russian front. In March 1942, the first SS women guard auxiliaries (Aufseherinnen) arrived to guard the women's compound that had opened in the Auschwitz main camp. Beginning in early 1943, large numbers of young ethnic German SS recruits from Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, and Latvia began to arrive. Many of these younger SS guards were subsequently called into front-line service with the Waffen-SS, most especially with the SS-Panzer Division "Viking" and the SS-Mountain Division "Nord." And finally, in June 1944, Höss brought in 500 Wehrmacht veterans, gave them SS uniforms, and used them as additional manpower during the extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

Survival in Auschwitz involved obtaining extra food and avoiding physical abuse by the guards and functionaries. This was done by "organizing," which meant stealing or smuggling valuables that could be bartered for food or privileges. Organizing brought physical advantages and also raised an inmate's

stature by proving he had the ability or the connections that could help others survive. The scope and scale of organizing in Auschwitz was so vast as to be unique among all the wartime SS concentration camps, mainly because the luggage and personal effects of gassed Jewish victims provided the inmates with unequaled access to valuables: food and spirits, currency, jewelry, watches and clocks, precious stones, art, medicine, medical supplies and instruments, tools, and hundreds of other items of practical value for survival. Organizing in Auschwitz improved the odds of surviving for thousands. It also strengthened the inmate resistance movement by fostering an underground economy, by providing material support for successful escapes, and by facilitating contacts with the Polish underground outside Auschwitz. Equally important, organizing saved lives and eased suffering by completely corrupting and compromising the SS guard companies and the security at Auschwitz. The scale of bribery involving the SS guards was so great by 1944 that the inmate resistance even procured and smuggled high explosives into Birkenau. The Jewish Sonderkommando used the dynamite in early October 1944 to try to blow up the crematoria and halt the gassings. (The attempt failed, and the SS killed all the inmates involved.)[6]

There were several successful escapes from Auschwitz—dozens, in fact, beginning in June 1940 and continuing to December 1944. The most famous escape was on April 7, 1944, when two Slovak Jews in the Canada Kommando, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzlar, fled successfully and traveled to Slovakia to inform the Allies about Auschwitz and warn the Hungarian Jews of the SS plans for their extermination. Their report eventually reached President Franklin Roosevelt via the Slovakian underground and through Switzerland.

Approximately 7,000 SS personnel who served at Auschwitz between June 14, 1940, and January 18, 1945, survived the war. Less than 10 percent of those, only about 630, were apprehended and tried after 1945 for their participation in persecution and mass murder. Most of the trials of Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Poland immediately after the war and in West Germany between 1963 and 1976. There were no Auschwitz SS defendants at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, although Rudolf Höss testified as a witness in the Ernst Kaltenbrunner phase before the International Military Tribunal. The Allies then extradited Höss to Warsaw to face the Polish Supreme National Tribunal, which came into being in January 1946 to try the most important Nazi and SS criminals who committed crimes in Poland. The Tribunal tried Höss between March 11 and 29, 1947, sentenced him to death, and had him hanged in the Auschwitz main camp on April 16, 1947. Sitting in Kraków from November 26 to December 16, 1947, the Supreme National Tribunal then tried 40 members of the Auschwitz SS, including Höss's successor as Auschwitz commandant, Artur Liebehenschel. Liebehenschel and six others were sentenced to death and hanged, six received life sentences, and another seven drew 15-year sentences. In all their postwar Auschwitz trials, the Poles indicted 602 SS men and women from Auschwitz, tried 590, convicted 584, and sentenced 97 percent of those to prison terms ranging from 6 months to 15 years.

West German courts began investigating crimes committed by Auschwitz SS personnel in 1950. Over the next 30 years, they convened four separate legal proceedings in Frankfurt am Main against a score of Auschwitz SS defendants. The most notable Frankfurt trial took place between December 1963 and August 1965, when 22 former SS defendants were tried, with 17 of them convicted and sentenced to prison—6 to life and 11 to terms ranging from 3 to 20 years. The Auschwitz trials lasting from 1966 to 1968 brought charges against 5 defendants and resulted in 4 convictions. The last Frankfurt trial of Auschwitz SS figures lasted from December 1973 to February 1976 and involved 2 defendants. German prosecutors ultimately dropped both cases because of health and age problems affecting both the defendants and the witnesses. Richard Baer, the last commandant of Auschwitz (May 1944–January 1945), was arrested in 1960 and died in detention in 1963.

The East Germans tried only one senior SS officer from Auschwitz. In 1966, the former SS camp doctor Horst Fischer was tried, convicted, and executed for the selection and gassing of inmates at Auschwitz. In postwar Austria, there were only two trials of Auschwitz SS, both of which ended in acquittals. The Czechs brought three cases against former SS personnel, all of whom they convicted, sentenced to death, and hanged. There was also a British Military Tribunal proceeding in 1945 against the SS administration at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, at which the main SS defendant was Josef Kramer. Kramer had served at Auschwitz in 1940 as adjutant and deputy commandant and then again in 1944 as commandant in Birkenau. The British tried, convicted, and executed him.

SOURCES In the historical literature in English on Auschwitz, there are a number of excellent studies that include bibliographies, extensive reference material, and suggestions for further reading, as well as citations to documents and archival sources on the Auschwitz main camp. These books include Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1996); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, trans. Peter Moss (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the David Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (New York: ECCO, 2005); the massive, copiously annotated and documented work by Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1995), published for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs*, compiled originally and edited by Teresa Świebocka, English edition by Jonathan Webber and Connie Wilsack (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981); and the English translation of the five-volume history of Auschwitz by Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek

Piper, *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camps*, trans. William Brand (Auschwitz: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, in cooperation with the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2000). The standard work on slave labor and industry at Auschwitz is Peter F. Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: I.G. Farben in the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Important also is the older but still substantial work by Josef Buszko, *Auschwitz: Nazi Extermination Camp*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985). The classic history of the Holocaust, containing a wealth of information about the Auschwitz camps, remains the magisterial study by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Searching through the memoir literature, primary sources, and archives essential to a broader understanding and deeper knowledge of the experiences of both the victims and the perpetrators at Auschwitz, the reader should consult, especially, Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992). This is the most recently edited and revised edition of the extraordinary Höss memoir-autobiography to appear. Among the dozens of published memoirs by inmates, three in particular merit notation. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the account by the most famous escapee of Auschwitz. Primo Levi's *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988) is the last personal reflection left by the most poetic and tragic Auschwitz survivor. And Hermann Langbein's *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, published in association with USHMM, 2004) is the recently translated classic by a key figure in the Auschwitz inmate resistance. On the Sonderkommando, an important memoir is Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979). An important compilation of early testimonies by Polish prisoners at Auschwitz is Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski, *We Were in Auschwitz/6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki; 57817 Krystyn Olszewski; and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski*, trans. Alicia Nitecki (1946; repr., New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000).

The most important archives for the history of Auschwitz are in Poland and Russia. They are the APMO, on the site of the former Auschwitz main camp, which houses the most extensive and complete collection of documents, records, and Auschwitz artifacts in the world. The archive may also be previewed on the World Wide Web at www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. In addition, and in Warsaw, the IPN houses the postwar trial records of the Supreme National Tribunal and extensive collections of wartime SS documents from Auschwitz. In Moscow, RGVA contains extremely important SS records relating to the construction and expansion of Auschwitz and a mass of individual SS personnel and employee files and Auschwitz prisoner records. Some of these records are available in microfilm at USHMMA in RG 11.001 M.03, Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz collection. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). Those interested in further study of the archival records, memoir literature, and rapidly expanding field of scholarly and general books about Auschwitz should consult the recent extensive bibliography in Długoborski and Piper, *Auschwitz 1940-1945*, 5:235–284.

Charles Sydnor

NOTES

1. The original SS command group assigned to Auschwitz is listed in "Führerstellenbesetzungsplan für den Stab des Inspekteurs der Konzentrationslager mit den Konzentrationslagern," effective June 1, 1940, BA-B, NS 3/438, as cited in Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton, eds., *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 20, *Bundesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany, Koblenz and Freiburg* (New York, 1992), Doc. No. 192, p. 497.

2. Regulations for SS guards and prisoners at Auschwitz, as at all other concentration camps, were the same as those originally drafted at Dachau in October 1933 by the then Dachau commandant Theodor Eicke. NARA, RG 238, 778-PS and 1216-PS. The first of these is reprinted in *TMWC*, 26: 291–297. See Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer*: *The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 91–105, 243–250: Höss's account of his SS guard service before Auschwitz and his biographical profile of Theodor Eicke. See Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H.Holt, 1995), entry for Thursday, June 14, 1940.

3. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 124–164. NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Doc. 1063-A, "Einstüfung der Konzentrationslager," a general order issued by Reinhard Heydrich on January 2, 1941. Ten months before construction of Birkenau began, the SS classified the Auschwitz main camp as a less severe concentration camp than Auschwitz II—which is mentioned for the first time in this document from early 1941.

4. NARA, RG 238, NO-1290, "Arbeitseinsatz der KL Häftlinge," an order by Oswald Pohl as Chief of the SS-WVHA to all camp commandants, dated January 22, 1943, prescribing season work hours for inmates in all the camps.

5. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the memoir of one escapee. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 155–157, is the recollection Rudolf Höss recorded.

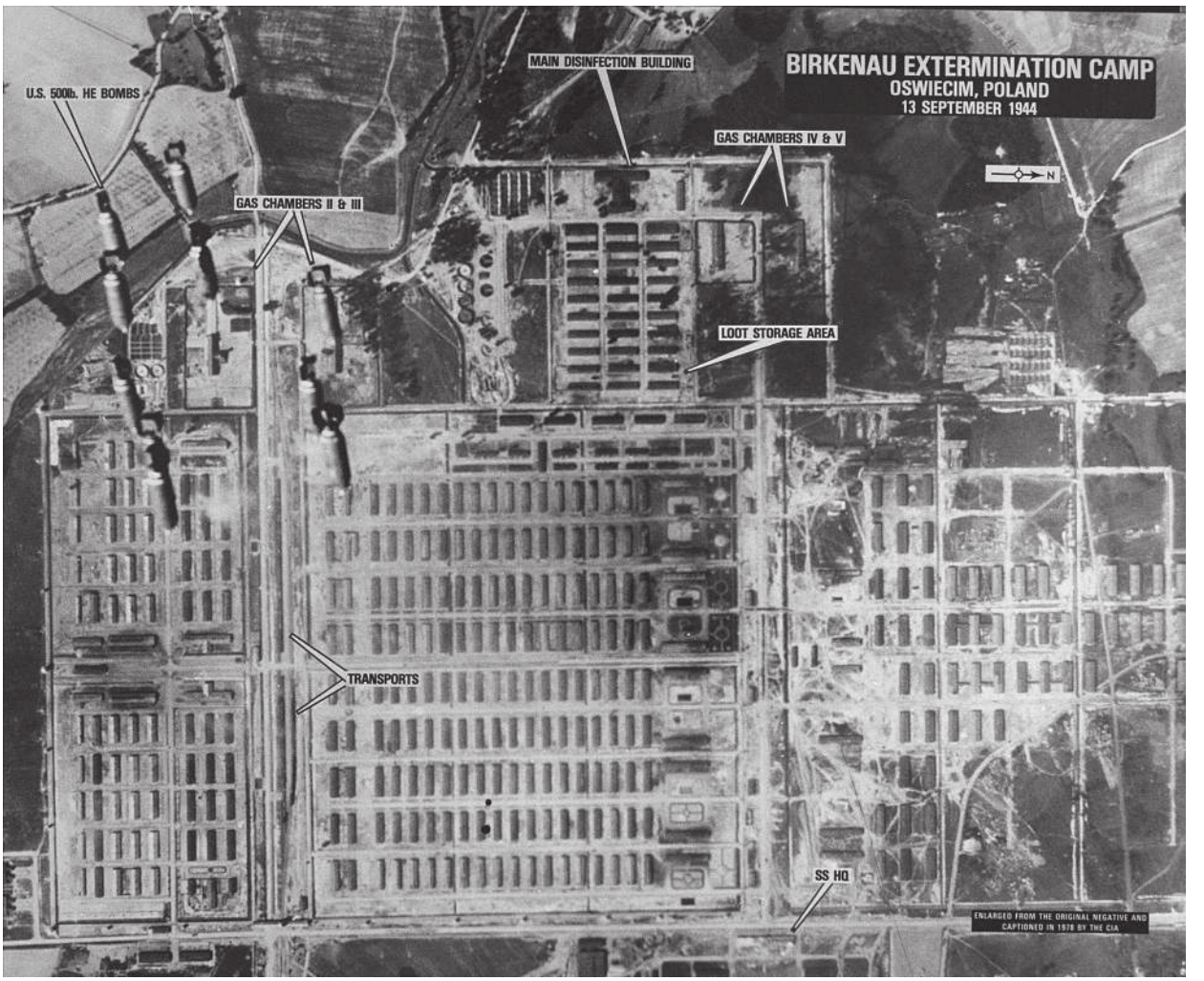
6. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 38–42. See Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979): the personal account of an eyewitness and one of only a few survivors of the crematoria corpse-burning detail.

AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU MAIN CAMP

The Birkenau camp (designated Auschwitz II between November 22, 1943, and November 25, 1944) was the largest of the approximately 40 camps and subcamps included in the Auschwitz complex. It was unique in that it combined the function of a killing center, like Treblinka or Bełzec, with the aim of contributing directly to the "Final Solution" through the use of gas chambers, with that of a concentration camp. In the last part of its existence it also became a source of manpower for industrial plants deep within the Reich.

The majority of the victims of the Auschwitz complex, presumably about 90 percent, perished at Birkenau—an approximate total of 1 million people, the decided majority of whom (over 90 percent) were Jews. In addition, a significant portion of the roughly 70,000 Poles who died or were killed in the Auschwitz complex perished at Birkenau, as well as about 20,000 Gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and thousands of prisoners of other nationalities.[1]

The idea of establishing a camp in Brzezinka (Birkenau), a village located near the original Auschwitz concentration camp, first came up on March 1, 1941, during Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's first inspection of Auschwitz, when he



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, from a September 13, 1944, Fifteenth Army Air Forces mission against IG Auschwitz enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top left is a cluster of nine bombs appearing to fall on the camp but actually falling on the IG Farben complex to the east. From left to right are sectors BI, BII, and the unfinished BIII. At the top are the killing centers and the loot storage complex called "Kanada."
USHMM WS #03198, COURTESY OF NARA

issued a series of orders for the camp's enlargement and for prisoner deployment, including a "camp for one hundred thousand prisoners of war." Himmler subsequently chose the village of Brzezinka, which the German occupation forces renamed Birkenau (The Birch Woods), as the site for the POW camp.[2]

The camp's first designs and plans originated at the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (HHB), which in February 1942 became part of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). These plans initially provided for a camp with a capacity of 125,000 people, but in October 1941, during preliminary construction, the Germans increased the capacity to 200,000. According to those plans, the camp would eventually consist of four sections, called building sectors (*Bauabschnitte*), numbered BI to BIV: the first sector was to hold 20,000 people, while the other three would hold 60,000 people each. The entire camp was to occupy 175 hectares (432 acres).[3]

The prisoners performed most of the camp construction. In October 1941, the Germans deployed 10,000 Soviet POWs from the Neuhammer am Quais (later Świętoszów) POW camp and probably from Lamsdorf (later Łambinowice) for this purpose. Temporarily placed in nine assigned and separately fenced barracks of the Auschwitz camp, they were brought daily to the village of Brzezinka, where construction began on sector BI.[4] Construction continued right up to 1944, using successive drafts of prisoners, and only stopped because of the approach of the Soviet armies, by which time the Germans had progressed as far as section BIII (called "Mexico" by the prisoners). In total, over an area of about 140 hectares (346 acres), the Germans erected about 300 barracks and residential, administrative, and utility buildings, 13 kilometers (8 miles) of drainage ditches, 16 kilometers (10 miles) of barbed-wire fencing, a dozen or so kilometers (7 or more miles) of roads, and—between early 1942 and June 1943—four gas chamber/crematory complexes in their own compound. Adjacent to the killing complex were warehouses that collected the loot amassed from the killing centers' victims. Called "Kanada," because the prisoners imagined Canada as a land of great wealth, the warehouse contents stimulated SS corruption and furnished barter goods for "organizing" by some prisoners.

From March 1, 1942, to November 22, 1943, Birkenau was under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss, along with the rest of the Auschwitz complex. As a result of the reorganization and division of the Auschwitz complex into three separate camps at Himmler's orders in November 1943, Birkenau was renamed Auschwitz II and placed under SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Hartjenstein. Josef Kramer replaced Hartjenstein on May 8, 1944.[5] On November 25, 1944, the Germans recombined Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II into one camp called Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, over which the Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer, took charge.[6]

On September 8, 1944, there were 908 SS guards.[7]

Between 1942 and 1945, the Birkenau administration divided the camp's existing sectors into smaller compounds—also called camps—each with its own purpose and chain of command. Camp leaders (*Lagerführer*) supervised these compounds through noncommissioned report officers (*Rapportführer*) and block leaders (*Blockführer*). These compounds included separate men's and women's areas, hospital and quarantine camps, transit camps, and "family" camps, one for "Gypsies" and one for the Jews from Theresienstadt. The family camps, where men, women, and children lived in the same compound, were primarily a propaganda tool, as the Germans forced prisoners to write letters painting a false picture of camp conditions.

The mass extermination facilities (gas chambers and crematoria) were a separate complex of buildings generally subordinate to the camp commandant, who was responsible for the progress of the extermination operations, and immediately subordinate to the camp administration's political detachment (Politische Abteilung). After the November 22, 1943, division of Auschwitz into three camps, the garrison senior (Standortälteste) issued Order No. 53/43 entrusting the supervision of the extermination facilities to the commandant of Auschwitz II, who was also the director of Auschwitz Post Command for Special Tasks (Befehlsstelle Auschwitz für besondere Einsätze).[8]

Both during the time when Birkenau was under the Auschwitz commandant and afterward, when it became an individual concentration camp, it was closely associated with the other camps, that is, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz III-Monowitz (which controlled various subcamps). In part this cooperation came about because of Order No. 53/43, in which the Auschwitz garrison senior stipulated that the commandants of these camps work closely together, with the Auschwitz I commandant serving as Auschwitz garrison senior and being officially designated as the senior staff member (Dienstältester) with respect to the other commandants and with powers to resolve disputes.[9] The Auschwitz I camp continued to house the garrison administration, central employment office, political branch, and headquarters of the garrison physician (Standortarzt), who was the chief of health services in all the camps.

Although the Germans had begun building the Birkenau compound as a POW camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) and continued this designation in building records (letters, plans, and reports) until 1944, the camp never served that function. The Germans gradually decided, while the camp was still being built (by February 1942 at the latest), to change the nature of the camp and to incorporate it into the Auschwitz complex as an integral component. The failure to achieve the expected quick victory over the Soviet Union and the attendant need for labor that the prospect of a long war created, combined with the decision to exterminate the Jews of Europe, set up the conditions that led to Birkenau's further development into a center for extermination and forced labor.

The Soviet POWs whom the Germans had brought in to build the camp were the first victims. Out of the original 10,000 prisoners who arrived in Auschwitz in October 1941,



Jews from Carpathian Ruthenia await selection at the Birkenau railway ramp, May 1944. Prisoners from the Kanada detachment and some SS men stand to the left.
USHMM WS # 77405 COURTESY OF YVA

over 9,000 died in five months, mainly due to the primitive conditions under which they had to live and work while building the Birkenau camp.[10] When the 945 surviving prisoners were transferred to Birkenau on March 1, 1942, the newly formed camp was already a part of the Auschwitz complex, and from that point forward, Jews constituted the vast majority of arriving prisoners. The camp subsequently housed a portion of the approximately 140,000 Poles registered at the Auschwitz complex, about 23,000 "Gypsies," and prisoners of other nationalities.

Immediate death awaited the vast majority of the arriving Jews; out of approximately 1.1 million Jews transported to Birkenau, a maximum of 200,000 were temporarily saved when selected for labor.[11] Selections took place either before Jews climbed aboard the trains that brought them to Auschwitz or, more commonly, upon arrival. The exact sequence of events varied somewhat, but typically the Jews selected for death were marched to the extermination compound, ordered to undress (under the pretext of bathing and disinfecting before entering the camp proper), and herded into the gas chamber. Specially trained SS technicians then dumped hydrogen cyanide tablets (Zyklon B) into the chamber. When the prisoners were dead, the chamber was ventilated, and the special detachment (Sonderkommando), made up of other Jewish prisoners, removed the bodies, cut off women's hair, removed any gold dental work, and burned the corpses in the crematoria.

Birkenau's prisoner population grew steadily with its expansion and the selection of some incoming prisoners for labor. There were approximately 90,000 male and female prisoners living in the camp on August 22, 1944 (including approximately 60,000 registered prisoners marked with camp numbers and about 30,000 unregistered ones; the latter were called "depot prisoners"). Seventy-four percent of the prisoners in Birkenau at that time were Jewish.[12] Those whom the Germans selected for work faced a slower but usually no less certain fate than those who went straight to the gas chambers. A few lucky ones—usually those with connections of some sort—could work in the camp administration, in the kitchens, or in some other relatively easy position indoors. For most prisoners, however, the work was extremely hard and often dangerous; the Nazi aim was "destruction through labor" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Demolition and construction on the camp itself or other nearby facilities formed a major part of the workload, as did agricultural labor; other prisoners worked in Kanada or in nearby armaments factories (Union, which manufactured fuses, and Zerlegebetriebe, where the prisoners dismantled wrecked aircraft). In any case, the guards and Kapos drove the prisoners

furiously and beat anyone who faltered—often to the point of death. Roll calls at the beginning and end of every day, often lasting for hours, added to the torment and fatigue.

The living conditions further lessened the prisoners' chances for survival. Sleeping arrangements consisted of wooden shelves, with a minimum of straw bedding, on which the prisoners were packed. The camp uniform consisted of a striped shirt and trousers of rough cloth, never changed or washed, stiff with dirt, sweat, and excrement, infested with lice, and completely inadequate to protect against the weather. Wooden shoes were the only footwear. The diet consisted of the lowest-quality food in amounts that could not sustain life; the only hope for survival lay in "organizing" additional food, and such opportunities were scarce. Prisoners that fell sick either got well by themselves or died; there was no medical care to speak of. Prisoners who managed to stay alive, but became too weak to work, were subject to periodic selections: the Germans wanted to make room for new arrivals and were uninterested in feeding "useless eaters."

Birkenau also served as a transit camp and source of prisoner labor for other locations. In 1942 and 1943, it sent prisoners mostly to local subcamps and to the industrial complex of Monowitz. Then, beginning in the spring of 1944, Germany's military and economic situation was so desperate that the SS decided to use concentration camp labor more extensively in hundreds of industrial plants in German-controlled areas and in the Reich proper. To that end, they opened new camps near Auschwitz and shipped thousands of prisoners from Birkenau to other WVHA camps.

Resistance groups existed in all parts of the Auschwitz complex. Their task was to save lives by acquiring additional food, clothing, and medication. Furthermore, these groups documented the crimes and gathered intelligence, through Poles who lived near the camps, for the Polish Government in Exile in London to inform the world concerning the mass murders committed in the camp. Requests to put pressure on Nazi Germany to stop these crimes were also directed to world public opinion. In the last stage of the existence of the camp it was the clandestine groups that prepared for resistance in case the Germans should attempt to kill the inmates during the camp's possible liquidation.

Resistance groups were mainly organized by nationalities, political ideology, or professions (such as Polish officers). On June 10, 1942, a mutiny took place in the penal company that included about 400 Polish inmates. Unfortunately, only 9 inmates were able to escape, 2 of whom were tracked down. During the mutiny, 13 inmates were shot, 20 were killed during an examination that took place immediately afterward, and about 300 were killed in the gas chambers.

Other forms of resistance included escapes that in most cases served only to save one's life. On June 24, 1944, the Polish inmate Edward Galiński stole an SS uniform and escaped from Birkenau with Mala Zimetbaum. Both were caught and killed after an interrogation in the camp.

In Birkenau, Jews who worked in the Sonderkommando formed a resistance group. On October 7, 1944, during an attempt to forestall the escape of a group of inmates, they revolted, attacking SS men with hatchets, hammers, and stones. The Sonderkommando mutiny ended with the SS killing the majority of its members (451 people) and the burning down of gas chamber and crematorium IV.

Another resistance activity was the documentation of Nazi crimes by copying (*sporządzanie*) German documents and writing their own observations. The Jews of the Sonderkommando gathered and buried such notes in the ground. Discovered after the war, they constitute a precious source of information regarding the crimes committed at Birkenau. Information was also regularly gathered and preserved by Polish inmates regarding the crimes committed in the camp, its organizational structure, and the perpetrators.

Important information was also delivered by escapees and was published in Poland and abroad during wartime. The most valuable information of this kind was included in the reports of the Pole Jerzy Tabeau and the Jews Alfred Wetzler, Walter Rosenberg (Rudolf Vrba), Arnost Rosin, and Czesław Mordowicz. These reports were presented to the Allied governments, including Britain and the United States, and were published in Washington, DC, in November 1944. These reports led Jewish groups in Britain and the United States to call for bombing the Birkenau killing center or its approaching railways.

With the approach of Soviet forces in January 1945, the Germans decided to evacuate the Auschwitz complex. They had begun dismantling the gas chambers and crematoria in late 1944, in order to remove the industrial fixtures; in January, on the eve of the evacuation, they blew them up. On January 17, 1945, after the inmates' partial evacuation, 15,000 male and female inmates still remained in Birkenau. As in other Auschwitz camps and subcamps the majority were led out of the camp the next day. They were taken by foot to a site about 63 kilometers (39 miles) from Auschwitz, at Loslau (Wodzisław Śląski) and Gleiwitz (Gliwice). Many inmates died during this march, either shot by the guards or from hunger and cold. The survivors were put on open cattle cars and taken to camps in Germany.

During its five-year existence, about 8,000 SS men served at the Auschwitz concentration camp. They all shared responsibility for the death of about 1 million people. Only about 1,000 stood trial after the war. About 800 were turned over by Germany to Poland and were sentenced in Poland. The first one to be sentenced was the camp's founder and first commandant, Rudolf Höss, who was sentenced to death by the Supreme People's Court of Poland and executed on the site of the former camp on April 16, 1947. A second trial took place in Kraków against Auschwitz SS men, including 40 members of the camp administration. On December 22, 1947, 22 were sentenced to death, 6 to life imprisonment, and others to 3 to 15 years in prison. One was acquitted. The remaining SS men who had been delivered to Poland for sentencing were tried in regional, county, and special courts.

Between 1963 and 1976, four trials against Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Frankfurt am Main. Thirty SS men

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

had to stand trial. Furthermore, SS men from Auschwitz were tried by various Allied courts in a number of postwar trials that dealt with the staff of other concentration camps.

SOURCES The published sources on Auschwitz are legion. Here are some of the most important publications pertaining to Birkenau: Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 2000); Franciszek Piper and Teresa Świebocka, eds., *Auschwitz: Nazi Death Camp* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1996); Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz aufgrund der Quellen und Erträge der Forschung 1945–1990* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1993); Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem Auschwitz Kouzentrationslager* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1995); Jean Claude Pressac, *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, *1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1997); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History* (London: Penguin Books, 2005); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Hermann Langbein, *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz*, *die NS-Medezin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997). On the controversy concerning the nonbombing of the Birkenau killing center, see Michael Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, published in Association with USHMM, 2003).

During the liquidation of the camp, the SS men destroyed the majority of the documents that dealt with the administration and functioning of the camp. The most important losses are the copies of the transport lists of Jews containing several hundred thousand names; the *Zugangslisten* (acquisition lists) containing the names of numerous new inmates for the years 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, and 1945; questionnaires and index cards; inmate registration cards; the ledgers of the camp; the card index; and the files containing the death records of inmates for the years 1944–1945. Among the documents that survived by accident or were not destroyed, the most valuable documents (which are available in APMO) are about 70,000 death registration records for a portion of the registered inmates, from July 1941 to December 1943; Zugangslisten for the year 1941, containing about 28,000 names; the *Stärkebuch* (strength book) from January to August 1942; the *Hauptbuch* (main book) for the camp of the "Gypsies," containing about 21,000 names of Roma and Sinti; the death register of Soviet POWs, containing 8,420 names and some inmate numbers; a collection of records of the construction management (Bauleitung) of the camp, among others maps and technical documentation of the gas chambers and crematories; the records of the SS-Hygiene Institute, containing names of inmates and the results of laboratory analyses. In addition, APMO houses about 4,000 statements and memories of inmates and numerous trial testimonies; some 10,000 photographs, among them 4,000 photographs of inmates taken during their registration at the camp and photographs of buildings and objects in the camp during its construction. To the most valuable sources outside of APMO belong the transport lists stored in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Norway, which contain the names of Jews deported from these countries; the registers of the names of a part of the Hungarian Jews deported from Hungary to Auschwitz, which are stored today in Hungary; the records of Polish prisons from which Poles were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp; the records in local German archives regarding the registration, imprisonment, and deportation of "Gypsies" to the Auschwitz camp; records of trials against the SS personnel of the Auschwitz camp; and records of German authorities like WVHA and RSHA related to the administration of Auschwitz. Copies of many of these collections are held at USHMMA and YVA. USHMMA also holds microforms of captured German documents from the Soviet Union and Soviet investigation records, which concern the planning, construction, and liberation of Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They include RG 11.001 M.03, Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz collection, copied from RGVA, fond 502 (reels 18 to 71); and RG-22.008, Records relating to Auschwitz and other camps from TsGAMORF, 1940–1945. Music sung by Birkenau prisoners was the subject of a research project by former Polish prisoner Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz. The fruits of his work are found in USHMMA, RG-55.003. A recent addition to USHMMA is the newly discovered "SS-Auschwitz Album," Acc. 2007.24. From internal and external evidence, it was apparently arranged by the last adjutant of Auschwitz I, Karl Höcker, and includes images of ranking SS staff and female SS Hilferinnen during moments of recreation at the nearby SS retreat at Solahütte. Featured in this album are photographs of Rudolf Höss, Richard Bär, Josef Kramer, Josef Mengele, and others. Many of the images date from June 1944, which means the creation of this album coincided with the destruction of the Hungarian Jews. The F-B-I and the Auschwitz State Museum have recently published a DVD of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial (4 Ks 2/63), as *Der Auschwitz Prozess: Tonbandmitschnitte*, *Protokolle*, *Dokumente* (Berlin: Directmedia Publishing, 2004). The U.S. War Refugee Board published the Auschwitz Protocols in November 1944. They are listed as *German Extermination Camps—Auschwitz and Birkenau* (Washington: WRB, 1944); and reprinted in David S. Wyman, ed., *Bombing Auschwitz and the Auschwitz Escapees' Report*, vol. 12 of *America and the Holocaust*, 13 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), Doc. 1. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). For the testimonies of the Sonderkommando, see *Amidst a Nightmare of Crime*, *Manuscripts of Members of Sonderkommando* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1973). The first published testimonies on Birkenau appeared in Polish in wartime. They include [Natalia Zarębina], *Obóz śmierci* (Warsaw, 1942), reprinted as *Obóz śmierci; Zbiór relacji z obozu w Oświęcimiu opublikowanych w kraja przez ruch oporu mas pracujących* (London, 1943), trans. as *The Camp of Death* (London, 1943), *The Camp of Disappearing Men: A Story of the Oswiecim Concentration Camp; Based on Reports from the Polish Underground Labor*

Movement; Poland Fights (New York, 1944); *Oświęcim, campo de la muerte* (Mexico City, 1944); Zofia Kossak, *W piekle* (Warsaw, 1942), trans. as *In Hell* (London, 1944); and Halina Krahelska, *Oświęcim: Pamiętnik więźnia* (Warsaw, 1942). For enhanced and cropped aerial photography of the Birkenau killing center, see Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1979).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-AuI-2/1-46 Sterbebücher, contains ca. 70,000 records of death registrations of inmates of different nationalities. D-AuI-3/1/5 Stärkebuch, D-AuI-5/2 Leichenhalle, D-AuI-3/1 Bunkerbuch, D-AuII-3/1 Hauptbücher des Zigeunerlagers.

2. APMO-B, D-AuI-3a, Folder 14, Report of Himmler visit by Heinrich Schwarz of March 17, 1941, Höss trial, 21:33.

3. APMO, Entwurf, HHB betr. KGL Auschwitz, November 1, 1941. Microfilm number 1034; BW 2/2. Lageplan des KGF—Auschwitz OS, October 14, 1941; BW 2/5, Lageplan des KGL BA I, II, III; IV, August 15, 1942.

4. APMO-B, D-AuI-3/1-7646 Index of the Russian Prisoners of War.

5. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.

6. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 29/44, November 25, 1944.

7. APMO-B, Mat. RO, 2:147–151 (Resistance Movement Report of September 8, 1944).

8. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.

9. Ibid.

10. APMO-B, D-Aul-3/1/1, p. 90, Stärkebuch.

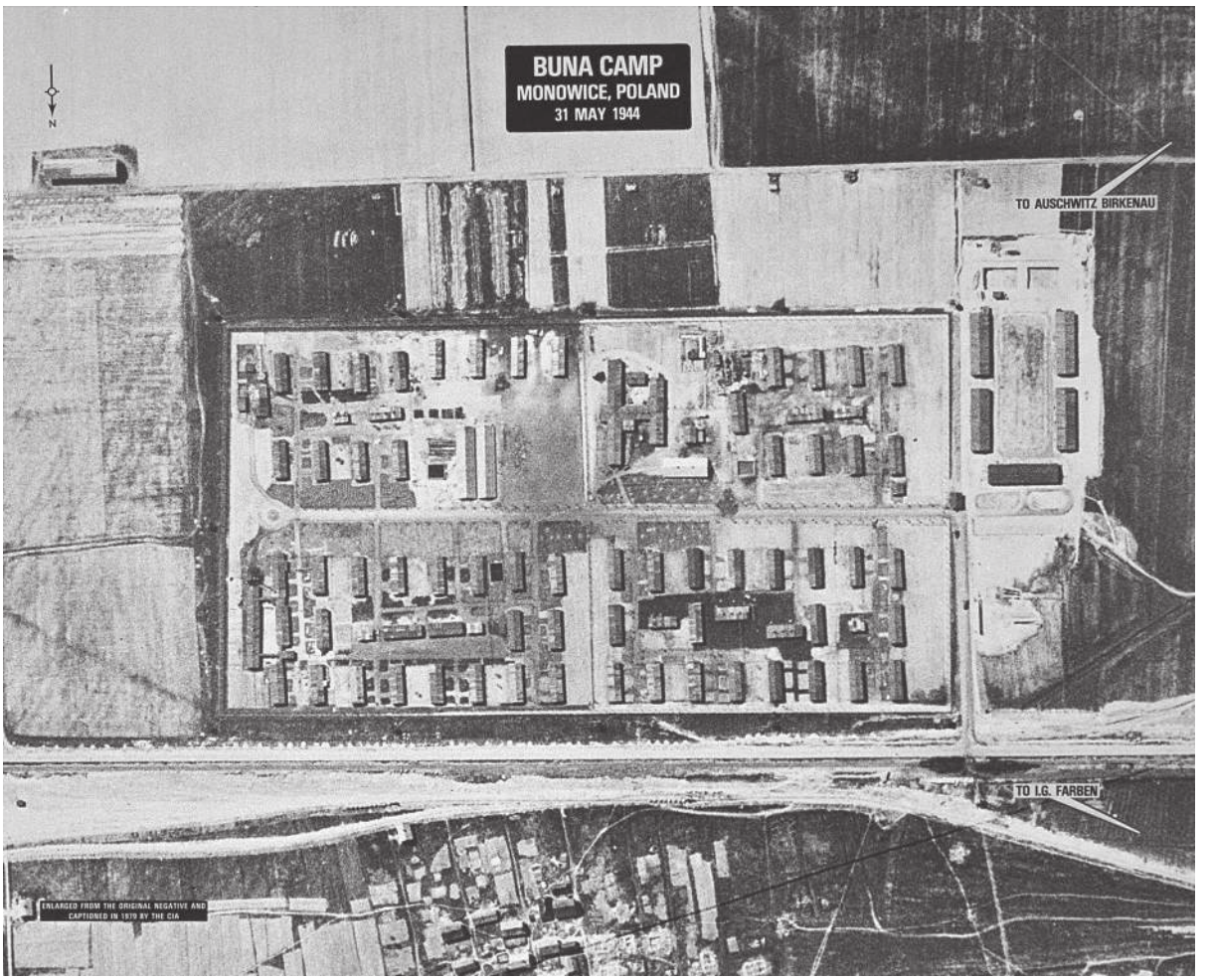
11. APMO-B, D-RO/123 Transportlisten (Nuremberg Doc. NOKW-2824).

12. APMO-B, D-RO/2:94–115 (Report of the secret military council of the camp).

AUSCHWITZ III-MONOWITZ MAIN CAMP [AKA BUNA]

The Monowitz main camp lay about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) east of the Auschwitz I main camp, near the Polish town of Monowice. In the neighboring hamlet of Dwory, on a construction site of several square kilometers in area, the German chemical firm IG Farben built a huge chemical complex for the production of synthetic fuels and rubber (*Buna*), starting in April 1941. Besides access to nearby coal mines and convenient transport connections, the availability of thousands of prisoners played an important role in the choice of this site. Leading managers of IG Farben approached Hermann Göring when they learned of SS plans—part of the Germanization policy—to forcibly resettle the Polish inhabitants and deport the Jewish population from Auschwitz and the surrounding villages. On February 18, 1941, the company persuaded Göring to order Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler to delay the forced migration and to support the building of the Buna plant by providing prisoners from the camp as slave laborers.[1] Himmler issued an order in February 1941 to support the plant's construction, and the following month an agreement was reached between IG Farben and the leadership of the SS. That agreement became a key model for the deployment of concentration camp inmates in the German war industry.

In April 1941, prisoners from the main camp started work as the Buna-Aussenkommando to build the factory for IG Farben. In the beginning, the Buna-Aussenkommando was populated by Polish prisoners; from the spring of 1942 onward, it was reinforced with French Jews. The prisoners had to complete an exhausting march from the main camp to the



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, May 31, 1944, enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier.
USHMM WS # 91362, COURTESY OF NARA

construction site and back every day. From the end of July, the 1,000 to 1,300 prisoners in the Aussenkommando were transported by rail to conserve their strength.[2] On October 21, 1941, IG Farben proposed to the camp administration that the number of prisoners be raised to between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners and that they be housed on the factory grounds. Due to a lack of SS guards and resources, the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss, was unable to fulfill that request at the time.[3] The exact timing of the decision to build a subcamp on the Buna site is subject to debate. It is known that construction began in March 1942.[4] With 57 living-quarter barracks, 5 wash barracks, and five latrines, the planned dimensions were extraordinarily large for a subcamp.

By the end of October 1942, more than 2,000 prisoners had arrived at Monowitz.[5] From that point, the camp population grew steadily and, with the introduction of large numbers of Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, reached a high point of 11,000.[6] Inside the subcamp, Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz established a so-called work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[7] Five blocks separated with barbed wire were used to imprison about 400 to 500 inmates, the goal being to discipline forced laborers who were uncooperative, came to work late, or attempted sabotage. While the administration lay in the hands of the Gestapo, the SS guarded this camp, which existed until the evacuation of Monowitz.

Eventually, more than 90 percent of the inmates of Monowitz were Jews, who came from Germany, Austria, Poland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, and Czechoslovakia. The majority of the non-Jewish inmates were citizens of Poland, the USSR, and Germany. About 1 to 2 percent of the camp's population were "Gypsie" of unknown nationality.[8] In response to successful escapes in the summer of 1943, the SS transferred many Polish and Czechoslovakian inmates to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, where foreign prisoners' chances to survive after escaping were much smaller. Due to the mass deportation of the Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, their proportion of the camp population increased markedly.



Street construction detail at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS # 79489, COURTESY OF BA

The inmates of Monowitz were almost exclusively male. The exception was a small group of 10 to 20 women who were forced to work as prostitutes. From at least the summer of 1944 onward, and possibly from the end of 1943, they were placed in a separate block surrounded by barbed wire.

The prisoner-functionaries, such as block elders, prisoner physicians, or overseers, were mainly prisoners from Germany, Austria, or Poland. Besides political or personal links, the decisive factor for their nomination was often the ability to understand orders by the SS in German.

The commander of Auschwitz III-Monowitz was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, who was born in Munich in 1906. By the end of 1931, he had joined the SS (No. 19691) and the Nazi Party (NSDAP) (No. 786871). He started his career in the camp SS in September 1939, first in Dachau and later in Mauthausen. In September 1941, he was assigned to Auschwitz, and he became the commandant of the newly designated Auschwitz III camp on November 22, 1943.[9] He kept this position until Monowitz was evacuated. On February 1, 1945, he became the commandant of Natzweiler-Struthof.[10]

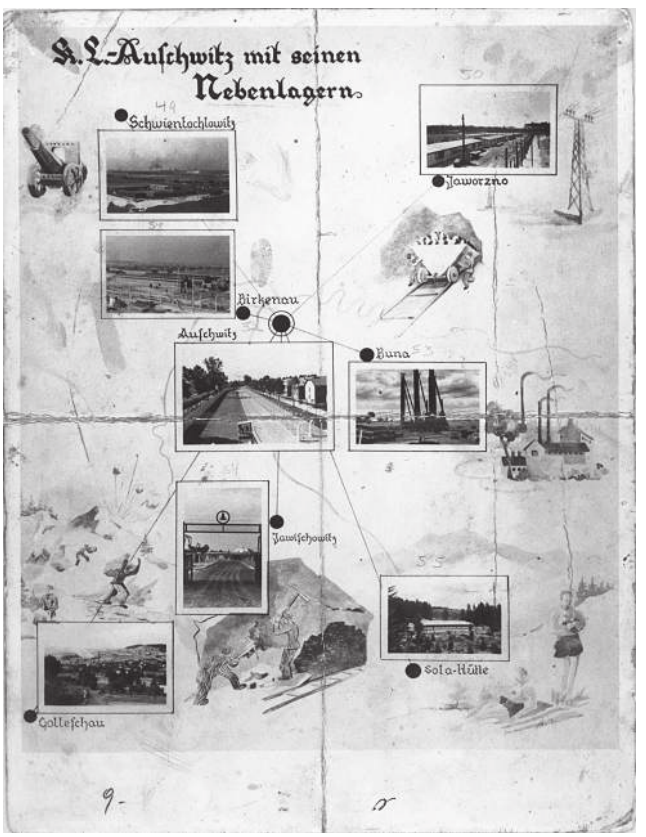
By Himmler's order of November 22, 1943, Auschwitz was partitioned into three administrative units: Auschwitz I (main camp), Auschwitz II (Birkenau), and Auschwitz III (Monowitz and subcamps). From that time onward, the Monowitz headquarters was responsible for the administration of all Auschwitz subcamps.[11] In December 1943, the camp, which until then was named Lager Buna, was renamed Arbeitslager (work camp) Monowitz.[12] In November 1944, the administration was reorganized once again. By order of the garrison senior of Auschwitz, the camp at Birkenau was assigned to the main camp, and the "Monowitz work camp" was renamed "Monowitz concentration camp" and became an independent administrative unit.[13]

On November 22, 1943, the guard units Wachkompanie Buna and the 5th Wachkompanie were subordinated to Schwarz.[14] On May 22, 1944, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbataillon (Death's Head Storm Battalion) Auschwitz III was established by Schwarz's order. It was seven companies strong. The 1st Company, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Paul Heinrich Theodor Müller, was to guard Monowitz, while the other six companies as well as the 8th Company (established later) guarded the subcamps.

The prisoners were exploited by private enterprises and the SS inside and outside the camp as slave laborers. A total of perhaps 100 to 120 prisoners worked inside the camp, in offices, the camp kitchen, the infirmary, and on various maintenance duties. Outside the camp several thousand prisoners had to work for private companies at the construction site. IG Farben put its prisoners to work in its own plant or lent them to subcontractors. The arrangement was profitable for IG Farben since the daily fee the firm paid to the SS per prisoner amounted to roughly one-third less than for labor at the regional wage level. In addition, the firm saved considerable amounts that it normally would have had to spend for such costs as housing, sick benefits, separation compensation,

social welfare, and cultural activities, costs that could amount to approximately 25 percent of the wages of nonprisoner labor. These savings more than compensated the firm for the lower productivity of the emaciated, often diseased camp inmates.

Among the most dangerous details were the excavation Kommando and the transport Kommando, in which the prisoners suffered nearly continuous, brutal beatings. These murderous Kommandos also included the cement Kommandos, in which prisoners had to carry 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks at a run. In other Kommandos, the prisoners had to build underground bunkers or lay cable, carry tree trunks, or even dig up unexploded bombs. The chances of survival were better in the electricians' Kommando, in which 120 to 180 Jewish prisoners were forced to build electrical power systems and switchboards. As the construction of the factory advanced, the job specifications changed. A growing number of prisoners were deployed as skilled laborers. They had to work as mechanics, masons, carpenters, painters, or welders. During 1943, more and more prisoners were put to work in the assembly Kommandos. And starting in 1944, an increasing number of prisoners worked in production Kommandos, where many of them performed highly skilled work in chemical laboratories, as exemplified by Primo Levi. In the camp administration, prisoners worked as scribes and dealt with correspondence and the camp statistics.



"Auschwitz Concentration Camp with Its Subcamps," 1944, depicting Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz (called "Buna"), and, clockwise from top: Schwientochlowitz, Jaworzno, Sola-Hütte, Jawischowitz, and Golleschau. Prisoner Myszkowski captioned the images, which were compiled for the Auschwitz photo album by SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Walter and SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Hoffmann for presentation to the commandant.
USHMM WS # 25680, COURTESY OF YVA

There are no estimates of how many prisoners of the Buna-Aussenkommando died between April 1941 and July 1942. The estimate of the number of prisoners who died and were killed from October 1942 onward, based on survivor accounts, fluctuates between 23,000 and 40,000.[15] Many died at the construction site in work accidents, often because of the absence of safety measures. The majority died of cachexia, as a consequence of malnutrition, overwork, and untreated diseases. At the instigation of IG Farben managers, prisoners were selected for the gas chambers in Birkenau when their work ability decreased and in cases of longer-term diseases or if they became invalids. Routine selections took place in the morning at the gate of the camp when the prisoners marched to work, in the prisoner infirmary, or at the roll-call square. The camp commandant, protective custody camp leader, SS members responsible for labor allocation, the SS camp physician, and according to a surviving prisoner physician, also several civilians from IG Farben all took part in the selections.[16] Selections started in the infirmary as soon as more than 5 percent of the inmates were ill. The average prisoner survived for three to four months in Monowitz.

In the face of everyday destruction, one of the major tasks of the camp resistance was to save lives. To that end, it worked to procure extra food and medication and generally tried to improve the prisoners' situation. It also conducted political education. An international network, mainly consisting of Poles and Jews from Germany and Austria, led the resistance. They took over important posts in the camp administration from which they could gather information and influence developments.

At the IG Farben factory, prisoners approached civilians, forced laborers, and POWs secretly to exchange information. Sabotage prolonged completion of the factory. The electricians' Kommando, for example, successfully caused a short circuit of the turbines during a test run. According to Walter Petzold, a former prisoner, the resistance also prevented IG Farben from starting synthetic fuel production during the so-called Day of National Work on May 1, 1943. Three days earlier, prisoners had caused an explosion of the high-pressure station, and in the vehicle park, prisoners destroyed 50 trucks and tractors through looting.[17]

After attempts to escape, the prisoners had to stand for roll calls for many hours as punishment. Prisoners who were captured again faced hanging. The camp inmates were forced to watch the cruel execution scenes.

The first major air raid on factory buildings at Monowitz took place on August 20, 1944, by bombers of the U.S. 15th Air Force. According to Siegfried Pinkus, a prisoner of Monowitz, about 75 inmates were killed, and more than 150 were slightly or severely injured.[18] Nevertheless, many prisoners appreciated the raids, which scared the SS, demolished

war production facilities, and brought their liberation closer. Further air raids followed on September 13 as well as on December 18 and 26, 1944, and the last on January 19, 1945.

On January 18, 1945, Monowitz was evacuated. About 800 to 850 sick prisoners, too exhausted to leave, stayed behind. Many of the approximately 10,000 prisoners from Monowitz were forced to go on the death march.[19] Many thousands died from exhaustion, exposure, and starvation or were beaten to death or shot by the SS when unable to continue to march. The death march west went via Mikolów to Gleiwitz, where the surviving prisoners were loaded on open cattle cars and transported to concentration camps in the Reich. Many ended up in Mittelbau, where they were forced to work underground in German rocket production. The prisoners who stayed back in Monowitz were liberated by the 60th Army of the Red Army's First Ukrainian Front on January 27, 1945.

The crimes committed at Monowitz were documented in detail for the first time during the U.S. Military Tribunal at Nürnberg in Case 6 from 1947 to 1948, in which 24 top managers of IG Farben were, among other things, accused of plundering and despoliation and of using the slave labor of civilians, POWs, and concentration camp inmates. Five managers were sentenced to terms of between six and eight years for the exploitation and enslavement of camp inmates at Auschwitz. Ten defendants were acquitted. One defendant was released during the trial proceedings for health reasons. Four of the 13 IG Farben managers who were sentenced as war criminals were released immediately, and the others, before they served their full sentences.

Shortly after World War II, several members of the SS were sentenced to death by Allied Military Tribunals for crimes committed in concentration camps. Among them were the former Lagerführer of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Vinzenz Schöttl, in the Dachau trial of 1945, as well as the former camp physicians of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Entress and SS-Hauptsturmführer Helmuth Vetter, in the Mauthausen trial in 1946. A French Military Tribunal at Rastatt sentenced the former commandant of Monowitz, Schwarz, to death in 1946 for crimes committed at Natzweiler.

Under Allied control, IG Farben was split up into the successor firms Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (BASF), Hoechst, Bayer, Casella, and IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. Norbert Wollheim was the first survivor to claim compensation in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) against IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. The so-called Wollheim-Verfahren began in January 1952 and was finally closed in 1957 with the participation of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. A private settlement was reached out of court. A sum of 30 billion Deutsche Mark (DM) was paid as compensation for slave labor in the IG Farben factories at Monowitz, Heydebreck, Fürstengrube, and Janinagrube. IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation was thereby able to insist that compensation was paid voluntarily, without any legal claim by the survivors. Many survivors were not informed in time and therefore failed to meet the application deadline set in the agreement. The agreement of the Wollheim case became a model for the compensation of former slave laborers in subsequent cases against German industry.

Only a few perpetrators went to trial in the 1950s and 1960s in the FRG and German Democratic Republic (GDR) for crimes committed in Monowitz. Bernhard Rakers, former Kommandoführer and Rapportführer in Monowitz, was accused of murder in several trials from 1950 onward, for shooting prisoners during the death march. The trials, which took place before the Landgericht (state court) Osnabrück, ended with a sentence of lifelong imprisonment. In the GDR, the former SS-Lagerarzt of Monowitz, Horst Fischer, was arrested in June 1965 in Spreenhagen near Frankfurt an der Oder. Before the Supreme Court of the GDR, he was accused of taking part in selections of many thousands of prisoners. Fischer confessed to the crimes, which several witnesses had confirmed, and was sentenced to death on March 25, 1966. He was executed the same year.

In the first Auschwitz trial, which ran from December 1963 to August 1965 before the court in Frankfurt am Main, the former Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) of Monowitz, Gerhard Neubert, was released from trial for health reasons. In the second Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in 1966, Neubert received a sentence of three and a half years for accessory to murder in 35 selections. In the third Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in August 1966, Erich Grönke, Heinrich Bernhard Bonitz, and Josef Windeck were accused of murder. Bonitz, former block elder and Kapo in Monowitz, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. The former camp elder of Monowitz, Windeck, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for murder in 2 cases and attempted murder in 3 cases. The preliminary proceedings, which were opened by the public prosecutor in Frankfurt, against the former camp elder of the hospital (*Krankenbau*) Stefan Buthner (formerly Budziaszek), in 1966, were closed in 1975 because of the witnesses' contradictory testimonies.

SOURCES The most important studies on the history of the Monowitz concentration camp are by Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000); and Piotr Setkiewicz, *Z dziejów obozów IG Farben Werk Auschwitz 1941–1945* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2006); as well as Setkiewicz's valuable studies in German, "Ausgewähle Probleme aus der Geschichte des IG Werkes Auschwitz," *HvA* 22 (2002): 7–147, and "Häftlingsarbeit im KZ-Auschwitz III-Monowitz: Die Frage der Wirtschaftlichkeit der Arbeit," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:584–605. Additional studies on Monowitz include Karl Heinz Roth, "IG Auschwitz: Normalität oder Anomalie eines kapitalistischen Entwicklungssprungs?" *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 4:4 (1989): 11–28; Peter Hayes, "Die IG Farben und die Zwangsarbeit von KZ-Häftlingen im Werk Auschwitz," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 129–148; and Joseph Robert White, "IG Auschwitz: The Primacy of Racial Politics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2000). For a valuable early study

on the infirmary in Monowitz by a former camp physician, see Antoni Makowski, "Organisation, Entwicklung und Tätigkeit des Häftlings-Krankenbaus in Monowitz (KL Auschwitz III)," *HvA* 15 (1975): 113–181. In English one of the first studies on IG Farben's involvement in the exploitation of slave labor is the book of the former chief of the patent and cartel section of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben* (New York, 1979), pp. 111–127; with corrections to Borkin's errors, see the chapter on Auschwitz in Peter Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: IG Farben and the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge, 2000), pp. 347–368. On the decision to establish Monowitz as the first camp inside an industrial complex, see Shmuel Krakowski, "The Satellite Camps," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington, 1994), pp. 50–60. See also the author's "Die IG Farbenindustrie und der Ausbau des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1941–1942," *Sozial Geschichte: Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 21:1 (2006): 33–67. On the controversy concerning the role the provision of slave labor played in the decision of IG Farben to build a chemical plant at Monowitz and to install the camp on the factory's premises, see Peter Hayes, "Zur umstrittenen Geschichte der IG Farbenindustrie AG," *GuG* 18 (1992): 405–417; Gottfried Plumpe, "Antwort auf Peter Hayes," *GuG* 18 (1992): 526–532; Thomas Sandkühler and Hans-Walter Schmuhl, "Noch einmal: Die IG Farben und Auschwitz," *GuG* 19 (1993): 259–267; Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem KL Auschwitz* (Warsaw, 1995), p. 239; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, pp. 37–58; and Florian Schmaltz and Karl Heinz Roth, "Neue Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des IG Farbenwerks Auschwitz-Monowitz," *1999* 13 (1998): 100–116. On the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt am Main, see Florian Schmaltz, "Im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft, Politik und Justiz—Das historische Gutachten Jürgen Kuczynskis zur Rolle der IG Farben und des KZ Monowitz im ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess," in "*Gerichtstag halten über uns selbst . . .*". *Geschichte und Wirkung des ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess*, ed. Irmtrud Wojak (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 117–140. On British prisoners of war as witnesses to the ordeal of Monowitz prisoners, see Joseph Robert White, "'Even in Auschwitz . . . Humanity Could Prevail': British POWs and Jewish Concentration-Camp Inmates at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1945," *HGS* 15:2 (Fall 2001): 266–295; and on U.S. and Soviet bombing raids on IG Farben Auschwitz, see his "Target Auschwitz: Historical and Hypothetical Responses to German Attack," *HGS* 16:1 (Spring 2002): 54–76.

A small but good selection of documents in English translation are in *TWC*, vols. 7–8. For a full documentation of Case 6, in German and English, see NARA, RG 238, M892, Reels 1–113, Records of the *United States of America versus Carl Krauch, et al.* (Case 6), August 14, 1947–July 30, 1948. These sources are completed by documents collected by the prosecution in the series of Nuremberg Industrialists (NI series) in T-301, Reels 1–163, Records of the Office of the United States Chief Council for War Crimes, Nuremberg. The Auschwitz garrison orders have been published in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). On SS personnel, see also Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS* (Warsaw, 1997). Further sources on the development of the IG Farben factory at Auschwitz can be found in the company archives of IG Farben successors Bayer Leverkusen, BASF (Ludwigshafen), and the Hoechst archives. Besides the great collection of testimonies of survivors, the APMO keeps the documents of the SS-Zentralbauleitung Auschwitz with many relevant sources on the development of the construction of the concentration camp at Monowitz. In the BA-BL, the files of the WVHA (NS 3), IG Farbenindustrie (R 8128), and Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (R 3112) are, among other finds, the most important ones. The first Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt is well documented on DVD: F-B-I and Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Der Auschwitz-Prozess* (Berlin, 2004). The files of the following Auschwitz trials are kept by F-B-I. Among the numerous holdings on Monowitz at USHMMA is RG 50.042*0032, Oral history interview of Norbert Wollheim, February 18, 1992. For a description of the Buna-Aussenkommando that built the camp in Monowitz, see the famous book by Wieslaw Kielar, *Anus Mundi: Five Years in Auschwitz*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (Harmondsworth, 1980). Among the many testimonies and biographies of survivors, a very famous one is Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*, trans. Stuart Woolf (New York, 1996). Recently, the earliest report by Primo Levi and co-author, prisoner physician Leonardo De Benedetti, originally prepared for Soviet investigators and published in an Italian medical journal, has appeared in English. See Levi and De Benedetti, *Auschwitz Report*, ed. Robert S.C. Gordon and trans. Judith Woolf (New York, 2006). Two other impressive and detailed testimonies of survivors are Hans Frankenthal, *The Unwelcome One: Returning Home from Auschwitz*, ed. Andreas Plake, Babette Quinkert, and Florian Schmalz and trans. John A. Broadwin (Evanston, IL, 2002); and Bert B. Linder, *Condemned without Judgment: The Three Lives of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York, 1995). A good description of the Arbeitserziehungslager inside camp Monowitz was written by the former camp elder, Siegfried Halbreich, *Before—During—After* (New York, 1991).

Florian Schmaltz

NOTES

1. NI-1240, Göring to Himmler, February 18, 1941.

2. BA-B, R 5/3056, Bl. 480, Reichsbahndirektion Oppeln an Reichsverkehrsministerium, February 28, 1942; IG Auschwitz, Wochenbericht Nr. 33 für die Zeit vom 5. bis 11.1.1942, NI-15109.

3. APMO, D-AuIII Monowitz/4, Tygodniowe sprawozdania IG Farben, t. 2, p. 104, IG Auschwitz, Wochenbericht Nr. 22, October 27, 1941.

4. NI-11132, Protokoll der 16. Baubesprechung am 6.3.42 in Ludwigshafen, March 28, 1942.

5. Case No. 6, *U.S. v. Krauch* (IG Farben Case), in *TWC*, 8:480.

6. NI-14287, Affidavit of Martin Robbach, January 21, 1948; and Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000), p. 333.

7. APK, RK 2910, p. 19, Mildner (Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz) an den Regierungspräsidenten in Kattowitz, February 11, 1943.

8. APMO, Oświadczenia, t. 6, s 829, Syg. Ośw/Posner/14, p. 6; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, p. 105; report on Auschwitz-Monowitz (Buna) by Curt Posner, n.d.

9. Standortbefehl 53/43, signed Liebehenschel, November 22,1943, in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle Konzentrationslager Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 367.

10. BA-BL, SSO Heinrich Schwarz (RuSHA and SSO). See Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, (Warsaw, 1997), p. 243.

11. Standortbefehl 53/43, November 22, 1943, in Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandaturbefehle*, p. 366.

12. Standortbefehl 54/43, December 1, 1943, in ibid., p. 370.

13. Standortbefehl 29/44, November 25, 1944, in ibid., p. 514.

14. Standortbefehl 53/43, November 22, 1943, in ibid., p. 367; and APMO, D-Au-I-1/53, Microfilm Nr. 1041, p. 311, Kommandantur Konzentrationslager Auschwitz III - Kommandanturbefehl 1/43, December 2, 1943.

15. NI-7967, Affidavit of Erwin Schulhof, June 21, 1947; NI-12069, Affidavit of Gustav Herzog, October 21, 1947; NI-12070, Affidavit of Stefan Budziaszek, October 27, 1947; NI-11081, Affidavit of Dr. Moses Zlotolow, September 2, 1947.

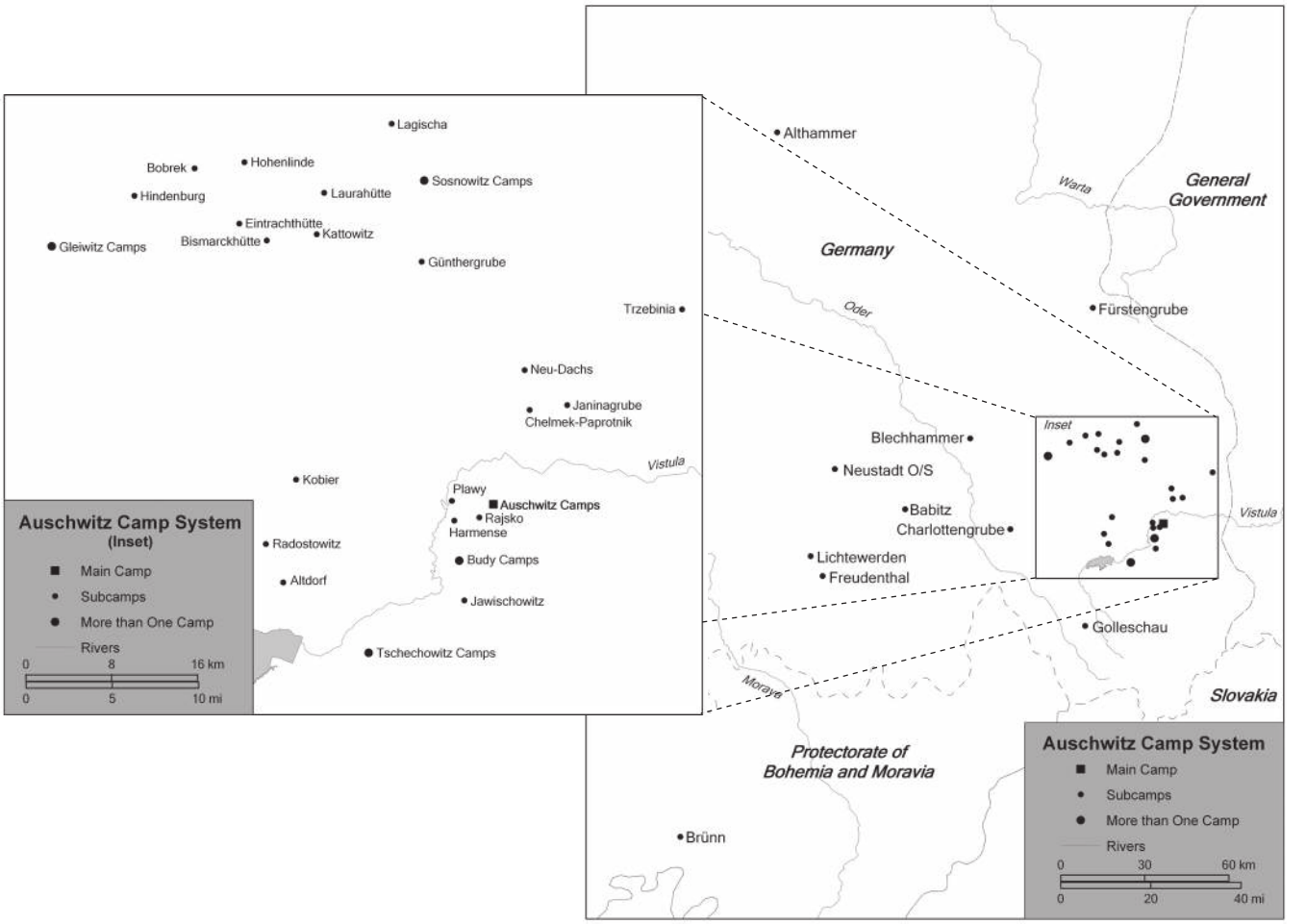
16. NI-4830, Affidavit of Dr. Rudolf Vitek [Rudolf Weisskopf], March 3, 1947.

17. F-B-I, Frankfurt am Main, Landgericht Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 444/59, Vernehmung von Walter Petzold (Berlin) am 10.2.1960, p. 2.

18. NI-10820, Siegfried Pinkus to USMT Nürnberg, August 29, 1947.

19. See F-B-I, Bestand Wollheim Verfahren 2/3 0 406/51, statement Josef Löwenstein, December 4, 1952, p. 11.

AUSCHWITZ SUBCAMP SYSTEM



The process of creating subcamps subordinate to the Auschwitz main camp got off to a slow start and then accelerated rapidly as the war economy's demand for labor increased, as was the case with other concentration camp complexes. The first 4 subcamps were formed at industrial plants away from the central camp in 1942. Five more were formed in 1943, and 19 more in 1944, at steelmills, mines, and other industrial plants. Besides the subcamps established at industrial plants, there were also a dozen or so other subcamps established at farms, forestry businesses, and other workplaces. Some of them existed for a short time—sometimes seasonally or for the time that a specific job was being done. They were formed from the very beginning of the main camp's existence.

Auschwitz had a total of about 40 subcamps, including those established at industrial plants. The definite majority of prisoners living in the subcamps (approximately 95 percent, sometimes almost 100 percent) were Jews. That percentage is due partly to the fact that Jews constituted a large part of the Auschwitz population overall (approximately 70 percent in 1944) and partly to the fact that non-Jews were sent to concentration camps in Germany, while until the spring of 1944 Jews were sent to Auschwitz subcamps located on the borderlands between Poland and Germany (under the policy, in effect until the spring of 1944, that the Reich was to be free of Jews).

Until November 21, 1943, the subcamps at industrial plants were under the commander of the Auschwitz main camp. When the Auschwitz camp split into three camps, they were under the commandant of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz was the commandant of that camp, which oversaw all the Auschwitz subcamps until the camp was disbanded.

Each subcamp was headed by a superintendent (Schutzhaftlagerführer) whom the commandant appointed. He was responsible for keeping the camp premises, facilities, and equipment in proper condition; provisioning the prisoners; scheduling their labor assignments; and overseeing the productivity and proper supervision of the prisoners. Some camp superintendents also held the post of guard company commander.

The subcamp superintendent was aided by a noncommissioned officer (Rapportführer) who was responsible for

conducting roll calls and keeping prisoner population records and who supervised the prisoner block superintendents (Blockführer). An SS man usually held the post of labor assignment superintendent (Arbeitseinsatzführer). There were also the posts of kitchen superintendent and medical orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG). The latter supervised the infirmary, also called the camp hospital (*Häftlingskrankenbau*). His supervision over the infirmary was actually administrative in nature: SS orderlies were not qualified to treat prisoners, who were attended to by prisoner doctors. The infirmaries were very meagerly equipped, and the assortment and quantity of medicine brought in from the pharmacy at Auschwitz I was completely inadequate. The SS doctors who visited the subcamps from time to time were not interested in treating the prisoners. All they did was remove chronically ill prisoners and those unfit to work from the subcamps and send them either to the camp hospital at the Buna (Monowitz) subcamp or to Birkenau or directly to the gas chambers to die. Depending on the prisoner population at a subcamp, they would select upward of a dozen to several dozen—or even several hundred prisoners at a time.

The political department (Politische Abteilung) at the central camp at Auschwitz set up subsidiaries at several subcamps. The other subcamps were supervised directly by the political department at the central camp at Auschwitz (SS-Unterscharführer Federnel and SS-Rottenführer Broad). The political department was interested in anything concerning prisoner escapes from camp, forbidden communications between prisoners and the civilian population, distribution of political information among prisoners, sabotage, and other infractions of the rules. The subcamp superintendent dealt with minor breaches of order or discipline.

The prisoners were put to work at outside companies—those that did not belong to the SS—only upon the request of such companies. Any requests by companies seeking the allocation of prisoner labor had to be addressed to the DII office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Before making a final decision on the time, place, and number of prisoner laborers, it considered the camp management's proposition as to lodging and supervision capabilities and the ruling of the proper arms inspectorate as to the urgency and importance of production where prisoners were to be put to work.

WVHA contracts with companies hiring prisoner labor set forth such things as the type of labor and fees to be charged as well as accommodation, food, and clothing conditions. Basically, besides the prisoner labor fees, the company doing the hiring was responsible for all costs associated with accommodation of prisoners outside the concentration camp. Therefore, the companies were required to erect a proper camp near the workplace, including barracks for the prisoners and the SS men, warehouses and kitchens, and to outfit those premises with the proper equipment, furnishings, sanitary facilities, as well as a security fence and watchtowers. On the other hand, the SS authorities covered the costs of feeding and clothing the prisoners and provided prisoner supervision.

Besides SS men, the prisoners were sometimes guarded by soldiers from the military formations for which a specific plant was producing goods or services. For example, the prisoners who were put to work at the Eintrachthütte works manufacturing anti-aircraft guns were guarded by soldiers from the Luftwaffe. The female prisoners who were put to work manufacturing ammunition at the Donnersmarck steelmill (Auschwitz/Hindenburg subcamp) were guarded by Wehrmacht soldiers, just as at the subcamps at Charlottengrube, Sosnowitz, Golleschau, and Laurahütte. At some camps, there were civilian plant guards (Werkschutz) that guarded the prisoners.

Due to the shortage of SS guards, their supervision was chiefly limited to guarding the fences, gates, and passages to prevent prisoner escapes. Work discipline was constantly monitored by prisoners—Kapos (prisoner foremen) and "head laborers" (Vorarbeiter)—and civilian staff were in charge of supervising workmanship.

Prisoners usually worked in detachments of several people, including civilian workers. The practice was either to put several trained prisoners under the supervision of a civilian skilled worker or to assign one or two prisoners to help several workers; the prisoners brought them raw materials, transported finished pieces, cleaned and maintained the machines, and kept the workstations in order. The system, which was a piecework arrangement, doubtless kept the civilian personnel interested in maintaining prisoner discipline and productivity.

In the majority of subcamps, the primary company that took on prisoner labor leased prisoners out to its subcontractors. The number of such companies reached several dozen in the case of the largest subcamps.

As a rule, the prisoners' working conditions were very hard. Although prisoners were put to work in very diverse branches of industry, such as mining, steelmaking, chemicals, and textiles, over half of them labored at various types of construction projects and did mainly heavy construction work: excavating earth, site leveling, and transporting materials. There was little mechanization, and the prisoners had to work quickly and without protective measures.

Prisoners who were put to work directly in manufacturing were somewhat better off: they were not exposed to adverse weather, and the SS men and Kapos tended to be more lenient.

At some subcamps, prisoners were put to work removing unexploded bombs from bombarded industrial plants. Removing unexploded bombs from the local refinery was the main occupation for prisoners at the Auschwitz/Tschechowitz I (*Bombensucherkommando*) subcamp.

Although the subcamps were mainly built in the immediate vicinity of the workplaces, at some subcamps prisoners had to walk several kilometers back and forth every day to work.

The working hours of prisoners laboring in industrial establishments were basically unlimited. The companies regulated both the length of the workday and the prisoners' schedule, and that is why there is such diversity in the system

of labor assignments and working hours. Prisoners were put to work in systems of one, two, or three shifts, and working hours ranged from 8 to 12 hours per day.

Prisoners had only one or two free Sundays a month. Usually, however, as in their free time on weekdays, they did various kinds of work keeping the camp in order, repairing and cleaning clothing, and so on.

Practically speaking, considering their trips back and forth to work, the roll calls that went on and on despite orders to the contrary by higher SS officials, the waits for meals, and other activities, the time for rest was limited to a few hours each day.

Treatment at the different subcamps varied considerably. The nature of the work was a key factor. Work in the open air under constant watch by the SS men and Kapos presented more opportunities for beating and abusing prisoners than work operating machines, where the production process itself set the rhythm and pace to a large extent. The type of civilian supervision was also significant to the prisoners' situation. In general, civilian workers and lower-level supervisors were kinder toward prisoners, while mid- and upper-level supervisors were often just as bad as the SS and Kapos in their mistreatment of prisoners.

Besides beating, the regular replacement of prisoners was designed to be a significant factor in maintaining productivity at the proper level; prisoners who had used up their strength were replaced with stronger ones. At any rate, such rotation was included in the terms and conditions of the agreements between the SS and the companies that took on prisoner labor.

Some companies provided the prisoners with extra food on their own or rewarded prisoners with food for outstanding work. However, bonus vouchers were the most common material incentive—and also the least effective. For the underfed prisoners, the vouchers, which were mainly good for such low-value products as snails in vinegar, rutabaga, camp soup, toiletries, letter paper, thread, and other such odds and ends, had almost no value at all.

SOURCES For information about the subcamp system, readers should refer to the source descriptions for the main camps and for the individual subcamps.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

ALTDORF

The Pless (Pszczyna) Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt) deployed a 20-prisoner forestry detail at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) from October 1942 to March 1943. The camp was located in the basement of a house. When the subcamp was dissolved, the prisoners, all of whom were Jewish, were transferred elsewhere in the Auschwitz complex. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Kobier (Kobiór) and Radostowitz (Radostowice). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning "offenses with the use of motor vehicles," SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the "Pless forest detachments" (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.[1]

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Sętkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in Aleksander Lasik et al., eds., *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, vol. 1 of Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 130. Strzelecka and Sętkiewicz cite Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Altdorf" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), available at APMO. Additional information about Altdorf can be gleaned from "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:13.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: "Verstösse bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen," November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslager Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

ALTHAMMER

The Germans established the Althammer subcamp in the town of Stara Kuźnia (Althammer) in September 1944. The prisoners lived in brick barracks in which the Germans had earlier confined Italian prisoners of war from Badoglio's army. The first group of 30 prisoners arrived at Althammer from Auschwitz in a truck in mid-September 1944.[1] Additional groups arrived later, and the prisoner population rose steadily; the camp held 486 prisoners on January 17, 1945.[2] The prisoners were almost exclusively Jews primarily from France, Poland, Hungary, and the Netherlands. In addition, there were a few German prisoners, one Pole, and one Gypsy in the subcamp. They served in various positions in the prisoner administration.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth was the subcamp's commandant. Like other subcamps, Althammer was under the administration of Auschwitz III. In this connection, the subcamp was inspected by that camp's commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, and by SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Hans König.[3] Since there was no Political Branch on site, SS men from the Auschwitz Political Branch would come to the subcamp when prisoners escaped and conduct investigations on the spot. Food and medicine were also brought into the subcamp from Auschwitz.[4]

The job of the first group of 30 prisoners was to enclose the barracks with a double fence of barbed wire and erect four watchtowers at the corners.[5]

The prisoners' chief place of work was the Walter thermal power plant construction site in Stara Kuźnia. To prevent prisoners from escaping, the entire construction site was fenced with barbed wire, and a cordon of guard stations surrounded it as well. The prisoners did such jobs as bricklaying and transport work. A large group of prisoners worked digging sewage ditches, which meant that the prisoners often had to stand in water without rubber boots. Several dozen other prisoners were also put to work building a railway siding. For a time, some prisoners were employed digging up potatoes. As necessary, others were used to unload railroad cars. Still other prisoners were put to work around the camp, in the SS men's kitchen; in the prisoners' kitchen; cleaning the camp rooms, yards, paths, and bathhouse; and building a new kitchen.

Living, working, and sanitary conditions were better than at Birkenau but still extremely unhealthful. The prisoners received food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity. They did not even get the food rations provided for in camp standards.[6] Also, their clothing was not adapted to the working conditions or the climate; the uniform consisted of a striped suit and wooden shoes. An infirmary was established for the sick and those unable to work, under the supervision of orderly SS-Sturmmann Kisel. Care was minimal, however, and prisoners who stayed in the infirmary for too long were taken away to the Auschwitz main camp.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. The SS treated the prisoners brutally. Even against standing orders to keep roll-call times to a minimum at Althammer, roll calls were often drawn out, and the prisoners were subjected to searches and persecution. If the guards found any contraband on prisoners, especially food, cigarettes, or paper put under their shirts as protection from the wind, they would beat the prisoners with whips or rubber bats. Similar treatment was the norm at the work site as well. There were also instances when the SS men would take prisoners who were too weak to work productively to the forest and shoot them. The subcamp's commandant Mirbeth set the example in tormenting prisoners. Not only did he beat them, but he also murdered them (he shot several prisoners and choked one). The bodies of those who died from abuse and exhaustion were stored in the camp latrine, after which they were taken away to Auschwitz II to be burned.[7]

The Germans shut down the subcamp and evacuated the prisoners in January 1945 due to the approach of the Soviet army. On January 18 or 19, approximately 350 prisoners were led out of the subcamp on foot and escorted to Gliwice (Gleiwitz). From there they were taken to different camps within Germany. Some found themselves in places such as Mittelbau or Bergen-Belsen. On January 25, SS men selected several dozen of the approximately 150 sick people left in the subcamp and escorted them out of the camp in an unknown direction. The rest were left under the supervision of the local Selbstschutz (local paramilitaries). They were liberated by Soviet forces a few days later.

SOURCES Records pertaining to the Althammer camp may be found in the APMO Affidavits Collection, accounts of Mieczysław Francuz, Israel Lejbisz, Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczyk and Ludwik Cipa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Auschwitz concentration camp staff trial records; SS-Hygiene Institut Records; Nummernbuch.

The following published sources also contain information on Althammer: Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Althammer," *HvA* 13 (1971): 141–158; Aleksander Drożdżyński, "Mały spokojny obóz," *ZO* 8 (1964).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], account of former prisoner Mieczysław Francuz.
2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu [Resistance Movement Materials], vol. 3, book 208, p. 212.
3. APMO, Fahrbefehle dated September 22, 1944, and November 18, 1944.
4. APMO, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944, in which the "collection of corpses and delivery of medicine" was listed as the purpose of a trip to Althammer and Eintrachthütte.
5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on the accounts of former Althammer subcamp prisoners Mieczysław Francuz and Israel Lejbisz, the memoirs of former Althammer prisoner Aleksander Drożdżyński, as well as the accounts of the following residents of nearby towns and workers who had contact with prisoners: Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczyk, and Ludwik Cipa, on file at ANMA.
6. ANMA, Akta SS-Hygiene Institut, segr. 56/531-532 [Records of the SS-Hygiene Institut, File 56/531-532]. Results of a test of a sample of soup from the Althammer subcamp.
7. ANMA, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944.

BABITZ

The SS created the Babitz subcamp on the site of the village of Babice, which had been evacuated in April 1941. Prisoners coming in from the Auschwitz concentration camp in labor detachments demolished some of the village buildings, and the material thus acquired was used to build the buildings of the farm that the SS designated "Wirtschaftshof Babitz." The farm's task was to cultivate the surrounding lands and raise cattle. It was under the charge of Joachim Caesar, the director of all camp farms.[1] Initially, numerous male and female prisoner detachments (Aussenkommandos) from the Auschwitz camp as well as Birkenau bred the animals and did the farming.

The SS established the subcamp in March 1943 with approximately 60 male and 50 female prisoners in the prewar school building and neighboring wooden barracks. The female prisoners lived in the school building, the male prisoners, in the barracks. The building and barracks were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence that was not electrified. At the corners of the fence there were elevated watch platforms where SS men stood guard. The first group of prisoners consisted mostly of Jews from 20 to 30 years old. However, they were killed a short time later (within six weeks), and about 200 Poles, Greek Jews, and Russians were brought in to replace them.[2]

The female prisoners lived in the classrooms called *sztubas*, from 12 to 40 in a room, depending on the size. They each slept alone on straw-filled mattresses on bunks with three blankets. The building's windows had been partially bricked up or secured with barbed wire. The rooms were cleaned daily, and the prisoners had no hygienic problems, as they had enough cold water from a well in the yard, and they also got warm water in the evening. The rooms were heated in the winter. There were permanent brick toilet facilities outside the building, while a portable wooden toilet was brought into the building at night. There was a dispensary in the building where female prisoners sick with noninfectious diseases could stay. A Russian prisoner took care of patients at the dispensary. Every so often, an orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) would come from the main camp to conduct a sanitary inspection of the prisoners of the Babitz subcamp. The dispensary was supplied with medicine, but in an inadequate amount. In 1944, the woman prisoners who worked raising cows were given medical examinations.[3] The school building also had an office for the SS men, as well as for the women prisoners' supervisor (Aufseherin). The mess for SS personnel was located in an addition to the school building.

Food for the prisoners was brought in from the Birkenau camp. They got a meal three times a day: only bitter black coffee in the morning. For lunch they had a soup based on rutabaga, cabbage, or potatoes or sometimes what were called *Pellkartoffeln*, potatoes cooked in their skins. In the evening, there was a piece of bread (250 grams, 8.8 ounces) with some margarine, sometimes a slice of sausage or jam, and coffee.[4] Because of the nature of the work being done, at this camp it was possible to "appropriate food" in the form of potatoes and sugar beets. The female and male prisoners could also receive food packages from the outside (which were not taken by the guards of prisoner-functionaries here). In the winter, the female prisoners dressed in striped clothing and illegally obtained sweaters; in the summer, they got gray and blue linen dresses as well as aprons. They wore white kerchiefs on their heads.

They got underwear from the Birkenau women's camp, which they would wash on-site during typhus epidemics.

The prisoners from the Babitz subcamp only did work on that farm where they were assigned to respective detachments and specific jobs. Work lasted all day, with a break for lunch, which they ate in their rooms. The male prisoners were divided up into two detachments: one raised and maintained the horses, and the other worked the soil, using horse-drawn farm implements. The hardest work that the female prisoners did was plowing. When the horses were taken away in 1944 for the army's needs, women were harnessed to the plows. When there was slack in the fieldwork, the male prisoners were sent to demolish the still-standing village buildings, dig ditches, and level ground.

The female prisoners were divided up into four labor detachments, each of which had a designated SS man, a detachment commander, who was responsible for the work assigned to the prisoners. They included SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Kalesse (formerly of Mauthausen, he arrived at Auschwitz in February 1942 and stayed until the camp's evacuation in January 1945), SS-Unterscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, and an SS man of Ukrainian origin called Czarny (Blackie) who tormented the Polish women. SS sentries guarded each detachment. The first detachment, numbering 15 women, raised the cows, of which there were 30, plus two bulls. The cows' milk was tested at the SS-Hygiene Institut laboratory in Rajsko and transported to the camp dairy. There were 25 women, mainly Ukrainians, in the second detachment. They worked exclusively with the compost and manure, which they heaped in the winter and spread on the fields in the spring and autumn. In the other two detachments, the women worked in the field producing potatoes, rape, cabbage, and beets; in the winter they also pulled down buildings in Babice. Those latter two detachments were the most numerous, with 50 and 90 prisoners, respectively. Besides Poles and Ukrainians, there were also Russians among the female prisoners at Babitz. Women from the Birkenau camp were also sent to work on the land every day.

An SS-Oberscharführer named Rosenoff was the commandant of the Babitz subcamp. SS-Aufseherin Erna Kuck, called Kurką (Chicken) by the prisoners, was the first supervisor; she came to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück in October 1942. She was kindly disposed toward the women and knew how to stand up for them, for which she was dismissed in 1944. After her, that post was filled by Johanna Bormann, who was strict and demanding toward the women.[5]

The location of the Babitz camp facilitated prisoner contacts with the civilian population. Among the Poles living in the vicinity of the subcamp, there was an organized group of women who provided regular help to the prisoners in the form of food, medicine, and news from their families. There were two escapes from the Babitz subcamp. In the summer of 1943, a female prisoner named Lodka escaped successfully. The other one, which two Russian women organized in the summer of 1944, unfortunately failed. They managed to get to Kraków but were caught there, and although they were not identified as fugitives from Auschwitz (they had removed the camp numbers from their arms), they were put in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[6]

At the end of July 1944, the female prisoners were moved to the Birkenau women's camp. The male prisoners remained at Babitz until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated on January 17, 1945.

SOURCES Material on this camp may be found in Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Babitz, Nebenlager beim Gut Babice," *HvA* 11 (1970): 73–87. APMO holds the following records: Zespół Oświadczenia (Collected Affidavits, Accounts of Stanisław Kajtoch, Zofia Knapczyk, Stanisław Kłyczek, Halina Hertig, Tadeusz Jędrysik, Bolesław Staroń, Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Bondyra-Cendrowska, Janina Obtułowicz-Sarnowska, Teresa Wicińska, Anna Kot, Maria Zychowicz); Zespół Opracowania (Collected Studies); and files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945 (compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik).

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives (ANMA). Zespół rozkazy komendantury, Commander's headquarters order No. 5/42, December 3, 1942, Docket D-Au I-1/78.
2. ANMA, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 29, pp. 5–6, account of former prisoner Bolesław Staroń.
3. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, vol. 12, pp. 36–37, vol. 35, pp. 102–109, accounts of former prisoners Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Cendrowska, and Janina Sarnowska.
4. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, account of former prisoner Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
5. Ibid., vol. 12, p. 37, vol. 47, p. 90, accounts of former prisoners Zofia Cendrowska and Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
6. Ibid., vol. 12, pp. 38, 91.

BISMARCKHÜTTE [AKA KÖNIGSHÜTTE]

The SS established an Auschwitz subcamp in September 1944 in Chorzów-Batory (Bismarckhütte), a southern section of the city of Chorzów (Königshütte), at the Bismarckhütte steel mill. Approximately 200 Jewish prisoners, who had been deported originally to Auschwitz from different Nazi-occupied countries, were placed there. At least 45 of them were brought to Bismarckhütte from Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp.

Immediately following the subcamp's establishment, prisoners were put to work expanding it and doing all sorts of routine jobs. At the steel mill, which belonged to the Berghütte concern, prisoners apparently began working only in November 1944. They were escorted to work by several armed SS men with dogs; one of the escorts was SS-Unterscharführer Franz Monkos. The prisoners worked in both the steel mill's upper and lower plants, in such jobs as the handling and shipping of different materials, earthmoving, and generally every kind of support job not requiring any particular skills.

Approximately 40 prisoners were put to work in Bismarckhütte's mechanical department, operating the machines. Since before the war, the department's output was reserved for military needs; it made armor plate and parts for antiaircraft guns. Foremen prisoners kept watch over the inmates at work, and SS men often made inspections. Sometimes they tormented the prisoners, especially during the short dinner break when prisoners were issued a watery soup.

According to surviving minutes of the supervisory board meeting of the Königs-und-Bismarckhütte AG company dated December 8, 1944, the management intended on putting prisoners to work immediately on building a new "Vergüterei" division, which would allow an increase in production of antiaircraft gun barrels.

No one has been able to determine the subcamp director's name. Bruno Brodniewicz, marked No. 1 of the transport to Auschwitz from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on May 20, 1940, in a group of 30 criminal prisoners, served as camp elder (Lagerältester). The details of the prisoners' living conditions at the Bismarckhütte subcamp are not known. They probably were not much different than those that prevailed throughout the Auschwitz camp complex.

The Bismarckhütte subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. SS-Oberscharführer Klemann of Hamburg was the commandant of the evacuation transport headed toward Gleiwitz (Gliwice). In Gleiwitz, the prisoners of the Bismarckhütte subcamp and prisoners from the other Auschwitz subcamps were loaded onto open railroad cars and taken away to the Dora concentration camp, from where they were taken to Niedersachswerfen to work on building a mine tunnel. A few of them lived to see their liberation on May 4, 1945, during an evacuation march toward Hagenow.

SOURCES Information on the Bismarckhütte subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *ZO* 12 (1970): 145–158 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *HvA* 12 [1971]: 145–159).

Relevant archival records may be found in APK or APKat, Berghütte Collection Catalog No. 1497; APMO, Collected Affidavits (accounts by former prisoner Józef Bruner, residents of Chorzów-Batory and neighborhood, including Edmund Belka, Karol Dyla, and Jerzy Dziadź).

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

BLECHHAMMER

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz on April 1, 1944, when they placed the Jewish forced labor camp near Blechhammer (now Blachownia Śląska) under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp.[1] Initially, there were about 3,000 men and around 200 women in the camp; in the following months, over 1,000 Jewish prisoners were sent to the subcamp. A total of approximately 4,500 male and female prisoners from 15 European countries went through the subcamp.[2] Blechhammer was the second-largest



"Square in Front of the Barracks," by Auschwitz-Blechhammer prisoner Walter Spitzer, circa 1943–1945.
USHMM WS # 27540, COURTESY OF APMO

Auschwitz subcamp, after Monowitz, as far as prisoner population was concerned.

The camp occupied an area of almost 4 hectares (10 acres).[3] It was fenced in by a concrete wall almost 4 meters (13 feet) high with concrete watchtowers. The prisoners occupied about 25 living and hospital barracks. The camp also had toilet, washroom, workshop, warehouse, and bathhouse barracks.

The prisoners were guarded by SS men who belonged to the Auschwitz III 7th Guard Company, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Brossmann and his deputy SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Klipp.[4]

Living conditions at the Blechhammer subcamp were similar to those prevailing in other subcamps of the Auschwitz concentration camp.[5] The prisoners' wooden barracks were greatly overcrowded; there were about 1.4 square meters (15 square feet) of space per person. The prisoners slept on two- or three-decker bunks. Because there were not enough toilets, washrooms, or bathhouses, the use of those facilities was limited. Camp clothing was also inadequate. Any attempts to augment it illegally met with severe punishments. Walking in wooden shoes was especially onerous for the prisoners. Camp food was also inadequate. Almost all the surviving punishment reports referring to Blechhammer prisoners have to do with illicit food dealing.[6]

The camp hospital was in two barracks and was supervised by SS orderlies, who were in charge of administrative and cleaning work. They treated the patients and prisoner doctors brutally. They would beat sick people waiting to be admitted to the hospital for treatment, then chase them out of the building. Not infrequently, they would also beat the prisoner doctors. The average patient population in the autumn and winter was about 100 people. As in other subcamps, the hospital was where selections took place. Those who were found to be unfit for work or further treatment were taken away to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, which often ended in their being put to death in the gas chamber. Selections were also conducted in the living quarter barracks and on the way back from work.

Approximately 250 prisoners died in the camp over the nine and a half months it existed.[7] The bodies of dead prisoners were burned in the camp's own crematorium.

The prisoners were put to work building a synthetic gasoline factory owned by Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works) in Blechhammer. To the sounds of the camp orchestra, every day SS men would escort them to the work site almost five kilometers (three miles) away and put them under the supervision of civilian workers and prisoner-foremen. The SS men themselves would surround the entire construction site in a cordon until work was over and the prisoners in the respective detachments were counted. They started a search if a prisoner was missing. At that time, they tormented the prisoners, making them do punitive exercises in an attempt to force them to disclose the fugitive's escape route or hiding place.

The prisoners were divided into a few dozen detachments of 100 to 200 persons, which were assigned to the respective construction companies.[8] The labor the prisoners performed was typical construction work: excavating for foundations, building roads and structures, and transporting building materials. In the latter instance, they used prisoners to pull the wagons instead of horses or tractors. Eight prisoners would be harnessed to a wagon. They used physical coercion to force the hungry and weak prisoners to work. The prisoner-foremen supervising the prisoners during work never parted from their bats, which they put to use often. The prisoners worked all day, from dawn to dusk, for about 10 to 12 hours. They also worked at the construction site every other Sunday. On alternate Sundays, they were put to work at various jobs within the camp.

After the bombing of the Hydrierwerke plant, Jewish prisoners were used to remove duds, during which many of them met with fatal accidents. Prisoners also died in the bombing raids themselves, as they were not allowed to enter the bomb shelters.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. Not only were prisoners beaten randomly at work; they were also given what were called "regulation punishments." These included whipping (from 5 to 25 lashes), punitive labor on Sundays, and confinement in a special bunker.[9] There were also executions by hanging in the camp; that is how the SS would execute prisoners for acts regarded as sabotage, among other offenses.

The Germans began evacuating the prisoners on January 21, 1945, in connection with the Russian winter offensive. Approximately 4,000 prisoners were driven on foot to Gross-Rosen, which was reached 10 days later.[10] Weak prisoners who did not keep up in the march were shot along the way. Prisoners estimate that approximately 800 people were killed on the way. Mass graves of several dozen bodies each were found along the evacuation route after liberation.[11]

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Punishment Reports and Orders; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Sztulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Sztulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer; Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III; Materials, Catalog Nos. 597, 598, 599; Materials of the camp resistance movement; Nummernbuch; Fahrbefehle; Häftlingspersonalbogen; Prämienscheine. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Blechhammer," *HvA* 10 (1967): 19–39.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu/123, vol. 20, list of male transports, Nuremberg Document NO KW 2824.
2. APMO, Nummernbuch; akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Häftlingspersonalbogen; "Arbeitseinsatz" prisoner employment lists.
3. APMO, Neg. No. 10168. Blechhammer. Werkluftschutzplan—Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke.
4. APMO, Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III, May 22, 1944, and November 11, 1944.
5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on accounts and other stories of former Blechhammer subcamp prisoners in the archives of the APMO: Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Sztulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Sztulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer.
6. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
7. APMO, Nummernbuch: 248 deaths were noted among Blechhammer subcamp prisoner numbers (176512–179567 and 184349–184891).
8. Some of the company names are listed in the punishment reports. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
9. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
10. APMO, D-AuIII-3a/78 women's employment list dated December 30, 1944 (157 people). Resistance Movement Materials, vol. 3, books 208, 212. Prisoner population on January 17, 1945 (3,858 people).
11. APMO, Sygn. Mat. 597, 598, 599. Reports of exhumations in the towns of Łąka and Prudnik.

BOBREK

Following Allied air raids on its factory in Berlin-Siemensstadt at the beginning of September 1943, Siemens began to plan the relocation of its operations at "Germany's largest electronics factory" (Alan S. Milward) to more secure areas. At the beginning of 1944, the Armaments Ministry planned for the Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG (SSW) to have 100,000 square meters (over 1 million square feet) of space, including 3,000 square meters (32,300 square feet) in a former phosphate factory near Auschwitz.[1]

Auschwitz, as an "SS collection camp," was an object of interest in July 1943 for the Siemens Central Factory Administration. The reason for the interest was the "100,000 strong unutilized labor force." In the same month, the SSW had negotiated with the SS-Central Building Administration-Auschwitz on the construction of a "short wave vermin

destruction installation." The aim was to disinfect large quantities of prisoners' clothes by exposing them to short-wave radiation. The installation commenced operation in July 1944 in the collection and laundry center at the main camp.

The phosphate factory had been compulsorily acquired by the Treuhandstelle Ost (Eastern Trust Company). It was now bought by the 37-year-old senior Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, who was in charge of the relocation. The plant was located on the edge of the village of Bobrek, about three kilometers (two miles) to the northeast of the goods railway station at Auschwitz. From there to Birkenau was a distance of eight kilometers (five miles). The site itself had an area of 47,000 square meters (506,000 square feet), the southern boundary of which bordered on the River Weichsel.

In November 1943, Bundzus and three other Siemens employees from Berlin examined the suitability of concentration camp prisoners for work in the factory. They chose 120 prisoners, who were either skilled tradesmen or had business qualifications.[2]

There was a planned increase in the use of the number of prisoners. A planning program prepared by Bundzus on January 3, 1944, for discussions with the SS-Central Building Administration on the "expansion of the labor camp on the site of the SSW small construction facility—Auschwitz" envisaged the expansion of the subcamp so as to hold 1,000 concentration camp prisoners.[3] The first stage of construction was conceived as including an SS guard house, a "kitchen facility for 200 prisoners, including troughs," as well as washing and toilet facilities.

The chosen concentration camp prisoners were mostly Jews. They were transferred to Barracks No. 11 in the camp B IId for men, known to the prisoners as a "punishment detachment." Barracks No. 13, in which the prisoners who worked in the crematorium were sometimes quartered, and Barracks No. 11 together formed part of the punishment detachment and were separated from other barracks by a wall. The engineer, George Preston, who was 30 in 1944, stated: "We were told that we were not sent there to be punished but to recover. We were to get better food and to wait until Siemens summoned us to work."[4] The block elder of the punishment detachment was the German Polish prisoner Emil Bednarek. He was convicted as one of the defendants in the post-1945 Frankfurt Auschwitz trial.[5] The prisoners saw him as an "unpredictable sadist" because, as with the SS, he victimized the prisoners and sometimes beat them to death.[6] Eight to 12 of the prisoners chosen for Bobrek were the subject of a selection by the SS on January 1, 1944. They are said to have escaped death because they were chosen for the "Siemens Detachment."[7]

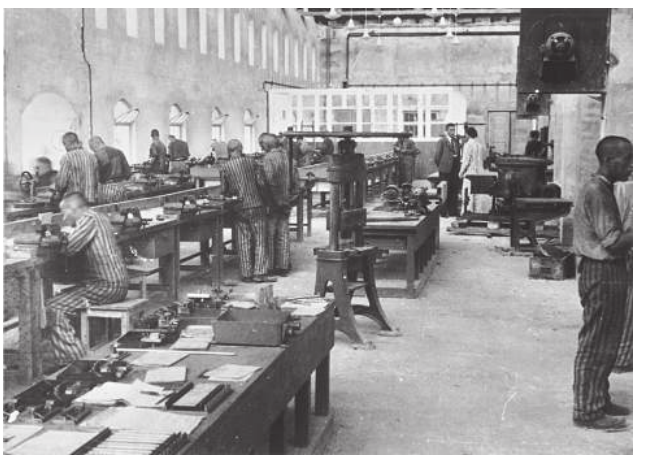
Between January and May 1944, the concentration camp prisoners were taken daily by truck from Birkenau to the factory at Bobrek. At first they had to reconstruct the factory and build the subcamp. At the beginning of January 1944, the Siemens Detachment probably had 213 male and 38 female concentration camp prisoners, the latter from the female camp in Birkenau.[8] Among them were 24 youths aged between 11 and 18.[9]

In May 1944, the prisoners were transferred to the Bobrek subcamp, where, according to the then-43-year-old Nikolaus Rosenberg, "the conditions were somewhat better than in the gypsy camp."[10] Rosenberg had been transferred from the camp where the Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were held to the Siemens Detachment. "There were five men to a bunk. Each had a straw sack as a base, a pillow filled with straw, and two blankets. In addition, each of us had cutlery, a spoon, and a hand towel, which was terrific as up to now we had had to eat with our hands from a communal, unbelievably filthy trough. We really had no chance to wash at all."[11] On the factory grounds, there was probably a vegetable garden from which the prisoners occasionally got extra nourishment.

The Bobrek subcamp was formally administered by Auschwitz III-Monowitz. It was guarded by 20 SS men under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Anton Lukoschek.

The male prisoners were primarily engaged by Siemens in manufacturing machine tools. At bench vices, presses for hand spindles, as well as turning machines, grinding machines, planes, and milling machines, the prisoners manufactured lapping machines and sections for the construction of electric motors and parts for electric switches. According to Bundzus, the prisoners were intended to produce "parts and technical accessories for the mass production of electronic products," but according to the SS, it was possible that the production of parts for night fighters was envisaged.[12] The female prisoners were required for the kitchen, cleaning, and the assembly of tapping machines.

The prisoners worked 10 hours a day. The Siemens workers determined that the youths should work 8 hours a day. The prisoners were trained by Siemens workers from Berlin. According to Rosenberg, who prior to his imprisonment was an engineer in Budapest, "the Siemens-Schuckert-officials were . . . relatively human and treated the Jewish prisoners with good intentions, sometimes closing their eyes when an exhausted prisoner could no longer work. They were well



Auschwitz-Bobrek prisoners work at the Siemens factory on aircraft parts. In the background Engineer Jungdorf converses with a foreman, circa 1944.
USHMM WS #95270, COURTESY OF HENRY SCHWARZBAUM

informed. When a prisoner was mistreated outside the factory by either a female SS warden or a Kapo, the SSW people reported the incident to the proper authority, with the result that the mistreatment ceased. No one was beaten inside the factory."[13] Paul Schaffer, who was age 19 in 1944, stated that once he was threatened with a transfer back to Birkenau, when he produced an item that was 10 millimeters (.4 inches) short.[14]

The businessman Erich Altmann, who was age 40 in 1944, stated that Siemens workers brought their families to Bobrek. Their deployment was "protection from the front and the bombing. Work was ranked third in priority. . . . We were warned daily: 'Allow yourselves time to do the work. Work slowly and precisely, not quickly and imprecisely.' As everyone had time, private jobs were done."[15] According to Altmann, the prisoners exchanged or gave for food presents such as "rings, cigarette ends, wallets, combs, metal boxes, watch cases, lighters, arm bands, necklaces, and many other things."[16]

The Bobrek subcamp was dissolved on January 17, 1945. On January 18, 1945, the Bobrek prisoners, together with others from Auschwitz, were forced to march for about 70 kilometers (43 miles) through the cold and the snow to the Gleiwitz II subcamp. Numerous weakened prisoners died or were shot by the SS. When the prisoners who survived the death march arrived in Gleiwitz, a bloody fight started with other inmates for a dry place in a barrack: "The camp was turned into an absolute hellhole; everybody was beating whomever they could with whatever they could find," describes Gilbert Michlin, at this time almost 19 years old. "Everybody was trying to hold on to or find a little bit of warmth and rest."[17] From Gleiwitz the male prisoners were transported on January 21 in open coal wagons by rail via Prague to Buchenwald. Some, such as Schaffer, managed to escape. The female prisoners were taken to Mittelbau. Two days after their arrival, they were taken to Bergen-Belsen.

In February 1945, two Siemens Berlin workers arrived at Buchenwald. For Marcel Tuchman, who turned 21 in 1944, and his father, Ignaz, members of the prisoner detachment, their arrival in the catastrophic conditions appeared to be a "miraculous rescue." Eighty-eight of the 110 to 130 remaining Bobrek prisoners in Buchenwald on February 16, 1945, were taken by train to a station in Berlin and then by subway close to the Sachsenhausen subcamp in Berlin-Siemensstadt.[18]

According to Rosenberg, "The Siemens-Schuckert officials noticed our miserable physical condition when we arrived. As a result, they gave us a week of rest before we had to work. This did not help us a lot as we had to spend each day outside where it was very cold. Also the food was inadequate."[19]

On April 3, 1945, the SS transported the Bobrek prisoners to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were deployed in removing rubble from the city of Oranienburg.[20] They were transferred back to Siemensstadt on April 13. Siemens at this time was preparing to evacuate its installations to southern Germany. The concentration camp prisoners together with the machines were transported by train via Dresden in the direction of Hof. Their destination was a disused porcelain factory in Arzberg in the Fichtelgebirge. Here they were to resume production. The transport was stopped at Meiben in Sachsen because the area around Hof had already been liberated by the U.S. Army. The SS took the prisoners back to Berlin and then on to Sachsenhausen. From there, they were forced on a death march in the direction of the Baltic. They were liberated on May 2, 1945, in Crivitz near Schwerin.

SOURCES In 1947 Erich Altmann published his memoirs, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947). In 2002 Paul Schaffer published *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), with an introduction by Simone Veil (from 1979 to 1982 the first female president of the European Parliament), who was with Schaffer as a forced laborer in Bobrek. See also Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945*, with an afterword by Zeev Sternhell (Detroit, 2004) and ". . . *warum es lebenswichtig ist, die Erinnerung wachzuhalten*." *Zwangsarbeit für Siemens in Auschwitz und Berlin. Dokumentation einer Begegnung mit ehemaligen KZ-Häftlingen*," ed. Zwangsarbeit erinnern e.V., Red.: Thomas Irmer (Berlin: Metropol 2006).

In 1980 Erwin Wittwer, who as head of SSW machine tool production had been many times in Bobrek, privately published his memoirs, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980). He included in his memoirs a series of photographs of the factory and the prisoners at work. In 1995 the head of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, published *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1995). For the National Socialist period, he referred to sources from the Siemens "Temporary Archive." Documents on the Bobrek subcamp are held in the Siemens Temporary Archive (Zwischenarchiv), which is not open for independent researchers. In addition to the archives in the Auschwitz Memorial (in the 1990s, documents from the Moscow Archives on the SS-Central Building Administration were made accessible), there are LA-B (denazification proceedings, Hanns Benkert), the HHStA-(W) (Frankfurter Auschwitz Trials), and the BA-B.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See the statement by the Siemens senior engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 1:65; questioning of Kurt Bundzus, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; Formblatt Verlagerung SSW (Reporting Period 9.9.43–30.5.1944), BA-B, R3/252, bl.6; and Schreiben Beauftragter Verlagerung Elektroindustrie an Treuhandstelle Ost v. 26.11.1943, Betr.: Ausweichplanung Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert.

2. See questioning of Ignatz Tuchmann, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert, file "Verhandlungen Hanns Benkert," Teil 1, pp. iii/10; statement by the Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, 1:65; statutory declaration by

the Siemens foreman Georg Hanke, dated June 27, 1947, LA-B; and statement by Georg Hanke, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; as well as Erich Altmann, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947), p. 73; Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945* (Detroit, 2004), p.70; and Erwin Wittwer, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980), p. 39.

3. Programm zur Besprechung mit SS-Zentralbauleitung in Auschwitz zwecks Ausbau des Arbeitslagers auf dem Gelände der Fa. Siemens-Schuckert-Werke AG Kleinbauwerk Betrieb Auschwitz v. 3.1.1944, as well as a handwritten list of iron requirements, April 1944, APMO, Au/BW 1/6/25.

4. Statement by George Preston, cited by Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809; see also statements by George Preston and Josef Zimmermann, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings, March 4, 1965.

5. See HHStA-(W), Proceedings 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

6. See statements by Paul Schaffer, Erich Altmann, George Preston, and others, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809. See Teresa Cegłowska, "Strafkompanien im KL Auschwitz," *HvA* 17 (1985). See also statement by Pinchas Schwarzbaum, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings.

7. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 81; see also Schwarzbaum and Tuchmann (as well as note 2); and a letter by Leo Schwarzbaum, December 18, 1946, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1708.

8. See also Kitty Hart, *Return to Auschwitz. The Remarkable Story of a Girl Who Survived the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), p. 77.

9. See statutory declaration by Siemens production engineer, Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA of the SED Berlin, IV L—2/6/27071, Nr. 1412; as well as Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 98. Cf. Fanciszek Piper, "Die Ausbeutung der Arbeit der Häftlinge," in *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Studien zur Geschichte des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagers Auschwitz*, ed. Franciszek Piper et al. (Auschwitz, 1999), 2:138. On age, see the Siemens transport lists, YVA, GCC 10/25.

10. Tuchmann (see note 2). See statements by Erich Altmann, March 5, 1965, and George Preston, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

11. Nikolaus Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter für Siemens-Schuckert: Erlebnisse eines Budapester jüdischen Ingenieurs 1944–1945," Wien Library, P.IIIb, No. 116.

12. See statement by Kurt Bundzus, February 18, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks&2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings; also letter by Pohl to Himmler, dated February 22, 1944, Betr.: Einsatz von Häftlingen in der Luftfahrtindustrie, StAN, KV Prosecution Document PS-1584.

13. See Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 97; Interrogation of George Preston (see also note 4); statements by Pinchas Schwarzbaum, March 4, 1965, and Erich Altmann, March 5, 1945, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day and 141st day of proceedings.

14. See Paul Schaffer, *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), p. 108.

15. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100. Rosenberg also refers to the Siemens employees. See Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

16. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100.

17. Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 91.

18. See transport lists, "Transport Siemens" (88 prisoners), February 16, 1945, YVA, GCC 10/25; as well as the statement by Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1412.

19. Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

20. See Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 98.

BRÜNN

Brünn, a subcamp of Auschwitz that the SS established in the city of Brno (Ger. Brünn) in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, was the farthest away from the parent camp at Auschwitz.

Since the records are not complete, it has not been determined who ordered the formation of the Brünn subcamp. However, the prisoners there worked to finish the building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy, where the SS was carrying out experiments with arms and equipment; thus the subcamp's formation probably came about at the order of the highest SS authorities, who were eager to supplement the German army's military equipment.

Fragments of camp records and those of the trial of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss contain references to the existence of the Brünn subcamp, without providing the date when it was formed. Former prisoners recounted, however, that the first transport of 251 prisoners arrived at Brno station on October 2, 1943; the number of prisoners is documented in the list of the Hygiene Institut der Waffen-SS in Auschwitz ("251 Häftlinge nach Brünn kommandiert").[1] From there the prisoners were taken to an unfinished multistory building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy and placed in several already-finished rooms on the building's second floor, which were tightly secured and guarded by German police. A high fence and watchtowers secured the building on the outside.

Most of the prisoners were Poles whom the Germans had brought to Auschwitz concentration camp from various cities such as Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, and Poznań or other concentration camps such as Ravensbrück and Gross-Rosen. Approximately 70 percent of the transport were prisoners who had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp just a few weeks; the rest were prisoners who had been there a few years. The SS eventually returned most of these prisoners to the main Auschwitz camp when they became unfit for work—although from there the camp authorities usually shipped them out to other subcamps—and the Germans shot at least 1 prisoner. At least 20 new prisoners arrived at Brünn, but that influx did not make up the losses: there were only 36 prisoners in Brünn when it closed on January 17, 1945. (The arrival date of that transport could not be established. According to prisoner accounts,

however, toward the end of 1944 a small group of inmates who had been arrested in Warsaw after the outbreak of the armed uprising were transferred from Auschwitz to Brünn.)

Alois Freiseisen, Austrian criminal prisoner (BV) No. 15472, was the camp elder (Lagerältester) until late autumn 1944. Upon his release from camp, Roman Kachel, Polish political prisoner No. 136079, filled that position. Polish political prisoner Dr. Czesław Jaworski, No. 31070, was the subcamp's doctor, while Eugeniusz Niedojadło, Polish political prisoner No. 213, was the nurse. German prisoners served as the labor squad foremen.

Officers from Brno's German police garrison served as the sentries guarding the subcamp.

SS-Hauptscharführer Gerhard Palitzsch, who brought the first prisoner transport to Brünn, was commandant from the day the subcamp was established until early February 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Rieger succeeded him in February 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Walter was the subcamp's third commandant, from the end of February 1944 to January 19, 1945. (Palitzsch was arrested at the Brünn subcamp in February 1944 in connection with the looting of a large amount of property of the people murdered at Auschwitz and his relationship with a female Jewish prisoner. His further fate is unknown, and information on the other camp leaders is unavailable.)[2]

On their first day in the subcamp, prisoners were already broken up by trade specializations and formed into detachments: carpenters, cabinet makers, bricklayers, glaziers, metalworkers, and electricians. These prisoners did all the interior finishing work in the Academy building. Czech firms did the specialist work, but the names of these companies remain unknown. Prisoner-foremen and the foremen of each firm supervised the prisoners' work.

Prisoners with no trade skills were put to work on earthmoving projects: leveling the site around the building, building an access road, digging sewage ditches, and making breaches in the rock to build ammunition warehouses. Those were the hardest jobs, out in the open, with the supervising foremen terrorizing the prisoners.

Later on, a small group of prisoners were put to work keeping the chemical laboratory equipment, which had been brought in from Kiev, in order. The inventory number stickers on each item attested to that. The goal was to prepare the laboratory to begin work associated with arms production and synthetic fuels, using German personnel.

Several prisoners were also put to work sorting type fonts that had been thoroughly mixed up when the poorly packed print shop had been shipped from Berlin to Brno. The manual printing machine had six printing tables with drawers containing the mixed-up type fonts that had to be arranged in sets according to typeface and size. The prisoners arranged approximately 60 type-font sets so that the print shop could be started up.

In the spring of 1944, a detachment was formed with 20 prisoners who were put to work on the nearby Einhorn estate. The estate belonged to a German officer. The prisoners worked on erecting outbuildings and repairing farm equipment.

The food rations at the Brünn subcamp were smaller than at the main Auschwitz camp. Since there was no kitchen on site, food was brought in from the Špilberk prison in the city of Brno. Breakfast consisted of only coffee. For dinner, prisoners received one liter of soup made of water with a small amount of barley or potatoes, very rarely with some fat or meat added. Sometimes the soup was thickened with dried beet leaves. Once a week prisoners would additionally get a slice of bread and a piece of horsemeat sausage. Hunger was a constant in the camp.

The illnesses from which prisoners most frequently suffered were starvation, diarrhea, vitamin deficiency ulcerations, and injuries caused by job accidents and beatings by the foremen. Since there was only a dispensary in the subcamp, serious cases of illness had to be sent to the hospital in the city of Brno, but the camp authorities were afraid that prisoners might escape, and therefore they were treated at the Špilberk prison hospital if necessary.

Even though the Germans attempted to enforce a ban on any contact between the Brünn prisoners and Czech civilian workers, bilateral communications were very quickly established. Both the managers as well as the civilian employees of the companies doing the work at the Academy would bring the prisoners food, with the knowledge that hunger was rampant in the subcamp. Likewise, Czech inmates from Špilberk, also working at the Academy, shared their meager food rations with the prisoners. Doctors from Brno hospital also helped the prisoners as much as they could by providing medicine to the subcamp.

The evacuation of the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp began in mid-April 1945. (The exact date of the evacuation of the subcamp could not be established. In their accounts, former inmates describe it as follows: "about four weeks before Germany capitulated"; "early spring 1944"; "toward the end of April 1944.") The Academy personnel evacuated with the prisoners, taking along laboratory equipment and arms. The evacuation train traveled for over a dozen days and only arrived at Traunstein in Upper Austria on April 28, 1945. All the Academy equipment and the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp were transported and housed at a munitions factory near Bergen.[3]

The prisoners were liberated by American forces on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary works contain information on this camp: Czesław Wincenty Jaworski, *Wspomnienia z Oświęcimia/Oświęcim—Brno—Monowice* (Warsaw, 1962); Emeryka Iwaszko, "Podobóz Brünn," *ZO* 18 (1983): 223–244; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992).

Material on this camp is available in the following APMO records: Proces Hössa (Höss Trial), vol. 21; Proces Załogi Oświęcimskiej, vol. 39; Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vols. III, VII; and accounts of former prisoners Władysław Gazda, Stefan Gregor, Jan Hyla, Florian Jurowski, Józef Kołodziejek, and

Fritz Wendler. See also the testimony of Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno—Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966).

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. SS Collection—Hygiene Institute, document group number D. Hyg. Inst./33 binder 20[a] p. 626/20[a] NI 106118, APMO. The number is also documented in Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno: Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966): 109; and the accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 105; vol. 77, p. 168.

2. Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno," pp. 109–110; and accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor, Florian Jurowski, and Józef Kołodziejka, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, pp. 4–5; vol. 47, p. 74; vol. 48, p. 49.

3. Accounts of Stefan Gregor, Władysław Gazda, Jan Hyla, and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 109; vol. 75, p. 178; vol. 77, pp. 62, 171.

BUDY

The Budy subcamp operated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór from April 1942 (with a pause in the autumn–winter period of 1942 to 1943) until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated. (The men's subcamp and women's subcamp that were formed later were actually situated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór, while the subcamp's tree nurseries, greenhouse, and part of the farm buildings were in the neighboring village of Budy. However, camp records list both camps under the name Budy.) The Germans expelled the population of both Bór and Budy in March 1941, demolished many of the buildings using prison labor from Auschwitz, and began to set up a centralized farm and prison camp on the land. The first group of 40 male prisoners arrived in April 1942. Labor arrangements varied for the next year or so, but by the spring of 1943 the Germans had established the men's and women's subcamps on a permanent basis.

The men's camp and farm consisted of 19 structures by April 1943, including barns, stables, storehouses for machinery and fertilizer, workshops, and barracks for the SS staff and prisoners; the prisoners' quarters and the tool shop were fenced off from the rest of the compound. Ten watchtowers, where the guards served duty throughout the day, overlooked the camp. This subcamp, like the other Auschwitz agricultural and animal camps, was under the charge of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, director of Oświęcim camp farms. SS-Oberscharführer Herman Etinger was commandant of the men's camp in Budy, and SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue succeeded him in April 1943.

The prisoner barracks were heated in the winter, and there was a toilet and sickroom in each. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunks with straw mattresses and blankets. Food was brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp daily. In the evening, the prisoners were issued dry provisions for the next day.

The prisoners living in the Budy subcamp were of various nationalities: Poles; Frenchmen; Belgians; Czechs; Russians; a few Germans; Gypsies; and Polish, Czech, and Greek Jews. Prisoners from outside the subcamp who worked in Harmęże, on the fish farm in Pławy, or in the forest in Nazieleńce, also slept in the prisoner barracks.

The prisoners, like those in the main camp, wore striped camp clothing or civilian clothes with squares cut out on the back and a piece of striped cloth or material painted in colored stripes. There were 167 prisoners on April 25, 1943, and 388 a year later on March 23, 1944. Prisoners worked 12 hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They were put to work in the fields (they sowed grain and grew beets for fodder) and also raised pigs, cows, and horses. The attitude of the SS men and foremen toward prisoners, especially Jews, was cruel. They were beaten and killed during work for the slightest offenses. The bodies of those killed were carted in from the work sites in the evening to Budy, and their names were entered in the records with a false cause of death.[1]

The SS also established a women's subcamp in Budy with the installation of 200 women, mostly Poles and German prisoner-functionaries, in a separate compound on April 5, 1943. Later there were also Russians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavians, Czechs, and Jews there.[2] SS-Oberaufseherin Elfriede Runge was the camp commandant.

The prisoners in the women's camp were divided into several detachments depending on the type of work they did. The largest one was the detachment that did farmwork. It ranged in size from 120 to 150 women. Regardless of the weather, the detachment did all kinds of farmwork, from planting vegetables to harvesting them and fertilizing the soil. When there was no fieldwork, they cleaned the ponds, dug ditches, and demolished and dismantled houses in Bór. One detachment was employed making compost. The compost heap was made of layers of sod, manure, and human ashes from the crematorium. Each detachment had its own commander—an SS man—and a foreman. Armed SS men brought the prisoners to the work site and escorted them back to the camp.

Initially, the hygiene and sanitary conditions in camp were appalling. The situation changed for the better upon implementation of an order by Auschwitz concentration camp commandant Rudolf Höss dated May 27, 1943, and because of an inspection of the Budy women's camp by Rapportführerin Drechsel.[3] Sundays were set aside for delousing and mending clothing and underwear. SS-Aufseherin Elisabeth Hasse, subcamp commandant after Runge, ordered mandatory washing in the camp. For that purpose, instead of dinner, water was heated in the kettles every Saturday, with which the women got to wash themselves. That was the way it remained as long as the Budy women's camp existed. Hasse, born on December 24, 1917, arrived in Auschwitz in October 1942. She was commandant of the female detachments at the Rajsko subcamp, then at Budy until 1944. Later, she took the job of Arbeitsdienstführerin at the Birkenau women's camp, a post she held until the camp was evacuated.

The prisoners slept two per bunk, covering themselves with one blanket. The barrack was not heated. Everyone was dressed alike in striped clothing, dark aprons, and white kerchiefs on their heads. Underwear was changed once a month.

Food for the prisoners was prepared on-site. They would get their first meal only around noon at the work site: herbal tea and a portion of bread with some margarine or jam. Upon returning from work in the evening, they would get soup made from rutabaga, rye, and nettles. Dry provisions were supplied by the Birkenau women's camp.

The prisoners could receive packages from outside, although either they did not get them in one piece or the products in them were ruined because they had been held by the prisoner foremen.[4] When Hasse left in 1944, SS-Aufseherin Johanna Bormann took over as camp commandant. She was a very severe and demanding person who punished every offense by prisoners but also looked after the kitchen, and for that reason the food improved and the prisoners were not robbed by the German prisoner foremen so often. Bormann, born on September 10, 1893, in Brinkenfelde (East Prussia), was a clerk by trade. She had been sent to Auschwitz on May 15, 1943, from Ravensbrück. She was commandant of the Budy women's camp until December 1944. Then she took the job of SS supervisor at the Auschwitz subcamp in Hindenburg (later Zabrze) until the camp was evacuated. She was later sentenced to death for her crimes in the Bergen-Belsen trial.

The prisoners were physically and mentally exhausted by the hard labor, hunger, and beatings. There were even instances of suicide among them.[5]

In the autumn of 1944, the women prisoners were taken away to camps within Germany, while the men were evacuated from the subcamp on January 18, 1945.

Due to the Budy camp's location on the edge of evacuated areas as well as those partially inhabited by Poles, there were frequent communications between the prisoners and the population. Heedless of the consequences (many families were arrested and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp), people provided the prisoners with various forms of assistance. They would plant food and medicine at prisoner detachment work sites, help prisoners communicate with relatives, give help to runaways, and provide civilian clothes. That is also why at least 10 male and female prisoners escaped from the Budy camp, 9 of them successfully.

SOURCES See Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Budy," *ZO* 10 (1967): 84–100 (German version: "Wirtschaftshof—Budy," HvA 10 [1967]: 67–85).

APMO holds the following relevant records: Oświadczenia [Affidavits], accounts of former prisoners Stanisław Zyguła, Józef Warchał, Ryszard Nalewajko, Raisa Diemczenko (Mendigalevoy District), Stanisława Kowalska, Ružena Smolíkova-Maryškova, Wanda Koprowska, Eugenia Kurzelowa, Janina Ślimak, Aniela Koczur Stelmachowa, Eugenia Piwek, Alicja Zarytkiewicz; accounts of the villages (hamlets) of Bór, Budy, Nazieleńce: Anna and Józef Moroń, Maria Cyna, Zofia Wawro, Hermina Czuwaj, Sylwester Marusza. Proces Hössa, testimony of: Rudolf Höss, Józef Stawowczyk, Ignacy Barcik; Rozkazy Komendantury; Zespół Opracowania Syg. Opr./Lasik/299, files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Oświadczenia (Affidavits), 69: 4, account of resident of village of Nazieleńce Józef Moroń.
2. Ibid., 22: 139–140, account of former prisoner Wanda Koprowska; 36: 98, 105, accounts of former prisoners Janina Ślimak and Eugenia Kurzelowa.
3. Ibid., Zespół Rozkazy komendantury, commander's headquarters Order No. 19/43, dated May 5, 1943.
4. Ibid., Oświadczenia (Affidavits), vol. 36, account of former prisoner Eugenia Kurzelowa.
5. Ibid., 36: 100, account of former prisoner Janina Ślimak.

CHARLOTTENGRUBE

By 1943, the management of Reichwerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) had already begun negotiations with the administration of the Auschwitz concentration camp about putting prisoners to work in the company's Charlottengrube mine. The two sides reached an agreement on September 19, 1944. At that time, the first transport of 200 Auschwitz prisoners—Jews from Hungary or Romania—was brought to Rydułtowy (Rydultau) and put to work at Charlottengrube. They were placed in a camp for forced laborers or prisoners of war (POWs), which had been in existence for some time, although the name of that camp has not been determined. An additional transport of approximately 600 to 700 prisoners from Auschwitz, including many Slovakian Jews, arrived in Rydułtowy around October 7, 1944. Later on, the SS also began putting prisoners into a camp behind the slag heap at Charlottengrube, on the road heading in the direction of Radoszowa (Radoschau), the northwestern quarter of town. The residents of Rydułtowy called it "Judenlager," "Berlin," or "Lager behind the Heap." Administratively, both sites were part of the same subcamp.

The Charlottengrube subcamp, like other Auschwitz subcamps at industrial plants, was under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp. The subcamp commandants were, in turn, SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tschiersky and Kirchner (also spelled Kirschner or Kürschner). Tschiersky, born January 2, 1896, in Berlin, was a violin maker by profession and in September and October 1944 served as commandant at Charlottengrube; later he belonged to the staff of the Laurahütte subcamp. Kirchner served as commandant from November 1944 to January 1945 and was an extraordinarily zealous SS man. His treatment of the prisoners was brutal, as his punishment reports to the management of Monowitz indicate. The subcamp's staff was the SS guard detachment (Wachkommando) belonging to the Monowitz

concentration camp 8./SS-Totenkopf Wachkompanie (8th Guard Company). There were 54 SS men in the Wachkommando at the beginning of December 1944.

The transports of autumn 1944 were most probably the largest. The rest of the transports brought prisoners into the subcamp chiefly to replace those who had died of hunger and overwork. There were approximately 1,000 to 1,100 prisoners living at the subcamp in mid-October 1944; the population decreased in the following months due to the high death rate. With few exceptions, the prisoners brought to Rydułtowy were Jews. They came from almost every European country occupied by the Third Reich. Many came from Jewish intellectual communities.

Prisoners' living conditions were basically the same in both sections of the Charlottengrube subcamp. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no better than at Auschwitz, as regards both quality and quantity. The SS men terrorized the prisoners, who never knew when and for what they would be punished.

According to a surviving report of the Rybnik Bergrevieramt (Rybnik District Mining Agency) for the Breslau Oberbergamt (Wroclaw Superior Mining Agency) dated December 11, 1944, approximately 50 percent of the prisoners put to work in the "Eleonora" bed (department I) at the Charlottengrube mine lost their fitness to work in the space of two months.[1] The situation was similar in the other departments. Dr. König, an SS doctor, conducted selections every so often at the camp hospital; prisoners found to be unfit for labor were taken away to the gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Additionally, several hundred prisoners died in the subcamp over its four months of existence. The bodies were buried at the Rydułtowy cemetery or were taken to Birkenau with the prisoners whom König had "selected." Construction began on a small crematorium at the Judenlager in late autumn 1944, but it was never completed.

Most of the prisoners put in the subcamp worked in the local mine, almost half of them underground and the rest on the surface. Representatives of RWHG personally selected prisoners at Auschwitz. Then SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the prisoners on the way to work at the mine and on the way back to the camp. There was no set limit to the time the prisoners worked underground; it was often prolonged to a dozen hours or more per day. Privileged prisoners, representatives of the mining concern (foremen, overseers, and managers), and SS guards supervised the prisoners constantly. Criminal prisoner foremen and some mine foremen beat and tormented the prisoners every step of the way, sometimes fatally.

In the mine, the prisoners loaded coal into conveyor troughs, moved the troughs, and arranged supporting timbers. Other prisoners transported materials (wood, rails, cables) to the headings, operated the conveyor belts in the galleries, or tidied the galleries. Prisoners had to match the output of the local miners; thus they were forced to maximum exertion. Many prisoners had accidents working underground, and there were also suicides. On the mine's surface, prisoners unloaded and transported the materials needed to do the underground work, carted coal onto the railway siding, cleaned the mine grounds, sorted coal, or labored in the mine workshops. A large group of prisoners also worked on the construction of the Charlotte electric power plant. SS men, foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, and sometimes SA men guarded the prisoners at workstations on the surface. The prisoners were treated inhumanly, as they were underground.

Some groups of prisoners were put to work outside the mine, for tasks like installing water and sewer pipes in the vicinity of the subcamp or at the sawmill owned by the Karl und Reinhold Wieczorek company.

Some prisoners availed themselves of the help of Rydułtowy residents, both employees of Charlottengrube and people not associated with it. Despite the threat of severe punishment, some Rydułtowy residents handed prisoners various food products, above all bread and coffee, or planted them at the prisoners' work sites. Several prisoners managed to escape from Rydułtowy. The fugitives were helped by Poles—mine workers who provided them with civilian clothes or enabled them to leave their work posts illegally. A few prisoners joined miners in acts of sabotage, destroying mine equipment (for instance, they would damage the motors of the shaker conveyers, or the underground rails), so as to impede the Nazi's operation of the mine.

Evacuation of the subcamp began around January 19, 1945. Columns of prisoners under escort by SS men were led out of the subcamp westward. On the way, SS men shot at those who fell behind. After a day's march, the prisoners reached the town of Kreuzendorf (later Krzyżanowice) beyond the Oder River, where they spent the night. Then, for reasons that still have not been determined, they were sent back from there to Rydułtowy and thence to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau) on about January 22. From Wodzisław, they were taken away to Mauthausen concentration camp in open railway cars.

At Wodzisław, approximately 50 prisoners from Rydułtowy were driven into a railway car in which there were already prisoners being evacuated from Auschwitz concentration camp, among them August Korzuch. After the war, he related the event as follows: "The prisoners who were brought in were dressed in striped denim and looked like skeletons. Their physical and health condition was much worse than that of the prisoners being evacuated from Oświęcim. I do not believe any of them lived to our arrival at Mauthausen. The transport lasted several days. On the way, we would throw the bodies of our companions, dead of emaciation, out of the car. I think it was precisely the bodies of prisoners from Rydułtowy that we were throwing from the car first."[2]

At the Mauthausen concentration camp, the prisoners were divided into four groups, which were sent to the Gusen II, Ebensee, Melk, and Ebensee Wels II subcamps. Only a few prisoners managed to survive until liberation.

There is no record that either the SS men in charge of Charlottengrube or the managers and foremen of RWHG were punished for their offenses.

SOURCES Information on the Charlottengrube subcamp can be found in Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobóz Charlottengrube w Rydułtowach, *ZO* 17 (1985): 41–89 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Charlottengrube in Rydułtowy," HvA 17 [1985]: 41–90). Records pertaining to this camp are held in the following locations: APKat, Charlotte Mine Records, Catalog No. 102; Zespół Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy w Rybniku (Rybnik District Mining Agency Collection) sygn. 86, 92, 1631, 1654; APMO, microfilm (No. 260) with correspondence (originals in Moscow) between the management of the Charlottengrube subcamp and that of the Monowitz concentration camp; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Eugen Michal, Ernest Mlynski, Leopold Mlynski, Koloman Wiener, and others; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of residents of Rydułtowy and environs (Stanisław Brückner, Wilhem Frydrych, Jan Grycman, Henryk Pozimski, and others).

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of the Rybnik District Mining Agency of December 11, 1944, in the Katowice National Archives [APKat], OUG Rybnik Catalog No. 1654 book. 393 (copy at APMO).

2. Account of former prisoner August Korzuch, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 52, book 139.

CHEŁMEK-PAPROTNIK [AKA CHEŁMEK]

The town of Chełmek lies eight kilometers (five miles) from Oświęcim (Auschwitz) on the Oświęcim-Trzebinia railway line.

The Chełmek subcamp was one of the external detachments of the Auschwitz concentration camp in the Chełmek-Paprotnik area. It was formed in order to clean the ponds from which Chełmek's Bata shoe factory, under German control, was to draw water for industrial purposes. That would considerably decrease the costs of taking water from the Przemsza River, which was farther away from the factory.

Surviving camp records do not provide the exact date on which the detachment was established. It was probably established in October 1942. An order from the Auschwitz concentration camp commander's headquarters dated November 2, 1942, attests to this, as it already mentions the Chełmek detachment.[1] This is also confirmed by entries in the Auschwitz morgue register, in which 10 separate shipments of bodies—47 in total—are shown as arriving from Chełmek between November 7 and December 3, 1942.[2]

The detachment numbered about 150 prisoners, of whom most were Jews from various countries. That makeup of the detachment is supported by the fact that out of the 47 dead Chełmek detachment prisoners whose numbers were listed in the Auschwitz morgue register, as many as 45 people had been brought by Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports, mainly from transit camps for Jews from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. The prisoners who died in the Chełmek detachment, and whose numbers were noted in the mortuary register, came from the following countries: 6 from Holland, 1 from France, 1 brought in a mixed transport (as of November 7, 1942), 10 from Holland, 2 from Belgium, and 3 from France (as of December 3, 1942).

The prisoners lived in a primitive shed, heated by one small stove in the winter that did little to protect the inhabitants from the harsh weather. The prisoners slept on three-level board beds and never had enough blankets. Next to the shed was the latrine, which could be used only during the day. At night the shed was locked, and a barrel was placed inside for waste. The prisoners emptied it in the morning. They washed outside—over a trough with spigots that supplied water from a nearby ditch—always with cold water and without soap. They took a bath once a week at the Bata factory. The sanitary and hygienic conditions were all the more appalling because the prisoners worked entire days in slime and mud. There was a little pharmacy in the shed, but it was never fully stocked with basic medicines. A room was added onto the shed to accommodate a mortuary.

The prisoners worked on three connected ponds, about one and one-half kilometers (one mile) from the subcamp. The first of them, lying nearest the Bata factory, was where the prisoners worked; they were removing the silt and rushes and clearing tree roots. They reinforced the dike surrounding the pond with silt and mud. They also worked in the nearby Jazdówka quarry, where the stones for reinforcing the dikes were taken.

Food for the prisoners was provided by the Bata factory. The daily food ration consisted of one liter (one quart) of black coffee, one-half liter (one pint) of soup, and a piece of dry bread.

The hard labor and hunger caused a high death rate. Sick and dead prisoners were taken away to Auschwitz, from whence new prisoners were brought in to keep up the detachment's population. As previously mentioned, entries in the camp morgue register attest to prisoner mortality, as 47 bodies were listed in November 1942 as having been brought in from the Chełmek detachment, and 15 were listed on December 3, 1942. That day, 26 sick prisoners were also brought to Auschwitz.[3]

The hunger caused extraordinary weight loss and psychological breakdowns among the prisoners. One prisoner, the Austrian Ernst Toch (No. 70231), recalls in his report that in a moment of extreme emotional breakdown, he turned to one of the SS men at the work site and asked him to shoot him. The guard said that he would, on the condition that the prisoner made it look like he was attempting to escape. Toch made his way toward the latrine at the edge of the forest adjoining the pond that the prisoners had cleaned out. Then the guard set the dogs on him. They dragged him to the ground and began gnawing at his thighs.

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Schillinger and SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Emmerich served as the commandants (Emmerich took over for Schillinger after October 23, 1942, when a Jewish woman who had just arrived from Bergen-Belsen shot both men, Schillinger fatally). There

were six SS men and police dogs that helped them guard the prisoners.

The Chełmek detachment was shut down on December 9, 1942. On that day the prisoners were trucked to Auschwitz. That is proven by a truck transport departure order stating that the detachment's shutdown was the reason for the trip. According to the reports of members of the local population, the prisoners were taken from Chełmek as soon as the frosts began.[4]

The Chełmek subcamp detachment was shut down even though the pond-cleaning work had not been finished. The shutdown was not because of the approaching winter, because if that had been the case, they would have started up the work again in the spring of 1943, and that did not happen.

SOURCES The one published account with information on this camp is Emeryka Iwaszko, "Aussenkommando Chełmek: Kommando zewnętrzne Chełmek," *ZO* 12 (1970): 47–55. The nationalities of the deaths at Chełmek are recorded in Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992), entries for November 7 and December 3, 1942.

Information on Chełmek can be found in the following records: Proces przeciw członkom załogi obozu oświęcimskiego przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym w Krakowie, vol. 40; Chełmek—materiały różne—Sygn. D-Au III—/ Chełmek.

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Kommandantur Sonderbefehl of November 2, 1942. Staff Members' Trial collection, 40: 17, APMO.

2. Leichenhallebuch—D-Au I-5/4, p. 8, APMO.

3. Trip orders for a car from KL Auschwitz to Chełmek. Fahrbefehl no. 3 of December 3, 1942, D-Au I-4/62, APMO; report of the former prisoner Ernst Toch.

4. Trip orders for a car from Auschwitz to Chełmek—Fahrbefehl no. 9 of December 9, 1942. The destination given was "Chełmek—Einziehung des Arbeitskommandos." D-Au I-4/55, APMO. Witness reports by Rozalia Szymutko, Anna Wanat, and Mieczysław Niedzielski.

EINTRACHTHÜTTE

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Zgoda (Eintrachthütte), the southern part of the city of Świętochłowice (Schwientochlowitz) in Upper Silesia, on May 26, 1943.[1] The German arms company Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Osmag) of Katowice (Kattowitz) initiated the subcamp's establishment. On May 4, 1943, Director Gömmer, the company's representative, negotiated with officials from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) branch D II in the matter, at which time they set forth the terms for hiring out prisoners. The terms were confirmed in a letter from WVHA D II to Osmag Werk Eintrachthütte dated May 7, 1943.[2]

The first group of 30 prisoners was moved from Auschwitz to the Eintrachthütte subcamp in a truck on May 26, 1943. Their job was to prepare the camp for more prisoners.[3] The main group of prisoners, numbering 500, arrived from Auschwitz by freight train on June 7, 1943.[4] More transports followed, so the prisoner population grew steadily; it was approximately 700 in late 1943 and reached a peak of around 1,370 in August 1944.[5] On January 17, 1945, shortly prior to evacuation, there were 1,297 prisoners in the camp.[6] Most prisoners were Jews from places such as France, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Greece, Poland, the Netherlands, and Belgium. In comparison to other subcamps, where Jews definitely predominated, Poles constituted a sizable group, and there were Russian prisoners of war (POWs) as well.

The Eintrachthütte arms works was the prisoners' chief workplace, where they manufactured anti-aircraft guns. Prisoners produced parts on machines (lathes, borers, grinders) and assembled the guns. They also worked maintaining machines and equipment and operating hoists and overhead cranes.[7]

Around 200 to 300 prisoners worked in what was called the Baukommando (construction detachment), knocking down unneeded old factory buildings and cleaning up the site.

When the camp first came into existence, a considerable number of prisoners worked building the barracks, barbed-wire fence, and watchtowers. Some prisoners were regularly employed inside the camp in the kitchen, canteen, infirmary, warehouses, and repair shops, and as barbers, as well as barrack and room foremen.

The SS ran the camp strictly and brutally. Any communications with civilian workers—getting food from them or even speaking to them—was prohibited. Inmates were not allowed to eat, smoke cigarettes, leave their machines, fall asleep, or have any money or valuables with them at the work site. Even for trivial offenses, the SS men and prisoner foremen beat prisoners, often until they lost consciousness and not infrequently to death. There were also instances when the SS men shot prisoners for talking to civilian workers, and they would shoot at prisoners for getting near windows—SS guards would get several days' leave for shooting a prisoner at a window, which qualified as preventing an escape.

Sometimes summary punishments were meted out to prisoners at work or in camp following denunciations by German civilian supervisors. Prisoners were punished in the camp by whipping, food deprivation, or additional labor on free Sundays (alternate Sundays were days off).

The work went on in two shifts, a day and a night one of 12 hours each. Prisoners received no pay for their labor. Only from time to time would the factory issue vouchers worth a few Reichsmark (RM) to the prisoners. One could buy things at the camp canteen with them, but it did not have the most sought-after food products. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no different from the typical fare of concentration camp prisoners.

An infirmary was set up in the subcamp for sick prisoners who were incapable of working; it was staffed by prisoner

doctors. But the infirmary lacked basic drugs and equipment. For instance, there was no scalpel to perform any surgical procedures. Simple dental procedures, usually extractions, were performed in the camp dentist's office.

Every so often the SS men would hold prisoner selections on the assembly ground. The weak and injured were pulled out of the ranks and transported to Auschwitz.

Every week several prisoners would die from the exhausting labor, insufficient food, lack of proper medical care, and abuse. Their corpses were taken away to Auschwitz to be cremated.

The fees that the factory paid—6 RM for a day of a skilled worker's labor and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one—were transferred to the national treasury via the SS's bank account.[8]

Even before prisoners arrived at the factory, all the civilian employees had been notified that any communications with prisoners, or giving them food or cigarettes, was strictly forbidden, and they would be sent to a concentration camp themselves or even get the death penalty for violating that order.

In spite of that, Polish workers helped prisoners, especially Poles (although there are also examples of help for Jews and Soviet POWs), by passing along illegal correspondence, secretly supplying them with food and medications, and even providing assistance in escapes. The largest escape was on July 3, 1944, when nine prisoners, one Pole, one Jew, and seven Russians, got out through a tunnel dug under the fence.[9] The Germans arrested two local residents for aiding the prisoners: Maciński, a Polish pharmacist, who was put into Auschwitz, where he perished, and Magdalena Szymik, a Polish worker who was interrogated at Auschwitz and freed.

Because of the Red Army's rapid advance in January 1945, the camp was shut down, and approximately 1,200 prisoners were evacuated. Everyone able to be evacuated was loaded into freight cars and taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp. Many prisoners died in the course of the four-day trip, which they had to endure standing because of the enormous crowding.

Upon liberation, several dozen prisoners who had been left in the camp were taken to hospitals in Świętochłowice and Katowice.

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłądzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, Erwin Smieja, Alfred Swoboda, and Tomasz Dobiosz; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Meldunki i zarządzenia karne; Kommandantur-Befehle; Akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Nummernbuch; Kartoteka więźniów Mauthausen; Meldeblatt; Telegramy o ucieczkach. Also, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach APKat holds records in collections BH-2405, -2484, -2511, and -2515. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Eintrachthütte," HvA 17 (1985): 133–137.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerhard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, sygn. D-AuI-3a, account of prisoner labor for May 26–31, 1943; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts by former Eintrachthütte subcamp prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.

2. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29 (microfilm at APMO)—letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.

3. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a, monthly employment list of Auschwitz male and female prisoners; Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.

4. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a/318, letter from Auschwitz political unit director to various camp offices dated June 5, 1943.

5. APKat, BH-2405, pp. 11, 24–26, statistical reports of the Osmag and Ost-Maschinenbau companies.

6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212.

7. Prisoner working and living conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former prisoners Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłądzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, and those of workers Erwin Smieja and Tomasz Dobiosz. ANMA [or APMO], Affidavits Collection.

8. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29, letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.

9. APMO, Catalog No. AuI-1/334–337, Meldeblatt No. 13 dated July 15, 1944, published by the State Police Unit in Wrocław. The document listed the escaped prisoners' names and descriptions.

FREUDENTHAL

An Auschwitz subcamp was formed in the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal) in the Czech Sudeten Mountains. The fragmentary surviving records do not provide the exact date on which it was established, but it probably came into being in October 1944. The first mention of the Freudenthal camp is in the daily work rolls of female prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz camp for October 14 to December 30, 1944.[1]

The Freudenthal camp was located on the southeastern edge of town, about 198 meters (650 feet) from the train station, on the grounds of the factory belonging to the German company Emmerich Machold.

The camp commandant was an SS man with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, while the commander of the 21-person guard detachment assigned to guard the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbort, born on April 13, 1893.[2] Starting October 1944, he was the chief of the Freudenthal subcamp's guard detachment, which was part of the 8th Guard Company headquartered at Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Three female German SS guards (Aufseherinnen) also belonged to the camp staff. One of them was Erna Bodem, a Sudeten German. Bodem, born in Zwodau on October 10, 1919, was a farm laborer by occupation and entered service in the SS in 1943. After serving as a supervisor at the Lublin concentration

camp, she was at Auschwitz II-Birkenau from late April 1944 until October 10, 1944, before her transfer to the Freudenthal subcamp, where she stayed until May 3, 1945.

Guard duty was served by older soldiers or those unfit to serve on the lines, men from regular army formations who were enlisted into the SS after several weeks of training. They served 24-hour guard duty in shifts in the four guard stations around the camp and at the entrance, reinforced the guards at the factory's main entrance, and also escorted the women to and from work.

The Emmerich Machold textile factory, which did knitting, weaving, and made clothing, had at that time shifted over to war production to meet the Wehrmacht's needs. The women employed there sewed such things as uniforms for German soldiers.

In October 1944, the SS selected a group of 300 female Jewish prisoners, mainly Hungarian and Czech, from the transit camp for Jewish women (Sector BIIc) at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and sent them to the Freudenthal subcamp.[3] The camp population probably remained at a constant level throughout the camp's operation (there were 301 prisoners as of October 19, 1944). The only number that changed was that of the working prisoners and those unfit to work because of sickness or emaciation. For example, on any given workday in October there were from 4 to 5 prisoners unfit for work; in November, that number grew to 11 or 12 persons a day; in December, it rose to 35 or 36 sick women in the camp hospital per day.[4] We can assume that the number of sick people and those unfit to work grew over the following months as a result of the cold conditions, hunger, and exhausting labor.

The women wore the striped camp clothing they had received in Birkenau prior to being transported to Freudenthal.[5]

The prisoners were liberated on May 6, 1945, by Russian forces.[6] The entire SS staff probably abandoned the camp several days before the Russians entered. Just after war operations ceased, the Emmerich Machold factory burned; therefore, practically no company records from before May 1945 survived on-site in Bruntal.[7]

Records at the International Tracing Service (ITS) show that the prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp were also subhired for work by Freudenthaler Getränke GmbH, belonging to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W III/2. Getränke specialized in the manufacture of vitamin juices.[8] The fact that the corporation was hiring Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp was also confirmed by former Auschwitz concentration camp commander Rudolf Höss in his testimony given after the war in Kraków, in which he states: "The Freudenthal camp was located in the Sudeten Mountains. It had been established there for construction purposes, particularly the expansion of a company making vitamin juice for the provisions of forces stationed in Norway. Later, prisoners of that camp were also going to work in the company's factories, which were operated by the SS on its own account. In my time the camp numbered approximately three hundred prisoners."[9] However, a study of the records collected at the Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives does not confirm that statement.

Erna Bodem was tried in Kraków in 1948 and sentenced to four years in prison. There is no record that any of the other camp or industry personnel associated with Freudenthal were prosecuted.

SOURCES There are no published sources on this camp. Primary sources on Freudenthal may be found in APMO (microfilm collection; daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III-Monowitz; collection on the Höss trial; correspondence) and in ITS and its catalog.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Catalog No. D-Au III-3a/1, p. 342.
2. APMO, Microfilm No. 261/16. Report on the activity of the guard company at the Freudenthal camp dated December 1, 1944, sent to the superior authorities at Monowitz concentration camp, by its commander SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbort.
3. APMO, Correspondence, syg. Kor. IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter to the Museum from the former inmate Magda Kessler, née Klein, dated May 15, 1990.
4. APMO, daily list of occupations, pp. 432–509.
5. APMO, Vol.: IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter by the former inmate Magda Kessler.
6. Ibid.
7. APMO, Vol.: I –8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with historian Dr. Franciszek Spurny of the Regional Museum in Šumperk, dated September 19, 1986.
8. Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Internationaler Suchdienst (Arolsen 1979), p. 18.
9. APMO, Proces Hössa, 21: 41.

FÜRSTENGRUBE

The Fürstengrube subcamp was organized in the summer of 1943 at the Fürstengrube hard coal mine in the town of Wesoła (Wessolla), now part of the city of Mysłowice (Myslowitz), approximately 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from Auschwitz. The mine, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, was to supply hard coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Auschwitz. Besides the old Fürstengrube mine, called the Altanlage, a new mine (Fürstengrube-Neuanlage) had been designed and construction had begun; it was to provide for greater coal output in the future. Coal production at the new mine was anticipated to start in late 1943, so construction was treated as very urgent; however, that plan proved to be unfeasible.[1]

In the period before the Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners were sent to work at Fürstengrube, the mine employed Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Jewish slave laborers, and forced laborers from the USSR, in addition to its regular

staff. Negotiations in July 1943 between Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss and representatives of IG Farbenindustrie AG and Fürstengrube GmbH led to an agreement to build a new camp for approximately 600 prisoners—increasing to 1,200 then to 1,300 later—from Auschwitz.[2]

Mainly Jews built the new camp; they lived in the mine's forced labor camp for Jews, which was under the so-called Organisation Schmelt; that camp was called Lager Ostland. The Jewish prisoners from that camp were taken away even before the prisoners were moved from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The camp report for August 1943 no longer mentions the number of Jews employed.[3] The prisoners moved from Auschwitz then continued the subcamp's construction and expansion.

In early September 1943, the SS began moving prisoners, probably including a few German prisoner foremen, from Auschwitz to the Fürstengrube subcamp, which appears as "Lager Süd" on mine maps. On September 4, 1943, the Auschwitz labor office reported that 129 prisoners were working at the Fürstengrube subcamp; by July 1944 that number had risen to approximately 1,200, 85 to 90 percent of whom were Jews. Polish Jews were the most numerous group, but Jews from Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Greece were also present. Starting in the spring of 1944, there were also several dozen non-Jewish Polish prisoners at Fürstengrube.[4]

For the first three months the subcamp was under the direct charge of Auschwitz headquarters; then after November 22, 1943, under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Effective May 22, 1944, the 3rd Guard Company of Auschwitz III took charge of the guard duty.[5] SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll was named the subcamp's first commandant; he served in that position until March 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Max Schmidt succeeded Moll until the subcamp was shut down in January 1945. The SS staff at the beginning of 1944 consisted of 47 SS men and grew to 64 at the end of the year.

Prisoners from Auschwitz who went to the Fürstengrube subcamp were mostly put to work extracting coal in the old mine and building the new one.[6] Prisoners working in the old mine were divided up into three shifts: morning (5:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.), day (1:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.), and night (9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M.). Work at the mine was especially difficult and dangerous because of the low galleries and the abundance of water. Prisoners did not receive the required protective clothing, and they were constantly vulnerable to beatings and abuse from the mine's civilian staff as well as prisoner-foremen. The prisoners building the new mine faced equally brutal and exhausting work. They worked in one shift, a day shift, doing all sorts of construction and assembly jobs in groups of painters, bricklayers, welders, metalworkers, and assemblers. Additionally, when the shifts were over, many of the prisoners then had to work to expand the camp.

Only very sick prisoners were admitted to the camp infirmary. SS doctors conducted periodic selections there and among the other prisoners as well; prisoners who were no longer able to work were moved to the Birkenau hospital sector (BIIf).[7] The rotation of prisoners was significant, as new prisoners replaced those who had been selected. For example, from May 8 to 14, 1944, as many as 42 Fürstengrube prisoners entered the hospital sector of Birkenau.[8]

In spite of the hard conditions and fight for survival, despite the beatings and persecution, there were some poor substitutes for cultural life at the subcamp in the form of band concerts and plays.[9] Some prisoners secretly drew portraits of their fellow inmates.

Only a few escapes and escape attempts from the Fürstengrube subcamp are known. Gabriel Rothkopf, a Polish Jew, escaped during the night of December 18–19, 1943, while returning from work at the old mine.[10] In response, Commandant Moll personally shot a randomly selected group of prisoners in front of their fellows and left their bodies on the assembly ground until the next shift returned.[11] Ivan Potekhnin, a Russian prisoner, escaped on April 15, 1944.[12] In the spring of 1944, a group of prisoners dug a tunnel from a barrack, but during an inspection five German Jews were apprehended in it; they were later hanged.[13] In June 1944, Commandant Schmidt shot a Russian prisoner who intended to escape from the subcamp.[14] In late August 1944, yet another Russian prisoner was shot; he had attempted to escape in a freight car leaving the new mine construction site.[15] The escape attempt of a Polish prisoner named Górewicz, working in the forge, also ended with his execution.[16]

Polish miners on the site helped a group of Polish prisoners by smuggling messages, food, and news of the situation on the fronts. However, the camp's political branch got word of the activity, probably in late August 1944. The prisoners were sent to Auschwitz I, and after approximately two months of interrogation, they were brought back to Fürstengrube and hanged on October 10, 1944.[17]

In September, November, and December 1944, the Polish and Russian prisoners were moved to the Flossenbürg, Buchenwald, and Mauthausen concentration camps. As of January 17, 1945, 1,283 prisoners, chiefly Jews, remained in the subcamp.[18] On January 19, having burned the camp's records, the SS led approximately 1,000 prisoners out of the camp, headed for Gliwice (Gleiwitz) via Mikołów.[19] Severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult, and SS men killed anyone who fell out. On the evening of January 20, 1945, the Fürstengrube prisoners reached the Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they joined prisoners from Auschwitz III-Monowitz as well as some other subcamps. The next day, January 21, the SS loaded approximately 4,000 prisoners into open railway cars bound for Mauthausen. The authorities at Mauthausen did not accept the transport, however, as the camp was overcrowded, but sent the train on to Mittelbau-Dora, where it arrived on January 28. Out of 4,000 prisoners, only about 3,500 survived the seven-day trip.

On January 27, 1945, at about 4:00 P.M., a dozen or so SS men entered the Fürstengrube subcamp and killed most of the remaining prisoners; some they shot, and some burned to

death when the SS set their barracks on fire. Only the sudden arrival of Soviet troops forced the SS to flee, thus sparing a few of the prisoners. A mine employee who was present afterward reported that they buried 239 bodies.[20] About 20 prisoners survived the massacre. One of them, former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, testified to these events on May 9, 1945, before the Investigation Commission for German Nazi Crimes at Auschwitz.[21]

In a U.S. Military Court trial in Dachau from November 15 to December 13, 1945, Otto Moll, the first commandant of the Fürstengrube subcamp, was sentenced to death by hanging.[22] The sentence was executed on May 28, 1946.

SOURCES The following secondary source contains additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Fürstengrube,'" *ZO* 16 (1975): 71–151.

APMO holds materials in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Fürstengrube subcamp prisoners. Additional material is in APKat, Pszczyna Division, in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection. Also helpful is the account of Leo Klüger, *Lache, denn morgen bist Du tot. Eine Geschichte vom Überleben* (Munich: Piper, 1998).

Stanislawa Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. "Fürstengrube GmbH," notes and correspondence, in APMO, Fürstengrube GmbH collection.
2. Note dated July 28, 1943, in APMO, D-AuIII/Fürstengrube/1a, book 46–47.
3. APKat, Pszczyna Division, Fürstengrube GmbH collection, Catalog No. 50.
4. See, for example, account of former prisoner Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 60, book 99.
5. Standortbefehl No. 53/43 in APMO, D-AuI-1; Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.
6. Account of former prisoner Paul Halter, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 41–43.
7. Account of former prisoner Ervín Hekš, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 70, book 124.
8. APMO, H-Krankenbau B.II.f K.L.AuII Zugänge von Aussenlagern von 8 Mai 1944 bis 14 Mai 1944, chart, in APMO, D-AuII-5/2, book 28.
9. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter and Marian Waliński, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 35, vol. 40, book 55.
10. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Gabriel Rothkopf dated December 20, 1944, in APMO, IZ-8/Gestapo Łódź/3a, vol. 4, book 547, 548.
11. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter, Józef Łabudek and Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 50, book 94, vol. 60, book 107.
12. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Iwan Potechin, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1a, vol. 2, book 374.
13. Accounts of former prisoners Marian Waliński, Józef Łabudek, Stanisław Łapiński, Paul Halter, and Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 54–55, vol. 50, book 93, vol. 54, book 20, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 60, book 107.
14. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Ławnicki and Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 60, book 108, vol. 57, book 51.
15. Account of former prisoner Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88.
16. Account of former prisoner Henryk Kowadło, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 21, book 71.
17. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Skotnicki, Leonard Chłądzyński, Paul Halter, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88, vol. 61, book 54, vol. 54, book 37, vol. 50, book 94.
18. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.
19. Accounts of former prisoners Ludwik Frąszczak, Józef Tabaczyński, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 65, vol. 44, book 62, vol. 50, book 95.
20. Account of former mine employee Piotr Olej, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 59.
21. Record of testimony by former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, in APMO, Proces Hössa, vol. 1, book 123–128.
22. Rept. of Dachau concentration camp trial, in APMO, Dpr. [trial log] Dachau/1.

GLEIWITZ I

The Gleiwitz Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), also called the Wagenwerk, initiated the establishment of the Gleiwitz I subcamp in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice) and financed the subcamp's construction and outfitting. The first prisoner transport was sent to the camp in March 1944. A dozen or so prisoners, mostly carpenters, arrived to prepare the subcamp for subsequent transports. When the first barracks were put up (some of which had most probably been moved from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp), several dozen Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians were transferred to the subcamp from Auschwitz I. They were largely skilled tradesmen who had been employed until then in the Union-Werke detachment. Because there are no sources, we cannot determine the arrival dates, numbers, or ethnic composition of the other prisoner transports. The only source providing the number of prisoners at the Gleiwitz I subcamp is a list made by the secret prisoner resistance movement organization. Because of it, it is known that at the last roll call on January 17, 1945, there were 1,336 prisoners at the subcamp. We can therefore state that Gleiwitz I was the largest Auschwitz subcamp in Gliwice and was a large subcamp in comparison to other camps in the Auschwitz concentration camp system.

The subcamp's first commandant was SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, born on March 4, 1915, in Hohenschönenberg, a gardener by trade and the former chief of the crematoriums and gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau who had come to Auschwitz in 1941 from the Gusen subcamp at Mauthausen. In May 1944, he resumed that earlier post in order to assist in

the murder of the Hungarian Jews, but he returned to Gleiwitz I in late summer and probably served as commandant until mid-December. His deputies were SS-Oberscharführer Jansen (former muster officer of the Melk subcamp of Mauthausen) and SS-Oberscharführer Richard Stolten (beginning July 17, 1944). The staff included several dozen SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, as well as SS-Oberscharführer Josef Klehr as SS medical orderly.

The surviving camp records list more detailed information on approximately 250 Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners, most of whom were Jews who arrived in Auschwitz in 1943–1944 from concentration camps in Lublin-Majdanek and Krakau-Plaszow; from the Drancy and Westerbork transit camps; from the Białystok and Łódź ghettos; and from Bohemia, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Italy. They underwent selections on the ramp at Birkenau; many of those found fit to work eventually went to the subcamps, including Gleiwitz I. The prisoner foremen were predominantly German.

The prisoners lived in several wooden barracks located about 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) from the Wagenwerk. Separate quarters were assigned to Jews, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians. Former prisoners stress in their accounts that the food in the subcamp was even worse than what they had received at Birkenau. Many prisoners eventually succumbed to hunger and overwork. Most prisoners worked in small groups scattered throughout the Werkhalle, an enormous repair house approximately 4 hectares (9.9 acres) in area, doing general repairs to freight and tank cars under the direct supervision of civilian foremen and workers. There was a sign on each car specifying the quota of work to be done. Since the quotas were high and the foremen strictly enforced them, the prisoners had to work very strenuously. Initially, all prisoners worked the one day shift, but in the late summer of 1944 a night shift was introduced. Work on each shift lasted 12 hours, sometimes longer. There were even instances when some Werkhalle groups stayed at their workstations for about a week, sleeping in the cars for a few hours each day. Additionally, some prisoners worked in the metal shop, boiler house, and forge, building a road near the Wagenwerk, or at the airport near the brickyard. And for many prisoners, the end of the workday at the Wagenwerk did not mean they were through working. Some of them had to clean the toilet pits or bring stones and turf from several kilometers away to cover the slopes near the subcamp.

Treatment was harsh and capricious. Civilian and prisoner foremen and SS guards and officials alike abused the prisoners, either at the workplace or in the camp. Prisoners who could not keep up the brutal pace or who fell asleep were beaten; some were killed. Moll personally carried out executions, some for a minor breach of regulations, some for no apparent reason at all.

A camp hospital opened at Gleiwitz I only in the autumn of 1944. Up until then, there was only a dispensary, where prisoners could get first aid. Klehr conducted selections of the sick several times. Prisoners requiring extended treatment were taken away along with the corpses of the dead to Birkenau, where they perished in the gas chambers. Selections were also conducted outside the camp hospital, during roll calls, in the bathhouse, or in the barracks. Moll, Klehr, or the SS doctor from Monowitz decided whether prisoners would live or die. In October 1944, about 50 severely emaciated prisoners were picked during a selection and taken away from the subcamp shortly afterward.

Despite the rigorous control by the SS men and prisoner foremen, illegal contacts did occur at the Wagenwerk between prisoners and the civilian workers employed there. Some workers would secretly hand food to prisoners or leave it at designated spots, most often in the railroad cars. With their collaboration, prisoners could sometimes feign work or even sleep, and in several instances Polish prisoners were able to establish illegal communications with their families. There were also a number of individual prisoner escapes, with or without worker support, some of which were presumably successful, while others resulted in hangings or shootings.

Eleven Russian prisoners escaped without any outside help on the night of August 15, 1944, through a tunnel. Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz came to the subcamp with several SS officers from the political branch to conduct an investigation. Shortly afterward, all the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian prisoners were moved from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Birkenau and then included in a prisoner transport to Neuengamme. Two of those 11 escaped Russians were captured and brought back to the subcamp. Although they could barely stand due to beating, they had to walk through the subcamp's streets several times with signs on their chests saying: "Hurrah! We are back again." They were hanged during a special assembly, which not only Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners had to attend but those from neighboring Gleiwitz II as well. Just before his execution, one of the Russians managed to shout out: "Do not forget us, avenge us!"

The Gleiwitz I subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. Before escorting the prisoners out of the subcamp, the SS men selected several dozen sick, lame, and extremely emaciated prisoners, whom they led behind the barracks and shot. SS men also shot any prisoners who could not keep up during the evacuation march and threw the bodies into roadside ditches. The route of that death march led through Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp. In the early hours of January 21, 1945, the Gleiwitz I prisoners left Blechhammer, and in early February they reached Gross-Rosen. Shortly thereafter a group of about 200 Gleiwitz I prisoners were taken away from Gross-Rosen to Nordhausen. The rest were sent to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen and their subcamps in different transports.

A small group of Gleiwitz I prisoners, taking advantage of the overall chaos that prevailed at Blechhammer, stayed at that subcamp. Some of them perished when the barracks were



A post war oil painting by Holocaust survivor David Friedmann representing the death march from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Blechhammer. USHMM#WS 27689, SOURCE UNKNOWN

shelled by SS men; others managed to escape and reach Allied lines.

Otto Moll was sentenced to death at the Dachau trial on December 13, 1945, and later executed.

SOURCES There are several published sources that contain information on Gleiwitz I: Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Auschwitz I," *ZO* 14 (1972): 65–94 (German version: HvA 14 [1973]: 75–106); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Mel Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone. The Story of A-4685* (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications, 1979).

Archival materials may be found in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Emil Heran, Mieczysław Ruzga, Leon Trześniower, Antoni Głogowski, Martin Klein-Viggo, Leon Opatowski, Michał Popczyka, Ryszard Wojtusik, Czesław Niżnik, Melvin Mermelstein, Józef Szymczak, Lew Polakowand, Szulim Zang, and others; as well as accounts of other witnesses such as former forced laborer Helena Chmielewska and Józef Klos, a longtime employee of today's Rolling Stock Repair Works in Gliwice.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

GLEIWITZ II

In the initial years of World War II, Deutsche Gasrusswerke GmbH of Dortmund, West Germany, began building a carbon black factory in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). On the company's initiative, two forced labor camps were then established near the factory grounds, one for foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*), predominantly Poles, and a camp for Jews (*Judenlager*) that appeared in records as armaments camp (*Rüstungslager*) Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern, or as forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern Deutsche Gasrusswerke. There were approximately 600 Jews in the latter camp in 1943, including about 200 each of men and women from Silesia, brought to Gleiwitz in the spring of 1943 from transit camps in Sosnowitz (Sosnowietz) and Gogolin.

On May 3, 1944, the SS took over the Rüstungslager and placed it under Auschwitz III-Monowitz, with the designation Gleiwitz II. At that point there were 245 women in the camp, including approximately 200 Silesian Jews who had arrived in the spring of 1943; shortly after Monowitz took over control of the camp, these women received tattooed prisoner numbers from the general Auschwitz prisoner series. A major women's transport, probably numbering about 100 persons, mostly Hungarian Jews, arrived in the summer of 1944. In November, the population of women prisoners was 371, and that number remained unchanged until evacuation. The population of the men's portion of the camp was 261 Jewish prisoners in May 1944; on January 17, 1945, there were 740.

The entire staff changed with the reorganization. SS-Oberscharführer Becker became the new commandant, with SS-Unterscharführer Lukaszek his deputy. On September 15, 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Friedrichsen, on detail from the Neu-Dachs subcamp, replaced Becker; then on January 5, 1945, SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Rackers, previously the muster officer in Monowitz, took over the post. The subcamp staff consisted of about 70 SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Monowitz.

When Monowitz took over the camp, some of the women prisoners lost heart completely. Two or three days after the female prisoners were tattooed, 18-year-old Bela Londer of Sosnowiec committed suicide, as did teenager Melania Borenstein a few days after her. Unable to reconcile themselves to the new situation, they jumped out of the fourth floor of the factory building.

The reorganization did not change the nature of the women's work, but discipline tightened, and there were fewer opportunities to communicate with the civilian and forced laborers. The female prisoners worked at the Gasrusswerke in three shifts. A large percentage worked directly in production, that is, in operating the Verdampfer machines that processed anthracite, sulfur, and oil into carbon black. The temperature in the production halls ranged from 60 to 71 degrees Celsius (140 to 160 degrees Fahrenheit), but despite the heat the women worked in overalls tightly buttoned up to their necks. The fumes rising from the boiling oils attacked the eyes and settled in the lungs. Poor lighting and dust made working difficult. The production hall windows were tightly covered at night because of blackout regulations. On average, every prisoner produced about 4 to 5 kilograms (9 to 11 pounds) of carbon black per hour, operating one machine, and in the process also produced several kilograms of oily waste at 299 degrees Celsius (570 degrees Fahrenheit). Several women suffered serious burns

while pouring this waste into a special tank on the factory grounds.

Some of the female prisoners worked in the packing department, where the carbon black was delivered in huge pipes from the production halls. The women weighed and packed the carbon black in large paper sacks. The greasy carbon black, which was hard to wash off, sprinkled down on them the entire time they worked and coated their bodies.

The male prisoners worked on expanding the factory, in machine repair and maintenance, sorting building materials in the factory yard, and at the nearby Borsig Koks-Werke (Borsig Coke Works).

The overall living and working conditions were similar to those prevailing throughout the Auschwitz complex. Civilian foremen, mostly Germans from Dortmund, pushed the workers hard and sometimes beat them. The SS guards and prisoner foremen were, if anything, worse. The prisoners suffered every day from hunger, hard labor, and bad treatment. Friedrichsen was especially strict; he personally searched the women prisoners and had them punished severely if he found them in possession of any food or other contraband.

In the summer of 1944, the prisoners founded an underground organization to keep up the spirits of the despairing women, conduct sabotage, and try to mitigate the civilian foremen's hostile behavior (through such things as intervening with Dr. Schenk, the Gasrusswerke engineering director).

On January 18, 1945, the women and men prisoners were ordered to prepare to leave camp. Several female and male prisoners took advantage of the confusion brought on by the evacuation and escaped, hiding on the factory grounds in such places as sewage pipes.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners, the women and men were evacuated from the subcamp at the same time. A strong escort of SS men commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers convoyed the columns of prisoners traveling on foot. After about 19 kilometers (12 miles) they stopped the prisoners and drove them into a barn to spend the night, but the terrible crowding made sleep impossible. Due to the approach of the Red Army, the prisoners were turned back toward Gleiwitz the next day and spent another night in the outskirts of the city. On the third day, the prisoners were loaded onto open railway cars for the trip into the Reich.

Former prisoner Anna Moszkowicz describes the conditions. She relates how the prisoners stood packed together the entire trip. The ones who got to be along the walls of the car were considered luckier as they could lean against the wall. At night the prisoners lay down on one another to sleep as best they could. The bread had been completely crushed and there was no water, so they licked the snow off their arms. There was no possibility of attending to bodily functions and many of the women went mad along the way. During a night stop at an unidentified place in Moravia, the local inhabitants rushed to the prisoners' aid. Heedless of the presence of armed SS men, they tried to get food and water to the railway cars. They managed to toss still-hot bread into some of the cars—but there were casualties. When prisoner Stanisława Müller (a nurse at the subcamp) leaned out of the car for a cup of water for the fainting people, SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers shot her. As the journey continued, few women prisoners managed to escape along the way. After about 10 days, the transport arrived in Oranienburg. The men were sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, the women to Ravensbrück and its subcamp at Neustadt-Glewe.

Two of the camp's leaders were put on trial for their crimes. Konrad Friedrichsen, born June 9, 1906, in Hamburg, a merchant by trade, and assigned to the Neu-Dachs subcamp in August 1944, and to Gleiwitz II on September 15, 1944, was tried in 1947 before the Kraków District Court and on January 22, 1948, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Bernhard Rackers, born on March 6, 1905, in Sögel and prior to his assignment to Gleiwitz II a detachment commander and then muster officer at Monowitz, was sentenced to life in prison by a jury in Osnabrück.

SOURCES There are several sources that refer to Gleiwitz II: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," *ZG* 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," *ZG* 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," *ZG* 9 (1972): 15–37; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," *ZO* 14 (1972): 95–114 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," HvA 14 [1973]: 107–127); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

Archival records may be found in APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former female prisoners Anna Markowiecka, Anna Moszkowicz, Judit Csongor Barnabasne (Varga in camp); testimony of former female prisoner Franciszka Zajdman; and trial records of Gleiwitz II SS men.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

GLEIWITZ III

The organization of Auschwitz's Gleiwitz III subcamp started in the spring of 1944. At the end of 1944, the first prisoner transport was brought to a section of the Gleiwitzer Hütte in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), which the Zieleniewski Works occupied after its evacuation from Kraków, and was put in one of the barracks erected near the former foundry building. Both the Gleiwitzer Hütte and Zieleniewski-Maschinen und Waggonbau GmbH, Kraków, were under the Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG concern (Oberhütten or VOH). During World War II, VOH, like other German companies, exploited the cheap manpower of thousands of forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and beginning in mid-1944, Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners as well.

SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Spieker was the commandant of Gleiwitz III until the camp was dissolved. His assistants

were SS-Unterscharführer Moritz and SS-Rottenführer Zahorodny. He had several dozen SS men under him from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz 6th Guard Company. Gleiwitz III, like the other Auschwitz subcamps in Gleiwitz, was inspected by SS officers, Auschwitz representatives, on several occasions, and by Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz on September 16, 1944. The "prisoner government" was mainly composed of German criminals who treated their fellow prisoners brutally.

At least three prisoner transports arrived in Gleiwitz III from late July to mid-August 1944. The first consisted mainly of Polish Jews who arrived in Auschwitz on July 27, 1944, from the Pustków labor camp; prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek who arrived in Auschwitz on July 28 or August 6, 1944, made up the second transport. Several dozen Polish prisoners from Monowitz arrived in the subcamp on August 15, as did several dozen prisoners from the Terezin ghetto in the autumn. There were approximately 600 prisoners in the subcamp at the end of October and 609 just before evacuation.

The prisoners lived in a brick barrack with a basement and central heating. Living conditions at Gleiwitz III were better than those in Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp, but the food was the same, if not worse. Sick prisoners or the bodies of those who had died of starvation were often taken away from the subcamp infirmary to Birkenau.

The SS men's behavior toward prisoners was characterized by brutality and sadism. They would beat prisoners or make them do punitive exercises for the smallest offense, or often for no reason at all. The prisoner foremen generally treated the prisoners as badly as the SS men did.

Camp conditions drove some prisoners to total nervous breakdown or apathy. For example, Libelt, a prisoner from Lvov, who had lost hope of living to see freedom, did not observe the basic rules of caution in assembling machines at the Gleiwitzer Hütte. When a Polish worker pointed this out to him, he replied: "What are you worried about, there will be one Jew less."[1]

Some Gleiwitz III prisoners were put to work outside the Gleiwitzer Hütte until the autumn of 1944; later almost all prisoners worked in the steel mill in a separate area occupied by the Zieleniewski Works. Work always lasted 10 to 12 hours per day.

Immediately after the subcamp was established, one of the prisoner commandos was sent daily to the area of the nearby cemetery to do digging and drainage work. Other groups unloaded and loaded building materials at different locations in the city or aircraft parts at the nearby airport. A dozen or so prisoners worked constructing two buildings across from the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium. In the part of the Gleiwitzer Hütte that VOH had given to the Zieleniewski Works, prisoners worked at such places as the railway sidings, where they unloaded machines, equipment, and unfinished parts brought from Kraków, including parts for naval mines. They also repaired the industrial buildings and laid foundations for machines under the direction of civilian foremen. In the last quarter of 1944, some of the machines were put into operation, and they started manufacturing train wheel assemblies, anti-aircraft gun carriages, naval mines, and shells of various types. (Aerial bomb production was designated by the code names SD-1, SD-70, and SF 76–77 in correspondence.)

After production had started up and prisoners had been trained to work at the machines, they were put to work in various departments of the Works doing such things as operating lathes, drills, borers, millers, planers, benders, and pneumatic hammers. The largest prisoner commandos worked in the machine and assembly shops. Prisoners were also put to work in the forge and the warehouses, installing electrical and sewage lines, paving surfaces between buildings, and building a sewage settling tank. Prisoners were escorted to their respective workstations by SS men and plant guards (*Werkschutz*), who supervised them during work along with German civilian foremen. Some of these supervisors behaved properly toward the prisoners, while others persecuted them. The workers employed at the Zieleniewski Works were told that the prisoners were bandits and that if they gave them any help at all, they would join the prisoners in the subcamp.

Despite these threats, prisoners and some civilian workers cooperated to relieve the prisoners' plight to some extent. Under favorable circumstances prisoners would attempt to "organize" some extra food, and during work they would communicate with friendly Polish workers, foremen, and engineers from Kraków as well as Gleiwitz residents. These outside contacts would secretly provide prisoners with food, cigarettes, and medicine, and sometimes they helped in getting smuggled messages to families and friends. A few prisoners risked escape, but all known attempts ended in failure.

On January 19, 1945, Gleiwitz III was evacuated. SS men escorted the prisoners westward in a column. The march lasted several days. When the prisoners got to the left bank of the Oder River, they were turned back and sent back east via Koźle to the Blechhammer subcamp, which in January 1945 was one of the concentration points for the thousands of prisoners evacuated from the other Auschwitz subcamps at that time. Some of the prisoners from Gleiwitz III were soon added to the columns of prisoners being evacuated toward Gross-Rosen; others were kept at Blechhammer. Several dozen Gleiwitz III prisoners escaped, availing themselves of the general confusion. Some other prisoners lived to see freedom in Blechhammer.

SOURCES Several published sources contain information on Gleiwitz III: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," *ZG* 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," *ZG* 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," *ZG* 9 (1972): 15–37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *ZO* 14 (1972): 115–135 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," HvA 14 [1973]: 129–150); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej

Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," *ZG* 13 (1978): pp. 119–167.

Records pertaining to Gleiwitz III may be found in these repositories: APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Karol Grot, Oskar Hala, Majer Roth, Samuel Roth, Leon Zygadła, and others; accounts of former Zieleniewski Works employees Kazimierz Lipnowski, Czesław Pieczara, Kazimierz Seremet, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Account of former prisoner Kazimierz Lipnowski, in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), vol. 75, book 37.

GLEIWITZ IV

In June 1944, 80 prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp, mostly Russians and Poles, were placed in a barrack on Wehrmacht land near the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). Under the supervision of SS men, the prisoners built a second barrack and fenced in both barracks, after which they were taken back to Monowitz. This is how the Gleiwitz IV subcamp was established.

A transport of approximately 50 prisoners, mainly Jews, arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau between August 22 and 24, 1944. In late August and the first half of September, several more transports of Jewish prisoners arrived and were put to work expanding the camp. Some of them had been deported to Auschwitz from the Łódź and Terezin ghettos. According to the account of former prisoner Marian Zelman, there were approximately 700 to 800 prisoners in the subcamp in September 1944; that number dropped to 444 on the eve of evacuation.

SS-Unterscharführer Otto Arthur Lätsch was the commandant of Gleiwitz IV until October 1944, when he became the muster officer, and SS-Oberscharführer Grobert (aka Grübner) took over as commandant. By August 1944, there were 16 SS men in the subcamp staff. That number later grew to several dozen. Some guards wore Wehrmacht uniforms with SS badges; they were probably Wehrmacht drivers who had brought their vehicles in for conversion to a wood-burning propulsion system at the *Holzgas* (wood gas) works next to the subcamp and who had been delegated to the subcamp for that time. Those guards rotated frequently. Guards from the Organisation Todt (OT) also watched prisoners at many work locations, primarily at construction sites.

Most Gleiwitz IV prisoners were put to work expanding the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks, in the Holzgas shops, and in the port on the Gleiwitz canal. In November or December 1944, many prisoners cleared bombed sites in the city of Gleiwitz of rubble. The Heeresbauverwaltung Gleiwitz, the army's construction office, was probably in charge of the barrack expansion. Prisoners were put to work in the barracks and the adjoining grounds constructing several buildings and air-raid shelters, cleaning up rubble, and repairing damaged property. At the Holzgas shops, prisoners used special pressurized guns to paint vehicles in military camouflage colors, all the while breathing paint fumes because they lacked proper protective masks. At the port on the Gleiwitz Canal, prisoners built railroad tracks and reloaded various materials, such as vehicles being sent to the Holzgas shops.

The conditions under which Gleiwitz IV prisoners lived were not much different than those in the other Auschwitz subcamps. Clothing and certain foods were brought in from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Meals were often prepared from food that Gleiwitz residents threw away. Because of the combination of hard work and poor nutrition, extreme emaciation became the rule.

The SS behaved brutally toward the prisoners, and Lätsch set the tone. He is known to have shot at least five prisoners—in one case, he shot three men for warming themselves at a fire where a barrel of tar was being heated—and to have beaten many others, sometimes fatally. He also ordered punitive exercises, as in the case of prisoners who had passed information about the camp to local residents; Lätsch sentenced them to several hours of exercise, during which the guards so abused them that several died. His successor, Grobert, was somewhat less cruel, because he wanted to obtain the greatest possible amount of work from the prisoners. During roll calls, the SS men would verbally and physically abuse the prisoners for little or no reason, and both SS and OT men were responsible for killing prisoners at the work sites.

Dr. Nicolaus Sebestyen, a prisoner from Hungary, was in charge of the infirmary, which contained about 20 to 30 sick patients on average. Most of these prisoners were extremely emaciated, sick with colds, suffering from starvation, diarrhea, or ulcerations and injuries. Since there was a shortage of medicine and bandages, the prisoner doctors were unable to provide effective help.

SS doctors came to the subcamp from Auschwitz every few weeks to conduct selections among the prisoners; Lätsch took part in these as well. In all, approximately 200 prisoners were selected as unfit to work and were sent away to the gas chambers at Birkenau. Sometimes the bodies of prisoners who died at the subcamp were sent back with those selected, to be burned in the crematorium.

The prisoners tried to improve the inhuman conditions of their existence in various ways. Ten or so Jewish prisoners from the Łódź ghetto, continuing the underground activity they had begun back in the ghetto, formed a secret organization at the subcamp. Its members helped one another and provided aid to their unorganized comrades. There were also prisoners who risked escape, like Józef Gębala in July or August 1944. Taking advantage of a guard's inattention, he walked away from his workplace, changed into civilian clothing he had prepared in advance, and jumped over the wall around the barracks, getting out to freedom. Others were not

so lucky; one group of Russians and Poles was sent to Birkenau after the Germans learned of their escape plans.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the SS evacuated about 380 prisoners from the subcamp; 57 sick prisoners stayed behind, locked in the infirmary. At daybreak, Lätsch, OT foreman Gustav Günther, and several other Nazis set the barrack on fire and shot at the prisoners jumping out the windows. Only prisoners Dąbrowski and Rosenfeld survived, by hiding among their comrades' bodies.

The prisoners evacuated from the subcamp were taken toward the town of Kieferstädtel (later Sośnicowice). Several kilometers later they were turned back to Gleiwitz and then sent to the Blechhammer subcamp; the march lasted two or three days. Along the way, SS men shot about 50 prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades. Several thousand prisoners evacuated from other Auschwitz subcamps were already at Blechhammer. The Red Army was approaching, and there was a great deal of confusion; under those circumstances, several Gleiwitz IV prisoners managed to escape. Some Gleiwitz IV prisoners were evacuated from Blechhammer via Gross-Rosen to the Buchenwald concentration camp, while others lived to see the liberation of Blechhammer.

Lätsch was tried for his crimes after the war. Born on November 26, 1905, in Lichtenberg, and a driver by training, prior to being assigned to Gleiwitz IV he was block commander of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz, where he conducted executions at the Wall of Death. In 1947, the Supreme National Court of Justice in Kraków sentenced him to death.

SOURCES Several publications contain information about Gleiwitz IV: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," *ZO* 14 (1972): 137–154 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," HvA 14 [1973]: 151–169); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Aleksander Schimon Fischer, Józef Wrześniowski, Marian Zelman, and others; accounts of Gliwice residents Eugeniusz Franik, Hubert Grziwok, Teofil Jonda, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

GOLLESCHAU

The town of Goleszów (Golleschau) is near the Polish-Czech border, over 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). Before the war broke out, a cement plant was located there, belonging to a company with Austrian capital. In 1939, the factory came under German control, and engineer Richard Goebel was named director of the Golleschauer Portland-Zement Aktiengesellschaft O/S in 1942. From then on, the SS administered the plant (Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke GmbH) as part of the W II section in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) hierarchy.

The first Auschwitz prisoners arrived at the Golleschau subcamp in early August 1942;[1] they were mainly skilled workers: bricklayers and carpenters, whose job it was to change the building adjoining the factory production hall into living quarters for the prisoners. It was a three-story building with the kitchen and infirmary on the ground floor; the washrooms and toilets were on the second floor. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunk beds set up in the remaining rooms on the second and third floors.

Several dozen more prisoners were brought to Golleschau in mid-August 1942 and numbered 241 by the end of the month (160 were already working in the cement plant's quarries). Several small transports followed; from May 1943 to the spring of 1944, the camp had an average of 450 to 500 prisoners. In the summer and autumn of 1944, yet more transports arrived, including Hungarian Jews and 298 Jews from the Theresienstadt ghetto and from Łódź.[2] As a result, in late summer the total camp population exceeded 1,000 prisoners (up to 1,059 in late October 1944);[3] it stayed at a similar level until the evacuation.

Surviving records regarding the initial months of the subcamp's existence show that Jews were already the most highly represented ethnic group among the prisoners. For example, we know that on July 10, 1943, out of the 415 prisoners in the camp there were 15 Poles, 4 Germans, and 1 Russian,[4] while the rest of the prisoners were Jews (mainly Polish, French, Czech, and Greek), among whom part-Jewish residents were sometimes listed (*Juden-Mischlinge*).[5] Beginning in April 1944, precise figures on the number of Jews in camp started to appear systematically in the reports signed by the Golleschau camp commandant (Lagerführer); the percentage of them at that time was (until January 1945) up to 95 percent.

The prisoners were put to work at the cement plant doing different types of auxiliary work requiring a great deal of physical effort: laying railroad tracks, crushing stone, sifting coal, packing cement in paper sacks (where the air was filled with dust), doing carpentry work, operating the lime-burning furnaces, building a cable railway, and making barrels. A few prisoners were put to work on the subcamp premises: in the kitchen, laundry, and warehouse. The most difficult situation was in the commandos working in the cement plant's four quarries (Steinbruch I–IV), where prisoners were chiefly used to load crushed stone onto freight cars.[6] As the factory management estimated, "five Jews ought to load three freight-cars during one shift."[7] In those commandos, an especially great number of accidents occurred as a result of which many injured prisoners were sent back to the camp at Birkenau. Many prisoners also wound up in the infirmary due to brutal beatings by the Kapos; for example, in his report of December 7, 1944, SS orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) Kaufmann said that Kapo Jakob Weissmann had beaten six prisoners who

had to stay in the hospital for many days.[8] The foremen employed by the cement plant also beat the prisoners;[9] they harassed and mocked them. One foreman, Paul Czysz, used to say to prisoners that "whether you work or not, you stinking Jews will go to the crematorium and come out the smokestack."[10]

The prisoners were guarded at work by several dozen or so SS men (51 noncommissioned officers and privates in August 1944)[11] who initially belonged to the Auschwitz Guard Battalion Third Company and later to the Auschwitz III-Monowitz Battalion Second Company. Besides the SS men, over a dozen armed members of the plant security staff (Werkschutz) also guarded the prisoners.

The subcamp commandants were Erich Picklapp (dismissed from his office because of complaints by the factory management for his "unprofessional treatment of the prisoners"), followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth and SS-Oberscharführer Horst Czerwinski.[12] Former prisoners remember all three and most of their subordinates as particularly brutal and ruthless. Some of the prisoner-functionaries behaved in similar fashion, especially including Michael Eschmann and Josef Kierspel, the camp elder (Lagerälteste) at the Golleschau subcamp. As in the other sections of Auschwitz, Germans were favored when picking prisoner-functionaries and sometimes Poles as well. A dozen or so Mischlinge also played a significant role, of whom several were appointed Kapos.[13]

Due to the hard labor, accidents, beating, malnutrition, and diseases, prisoners quickly lost strength and were sent to the camp infirmary as unfit to work. The infirmary directors were SDG Herbert Scherpe, succeeded by Hans Nierzwicki, Franz Woyciechowski, Herbert Jörss, and Hans Kaufmann, who, however, were not very interested in the fate of the patients. A prisoner, Dr. Henryk Rutkowski, was in charge of treatment, aided by the cement plant doctor, Dr. Erwin Paździora,[14] as well as seven doctors and male nurses (all Jews).[15] However, in practice they could rarely help the people under their care, not only because of the insufficient medication and medical instruments but primarily because of the shortage of beds in the ward for bedridden patients.[16] Even Auschwitz's chief garrison physician, SS-Hauptsturmführer Eduard Wirths, noted with disapprobation in a letter to the SDG at Golleschau that "the prisoners brought here in the latest patient transport were in disastrous condition. . . . When they were asked, the prisoners explained that their bandages had not been changed for 10 days."[17] In reply, Scherpe provided a series of "objective" reasons for that state of affairs, also explaining that the prisoners were unable to bathe for three weeks because of a breakdown in the water supply system.

The most seriously ill patients were successively taken to the camp hospital at Monowitz or to the BIIf hospital camp at Birkenau, where a significant percentage of them fell victim to selections for the gas chambers. The few surviving transfer lists show that in 1944 alone almost 200 sick prisoners had been taken away from the subcamp. However, the actual figure must have been considerably higher. The Golleschau subcamp prisoner record book[18] contains 2,348 names, giving rise to the conclusion that since approximately 130 prisoners were killed or died at Golleschau (9 prisoners shot while escaping,[19] 10 dead due to accidents, 4 suicides, 1 "shot," and 110 who died, probably in the camp infirmary), and about 1,000 were evacuated in January 1945, the rest, being unfit for work, were sent to Monowitz or Birkenau. We also know that in the period from August 4, 1942, through March 26, 1943, the bodies of 82 Golleschau prisoners were stored at the morgue in the main camp, several of whom had been shot in circumstances not explained by the records.[20]

The Golleschau subcamp prisoners were evacuated in three groups on January 18 and 21, 1945. The first two of them (the largest) were escorted on foot to Wodzisław Śląski, where two transports were formed: one was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, while the other was sent to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The last group of 100 prisoners was escorted to the Golleschau train station, where four prisoners died. The transport list showed that the transport was en route for nine days, until January 29, when the stationmaster at Zwittau notified Oskar Schindler, the director of a factory at Brüssen-Brünnlitz, that there was a freight car standing on the railway siding full of freezing and starving prisoners. Schindler ordered the freight car to be moved onto factory premises. When the door was opened, it turned out that approximately half the prisoners had already died; over a dozen others died after a few days in camp.[21]

SOURCES Published information on Golleschau can be found in Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Golleschau," *ZO* 9 (1965): 103–119.

Primary source materials are available in APMO, D-Au III Golleschau/1–14; D-Au I–3a, monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, vols. 1–8; Zespół Oświadczenia, 33: 102–194 (Ajzyk Szwarc); 40: 16–19 (Michał Kruczek); 15: 21–29 (Issak Grinberg); 5: 679–683 (Paweł Wałach); 5: 683a-685 (Jan Gibiec); 5: 686 (Paweł Staniczek); 5: 687–691.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 607, Wochenbericht for August 3–9, 1942, saying that 112 prisoners had been put to work; there was no such reference in the previous report for July 27–August 2, 1942. Former prisoner Michał Kruczek, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 40: 17, maintains that the first prisoners came to Golleschau in mid-July 1942.

2. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 72–73, 76–79, 82–84, 98–104.

3. Among them 988 Jews (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 94).

4. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 23–29.

5. There were 11 of them in the camp on December 27, 1943 (ibid., p. 37).

6. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/14, p. 2.

7. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 424.

8. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 34.

9. One of the foremen beat prisoner Mayer Wolnerman severely and broke his glasses (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 15).

10. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 12, report by Golleschau subcamp director dated April 20, 1944.

11. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/10, p. 34.

12. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/3/1, p. 24; D-Au III—Golleschau/13, p. 4. Erich Picklapp is mentioned in prisoner accounts as the camp director, although the source documents do not confirm that information.

13. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 115, "Mischling" Kapo's request to be released from camp and assigned to the Wehrmacht; infirmary director Dr. Rutkowski was also a "Mischling" (see ibid, p. 37).

14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 5: 760, account of Erwin Paździora.

15. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 372.

16. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, pp. 20–21, report by SDG Kaufmann dated December 23, 1944, saying that the infirmary was overcrowded and could not be enlarged.

17. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 319.

18. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12/2, Kommando Buch. Arbeitskommando Golleschau.

19. Reports have been preserved in the camp hospital records, saying that the bodies of 11 prisoners shot "while attempting to escape" had been delivered; 6 of them were listed in the commando's record book, which also listed 3 other prisoners whose names had not been listed in the hospital records. That shows that at least 14 fugitives had been shot at Golleschau.

20. APMO, D-Au I—5/1 and 2, morgue record book.

21. Nathan Blumental, *Dokumenty i materiały z czasów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce* (Records and materials from the time of the German occupation of Poland) (Łódź, 1946), p. 61.

GÜNTHERGRUBE

The Günthergrube subcamp was organized in late January and early February 1944 at the Piast hard coal mine and the new Günthergrube mine under construction in the town of Lędziny (Lendzin), about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from Auschwitz. The mines, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, were to supply coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Monowice (Monowitz), near Auschwitz. Administratively, the subcamp came under the command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

On January 31, 1944, on the eve of Günthergrube subcamp's establishment, SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, then commandant of the subcamp at the Fürstengrube mine, conducted a selection at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and about 300 prisoners were sent to the Günthergrube subcamp.[1] The decided majority, around 95 percent, were Jews from the area of Będzin (Bendsburg), Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), and Zawiercie, as well as from the Netherlands and France.[2] There were just a dozen or so non-Jewish prisoners, mainly Germans and Poles. In late 1944, larger transports were sent to the subcamp, consisting of Jews deported from Hungary and Jews brought to Auschwitz on July 31, 1944, from the Lublin-Majdanek subcamp in Bliżyn. At this point the population of the Günthergrube subcamp reached about 600 prisoners. There were still 586 prisoners there on January 17, 1945, a few days before it was shut down.[3]

Beginning on May 22, 1944, approximately 40 SS guards from the Auschwitz III Third Guard Company were assigned to the subcamp.[4] SS-Unterscharführer Alois Wendelin Frey was the subcamp's commandant until it shut down in January 1945.[5]

The first prisoners were put into two barracks in an older camp for civilian forced laborers, called the Lager Heimat; the camp was located between the old Piast and the new Günthergrube mine.[6] A single barbed-wire fence, with watchtowers at the corners, surrounded the rectangular compound. Prisoners only stayed at Lager Heimat for five months, that is, from February to June 1944; at that time some of the prisoners were put to work building a new subcamp near the new Günthergrube mine. The new subcamp, Lager Günther III, was designed exclusively to house concentration camp prisoners.[7] Brick watchtowers overlooked the square compound from the corners of a 3-meter (10-foot) brick wall. Ten brick barracks were erected inside the camp, including three to house prisoners and one meant to be the prisoners' hospital. Its construction was not yet finished when the camp was shut down.

The prisoners who worked outside the camp were divided into two basic labor squads: Detachment I and Detachment II. About 120 prisoners from Detachment I worked extracting hard coal in the Piast mine.[8] Prisoners from Detachment I were also put to work building the new Günthergrube mine, where they worked under the supervision of civilian foremen and were divided into groups according to their jobs. The prisoners assigned to Detachment II worked on the new subcamp; the work primarily included such things as leveling the site, delivering building materials, and bricklaying, electrical, plumbing, and finishing work. Only a small group of prisoners were put to work in the same camp as the prisoner-foremen, in the camp kitchen and prisoners' hospital.

We know of several prisoners who attempted escape from the Günthergrube subcamp. On March 1, 1944, Szymon Lewenstein, born in Berlin and brought to Auschwitz on August 1, 1943, by a Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transport from Będzin, escaped when he was outside the camp working with Detachment I.[9] In April or May 1944, a group of five Jews, most of them from Będzin, planned an escape, but the attempt miscarried (prisoners who survived assume it was because they were betrayed by a civilian foreman or SS man, whom the prisoners supposedly let in on their plans). One night SS guards surrounded the subcamp and conducted an additional roll call with their truck lights beaming. They read out the names of the five prisoners, whom they took to Auschwitz for interrogation. A dozen or so days later they were brought back to the subcamp and hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of the other prisoners, the purpose

being to terrorize the other prisoners and to prevent further escapes.[10]

Evacuations began in December 1944 with the removal of the Polish prisoners. The remaining prisoners stayed at Günthergrube until January 18, 1945. The prisoners were sent to work even on the day of evacuation, and only in the evening were preparations for the march hurriedly begun. Approximately 20 sick prisoners were loaded onto a truck and taken away, presumably to the neighboring Fürstengrube subcamp, where they probably then perished in barracks set afire by SS guards.

On the night of January 18, 1945, at about 10:00 P.M., all the remaining prisoners, around 560, were escorted out of camp by 40 SS men. The severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult. At daybreak the next day the Günthergrube prisoners merged with columns of Auschwitz III-Monowitz prisoners near Mikołów (Nikolai) and were sent on to the Gleiwitz III subcamp (the prisoners of that subcamp had also been evacuated that same day). Some of the Günthergrube prisoners had already died during the death march to Gleiwitz III; the survivors, as well as prisoners from other subcamps and the Beuthen (later Bytom) prison, about 2,500 persons in all, were loaded into open railway (coal) cars and shipped off on January 21, 1945. That night the train stopped at the Rzędówka (Egersfeld) train station near Rybnik, approximately 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), and the prisoners were ordered to form a march column that then moved farther westward via Rybnik. SS men shot any prisoners who were unable to get out of the train. After liberation, the bodies of 331 prisoners were found at the Rzędówka train station, Kolonia Rzędówka, and vicinity. Several hundred prisoners also perished in Rybnik, the next locality on the death march route. Approximately 1,000 prisoners died along the 40-kilometer (25-mile) stretch from the Rzędówka train station to Racibórz (Ratibor), which the column of prisoners reached on January 23. It was only about 18 days after they had marched out of Rzędówka station that some of the prisoners of the column, in a state of extreme emaciation and exhaustion, reached Gross-Rosen or its subcamps in the Sudeten Mountains. Of the approximately 2,500 prisoners who left from Gleiwitz III on January 21, about 1,900 died along the march route, among them probably the majority of prisoners from Günthergrube.[11]

On February 25, 1947, the authorities from Germany's U.S. zone handed over Alois Frey, former Günthergrube commandant, to the Polish government for the crimes he had committed at Auschwitz. On March 30, 1948, the Kraków District Court sentenced him to six years in prison for belonging to the SS and guard service; he was released on February 28, 1953. The only reason he received such a light sentence was because it was difficult to find witnesses. He was tried again in Frankfurt am Main in 1967 and acquitted.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Günthergrube,'" *ZO* 12 (1970): 113–143. See also Jan Delowicz, *Śladem krwi. Marsz śmierci więźniów oświęcimskich przybyłych do Rzędówki i poprowadzonych na zachód* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1995). On the Gleiwitz transport, see Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *ZO* 14 (1972): 115–135. On Frey's extradition and trial, see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1945–1950. Część II* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992); and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświęcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," *ZO* 21 (1995): 189–250.

APMO holds materials in the Günthergrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Günthergrube subcamp prisoners.

Stanisława Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Laudon-Dobrzański and Józef Tabaczyński, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 44, book 123; vol. 44, book 67.

2. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 125.

3. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.

4. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.

5. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Schepp, Józef Tabaczyński, Józef Dudziak, and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 31, book 105; vol. 44, books 71, 73; vol. 44, book 118; vol. 44, book 128.

6. Account of former mine worker Józef Gryc, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 136.

7. Günthergrube notes, Sozialabteilung (Social Department), 7/10/1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Günthergrube/7, book 14.

8. Lists of prisoners sent to work in the mine, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/Günthergrube/1.

9. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Szymon Lewenstein, 3/1/1944, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1–278, vol. 2.

10. Accounts of former prisoners Józef Tabaczyński and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 67; vol. 44, book 129.

11. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, books 130–131.

HARMENSE

In November 1940, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, mindful of securing the Auschwitz camp and SS interests, decided to create an SS estate around the camp from which the Poles would be driven and where there would be farms for raising food, animals, and fish (because of the large number of ponds in the area); he issued orders to that effect on March 1, 1941.[1] The SS established the first farm in the 39-square-kilometer (15-square-mile) "zone of interest" in

December 1941 on the site of the village of Harmęże (Harmense), which the Germans had evacuated in mid-April. The village land, totaling 286 hectares (707 acres), was incorporated into the farm, along with all the farm equipment and animals.

The Germans first established a poultry farm called, variously, Geflügelfarm, Geflügelzucht, or Geflügelhof Harmense. Initially a work detachment went out from the main camp every day to develop the site; the detachment numbered a dozen or so prisoners with various specialized skills. They demolished the old buildings, leveled the site, and built new facilities with materials salvaged from the old structures or brought from the main camp.[2]

By September 1941, the Harmense detachment already numbered about 50 prisoners: 6 Germans, among them 4 prisoner foremen, and 44 Poles, some of whom were put to work raising purebred poultry as well as rabbits, nutrias, and fish, while the others expanded the farm. Since the prisoners employed at Harmense had to cover over 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) each way every day, and since winter was approaching and the days were growing shorter, the camp authorities decided to move the detachment to Harmense permanently. The move was carried out on December 8, 1941, and thus the subcamp was established.[3]

The original group of prisoners, as well as the women prisoners who arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in June 1942, lived in farmhouses and the former schoolhouse. Living conditions varied somewhat from building to building but in general were better than in the main camp. Sanitary arrangements were primitive—most of the buildings had no plumbing—and the bedding was by no means comfortable, but in terms of food, especially, the prisoners were relatively fortunate. Lunch came from the main camp, while breakfast and supper were prepared on-site. The detachment that worked on the fish farm also received an extra ration twice a week: for example, one loaf of bread for eight prisoners plus a piece of horse sausage, jam, or cheese. Most important, the prisoners' work gave them opportunities to "organize" additional food from the farm; similar proclivities on the part of the SS guards made this task somewhat easier.

The farm administration divided the prisoners into four detachments: farm, poultry farm, rabbit farm (which had been moved from the main camp when the prisoners moved permanently to Harmense), and fish farm. One prisoner foreman supervised each detachment. The farm detachment, which had two cows and six horses, transported construction materials, peat for the rabbits, and food and clothing from the main camp, in addition to working the fields.[4]

Work in the fish farming detachment consisted of stocking the ponds and feeding the fish, as well as catching and sorting them. In the winter, the prisoners cleared the snow from the ponds and made air holes in the ice. All fish farming experiments were done in a specially made ichthyological laboratory under the direction of German prisoner Dr. Diethelm Scheer, an ichthyologist by profession. There they tested the soil, water plants, microorganisms, and fish diseases and kept pond water temperature and soil temperature charts. The laboratory was well equipped with necessary instruments, laboratory glass, and three microscopes.[5] In 1941, human ashes brought from Crematorium No. 1 at the main camp were dumped into the fishponds.

SS-Oberscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, born October 18, 1911, in the town of Milicz in Lower Silesia, was the commandant of the fish farm, and after he left for the Babitz subcamp, SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Martin took over the position.[6]

Of the women moved to Harmense in June 1942, some had undergone training in poultry farming earlier, at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Among them were Poles, Slovak Jews, and Germans. The detachment numbered 50 female prisoners in October 1942, and the population remained the same throughout the subcamp's existence. Some of the women were put to work raising the birds, while the others worked to expand the farm, that is, leveling the terrain, making a fowl run for the chickens, and so on.

At Harmense they raised purebred poultry: chickens (about 2,000), ducks (about 1,000), geese (about 300), and turkeys (about 500). The chickens were mainly raised for their eggs; the farm also included a hatchery that produced 100,000 chicks at a time. Aside from the poultry farming, 11 women prisoners were put to work raising rabbits for their fur and meat. Breeding of partridge, nutria, and pedigree dogs—Great Danes—began in Harmense at the end of 1943.[7]

With such extensive animal breeding, Harmense's male and female prisoners (totaling 106 people on March 23, 1944) were unable to operate the entire farm, so numerous detachments came in to help daily from Auschwitz I and Birkenau.

SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue, born November 20, 1911, in Diepolz, was the commandant of the subcamp, as well as of the farm, until April 1943. When he was transferred to the Budy subcamp on April 13, SS-Rottenführer Xaver Franz Eidenschinkt became commandant. Marie Rendel was in charge of the women's work. The SS staff included Germans; Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Slovakia, Bohemia, and Hungary; and in the camp's final phase, convalescent soldiers from the Wehrmacht, who were inducted into the SS after several weeks of training. The camp was frequently inspected by SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Joachim Caesar, the commandant of all the Auschwitz camp farms. Himmler also visited the farm on July 17, 1942.

A total of two escapes from the Harmense camp were reported, both organized by Polish prisoners. On May 16, 1942, two male prisoners escaped successfully. Three male prisoners escaped on March 8, 1943, but in that instance, they were all caught and killed.

In the late summer of 1943, the men from Harmense were moved to the nearby subcamp in Budy, from where they continued to walk to work in Harmense under SS escort. The women stayed at Harmense until the camp was evacuated. On January 18, 1945, they and the prisoners from the Birkenau

women's camp were evacuated on foot to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau), from where they were transported to Bergen-Belsen in cattle cars. The poultry hatchery equipment was also loaded onto carts that day and sent to Ravensbrück with several female prisoners.

There is no record that any of the Harmense camp personnel were tried after the war.

SOURCES Information on Harmense may be found in Anna Zięba, "'Geflügelfarm Harmense' Farma hodowlana Harmęże," *ZO* 11 (1969): 37–67 (German version: Die "Geflügelfarm Harmense," HvA 11 [1970]: 38–72).

Primary sources are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Alojzy Drzazga, Danuta Drzazga, Jan Jakub Szegidewicz, Jadwiga Rumianowska, Ryszard Nalewajko, Izydor Kornacki, Aleksander Kalczyński, Antonina Kozubek, Waleria Lang, Karol Lang, and Janina Perun; Zespół Proces Hössa; Zespół Opracowania; files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Proces Hössa (Höss Trial Collection), 21: 31–32.
2. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.54, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
3. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.86, s.75, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
4. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 45: 38–39, account of former prisoner Jan Jakub Szegidewicz.
5. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.50, s.12, statement of former inmate Aleksander Kalczyński.
6. Ibid., 50: 11.
7. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.109–111, statement of former inmate Antonina Kozubek.

HINDENBURG

During World War II, the Donnersmarckhütte steel mill in the city of Hindenburg (later Zabrze) belonged to Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (Oberhütten or VOH), as it had before the war—but by this time the steel mill had converted its output over to military needs. And because so many German workers had been called into the armed forces, the firm brought in forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) to work at the mill.

In early August 1944, approximately 400 female prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp were sent to Donnersmarckhütte; 70 male prisoners joined them in the late fall of that year. The barracks allocated to them were located on the steel mill grounds near Foundries 3 and 4.

The subcamp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Adolf Taube, former muster officer at the Birkenau women's camp, who was especially cruel toward the female prisoners. One of the female SS overseers was Joanna Bormann, who was previously the commandant of the Babitz subcamp and who was as evil and as cruel as Taube.

Over the subcamp's more than five-month existence, the number of women living there increased to 471. The decided majority of them were Polish Jews selected from among the female prisoners brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp on July 31, 1944, in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports from Radom and Bliżyn, marked with numbers from A-14394 to A-16456. The rest were Czech and Slovak Jews or Gypsies. Most of them came from Jewish intellectual communities and were between 17 and 30 years old.

The subcamp's male Jewish prisoners had been brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp in RSHA transports from the Theresienstadt ghetto camp in early October 1944. They were marked with numbers from B-12997 to B-13065.

Most of the female prisoners were put to work in the steel mill's foundries, manufacturing ammunition, primarily casting bullets, grenade cores, and rings and parts for Luftwaffe weaponry. Several dozen women prisoners worked welding and assembling aerial bomb transport carriages as well as in the machine department, operating the machines and overhead cranes for lifting loads.

SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the women prisoners to work in the steel mill's respective departments and supervised them during work along with female prisoners serving as foremen. German foremen and skilled workers from Hindenburg also supervised how prisoners did their assigned jobs. Overseer Bormann would come with her dog for inspections to the steel mill departments where the women prisoners worked, as did commandant Taube.

Sunday was also a workday for most of the female prisoners.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners and steel mill employees, Hindenburg subcamp's male prisoners were most probably put to work in the coking plant and Concordia mine.

The living conditions of the Hindenburg subcamp prisoners were similar to those existing at the other camps of the Auschwitz concentration camp system. They lived in wooden barracks, wore camp clothing (stripes), and were limited to a starvation diet. Being Jews, they were not allowed to receive food packages. Sometimes they would receive some food assistance from some of the workers employed at the Hindenburg steel mill who were kindly disposed toward them.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp, and women prisoners were summarily punished for any small offense or for no reason at all, with punitive exercises, kneeling, and most frequently, beating.

The subcamp was inspected on several occasions by SS men from Auschwitz. They conducted selections among the female prisoners (chiefly in the infirmary), in consequence of which at least several seriously ill women were taken away to Birkenau.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945. In the evening the women prisoners were escorted on foot to the

Auschwitz Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they were loaded onto coal cars and moved to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Due to the enormous overcrowding at that camp, they were not admitted there but were sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The trip took about two weeks, during which the women received little or no food and quenched their thirst with the snow falling into the train cars. Because of the terrible conditions prevailing at Bergen-Belsen in every respect, and the terrific overcrowding and typhus epidemic spreading there, few women lived to see the moment of liberation.

The Hindenburg subcamp male prisoners were also escorted to Gleiwitz II on January 19, 1945. On January 21, they were loaded into open freight cars (along with the prisoners from Gleiwitz II, Bobrek, and Monowitz subcamps who were evacuated there) and sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Joanna Bormann, who also served at the Babitz and Budy subcamps before coming to Hindenburg, was sentenced to death in 1945 in Lüneburg, in the Bergen-Belsen trial, and ultimately executed.

SOURCES Information on the Hindenburg subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hindenburg,'" *ZO* 11 (1969): 119–135 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hindenburg,'" HvA 11 [1970]: 129–147).

Archival materials are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former female prisoners, including Helena Adler and Berta Szachowska as well as accounts of Zabrze (Donnersmarckhütte) steel mill employees Karol Adamoszek, Wilhem Fuchs, Eryk Wróblik, and others.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

HOHENLINDE [AKA HUBERTUSHÜTTE]

The Hohenlinde subcamp was established in December 1944 on the initiative of the management of the Hubertus steel mill in the Beuthen (Bytom) suburb of Hohenlinde (Łagiewniki), owned by Berghütte. In the face of a shortage of labor needed to increase arms production, in September of that year the steel mill's management asked the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to allocate 1,000 prisoners from Auschwitz for work in the mill.

On December 20, 1944, a group of 200 Jewish prisoners brought to Auschwitz in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports in 1943 and 1944 were sent to Łagiewniki (some of them were marked with numbers ranging from 152060 to 199870). Because construction of the subcamp had not yet been completed, they were temporarily placed in a separate section of the camp for foreign laborers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*) and soon moved to barracks that had earlier been occupied by Italian prisoners. The subcamp's population on the eve of liberation was 202 prisoners.

The subcamp's commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Eckhardt, who had about 40 SS men under him.

Until mid-January 1945, the subcamp management evidently did not even consider the possibility of the German army's defeat, nor the impending evacuation, since it was waiting for another transport of 800 prisoners to arrive. This is proven by surviving orders for clothing, wooden shoes, and barracks furnishings that the subcamp management was sending to the steel mill management.

The prisoners were put to work in different sections of the steel mill doing the hardest and dirtiest labor (such as in the coking plant loading coke, loading and unloading gravel, etc.). Most of the prisoners were assigned to construct new buildings where production was to be started up just for the army. Civilian and forced laborers employed in sections where prisoners worked were warned that the prisoners were dangerous criminals and that anyone communicating with them could expect to be sent to Auschwitz.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the subcamp management received the order to evacuate. On January 19, SS men marched 202 prisoners from Łagiewniki on foot; only 58 of them reached the Leitmeritz camp in Litoměřice, Bohemia (a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp) in March 1945. An SS man's report of the evacuation dated March 12, 1945, said: "Departure ensued with 202 prisoners; 144 prisoners died under way, and this was reported periodically to the next state police station."[1]

SOURCES Published sources on the Hohenlinde subcamp include Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hubertushütte' (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," *ZO* 12 (1970): 159–170 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hubertushütte' (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," HvA 12 [1971]: 161–173).

Archival records on this camp are available in APKat, Zespół Berghütte sygn. 2224; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of inhabitants of Łagiewniki and vicinity: Jan Jakiełko (or Jakiełek), Bruno Kruszko (Kruszka), and others.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Photocopy of this report in APMO, Sygn. D-Floss/6 różne (nr inwentarza 170052).

JANINAGRUBE [AKA JOHANNAGRUBE, GUTE HOFFNUNGSGRUBE]

The town of Libiąż Mały, which was named Liebenzberg during the occupation, was about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) from Auschwitz and about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) from the city of Chrzanów (Krenau). Within the limits of Libiąż is the Janina hard coal mine, which changed names three times during the Nazi occupation: Janinagrube, Johannagrube, and Gute Hoffnungsgrube. In 1943, IG Farbenindustrie acquired the mine in order to supply coal to its chemical factory at Monowitz.[1]

A camp for British prisoners of war (POWs) occupied a site close to the mine, but the POWs' productivity was low,

so IG Farbenindustrie pressed to have prisoners from Auschwitz sent to the camp. On July 16, 1943, Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and IG Farbenindustrie representatives Dürrfeld and Düllberg conducted an inspection and determined that 300 Auschwitz prisoners should replace the 150 British POWs initially and that the camp would be expanded to accommodate 900 prisoners by the end of 1943. The British POWs were taken away from Libiąż on August 20, 1943.[2]

The Auschwitz subcamp Janinagrube was established on September 4, 1943, when the first transport of approximately 300 prisoners arrived. The largest portion of the transport, about 250 people, consisted of Polish Jews brought to Auschwitz on August 27–28, 1943, who received camp numbers in the 140000 to 142000 series.[3] Polish and German prisoners also arrived in that transport. Several hundred more prisoners arrived in 1944, although the exact numbers are impossible to determine.

The following table is based on surviving SS-Hygiene Institute records as well as camp resistance materials and shows the following Janinagrube prisoner population at different dates:[4]

Date	*Prisoners*
Jan. 20, 1944	437
Feb. 29, 1944	597
Nov. 14, 1944	877
Jan. 17, 1945	857

Approximately 80 percent of Janinagrube's prisoners were Jews from France, Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (Theresienstadt), and Poland. The other 20 percent included Poles, Russians, and Germans.

Some 250 prisoners of non-Jewish descent were taken away from Janinagrube in late 1944. They were moved to Monowitz and then to Birkenau, and they departed in evacuation transports. The prisoner population did not change significantly between November 1944 and January 1945, however, which indicates that the SS sent in Jewish prisoners to replace the non-Jews they had evacuated.

One two-level building from the mine's Obieżowa housing camp was included in the subcamp; approximately 400 prisoners lived in it. The subcamp also had three living barracks, with 150 to 200 prisoners in each. The kitchen, camp hospital, washroom, and latrine were in separate barracks. A double row of electrified barbed wire ringed the camp. An SS guardhouse stood next to the gate, and half of the ground floor in the Obieżowa housing camp building, which bordered on the camp fence, was allocated for living quarters for the SS men and their families.

A small group of prisoners, consisting of professional bricklayers, carpenters, and metalworkers, which arrived at Janinagrube in the first transport on September 4, 1943, went to work immediately to expand the subcamp; it was called the camp detachment.

The camp detachment aside, all the other prisoners were assigned to work underground in the Janinagrube mine on September 6, 1943. The prisoners were put to work in the Wiktor (Squad I and II), Aleksander (Squad III and IV), and Zygmunt (Squad V and VI) beds. Some prisoners also worked in the squad that timbered the mine galleries or as help in operating electrical and motorized machines. A few worked on the mine surface at what was called the "yard," sorting the wood for timbering the mine galleries. At a later time, prisoners were also put to work in the machine repair shops and expanding the mine's railway tracks.

The prisoners who worked underground operated in three shifts—6:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., 2:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.—mining and moving coal. They often stood up to their waist in water or lay in the galleries for hours at a time in places where they could not assume any other position. Their strength faded quickly because of the unhealthy working conditions, the lack of protective clothing or proper food, and abuse by the supervisors. According to prisoner accounts, four to six weeks was the longest one could do mining work, even if one avoided accidents, which were common. Many prisoners suffered a variety of fractures and internal injuries. Losses were very great; most of the prisoners died, and those who did not were often found to be unfit for work during a selection at the subcamp hospital, which was equivalent to the death sentence, in the prisoners' opinion.

In the autumn of 1944, 70 persons were chosen from the Janinagrube prisoners for a detachment called the arms detail (Wehrkommando). They worked at the mine's railroad siding located next to the Leśniowa housing camp. Railway cars loaded with such ammunition as mines, torpedoes, and *Panzerfäuste* (rocket-propelled antitank grenades) were rolled onto the siding, where prisoners reloaded the ammunition onto trucks. The ammunition was hauled to the forest detail (Waldkommando) located in the forest near Libiąż.

During the day, the prisoners received less than 0.25 kilograms (8.8 ounces) of bread, along with some margarine, jam, or sausage (it was always just one supplement of a few grams), approximately 1 quart of black coffee, and the same amount of soup made of potatoes, carrots, or rutabaga. Sometimes noodles or beans were added to the soup; sometimes a piece of meat was added as well. Such food rations, combined with the very hard mining labor, brought on a quick loss of strength and consequent starvation.

The Janinagrube subcamp hospital was in a separate barrack, where there was a hospital room for a dozen or so patients as well as a dispensary and facilities for dental assistance. The chief orderly was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Ludwig, followed by SS-Sturmmann Johan Volland. Prisoners Erich Orlik and Walter Loebner, from Czechoslovakia, were the camp doctors.[5] Due to the large number of sick prisoners, the hospital suffered a constant lack of drugs. Besides illnesses caused by mining accidents, the most frequently encountered diseases were swelling from starvation, tuberculosis, typhus,

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

ulcerations, phlegmon, and scurvy. Despite their sickness, some prisoners did not report to the hospital because of the selections conducted among patients. Prisoners who were selected were taken to Monowitz or Birkenau by truck transport. Once a week the bodies of dead prisoners were also taken to Auschwitz.

The commandants of the Janinagrube subcamp were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner (September 1943 to March 1944), SS-Oberscharführer Herman Kleemann (March to September 1944), and SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Kamieniczny (September 1944 to January 18, 1945).[6]

The guards were SS men from the Third Guard Company under the Monowitz guard battalion. There was a total of about 50 SS men at the subcamp.

There were 857 prisoners at the last roll call at the Janinagrube subcamp on January 17, 1945. The next day, approximately 800 prisoners were escorted out of the subcamp on a journey on foot to the Gross-Rosen camp. The march lasted about 18 days. According to subcamp doctor Orlik, approximately 200 prisoners reached Gross-Rosen in a state of extreme exhaustion.

Approximately 60 seriously ill prisoners who were not evacuated remained at the Janinagrube subcamp. Beginning with liberation day, January 25, 1945, the people of Libiąż gave help to the surviving prisoners.

SOURCES Information on this camp exists in the following works: Aleksander Lasik, *Załoga SS w KL Auschwitz w latach 1940–1945* (Bydgoszcz, 1994); Emeryka Iwaszko, "Podobóz Janinagrube," *ZO* 10 (1967): 59–82; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum, 1992), pp. 502–503.

The following records contain material on this camp: The IG Farben Trial (Case VIII: *USA v. Carl Krauch, et al.*), Prosecution Document Books 80 and 81, available in Poland at IPN; the Trial of Gerhard Maurer, vol. 7; records of the Janinagrube mine in Libiąż, vol.1–16-D-Au III (Janinagrube); and accounts of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz, Jan Mydlarczyk, Zygmunt Szwajca, and Kazimierz Ślimak.

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. NI-10170, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 1.
2. Letter of August 11, 1943, from the command of the English prisoners of war to the administration of the Janinagrube mine, NI-10525, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 26.
3. Record of the investigation of Janinagrube documents found after the war in the archive of the "Janina" mine, APMO.
4. Materials of the camp Resistance Movement, 2: 60; 3: 208; 7: 475; and documents of the SS-Hygiene Institute, Binder 55/170–185 (APMO).
5. APMO, Maurer Trial—record group number Dpr. Mau./12[a]/, NI 12385, p. 244; NI 11652, p. 261.
6. Reports of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz and Kazimierz Ślimak (APMO).

JAWISCHOWITZ

In the first half of 1942, the German government concern Reichswerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) entered into a contract with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), under which the Auschwitz concentration camp was to provide 6,000 prisoners to the Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice (Jawischowitz) hard coal mine, which they owned. The mine authorities and the management of Auschwitz prepared barracks in which to put the prisoners, and the SS guarded the buildings.

The first transport of 150 Jewish prisoners arrived on August 15, 1942. The subcamp's population grew steadily and reached approximately 2,500 prisoners in mid-1944; 1,988 were there on January 17, 1945. Most of the prisoners were Jews from Poland and Western Europe, while Poles, Russians, and Germans made up most of the others.

Administratively, the Jawischowitz subcamp was under the command of the main camp at Auschwitz until November 22, 1943; after that it came under Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, born May 13, 1904, in Handorf, was the commandant for two years; he also served at Flossenbürg and at Auschwitz and its Trzebinia subcamp. SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Remmele, born in Horgau on March 3, 1903, took Kowol's place in July 1944 and remained in command until the camp shut down; he had already served at Dachau, Auschwitz, and the Eintrachthütte subcamp. Both men were brutal; Kowol would get drunk and shoot at prisoners, and he also participated in selections. As a guard force, the commandants controlled at least 70 SS men at the turn of the year 1943–1944.

Jawischowitz was infamous among Auschwitz prisoners. Working conditions were extremely hard, and mortality was high. The living barracks were overcrowded. The portions of food issued to prisoners were small and low in calories. Ravenous prisoners often searched for food in the camp garbage heaps or picked up scraps thrown away by passersby on the route to work. There were times when they would pick the grass and eat it while waiting at the mine yard for the march out to camp. The SS men beat them for that.

The camp hospital mainly contained prisoners who had been injured on the job, as well as those suffering from starvation, diarrhea, ulcerations, pneumonia, and typhus. Every few weeks or so, SS doctors would conduct selections in the sickroom. Prisoners they found unfit for work—sometimes over a hundred at a time—went to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where most died in the gas chambers, while others received phenol injections in the heart. SS doctor Horst Fischer usually conducted the selections, and mine director Otto Heine also participated in one. From the end of October 1942 through December 1944, at least 1,800 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz. New transports replenished the camp population. The bodies of murdered prisoners or those who had died of hunger and overwork were also trucked away, to the crematoriums at Birkenau.

Some prisoners "went to the wires," meaning they committed suicide by throwing themselves on the subcamp's electrified fence.

Eighty percent of Jawischowitz prisoners worked in the mine, most of them underground, the rest on the surface. Underground they dug, loaded, and hauled coal; drove and shored up new tunnels; and reclaimed shoring materials from caveins. Mine employees and prisoner foremen, mostly German, supervised the work; the SS men went below only to make spot inspections. With few exceptions, the German supervisors were hostile toward the prisoners, suspecting them of being averse to work and prone to sabotage. Some of them beat the prisoners under any pretext or without any reason at all. In contrast, almost all the Polish foremen tried to make the work easier for the prisoners, despite the danger of punishment.

Deaths and injuries occurred frequently in the mines, quite aside from the acts that supervisors perpetrated. Caveins and other accidents were common. Mentally broken prisoners also committed suicide, sometimes by throwing themselves under the locomotives traveling through the galleries. Prisoners often returned to camp with bodies of comrades on their shoulders.

On the surface, in what was called the "yard," several dozen to well over a hundred prisoners were generally put to work per month unloading and transporting wood, rails, and other materials needed to do the work underground, cleaning the mine grounds, sorting coal, or performing work at similar workstations. Several dozen young Hungarian Jews worked in the sorting plant at Brzeszcze in 1944, including some children under 14 years old.

Most prisoners who worked above ground worked building the Andreas Electric Power Plant in Brzeszcze and expanding various types of mine structures at Jawischowitz. The administration of RWHG had contracted construction work to the following companies: Franz Galehr, Fiebig, Gleitbau Klotz & Co. (Eisenbetonbau Hoch u. Tiefbau) Berlin, Hans-Schmidt (Anschlussgleisbau) Hannover, Hinz und Köhring, Kreuz & Loesch Oppeln, Kurt Hein, Norddeutsche Hoch u. Tiefbau, and Riedel & Sohn (Eisenbeton u. Hochbau) Bielitz. In consultation with the Auschwitz authorities, the mine leased prisoner labor to those companies. Almost all the foregoing companies were under the German Mine and Steelmill Construction Company, Deutsche Bergwerke- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG).

On the surface, besides SS men, the prisoners were supervised by civilian foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, plant guards (Werkschutz), and members of the volunteer auxiliary guard service (Hilfswachmannschaft). Prisoners were treated so badly at the electric plant construction site that many called the place the "death trap."

Both inside Jawischowitz as well as at their work sites, prisoners tried to improve their situation as best they could. Some of them "appropriated" blankets, comforters, shoes, and other such items at the subcamp, smuggled them into the mine, and exchanged them with Polish workers for food products, primarily bread, fat, and saccharine. In the winter, when there was not enough fuel to heat the barracks rooms, prisoners would bring pieces of coal from the mine in their pockets or up their sleeves. Some prisoners put to work in the winter at construction sites tried to protect themselves from the cold and wind by putting on what were called "undershirts" under their clothes, meaning sheets from paper cement sacks torn in advance. Not infrequently, the SS men would discover these types of illegal action by prisoners and severely punish them.

Prisoner underground units operated at Jawischowitz in 1943 and 1944, headed by several dozen Austrian, German, Polish, and Russian prisoners. Well over 100 prisoners cooperated with them. In consultation with members of underground organizations at Auschwitz and members of the Polish Socialist Party's combat group operating at Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice, they conducted sabotage operations in the mine, tried to help sick prisoners as well as they could, took care of the young, and prepared escapes. Several prisoners escaped successfully with help from the inhabitants of Brzeszcze, Jawiszowice, and nearby areas, not only Polish Socialist Party (PPS) activists but also members of the Home Army (AK), Polish Workers Party (PPR), Peasant Battalions (B.Ch.), as well as people who did not belong to any underground organizations, despite the risk to their lives. Unsuccessful escapes often led to the deaths of both the escapee and those who rendered assistance.

In the final months of 1944, the SS men sent almost all the Poles as well as some of the Russians and Germans from Jawischowitz to Mauthausen and Buchenwald. The subcamp's final evacuation was in January 1945; 1,948 prisoners were joined to the prisoner columns evacuated from Birkenau. The SS men shot prisoners who could not keep up with the march. Some of the Jawischowitz subcamp prisoners were sent to Mauthausen and some to Buchenwald and its subcamps.

Josef Remmele was tried by an Allied court in West Germany and executed. There is no record that Wilhelm Kowol was ever tried.

SOURCES Several publications contain information on Jawischowitz: Natan Żelechower, "Siedem obozów," *BŻIH* 68 (1968): 5–68; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobóz Jawischowitz," *ZO* 15 (1974): 171–234 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Jawischowitz," HvA 15 [1975]: 183–250); Andrzej Strzelecki and Henryk Świebocki, *Brzeszcze Jawiszowice 1939–1945* (Brzeszcze 1983, commemorative pamphlet); Moshé and Elie Garbarz, *Un survivant Pologne 1913–1929. Paris 1929–1941. Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jawischowitz-Buchenwald 1942–1945* (Paris: Plon, 1984). The book by Andrzej Strzelecki, *Marsz śmierci. Przewodnik po trasie Oświęcim-Wodzisław Śląski* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1989), pp. 14–17, offers information on the Jawischowitz subcamp and a commemoration of its victims; also see Strzelecki, *The Evacuation, Dismantling and Liberation of the KL Auschwitz* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz State Museum, 2001), pp. 178–181. For survivor accounts, see Henri Moraud, ed., *Jawischowitz une annexe d'Auschwitz* (Paris: Amicale d'Auschwitz, section Jawischowitz, 1985); Erwin R. Tichauer, *Totenkopf und Zebrakleid. Ein Berliner Jude in Auschwitz. Bearbeitet und mit einem Nachwort*

versehen von Jürgen Matthäus (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2000).

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Akta kopalni Brzeszcze; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Leon Błoński, Jan Husarek, Józef Czechowski, Kazimierz Misiewicz, Zbigniew Kaźmierczak, Zygmunt Koehler, Jakub Sekuła, Kazimierz Szwemberg, Tomasz Stokłosa, Witold Tokarz, and others; accounts by residents of Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice and vicinity Wincenty Fornal, Emilia Klimczyk, Janina Pytlik-Bałuk, Franciszek Sobik, Leopold Szczepański, Aleksander Zachara, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

KATTOWITZ

The Gestapo headquarters in Kattowitz (Katowice) deployed 10 Auschwitz prisoners in Special Detachment (Sonderkommando) Kattowitz from January 1944 to January 1945. Located in the capital of *Gau* (Nazi Party province) Ostoberschlesien (Śląsk) at Strasse der SA 49 (after 1945, Ulica Powstańców 31), the headquarters had a small jail. The Sonderkommando erected air-raid shelters and barracks and may also have conducted bomb disposal operations (*Bombenbeseitigung*). The establishment of U.S. air bases in Italy in the fall of 1943 brought southwestern Poland within bombing range, which accounted for the timing of the Sonderkommando's formation, as well as for the much larger detachments performing similar tasks elsewhere at Auschwitz.

SOURCES This entry is based partly upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 132. Additional information about Sonderkommando Kattowitz can be found at "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. For the address of the Kattowitz Gestapo, and a photograph of the building taken in 1997, see Adolf Diamant, *Gestapochef Thümmler: Verbrechen in Chemnitz, Kattowitz und Auschwitz; Die steile Karriere eines Handlangers der nationalsozialistischen Morde und Vergehen gegen die Menschlichkeit* (Chemnitz: Heimatland Sachsen, 1999). This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 23.

There are no specific primary source collections for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

KOBIER

Kobier was located in a forest complex 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) north of Pszczyna (Pless) and approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of Auschwitz. The exact date when this Auschwitz subcamp was established is uncertain. The name first appears in a dispatch order (*Fahrbefehl*) dated September 23, 1942; a five-ton truck was sent to the village of Kobier (Kobiór) that day to deliver wood to the camp, but it is not known whether there were prisoners there already.[1] The few surviving prisoner accounts say that the subcamp was in existence in the autumn (perhaps as early as October) of 1942 and certainly on December 19, when a truck with supplies for the prisoners was sent to Kobier.[2] Another probable piece of evidence that a subcamp existed at Kobier is a reference in an order of Auschwitz concentration camp headquarters dated November 2, 1942, which says that trips by SS men to the "Pszczyna forest commandos" (Plesser Forstkommandos) were to be treated as trips outside the camp's "Zone of Interest" (*Interessengebiet*).[3]

In all likelihood, civilian workers hired by the Pszczyna Forest Management Agency (Oberforstamt Pless) appeared in Kobier in autumn 1942; they began building barracks and a fence. The last barrack (for the SS men) was erected only in late January 1943.[4] The camp was rectangular and approximately 30×40 meters (98×131 feet) in area. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence running along cement posts. Makeshift watchtowers were put up at the outside corners of the fence. The first of three barracks inside the camp, to the right of the entrance gate, housed office space for the SS men, as well as the kitchen and food storeroom. Prisoners lived in the barrack opposite the gate; it contained a separate space housing a readily accessible storeroom for the subcamp's equipment. The third barrack, to the left of the entrance gate, also housed prisoners, as well as the infirmary and dentist's office. The barracks had windows; bunk beds, tables, and benches were set up in them. Heat was provided by quite efficient iron stoves, on which the prisoners attempted to dry their wet clothing. There was also a small toilet barrack with a shower near the camp entrance, and the well.[5]

There were approximately 150 prisoners in the camp, mostly Jews, mainly Polish, French, Belgian, and Czech, and several non-Jewish Germans, Poles, and Russians.[6] The German prisoners assumed the most important functions: the camp elder (Lagerälteste) was Alfred van Hofe, the camp Kapo (Lagerkapo) was Theo and was from Hamburg, and the kitchen Kapo was Rudolf Navratil; a few Poles were also put to work in the camp in relatively easier jobs.

The largest Kommando was named "Woodcutter" (Holzfäller), in which prisoners, mainly Jews, were put to work felling trees in the forest and preparing the trunks for further processing. The wood, especially branches and waste material, was used to burn the bodies of Holocaust victims in ditches and heaps at the Birkenau camp. The tree trunks were taken away to sawmills, where they were made into props to support the ceilings in mines. In the spring and summer of 1943, most of the prisoners were sent to remove trees brought down by wind and frost. The work was organized as follows: first a rectangle was marked out along the existing cuttings and clearings so that the respective guards would be able to see each other. Therefore, the prisoners first had to remove

any branches blocking the line of sight along the sides of the rectangle. Next, the SS men took up positions along the clearings that had been marked out, and the prisoners set about cutting down the trees with saws and axes, removing branches, and carrying the wood to spots from where it could be carted away. Prisoners were also frequently put to work cleaning and repairing forest roads so that carts and trucks could get in.

For several weeks there was also a demolition detachment (Abbruchkommando) of approximately 20 prisoners at Kobier; it was assigned to dismantle old houses and farm buildings in the vicinity. Its major job was to reclaim bricks, which were cleaned of any remaining mortar and stacked in piles. Some prisoners also worked sporadically digging ditches and spreading lime on local meadows.

The subcamp's staff numbered approximately 20 SS men. SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner held the post of commander.[7] There are differing accounts about him; some say he behaved decently toward the prisoners, while other witnesses say the opposite, that he mistreated the prisoners and tolerated numerous incidents of his guards shooting prisoners for ostensibly trying to escape.[8] At least once he took the side of a Polish prisoner who had gotten into a conflict with Lagerältester van Hofe. Taking the opportunity, both Poles and Jews testified that van Hofe had helped SS men arrange prisoner "escapes" to give the SS men a pretext to use their weapons, after which he would drink alcohol with them. Baumgartner then held an inquiry, and the Lagerältester was thus stripped of his function and assigned to a penal company.[9] How many prisoners fell victim to such provocations is not known; there were presumably at least three of them. The bodies of prisoners who were shot or died in the subcamp were sent to the morgue at the parent camp; the first time was February 11, 1943, when the body of a Soviet prisoner was brought there, and the last time was on June 28. In that period, a total of 21 bodies from Kobier were delivered to the morgue at Auschwitz I, although it is uncertain whether that included all the subcamp's fatalities.[10]

The lives of the subcamp's prisoners were not much different than the familiar drill at Auschwitz I or Birkenau. The prisoners worked 6 days a week, often in pouring rain or low temperatures. The food, initially delivered from the parent camp, and later prepared on the premises, was not different in quality than the food issued in other parts of the Auschwitz complex. Similarly, the clothing was bad and worn, especially the uncomfortable footwear that injured the feet. Prisoners who were sick or had been injured at work reported to the dispensary in the evening, where an attempt was made to give them first aid. In more serious cases, a prisoner could be put in the "infirmary," meaning an alcove partitioned off by boards housing bunks where a maximum of nine people could be placed. Treatment basically could not exceed 7 to 10 days, because "bedridden patients" were taken away to Birkenau by the truck that brought food to the subcamp and came to Kobier in those intervals of time.

On Sunday morning the prisoners were sent to bathe under showers (without hot water), and there were systematic "louse inspections" (*Lausekontrolle*). The living quarters were also cleaned; the tables and benches were carried out of the barracks and scrubbed using lime. After lunch, the SS men, bored in the isolated camp, sat on benches at the gate and forced prisoners to have boxing matches; the "boxers" were then issued old work gloves. Singing performances enjoyed great success, including those by the especially popular Erich Purm. During the day the prisoners also had the opportunity to repair worn clothing, visit and talk with each other, usually concentrating on ways to get extra food.

There are a few surviving records that provide more detailed information about the operation of the Kobier subcamp; for example, there is a list of furnishings for the prisoners' barracks, itemizing 510 blankets, 20 triple-decker bunks (which means that two or three prisoners had to sleep on one level), 80 enamel bowls (one for every two prisoners), 75 stools, and so on; also surviving are several monthly reports on prisoner activity at the dentist's office, listing the number and type of procedures performed in the summer of 1943.[11] It is also known that on March 8, 1943, a prisoner attempted to escape from the Kobier subcamp, Max Franz Schaap, a Dutch Jew. He was caught and put in the basement of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz I; his transfer to the camp hospital was recorded the same day.[12] Also surviving are the prisoner leasing figures of the Oberforstamt Pless camp employment office; in February 1943, the Forest Management Agency paid 5,739 Reichsmark (RM) for 1,913 days' work of prisoners classified as unskilled laborers at 3 RM per day of work (from 64 to 102 prisoners were put to work per day).[13] In the subsequent months, the number of prisoners hired out by the Forest Management Agency gradually decreased, reaching the level of approximately 53 in August. In the middle of that month, several dozen prisoners were transferred from Kobier to the subcamp at Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz).[14] On August 28, a commando of 26 prisoners went out to work for the last time; therefore, this is presumably the date the camp was disbanded.[15] In his recollections, former prisoner Rudolf Löhr also says that the camp was disbanded at the end of August.[16] The prisoners who still remained in camp at that time were transferred to Auschwitz, and British prisoners of war took their places at the end of the year.

SOURCES The most valuable are the accounts of Rudolf Löhr and Stanisław Łapiński; also a few references in the various subcamp records available at APMO.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—4/28.
2. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 45: 14, account of Stanisław Łapiński; 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar; D-Au I—4/25, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.
3. APMO, D-Au I—1/77, Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl.
4. APMO, D-Au I—4/47, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.

5. APMO, Zespół Wspomnienia, 165: 53a, recollection of Rudolf Löhr; Affidavits Collection, 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar.

6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, 1: 24, rept. of April 25, 1943; Kobiór—156 prisoners.

7. APMO, D.Hyg.Inst./23, File 17b, p. 687; entry dated June 22, 1943.

8. APMO, The Höss Trial, 16a: 202, testimony of Karol Sperber.

9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 45: 15, 16 ; 53: 41, accounts of Stanisław Łapiński and Władysław Lewko; D-Au I—3/1, Penal company record book, p. 2, entry of July 20, 1943, stating that Alfred van Hofe had been put in a penal company.

10. APMO, D-Au I—5/2, Morgue record book, pp. 66–161.

11. APMO, D-Au I—4/45, inventory no. 171425, record dated 3/29/43; Monatliche Leistungs- und Personalmeldung des KL Zahnstation. Aussenkommando Kobier, Juli–August 1943.

12. APMO, D-Au I—3/1b, p. 2136, Barrack 11 bunker [underground isolation cell] record book.

13. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 2: 68a, 3: 137a, 175a, 5: 264a, 298a.

14. APMO, D-Mau—3a/24538, Mauthausen Files, Affidavits Collection, 45: 16, account of Stanisław Łapiński.

15. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 6: 318a.

16. APMO, Recollections Collection, 165: 68.

LAGISCHA

The town of Łagisza (Lagischa) is approximately 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) north of Będzin (Bendsberg) and approximately 40 kilometers (24.9 miles) northwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). In 1941, the German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (EVO) began the site preparation work for the construction of a power plant named "Walter," with a projected output of 300 megawatts.

After fencing the site of the future project, the "Klotz" and "Haga" companies, using local inhabitants who had been assigned to work for them, started building living barracks for the future staff. Part of the barracks complex was set apart from the rest of the barracks by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. Several brick barracks were put up inside; some of them were for the camp inhabitants, while some were used as storehouses. Watchtowers were put up along the fence. That is roughly how the camp looked when a group of Jews were put there at the turn of the year from 1941 to 1942; they were presumably sent to Lagischa by the Organisation Schmelt.

Jerzy Frąckiewicz, the author of the only essay on the history of the Lagischa camp, maintains that the Auschwitz concentration camp had taken over control of those Jews, and they had been included in its population, as happened in the case of Jewish prisoners at the subcamp in Blachownia Śląska (Blechhammer).[1] However, careful study of his arguments shows that such a takeover did not occur. The numerical series issued in the summer of 1943 do not contain a reference to the issue of approximately 100 numbers to prisoners coming from any camp that could be associated with the opening of a new subcamp. The day that Frąckiewicz determined as the founding date for the Lagischa subcamp (June 15, 1943) is probably inaccurate because that was the opening date of another EVO company subcamp at Jaworzno (Neu-Dachs).[2] However, it is known that on August 13, 1943, SS-Untersturmführer Sell, the chief of the camp employment office, notified the Auschwitz garrison command of the intent to form four new subcamps soon, including a camp at Lagischa.[3] According to what he said, there were plans to place 100 prisoners in the camp initially, but their number was to reach the target of 1,000. There were also plans to assign a guard staff to Lagischa, initially with a 1:25 SS-prisoner ratio, later to reach 1:40.

The date the subcamp was formed can be established based on an invoice (*Forderungsnachweis*) that the camp employment office issued to the Lagischa power plant management in September 1943.[4] It shows that the first 302 prisoners were put to work building the plant on September 10. However, since the previous day had been a Sunday, and September 8 was entered in one of the few surviving records of a Lagischa prisoner as the transfer date, we ought to assume that the subcamp was formed on that day.[5]

The aforementioned invoice and subsequent ones show that the "Walter" power plant paid 4 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled workman (44 prisoners) and 3 RM for a helper. In October, the number of prisoners put to work was at a level similar to that of September, but it rose to over 500 in early November, which proves that another transport or transports arrived at Lagischa.[6] But considering the fact that at other Auschwitz subcamps the actual prisoner population was approximately 20 percent greater than the number of those put to work (more or less 10 percent of prisoners worked inside the subcamp, and up to 10 percent were sick), it is probably safe to assume that there were over 600 prisoners in Lagischa in late 1943.

Among the several dozen prisoners with entries surviving in camp records, the most names that appear are those of Polish and French Jews; there were also Poles and Russians in the camp. There is similar information about the ethnic makeup of the Lagischa prisoners in the accounts of former prisoners; Polish laborers and local residents were employed building the power plant.[7] Former prisoners' accounts indicate that a Pole, Jerzy Jackowski, held the position of camp elder (Lagerälteste); the kitchen Kapo was Stanisław Łapiński, and the chief of the camp infirmary was a German, Hans Bock.

There were eight barracks inside the camp fence, of which four were used as quarters for the prisoners, one housed the camp infirmary, and the other three served as warehouses and

office and utility space. A large water reservoir, used as a water supply for firefighting, was dug next to the infirmary near the assembly ground. Outside the fence near the gate was the SS guardhouse and living barracks for the SS men.

The prisoners slept on triple-decker bunks with straw mattresses. Meals were initially provided by the kitchen for civilian laborers, which was located on the power plant construction site, and later meals were cooked in facilities on the subcamp premises. The prisoners have described the food as inadequate, and according to their accounts, it was even worse in quality and less in quantity than the food issued in other sections of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The prisoners were put to work at hard physical labor: building a railway siding leading to the site of the future power plant, demolishing houses and farm buildings, digging ditches, and unloading machine parts and building materials. The work lasted 11 hours a day: from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a one-hour lunch break from noon to 1:00 P.M. Dominant among the skilled workers listed in reports by the subcamp and factory management were ironworkers, bricklayers, electricians, and plumbers, which to some extent indicates the nature of the work the prisoners did; but the majority of the prisoners put to work were "helpers" and a group of 50 "apprentices" (it is not clear what their "apprenticeship" was supposed to have consisted of).[8]

As surviving accounts show, the prisoners of the Lagischa subcamp were treated with exceptional cruelty by the SS guards; often they repeatedly describe scenes of prisoner abuse, beating them with bats or rifle butts, chasing them into the firefighting reservoir at the assembly ground, and pushing anyone who tried to get onto the bank back into the water. Witnesses also maintain that many prisoners were shot by the SS men while "trying to escape," although such events have not been verified in any sources. Among the telegrams notifying of prisoner escapes, only one survives, mentioning the successful escape of three Russian prisoners on June 1, 1944: their names, rendered in Polish, were Nikolaus Milajew, Nikolaus Abakumow, and Stefan Staroszczuk. Milajew was caught that same day and delivered to the camp.[9]

The SS men at the Lagischa subcamp were under the command of the Sixth Birkenau Company (put under the commander of Auschwitz III effective November 11, 1943, as the Fifth Company), and later, effective May 22, 1944, they were under the Fifth Company of the newly formed Auschwitz III Guard Battalion. Their company commander was SS-Untersturmführer Bruno Pfütze.[10] The names of 40 SS men who served at the subcamp at various times have been successfully identified, although the amount of guard staff was usually slightly lower and numbered two noncommissioned officers and 30 to 32 privates.

SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwinski held the post of camp leader (Lagerführer) at the subcamp. When it was closed, he was transferred to Goleszów (Golleschau) on October 1, 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Hans Nierzwicki was the orderly in the camp infirmary, and SS-Rottenführer Hermann Klan and SS-Unterscharführer Hans Pfeuer were in charge of the kitchen.[11]

As time went on, the camp's population decreased as sick prisoners were sent back to the hospital at the main camp and probably to the hospitals at Monowice (Monowitz) or Birkenau; as is known from reports of the camp resistance, there were 477 prisoners in Lagischa on January 20, 1944, and 499 a month later.[12] Although more prisoner transports probably arrived at the subcamp in the following months, there is no direct evidence that the total camp population approached 1,000, as Frąckiewicz maintains. All we know is that there were 725 prisoners in Lagischa on August 10, 1944, their number probably decreasing to 674 on August 16; 517 on August 25; 217 on September 2; and just 100 on September 5.[13] Such a great drop in the number of prisoners is probably due to the plans to abandon the construction of the "Walter" power plant, of which the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) officially notified the Auschwitz concentration camp command on September 1, 1944. Six days later, Auschwitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz notified the camp administrative units under him of that fact, stating that the SS men from the Lagischa subcamp would be transferred to the newly formed Neustadt camp in Prudnik.[14]

The last report on the Lagischa subcamp's population (99 prisoners) is from September 23;[15] there is also a surviving telegram notifying the main camp that two Polish prisoners, Marian Batkowski and Stanisław Oszmaniec, had escaped from the subcamp on that day, which seems to suggest that the camp was closed a short time later.[16] The Lagischa prisoners were transferred to Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) and later to the Neu-Dachs subcamp at Jaworzno, although some were also sent back to the main camp (Auschwitz I).

In his essay, Jerzy Frąckiewicz maintains that a small group of prisoners guarded by several SS men still remained in the camp until January 1945; there is not a reference to confirm that assumption in any of the records he cites or in any accounts of former prisoners or Lagischa residents.

SOURCES The only published source is Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," in *ZO* 9 (1965): 55–69.

These records for Lagischa are scattered in many different collections at APMO (particularly see notes 4, 7, and 8). It is also mentioned in dispatch orders (Fahrbefehle), penal reports, and files of the SS-Hygiene Institute.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," *ZO* 9 (1965): 58–60.

2. APMO, D-Au III—1/Jaworzno, 1: 1.

3. APMO, D-Au III—Monowitz/3a, Correspondence regarding IG Farben, p. 48.

4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/5, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, p. 351a.

5. APMO, D-Au I—3a/986–1378, Employment office files, p. 104; file of prisoner Eli Goldfarb.

6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/6, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, pp. 361a, 394a; D-Au I—3a/370/7, p. 463a.

7. The most entries regarding prisoners of Lagischa subcamp are in the records of the camp employment office and in the numbers book (*Nummerbuch*). APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], relations of Zbigniew Tokarski (40: 140, 141); Zbigniew Mroczkowski (46: 42–44); Stanisława Dydak (44: 1–3); Antoni Górecki (44: 4, 5); Stanisław Drygalski (44: 6, 7); Otylia Piaskowska (44: 8, 9); Tadeusz Łapka (44: 10–13); Aniela Gwoździowska, Irena Kubik, Zofia Motoczyńska (44: 14–17).

8. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502–2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

9. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Zespół Telegramy, pp. 447–449.

10. APMO, Sturmbannbefehl No. 147/43 of 9/27/1943; Standortbefehl No. 53/43 of November 22, 1943 (item 12d); Sturmbann-Sonderbefehl of November 24, 1943; and Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III of 5/22/1944 (D-Au III—1/6).

11. APMO, D-Au I—4/2, p. 140, Personalbefehl KL Auschwitz II of December 11, 1943, No. 2/43.

12. APMO, Książka ewidencyjna bloku 20 Auschwitz I, p. 39; Entry regarding prisoner Moszek Reisman, brought from the Lagischa subcamp, December 24, 1943; Zespół Materiały ruchu oporu, 2: 60, 7: 475; Repts. of January 20 and February 22, 1944.

13. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

14. APMO, D-Au III—1/66, Kommandanturbefehl KL Auschwitz III No. 9/44 of September 6, 1944.

15. APMO, Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, p. 207.

16. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Meldeblatt, p. 356.

LAURAHÜTTE

Laurahütte was organized in late March and early April 1944 at the Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH company, which was probably founded in 1941 at the existing Huta Laura (Laurahütte) steel mill in the town of Siemianowice Śląskie (Siemianowitz) near Katowice.[1] The subcamp was approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Auschwitz and was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. The company belonged to the German Rheinmetall-Borsig AG corporation. Since it was an arms plant, Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH was under military supervision. The company manufactured anti-aircraft guns for the navy.

No sources are available to indicate who established this subcamp or precisely when it was established. The earliest record in surviving Auschwitz documents is from April 8, 1944. A German prisoner named Karl Schmied, a cook, was moved from Eintrachthütte to Laurahütte on that day.[2] Transferring a prisoner with that job suggests that it was exactly at that time that the subcamp was established. A note made on April 14, 1944, by the muster officer of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, showing that on that day two prisoners were moved to the Laurahütte subcamp, seems to support that idea.[3] The camp definitely did not exist at the beginning of March 1944, as it is not on the list of subcamps in a letter by the SS garrison doctor dated March 8, 1944.[4] Three Polish prisoners were also moved to the new subcamp in very early April 1944, and several days later a larger group of prisoners joined them in order to get the future subcamp's premises in order and prepare space in one of the production facilities to house prisoners.[5] Inside that facility there were already three-tier wooden bunks, probably for prisoners in the forced labor camp for Jews that the Germans established in 1941 under the Organisation Schmelt; that camp was shut down before the Laurahütte subcamp was organized at Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH.[6]

In May 1944, once the subcamp was ready to house more prisoners, about 150 to 250 Jews were moved from Auschwitz III-Monowitz to Laurahütte. These prisoners had come to Auschwitz from the Netherlands, France, and Belgium; now they went to the new subcamp as slave laborers. Smaller transports of Auschwitz prisoners were also moved in the following months, predominantly Jews of different nationalities, including a transport of approximately 150 Jewish prisoners from Hungary in September 1944.[7] On January 17, 1945, several days prior to evacuation, there were 937 prisoners in the subcamp, mainly Jews.[8]

The subcamp's management was in the hands of SS men. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack held the position of commandant throughout the subcamp's existence; SS-Rottenführer Kramm was his deputy.[9] There were five or six SS men in all. However, the subcamp's guards were not SS men from the Auschwitz garrison but around 40 naval ratings from the coastal anti-aircraft artillery, commanded by Obermaat Adamczyk. Most of the ratings were older.[10]

In general, the subcamp was shaped like a triangle, whose northern and eastern side was formed by a wall approximately 3 meters (10 feet) high, topped with barbed wire. The subcamp's first buildings were a large factory hall, where prisoners were quartered, as well as a brick building that contained the camp storehouses. The barrack where the kitchen and secretarial office were set up, as well as the prisoner hospital barrack, was erected only after the prisoners had been brought to the subcamp. Construction of another barrack for prisoners was begun, although it was not completed. There were three watchtowers on the inside corners of the subcamp or on its outside fence, and a guardhouse next to the gate, through which prisoners exited the camp directly into the factory buildings. The entire subcamp formed a completely separate unit within the factory grounds, administered by the subcamp management.

Prisoners put in the Laurahütte subcamp worked directly in manufacturing as well as inside the subcamp. There were the following detachments: electricians, metalworkers, lathe and milling machine operators, draftsmen, painters, transporters (moving raw materials within the plant), and engineers,

as well as detachments for the camp kitchen, infirmary, cleaners, and a secretarial office. Most prisoners worked producing coastal anti-aircraft guns.[11]

Civilian employees also worked at the company, and both civilian as well as prisoner foremen supervised the prisoners during the manufacturing process; such precision equipment required high-quality work. When they reported prisoners to the subcamp management for any alleged offenses, they directly contributed to the severe punishment imposed on the prisoners. Any little transgression was regarded as sabotage. For instance, one prisoner, a Dutch Jew (Juda Fransman), who was accused of laziness and sabotage, was punished by flogging. Another prisoner, also a Dutch Jew (Max Levy), who was accused of shirking work and feigning illness, was also given the flogging penalty.[12] Prisoners put to work in production initially worked in the daytime, then a night shift was also instituted.

After liberation, former Laurahütte prisoners recalled several escapes from the subcamp, among which one is documented in surviving records: Jan Purgal escaped from the subcamp on the night of August 18, 1944, with another prisoner's help. SS men from the Political Branch conducted an investigation, after which all Polish prisoners were moved to Auschwitz III-Monowitz in early September 1944 and on from there to other concentration camps within the Third Reich.[13] Two Jewish prisoners also escaped from the subcamp; their final fate is unknown. The Germans used that escape to justify extra suffering for the remaining Jewish prisoners, in the form of a roll call that lasted several hours. The escape of a young Russian prisoner ended tragically; he was caught, interrogated at Auschwitz, and brought back to Laurahütte, where he was hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of all the subcamp's prisoners.[14]

Resistance took several forms in this camp. Prisoners who worked in the engineering office were able to move about the factory buildings and availed themselves of that opportunity for a sabotage operation in which they damaged the mechanisms of guns that the plant manufactured. They carried out the sabotage after the final inspection, when the anti-aircraft guns were still on company premises, awaiting shipment by rail. Since civilian employees also worked at the plant, among them many Poles, prisoners had favorable conditions for establishing illegal communications. This had special significance for Jewish prisoners, who did not have the opportunity of receiving food packages and so could not obtain various products that way.[15]

Evacuation of the Laurahütte subcamp began on January 23, 1945. On that day, all 937 prisoners were loaded into train cars that had been put on the railway ramp near the plant. The company's civilian personnel were also evacuated on that same train. The prisoners were transported to the Mauthausen concentration camp. A total of 134 prisoners died during the trip, which lasted five days and nights. Several days later at Mauthausen, a group of about 400 prisoners was formed from the Laurahütte transport and sent to the Neuengamme subcamp in Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, where they were put to work at Hanomag and Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, manufacturing anti-aircraft guns. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack again became commandant of that subcamp. According to the account of former prisoner Arnošt Basch, of the approximately 400 prisoners brought to Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, only 254 survived the stay at that subcamp and the death march to the Bergen-Belsen camp.[16]

Walter Quakernack was sentenced to death by a British Military Court in Lüneburg in 1946.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Laurahütte,'" *ZO* 10 (1967): 101–115, which includes a map prepared by the author on p. 102; and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświęcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," *ZO* 21 (1995): 189–250, on the Quakernack trial.

APMO holds fragmentary surviving documents on the Laurahütte subcamp in various collections of Auschwitz concentration camp records, as well as accounts of former Laurahütte subcamp prisoners. An eyewitness account of Jewish forced labor at this factory is Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Aussenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000).

Stanisława Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Circular letter from the SS-WVHA to concentration camp commanders, employment unit re: Ergänzung zum Einheitsaktenplan dated June 9, 1944, Nuremberg Doc. NO-597, in APMO, Proces Maurera, vol. 6, books 99–100.

2. Häftlingspersonalkarte Karl Schmied, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/46.

3. APMO, D-Au III/Monowitz/5/, book 522.

4. Letter from SS-Standortarzt dated March 8, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Golleschau/, books 236 and 237.

5. Account of former prisoner Jan Purgal, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 40, book. 70.

6. Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Aussenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), p. 108.

7. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 113, 115.

8. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.

9. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 112.

10. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Jerzy Kałka, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64.

11. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka, Jan Purgal, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, books 70–71, vol. 40, book 113.

12. Juda Fransman's Strafverfügung dated July 5, 1944, in

APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/301; Max Levy's Strafmeldung dated 6/29/1944, in APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/299.

13. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jan Purgal, Jerzy Kałka, and Ryszard Sidowski, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 71–72, vol. 37, books 64–65, vol. 40, book 105.

14. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman, Ryszard Sidowski, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, book 104, vol. 40, book 113.

15. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Jan Purgal, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 71.

16. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, books 84, 113, 116–117.

LICHTEWERDEN

The Lichtewerden subcamp was established on November 11, 1944, at the thread factory in the town of Světlá (Lichtewerden) near the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal), located in the mountains of northern Moravia.[1] The factory belonged to the Gustav Adolf Buhl und Sohn textile firm, headquartered in Staré Město-under-Sněžník (Mährisch Altstadt). The company also owned a linen spinning mill in the town of Žacléř (Schatzlar), located to the south of the Karkonosze mountain range. Both Buhl und Sohn plants used the labor of Jewish women, among them Poles who had been put in forced labor camps as well as prisoners from the Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz concentration camps, starting in autumn 1944. The Auschwitz prisoners were put to work at the thread factory in Světlá.[2]

A selection of Jewish women took place on November 9, 1944, at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau women's camp. A group of 300 women were selected, bathed, given camp numbers that were tattooed on their arms, and then moved to Lichtewerden on November 11. The new subcamp, like others being established at industrial facilities, was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. According to the accounts of prisoners who were in the selected group, SS men conducted the selection. One of them with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, later the commandant of the Lichtewerden camp, looked at all the women's hands during the selection and picked those whose hands were tough from work. Polish Jews predominated among the women moved to Lichtewerden, but there were also Czechs and Slovaks selected. That was both the first and the last transport sent to this subcamp. The subcamp's buildings consisted of four wooden barracks painted green, including two accommodation barracks, a kitchen, and a washroom. The accommodation barracks for the prisoners contained three-decker bunks and were divided into rooms called *sztubas* holding 32 women each. There were stoves in the rooms, but the SS staff would beat any prisoners who tried to use them. Instead of striped uniforms, the prisoners wore civilian clothing marked lengthwise down the back with a stripe of red oil paint.

In the washroom, the prisoners could use cold running water; sometimes warm water was even available. They were issued soap in small quantities. The living and sanitary conditions were considerably better here in comparison to the camp at Birkenau.[3] A dispensary was also established for the prisoners in camp, as well as an infirmary—a poor substitute for a hospital—where a doctor and a nurse selected from among the prisoners were put to work.

The camp was fenced with barbed wire and had four watchtowers in which SS men kept guard all day through. These were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been removed from service at the front due to their age or incapacity to serve and who were incorporated into the SS after a few weeks of training. Unfortunately, no records have survived about the camp's SS staff. It is known, however, that the staff included 16 SS guards and four women supervisors.[4] The women called the camp commandant, who was disabled with one eye, "Schnauze," as he used that word most often in his communications with them. The prisoners all described him as a terrible brute and simpleton, and also as a ruthless sadist, who would beat them and threatened to send them back to Birkenau for the smallest offenses or for no reason at all. He always walked with a cane. An SS man by the first name of Martin was his assistant, whom the prisoners described as a harmless elderly man. There were also four women overseers. Three of them, especially one by the first name of Maria, had a very bad reputation. On the other hand, the fourth one, Luiza, was the opposite of the others. She always defended the prisoners against the SS personnel.[5]

The prisoners would leave for work in a tight group under the escort of SS men after the morning roll call. They returned from work the same way. A small group of women worked inside the camp in the kitchen, in the infirmary, or doing cleaning work.

Work at the factory lasted from 6:00 A.M. to 4:00 or 6:00 P.M. In the factory facilities, they worked at the same workstations with Czech female civilian employees from the factory personnel. These civilian workers supervised the prisoners' work but otherwise were prohibited from communicating with them. The camp escort purposely misled the factory staff, saying that the prisoners were common criminals. Therefore, their attitude toward the prisoners was rather indifferent. There were sporadic instances of furtively tossing some food or sometimes a newspaper to the prisoners, especially toward the end of the war, when discipline had slackened among the SS men supervising the prisoners.[6]

Some of the prisoners were put to work on the yarn-winding machinery; others worked in the linen spinning mill, where the labor was especially hard, as the dust hovering in the air made breathing difficult. Those who were put to work weighing and delivering 50-kilogram (110-pound) cotton bales to the respective workstations had equally hard labor. Some prisoners received serious injuries while operating the machines; the camp commandant treated every on-the-job accident as sabotage. There were also instances of hungry, exhausted prisoners fainting at work, as the hunger in the camp kept growing

from month to month. Meals were only issued twice a day in camp: in the morning and in the evening upon returning from work. The prisoners got about one-seventh of a kilogram (one-third of a pound) of bread per day (two loaves per sztuba), plus a cup of unsweetened black coffee, and some soup made of rotten vegetables or potato peels in the evening.[7] The factory management provided the camp with some food rations for the prisoners working in the factory, but they were stolen by the camp's German personnel.

On May 6, 1945, the entire SS staff left the camp, headed by the commandant. Two days later the Russians entered Lichtewerden, liberating the 300 prisoners in that camp.[8]

SOURCES Primary sources on Lichtewerden may be found in APMO (e.g., a daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1; testimonies; correspondence) and at ITS.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Syg. D-Au III—3a/1, k. 432, daily employment list of female prisoners in the subcamps under the Monowitz concentration camp (Oświęcim III).
2. APMO, Syg. K: I-8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with the Okresním Vlastivědném Muzeum v Šumperku, dated September 19, 1986; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1, pp. 1–6, list of inmates of the SS-Arbeitslager Lichtewerden (by names and numbers) dated December 23, 1944 (original at the Jewish Museum in Prague).
3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 58: 23–33, 48–55, accounts of former prisoners Celina Hochberger Strauchen and Lola Gimpel née Landmann; 98: 67–68, account of Helena Celta.
4. APMO, daily employment list, pp. 462–509.
5. Testimony of former prisoner Mila Hornik in Natan Blumental, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały. Tom I Obozy* (Łódź: 1946), pp. 49–50; APMO, Collection of testimonies, 98: 68, statement by former inmate Helena Celta.
6. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 49–50, statement of Lola Gimpel; 98: 68, statement of Helena Celta.
7. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 50.
8. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 32, 54; 98: 69.

NEU-DACHS

The Germans established the Neu-Dachs subcamp on June 15, 1943, in Jaworzno. The German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien AG (EVO) initiated the subcamp's establishment in order to put Auschwitz prisoners to work in Jaworzno's hard coal mines and building a thermal power plant.[1] The first group of approximately 100 prisoners arrived in the subcamp on June 15, 1943. Over the next six months, the population grew to about 2,000, and a year later, in January 1945, shortly before evacuation, there were 3,664 prisoners in the subcamp. This was 1,500 more prisoners than the Germans projected when they established the subcamp.[2] That growth came about because EVO kept asking for more prisoners. The decided majority of prisoners were Jews from all over Europe. Poles constituted the majority of the non-Jews.[3]

The living conditions, clothing, and food in the camp were no different from those at Auschwitz. Prisoners often would not get new clothes in exchange for worn-out clothing. They therefore went about in tattered clothes, and most of them did not have any underwear, socks, or gloves. The mines assigned leather or rubber shoes and overalls to some prisoners who worked in flooded places, but these were never repaired. Prisoners received neither helmets nor rubber capes, which civilian workers had.[4] Besides the camp food, the mines provided prisoners classified as hard laborers with a bowl of meatless soup during work, to increase work output. For good work, prisoners also received 10 cigarettes each from the mines and companies, plus vouchers worth 1 to 4 Reichsmark (RM) for use in the camp canteen. However, the canteen did not have what the prisoners most needed—food—and the companies distributed the vouchers in small quantities, so there was little real incentive to work harder. The SS authorities kept drawing attention to the small amount of vouchers being allotted and called on the mines and companies to increase them—most likely out of concern for the SS canteen's profits rather than the prisoners' welfare.[5]

The subcamp was an independent administrative and management unit: it had its own kitchen, hospital, clothing warehouses, food warehouses, laundry, workshops, baths, and delousing facilities. Clothes, food (except for bread, which was supplied locally in Jaworzno), medicine, and other materials were provided from the Auschwitz central warehouses.[6]

The subcamp was under the command of Auschwitz I until November 21, 1943, after which it was under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Obersturmführer Bruno Pfütze was the subcamp commandant.[7] The guard staff was composed of around 200 to 300 SS men who belonged to the Monowitz 4th Guard Company.[8]

Jaworzno's Rudolfgrube, Dachsgrube, and Friedrich-Augustgrube hard coal mines and the Wilhelm power plant were the prisoners' chief places of work. Prisoners worked in three shifts, with only one Sunday per month off. Prisoners comprised approximately 60 percent of the staff at the Jaworzno mines. The rest of the employees were mainly Polish workers.[9]

The prisoners marched to work under SS escort, fastened to metal bars that they had to hold with their bare hands, even in the coldest weather. To entertain themselves before sending the prisoners underground, the SS men would throw them cigarettes, then set their dogs on them. Thirty prisoners were packed into elevators designed for 8 persons.

Once underground, the prisoners were divided up into groups of several men each and assigned to civilian workers who were responsible for their output. In the mines, the prisoners did almost every job possible: excavating coal, loading it onto carts, conveying it, digging new galleries, deepening

shafts, and so on. For the malnourished prisoners, it was work that exceeded their physical capabilities.

Some prisoners were hired out from EVO, which was the main employer, to various construction companies, large and small. For instance, the Breitenbach-Montanbau company employed several dozen prisoners to build a railroad siding for the Dachs mine. Quite a large group of prisoners worked building the new Richardgrube mine.

After they returned from work, the prisoners were also forced to perform various cleanup jobs in camp.

Brutal discipline was the preferred method for maintaining high output. Some of the German mine foremen would beat prisoners severely—sometimes fatally—for taking a moment's break from work. Especially after meetings of the SA to which most of the foremen belonged, they would go underground and abuse the prisoners on any pretext.[10] Eventually, the subcamp commandant intervened; in a special letter he notified the management of Jaworzno's mines that, regardless of their position, all civilian workers were prohibited from beating prisoners.[11]

In order to tighten discipline and step up work output, on June 28, 1944, mine inspector Bergmann asked subcamp commandant Pfütze to replace Jewish prisoner foremen with Aryan ones, which, as he stated, brought the desired results.[12]

Besides summary on-the-spot beatings, prisoners also received so-called regulation punishments such as flogging and confinement in a standing cell. A Polish prisoner was locked in the standing cell for 13 nights for having brought into camp a package with food and medicine, which he had secretly received from a prisoner's wife. Juda Kalvo, a Jew, was punished by flogging for having exchanged his two gold teeth for 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of bread.[13] Long roll calls each morning and evening, which sometimes lasted up to two hours, added to the suffering, especially in winter. If the SS found that someone had escaped, the punitive roll calls could last 12 hours or more.[14]

A hospital and dentist's office were set up in the subcamp for the sick and disabled prisoners. There were three wards: internal medicine, surgery, and diarrhea. The Jewish prisoner doctors there wanted to help the patients, but a lack of basic drugs hindered their efforts. They mainly treated people with aspirin and carbon, used disinfectants, and bandaged wounds. The hospital was only intended for those who were less seriously ill; SS doctors (including Horst Fischer from the Monowitz hospital) selected the rest to go to the Auschwitz hospital or straight to the gas chambers.[15] For example, a surviving list of selected prisoners dated January 18, 1944, shows 247 prisoners who were taken away to Birkenau and killed.[16]

Some Polish workers took the risk of aiding them by sharing food and helping to organize escapes, some of which were successful. The risks were substantial. Głowacz, a miner from the Rudolf mine, was arrested for supplying bread to the prisoners. He was taken away to the Auschwitz concentration camp and died in a few weeks. The Jewish prisoner who had helped him was tortured to death.

One escape attempt ended tragically when the SS arrested approximately 30 prisoners for treason after they tried to get out of the camp through a tunnel. After an investigation held at the Auschwitz I camp, the SS hanged 19 prisoners at the subcamp on December 6, 1943, and sent 7 to a penal company.[17]

The SS began shutting the camp down in January 1945. On January 17, after food from the camp warehouses had been distributed, approximately 3,200 prisoners found to be fit to march were escorted out via Mysłowice toward the Auschwitz subcamp of Blechhammer. The prisoners reached it after three days of marching in severe cold over snow-covered side roads. Many of those who could not keep up with the columns were shot along the way. The prisoners stayed at Blechhammer for one day, after which they were herded to Gross-Rosen, then taken by train to Buchenwald. Russian forces liberated the 400 seriously ill prisoners who remained in camp on January 19, 1945.[18]

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno); Akta Procesu Hössa; Affidavits Collection, accounts of Adam Budak, Kazimierz Borowiec, Jan Broniowski, Antoni Kartasiński, Antoni Kucharz, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Tokarski, Józef Tałach, Włodzisław Śmigielski, Stanisław Sadowski, Theodor Weil, and Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski; Fahrbefehl; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; SS-Hygiene Institut; Materials of the camp resistance movement (Mat. RO); Kommandantur-Befehle KL Auschwitz III.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Neu-Dachs," HvA 12 (1971): 55–111; Henry Bulawko, *Les yeux de la mort et de l'espoire. Auschwitz-Jaworzno* (Paris: Recherche, 1980); Paul Heller, "Das Aussenlager Jaworzno," in *Auschwitz. Zeugnisse und Berichte*, ed. H.-G. Adler, Hermann Langbein, and Ella Lingens-Reiner (Cologne: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1984), pp. 169–171.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno), segr. 1, book 37, letter from EVO to Amtsgruppe D dated June 22, 1943.

2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 2, book 60; vol. 3, book 212.

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts of Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Wiktor Pasikowski.

4. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Włodzisław Śmigielski and Wiktor Pasikowski, as well as civilian employees of Jaworzno mines: Stanisław Sadowski and Antoni Kartasiński.

5. APMO, KL Auschwitz III, Kommandantur Befehl Nr 6/44.

6. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Theodor Hennequin.

7. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl dated May 22, 1944.

8. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Zbigniew Tokarski, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, and Zbigniew Mroczkowski.

9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of engineer Jan Broniowski.
10. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of civilian employee Kazimierz Borowiec.
11. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, books 198–199.
12. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, book 260.
13. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders.
14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Theodor Hennequin, Augustyn Pietruszko, and Wiktor Pasikowski.
15. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former prisoner Theodor Weil.
16. APMO, Jaworzno, File 3, books 144–148, original list of those selected.
17. APMO, Książka bunkra (Bunker Book)—register of prisoners put into the Auschwitz I camp jail contains the names of those arrested.
18. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Mroczkowski, and Theodor Hennequin.

NEUSTADT O/S

The Neustadt subcamp was established in September 1944 in the city of Neustadt (Prudnik) on the premises of a textile factory that had been owned by a Jew, Samuel Fränkl, before the war, and was renamed Schlesische Feinweberei AG Neustadt O/S after war broke out.

Like many other Third Reich industrial plants, during the war Schlesische Feinweberei used the forced labor of foreign workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and in 1944 it accessed the reserves of the cheap slave labor of Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners. Negotiations in the business of putting prisoners to work were finalized in September 1944. A surviving order of Auschwitz III-Monowitz commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, dated September 6, 1944, proves this; it assigned SS guard staff to the newly forming Neustadt subcamp from the Lagischa subcamp, which was shut down the same day. The first, and last, transport of 400 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners was brought to Schlesische Feinweberei on September 26, 1944.

The women brought from Auschwitz II-Birkenau were placed on the second floor of one of the factory buildings, in space that had previously housed a forced labor camp for Polish Jews. Bars were put on the windows of the rooms allocated for the prisoners, and the building and yard were fenced.

The commandant of Neustadt was SS-Obersturmführer Paul Müller, who had earlier been commandant of the women's camp at Birkenau and had also been the commander of the Monowitz staff prior to his assignment to Neustadt. Max Krause, the Neustadt area Gestapo chief, conducted random inspections on the factory premises. His chief characteristic was his particular sadism; Neustadt residents called him the "devil of Prudnik County."

Even when they arrived at Neustadt, the women were haggard and mentally broken. Hunger, hours of work in the factory, and anxiety over the plight of the loved ones with whom they had been brought to Auschwitz devastated them even more. Dead prisoners were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Neustadt.

The prisoners learned to weave as soon as they arrived at Neustadt, for about two to three weeks. They were then put to work in the weaving plant. Accounts of people who were employed there with the prisoners show that they were so physically exhausted and mentally broken that they did not have the strength to work. The SS men forced them to do so by beating them.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945, and the women there were evacuated on foot to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, from where they were then taken to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

SOURCES Information on the Neustadt subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "The Neustadt Subcamp," *ZO* 13 (1971): 153–166 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Neustadt," HvA 11 [1971]: 159–170).

Original records pertaining to this camp are held at APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former female prisoner Charlota Karešova, as well as accounts of Prudnik residents and former Schlesische Feinweberei employees Zofia Kałwa, Józef Kanik, Anna Krawczyk, and others.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

PLAWY [AKA WIRTSCHAFTSHOF PLAWY, GUT PLAWY]

The small village of Pławy (Plawy) is approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) south of Brzezinka (Birkenau). In late 1940, pursuant to an agreement between the concentration camp headquarters and the Katowice regency government, a decision was made to form an Auschwitz "zone of interest", within which there were plans to create an SS agricultural and breeding farm upon the personal wish of Heinrich Himmler. Although Plawy was in the center of the planned zone, there were probably no plans yet to establish a separate farm there. On March 8, 1941, all the inhabitants were removed from the village, and most of the homes belonging to them (55) were demolished over the next few months.[1] From 1942 to 1944, farm commandos made up of prisoners brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp worked on the land belonging to the village.

In the spring of 1944, one large barrack—a barn—was erected on the site of the future camp as well as two somewhat smaller ones, where cows and horses were later kept. Photographs taken by Allied reconnaissance planes show that no other buildings were put up near them at least until August. Only the photographs of November 29 and December 21, 1944, show more structures on the site, including accommodation barracks for the prisoners and a fence.[2]

It is hard to ascertain when prisoners were housed in the barracks on a permanent basis. Starting at least in early October 1944, three large commandos worked at Plawy: Sinschkowski (an average of 100 female prisoners), Haseloch (200), and Mokrus (320),[3] which were listed in the labor commando records of the women's camp at Birkenau until October 30. At the end of the month, only Mokrus and a Schinkowsky [*sic*] commando (under Kommandoführer Haseloch) of 200 female prisoners appear in the records. Those commandos are listed in the Birkenau labor roster of female prisoners for the last time on October 30, and on that same day, commando 21—Neuhof Plawy (203 women)[4]—appears in the commando roster for the Auschwitz I women's camp, meaning that from then on, those prisoners were under the command of the women's camp located in the camp extension (Schutzhaftlagererweiterung). Also surviving from October 31, 1944, is a document regarding the reorganization of commandos put to work at farm labor, mentioning the creation of the new "Plawy parent camp" (Stammkommando Plawy) numbering 193 prisoners. It was based on a disbanded commando led by SS-Unterscharführer Mokrus (he kept his position). In addition, Marschkommando Plawy (83 female prisoners) was formed out of commandos 9 and 22 and was commanded by SS-Unterscharführer Haseloch. The list also refers to the small 10-person Melker Plawy[5] commando. Every day from then on, the records of the women's camp employment office listed two commandos working in Plawy—a "parent camp" and a "marching camp"—and the approximate size of both, 260 and 100 women, respectively.[6] The name of the former would indicate that the prisoners in it were permanently put into Plawy on October 31, while the women from the "marching" commando went back and forth to work from the Auschwitz I women's camp. However, the fact that the commandos were included in the parent camp's population would suggest that there was not a separate subcamp at Plawy yet.

According to the account of former prisoner Anna Tytoniak, the Plawy subcamp was formed on January 3, 1945.[7] In it were placed approximately 200 women who had previously been at Birkenau, mainly Russian women, as well as prisoner-functionaries: two female German Kapos, a barrack chief (also a German woman), a living quarters chief (a Hungarian Jewish woman), and the commando scribe (a Polish woman).

The subcamp was rectangular in shape, 160 by 140 meters (525 by 460 feet).[8] It was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. The fence was not electrified, and no watchtowers were put up around the subcamp. Inside, the camp was divided by an inner fence into a living section and a farming section. The former held two accommodation barracks for the women and the men (also separated by a barbed-wire fence). A large barn was erected in the center of the farm area, flanked by a quite large stable and cowshed. Barracks for the sheep, pigs, and geese were built a bit further away, as well as storehouses for the farm tools. There was a small office barrack near the entry gate, where the men's and women's commando scribes worked.

The barrack for the female prisoners was spacious and, compared to the barracks of the Birkenau women's camp, far better furnished; it had windows and electric lighting. The women slept alone on bunk beds and had clean straw mattresses and blankets. The space was heated by two stoves, which were regularly supplied with coal—which was a rarity at Birkenau. The prisoner-functionaries had their own room at one corner of the barrack, furnished with clean bedding and many "luxury" items that the barrack chief and Kapo had obtained at the "Canada" warehouses. A makeshift infirmary was set up in the opposite corner of the barrack, to the left of the entrance. Next to it was a washroom where a large barrel had been installed, filled every day with fresh water from a well that had been dug near the barrack.

The women were dressed in prisoners' stripes and jackets and wore white cloth kerchiefs on their heads. They got up at 6:00 A.M.; they washed and made their beds, then were issued "tea" or "coffee" brought in from the Auschwitz main camp. The women lined up in front of the barrack for roll call. Then some of them left for work in the farm barracks, where they fed and milked the cows (about 100), cleaned the cowshed, and carried out the manure; the others were sent to sift the fodder potatoes and beets that had been put up in mounds of earth and to transport the fodder to the camp. They were issued lunch at the work site. In the evening at approximately 6:00 P.M., the women returned to the subcamp, where they received bread with some margarine and jam after the roll call. The doors were closed for the night from the outside with a sliding bar and padlock. SS men served guard duty around the fence, and in principle they could not enter the camp during that time.

SS-Aufseherin Cichoń was in charge of the women's section of the subcamp. She behaved decently toward the prisoners, as did the SS men who had been assigned to guard them; they were often older men and were clearly frightened at the prospect of the Red Army suddenly arriving.

The male prisoners at Plawy were mainly Russians and Poles; also sent there were several Slovak Jews and Germans, who held Kapo positions and that of barrack chief.[9] They had been placed in Plawy presumably in the last days of December 1944. The barrack in which they lived was furnished like the women's barrack, with a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, a makeshift washroom, and a space that was something like a dispensary. Patients with no prognosis of a quick recovery were sent back to the hospital at the main camp.

These Plawy prisoners mainly took care of the horses, of which there were about 70 to 80, and also transported farm produce and milk to the camp dairy, having 25 carts available (each one harnessed with 2 horses). A guard escorted every cart leaving the subcamp. A noncommissioned officer with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer was in charge of the men's camp.

The Plawy subcamp operated for only about three weeks. On the night of January 17–18, 1945, the SS men ordered the prisoners to slaughter the calves and pigs, after which they loaded the meat onto several carts. They loaded feed and hay

for the cows and horses onto the carts that were left. The last roll call was held the following morning at the assembly ground, after which the 138 male[10] and the approximately 200 female prisoners set out westward on foot. The convoy was arranged as follows: the livestock was driven at the head of the column, with the female prisoners following a bit behind, then the carts loaded with the meat and feed, and the male prisoners marching at the end, driving along about 300 geese with them. At Pszczyna, where they stopped for the night, the SS men gave the geese to retreating Wehrmacht soldiers, in return for which they received bread and canned food. The next day the female prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. They were evacuated farther westward in freight cars. The male prisoners continued driving the livestock to the town of Zamberg, where the SS men sold the cows to local farmers, and the prisoners were sent to the nearby railroad station, from where they were later taken to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Primary source materials are available at APMO, Labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I and Au II; Zespół Oświadczenia, 49: 153–158, account by Anna Tytoniak, and 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—3a/1 Segr. 14, report of Heinrich Schwarz dated March 17, 1941, on the progress of the displacement operation; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), 50: 152–153, account by Józef Świadek; 48: 14, account by Józef Paszek.

2. APMO, Zespół Opracowania (Essays Collection), vol. 64c, aerial photographs, neg. nos. 22379/6 and 22379/11.

3. APMO, D-Au II—3a/18b–30b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au II concentration camp.

4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/27b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.

5. APMO, D-Au I—Landwirtschaft/67a, 2: 80.

6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/28b and following, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.

7. APMO, 49: 153; 48: 198.

8. Calculated on the basis of aerial photograph dated December 21, 1944 (neg. no. 22379/18); APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), vol. 64c.

9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.

10. APMO, Zespół Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials Collection), 3: 208, 212.

RADOSTOWITZ

From 1942 to 1943, the Pless Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt Pless) deployed approximately 20 Auschwitz prisoners on a forest detail at Radostowitz (Radostowice). The camp was located in a barn. All of the prisoners were Jewish. The killing center at Birkenau used the trees felled by this detachment for open-pit cremations, but the Oberforstamt suspended logging operations during wintertime. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) and Kobier (Kobiór). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning "offenses with the use of motor vehicles," SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the "Pless forest detachments" (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.[1]

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), pp. 130–131, who cite Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Radostowitz" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), which is available at ANMA. Additional information about Radostowitz can be gleaned from "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: "Verstösse bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen," November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort-und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

RAJSKO

The establishment of the Auschwitz concentration camp sealed the fate of neighboring localities such as Rajsko (Raisko). The Kattowitz (Katowice) Relocation Agency (Umwanderer Zentralstelle) made the displacement of the Polish population one of its top priorities. During his first visit to Auschwitz and tour of the camp zone of interest on March 1, 1941, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered camp commandant Rudolf Höss to develop the entire area for agriculture and other uses to serve the Reich. The residents of nearby villages, Rajsko among them, were displaced in line with carrying out that order.

When preparing to create specialized agricultural, breeding, and experimental farms, the SS sent numerous prisoner detachments (including women's detachments, after a women's camp had been formed in the spring of 1942) to the site that were put to work doing a variety of jobs including demolition work, repairs, building dikes, cleaning fishponds, site leveling, draining fields, and building the

roads, barracks, and other structures needed to operate the specialized farms. Work in the demolition detachments was especially dangerous; injured and dead prisoners were not infrequently pulled out of heaps of rubble after buildings collapsed on them.

After the population had been displaced from the village of Rajsko, 68 homes and 41 stables were demolished. Approximately 300 female and 150 male prisoners walked to work in Rajsko in 1942. They had to cultivate an area of about 65 hectares (161 acres). Women prisoners were put to work weeding, draining fields, reaping grain, site leveling, plowing, and raising vegetables and flowers. Otto Moll, later the chief of the crematoria at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, was the detachment commander of the gardening detachment that walked to Rajsko to work. Moll was cruel and ruthless; he committed bestial and calculated murders of prisoners, especially Jewish ones, toward whom he was inflamed with particular hate.

The work done by the outside detachments prepared the way for the establishment of subcamps associated with horticulture and breeding in the camp "zone of interest." The women's detachment that had been walking to Rajsko was moved there permanently on June 12, 1943, thus establishing the Rajsko subcamp. The camp stood in the northwest part of the village about 200 meters (656 feet) from the main road running from Auschwitz (Oświęcim) to Brzeszcze. The female prisoners were divided up into two detachments, one for gardening and one for plant breeding.

The SS men who supervised the women at their work were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, who had a Ph.D. in agriculture and botany and was the director of the Auschwitz concentration camp farms.

The prisoners of the gardening detachment, mainly Polish and Russian women, raised vegetables for the SS kitchens and army units. Cucumbers initialed with their origin were already being sent to Berlin in April. SS men from the Auschwitz staff also bought Rajsko vegetables. The women also bred and cultivated flowers. According to the testimony of former prisoner Irena Halbreich, Rajsko flowers were famous throughout the Reich. In the summertime, the women worked raising vegetables and grain. In the winter, they shoveled the roads clean, removed snow, protected trees from freezing, and prepared wood for fuel. A large greenhouse and hotbeds was one of their work sites; there they sowed and forced early vegetables, seedlings, and flowers.

Since they were in close contact with SS men, the prisoners who were put to work in horticulture were assured better sanitary and hygienic conditions and a change of underwear, clothing, and shoes. However, their work was hard and was inspected daily. If even one small thing wrong was noticed, the woman at fault was punished by whipping, carrying rocks on holidays, or working in a penal company. The SS often conducted random inspections of the prisoners in the field, during which the prisoners had to take off their clothes, and if any civilian clothing or paper sacks were found under their dresses to protect them from the cold, they were punished.

The plant breeding research and experimental detachment consisted of a group of prisoners, mainly Polish women, with degrees in biology, horticulture, and chemistry. At Caesar's request, the first group of biologists was sent to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück on May 12, 1942. The detachment's population gradually increased to 150 prisoners. Under the supervision of civilian employees, German and Russian scientists, and agro-engineers, the women worked on raising a plant called the *kok-sagiz*, whose roots contained a rubber-producing substance. Making up for the shortage of natural rubber, the supply of which the Allies had blockaded, had grown into an issue of national importance. The rubber-producing substance the plant yielded was put through laboratory tests in the nearby IG Farbenindustrie plants. The purpose of the experiments was to transplant the plant from Asia to Western Europe and to grow a species of kok-sagiz whose roots contained the highest percentage of the rubber-producing substance. Himmler himself was in charge of cultivating this rubber-yielding plant. Scientists and army representatives visited the Rajsko experimental station. Caesar accompanied them and provided any explanations they might need.

Plant breeding was an exceptionally good detachment to be assigned to. Because of the important nature of the work being done for the German government, the prisoners put to work there were treated well. Due to the working conditions and camaraderie among the prisoners, the women could maintain a good level of mental stability and physical condition. They even held impromptu shows and evening discussions on various occasions and holidays. When circumstances permitted, they sent vegetables to the children and others hospitalized in Birkenau, via the prisoners walking from Birkenau to Rajsko to work. But even in this better detachment, there were instances of prisoners dying of typhus.

The Rajsko camp existed until January 18, 1945. On that day, the Rajsko female prisoners were joined with a column of male prisoners evacuated from the Auschwitz main camp.

SOURCES Published sources on the Rajsko camp include M. Dechavassine, "Le kommando Pflanzenzucht á Rajsko," ApAz 15 (1947): 3–4; Anna Zięba, "The Rajsko Subcamp," *ZO* 9 (1965): 71–102 (German version: Anna Zięba, "Das Nebenlager Rajsko," *HvA* 9 [1966]: 75–108); and Jadwiga Apostoł-Staniszewska, *Echa okupacyjnych lat* (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 322–335.

Archival materials may be found in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former female prisoners Józefa Kiwałowa, Maria Raczyńska, Zenobia Rządzińska, Stefania Szkutowa, Antonina Kopycińska, Hana Laskowa, Zofia Skurska, Wanda Tarasiewicz, Zofia Pajerska; Zespół Proces Hössa [The Höss Trial collection], testimony of former female prisoner Irena Halbreich.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

SOSNOWITZ I

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), on occupied Polish lands, in August 1943.

The subcamp was established for the purpose of renovating a large building at 12 Targowa Street in Sosnowiec, which had previously housed the offices of the Central Office of the Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia (Zentrale der Jüdischen Ältestenräte in Ost-Oberschlesien), where approximately 1,200 people were employed. One hundred tradesmen-prisoners including bricklayers, painters, cabinetmakers, carpenters, metalworkers, electricians, glaziers, and stove-setters were sent to Sosnowiec in late August 1943 to do renovation work.[1] Most of the prisoners were Poles. Additionally, there were Jews from Poland and France, as well as several Germans who served as prisoner-foremen.

The prisoners were quartered on-site in the building being renovated. Their clothing and food were severely inadequate and not much different from that which the Auschwitz prisoners had. Since there was no infirmary on-site, prisoners were sent to Auschwitz if they became ill. There was also a kitchen on-site, to which food products were brought in from Auschwitz.

Work lasted about 10 to 12 hours daily. SS men and German prisoner-foremen supervised the prisoners at work. The SS men summarily whipped them for any real or alleged transgressions. Sometimes the punishment consisted of summary brutal beating and kicking.[2]

SS-Rottenführer Lehmann initially served as the subcamp's commandant, followed by SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwiński.[3] Fifteen SS men supervised the prisoners.[4]

When the amount of work decreased in December 1943, almost half the prisoners were moved to the Lagischa subcamp; the rest were moved in February 1944, and the Sosnowitz camp was shut down.[5]

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januariusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Mauthausen prisoner files; Resistance Movement Materials; Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (I)," HvA 11 (1970): 89–96.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), account by former prisoner Edward Spurtacz; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoners Franciszek Szast and Januariusz Lengiewicz.

2. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januariusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski.

3. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz and Stanisław Łapiński.

4. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943.

5. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account by former prisoner Zbigniew Tokarski; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoner Franciszek Szast; Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 2, book 60, vol. 7, book 475 (subcamp prisoner populations).

SOSNOWITZ II

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) in May 1944, at the request of the Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH (Osmag) company. Company representatives held preliminary negotiations in Sosnowiec on March 12 with officials of the employment office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on a plan to put prisoners to work. The terms for hiring out prisoners were set forth in a letter from WVHA DII to the company management dated April 26, 1944.[1] The Sosnowitz II subcamp was under the administrative control of Auschwitz III-Monowitz and was headed by commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Albin Vaupel. Several dozen SS men from the Monowitz 5th Guard Company watched the prisoners and escorted them to and from work. On the factory premises, guard duty was shared among SS men not on the camp guard staff, factory guards, and Wehrmacht soldiers.

The first group of approximately 600 prisoners arrived in the subcamp at the beginning of May 1944. Additional drafts added to that number as time went on. The highest prisoner population was approximately 900, at the end of 1944. The population fell to 863 people on January 17, 1945, after some prisoners were moved to Auschwitz.[2] This number was approximately 500 people less than the projected population of 1,400.

Ninety-five percent of the prisoners were Jews who had been brought to Auschwitz in late 1943 and early 1944 from Poland, France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. There were also several dozen Poles, Russians, Germans, and French in the subcamp.[3]

Housing and clothing conditions were no different from those typical for Auschwitz camps. The prisoners slept in wooden barracks on three-decker bunks and wore striped clothes and wooden shoes. Some prisoners received clothes of black cloth instead of stripes. Red crosses were painted on the backs of that clothing, and stripes were painted on the pants along the seams. The food, although inadequate, was somewhat better than at the main camp. During work, in addition to typical camp food, prisoners were rationed the rest of the soup that remained in the plant cafeteria.

The prisoners were put to work in the Ost-Maschinenbau arms plants in Sosnowiec, manufacturing barrels and shells for anti-aircraft guns. Some of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and some in 8-hour ones. For the most part, the prisoners worked as helpers to the civilians who operated the plant's machines: they delivered raw materials to workstations, took out finished products, and cleaned the machines.[4] Burns and bruises occurred in handling the hot extruded barrels. Only a few prisoners received training and went on to operate the machines themselves.

The discrimination against prisoners as opposed to civilian workers was expressed in situations such as air raids, when civilian personnel went to the bomb shelters, while prisoners had to stay at their workstations under the supervision of prisoner-foremen.

Prisoner treatment on the job was better than at the main camp because of the nature of the work. That does not mean that prisoners were free from persecution and severe punishments. Punitive exercises combined with beating were a common form of punishment; the Germans meted it out for singing badly, low productivity, or being late for roll call.

Under the contract that the company signed with the SS, the company paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer to the national treasury, via the SS bank account.

The bodies of the dead were taken to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp to be cremated.

There were several escapes from the subcamp, mainly by Russians. Three Russians escaped from the factory in the night on September 6, 1944: Hryhorij Sijew, Nikolai Korolkow, and Potapow [Polish spellings], who dressed in civilian clothing that Niklaszyński, a Polish civilian worker, had provided to them and left via the plant gate.[5] A guard shot the fourth escapee as he was going across the gate. Two other prisoners caught escaping were hanged in the subcamp.

In early December 1944, the non-Jewish prisoners were taken away to the main camp and then to the Mauthausen concentration camp. The Sosnowitz camp was finally shut down and the approximately 863 prisoners evacuated in January 1945. The prisoners were taken on foot to Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), then via Ratibor (Racibórz) to Troppau (Opava), which they reached 12 days later. The escorts shot many prisoners who did not keep up with the march, the weak, and the sick. The survivors were loaded into boxcars in Opava and taken away to Mauthausen; the train journey took 4 days. From Mauthausen some prisoners went on to the Gusen subcamp.

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, Augustyn Piotrowski, Hawrił Nikiszin, Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta; Camp Resistance Movement Materials; Meldeblatt; Fahrbefehle.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (II)," HvA 11 (1970): 97–128.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APKat, Berghütte 2511, books 6–8a (microfilm at APMO), letter from SS-WVHA to Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH dated April 26, 1944.

2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212, prisoner population on January 17, 1945.

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts of former prisoners Julius Engel and Mario Spizzichino.

4. Prisoner living and working conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former Sosnowitz II subcamp prisoners Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, and Hawrił Nikiszin, as well as Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH civilian plant employees Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta.

5. APMO, Meldeblatt No. 8, Breslau, October 1, 1944, p. 354, two of the three fugitives were listed in the arrest warrant: Hryhorij Sijew (real name—Hawrił Nikiszin) and Nikolai Korolkow. Hawrił Nikiszin writes more of the escape in his account held at APMO, Affidavits Collection.

TRZEBINIA

The Germans established a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in August 1944 in Trzebinia, a town located between Auschwitz (Oświęcim) and Kraków, at the request of the German Erdöl Raffinerie Trzebinia GmbH petroleum refinery, which planned to use the inmates' labor. In a letter to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt D II, dated June 20, 1944, the refinery requested that the SS supply them with 1,000 prisoners.[1] That number was never achieved. The largest prisoner population in Trzebinia was over 800 in September 1944.[2] These prisoners arrived in August and September 1944 in several truck transports from Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[3] Except for seven German prisoner-foremen, they were all Jews, most of them Polish and



Post-liberation view of Auschwitz-Trzebinia from the south.
USHMM WS # 51035, COURTESY OF IPN

Hungarian. There were 120 children aged 14 to 17 among the prisoners.[4]

The prisoners were housed in a camp that originally housed British prisoners of war (POWs), whom the Germans had removed from Trzebinia in early August 1944. Living conditions in the subcamp were very hard. Barracks that had previously housed 200 British POWs now were packed with four times as many prisoners. The food, as was typical of concentration camps, was completely inadequate.

As the SS had been requested, the prisoners were mainly put to work expanding the refinery: in bricklaying work, handling building materials, constructing sewers, and digging drainage ditches. Some prisoners were also put to work expanding the camp. Depending upon the time of year, the work lasted from 8.5 to 11 hours.[5] For the prisoners' work, the refinery paid the Reich treasury, via the SS, 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one.[6] Some prisoners were employed directly by the refinery, but most were subhired from the refinery by various construction and installation companies.

Although the refinery management was aware that the prisoners were not being fed properly, in its monthly reports it continually expressed its displeasure with their low work output, which was rated at between 45 and 60 percent of the free laborers' productivity. One of the measures the management took in order to raise productivity was to replace the Jewish prisoner-foremen with Germans.[7] In its report for August 1944, the refinery stated that the change contributed to a rise in work output. However, in the very next report for September 1944, the management was again displeased with productivity and stated that "an increase in productivity can be achieved only if the block elders, guards, and prisoner foremen are all relentless in impelling prisoners to work."[8]

In response to that, the SS men and prisoner-foremen tormented the prisoners in a bestial manner in order to force them to expend maximum effort: they beat them with poles, iron bars, rubber cables, and shovel handles; kicked them; and not infrequently killed them. One witness, a Polish worker, saw how Oberkapo Albert Gumpricht put a pole onto the neck of a fallen prisoner and ordered two prisoners to stand on the ends, in consequence of which the prisoner was strangled. After work, the prisoners had to carry the bodies of those who had been murdered back to the camp or, if they did not have the strength, drag them back, pulling them by the arms.[9]

Not only were the prisoners tormented by being driven to labor; they were also abused for the smallest disciplinary transgressions. Accepting any food from the Polish workers was a strictly punishable offense. In one instance, when a prisoner picked up an apple that a worker had thrown to him, the prisoner-foreman killed him with one blow to the head with a pole.[10]

Any attempt to obtain additional clothing as protection against the cold was also punished. Once, when a prisoner put some newspaper under his striped clothing to protect himself from the cold, a prisoner-foreman brutally beat and kicked him. During the beating the prisoner had to take the pieces of newspaper out of his shirt.[11]

Many prisoners fell ill under such conditions. From October 1944 onward, there were always approximately 50 to 100 prisoners in the camp infirmary.[12] In January 1945, the number of infirmary patients, convalescents, and those treated as outpatients was approximately one-third of the total prisoner population.[13]

In order to raise productivity, sick prisoners were trucked away to Birkenau, and those fit for work were brought in.[14] The bodies of those prisoners who died on the spot from illness, starvation, or mistreatment were taken to Birkenau for cremation at first; then in November 1944 the Germans built a crematorium on-site in Trzebinia. SS men blew it up before leaving the camp in January 1945.[15]

Because the Red Army was approaching, the camp was shut down on January 17 or 18, 1945. Some prisoners who were unable to march were loaded into four railway freight cars over which a makeshift roof was put up and taken away. The other prisoners were issued extra clothes and food (bread and margarine) and prodded westward to march on foot in columns. The march took place during severely cold, snowy weather. Anyone who did not keep up with the march, especially on the first leg of the evacuation route from Trzebinia to Auschwitz, was shot. Some of those unable to march were left at the Birkenau camp. The rest marched on to Rybnik, but only half of those who had set out from Trzebinia arrived. In Rybnik they were loaded into open freight cars. Covered with snow, they rode toward Gross-Rosen, where they were not admitted, so they were sent to Sachsenhausen, then were sent to Bergen-Belsen two weeks later.[16]

Camp commandant SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, who was in charge of 60 SS men, bears direct responsibility for the crimes committed in Trzebinia. The names of over 20 SS men have been identified, including 3 who were tried in court in Poland after the war.

SOURCES On this subcamp, see Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Trzebinia," *HvA* 16 (1978): 93–135.

APMO contains the Trzebinia Collection, records on the former Trzebinia subcamp, which includes refinery correspondence with SS officials, refinery reports, invoices for prisoner labor, and records of construction companies that used prisoner labor. In the Affidavits Collection, see also the account of former Trzebinia subcamp prisoner Benjamin Pilicer. From OKBZNwK see Catalog No. Ds. 18/67, records of examinations of Trzebinia refinery civilian employees about the Trzebinia subcamp.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Trzebinia [Trzebinia Collection], 3/2, book 44.

2. Ibid., book 15, refinery report for September 1944.

3. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor dated September 2, 1944.

4. Ibid., books 19–22, 30–40, list of prisoners by name dated August 24, 1944, and list of those newly arrived dated September 17, 1944.

5. Ibid., books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, monthly refinery reports on prisoner employment.

6. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor in August 1944.

7. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for August 1944.

8. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for September 1944.

9. OKBZNwK, sygn. [catalog no.] Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Kazimierz Chrząszcz, May 5, 1969.

10. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Czesław Kalisiewicz, April 11, 1969.

11. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Maria Matonóg, April 28, 1969.

12. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/2, books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, refinery reports for the period from August to November 1944.

13. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/5, books 1–9, daily reports of subcamp management for January 1945.

14. OKBZNwK, catalog no. Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Stanisław Pluto.

15. Ibid., testimonies of civilian refinery employees Rudolf Fasko, Erwin Michalik, Stanisław Struzik, and Edward Bucki.

16. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Benjamin Pilicer.

TSCHECHOWITZ (*BOMBENSUCHERKOMMANDO*)

The Allied air raid on Tschechowitz (Czechowice) on August 20, 1944, was the immediate reason for establishing a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp there. Such places as the Czechowice-Południowe train station, the nearby petroleum refinery owned by Vacuum Oil Company AG, and the brickyard in Bestwina were struck, as well as other sites. Many unexploded bombs remained throughout the bombed area.

Immediately after the raid, the Armaments Inspectorat VIIIb and the Organisation Todt (OT) began to ask that labor be assigned from Auschwitz to the task of repairing the bomb damage and to remove unexploded bombs. The bomb search detachment (Bombensucherkommando) most probably came into being upon the initiative of the Deutsche Reichsbahn Office in Tschechowitz. The first group of approximately 70 prisoners, among them around 60 Germans, was brought to Tschechowitz from the Auschwitz main camp just a few days after the bombing. They were immediately assigned to remove unexploded bombs between the tracks. Three days later, the German prisoners were moved back to the main camp, and approximately 100 Jews from such places as Belgium, Poland, Hungary, and France were brought in to Tschechowitz to replace them. The SS guards were replaced by guards provided by Tschechowitz's chief of police. Two ordnance technicians were assigned from the Luftwaffe to supervise the work of the prisoners.

The prisoners were quartered in the old beer bottling plant building near the Czechowice-Południowe train station. Before the war, the plant was owned by Henryk Feliks, a Jew, who had been taken away to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp along with approximately 300 Jewish residents of Tschechowitz. The camp management and guards' rooms were in the building next door, where a restaurant and Feliks's residence had been before the war. The subcamp's commandant was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Claussen, who had served several functions at the main camp, such as political unit officer and, in 1944, Rapportführer. He conducted executions at the Death Wall and participated in selections.

Because the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line had to be reopened as quickly as possible, the prisoners worked both day and night shifts. They also worked at the refinery and the other sites in the bombing area. The labor the prisoners did was hard, tiring, and extremely dangerous. In his postwar testimony, Claussen said that the prisoners went through a living hell while removing the unexploded bombs, as they constantly contended with the possibility of sudden death.[1]

In the less than three weeks of the subcamp's existence, the prisoners retrieved and disarmed more than 80 unexploded bombs. The subcamp was shut down in early September 1944, and the prisoners there were taken back to the main camp.

Claussen was born in Alton, near Hamburg, on December 16, 1915. He came to Auschwitz from Buchenwald in 1941. In September 1944, he was assigned first to the Italian, then to the Hungarian front. U.S. Military Police arrested him after the war, and he died in prison in Poland in 1948.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podobozy Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Original records pertaining to the camp are available in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Jeno Vamosi and accounts of Czechowice residents.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. APMO, Zespół Proces załogi [Staff Trial Collection], vol. 78, book 262.

TSCHECHOWITZ [AKA TSCHECHOWITZ-VACUUM]

In September 1944, the Germans established a second subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Tschechowitz, the name of which appears in surviving records as Arbeitslager Tschechowitz-Vacuum. It stood on the grounds of the old Przemsza farm on the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line. A brick stable building was adapted as space for the prisoners.

SS man Knoblik served as the subcamp's commandant. Members of the Organisation Todt (OT) and plant protection (Werkschutz) employees supervised the prisoners during work, as did German policemen brought to Czechowice from Moravska Ostrava. German criminal prisoners comprised what was called the "prisoner government."

The first prisoner transport arrived at the subcamp in the latter half of September 1944. The transport consisted of approximately 300 Polish Jews, whom the Germans selected from prisoners who had arrived in Birkenau from the Łódź ghetto. Slightly more than 300 Czech Jews who had come from the Theresienstadt (Terezin) ghetto to Auschwitz joined the first group on October 9, 1944. Besides those transports, several smaller transports were sent to the subcamp. There were 596 prisoners in the subcamp on November 9, 1944, and 561 on January 17, 1945.

The prisoners' living conditions were essentially the same as those in other Auschwitz subcamps. Józef Ogiegło, then a Czechowice resident, stated in his account that just the prisoners' appearance alone showed that they were starving. "The people in the camp looked like shadows," testified Ludwik Rup, whom the Germans employed as a forced laborer in the refinery. Only hunger could force prisoners to collect cabbage and rutabaga leaves from the rubbish heap they passed on the way to work, which was next to the kitchen for forced laborers. Some of the more decent guards would allow the prisoners to collect garbage. Others beat the prisoners or even shot at them for attempting to obtain additional nourishment. For example, an SS man shot a prisoner to death during work for picking up a rutabaga that a civilian worker had thrown to him. Two juvenile prisoners, brothers from the town of Hradec Kralove, were beaten so severely by SS men for breaking into a food warehouse that they died shortly thereafter. Prisoners were tormented with punitive exercises and hours of roll calls for the smallest offenses; they were whipped, and prisoners were beaten every day in camp as well as at their workplaces.

At least one prisoner attempted to escape to freedom, counting on the help of Czechowice residents. Although he did manage to get beyond the fence and hide in a sewer near the camp, SS men found him during a search of the area near the camp and shot him to death. Investigations of prisoner escapes were conducted by officials of the Auschwitz I political unit: SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Boger, SS-Unterscharführer Federsel, and SS-Rottenführer Pery Broad.

The prisoners' primary workplace was on the premises of the petroleum refinery. There they were mostly put to work demolishing the ruins of bombed structures; doing bricklaying, concrete work, and earthmoving; and repairing tracks and roads. The prisoners were constantly persecuted by the guards and prisoner-foremen who supervised them while they worked. There were also instances in which the guards shot prisoners who worked too slowly.

In early 1945, the approach of Soviet troops forced the management of Auschwitz to shut down the subcamp. Approximately 450 prisoners left the subcamp under armed escort on January 18, 1945, at about 7:00 P.M. The Germans left several dozen sick prisoners and the bodies of dead ones at the subcamp. On January 20, after two days of marching on the Dziedzice-Goczałkowice-Pszczyna road, the prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. Prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades were shot by the guards. Sixteen victims of this death march—Polish and Czech Jews—were buried at Suszcze-Łęg near Pszczyna. At the train station in Wodzisław Śląski, Tschechowitz subcamp prisoners encountered thousands of comrades from the Auschwitz main camp, from Birkenau, and from other Auschwitz subcamps. The prisoners were loaded onto open coal cars and sent to camps inside Germany. The cars holding Tschechowitz prisoners reached Buchenwald four days later. Of the approximately 450 prisoners who left the subcamp, about 300 were still alive. Some prisoners were kept at Buchenwald, while the rest were sent to its subcamps, such as Rehmsdorf near Leipzig. In a letter written just after the war to Erwin Habal, his friend from the subcamp, former prisoner Ctibor Erban recalls that it was "desperately bad" at Rehmsdorf. Prisoners received incredibly small food rations; they had no opportunity to wash or change underwear. Thousands of lice nested in the bunks and blankets. Under such conditions only a few of the prisoners evacuated from Czechowice lived to see liberation.

Almost all the prisoners left at the subcamp also perished. On Sunday, January 21, 1945, at about 1:00 P.M., an armed unit of OT members entered the subcamp. They ordered the prisoners to dig a ditch, ostensibly to bury the bodies of dead prisoners. A few hours later, several SS men or Sicherheitsdienst (SD) members arrived at the subcamp. They ordered the people living in the vicinity of the subcamp to leave their homes and warned them that if they helped escaped prisoners, they would all be shot. Accounts of the events unfolding in the subcamp were provided after the war by former prisoners Erwin Habal and Dr. Josef Weil as well as longtime Czechowice residents Antoni Chrapek, Aleksander Owsiński, and Józef Ogiegło, who observed the events in the subcamp from hiding. When the Nazis entered the camp hospital, they shot each bedridden prisoner in his bunk and ordered the few remaining prisoners who were still on their feet to carry the bodies of their dead comrades out to the ditch in the yard and cover them with straw mattresses. The Nazis then poured flammable liquids on the heap of human bodies and straw mattresses and set it on fire. Several prisoners

managed to slip out of the subcamp and hide nearby, but patrols shot most of them. Probably only Habal and Weil survived, with three friends. After leaving the subcamp, Habal hid in Maria Adamaszkowa's chicken coop. The Polish Ogiegło family took care of the prisoner at the risk of their lives.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podobozy Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Archival sources are available in: APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection]: account of former prisoners Ctibor Erban, Pavel Nettl, Erwin Habal, Josef Weil; accounts of residents of Czechowice of that time, including Józef Borończyk, Antoni Chrapek, Józef Ogiegło, and Aleksander Owsiński; Zespół Opracowania [Studies Collection], reports of site inspections of the former subcamp by such organizations as the Jewish Congregation of Bielsko-Biała; Zespół Akta SS-Hygiene Institut [SS-Hygiene Institute Records Collection]: numerical listing of Tschechowitz-Vacuum subcamp prisoners; and the collections of Katowice division of the IPN, testimony of Ludwik Rup (sygn. akt [catalog no.] Ds. 19/66).

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

BERGEN-BELSEN



Watercolor and ink drawing of the Bergen-Belsen camp gate by survivor Ervin Abadi, 1945. The marginal comment reads: "The main gate of the deportation camp and POW camp in Bergen-Belsen. The only thing missing from it is a sign: '*Lasciate ogni speranza*' 'Abandon all hope' [signed] Abady, 1945." USHMM WS # 36742, courtesy of George Bozoki

BERGEN-BELSEN MAIN CAMP

The "detention camp (*Aufenthaltslager*) Bergen-Belsen," the official name for the camp, established in the spring of 1943, was to fulfill a very specific function within the National Socialist concentration camp system. It was to function as a transit camp for specific groups of Jewish prisoners who (initially) were excluded from the deportation into the extermination camps. They would be held to be exchanged for Germans interned in Western countries, as more Germans had been interned overseas than had foreigners in countries under German control.

Although the Foreign Affairs Office was involved in the initiative to establish the camp, it was, despite its specific function, nevertheless incorporated into the concentration camp system administered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a step that would have fatal results in its development. To establish this assembly camp the SS took over from the Wehrmacht the southern half of the Bergen-Belsen prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and its barracks, located on the edge of the largest military training ground in the German Reich.

It is true that the living conditions at first were better than those in other concentration camps. Those prisoners who were to be exchanged were not to know the true conditions in the National Socialist concentration camps. They were not to be in a position where they could report overseas on the conditions or provide evidence of those conditions by their own physical condition. Nevertheless, the living standards in Bergen-Belsen were somewhat worse than in the internment camps. The substitution of the initial name of the camp, "civilian internment camp (*Zivilinterniertenlager*) Bergen-Belsen" with the name "Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen" on June 29, 1943, was justified on the grounds that a civilian internment camp would in accordance with the Geneva Convention be open for inspection by international commissions.

Even when the exchange prisoners (*Austauschhäftlinge*) in Bergen-Belsen were granted "privileges" not available to prisoners in concentration camps—for example, they could take their luggage to Bergen-Belsen and wear their civilian clothing in the camp, and the SS was forbidden directly to mistreat the prisoners physically—the exchange prisoners were subject in many respects to arbitrary acts by the SS, including hour-long roll calls and hunger rations.

The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) issued guidelines on August 31, 1943, establishing criteria for the relocation of the Jewish prisoners to Bergen-Belsen as follows:

1. Jews who are either related to or have other relations with influential people in hostile overseas countries;
2. Jews who are key to an exchange of Germans either interned overseas or held prisoner overseas;
3. Jews who as hostages can be used to exert either political or economic pressure;
4. Key Jewish personalities.[1]

These guidelines determined the social structure of the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen. Disregarding the so-called prison camp (*Häftlingslager*), a strictly separate area of the camp in which prisoners lived in typical concentration camp conditions, Bergen-Belsen initially held exclusively Jewish prisoners. Until the end of 1944, Jewish prisoners represented the huge majority of the total prisoner population in Bergen-Belsen.

The exchange prisoners were not as a rule individuals. Whole families were deported to Bergen-Belsen with the result that right from the beginning there were a large number of children in all age groups. Men and women were held in separate barracks but could meet each other during the day. Children lived with their mothers in the women's barracks until they were 15.

The first transport of "exchange prisoners" arrived in Bergen-Belsen in July 1943. However, the planned number of transports only began to arrive from the beginning of 1944. At the end of July 1944, there were around 7,300 prisoners in Bergen-Belsen.

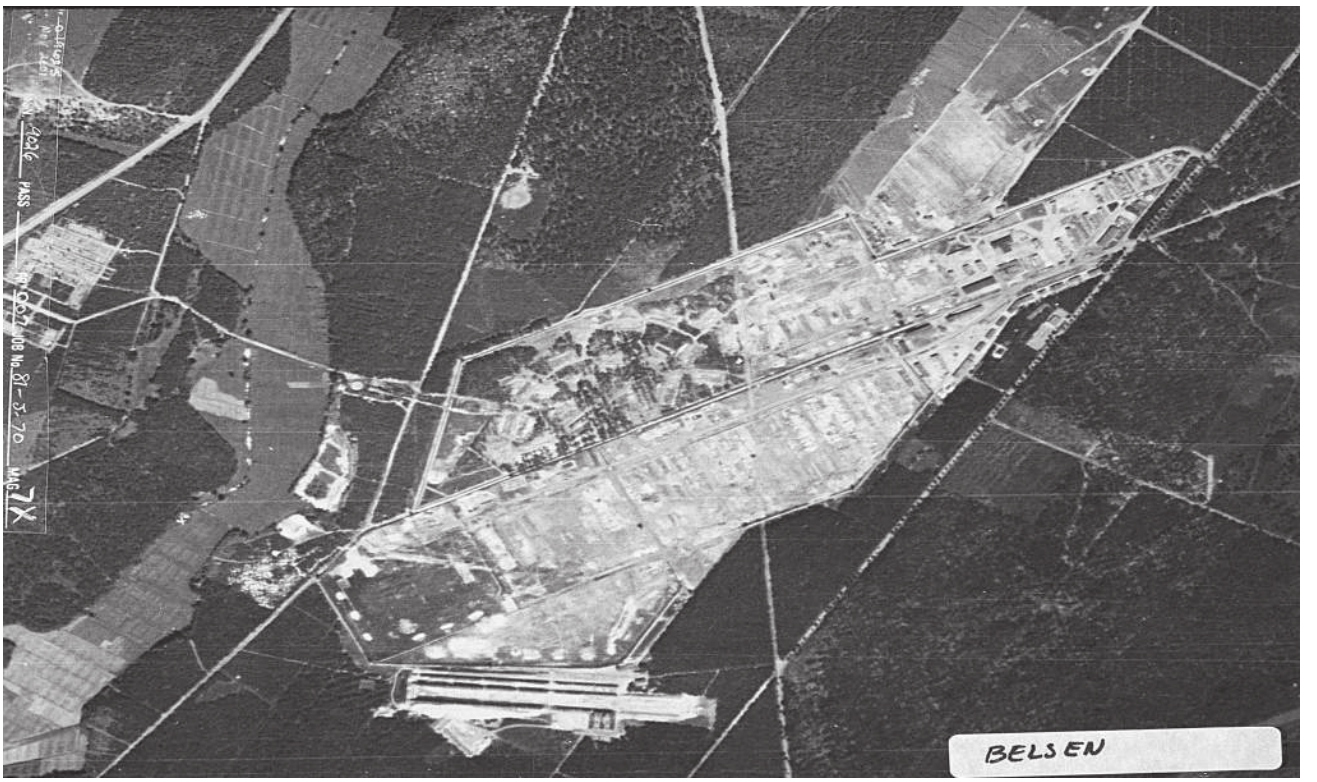
Unlike the other concentration camps, the Bergen-Belsen prisoners did not all live according to the same camp rules. Living conditions varied according to the SS's view of their legal status and their national origin. They lived in strictly separated parts of the camp.

In the *Sternlager* (so called because the prisoners had to wear the Jewish star) lived the strictly speaking "exchange Jews" (in July 1944 almost 4,400 prisoners) including the Dutch, who had arrived in Bergen-Belsen via the Westerbork transit camp. They were by far the largest group. Even elderly prisoners were forced to do labor in the Sternlager.

Several hundred Jews from neutral countries lived in the *Neutralenlager*, mostly from Spain, Portugal, Argentina, and Turkey. Unlike the other "camps" within Bergen-Belsen, the prisoners here lived in relatively bearable conditions until March 1945. The prisoners in this camp were not assigned to labor detachments.

In the middle of 1943, 2,300 to 2,500 Polish Jews were deported to the so-called special camp (*Sonderlager*). They held provisional papers issued by South American states. They also were not assigned to labor detachments. They were strictly isolated from the other prisoners probably because of their knowledge of massacres committed by the SS in Poland. By the middle of 1944, most of these people, after their citizenship had been examined, were deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. Only 350 remained in Bergen-Belsen.

The Hungarian camp (*Ungarnlager*) was established in July 1944 for 1,683 Hungarian Jews (the so-called Kasztner Group). A small group was released to Switzerland in August and a larger group in December 1944, not as part of an exchange of prisoners but as the result of negotiations between the SS and a Zionist aid committee represented by Reszö



Aerial reconnaissance photograph of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 1945
USHMM WS # 04162, courtesy of NARA

Kasztner in Budapest. Heinrich Himmler had initiated the negotiations with a goal of making contact with the Western Allies via the release of the Jews with a view to finding a potential partner to negotiate a separate peace. The Hungarian Jewish prisoners in this part of the camp wore, as those in the Sternlager, civilian clothes. They were not forced to work. Shortly after the Kasztner Group was released, a new group of Hungarian Jews was brought into this part of the camp. They were also viewed by the SS as exchange prisoners.

The specific living conditions in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen in the beginning made possible an astonishing variety of cultural and religious life, which as a rule was only tolerated by the SS and could only take place in secret. By allowing the prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager their luggage, they were given an important material foundation for a cultural and religious life inside the camp—they could bring in books, paper, pens, and a variety of religious ritual objects. There are known to be 30 diaries secretly written by prisoners in Bergen-Belsen—mostly in the detention camp—that have survived. In addition, more than 100 poems (mostly in Dutch and Polish) written in Bergen-Belsen as well as dozens of drawings drawn in the Aufenthaltslager have survived.

Very few prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen were in fact exchanged. Some 222 Jews were able to leave the camp at the end of June 1944, reaching Palestine in the following months; 136, as the result of a German-American exchange of civilian personnel, reached Switzerland at the end of January 1945. And 1,683 prisoners from the Kasztner Group and a few hundred Jews from neutral countries were also freed.

The overwhelming majority of the prisoners remained caught between the hope of freedom and the despair of the ever-worsening living conditions in Bergen-Belsen, conditions that deteriorated from the middle of 1944. The hope of exchange meant that in the following months there was no open resistance and, except for the prisoner camp, presumably no attempts to escape.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, the SS began to relocate other groups of prisoners, who had nothing to do with the planned exchange program, to Bergen-Belsen. This turn of events began with a transport of sick prisoners, most no longer capable of working, from the Mittelbau concentration camp at the end of March 1944. They were exactly 1,000 prisoners who were sent to Bergen-Belsen supposedly to recuperate. There was in fact no medical care worthy of the name for these sick prisoners in Bergen-Belsen. In the following months, the SS sent other transports with sick prisoners from other concentration camps to Bergen-Belsen, all of whom suffered a similar fate as those in the first transport from the Mittelbau concentration camp. In the summer of 1944, 200 prisoners in the prisoner camp were murdered by a prisoner whom the SS called the "senior orderly" (*Oberpfleger*). They were murdered with an injection of phenol.

In autumn 1944, a tent camp was built. It bordered on the Aufenthaltslager. Initially, it functioned as a transit camp for transports of females from Poland, who were sent to work in the

armaments industry. In August and September 1944, three work detachments were established not far from Bergen-Belsen in Hambühren, Unterlüss, and Bomlitz. Here also female Bergen-Belsen prisoners had to work in the armaments industry.

At the end of October/beginning of November 1944, the tent camp in Bergen-Belsen held about 8,000 women evacuated from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After the tents were destroyed by a storm, the prisoners were squeezed into the already overfilled barracks. It was into this so-called small female camp that a transport from Auschwitz holding Anne Frank and her sister Margot was sent. Both died there in March 1945.

In the face of the Red Army advance, concentration camps close to the front began to be evacuated from the autumn of 1944 in a westerly direction in so-called evacuation transports. Bergen-Belsen, due to its geographical position inside the German Reich, became from the end of 1944 more and more a destination for these evacuation transports. To hold the new transports, the camp had to be expanded. In January 1945, the POW hospital in the northern half of the camp complex was dissolved and became part of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Here was the site of the "large women's camp" (*Grosses Frauenlager*).

As a result of this change of role for Bergen-Belsen and the rapid increase in prisoner transports, the camp changed from a detention camp, holding hostages for exchange, into a de facto death camp. With the handover of camp command to Josef Kramer, who had been the commandant of Birkenau and who replaced Adolf Haas on December 1, 1944, this transformation proceeded apace.

The numerous evacuation transports that were directed to Bergen-Belsen from the end of 1944 led to a catastrophic overcrowding in the camp. At the beginning of December 1944, there were around 15,000 prisoners in the camp; on February 1, 1945, approximately 22,000; and 41,250 on March 1, 1945.

In the hastily constructed, completely overcrowded, and mostly unheatable barracks there was often no furniture of any description so that countless prisoners had to lie on the ground. Hunger and illness, which the SS took no serious steps to deal with, determined the life of the prisoners in those areas of the camp where the living conditions had once been bearable. Vermin and diseases such as typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis caused an ever-increasing number of deaths in the confined spaces where there was a complete lack of hygiene and medical care. In March 1945, alone, more than 18,000 prisoners died in Bergen-Belsen. The hunger reached an unimaginable dimension with the result that in the last weeks before Bergen-Belsen was liberated there are numerous documented cases of cannibalism.

As the Allied troops approached Bergen-Belsen, the SS attempted to remove the thousands of corpses on the camp grounds. Between April 11 and 14, 1945, those prisoners still capable of walking were forced to drag some of the corpses to mass graves. Shortly before, the SS had transported away the exchange Jews (*Austauschjuden*). Three trains evacuated around 8,000 Jews between April 6 and 11, 1945. For hundreds this meant death. One of the trains reached Theresienstadt; the other two, after roaming around for days, were liberated by U.S. troops near Magdeburg and by Soviet troops near Tröbitz.

The social structure of the prisoners in the camp changed with the numerous prisoner transports that arrived in Bergen-Belsen, especially after the end of 1944. Initially, if one ignores the Häftlingslager, Bergen-Belsen held exclusively Jews. From the beginning of the spring of 1944, more and more non-Jews arrived in Bergen-Belsen. At the time the camp was liberated, the camp held prisoners from all groups persecuted by the National Socialists: political prisoners, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), "asocials," criminals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals.

It is true that most of the prisoners were individual prisoners, but Bergen-Belsen was also a family camp. The number of imprisoned children (that is, prisoners under the age of 15) in Bergen-Belsen at various periods is estimated to total around 3,000, the majority of whom were Jewish children with a small group being non-Jewish Polish children or children of Sinti and Roma. Bergen-Belsen was also the destination for evacuation transports of pregnant women from other camps, who gave birth in Bergen-Belsen. Only very few of these children survived. For the orphans who were either alone because of the death of their parents in Bergen-Belsen or arrived in Bergen-Belsen as orphans, orphanages (*Waisenheime*) were set up in special barracks in the Sternlager as well as the Grosses Frauenlager, where prisoners (almost exclusively female) with the approval of the SS looked after the children.

When British soldiers liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on April 15, 1945, as part of a local cease-fire—both sides wanted to prevent the outbreak of epidemics—there were 55,000 prisoners in the camp. In the last days before liberation, several thousand male prisoners were held in the Lager II, located in part of the barracks on the nearby troop training ground at Bergen-Hohne. On the camp grounds and in the barracks in Bergen-Belsen, the British liberators found thousands of unburied corpses. Despite the efforts of the British—within a few weeks 14,000 emergency hospital beds were erected in the barracks complex on the troop training ground—help came too late for many of the liberated prisoners: in the first 12 weeks after liberation, more than 13,000 prisoners died as a result of the effects of their imprisonment in Bergen-Belsen. The total number of victims in this concentration camp is estimated at 50,000.

That the SS was able to destroy almost all the files of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp before the camp was liberated has made it difficult to determine statistical and biographical information not only on the prisoners but also on the SS personnel in the camp.

As in other concentration camps, there was a high fluctuation of SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen. It is known that there were 435 men and 45 women SS personnel. Most of them were transferred to Bergen-Belsen in two waves: one from the Wewelsburg-Niederhagen concentration camp with the first commandant at Bergen-Belsen, Adolf Haas, when the camp was established, and the second as so-called accompanying personnel (*Begleitpersonal*) with the evacuation transports



Post-liberation view of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, April-May 1945.
USHMM WS #74356, courtesy of NARA

from concentration camps near the front in the East, some only a few days before Bergen-Belsen was liberated. Female SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen, unlike its subcamps, were only deployed with the arrival of female prisoners from Auschwitz in the winter of 1944–1945.

The specific requirements of the liberation of Bergen-Belsen through a local cease-fire enabled the majority of the SS personnel to withdraw before the camp was taken over by the British Army.

Only around 50 SS men and 20 to 30 SS women remained behind in Bergen-Belsen. They were arrested by the British shortly after the camp was liberated. In the autumn of 1945, 21 of these SS men and 16 of the SS women as well as 11 prisoner-functionaries were tried by a British Military Court in Lüneburg. The commandant Josef Kramer was also tried. Those SS personnel who escaped capture by leaving the camp before it was liberated were not systematically pursued by the British Military government.

As some of the accused had been based in the Auschwitz concentration and death camp, they were tried in Lüneburg for crimes committed there. The Lüneburg "Belsen Trial" is not only one of the earliest war crimes trials but is in fact the first Auschwitz trial.

The court delivered its verdict on November 17, 1945: 11 accused were sentenced to death, 19 received prison terms, and 14 were acquitted. The death sentences were carried out in the middle of December 1945 in Hameln.

In May 1946, a second "Belsen Trial" took place in Celle; 10 defendants were tried, who in the fall of 1945 either were still not situated in British custody or were actually incapable of trial due to illness. Apart from terms of imprisonment, the court issued more death sentences: 4 of the accused were hanged in Hameln in October 1946.

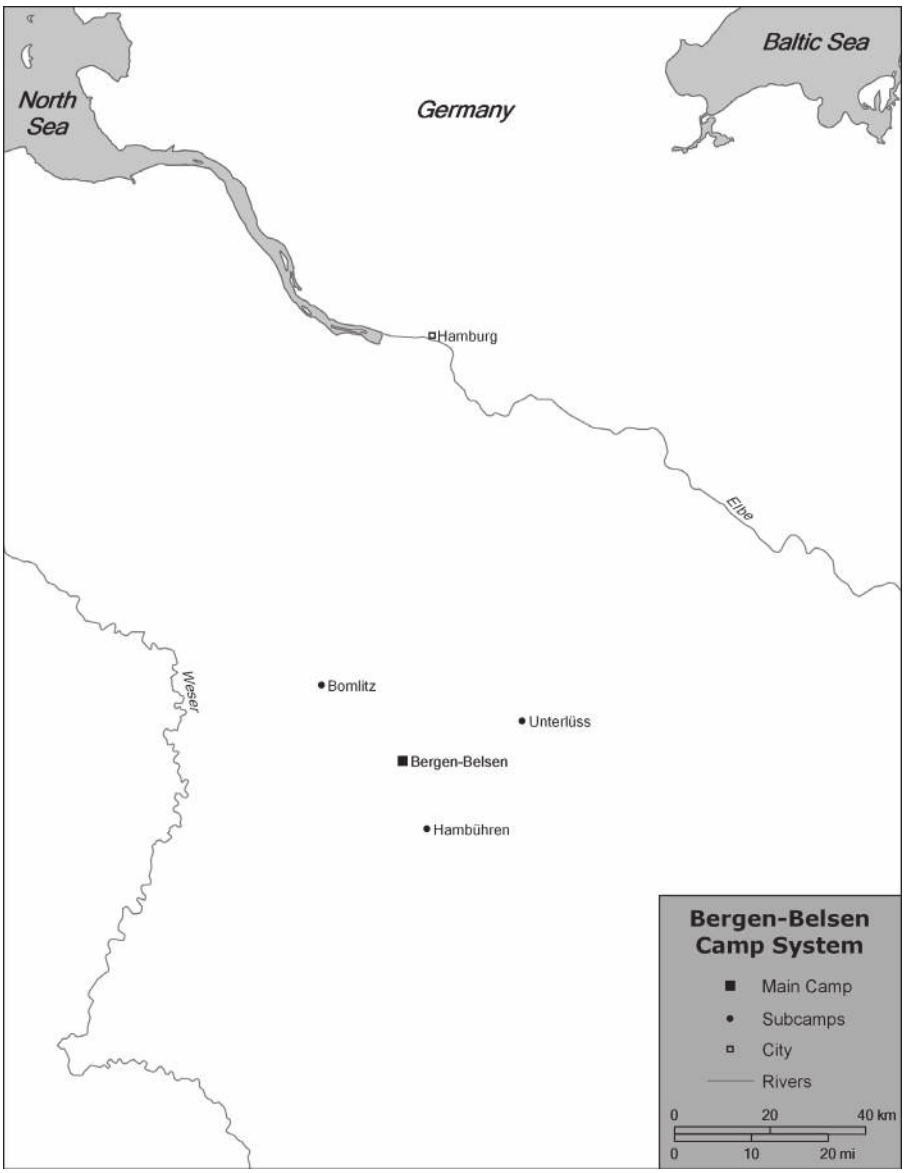
SOURCES The following are some of the most important secondary works on Bergen-Belsen: Jo Reilly, David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Colin Richmond, eds., *Belsen in History and Memory* (London: Frank Cass, 1997); Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al., eds., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994); Wolfgang Günther, *"Ach, Schwester, ich kann nicht mehr tanzen . . .": Sinti und Roma im KZ Bergen-Belsen* (Hannover: Niedersächsischer Verband Deutscher Sinti, 1990); Rainer Hoffschildt and Thomas Rahe, "Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager—Das Beispiel Bergen-Belsen," *BGNSVND* 5 (1999): 48–61; Paul Kemp, "The Liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in April 1945: The Testimony of Those Involved," *IWMR* 5 (1990): 28–41; Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen: Geschichte des "Aufenthaltslagers" 1943–1945* (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1962); Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen vom "Aufenthaltslager" zum Konzentrationslager 1943–1945*, 5th rev. and expanded ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Thomas Rahe, "Kulturelle Aktivitäten jüdischer Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *MJDJG* 4 (1993): 111–138; Rahe, "Aus 'rassischen' Gründen verfolgte Kinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Eine erste Skizze," in *Kinder und Jugendliche als Opfer des Holocaust*, ed. Edgar Bamberger and Annegret Ehmann (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, 1995), pp. 129–143; Rahe and Arnold Jürgens, "Zur Statistik des Konzentrationslagers Bergen-Belsen: Quellengrundlagen, methodische Probleme und neue statistische Daten," *BGNSVND* 3 (1997): 128–148; Rahe, "Jüdische Waisenkinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 31–49; Rahe, "Zeugen Jehovas im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," in *"Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas": Verfolgung und Widerstand der Zeugen Jehovas im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 121–133; Rahe, "Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *MJDJG* 9 (1998): 121–152; Joanne Reilly, *Belsen: The Liberation of a Concentration Camp* (London: Routledge, 1998); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

The following archives contain primary source materials on Belsen: Beit Lohamei Haghetaot, Oshrat, Nachlass Josef Weiss (Dossier Josef Weiss Nr. 317); BA-BL, Sammlung Schumacher. Bestand des ehem. BDC; NIOD, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (BdS), Den Haag; and PAAA, Abteilung Deutschland, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Büro des Unterstaatssekretärs, Inland II A/B, Inland II g, Politische Abteilung, Rechtsabteilung. The following published works contain primary sources on Bergen-Belsen: Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949); G.L. Fréjafon, *Bergen-Belsen, Bagne sanatorium* (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1947); Abel Herzberg, *Zweistromland: Tagebuch aus Bergen-Belsen* (Wittingen: Erev Rav, 1997); Renata Laqueur, *Bergen-Belsen Tagebuch 1944/1945* (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1983); Hanna Lévy-Hass, *Vielleicht war das alles erst der Anfang: Tagebuch aus dem Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen 1944–1945* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991); Ceija Stojka, *Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin* (Vienna: Picus, 1995).

Thomas Rahe
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Unsigned RSHA decree, August 31, 1943, in NIOD, reprinted in Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 36.



BOMLITZ [AKA BENEFELD]

The village of Bomlitz is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Bergen-Belsen, in the rural district of Fallingbostel. The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was in the part of the village called Benefeld, on the so-called Sandberg. For this reason, apart from the common name Bomlitz, this outside detail is also known by the name Benefeld.

Even before 1939, the firm EIBIA & Wolff, Ltd., had established an explosives factory in Bomlitz. This plant consisted of numerous buildings spread across a large wooded area and had its own electric railway for the transport of goods. During the war, EIBIA, including all its factories, became the largest producer of gunpowder in the German Reich, in good part due to the work of thousands of forced laborers.

Source materials on this subcamp are not readily available. However, in the 1979 International Tracing Service (ITS) list of concentration camps and their outside details under the Reichsführer-SS, it is still true that Bomlitz, like the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps, Hambühren and Unterlüss, is one of those detachments "for which it was impossible to find out to which concentration camp they reported."[1]

Since 1979, Bomlitz's link to the Bergen-Belsen main camp has been confirmed. A first hint was given in the 1950 ITS "Catalogue of Camps and Prisons," in which Bomlitz is named as a Bergen-Belsen detachment. The source for this information came from former inmates. In addition, a survey made by the district of Fallingbostel in 1945 on the use of forced laborers during the war mentions the EIBIA, Ltd., Benefeld. In the survey, "KZ [Konzentrationslager] Belsen" is indicated as the "main labor detail responsible" for prisoners deployed to Bomlitz.[2]

On September 3, 1944, 600 Jewish women from Poland arrived in Bomlitz from Auschwitz. They were accommodated in wooden barracks with sanitary facilities, and each of them had a place to sleep with a woolen blanket. The camp was surrounded by a high electric fence. Zipora Posluszny-Finkelstein writes about the living conditions: "We arrived in a camp called Bomlitz, where we worked in an arms factory. Compared to Auschwitz, the living conditions at Bomlitz were like paradise. Of course the work was hard, but the cleanliness and the overall living conditions relieved us from the nightmare of Birkenau."[3]

Only a few, short statements from the prisoners exist that discuss the nature of the forced labor: "In July 1944, I was sent on to Auschwitz, where I stayed for only a short time, until I was transferred to Bomlitz near Hannover. There I worked in an arms factory with 'wet powder.' "[4] The wet powder was a liquid explosive that the plant produced along with other explosives. In addition to the work inside the factory, the prisoners were deployed outside, for example, laying tracks for the factory railway.

The summary of an interview with one Mrs. K., a saleswoman in the factory canteen, exemplifies how the German population perceived the female prisoners in Bomlitz: "Mrs. K. reported that every morning she could observe from her place of work about two hundred Jewish girls and women marching through Bomlitz in formation. The plant manager, however, forbade her after a few days to look at the Jewish women anymore."[5]

Some women arrived a little later in Bomlitz, directly from Bergen-Belsen. One of these women, Olga Bergmann, was brought from the Łódź ghetto, via Auschwitz, to the so-called tent camp (*Zeltlager*) in Bergen-Belsen, where she worked in the kitchen:

> Bergen-Belsen was halfway bearable. There we could rest and did not work. It was a rather beautiful autumn, and the food was not very bad either. One day I was selected to work in a kitchen where I definitely did not want to go to, because I did not want to be separated from my fellow sufferers. But I was told to do so, and the soldier who had chosen me remarked: "My wife was liberated from Russia, way back when, and now I want to do something for someone." So I went to Bomlitz, in the district of Fallingbostel, where there was a gunpowder factory. It did not take long until I had to leave Bomlitz again, because after about four weeks, it was bombed terribly, and I had to return to Bergen-Belsen.
>
> I believe that the time in Bomlitz was actually fairly good for me, because I lived with eighteen girls in one room, who all looked very bad, and I brought them as much as I could from the kitchen. They claimed that this helped them a lot to recover. After four weeks, we returned to Bergen-Belsen. There, I was selected once again, and went to Torgau on the Elbe river to a weapons factory called "Elsing" [*sic*], which belonged to the "Basag" [*sic*] firm.[6]

Apparently, representatives of the firm EIBIA & Wolff picked out female prisoners in Bergen-Belsen to do work in their factories.

On October 15, 1944, all of the female prisoners in Bomlitz were sent to the Bergen-Belsen tent camp, which most of them entered for the first time. With that, the Bomlitz subcamp was dissolved after existing for only six weeks. One can only speculate over the reasons for the camp's closure: perhaps the owners—the Wolff family—did not want to have a concentration camp in the village.

The management of the EIBIA firm never had to stand trial for its deployment of female camp prisoners from Poland. It is true that a report to the British Judge Advocate General of the Second Army reveals that the six directors of EIBIA were kept in custody for a short period of time. It seems, however, that the British Military government did not investigate further.[7]

The EIBIA plant factory buildings were disassembled or otherwise made unusable.

Information about the camp commander and other SS personnel is unavailable. However, Esther Winder mentions in a short report that the SS personnel consisted of men as well as women.[8]

SOURCES Only one essay in German exists that is dedicated exclusively to the three Bergen-Belsen subcamps. In one section the author examines the Bomlitz detachment: Stefanie Plattner, "'Schwere Balken und Steine . . .': Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 76–78. Another short work in German on the three subcamps is unpublished: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991). There are two publications on the history of the firm EIBIA & Wolff that mention the subcamp Bomlitz: Andrea Hesse, "Prädikat 'Bestbetrieb': Die Eibia GmbH für chemische Produkte in Bomlitz," in *Aspekte der Bomlitzer Lokalgeschichte*, ed. Gemeinde Bomlitz (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 3: 47–51; and Helge Matthiesen, "Geheime Reichssache EIBIA," WalsZ (1987): 26. The camp is listed in ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979).

No significant collection of documents on this camp exists. Most of the known published or unpublished sources on the Bomlitz subcamp are available at NHStA-H, YV, and PRO London (WO 309/463 War Crimes). Additional testimonies may be found in Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1995); and in Raimond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999).

Bernd Horstmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. xxxi.

2. Search for foreign nationals, NHStA-H, Han. 80 Lbg. III Acc. no. 672.

3. Zipora Posluszny-Finkelstein, "Auf der Waagschale des Lebens und des Todes," in *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1995), 2: 204–205.

4. Sworn statement by E.E. Afiki, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv, B-B, Lohheide, IRG A1 E.E. Afiki.

5. Testimony of Mrs. K. from Bomlitz, reproduced in Raimond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999), p. 25.

6. Testimony of Olga Bergmann, June 1964, YVA, No. 32735, pp. 9–10.

7. Rept. by 309 FSS attached to letter, June 2, 1945, to JAG Second Army, PRO London WO 309/463 War Crimes. Repts. not disclosing war crimes. Part I.

8. Record of Esther Winder, February 13, 1947, YVA, M-1/E-2546 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB); also the record of Bronia Beter, March 15, 1948, YVA, M-1/E-1875 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB).

HAMBÜHREN [AKA HAMBÜHREN-OVELGÖNNE OR WALDESLUST]

The Hambühren subcamp was located about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) south of Bergen-Belsen in the village Ovelgönne, a part of the Hambühren municipality. The subcamp was a little off the track in a wooded area and was also known as Waldeslust.

The first transport probably arrived in Hambühren on August 23, 1944, with 400 Jewish, predominantly Polish women. The women and girls were from the Łódź ghetto and had spent a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to Hambühren. The transport comprised altogether probably about 1,400 women, most of whom were brought to Bergen-Belsen, or to the Unterlüss subcamp, while the remaining 400 went directly to Hambühren. According to Estera Brunstein: "We came to a labour camp in Germany. . . . We came and soon found out that we were near Hanover in a small village, which was called Hambühren-Waldeslust. 'Waldeslust' means 'joys of the forest' or 'lust of the forest.' And there were four hundred of us placed in barracks."[1] The camp, which was fenced in with several layers of barbed wire, consisted of eight wooden barracks and two stone houses. Isabelle Choko, at the time 16 years old, describes the lodgings in her memoirs as follows: "We arrive in a forest. We walk a bit and discover a clearing with wooden barracks. We are divided up. There is an SS commander there. About forty women are sent to each room, and my mother and I enter our new 'home': There were bunk beds, but nonetheless beds! They each have a straw mattress and a blanket. There is a stove in the middle of the room, a true luxury."[2] The sanitary facilities were less "luxurious": there were no enclosed latrines but mere holes in the ground behind the barracks, where the women had to relieve themselves, even in the winter cold.[3]

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe their religion: "I only can tell you from the barrack I was in. Every Friday we tried to do Shabbat prayer, if we were not caught."[4]

The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was not the only camp in Hambühren-Ovelgönne. There were labor camps with civilian workers, prisoners of war, and other forced laborers from West and East Europe. These people worked for the Haupt-Munitionsanstalt (main ammunitions factory) of the Luftwaffe or for the Wintershall AG, in oil drilling and mining potash.

In the spring of 1944, the Ministry of Armaments and War Production planned to create a manufacturing plant for the firm Focke-Wulf Flugzeugbau, Ltd., in Wintershall's potash mine "Prinz Adalbert," which would be safe from air attacks. This plan, code-named "Hirsch" (stag), was never realized but still resulted in an increased deployment of forced laborers and female camp prisoners in Hambühren.

Thus, some of the female prisoners had to work underground to prepare the potash mine for the aircraft factory. The work must have been exhausting because of the high temperatures in the mine, even in winter. SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Branders supervised the women during their work in the mine and often beat them. In 1945, the Hungarian sisters Irán and Edith Grünberger gave an account of a typical day:

> The work was done in two shifts. We were part of the night shift. This happened at the request of the camp leader (Lagerführer), because the workers on the night shift were paid more. However, we never saw any of these wages. We got soup in the morning and at midday, and in the evening two hundred grams of bread with some sort of spread. Our working hours lasted from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. At 7:30, we were back in the camp. By the time we received our breakfast, it was 9:00 a.m. Then we were allowed to go to bed. Roll call was at noon. It lasted until 1:30 p.m., then we had lunch and we could rest until 5:00 p.m. At 5:00 p.m., we received our evening meal and then went to work.
>
> The work here was very hard. The salt had to be loaded on small carts. The day shift carried out blasting operations in the salt mine and we had to load the salt at night. Even the Germans would have admitted that such work had never been done by women before. The air was so heavy that we almost choked.[5]

The sisters came from Bergen-Belsen, together with a number of Jewish women from Hungary, at the beginning of December 1944. Choko remembers how horrified the

Hungarian women and girls were on their arrival at the Hambühren camp. At some point in time, a few German Jewish women were also prisoners in Hambühren.

Irma Herzfeld, then the camp elder, observed: "It was the general practice to send all sick women to Belsen in exchange for healthy women."[6] It is known neither how many women were "exchanged" in this way nor how many women died in Hambühren.

In addition to the work in the salt mine, the women had to carry out other duties. They had to construct barracks for the main ammunition factory, lay cables and pipes, sort pieces of coal, and probably even remove rubble caused by bombing near Hannover.[7]

Some of the prisoners had to work for the building enterprise Hoch-Tief: "We mostly worked on the so-called Hoch-Tief railway, working on the tracks. We built this railroad line for the Germans. . . . We then had to carry stones from one side to the other."[8]

The forced labor of the female prisoners could not remain unnoticed by the German population. A female farmer from Ovelgönne recalled after the war: "Camp III was the Jewish camp, mainly occupied by women. They also did road work along the road to Oldau, carried stones, and shoveled sand. Some looked very good, even in their prisoners' uniforms, others bad. . . . The Jewish women that were here worked on the Oldauer Strasse; they unloaded stones and built the foundations for barracks in the excavation."[9] The warehouse administrator of the Wintershall company at the time gives an account of taking the bus to work: "Albert Köhler was with me on the bus. . . . And this street 'Hambühren II' was being built, where the sewers were laid four meters deep. . . . There were these women, Jewish women with their long striped smocks, wooden shoes, and shaven heads. And these SS women walked down the street with riding crops in their hands, such dogs among them. . . . And then Albert Köhler asked: 'Paul, what's all this?' 'These are KZ prisoners,' I answered, 'you can see that. There is a concentration camp in Belsen and this is a subcamp of Belsen.' "[10]

On February 4, 1945, the subcamp Hambühren was dissolved, and the women were sent on foot, some of them possibly also by truck, to Bergen-Belsen. The commander of the subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Reddehase, assumed control of the internal labor detail in Bergen-Belsen. He was indicted by a British military court at the Second Belsen Trial for abuse and murder. In his written deposition, he stated:

> In August 1944, I became chief commander of the labor camp HAMBÜHREN/WALDESLUST. The camp was four hundred strong with Jewish women from Poland and Germany. I was responsible for the work assignments and the general treatment within the camp. The prisoners were treated in a very humane way, and were well off with me. They had to do work clearing rubble. The food was good. Other than some slaps in the face, no one was beaten in the camp. If someone behaved badly, the punishment was solely a reduction of food. . . . In February 1945, I handed my prisoners over to the BELSEN concentration camp and assumed control of the work there, until mid-April 1945.[11]

The unanimous statements of the female witnesses from the Hambühren subcamp on Reddehase's numerous maltreatments, however, led to his conviction and execution.

SOURCES Two essays give a short description of this and the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss," (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, " 'Schwere Balken und Steine . . .': Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen*, *Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 75–76. The subcamp is mentioned briefly in Paul Borstelmann, *Chronik der Einheitsgemeinde Hambühren* (Celle: Verlag Georg Ströher, 1977), p. 115.

No comprehensive collection of documents exists on the subcamp Hambühren. Most of the known sources are cited in the notes. PRO WO 235/154 contains in addition to several affidavits also a few transcripts of testimonies during the trial. Among the British investigation files of the War Crimes Investigation Teams there are further statements in WO 309/433 and WO 309/1698. There is a testimony by Estera Brunstein available at IWM. Some of the testimonies, as well as sources on the history of companies in the area of Hambühren that were involved in the forced labor, are found in Annette Wienecke, *"Besondere Vorkommnisse nicht bekannt": Zwangsarbeit in unterirdischen Rüstungsbetrieben. Wie ein Heidedorf kriegswichtig wurde* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1996), pp. 114, 155. A sketch of the camp is also published herein. Additional documentation is available in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990).

Bernd Horstmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM, London, Archive of Sound Records, No. 9122/5, Reel 4.
2. Memoirs by Isabelle Choko, "Ma première vie" (cited in German translation), 34, BB, Lohheide.
3. Letter by Irma Freudenreich-Herzfeld, January 17, 1995, BB.
4. Ibid.
5. Proceedings by Irán and Edith Grünberger, recorded on August 21, 1945, in Budapest (in Hungarian, cited from the German translation), YV, Jerusalem, No. 015/2825.
6. Deposition of Irma Herzfeld, 6/7/1945, Exhibit 100, PRO WO 309/1697, No. 1 War Crimes Investigation Team.
7. Sworn statement by Bela Gutman, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv BB IRG A1 E.E. Afiki; Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM; letter by Fay Leder, November 16, 1994, BB.
8. Interview with Esther Reiss, 1991, BB, Audio 250 and 251.
9. Frieda Glier, farmer, June 26, 1947, Hanna Füss

collection, AKr-C, File 331–01–4 (compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 9, 91, and 94.

10. Interview with Paul Schang in Celle, BB, Audio 5.

11. Deposition of Karl Heinrich Reddehase, Neumünster, January 30, 1946, Production No. 92c, WO 235/154, Second Bergen-Belsen Trial.

UNTERLÜSS [AKA LAGER TANNENBERG OR ALTENSOTHRIETH]

The firm Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, one of the most important German arms and ammunition producers during the war, had already established a big ammunition factory in Unterlüss, before 1939. In 1944, several camps existed in this area, in which so-called foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiter*), prisoners of war (POWs), and other forced laborers of various nationalities lived.

The Tannenberg camp, where Italian military internees were housed until the middle of the year, was located in the Altensothrieth section of the municipality of Unterlüss. At this camp, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, approximately 400 to 800 Jewish women and girls arrived with a first transport from Auschwitz toward the end of August 1944. Nelly Hronsky and her two sisters were part of this transport. She writes in a letter: "After 2–3 days travel in cattle wagons from Auschwitz we arrived somewhere and marched to the camp. We had no idea where we are. Our transport had about 800 women, better said young girls and very few women. . . . The camp was only for women and all of us were Jews. As far as I can remember, the nationalities were a group of Polish girls; very few from Yugoslavia and our group from Hungary."[1]

Besides these aforementioned nationalities, there were also a few Czech and Romanian women in Unterlüss. Nelly Hronsky's sister, Ilana, describes the camp in a letter:

> The camp was located deep in the woods. As we entered the gate, on our right was a long wooden structure which housed the kitchen. . . . Further up, on the same side where the kitchen was located, was the building of the German Headquarters. . . .
>
> Upon entering the gate, on our left was a fence which divided the part I have described from the barracks of the inmates. There were three barracks called block I, block II and block III. Inside there were bunkbeds and hundreds of us were placed in each of the barracks. I believe block II housed the tiny infirmary which was used only for minor services, such as getting bandages for injuries. Serious health problems were not reported. If they became obvious, the involved persons were taken away and never heard from again. Only after the war did we find out the fate of these girls—they all perished in Bergen-Belsen.[2]

As a rule, the women worked from Monday to Saturday, sometimes also on Sundays. They rose at 5:00 A.M. and received a little bread with some sort of spread before the roll call took place. They then marched, even in the wintry cold, in their convict's garb and wooden shoes to the labor details, which were up to 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) away. Here they had to build roads, remove rubble, lay rails, or fell trees. In the village of Neulüss they had to build the foundations for a new factory building. Rosalyn Gross Haber recalls: "The first thing we did was to dig and build bunkers near the ammunition factory. The bitter cold was always eating at our flesh. . . . When the bunkers were all built, the next job was to work at the ammunition factory on the night shift."[3]

A large number of the women had to work in the ammunition factory from 8:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. In an interview with seven Hungarian survivors from Unterlüss, Ricsy Sommer speaks about the factory work:

> **R.S.:** Everybody tried to get out from the ammunition factory, because we were filling these schrapnels [*sic*] . . . they were on a running band and filling it with this hot phosphor.
>
> **Interviewer:** An assembly line?
>
> **R.S.:** Yes, an assembly line. We turned red and yellow and orange, whatever it was. But it must have been such a dangerous work, that even the Germans . . . they fed us and have a cup of milk every day.[4]

The contact with the poisonous substances and the inhalation of the unhealthy vapors destroyed their health—and of course a glass of milk was not able to cure them.

German citizens from Unterlüss were well aware of the female prisoners. In 1948, two teachers commented on the miserable appearance of the women with their shaved heads during their daily march to work.[5]

In their free time and on Sundays, the women washed themselves and patched their clothes. Hronsky remembers: "In the evenings we would concentrate on trying to keep ourselves clean. The washrooms had cold water only, but we had access to them and we took advantage of it. We were too exhausted to socialize or engage in any activities. Sometimes on Sundays we would gather in the corner of one of the barracks, sing songs we used to know at 'home,' recite poetry and, in general, just to keep our spirits and each other's from sagging."[6] Haber relates that the Hungarian women composed a song about one of the SS women.

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe the religious holidays. Sarah Berkowitz recalls that a few of them fasted during Yom Kippur in 1944.[7] Together with other women in her barrack, Dina Kraus secretly celebrated Seder and said the Haggadah prayer in late March 1945. She had previously written them down from memory in the camp.[8] For a while, Berkowitz kept a kind of

diary, which she destroyed, however, out of fear of discovery by the SS.[9]

There are no precise records on how many transports arrived at or departed from the camp and when these transports took place. The reminiscences of Berkowitz and Regina Goschen indicate that a second transport arrived here by September, with 100 Polish women and girls from the tent camp (*Zeltlager*) at Bergen-Belsen.[10] A report by Rheinmetall-Borsig refers to the "use of eight hundred Jewish women" in September 1944.[11] In the period from October to November, the number was probably around 900 women. It is at least certain that in January 1945, 200 women who were sick and therefore no longer able to work were brought to Bergen-Belsen in completely frozen freight cars.[12] There must have been other losses during the winter, as one of the few surviving documents from the commandant's headquarters at Bergen-Belsen shows that in late February 1945 there were 517 female prisoners still in the Unterlüss subcamp.[13]

During an air raid by Allied troops on the Rheinmetall-Borsig grounds, on April 4, 1945, the ammunition factory was completely destroyed. The village of Unterlüss was hit as well. The SS barred the camp shut, and with that, the deployment of the women came to an end.[14]

On the morning of April 13, 1945, the SS personnel ran from the approaching British troops. When the prisoners became aware of their flight, they seized the food that was in the kitchen. Some women even left the camp.[15] Their freedom was brief, since after a few hours armed German civilians of the Volkssturm (German home guard) arrived and brought the women on trucks to Bergen-Belsen. "Of the original group of 800 out of Auschwitz, perhaps 500 were left alive. The 300 who died, died in Belsen, not Unterlüss."[16]

Of the 3 female and 18 male SS privates who were responsible for the camp,[17] some were identified through British investigations. One of the block elders in Unterlüss, Irene Glück, describes the guards. According to her, the "relatively harmless" camp commandant (Lagerkommandant), SS-Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Diercks, was not interested in the camp activities. The real power was held by the SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Wandt, except for a three-month break from November 1944 to January 1945. During his absence, the SS-Unterscharführer Hans Stecker, supported by the SS female guard Susanne Hille, implemented more brutal treatment of the prisoners. The prisoners feared her as "the Brown one" (or Nazi). This statement was confirmed by the SS guard private Franz Kalitkowski, who was not indicted at the Belsen Trial himself; he further blamed the commander of Bergen-Belsen, Joseph Kramer, for all the crimes.[18]

None of the wanted SS staff from the Unterlüss subcamp were brought to trial.

SOURCES Besides a brief outline on the history of this subcamp by Benjamin Ferencz (in *Less than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002], pp. 150–151), three other short descriptions exist: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, "Die Frauenlager im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 74–75; and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 2, *Niedersachsen I* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984), p. 78.

No significant collection of documents on the Unterlüss subcamp exists. There are some brief accounts by former prisoners at PRO (WO 309/374 and WO 309/1698) and YV (protocol Rozsi Wolf, recorded on July 26, 1945, in Budapest, 015/1772). In the testimonies of higher SS officials, Unterlüss is mentioned as a Bergen-Belsen subcamp: Sworn statement of Karl Sommer, 10/4/1946, StA-N, Nuremberg document NI-1065; testimony of Oswald Pohl, Nuremberg Trials, Case 4: *USA v. Oswald Pohl et al.*, NARA, microfilm M-890. BB holds unpublished correspondence with survivors of the subcamp. In addition to this, prisoner testimonies are found in the following collections: OHPRIHS-CUNY, NIOD, HAF-HDCB. Published documents and testimonies may be found in Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965); Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988); Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990); Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, vol. 3 (German translation from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld) (Tel Aviv, 1996); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

Bernd Horstmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, January 19, 1995, BB, Lohheide, pp. 1–2.

2. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, February 7, 1995, BB (in this letter she also drew a sketch of the camp).

3. Letter by Rosalyn Gross Haber, November 1994, BB.

4. OHPRIHS-CUNY, interviews with Rozsi Furth, Nelly Hronsky, Malcsi Klein, Ricsy Sommer, Goldie Szmuk, Rella Seidenfeld, and Valerie Furth by Prof. Randolph Braham on November 17, 1993.

5. Wilhelm Kröger and Robert Busse, Teachers, 6/2/1948, "Sammlung Hanna Füss," AKr-C, File No. 331–01–4 (Compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited from Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 45, 255.

6. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, BB, 2.

7. Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965), p. 91.

8. Passover Haggadah, handwritten by Dina Kraus, in Hebrew, Unterlüss, Germany, 1944, Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York, in the vitrine "Religion."

9. Berkowitz, *Where Are My Brothers*, pp. 91–92.

10. Ibid., pp. 86–91; Regina Goschen (Gerszonowitz), "Hunger und Kannibalismus," in *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1996), 3: 232–234.

11. Operations Rept., September 1944, Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Unterlüss plant, Unterlüss, November 13, 1944, BA-BL, R 8135, extracts published in Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), p. 345n.31.

12. Protocol Rózsi Moskovits and Aranka Volvovic recorded in Budapest on July 22, 1945, by the Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest, DEGOB No. 1346.

13. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD, C [II] 09/0.3.11.

14. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, BB, annex 2.

15. Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 72–74.

16. Interview with Valerie Jakober Furth, in Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), pp. 432–442.

17. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD.

18. Deposition of Irene Glück, November 8, 1945, PRO, WO 309/425 KZ Bergen-Belsen, General Correspondence (see herein also the Wanted Repts. for H. Stecker, R. Wandt, F. Diercks, and S. Hille); Rept. Personalities at Concentration Camps at Belsen and Unterluess, undated, PRO WO 309/1588, Correspondence re Second Belsen Trial.

BUCHENWALD



"To Each His Own": The camp gate at Buchenwald taken after liberation.
USHMM WS 27068, COURTESY OF AFP

BUCHENWALD MAIN CAMP

The Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the beginning of July 1937 on the climatically harsh north slope of the 478-meter-high (1,568-feet-high) Ettersberg, a hill north of the city of Weimar. The camp was to hold up to 8,000 prisoners, mostly from central Germany (Thuringia, Hessen, the Ruhr, and parts of Saxony), and was to replace several camps such as Bad Sulza, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which were in the process of being dissolved. The immediate reason for the establishment of the camp just north of Weimar was the clay to be found in the area, which could be used for the manufacture of bricks.

The first prisoners arrived at the camp on July 15, 1937. They were confronted with very difficult conditions: they had to clear the forest and construct the barracks and other buildings without excavators, cranes, tip carts, or tractors. These conditions, together with the completely inadequate rations, led to an enormous loss of life during the camp's construction.

The camp was built initially on 104 hectares (257 acres) and later expanded to cover 190 hectares (470 acres). It consisted of 33 wooden barracks, 15 two-story stone buildings, a roll-call square, a prisoners' infirmary (*Revier*), kitchen, laundry, canteen, storerooms, workshops for the camp's tradesmen, a disinfection building, market garden, and various other structures. Additional buildings included a crematorium built in 1940, another disinfection building in 1942–1943, and at the end of 1943 a railway station, as well as a brothel—the first in a concentration camp. About 16 female prisoners, most from Ravensbrück, were forced to prostitute themselves for German and Austrian non-Jewish prisoners and, from 1944 on, for foreign prisoners other than Soviets. The camp was secured by a double electrified barbed-wire fence more than 3 meters (9.8 feet) high and by 22 two-level guard towers.

The camp administration and SS facilities were located outside the prisoners' area. These comprised the command buildings, adjutant's offices, political department (headquarters of the Gestapo), and the SS canteen (*Führerkasino*), as well as administration and operational buildings such as garages, barracks for the commandant's men, workshops, armory, shooting range, central heating station, stables, kennels, and indoor rid-



Post-liberation aerial view of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 42923, COURTESY OF ROBERT MICHAEL MERRITT

ing arena. The SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) 3 "Thüringen" was stationed here; it was responsible for securing the camp. Some of the members of the Standarte were very young and were called up to the front in September 1939. They were replaced by guards from the Concentration Camp Reserve (KL-Verstärkung), who were essentially older SS men, many of whom had been disabled in combat. Beginning in July 1944, more than 2,700 Luftwaffe members were transferred to the guard. By the end of the camp's existence, they were divided into 46 companies each of 150 men and were responsible for the main camp and the subcamps. Buchenwald also was the central base for the Waffen-SS Driver, Training, and Replacement Unit (Kraftfahrt-, Ausbildungs- und Ersatzabteilung). Furthermore, close to the camp were two settlements for SS members and their families, including living quarters for the camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Karl Koch (July 1937 to December 1941) and his successor, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister (January 1942 to April 1945). Buchenwald was a concentration camp, production site, military base, and civilian SS settlement, and in the spring of 1945, it became the last headquarters of the SS-Führungshauptamt.

There were numerous prisoner detachments in the area of the camp. The prisoners were used to clear forests and to work in the quarry detachment (Steinbruchkommando); they worked at the brick mill established in Berlstedt (part of the German Earth and Stone Works, or DESt) in 1938; and they served local firms, for which they constructed the Marschler Settlement in Oberweimar and laid water pipes between Tonndorf and Buchenwald. They worked for the workshops operated by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Grossmarkthalle Weimar. They built gas lines for the Weimar Stadtwerke. Altogether, the prisoners worked at more than 90 locations for employers in Weimar and its surroundings. From 1940 on, there was a branch of the German Equipment Works (DAW) in the camp, where up to 1,400 prisoners worked in meeting SS war needs. In 1942, an armaments factory was established adjacent to the camp, which the SS leased in 1943 to the Weimar Wilhelm-Gustloff-NS-Industriestiftung. In 13 factory buildings, between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners manufactured rifles and carbines, pistols, gun mounts, optical devices, and mechanical parts for the V-1 and V-2 (Vengeance weapons). The factory, secured by an electrified barbed-wire fence and 13 guard towers, was destroyed during an Allied bombing raid on August 24, 1944. Production just about ceased completely.



Prisoners perform forced labor near the entrance to Buchenwald, nd.
USHMM WS # 81241, COURTESY OF IPN

By 1940, construction of the camp was largely completed. Only in 1942–1943 did the camp's character change one more time when it became a main camp and transit camp. Likewise, the number and type of prisoners went through a similar transformation. During the early stages of the camp, German political prisoners formed one of the most important prisoner groups. They arrived with the first transports from Sachsenhausen, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which included leading Communists and other prominent personalities.[1] In the autumn of 1938, prominent Austrians arrived at the camp, including senior officials from the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg governments.

In the years that followed, several special prisons for prominent inmates were established close to the camp. French politicians were held in Falkenhof between 1943 and 1945; between 1942 and 1944 members of the Romanian Iron Guard were held in the "Sonderlager Fichtenhain." Political prisoners and conspirators from the July 20, 1944, coup attempt were held in an isolation barracks. SS detention facilities in a cellar of one of the troop barracks held special Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) prisoners from March 1945 on.

The camp was marked from the beginning by a bitter struggle between the criminal, so-called green prisoners (for the color of badge they wore) and the political or "red" prisoners, over positions in the camp's prisoner administration.[2] By 1943, the Communist prisoners with their allies had control of all the important camp positions, including the camp elder and almost all block elders, as well as foremen in the important detachments. Organized along Stalinist lines, schooled in conspiratorial work, and with the benefit of intensive cooperation before their imprisonment in Buchenwald, the Communists, as one of the most stable groups in the camp, could build an administrative structure that, on the one hand, became indispensable for the SS and, on the other hand, could channel the SS terror. Eugen Kogon, himself a Buchenwald prisoner, stated, "What the Communists did in service of the concentration camp prisoners . . . cannot be valued highly enough."[3] While this monopoly led to privileges held by a specific prisoner group, improved their chances of survival, and resulted in the pragmatic exercise of power, it could not exclude some collaboration with the SS. There also existed, parallel to the prisoner administration, a secret organization of (mostly German) Communists, the International Camp Committee Buchenwald (Internationales Lagerkomitee Buchenwald, ILKB). The ILKB was the largest Communist underground organization within the SS camp system, and it controlled and coordinated the prisoners' activities. This became obvious during the last years of the war, when the 100-strong Lagerschutz,

the camp elder's mobile security force, became operational, including its own sanitation and rescue squads as well as a fire brigade. At least to some extent, the Lagerschutz was able to limit the SS presence in the camp. But this group also served as a supplier for the planned armed uprising by the prisoners, which was to be done on strict military lines with the few weapons that had been smuggled into the camp.[4]

There were not only Communists and criminals in the camp. The many other prisoner groups included Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), deserters, and others deemed "unworthy of military service" (*Wehrunwürdige*). Buchenwald was, in its early phase, the only concentration camp to which the so-called "work-shy" prisoners (*Arbeitsscheue*) were sent. Beginning in 1938, and especially following the 1938 Reich Pogrom (also called *Kristallnacht*), Jews were also sent to the camp. Between November 1938 and February 1939, around 10,000 so-called *Aktionsjuden* were held in a "Pogrom Special Camp" (*Pogromsonderlager*), a barnlike emergency accommodation without heating, windows, or foundations. Many died from the inhuman conditions. A short-lived tent camp was established in September 1939 at the edge of the roll-call square for 400 Viennese and 100 Polish Jews as well as 100 non-Jewish Poles (partisans or so-called *Heckenschützen*). By February 1940, more than 40 percent of these inmates had died.

In addition to these two temporary camps, there were other fenced-off special areas in the camp that served specific purposes. For example, between 1941 and 1945, three barracks held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and several barracks functioned as a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*). With the outbreak of World War II, more and more foreign prisoners were sent to Buchenwald, including Czechs, Slovaks, Dutch, Poles, French, Spaniards, and Soviets: POWs, forced laborers, and resistance fighters.[5] Eventually there were prisoners from 35 nationalities in the camp.



Dutch Jewish prisoners stand at roll call shortly after their arrival, on February 28, 1941, at Buchenwald. The letter "N" stands for the Netherlands.
USHMM WS # 83718, COURTESY OF AG-B

The total population varied between the period of comparative normality, in which the camp held 8,000 to 10,000 inmates, to periods of catastrophic overcrowding. The high point was reached on April 6, 1945, when the camp held roughly 48,000 prisoners. The frequent overcrowding, coupled with the inhuman work, horrific living conditions, and the abysmal hygiene, resulted in epidemics, which at times spread to neighboring villages.

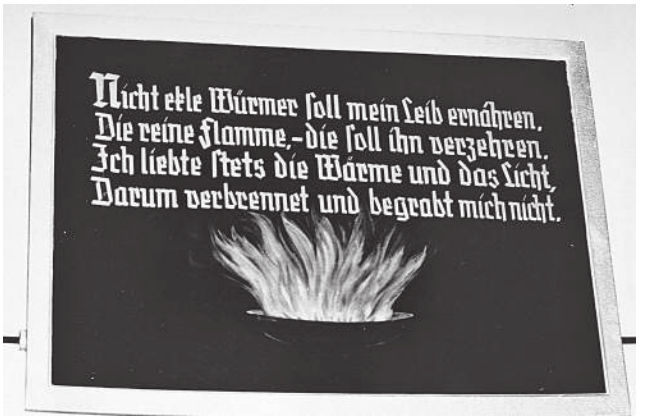
Prisoners did not die just from the extreme work and poor living conditions. They were also deliberately murdered. The nefarious camp punishment system, with hours-long punishment roll calls, punishment labor during rest periods, food deprivation, arrests, and beatings, as well as labor in closed punishment companies (for example, the quarry and market gardens), resulted in physical injuries and exhaustion, which were deadly under the conditions of the camp. In addition, the prisoners were physically mistreated, for example, with "tree hangings" (*Baumhängen*). Occasionally, prisoners were deliberately driven across the sentry line (*Postenkette*) toward the camp fence, which meant that the guards could shoot them without warning. Buchenwald was the first concentration camp where a prisoner was publicly hanged; this took place in 1938, following an escape attempt in which an SS man was killed.

Prisoners were also killed on a much larger scale, however. In 1940, Roma from the Burgenland who were suffering from an infectious eye disease were killed by injection. In the middle of 1941, the same fate met all those prisoners who were obviously suffering from tuberculosis—approximately 500 victims. In 1941–1942, as part of the 14f13 Program, at least six transports with 517 incurable or handicapped prisoners, mostly Jewish, were taken to the euthanasia facilities at Bernburg and Sonnenstein bei Pirna and killed. The murder of prisoners who could no longer work reached its climax at the beginning of 1945, when completely exhausted prisoners from evacuation transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen were selected to be *abgespritzt*, camp slang for death by injection.

Through about 1943, 8,000 Soviet POWs were killed in specially converted stables; they were shot in the neck by members of the so-called Kommando 99 while undergoing a fictitious medical examination. In autumn 1943, 36 Polish officers were hanged, and in autumn 1944, 38 members of Allied secret services were murdered in the camp. These executions took place mostly in the crematorium and its courtyard.

Buchenwald was also one of the execution sites for regional Gestapo offices. Civilians, prisoners, and foreign forced laborers who committed a "crime" were executed here. The most prominent victim of such executions was Ernst Thälmann, chairman of the German Communist Party (KPD) since 1925. He had been interned since 1933 and was murdered in the Buchenwald crematorium on August 18, 1944. Kogon estimates the number executed in Buchenwald at around 1,100.[6]

Medical experiments conducted in the camp also contributed to the number of deaths. Early in 1942, following discussions between government authorities, Wehrmacht offices, representatives of the chemical industry including IG Farben



A sign on the crematorium wall at Buchenwald reads, "No loathsome worms should feast on my body. The pure flames should consume it. I always loved the warmth and light, and for that reason you should not bury but cremate me."
USHMM WS # 06494, COURTESY OF NARA

and Madaus AG, and the SS, Barracks 44 and 49 (later also Barracks 46) were converted into laboratories where the effectiveness of vaccines was tested on prisoners. Initially confined to epidemic typhus, the tests were expanded to include yellow fever, small pox, typhoid, paratyphus A and B, cholera, diptheria, various poisons, phosphorous rubber (the contents of incendiary bombs), and the effectiveness of blood plasma beyond its date of expiration. Block 50 was opened in 1943 by the department of the Institute of Hygiene—Department for Typhus and Viral Research (Hygiene-Institut der Waffen-SS [Berlin] Abteilung für Fleckfieber- und Virusforschung) as a production site for a typhus serum; medical practitioners from the Wehrmacht, the Robert-Koch-Institut in Berlin, and a number of companies were able to work in the guest laboratory (*Gästelabor*). Hundreds of prisoners died during the experiments.

In 1942–1943, the transformation of the camp into a main and transit camp led to the establishment of the so-called Kleines Lager (or small camp). Here, on the one hand, newly arrived prisoners were held in quarantine. On the other hand, the Kleines Lager served as a kind of waiting area for prisoners who had been selected for the work in subcamps. The conditions in the Kleines Lager, which was located in the northern area of the camp barracks, were even worse than in the main camp: it had 12, later 17, Wehrmacht stables, in each of which 1,000 to 1,500 people were accommodated in three- and four-level bunks. Sometimes there were also completely overcrowded army tents, which offered no real protection from the elements. The Kleines Lager was separated from the main camp by a double barbed-wire fence. Severe lack of food and catastrophic hygienic conditions (for example, there was only one mass latrine) turned the Kleines Lager into a camp of death and disease (*Siechen- und Sterbelager*), especially from the beginning of 1945, when it became the favorite depository for prisoner transports arriving from Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz. As the largest remaining concentration camp at this time, Buchenwald was required to take these transports. Within 100 days at the beginning of 1945, more than 5,200 died in Buchenwald. In the week from February 26 to March 2, 1945, 3,096 prisoners died, most of them in the Kleines Lager.[7]

Even the prisoner administration was helpless in the face of these conditions. Nevertheless, Buchenwald remained until the end a place of self-assertion and resistance, as can be seen in many examples, for instance, in the life of the Evangelical priest Paul Schneider[8] or the establishment, from 1943 on, of national prisoner assistance committees that undertook measures to save the lives of children sent to the camp. On the initiative of the camp elder, two *Kinderblocks* were established that held Jewish, Ukrainian, and Russian children, where they were educated in the so-called Poles' School (Polenschule). Nine hundred and four children survived Buchenwald; the youngest, Stefan Jerzy Zweig, son of a Polish Jewish lawyer, was three and a half years old.

The evacuation of the prisoners to Theresienstadt, Dachau, and Flossenbürg was planned for the first few days in April. But the camp elder's influence and the prisoners' passive resistance resulted in the continued delay of evacuation transports so that of the 48,000 prisoners in the camp at this time, only 28,000 were evacuated, mostly Jews and Soviet POWs. It is estimated that about a third of the prisoners did not survive these death marches.

The camp was liberated on April 11, 1945, after about 2,700 of the 3,000 SS men had fled the camp. Around midday, when a U.S. Army tank was seen at the edge of the camp, the military-trained prisoners took action and occupied the camp's guard towers. They patrolled the area around the camp, where they were able to capture around 80 SS guards and make contact with U.S. troops. Care for the approximately 21,000 prisoners who remained in the camp continued in the hands of the prisoner administration even when the U.S. Army officially took over the camp on April 13 and disarmed the prisoners. In the following months, around a quarter of the 4,700 seriously ill prisoners died. In all, approximately 56,000 of the 238,980 male prisoners sent to Buchenwald died.[9] At around 30 percent, Jews were the largest group of dead in Buchenwald. The last prisoners left the camp in July 1945.

Representatives of the SS guards were tried before a U.S. military court after the war in the so-called Buchenwald Trial in 1947. Thirty SS members were tried together with SS-Obergruppenführer Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont, the Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer of Oberabschnitt Fulda-Werra and the highest Buchenwald overlord. Included among the 30 SS members was the SS-Standortarzt Dr. Gerhard Schiedlausky, who was tried separately before a British military court, sentenced to death, and executed. Camp commandant SS-Oberführer Pister was sentenced to death in 1947 but died in prison. Members of the medical personnel were also tried, including Dr. Hanns Eisele, responsible for the murder of those suffering from tuberculosis. Ilse Koch, wife of the SS-Standartenführer and camp commandant Karl Koch, was brought to trial. Her husband had been arrested in December 1941 on suspicion of corruption. As punishment, he was posted to Lublin-Majdanek as commandant of that

camp. He was sentenced to death by an SS police court and executed in April 1945.

The trial ended on August 14, 1947, when 22 death sentences, 5 life sentences, and 4 prison sentences of between 4 and 10 years were handed down. Twenty-five subsequent trials before a U.S. military court in Dachau investigated crimes committed in Buchenwald. By 1951, 9 members of the camp's command and a camp elder had been executed. By the middle of the 1950s, all the convicted were free except for Ilse Koch. Further court proceedings before German courts continued into the 1960s, for example, against Martin Sommer and Ilse Koch at the Bayreuth Landgericht in 1958, and in 1961 against SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer, who had taken part in the murder of Soviet POWs.

SOURCES A bibliography on Buchenwald literature would comprise many volumes. Only a few key resources will be stated here. One of the earliest camp descriptions appeared in English and French with the title *Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany 1938–1939* (London: HMSO, 1939). Six years later, the British Parliament published a report of a parliamentary delegation that inspected the camp: James Richard Stanhope, *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, April 1945). Another important source for the history of the camp is the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), which was based upon 250 individual reports. Many Buchenwald prisoners have published their prison experiences, including Eugen Kogon's sociological analysis, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), which has been reissued numerous times since. It is available in English as *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley, 1984). The Buchenwald concentration camp was used in the GDR as a means to legitimize the Communist struggle against National Socialism. From the early 1950s, publications focused strongly on this part of the camp's history including the brochure published by the Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Buchenwald (Berlin: Kongress-Verlag, 1959). There was a similar focus in the publication in 1958 on the establishment of the Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald: Fritz Cremer, *Das Buchenwald-Denkmal* (Dresden: Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Verlag der Kunst, 1960); and Günther Kühn and Wolfgang Weber, *Stärker als die Wölfe: Ein Bericht über die illegale militärische Organisation im ehemaligen Konzentrationslager Buchenwald und den bewaffneten Aufstand* (1976; rev., East Berlin, 1988). In the following years, the *Buchenwaldheften* published by the Gedenkstätte Buchenwald focused increasingly on less researched aspects of the camp's history. The catalog *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990) updated aspects of research and interpretation. A very critical view of the history of the camp and its prisoner administration based on documents from the Stalinist purges in the GDR in the 1950s is Lutz Niethammer's *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994). The author investigates the postwar careers of former prisoner-functionaries in the Soviet Occupation Zone and later the GDR. The Gedenkstätte Buchenwald has published numerous works on the history of the camp, including specialized themes. A good review on the state of research and a detailed history of the camp is Harry Stein's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 301–356. Harry Stein has written several other essays on the camp, including *Juden in Buchenwald 1937–1942* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1992); (with U. Schneider), *IG Farben—Buchenwald—Menschenversuche: Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Weimar-Buchenwald, 1986); "Die Vernichtungstransporte aus Buchenwald in die 'T4'-Anstalt Sonnenstein," SBGSSS 3 (2001): 29–50; and "Das Sonderlager im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald nach den Pogromen 1938," in *"Nach der Kristallnacht": Jüdisches Leben und antijüdische Politik in Frankfurt am Main 1938–1945*, ed. Monica Kingreen (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 19–54. Information on the camp brothel is to be found in Christa Paul, *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich errichtete Bordelle im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1994); and Christa Schulz, "Weibliche Häftlinge aus Ravensbrück in Bordellen der Männerkonzentrationslager," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen*, *Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen, 1994), pp. 135–146. A review of current questions on archeological research on the camp site is by Ronald Hirt in *Offene Befunde: Ausgrabungen in Buchenwald; Zeitgeschichtliche Archäologie und Erinnerungskultur* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1999). In *Die Inszenierung der Stadt. Planen und Bauen im NS in Weimar* (Weimar, 1999), Karin Loos investigates the relationship between the city and the concentration camp, as does Jens Schley in *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager 1937–1945* (Cologne: Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau-Verlag, 1999). Information on camp commandant Koch is to be found in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), pp. 180–183; and for his wife, Ilse Koch, and her trials at the beginning of the 1950s, see Arthur L. Smith Jr., *Die "Hexe von Buchenwald"* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1983). For further specialized aspects of the camp history, see Katrin Greiser, "Die Buchenwald-Bahn," in *Mohn und Gedächtnis*, ed. Ute Wrede (Ostfildern-Ruit, 1999), pp. 27–60; Wolfgang Röll, *Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1992); Katrin Greiser, "'Sie starben allein und ruhig, ohne zu schreien oder jemanden zu rufen': Das 'Kleine Lager' im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 102–124; and Werner Scherf, *Die Verbrechen der SS-Ärzte im KZ Buchenwald—der antifaschistische Widerstand der Häftlinge im Häftlingskrankenbau*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1987). Buchenwald concentration camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 62; and the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1795.

The extensive collection of original documents in the AG-B collections and at ITS are the most relevant for the reconstruction of the history of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In addition, there are numerous files held in the collections of the ThHStA-W, in particular, NS 4 Bu with its numerous subgroups. See the same collection in USHMMA RG 14.023M, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp.

USHMMA holds other collections on the Buchenwald concentration camp, including RG-04.029*01, Buchenwald construction drawings and a report by the Sixth Service Command from 1944 on conditions in Buchenwald, including statements by early prisoners; RG-09.005*08, USHMC, 1981 International Liberators Conference, Collection: Buchenwald; Acc. 1995.A.049, Alexander Szczucki letter, a description of the camp made shortly after its liberation; RG-02.127; Acc. 1994.A.211, "And where was God?" a 1960 MSS that describes the experiences of a prisoner in Prague, Łódź, Buchenwald, Nordhausen, and Bergen-Belsen; RG-02.166, the memoirs of Benjamin Klotz, 1939–1946, including his arrest and transfer to Buchenwald; RG-55.003*17 Acc. 1992.A.034, correspondence and statement by Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz on music in Buchenwald; and Acc. 1995.A.762, memoirs by Nicholas Burliuk regarding Buchenwald survivors on a hospital ship, as well as countless others. USHMMPA holds a collection of photographs from the time Buchenwald was liberated. Other files are held in NARA, including statements by the former camp commandant, Hermann Pister, to the U.S. military court and other trial documents in RG 153, Records of the JAG, *USA v. Prince von Waldeck, et al.*, in Modern Military Branch; Collection Fourth Armored Division, 604-2.2-Daily Reports, June 1944–May 1945, which includes the report of U.S. Army member Paul Bodot, who as a scout of the Fourth Armored Division of the Third U.S. Army entered the camp; and in RG 33, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, a report by 1st Lt. Egon W. Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, Psychological Warfare Department, Twelfth U.S. Army Group, with the title, "Buchenwald: Ein vorläufiger Bericht" of April 24, 1945. An interesting documentary source is held in the LMRD, a photo album apparently prepared at the request of the SS and titled "Buchenwald Jahresende 1943." Numerous details can be obtained from charges, trial records, and statutory declarations made during the Buchenwald trials, which are also not listed here. A statutory declaration by camp commandant Hermann Pister from July 2, 1945, is found in NO-254. Files on the SS court's investigation into the first camp commandant, Karl Koch, are in BA-B, Signatur NS 71/1020. Aside from Kogon's account, there are numerous autobiographies by Buchenwald prisoners: Benedikt Kautsky, *Teufel und Verdammte: Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus sieben Jahren in deutschen Konzentrationslagern* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1961); Julius Freund, *O Buchenwald* (Klagenfurt: Self-published, 1945); Moritz Zahnwetzer, *KZ Buchenwald: Erlebnisbericht* (Kassel-Sandershausen, 1946); Alfred Bunzol, *Erlebnisse eines politischen Gefangenen im KZ Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1946); Walter Poller, *Arztschreiber in Buchenwald* (Hamburg: Phönix-Verlag Christen & Co., 1946); Ernst Wiechert, *Der Totenwald* (Zurich: Rascher-Verlag, 1946) (which was written in 1939); and Wiechert, *Häftling Nr. 7188: Tagebuchnotizen und Briefe* (Munich, 1966); Isa Vermehren, *Reise durch den letzten Akt: Ein Bericht* (Hamburg: C.-Wegner-Verlag, 1946); Jorge Semprun et al., *Was für ein schöner Sonntag* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999), originally available in English as *What a Beautiful Sunday*! (San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); and Semprun, *Schreiben oder Leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1995). Other survivors' memoirs are Karl Barthel, *Rot färbt sich der Morgen: Erinnerungen* (Rudolstadt, 1959); Abram Korn, *Abe's Story: A Holocaust Memoir* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1995); Giovanni Marcato, *Buchenwald il mio nome era 34989* (Treviso: Canova-Verlag, 2000); and Paul Vicctor, *Buchenwald: A Survivor's Memoir* (Tucson, AZ: Wheatmark, 2006). The former prisoner Bruno Apitz has provided a lasting but heroic memorial to the Communist resistance in the camp in his novel *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Halle an der Saale: MitteldeutscheVerlag, 1958), which has been translated into many languages.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For a list of prominent Buchenwald prisoners including biographical details, see Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed. *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 293–305; and Lutz Niethammer, *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994), pp. 493–519.

2. The early literature calls this administrative system the "Häftlingsselbstverwaltung." Harry Stein correctly points out that the functionaries only had a degree of autonomy, and this did not in any way reach the level of prisoner self-administration. See Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 333.

3. Eugen Kogon, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), p. 330.

4. Although there is not room for a detailed examination of the issue here, the reader should know that the resistance's scope and degree of organization are disputed.

5. For more exact numbers, see *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), pp. 23–54; *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition*, pp. 60–85, 152–176.

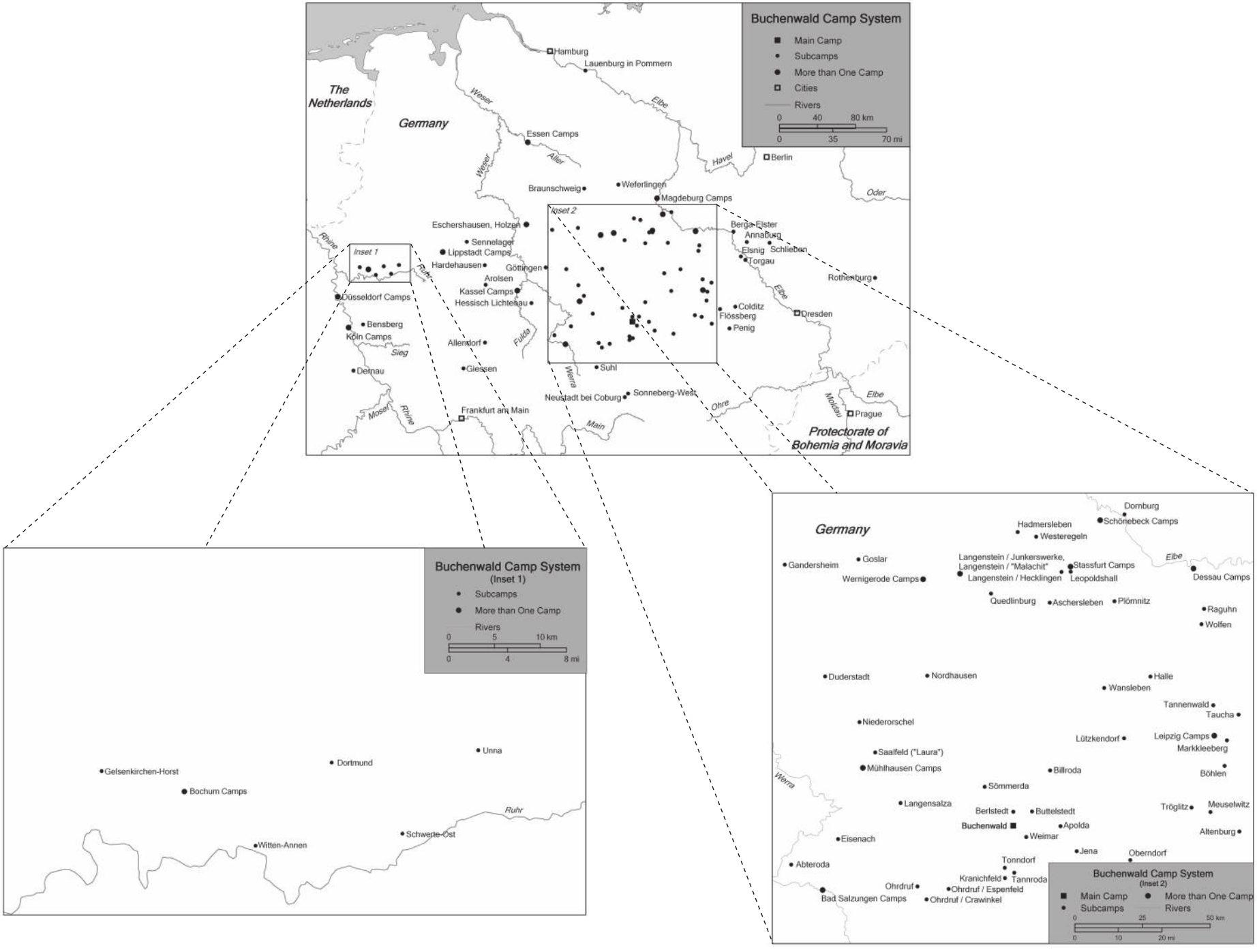
6. Kogon, *Der NS-Staat*, p. 166.

7. The high number of dead is not only due to the generally catastrophic conditions in the camp but also to the mass killing of prisoners by injection of those who arrived on the evacuation marches from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen in the camp in a completely weakened state. The number of the dead was 3,096, according to the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), p. 7.

8. See *Der Prediger von Buchenwald: Das Martyrium Paul Schneiders*, intro. by Heinrich Vogel (Berlin, 1953); and Claude R. Foster, *Paul Schneider, the Buchenwald Apostle: A Christian Martyr in Nazi Germany; A Sourcebook on the German Church Struggle* (West Chester, PA: West Chester University Press, 1995).

9. This number is an estimate based upon the following: the number of registered dead to the end of March 1945 (33,462); 913 dead between April 1 and 10, 1945; around 27,000 prisoners who died in the Buchenwald subcamps, around 8,000 shot Soviet POWs, 1,100 other executions, and around 12,000 victims on the evacuation marches, as estimated in Stein in Benz and Distel, *Ort des Terrors*, p. 347.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)



BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The subcamp complex of the Buchenwald concentration camp developed in similar ways to other subcamp systems in the Nazi concentration camp system, especially in relation to the administration's changing labor needs. Due to an ever-increasing demand for armaments production as the war continued, the camps were restructured to provide a supply of laborers to support the war economy. In 1942, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) was subsumed within the new SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the camps previously under the IKL were administered under WVHA Office Group D. WVHA chief Oswald Pohl entered into negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry to use prisoner labor to produce munitions. By September 1942, it was determined that renting out camp inmates to private and state-run armaments manufacturers was more economical. To lessen transportation time and increase cost-effectiveness, inmates were to be housed in subcamps that would be created at the work sites.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Buchenwald camp system included over 130 subcamps (including subcamps attached to subcamps), opened between 1940 and 1945.[1] The Buchenwald subcamps were under the control and administration of the main camp and the WVHA. Private firms generally paid the WVHA 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day and 6 RM per skilled worker per day. SS-run enterprises had special "rental" agreements: for example, the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW) and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) paid the WVHA 0.35 RM for an unskilled worker and 1.50 RM for a skilled worker per day.[2] The SS and SS-owned industries such as DESt and DAW made enormous profits from the use of prisoner labor; one estimate states that the hiring of prisoners from Buchenwald from June 1943 to February 1945 earned the SS 95,758,843 RM.

The subcamps of Buchenwald could be classified into six main categories, depending on the type of work assignment of the prisoners, according to the postwar testimony of the Buchenwald chief of labor allocation, Albert Schwartz: those classified under a private firm's notation; those grouped under the operation of Office Group D of the WVHA; "A" projects, which were secret construction efforts realized by WVHA Office Group C, for example, at Rottleberode and Hadmersleben, and were code-named A1, A2, etc.; "B" projects, secret above-ground construction projects also led by Office Group C, for example, at Langenstein; "S" projects, special top-secret construction projects, such as SIII in Ohrdruf; as well as other special construction efforts and manufacturing satellites, which were linked directly with the production and testing of V-weapons, such as Dora (before it became an independent camp in October 1944) and "Laura"/Saalfeld.[3] One of the first major subcamps of Buchenwald was created at the nearby Weimar Gustloff-Werke in February 1942, to which inmates were supplied to produce arms.

The few subcamps attached to Buchenwald and created prior to 1942 were generally assigned to special tasks for SS-run enterprises or institutions—for example, the inmates who were sent to work at a bakery that supplied bread for the SS in Apolda or those detailed to construction work at an SS officers' school in Lauenburg. These projects were generally temporary, and the camp's existence was relatively shorter, often being set up again in the same location at a later date (see, for example, Tonndorf and Berlstedt). Most camps were created after 1942, with the majority being opened in the latter half of the war. Work in the subcamps varied but was most often related to munitions production, construction, or the transfer of armaments factories to underground facilities. In some of the camps, construction work involved building the barracks in which the prisoners themselves would live, such as at Gandersheim and Leipzig-Thekla. In other camps, like Lützkendorf, inmates had to clear rubble after air raids or reconstruct bombed-out buildings. Some of the largest subcamps in the Buchenwald camp system were those that dedicated prisoner labor to the creation of subterranean production facilities and the transfer of manufacturing plants into them, especially for aircraft production, such as the massive efforts in the Harz Mountains that used labor from camps in and around Halberstadt. Because Allied air raids had become more and more precise, in 1944 either defunct mines with structural upgrades were used to house the production facilities or entirely new spaces were blasted from and reinforced in mountain interiors—these transfer operations required large amounts of manual labor, provided by subcamps such as those in Halberstadt, Westeregeln, Wansleben, and Stassfurt.

Inmates were transferred to the Buchenwald subcamps generally from the main camp but also from other camps, for example, Sachsenhausen, Gross-Rosen, Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The inmates were often selected on the basis of reported skilled labor experience, sometimes by representatives of the firms themselves. In some cases, inmates from one subcamp were transferred to other subcamps within the camp complex, especially if the type of labor was similar. The inmate population was diverse and held many different types of prisoners, including Russian prisoners of war (POWs), so-called *Berufsverbrecher* or "professional criminals," common law prisoners, "asocials," homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, and Jews. Inmates came from all over Europe. Some subcamps, such as Leopoldshall, were camps consisting of mainly Jewish inmates (and referred to in notation as "Jüdische Aussenkommandos").[4] In 1944 and early 1945, thousands of Jewish women were also sent to Buchenwald satellite camps to work in munitions factories, including many Hungarian Jewish women (from May

1944 on). Some camps, such as Abteroda, Aschersleben, Essen, and Dortmund, had both men's and women's camps. As of August 1944, when evacuations of camps in the west close to the front brought additional inmates to Buchenwald, the subcamps held some 43,500 inmates.

Working and living conditions within the camps were generally terrible, and inmates received the bare minimum of food rations, clothing, and shelter. In most cases, they were subject to the cruelties of the SS as well as prisoner overseers (Kapos) and foremen at the workplaces. Outbreaks of various diseases, such as dysentery and typhus, were common. The infirmaries of the subcamps, which were ill-equipped to manage the severely declining health of the inmates, served as transfer points—those inmates who were too ill to return to work were sent back to Buchenwald, where they generally died in the main camp infirmary. The creation of subcamps also allowed for some general changes in the prisoners' overall living conditions. For example, at the workplace they often came into contact with German civilian workers, which resulted in a few cases either in some sort of assistance (sneaking food, for instance) or in malicious behavior toward the inmates (such as reporting alleged sabotage to the foremen)—but generally more often the presence of the inmates was met with indifference. The creation of the subcamps also allowed for contact with the anti-Nazi underground, raising the possibility of participating in resistance activities, as well as an increase in the escape rate and in organized and individual forms of sabotage, either by directly destroying parts or machinery or purposefully slowing the work pace.

In February 1945, the Buchenwald camp complex was the largest remaining camp, in which 112,000 people were imprisoned in the main and subcamps. One-third of those imprisoned were Jews. As the front drew closer, the dissolving of those Buchenwald subcamps still in existence by the spring of 1945 (at least 95, including subcamps attached to subcamps) began in March and April of that year. Others were dissolved and transferred in January and February 1945 (8), and still others had been evacuated earlier, many in late 1944 (21). In the spring of 1945, the subcamps were either evacuated back to the main Buchenwald camp or in other directions and to other camps, depending on the position of Allied troops. For example, the men from the Abteroda and Mühlhausen camps were sent back to Buchenwald, but the women inmates were transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Eisenach. Between February and April 1945, it has been estimated that some 25,109 inmates were evacuated toward the Buchenwald camp. Thousands of inmates died in the terrible conditions of evacuations, which were generally guarded forced marches in columns over long distances, with little food, shelter, or rest. In some subcamps inmates, especially those too ill or weak to be evacuated, remained behind. In some cases, prior to the departure of the evacuation marches, many of these inmates were rounded up and executed (see, for example, Ohrdruf and Leipzig). Other inmates died from exhaustion, hunger, and air raids, until the camps were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources specifically focused on the Buchenwald subcamps; however, works more generally focused on the Buchenwald complex give overall insight into the workings and organization of the subcamp system. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Both contain important published primary resources related to the subcamps. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS); and Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999). Enno Georg's *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963) describes inmate labor used at SS-owned enterprises. See also Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999); and Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Forced Labor and Sabotage in the Nazi Concentration Camps," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), also provides a good overview of labor in the subcamps. Finally, for a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, names of firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary source documentation generated about the subcamps includes numerous oral history collections and testimonies, including those stored at USHMMA, as well as other oral history repositories around the world. Testimonies taken from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees in 1945 and 1946 are particularly relevant to satellites that employed mainly Hungarian Jews (for example, Sömmerda and Markkleeberg); the MZML contains thousands of such reports recorded by the relief agency DEGOB. Transport lists to and from the subcamps, which yield information about demographics, camp size, and so on, can be found in the AN-MACVG and copied at USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also administrative documentation mentioning the subcamps in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA RG 14.023M. The AG-B and AG-MD are also a resource for documentation and information on the subcamps.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951); repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

2. Herbert Weidlich (April 1945), "Aussenkommandos: Bericht über das Kommando Arbeitstatistik KZ Buchenwald," in, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

3. "Aus der eidesstattlichen Erklärung des Arbeitseinsatzführers im KZ Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, im Prozess IV," in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1983), p. 286.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Bartel. *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1960), p. 252.

ABTERODA (MEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) sometime in July 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the production of aircraft engine parts. The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which "rented" inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Abteroda subcamp was code-named "Anton" or "An" in related documentation. See also Buchenwald/Abteroda (Women).

One of the first transports to the Abteroda Anton subcamp left the Eisenach subcamp (which had also provided labor to BMW) with 79 inmates on July 31, 1944.[2] The average strength of the Abteroda men's camp was about 230 inmates, and the camp population remained relatively constant until its closing in April 1945. Other smaller transports arrived in Abteroda from Buchenwald and from Eisenach throughout the camp's operation. Frequently inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald if they were too ill to continue to work, where they were exchanged for "healthier" inmates.[3] On March 17, 1945, 40 inmates may have been transferred to Berka, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Tonndorf, from Abteroda, although the transport list is not specific about the origin of the transfer.[4] Although there is not a breakdown of nationalities on the transport lists, the inmates appear to be mostly French, Russian, German, Italian, and Polish. All of the inmates were male.

The inmates were assigned to work in underground construction installations for the BMW firm as well as in the above-ground production of aircraft engine parts. Like other armaments facilities in late 1943 and 1944, labor at the Abteroda subcamp was targeted to transferring armaments production underground to protect it from Allied bombing, which had increased in the latter half of the war. The inmates were housed in two munitions halls, which were surrounded by 2-meter-high (6.6-foot high) fencing and flanked by four guard towers. Contact between the different categories of workers (concentration camp inmates, foreign workers, and so on) at the firm was strictly forbidden. Further information on living and working conditions within the camp, as well as possible resistance or escape attempts on the part of the inmates, is not available.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda men's camp. According to transport lists and inventories signed by the head of the work camp, it appears that one SS-Hauptscharführer John was the commandant of the camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda men's camp was headed by an SS doctor named Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. According to the report, there were 52 guard troops in the camp and 230 inmates at this time.[5]

The Abteroda subcamp was dismantled in early April 1945 due to the closing in of the front. The inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald in two stages, on April 4 and April 8. The only postwar trial proceeding related to the Abteroda camp was a preliminary investigation led by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1966 into murderous treatment by the SS personnel in the camp. However, the results of the investigation were inconclusive, and the process was ended in 1967.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda men's subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce; however, much of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Bu 44. Some published documents are available in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Folgende Häftlinge wurden am 31 Juli 1941 von Arbeitskommando nach . . . ," Eisenach, July 31, 1944 (BU 44), AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. See transport lists, collection "Anton" Abteroda, (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "Transport Berka," March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm-und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," 1/31/1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald*, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ABTERODA (WOMEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald for women inmates was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) in October 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an

agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which "rented" inmates to the firm at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Abteroda subcamp was code-named "Anton" or "An" in related documentation.

The women were transported from Ravensbrück and women's subcamps of Buchenwald, such as Torgau, to Abteroda to work for BMW in the production of chemicals for blasting agents. For example, 125 women were transferred from Ravensbrück to Abteroda on February 19, 1945.[2] The average strength of the prisoner population in the Abteroda women's camp reached between 200 and 250 inmates. The inmates were also sent from Abteroda to other women's subcamps of Buchenwald, including Markkleeberg.

Few details about the working and living conditions within the Abteroda women's camp are available. According to one French former prisoner, Jacqueline Fleury, the inmates had to work very hard in all kinds of weather, whether or not they were ill or weakened. She recalled fellow camp inmates who persisted daily with tuberculosis and other diseases, and she herself suffered from dysentery prior to her deportation from Torgau to Abteroda. She noted that on Christmas Eve 1944, several prisoners gathered together with smuggled materials to build a crèche to celebrate the holiday. At no other time, she recalled, did she witness the other women in the camp crying except on that night. She also remembered that the women forged bonds of solidarity among themselves (most likely along national lines), which helped them withstand the daily cruelties and hardships of camp life. They sang songs, recited poetry, and told stories about their "own corners of France."[3]

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda women's camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda women's camp (listed under "Aryan women's camps") was headed by SS doctor Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. These were the same names listed for the Abteroda men's camp, which suggests that the camps may have shared some facilities and administration. According to the report, there were 13 SS guards in the camp, 9 female guards *(Aufseherinnen)*, and 249 inmates at this time.[4]

The women's subcamp in Abteroda was evacuated in early April 1945 to the area of Eisenach.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda women's subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, 8. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. For the testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, a former prisoner in the camp, see materials related to the online exhibition *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald* at the Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm. This testimony and other documentation are also stored in the archives of ADIRN. Some documents are reproduced in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983); and in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. KL Buchenwald Häftlingsverwaltung: Vermögensangelegenheiten von Häftlingen, 1944–45, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, Fiche 1, p. 1.

3. Testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald*, online exhibition, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm; and also in the ADIRN archives.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald*, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ALLENDORF [AKA MÜNCHMÜHLE]

The Münchmühle camp, named after the nearby mill on the Münchbach, was located on the former Reichstrasse from Kirchhain to Neustadt, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) southwest of Allendorf.

The camp was built at the beginning of 1940 and consisted of 26 barracks. Civilian forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and units of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) were all accommodated there. For the period between August 1944 and the end of March 1945, the Münchmühle camp, with 1,000 female prisoners selected from Auschwitz, served as a subcamp to Buchenwald concentration camp. At the end of March 1945, the detachment was evacuated.

Due to the lack of labor, civilian forced laborers, POWs, and criminals were increasingly used in the armaments industry, and from 1942 on, more and more concentration camp inmates were used as well.[1] To fulfill arms orders, the management of the Allendorf factory applied for prisoners.

On June 6, 1944, a discussion took place in Allendorf between the camp commander (Lagerkommandant) of Buchenwald, Pister, and the managing director of the Allendorfer Verwertchemie, Ringleb. The memorandum about the discussion states that the female prisoners should be assigned to earthmoving, assembly lines to fill shells and bombs, and the laundry and tailor shop areas.[2] In order to improve the consistency of the work, the working hours were to be extended from three shifts in 24 hours to two shifts of 12 hours each. It was further intended to recruit female supervisors from the plant and to build an electric fence. For manufacturing and unloading work, managing director Ringleb wished, however, to have male prisoners. The pay was set at 3 or 5 Reichsmark (RM). In reality, however, the SS calculated a daily rate of 4 RM per day per prisoner for unskilled laborers.[3] In addition to the memorandum on the Allendorf discussion, another document exists that shows that there were problems between the SS and the factory.[4] At the time, the Allendorf factory was unable to supply the number of female supervisors required by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In addition, Pister criticized the demand of the factory management to set forth the use of prisoners in a contract, claiming that so far it had been possible to come to an understanding with all of the many other firms that used prisoners from Buchenwald concentration camp without a contract. Considering that both sides profited from the trade in humans, the profiteers did not need written agreements, and the industry was thus able to create the myth that the prisoners were "forced on them" by the SS.

The statistical evaluation of the prisoners' ages is based on two different lists.[5] The transport list of August 13, 1944, stems from Auschwitz and includes the surnames, first names, dates of birth, and professions of the women. On October 20, 1944, the Buchenwald administration, which was responsible for the Münchmühle subcamp, compiled a new list based on the August list, which shows in addition the towns in Hungary from which the women originated. A comparison of the two versions reveals that three women named on the Auschwitz list do not reappear in the Münchmühle subcamp.[6] They had been replaced by three other prisoners, probably in Auschwitz. A correction of this, as well as of any misspelled names, took place only on October 12, 1944, when the unit commander (Kommandoführer) of the Allendorf labor detail sent 1,000 personnel files to the commander's headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of Buchenwald.[7]

The Buchenwald list was used for the analysis of the age breakouts.[8] It shows that the average age of the prisoners at the end of the war was 27.25 years. The oldest was 53, and the youngest, 15. More than 50 percent were between 15 and 25 years of age.

At the end of the war, a third version of the list was prepared, probably by the U.S. Army, which included additional information on the accommodation of the female prisoners during the first weeks after the war and on pregnant or deceased prisoners. According to this list, the following changes can be noted: On October 27, 1944, five pregnant women were returned through the Mühlhausen labor detail to Auschwitz. On November 8, 1944, one woman died due to the working conditions.[9] On December 23, 1944, a woman from the labor detail Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH, Leipzig (ATG-Leipzig) was transferred to Allendorf, and on January 26, 1945, a transport brought two women to Bergen-Belsen. At the time of evacuation, there were 993 prisoners in the Allendorf detachment.[10]

The claim vouchers (*Forderungsnachweise*) of the personnel administration in Buchenwald were based on the daily deployment reports (*Einsatzmeldungen*) from Allendorf. From these reports, the number of days worked could be calculated, which were then multiplied by the "salary" of 6 RM per day for skilled or 4 RM for unskilled workers. In the case of the Buchenwald subcamps, women were classified as unskilled laborers.[11] This amount was then charged to the armament plants. Daily deployment reports exist only for the month of August—and specifically for August 17 on and hence one day after the arrival of the transport.[12] For the time between August 1944 and the end of February 1945, the SS charged the Allendorf factory a total of nearly 650,000 RM.[13] Prisoners worked six days a week[14] in various shifts of 12 or 8 hours with a 30-minute break. Work was done in different departments of the factory, such as the laundry, the tailor shop, and the assembly lines for filling explosives. The 1944 annual report of the factory states that management was extremely satisfied with the work of the prisoners: "The experiences gained through the use of Jewesses since August last year are entirely satisfactory. The filling of the fifteen centimeter shells, weighing almost fifty kilograms, was accomplished with best results by Jewish female prisoners."[15] The working conditions on the filling lines were by far the hardest and accompanied by extreme health risks. "My face turned yellow from the poison, from inhaling it and we were extremely undernourished and weak,"[16] one of the women wrote. A postwar report states that "the work consisted of filling bombs and shells with explosives. These shells weighed 40 kg. And each prisoner had to handle 1000 of them per day."[17] A few women, for the most part the youngest, were assigned to work in the camp. Others reported working on farms, where in most cases the working conditions and food were better. The women who had been assigned to the filling lines suffered all their lives from health problems as a result of handling explosives.

The camp was fenced in, and male guards from Buchenwald and to some extent women employed by the Allendorf factory watched over the prisoners. Shortly before the dissolution of the camp, there were 46 SS privates and 47 female guards, two female doctors, and eight orderlies for the prisoners.[18] The majority of the women described the unit commander, Hauptscharführer Adolf Wuttke, as "humane," while they characterized his deputy, Ernst Schulte(r), as brutal.

On March 27, 1945, the camp was evacuated in the face of the approaching American troops. From the files it is no longer possible to determine the destination of the evacuation march. The march first headed east, toward Ziegenhain, and then northeast, toward Fritzlar. Throughout the march, groups of prisoners ran off, as did guards. The whole detach-

ment eventually dissolved. Investigations by the district attorney's offices in the early 1970s did not reveal any indications of homicides, so that in November 1971, the case was dismissed.[19] The surviving women were cared for by the American troops and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and were lodged in public buildings or with German families until a return to their homes or other countries could be organized.

Among the investigation files of the district attorney's office exists a list with names of 45 female guards. Eighteen of these women had been interned previously in various camps. Three women, including the head female guard, were sentenced by the women's chamber court of the Darmstadt camp to several years in a labor camp. All of the interned or convicted women, however, were released after serving sentences ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 years.[20] The commander of the Münchmühle subcamp, Wuttke, was the only member of the male guard force convicted. In the Dachau war crimes trial, he was sentenced to 4.5 years of confinement for beating prisoners in Buchenwald.[21]

SOURCES The source material available in the 1980s was not as comprehensive as it is presently. First, there are the papers of two school students, which deal with the everyday life and work of the forced laborers as well as with the subcamp. Both studies, part of a federal competition on German history, were awarded prizes by the president of the Federal German Republic and served as catalysts for further research and publications. These include: Harald Horn, *Allendorf unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Marburg, 1986); and Bernd Klewitz, *Die Münchmühle: Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Marburg, 1988). In particular, the public interest generated by the school studies led to the creation of a memorial on the site of the former Münchmühle camp.

A week of seminars and meetings in autumn 1990 resulted in the publication, created at the request of the former camp prisoners, Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf und Förderverein für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte 1933–1945 e.V., eds., *Dokumentation der Internationalen Tage der Begegnung in Stadtallendorf: KZ-Aussenlager Münchmühle/Nobel vom 21. bis 26.10.1990* (Stadtallendorf, 1991). The plans for a DIZ-St progressed considerably as a result of that week, because after their visit in autumn 1990 the women provided numerous reports, documents, photographs, and exhibits for the permanent exhibition and archive. The DIZ-St was inaugurated in autumn 1994, and a catalog was published: Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf, *Ausstellungskatalog des DIZ*, ed. Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch (Stadtallendorf, 1994).

Since then, the DIZ has been a central site in the district Marburg-Biedenkopf where visitors are informed about Nazi history and its aftermath.

The most important primary sources are at the archive of YV and the THStA-W. The DIZ-St is a memorial located at a large former site of the Nazi explosives industry. Accordingly, the DIZ archive has photocopies not only of the archival documents on the Münchmühle camp but also of many other camps from federal, state, and private archives, as well as the NARA in Washington, D.C., on the history of both Allendorfer Sprengstoffwerke (explosives factories) and the related deployment of several thousand forced laborers. In addition, the archive holds numerous accounts of the former prisoners of the Münchmühle camp.

For information on the perpetrators, the files at the ZdL, the investigation files of the district attorney's office in Marburg, and the relevant archival documents at the AG-B were evaluated.

Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991), pp. 283–285.
2. Historical Section 7, File 149, YV.
3. THStA-W, Collection NS 4 Buchenwald, No. 8.
4. Ibid., letter by commander Pister to the director of the factory, Ringleb, September 8, 1944.
5. Copies of the three lists are at the DIZ-St.
6. This concerns Rosalia Aromovits, born on May 10, 1924; Magda Kun, born on April 7, 1920; and Ella Sajovits, born on October 25, 1925.
7. Basic Documents on Buchenwald 46, File 322, YV. A further adjustment of numbers and names was made by the personal effects storeroom (Effektenkammer) on November 3, 1944, Basic Documents on Buchenwald 20, File 172, YV.
8. In more than 30 cases, there are variations in both lists on the birthdates from 1 to 20 years, which are impossible to clarify.
9. In the death certificate in the municipality of Allendorf, the cause of death is indicated as "hemolytic icterus"; that is, the handling of highly toxic explosives most likely caused the death of Mrs. Hauer. Death Certificate Jolan Hauer, DIZ-St.
10. All details are from the Historical Section No. 12, File 160, YV.
11. Handwritten note in the Labor Statistics for Buchenwald, September 1, 1944, where the address of the Allendorf detachment, also written by hand, appears: "Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., Allendorf district Marburg." THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 8.
12. Labor detail KZ Allendorf from August 17 to 31, 1944, KZuHaftaBu 269/VIII, THStA-W.
13. Claim vouchers of the commander's headquarters KZ Buchenwald from August 1944 to February 1945; no evidence was found for March 1945. Historical Section No. 19, files 190–191, Historical Section No. 20, Files 192–193, YV.
14. As of mid-October 1944, smaller groups of prisoners (20–40) worked on Sundays as well; and between mid-January and late February 1945, much larger groups (400–700) worked on Sundays. See note 13.
15. Annual Report 1944, Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., DIZ-St.
16. Communication from Elisabeth Berkovics, October 1987. In 1987, the city of Stadtallendorf organized a questionnaire, asking, among other things, about the living and working conditions of the prisoners in the Münchmühle detachment. The partially very detailed answers and reports are at the DIZ-St.
17. Report by J.A. Boucherat, French Liaison Officer, April 4, 1946; ZdL, Investigation Files IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, pp. 14–16.
18. Strength report of the Allendorf work camp from March 20, 1945, Historical Section No. 12, File 163, YV.

19. District attorney's office at the regional court of Marburg, Murder Investigation against "unknown," Js 400/70.

20. ZdL, Investigation File IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, vols. 1–6.

21. Record of Trial in the Case of *U.S. vs. Adolf Wuttke, German National* (Case No. 000-Buchenwald-40), AG-B.

ALTENBURG (MEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. About four months after a camp for women was opened in Altenburg, a camp for men was opened on November 27, 1944, when 50 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald. The camp for men, as with the camp for women, was established at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG), where the prisoners were deployed in armaments manufacture. The men's camp remained considerably smaller than the women's camp, which in large part was due to the fact that the male prisoners were seen as auxiliary labor for the women's camp. They were used in place of the women for the most difficult physical labor. The men, as with the women, worked in two shifts each of 12 hours assembling antitank grenades (*Panzerfäuste*) and shell casings. The organizational dependence upon the women's camp is reinforced by the fact that the men's camp, as with the women's camp, was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch.

HASAG was founded in 1863. At the end of the nineteenth century it was regarded as one of the world's most significant producers of petroleum burners. Just as it did during World War I, HASAG from 1933 switched its production to armaments, a more successful and lucrative area. HASAG became one of the most important armaments producers in the Third Reich and the General Government. In September 1944, the firm, at the request of Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, developed and put into production the Panzerfaust. Therefore, HASAG was given special authority to enable it during the winter of 1944–1945 to establish new production facilities and to open new subcamps. HASAG and its managing director, Paul Budin, relied heavily on concentration camp inmates for the required labor. Budin had promised Heinrich Himmler already in June 1944 to supply his forces with weapons and munitions, especially the Panzerfaust. Speer's authorization for the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust had the result that the HASAG was ensured the primary position in the list of the Wehrmacht's priority projects. In November and December 1944, the HASAG produced, according to Martin Schellenberg in his study on the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust, more than a million Panzerfäuste, relying on the brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners to do so. In the month of November 1944 alone, 300,000 Panzerfäuste were delivered directly to Himmler's SS.

In the middle of February 1945, a transport of 33 male prisoners increased the number of prisoners in the subcamp to more than 80. Another 115 prisoners arrived in the middle of March 1945. Among them were many Jews from Germany, Poland, Latvia, and Hungary as well as stateless people. The total number of inmates in the camp varied, as sick prisoners who were no longer capable of working were transferred back to the main camp in exchange for new prisoners.

Survivors reported being given a minimum of food—less than 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a watery soup each day.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 12, 1945. It occurred in several small groups.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the Altenburg (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 365–366. Details on HASAG and its subcamp have been taken from the following: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, in particular pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil I, 1787.

The USHMMA holds the accounts of two survivors in its collections: the Lazar/Grünstein collection, and the memoirs of Sandor Stern, Acc.1995.A646. Other archival material on the subcamp is located in the collections of the AG-B; in the NS4 (Bu) Collection of the BA-K; and the ITS, Arolsen, such as ITS Buchenwald 292.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ALTENBURG (WOMEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. On August 1, 1944, a women's subcamp was established at the Altenburg branch of Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG). Although the subcamp received its work instructions from the Buchenwald concentration camp, it remained until August 31, 1944, under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The first transport of 850 female prisoners from Ravensbrück consisted of 727 Poles, 108 Soviets, 8 French, as well as Italians, Czechs, Norwegians, Hungarians, and Croatians. Shortly thereafter, two additional transports of female prisoners arrived, but this time from the HASAG subcamp in Buchenwald/Schlieben: 752 women on August 17, 1944, and 327 women on August 21, 1944. The last transport included mostly Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) from different European countries but also Soviet, French, and Yugoslav women. Five hundred Hungarian Jewish women arrived on September 5, 1944. On September 6, 600

Polish women, who had fallen into German hands during the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, were sent to Altenberg. Most of these prisoners had arrived at Ravensbrück via Auschwitz. A camp population report (*Bestandsmeldung*) dated September 7, 1944, lists 2,440 women, including 1,652 political female Poles, 500 Jews, and 288 "Gypsies." On the same day, 500 women from Altenburg were sent to Buchenwald/Taucha, where a new HASAG women's subcamp had been established. This transport is an example of the intensive exchange of prisoners within the HASAG system of subcamps. On October 12, 1944, another transport of 500 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived at Altenburg.

The subcamp was guarded by 34 SS men and 32 SS women. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch, who as Blockführer in Buchenwald had begun his infamous career. Survivors have described Frötsch and the Oberaufseherin, Elisabeth Rupper, also from Auschwitz, as brutal. Without reason, the prisoners were subject to punishment, which included whippings and confinement. Especially feared were the whippings, which often meant 25 blows with a cane.

The women were accommodated in a stone building, which was probably a former factory building. In the lower ground floor there were washing facilities including showers; in the upper floors were the dormitories, equipped with the typical concentration camp three-level bunk beds as well as tables and benches. The women slept in extremely cramped quarters; however, the "racially inferior" Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish inmates were separated from the other prisoners. The camp also had an infirmary. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was further secured with two guard towers.

The women at the HASAG factory worked in two 12-hour shifts in a factory building not far from the camp, in the physically demanding areas where shells and *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons) were produced. In September 1944, as developer and producer of the Panzerfaust, HASAG had received special authority from Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, as part of the program "Schnellaktion Panzerfaust." This authority gave priority to the production of the Panzerfaust, ahead of all other urgent Wehrmacht projects. According to Martin Schellenberg, the HASAG produced in November and December more than 1 million Panzerfäuste—produced with the utmost brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners in the numerous HASAG subcamps. In the month of November alone, the HASAG gave 300,000 Panzerfäuste directly to Himmler's SS. Only at the end of 1944, around 50 men arrived in Altenburg to relieve the women from the most difficult of the physical labor. The men were held in a separate camp, which was also under the command of the Kommandoführer of the female camp, Johann Frötsch.

The use of the prisoners appears to have been in accordance with "racial criteria," whereby the Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish women were allocated the most difficult and dangerous work. As a rule, this was work that involved the direct production, processing, and filling of munitions. The fumes from this activity damaged skin, hair, and breathing passages. The death of 8 women from tuberculosis in Altenburg is recorded. Without the transfer of sick women who could no longer work, the death rate in the subcamp would have been even higher. In September 1944, as early as four weeks after the camp was established, 123 Jewish women and 49 Sinti and Roma, all of whom could no longer work, were transferred back to Ravensbrück. By the middle of October 1944, another 216 women were transferred back, including an unknown number of pregnant women.

By the end of March 1945, there were 2,300 women in the camp. The evacuation of the camp began on April 11, 1945 (according to a statement by a survivor, Adrienne Friede Krausz), or April 12, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS] and Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel's *Der Ort des Terrors*). The women were driven initially by foot via Meerane and Glauchau; a group of around 800 women was liberated by the U.S. Army on April 14, 1945, in the vicinity of Waldenburg/Sachsen. The other women marched over the ridge of the Erzgebirge in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

In the 1970s the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL, now BA-L) commenced investigations into events at the camp and during the evacuation marches, but the investigations were inconclusive.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written about the Altenburg subcamp (female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Details on the HASAG and its subcamps have been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Hildegard Reinhardt Franz, a Sinti and Roma survivor of the Altenburg subcamp, is introduced in *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 october 2005*, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris) (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 97–99. The Altenburg women's subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1787.

Details of the subcamp are held in the AG-B and BA-K (NS 4 Bu). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are under the file reference IV 429 AR-Z 13/74.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ANNABURG

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Annaburg (Saxony province) to provide labor to the Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH in January 1945. Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Annaburger Gerätebau firm. Inmates in the Annaburg camp had been transferred from another Buchenwald subcamp in Halle an der Saale, where they had been employed at the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke factory (Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd.). The prisoners in Halle had been transferred from Buchenwald.

According to a monthly report filed by the Annaburg supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) in February 1945, 100 inmates were transferred from the Halle an der Saale camp to Annaburg on January 8, 1945. On January 18, 1945, 2 inmates were returned to Halle, while 1 additional inmate was transported to Annaburg. Thus, the prisoners of the Annaburg camp in February 1945 numbered 99 inmates. Twenty SS guards were also transferred along with the 100 inmates from Halle to Annaburg on January 8.[1] The inmates named on the transport list (dated January 10, 1945), all male, appear to be Russian, Polish, and French; however, there is no breakdown by nationality or age to allow for further demographic analysis.[2]

The inmates in the Annaburg camp were employed at the Annaburger Gerätebau. According to the monthly report cited above, the inmates were also employed in the construction of a division of the Siebel-Werke Halle as well as the installation of prisoner barracks (presumably in Annaburg). The report also indicates that inmates worked 9.5-hour shifts, with 21,232.5 hours worked in total.[3] Further information about the specific kind of work inmates performed at Annaburger Gerätebau is lacking.

There is little information about conditions within the Annaburg camp, including the availability of food, treatment of the prisoners by the guards, resistance or escape attempts, and circumstances of prisoner deaths. The same monthly report shows that the prisoner nurse cared for an average of 12 ambulatory inmates in the infirmary (*Revier*) per day. The daily average number of inpatient cases was 2. The report also indicates that hygienic conditions within the camp were "satisfactory" (*zufriedenstellend*) and that the food supply was "good"; however, no witness reports from former Annaburg inmates could be found to corroborate this information.[4]

Furthermore, no information about the identity of the commandant or guards of the Annaburg camp is available. Further analysis of daily reports generated about the transfer of inmates to and from the Buchenwald main camp to its various subcamps (collected in the Bundesarchiv collection NS 4) may yield additional details about the Annaburg subcamp.

The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald was closed on March 16, 1945, and the inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp.

SOURCES The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Annaburg in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschafften, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Annaburg, as well as prisoner lists of the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps, see the BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, vols. 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Annaburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as reports on numbers of prisoners in the camp from the AN, can be found in the archives of the USHMM 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamps of Buchenwald.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945 (dated February 1945), BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 262.
2. Transport list of 100 inmates from Siebel-Halle to Kommando Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH, January 10, 1945 (BU 44), AN, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. Monatsbericht, February 1945, BA, NS 4, Band 262.
4. Ibid.

APOLDA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Apolda (Thüringen), about 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Leipzig. Inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Apolda most likely to work in a bread bakery that supplied the Third SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) "Thüringen," as well as the Buchenwald camp. They may have also been

used for work in the Reichsbahnbetriebsamt Weimar (Weimar Railway Administrative Office), constructing railway lines. The exact date of the camp's opening is unknown, but it may have been as early as December 1944. Inmates from Buchenwald worked in the bakery, and most of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses. There were between 10 and 20 inmates. One transport list dated February 16, 1945, from Buchenwald to Apolda, included the names of 8 inmates.[1] It is also possible that the camp was an outlying work detail (Aussenkommando) of Buchenwald, sent daily from the camp to the work site. The small subcamp was headed by an SS-Unterführer until American troops liberated Apolda on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary and primary sources on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. Brief information on Apolda during the war can be found in Franz Walter, "Von der rotten zur braunen Hochburg: Wahlanalytische Überlegungen zur Resonanz der NSDAP in den beiden thüringischen Industrielandschaften," in *Nationalsozialismus in Thüringen*, ed. Detlev Heiden and Gunther Mai (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995). Information about the bakery and its relation to Buchenwald can be found in Peter Franz, "Die Stadt Apolda und die umliegenden Konzentrationslager," in *Gefangen im Netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen, 1933–1945*, ed. Udo Wohlfeld and Peter Franz (Weimar: Taubach, 2000), pp. 123–125. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

There is scarce primary source material on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. For transfer lists of prisoners in February 1945, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. "Transport Apolda," February 16, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

AROLSEN

An SS-Officer School (Führerschule of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA]) was established in Arolsen at the beginning of 1944 in order to train candidates for the administrative service of the SS, which until then had taken place in Dachau. Arolsen was chosen as the location for this new SS station because the administrative headquarters of the SS region Fulda-Werra, which included Weimar-Buchenwald, was located here. A barracks for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (Verfügungstruppe) II/SS-"Germania" was established here in the mid-1930s, but it stood empty in the autumn of 1943.

Thirty-four prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were requisitioned to adapt the barracks for its new use. The detachment with the code name "Arthur" arrived at Arolsen on November 14, 1943. Another 26 prisoners arrived from Dachau on January 8, 1944, together with instructors, and an additional 20 prisoners arrived on January 21, 1944, from Buchenwald, all to work in the SS-Clothing Camp (Bekleidungslager). Thus, the total number of inmates reached 80. This number remained relatively constant until the autumn of 1944, when it increased to 120.[1] Altogether, from November 1943 to March 1945, around 185 male prisoners from 13 countries were housed in the former munitions depot of the SS caserne.[2]

Prisoners sent to Arolsen were selected from the main camp based on their skills as locksmiths, carpenters, butchers, cooks, masons, barbers, and farmhands. Poles made up the largest group of prisoners at 35 percent, followed by Russians at 30 percent. The special assignment prisoners (*Funktionshäftlinge*) were recruited from the 28 German prisoners (15 percent), who, with a median age of 39.8 years, were considerably older than the average prisoner (30.3).[3]

The SS-Officer School and SS-Clothing Camp were only technically separate institutions, and among the external details of the Buchenwald concentration camp they were an exception to the rule, as they were not assigned to an armament plant or SS-owned business but rather to an SS duty station, which, as with Buchenwald, in turn reported to the WVHA in Berlin.[4]

With people of differing nationalities, backgrounds, vocations, and interests living together in very confined spaces, constantly fearing death, life was not without tension. There was a mistrust among prisoners that faded only gradually, after living together for some time. Those with experiences in common from Auschwitz, Dachau, or Buchenwald, or those of the same nationality, bonded more quickly. Once they built trust in each other, though, their friendships often survived the worst situations—indeed, even on the death marches (*Todesmärsche*), groups of Arolsen prisoners stayed together. It was difficult for many foreigners to accept German fellow prisoners. Their dislike was strengthened by the fact that some German prisoners treated the East Europeans condescendingly. Only the experiences they shared in the spring of 1944 helped to bridge the divide.

Once the school was established, the prisoners had to do nearly all of the auxiliary work. Their assignments ranged from the barracks kitchen, the workshops, or the wardrobe to working in the SS barbershop, serving in the mess hall, or cleaning the SS buildings. In addition, there was construction work to be done outside the barracks proper.

The daily life of the prisoners of necessity followed the school rhythm, which in turn broke down—at least to a degree—the absolute power of the SS. After all, certain types of work had to be finished by a prescribed time, while other work could only be done while the SS students were in class. Even though this rhythm was monotonous, it gave structure to the life of the prisoners, the significance of which cannot be overstated. The work was very hard, but the prisoners knew when it would stop, because only rarely did work have to be done after school hours in the barracks. The SS school could not extend the evening roll call at will, as any extension shortened the preparatory time for instruction. During such times, the prisoners were of no interest to the SS.

At the same time, operation of the school was scarcely possible without the work of the prisoners. The morning roll call could not be extended as otherwise the meals would not have been ready on time; nor would the SS tolerate any delay when going to the barber; and the work in the motor pool garage and the classrooms had to be done punctually, efficiently, and properly. Any painful delays would have had a direct impact on the SS. In addition, it was in the self-interest of the SS to avoid having maltreated, filthy prisoners in the kitchen, dining room, canteen, or sleeping quarters of the school. For their own protection, then, the SS kept an eye on clean and proper hygienic conditions in the prisoners' accommodations. The prisoners subsisted on food that was qualitatively and quantitatively at, but not below, the lowest acceptable standards. The fact that the quality of life was inevitably linked for the school SS and the prisoners prevented the worst excesses, but there was still physical maltreatment of the prisoners in the cellars.

In the course of the year 1944, the prisoners "served" more and more as the personal lackeys of the SS-Führer. This tie to an individual SS man released the prisoners from total anonymity and there arose a "personal" relationship that served to mitigate some of the torments and even helped to develop a certain degree of sympathy. But the prisoners could not count on these newly won benefits. A "wrong" word or any given act could result in a total change of behavior in the SS man.

Within the confines of their walled-in living space, the prisoners faced the competing interests of the SS-Schulkommando, the SS officers in training (*Führerschüler*), the SS guards, and the civilians. Inside the barracks, contact with the civilian workers was the least problematic; a number of these workers even helped the prisoners. The guard force consisted of about a dozen mostly lower-ranking SS men, with a narrow range of duties, since the camp was guarded by the SS-Officer School.[5] The higher ranks in the school stayed in the background. The roughly 1,000 officers in training kept a low profile with the prisoners. They did not dare commit crude acts of violence, as contact with the inmates was prohibited under a school order; it was not known what effects such attacks could have on their evaluations.[6] After all, graduation qualified the SS cadet (*Junker*) from an officer school for duty in the WVHA and thus also in the Amtsgruppe D–Concentration Camps. As transfers from Arolsen to this main office (and the reverse, transfers from WVHA to the SS-Officer School) occurred, a growing number of those in the SS school knew about the living and work conditions in concentration camps, and some of them were aware of the murders. For example, Walter Dejaco, who had supervised the plans for the construction of the crematoriums in Auschwitz, passed his training as SS-Offizier in Arolsen in May 1944.[7]

The division of responsibilities within the SS, the importance of the prisoners for the operation of the school, the structured schedules, and the confined space all diminished the danger of the worst attacks and freed the prisoner during the day from immediate fear of death. Being beaten to death, shot, or hanged was hardly probable. In fact, there are no documented deaths for this subcamp. Still, the relief from suffering was only temporary. The real terror lay in the existential question of what the next morning would bring, as every transport to Buchenwald raised the acute threat of being brought back to the main camp. That this was not an unfounded fear is shown by the large numbers—every third prisoner—actually transferred there.[8] Many of them lost their lives there or in working other outside details.

For two prisoners who had been caught stealing food, the transfer to Buchenwald would almost certainly have been a death sentence. However, after they were secretly tipped off, they and two comrades made a daring escape. They took SS officers' uniforms from the wardrobe, while other prisoners readied a private car parked in the motor pool. On June 4, 1944, dressed in SS uniforms and armed with forged papers, they drove unmolested through the caserne's gate, past the saluting SS guard. They then drove through Koblenz until they reached their hiding place in Luxembourg.[9] The Officer School at first planned to punish the whole detachment but refrained from that in order not to interrupt the operation of the school and instead strengthened the surveillance. Two further escape attempts failed only a few hours later.

American troops approached Arolsen on March 30, 1945, but the hopes of being liberated were not to be fulfilled for the 117 prisoners, because they had been evacuated to the main camp just a few hours earlier.[10] Many of the Arolsen prisoners were forced on death marches from there, which not all of them survived.

The supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) of Arolsen, Friedrich Demmer, was captured when Buchenwald was liberated. He was charged before the Superior Military Court in Dachau and was sentenced to 10 years of forced labor in 1947. However, following an appeal, he was released in 1948 after 3 years' imprisonment.[11] No proceedings against other SS officials in connection with the Arolsen subcamp are known.

SOURCES Important sources regarding this subcamp include Anke Schmeling, *Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont. Der politische Werdegang eines hohen SS-Führers* (Kassel, 1993); Günter Steiner, *Waldecks Weg ins Dritte Reich. Gesellschaftliche und politische Strukturen eines ländlichen Raums während der Weimarer Republik und zu Beginn des Dritten Reichs* (Kassel, 1990): Michael Winkelmann, *"Auf einmal sind sie weggemacht"* (Kassel, 1992); and Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur. Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel, 1994).

Primary documentation can be found at BA-K: KL Buchenwald: NS 4 Bu 189, NS 4 Bu 205, NS 4 Bu 210, NS 4 Bu 229; BAMA: SS-Führerschule of the WVHA: RS 5/436–RS 5/445, RS 5/949, RW 19; YVA: Buchenwald documents: HS 12, HS 13, HS 17, HS 19, HS 20, Collection M 32–99; NARA: Buchenwald Trial 000–20; and ZdL 429 AR 1824/66.

Bernd Joachim Zimmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, Bad Arolsen: Transportlisten (transport lists) from November 14, 1943, January 8, 1944, January 21, 1944, and September 21, 1944.

2. Review of all transport lists, reports of strength, and prisoner personnel cards in: Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur: Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, 1994), pp. 142–151.

3. Ibid., pp. 151–153.

4. YV, Jerusalem HS 19 (Forderungsnachweis).

5. BA-K, NS 4 Bu 229.

6. BA-K/MAF, RS 5/437-7.

7. A short biography is in Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 177.

8. Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur*, pp. 241–245.

9. *Rappel: Organe de la Ligue Luxembourgeoise des Prisonniers et Deportes politiques* (Luxembourg, 1980), pp. 99–110.

10. ITS, Bad Arolsen.

11. NARA, Buchenwald Trial 000-Buchenwald-20.

ASCHERSLEBEN (MEN)

Aschersleben is located about eight kilometers (five miles) west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. Here was located a branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), for which a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. Although files from the Buchenwald camp mention the subcamp on July 28, 1944, it is most likely that the 177 male prisoners first commenced work on August 15, 1944. Other prisoners arrived at the camp in the following months with the result that by the middle of December 1944 the camp reached its peak with 653 prisoners. By the time the camp ceased to exist, at the beginning of April 1945, the numbers had sunk to 453.

The prisoner composition was varied. Prisoners from Germany, France, Greece, Albania, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain, as well as Czechs and stateless persons, were in the camp. The prisoners were categorized according to National Socialist prisoner categories including "work shy" (*Arbeitsscheue*), "asocial" (*Asoziale*), "career criminal" (*Berufsverbrecher/Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), and "political." The camp was guarded by SS, and the Lagerführer and Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter. A few months later he also took command of the Aschersleben's women's subcamp.

The prisoners in the subcamp worked in two shifts constructing the Heinkel He 162, the so-called People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). The factory had been converted to allow its production. The Volksjäger, a single-engine jet fighter with a fuselage and elevators made of aluminum and wings and rudder made of plywood, was a last desperate attempt to change the outcome of the war. During the last months of the war, completely inexperienced young pilots from the Flying Hitler Youth (Fliegende Hitler-Jugend), nicknamed the Home Guard of the Air (Volkssturm der Lüfte), were to fly the aircraft, which technically was still in need of development and was scarcely able to be steered and landed. Hitler demanded from Albert Speer a monthly production of 5,000 to 6,000 Volksjäger. To achieve this goal, it was planned to use the labor of concentration camp prisoners intensively. The fuselage and component parts of the He 162 were manufactured in Aschersleben, and the prisoners were employed in a number of different specializations during the production process.

This specialized use of the prisoners may explain why the SS placed comparatively great value on the health of the prisoners: in the subcamp there was a large infirmary where an SS doctor, an SS medical orderly, a doctor under contract, a doctor from among the prisoners, and a prisoner medical orderly were busy. The SS deloused the prisoners each week to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Buchenwald. The list of deadly accidents in Aschersleben shows the difficult nature of the work and living conditions. The causes of death included typhoid, heart and circulation illnesses, inflammation of the lungs, tuberculosis, as well as cystitis and nephritis. The prisoners who died in the camp were taken to Quedlinburg, where they were cremated.

The evacuation of the subcamp took place between April 6 and 11, 1945, as prisoners were sent in the direction of Torgau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) between 1966 and 1975 remained inconclusive.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 371–372. The Aschersleben (men) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 31; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Archival documents on the Aschersleben subcamp are located in a number of archives: the AG-B and the collection NS 4 Bu of BA-K as well as the ITS under Signatur ITS Buchenwald 7, 27, and 53. The ZdL investigations located at BA-L are under File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ASCHERSLEBEN (WOMEN)

Aschersleben is about eight kilometers (five miles) to the west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) was located in Aschersleben where a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. A women's subcamp was established in the same location in January 1945.

The first transport of 500 women arrived on January 2, 1945. All the women in the transport were Jews who had traveled via Bergen-Belsen from Auschwitz: there were 250 Poles,

232 Hungarians, 13 Belgians, a German, a Soviet citizen, a Yugoslav, and 2 Slovaks. According to statements by survivors and eyewitnesses, there are two different descriptions of the accommodation provided to the women, but perhaps the women describe two different areas or sections of the subcamp. Some eyewitness accounts state that the women were accommodated in a camp secured with barbed wire, located about 10 minutes from where they worked. The building in this camp was a two-story stone building that held the prisoners and the female SS guards. Other reports refer to two barracks close to where the women worked, Factory Building 5. There were not enough beds for the women in these barracks, with the result that the women had to sleep in shifts. In the infirmary, which was attached to the camp, there was limited medical care. There were, however, no beds available for sick inmates.

Administratively, the camp was closely connected with the Buchenwald camp for men in Aschersleben. Its Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter, was also responsible for the women's camp. The SS guards at the men's camp were also used to guard the external perimeters of the women's camp. Additionally, there were 12 female SS guards inside the camp until the middle of March. Survivors have described these guards as downright brutal. Food deprivation, seclusion in a bunker, and other degrading punishments such as the cutting of the women's hair were the punishments that were usually mentioned by survivors. For the SS, especially beloved punishments were the sleep-depriving "special roll calls" (*Sonderappelle*), which as a rule lasted for hours, and the debilitating "calisthenics" (*Sportübungen*), which exhausted the already physically weak prisoners.

The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. There were two breaks during each shift. As with the men in their subcamp, the women manufactured aircraft, mostly the Heinkel He 162, called the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). They assembled the fuselages and in Factory Building 5 cut and assembled aircraft parts in the cutting and parts assembly rooms. Very quickly the women were physically exhausted by handling the heavy aircraft parts, working the machines, the harsh living conditions in the camp, and the lack of food. There were numerous illnesses including lung inflammations, heart problems, cystitis, and nephritis, as well as typhoid. Five women died in the relatively short period of the camp's existence.

The Junkers factory was closed in March 1945, following heavy bombing raids on Aschersleben. According to the SS, the prisoners worked for the last time on March 25. The women were evacuated in two groups between April 11 and 15, 1945, and the camp was closed. The women were initially evacuated with the inmates from the men's Aschersleben camp. The first group of 300 women was taken via Delitzsch and Torgau to Leitmeritz (after 1945, part of the Czech Republic), where 40 of them were liberated by the Soviet Army. The majority of the group, 259 women, continued under great deprivation on a march to their original destination, Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 24. The second group of women marched in an easterly direction via Könnern, Halle, Bitterfeld, and Torgau to Bad Düben. Here the guards, in fear of the approaching enemy, drove the women back across the Elbe in the direction of Torgau. The women were liberated on April 15, 1945, close to Mühlbeck.

In the early 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) interviewed dozens of prisoners as part of investigations into the history of the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 369–371. The Aschersleben (women) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 31; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Information on the Aschersleben women's subcamp is held in a number of archives including the collections NS-4 Bu (e.g., BA-K and the THStA-W). A list of 259 women who arrived in Theresienstadt on April 24, 1945, is held in the AG-T. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are held in File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAD SALZUNGEN (*HEINRICH KALB*)

The subcamp Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) came into existence when 500 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to work in the potash mine Heiligenroda III, near the villages of Dorndorf and Springen in the Werra region of Thuringia. The detachment was named after the town of Bad Salzungen, which was about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from the subcamp. It is first mentioned in the records on January 20, 1945.

The expansion of the Heiligenroda III pit was part of a larger project to shift production underground, in this case, the production of aircraft motors by Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). This objective linked the Heinrich Kalb subcamp with the Ludwig Renntier subcamp even though it was located outside the town at another potash mine.

Leveling and concrete work had already been going on in Heiligenroda III since June 1944; by the end of the year approximately 30,000 square meters (36,000 square yards) of tunnel space had been prepared for the machines, and about 8,000 square meters (9,600 square yards) of concrete floor had been laid. Thus, BMW was able to start its underground production at least in part. In order to expand the mine further and prepare it for production, the Buchenwald prisoners were put to work on demolition and cleanup work and pouring concrete. One of their tasks was the transfer of loose potassium salt into unused areas of the mine and the transport of heavy tipping trucks with loose rock or potassium salt. The International Tracing Service (ITS) named Organisation Todt (OT) Construction Directorate in Springen and the

construction management of the Heinrich Kalb company as employers of the inmates.

The number of prisoners remained relatively constant for the duration of the camp, at between 480 and 500 prisoners. This was largely due to the fact that injured and sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned to Buchenwald and were replaced with new prisoners. According to witness statements, there were at least 25 deaths in the Heinrich Kalb subcamp. The dead were cremated in the Bad Salzungen city crematorium.

The prisoners were mostly Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, and Romanians. There were only seven German prisoners, and 30 to 35 SS men guarded the camp. According to prisoner statements, the Lagerführer was either SS-Hauptsturmführer Schlaf, who was notorious for his mistreatment of prisoners, or SS-Hauptscharführer Reichardt.

The prisoners were accommodated in an unused section of the mine in the most primitive of conditions. Initially they were taken at regular intervals to the surface, but later this practice stopped completely, as it took too much time and placed too much demand on the capacity of the mine's transport cage. The lack of sunlight as well as the murderous work and living conditions rapidly led to the physical and mental deterioration of the camp inmates. The poor nutrition, which as a rule consisted only of watery soup and bread, resulted in the prisoners eating the potash, which in turn led to deadly kidney and gallbladder failure.

Most likely the Buchenwald main camp dissolved part of the subcamp at the end of March 1945. It was decided to transfer 385 prisoners back to Buchenwald, "on account of the enemy's close proximity."[1] The prisoners' march (for many this was the first time they had seen daylight in weeks) was via Bad Salzungen, Ohrdruf, Crawinkel, Ilmenau, Stadtilm, Kranichfeld, and Bad Berka to Buchenwald, where they arrived on April 3, 1945.[2] At Ohrdruf alone six prisoners are said to have been shot by the SS.

Ninety-three prisoners remained in the camp, and their fate is unknown. They could probably not be evacuated to Buchenwald because of the rapid advance of Allied troops. The ITS suggested that they could have been evacuated to Flossenbürg instead. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 4, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski describes the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 379–380. References to and descriptions of the subcamp are also to be found in Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); and *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), p. 105, in which are described the conditions in the potash mines at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp and Ludwig Renntier subcamp; and Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32.

Primary sources for this camp begin with NS 4 at THStA-W.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Stärkemeldung, April 7, 1945, NS 4/ Bu 292, THStA-W, "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos"; also printed in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134.

2. According to Frank Baranowski in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), p. 379; ITS states that the camp's evacuation date was April 6, 1945.

BAD SALZUNGEN (*LUDWIG RENNTIER*)

The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp, as with the nearby Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp, was created because of the relocation of the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) production facilities to potash mines in the Werra district. During the course of 1944, it became apparent that the existing production sites were not sufficient. So at the beginning of 1945 the Heinrich Kalb and Ludwig Renntier subcamps, along with concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, became part of the process to relocate BMW production facilities underground.

The Ludwig Renntier subcamp was opened on January 5, 1945. It was located at the Kalischacht I (Kaiseroda) in Leimbach in the Werra district in Thuringia, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the city of Bad Salzungen. It was located in a 400-meter-deep (437-yard-deep) shaft on the road that later became Herrmannsrodaer Strasse. It was to provide an additional 30,000-square-meter (about 36,000-square-yard) underground production facility in which Organisation Todt (OT) would operate the presses for the BMW company. The prisoners worked daily between 12 and 15 hours, pouring cement on the tunnel floors, transporting gravel in hand carts, and cleaning the area of potash salt.

According to Ernst Hausmann, the camp elder, most of the prisoners were taken directly into the mine shaft, where they slept on a thin layer of straw on the ground. As with the prisoners at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp, they remained underground for most of the time in the camp. The cages used to transport the prisoners from the tunnel could only carry between 20 and 25 prisoners on each trip, which would

have made the exchange of prisoners very time-consuming. Therefore, inmates were only brought to the surface when necessary—for instance, when they had become incapable of further work due to the inhuman work and living conditions along with the high salt content in the air. In that case, prisoners of the subcamp had to be exchanged for new prisoners from Buchenwald. In the middle of February 1945, 350 new prisoners were brought from Buchenwald to Ludwig Renntier. On February 28, 71 prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the main camp. It seems that the camp had its own prisoner doctor, A. Gurin, who, according to the memoirs of the former camp elder, was returned to Buchenwald in March 1945. This relocation to the main camp, which also involved the camp elder, was probably connected with the replacement of the camp commandant at that time.

Around 150 to 180 prisoners in the subcamp were held above ground in an unused and fenced-in salt refinery in Bad Salzungen. These prisoners were kept busy during the day, erecting barracks and fitting out offices and camps.

Probably at the end of March 1945 the camp held its maximum number of prisoners, more than 700. A strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated March 29 lists 710 prisoners. The majority of the men were Russians, Poles, and Yugoslavs, but there were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners as well as a few German prisoners, most of those being political prisoners. According to Frank Baranowski, the Lagerführer at Ludwig Renntier was initially SS-Oberscharführer Dietrich, who was probably seconded from Luftwaffe ground personnel. Dietrich treated the prisoners humanely and is said not to have followed all orders coming from Buchenwald, which resulted in a decline in productivity. According to the former camp elder Hausmann, Dietrich therefore was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Knauf, the previous deputy Lagerführer of the Duisburg (SS-Baubrigade) subcamp, who is thought to have murdered several prisoners at that camp.

The evacuation of the subcamp began at the beginning of April 1945: 464 prisoners were sent on a death march on April 6, 1945, to Buchenwald, and 183 followed on April 10. Based on prisoner statements, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that some of the prisoners—as was the case with the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp—were taken to Flossenbürg. The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski provides a detailed description of the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 380–382. The report of the Internationale Lagerkomitee des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald of May 1945 also listed the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), p. 109. The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald. Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134; Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); as well as Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1789.

The statements by the former camp elder Ernst Hausmann of March 1982 are held under Signatur 31/1952 in AG-B. Further information on the subcamp is also found in the ThHStA-W, under Signatur NS 4/ Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BENSBERG (KDO. NAPOLA) (SS-BB III)

With only 10 inmates, what was probably the smallest subcamp of the Buchenwald complex existed from May to December 1944 in Bensberg, later part of Bergisch Gladbach. The Bensberg subcamp was established by SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff, head of one of the Institutions of National Political Education (Napola), which had been located in the Bensberg castle since 1935. The roof and north wing of the castle had been damaged in an incident of arson by students on March 2, 1942, and Holthoff tried for months to find workers to restore them. Initially, beginning in the fall of 1943, he received from the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III), stationed in Cologne, the occasional prisoner for construction work. Finally, on March 25, 1944, the above-mentioned 10 prisoners were sent as part of a transport destined for Cologne.[1] Not until the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade III on May 10, 1944, did the Bensberg camp become a subcamp of Buchenwald.

The prisoners were probably housed in a cellar room where bicycles had previously been stored. The group of inmates, whose identities are known, consisted of nine Czechs and one Russian.[2] As of November 1944, because Allied troops were advancing from the west, the Napola was moved from Bensberg to a Cistercian monastery in the East Westphalia village Hardehausen, which later became part of Warburg. The Buchenwald subcamp was transferred to Hardehausen as well, probably in December, and from then on was listed under Hardehausen.

SOURCES In the 1980s, school students were the first to gather findings on the Bensberg camp. See "Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten" in the archive of the Körber-Stiftung Hamburg, Wettbewerb 1982–83, No. 828, Sascha Balkow et al., *Kriegsgefangene—Fremdarbeiter—KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg*, pp. 26–33; Wettbewerb 1988–89, No. 10601, Martin Breitbach et al., *Unser Schloss—ein Ort für Fremde—aber auch Heimat?* pp. 22–33a. These scattered references were published by Klaus

Schmitz in a 1989 essay, "Auf Spurensuche in der jüngeren Vergangenheit: Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ Buchenwald," HfBL 59 (1989): 209–215. In the course of his research on the subcamp Hardehausen, Dieter Zühlke studied the Bensberg camp as well and in 2003 deposited the manuscript with his findings at the Ast-Wb, "Das Konzentrationslager Bensberg-Hardehausen: Eine NAPOLA als Einsatzort von KZ-Häftlingen" (StA Warburg, unpub. MSS, October 2003). One year later, he summarized his results in an article that was published in collaboration with Jan Eric Schulte. See Jan Eric Schulte and Dieter Zühlke, "Vom Rheinland nach Westfalen: KZ-Aussenlager einer 'Nationalpolitischen Erziehungsanstalt' in Bensberg und Hardehausen," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung—Regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Eric Schulte (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), pp. 113–130.

Very little documentation exists for the Bensberg camp at the ASt-BG (V 160, J 16/3, HS 313) and at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, especially Nos. 250 and 253). Memoirs or testimonies by former inmates are unknown.

Karola Fings
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Transportliste (transport list) from March 25, 1944, in the AG-B, pp. 59–110.

2. Buchenwald concentration camp, register of June 23, 1944, in the NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Zweigstelle Kalkum, Ger. Rep. 118/1176.

BERGA-ELSTER ("SCHWALBE V")

In the wake of increasing Allied bombing attacks, Germany's fuel reserves sank to a dangerously low level. In August 1944, as part of the Geilenberg Program, the Armaments Ministry established the Petroleum Securing Plan, whose implementation belonged to the Kammler Staff. As part of this plan, under code name "Schwalbe V" (Swallow V), the Kammler Staff supervised the construction of an underground hydrogenation plant for Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) in Zeitz in Berga an der Elster and appointed as project manager SS-Obersturmführer Willy Hack.

Hack was transferred to Berga on November 6, 1944, where his site manager and geologists tested the mountain rock for internal water channels. After Sonderinspektion I (Special Inspectorate I) reviewed drilling samples in Berlin, Brabag made concrete plans for the mining operation.

Braun und Co. Schieferverwaltung, a cover name for Brabag-Zeitz, functioned as the owner and Reich trustee. The company employed mining companies, major mining and civil engineering firms, and additional workers from the region and from all over Germany. Brabag planned to excavate 18 interconnected tunnels in the Zikraer Berg mountain, for the location of the synthetic oil plant.

On November 13, 1944, the first 70 male prisoners were brought to Berga from Buchenwald. Among them were the future administrative staff and the prisoner physician. This group built the camp.[1] The first large transport of 500 prisoners arrived on December 1, 1944, from the Buchenwald work detail "Wille" in Rehmsdorf near Zeitz, another Brabag camp.[2] Further transports arrived on December 13, 1944 (1,000); December 30, 1944 (500); January 1, 1945 (298); February 26, 1945 (500); and March 15, 1945 (500).[3] In all, over 3,300 prisoners were dispatched to Berga.



German civilians are forced to exhume the bodies of camp prisoners and U.S. prisoners of war at Berga-Elster, April 1945.
USHMM WS # 80921, COURTESY OF NARA

The largest prisoner groups were the Jews, who came from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany. Others were political, "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*), and career criminals from all over Europe.

Most prisoners worked in the tunnels where they cleared and removed the detritus from explosions. The work was very hard and dangerous. They also had to work for various firms employed in the camp. The prisoners preferred assignment in the quarry, kitchens, or workshops, laying rail beds, or doing outdoor construction rather than working in the tunnels. A large group of 13- to 17-year-old boys in Berga mostly peeled potatoes in the prisoner and SS kitchens. Working in shifts, like the adult prisoners, some delivered food and coal briquettes from the city's rail station to the camp and cleaned the SS officers' rooms. The latter task was especially unpleasant.

Between November 28, 1944, and April 7, 1945, 313 prisoners died in the camps.[4] Berga survivors reported deaths from shootings, disease, starvation, physical abuse, and work accidents.[5] The overall number of prisoners did not diminish, however, because of replacement transports from Buchenwald. A roll call taken on March 11, 1945, established that there were 1,767 prisoners in Berga on that day.[6]

According to Hack's secretary, Berlin ordered the construction staff to evacuate Schwalbe V during a long-distance call.[7] Former prisoners testified to the subcamp's closure, which took place between April 10 and 12. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) recorded the date as April 10, 1945, while the International Tracing Service (ITS)

placed the closure on April 11, 1945.[8] On the morning of Berga's closure, the SS ordered prisoners to form up in rows of five abreast and carry their blankets and bowls. Approximately 200 men unable to march were taken by train to Dachau.[9] From Dachau, some reached Seefeld near Innsbruck, Austria.

Fifteen hundred prisoners marched toward Theresienstadt-Leitmeritz, traveling in a southeasterly direction along the route Berga-Teichwolframsdorf-Gottesgrün-Reuth-Neumark-Hauptmannsgrün-Irfersgrün-Stangengrün-Obercrinitz-Bärenwalde-Albernau-Bockau-Sosa-Seinheidel-Breitenbrunn-Rittersgrün-Goldenhöhe-Gottesgab-Oberhals—a distance of 160 kilometers (almost 100 miles). Toward 9:00 PM on April 21, 1945, approximately 850 arrived in a snowstorm—the remainder had either fled or died.[10] On the way they climbed a height of over 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Erz Mountains. The final climb from Goldenhöhe to a point somewhere between Schmiedeberg and Oberhals was extremely difficult, as indicated by the many prisoners who died along the way. Other groups may have taken routes through the Erz Mountains via Zwickau and Chemnitz.

From this point, according to survivors, prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe were separated, and the Jews were also segregated.[11] Small groups arrived by rail in Theresienstadt; by foot in Menetin, Netschetin, and Preitenstein; and some went in a westerly direction along the crest of the Erz Mountains toward U.S. forces.

In 1974, the Cologne State Attorney's Office investigated Lagerführer Rohr and other Berga SS. Its case was based upon an estimate of prisoner deaths in the Berga subcamp and during the death march but was halted on February 22, 1976, because Rohr had died on March 11, 1969; the whereabouts of the accused, SS-Unterscharführer Schwarzbach, were unknown; and other SS members could not be identified.[12]

After the war, Hack lived under his own name in Weissensand near Reichenbach in Saxony. Arrested in Zwickau on December 5, 1947, and interrogated at Schloss Osterstein, he was charged with causing the deaths of hundreds at Buchenwald/Berga because of his rigorous and demanding work methods. On September 22, 1948, under Allied Control Council Law No. 10 Article II3b, the Zwickau criminal court sentenced him to 8 years' imprisonment and 10 years' loss of citizenship rights. On April 23, 1951, the Zwickau criminal court, having retried Hack, sentenced him to death. He was executed in Dresden on July 26, 1952.[13]

[Note: American prisoners of war also worked at Berga, but they lived in a separate camp, not the Buchenwald subcamp. Their experiences will be addressed in a later volume of this encyclopedia, which will cover camps run by the German military. —Ed.]

SOURCES Berga is mentioned only a few times in the literature. Christine Schmidt has an essay on Buchenwald/Berga-Elster in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 386–388. Wolfgang Birkenfeld covers the history of Brabag in *Der synthetische Treibstoff, 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1964). In the 1960s, Gerda Rutschmann, an Oberschule instructor in Berga, compiled a report on the working and living conditions of the prisoners in "Schwalbe V." Between 1967 and 1991, numerous articles were published in the local Berga newspaper, the *GrHe*, for instance, the article by Ulrich Jugel, "Das Lager Schwalbe V in Berga-Ein dunkeles Kapitel aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," July 1991. Heike Kegel wrote a doctoral dissertation on Berga, "Die Versklavung von KZ-Häftlingen in der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft und bei der unterirdischen Verlagerung der Treibstoffindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Martin Luther University, Halle, 1990). Among the camps she researched was Schwalbe V, but aside from adding a few details, she relies heavily on Birkenfeld when writing about Berga, as does an article in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1991), pp. 660, 750, 801. The Buchenwald Berga subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.

Extensive material on the Berga camp and the transport lists may be found in AG-B and NARA (RG 242). Concerning the death march, material is held in the various regional archives in Germany, AG-D, as well as in the SpkA-KV, SpkA-CvK, and SDA-L. Material on the Berga construction site is also available in the ThHStA-G. Files containing the notices of prisoner deaths in the Berga camp are at BA-L. The criminal case files of construction manager Willy Hack are available through BStU. As the archives and prisoner testimonies found since 1997 have not been covered in any comprehensive way in the literature, it is now necessary to conduct new research on Berga. Christine Schmidt has in her possession numerous unpublished testimonies from surviving Berga prisoners.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 13, 1944, AG-B, 59–110/3.

2. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 31, 1944, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.

3. Transport lists, Buchenwald-Berga, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.

4. Verzeichnis der in Berga verstorbenen KZ-Häftlinge, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd.17/StA. Bd. I, pp. 381–390.

5. Berichte von Überlebenden, ZdL at BA-L, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 75–228, Bd. II, pp. 275–314.

6. Stärkemeldung in Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, (now BA-L) 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.

7. Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau; Aussage von Gerda Teichert, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/StA.Bd. I, p. 377.

8. Auflösung des Lagers in Aussenkommandos des Konzen-

trationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis*, 1: 27.

9. Befragung von Joel Pinkowits, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I,S. p. 216/21; Abraham Krygier/Krieger, ibid., pp. 158–161; AG-D, Dokumentation: Häftlinge, Gefangenenliste-laufende Numerierung: 106834.

10. SpkA-CvK, Bestand Kovarska (Schmiedeberg), Bericht von Margarethe Trux, June 5, 1945; Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65.

11. Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65 Buchenwald, Bd. II, pp. 217–238; and report of Josef Krauze from February 6, 2001, to Christine Schmidt; also report of Samuel Hilton from November 30, 2000, to Christine Schmidt.

12. Einstellungsverfügung des Verfahrens gegen Richard Rohr und unbekannte SS-Angehörige von Dr. Gehrling, OSta. Köln, February 25, 1976, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 385–387.

13. The first trial against Hack was AZ.21.ERKs.116/51; Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau, Urteil, April 23, 1951, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/Vollstreckungsheft, pp. 268, 272.

BERLSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Berlstedt (Kreis Weimar) in December 1940 to provide labor to various projects, including the production of bricks and road construction. The exact opening date of the camp, often coded as "B" in related administrative correspondence, varies by source. These differences may correspond to the fact that the prisoners were forced to work in multiple work details (*Kommandos*) for different firms: the Kläranlage und Ziegelei Berlstedt bei Weimar and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, Berlstedt (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). In addition, the inmates were also used for the Neumark road construction project. Work for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei was said to have begun on October 9, 1941, and work for DESt, on September 27, 1943. The Neumark road construction project seems to have ended in late October 1943; 20 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on October 28 after its completion.[1]

Located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the main camp at Buchenwald, the prisoner population in the Berlstedt camp was all male. The number of inmates, with occasional additional transports to and from the camp, did not seem to fluctuate greatly and remained around 200 to 250 inmates. According to random prisoner lists that have survived, and a few transport lists to and from the Berlstedt camp, the inmates appear to have been German, French, Belgian, Czech, Russian, and Polish. According to a transport list of 10 inmates to Berlstedt on August 18, 1944, there were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) in the camp, who most likely served as "functional inmates," as well as "asocial" and political prisoners.[2] The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was paid 2 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 1 RM per unskilled laborer per day in the Berlstedt subcamp.[3] In April 1942, the skilled workers included an electrician, blacksmiths, carpenters, a painter, and several masons.[4]

One of the Kommandos to which the Berlstedt prisoners were assigned supplied labor to DESt, an enterprise of the SS. A building supply company, it was founded in 1938 to supply materials to construction projects that were aimed at achieving Hitler's grandiose architectural vision throughout the Reich. Created to be a technologically advanced, modern venture, DESt aimed to exploit and excavate quarries and manufacture bricks. One of the many sites created at or near concentration camps to excavate and manufacture bricks, the Berlstedt Werk achieved production of about 8 million bricks per year and employed at least 200 inmates.

There is little information about other work performed in the Berlstedt subcamp for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei or the Neumark road construction project. According to Enno Georg, the punishment Kommando sent from Buchenwald to Berlstedt to work in the clay mines was not under the control of DESt; it is unclear if it was attached instead to Kläranlage und Ziegelei. According to a former prisoner in Berlstedt, Kurt Leeser, inmates had to work in groups of three in the clay mines, digging out 30 carts of material and breaking it into fist-sized chunks. The work was performed in all kinds of weather, often standing knee-deep in water. Leeser reported that the inmates not only had to endure the terribly difficult labor in the mine but also the cruelty of the prisoner overseers (Kapos), such as Johann Küppers, who beat the prisoners without mercy. Leeser added that the work in the brick ovens was also strenuous and performed in dreadful conditions; these inmates suffered from sulfur fumes and intense heat. According to prisoner and transport lists, on occasion inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp, presumably some too ill to work.[5]

Little information is available about the commandant or guards of the camp. Some correspondence surviving from the latter years of the war shows the signature of an SS-Sturmscharführer, but his name is illegible.[6] According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 guards in the camp at this time.[7] No further details about the camp itself, its exact location, living conditions within the camp, or resistance or escape attempts by the prisoners are available.

Finally, there is little information about the evacuation of the Berlstedt subcamp. It was last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records in late March or early April 1945, stating that there were 211 inmates. Likewise, no information about postwar trials of guards who served in the camp was uncovered.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Berlstedt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Berlstedt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins,

1990), which derives from ITS records. More information on DESt can be found in Enno Georg, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Unternehmen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 42–58.

Surviving primary documentation on the Berlstedt subcamp is also limited. An excerpt of former inmate Kurt Leeser's recollection of his experiences in the Berlstedt clay mines can be found in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 191–192. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the Berlstedt subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Berlstedt camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Other documentation may be found at AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "20 Häftlinge auf Transport nach K.L. Bu.," Berlstedt, October 28, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. "Transport Berlstedt," Weimar-Buchenwald, August 18, 1944 (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Extracts from the rept. for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

4. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

5. See memos to the Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 16, 1945 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 20, 1945 (1 inmate to Buchenwald) (BU47), USHMM Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. See memos to Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944, and February 16, 1945 (Bu 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), p. 251.

BILLRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Billroda (Saxony province) to provide prisoner labor to an underground construction project to transfer and protect armaments production due to increased Allied bombardment in the latter half of the war. The exact opening date of the camp is unknown, though various sources site the creation of the camp in February or March 1945.

The first transport of prisoners to Billroda from Buchenwald, dated March 19, 1945, included some 500 inmates.[1] The population of the camp did not seem to fluctuate over its relatively brief period of existence, and there were few additional transports of inmates into the camp.[2] Periodically inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to various injuries or illnesses, such as tuberculosis, where they were sent to the infirmary. For example, 6 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 27, 1945.[3]

The majority of the inmates were assigned to perform various kinds of work related to construction of a facility for the transfer of portions of the Gustloff-Werk, Weimar, 600 meters (656 yards) underground in order to continue production. Some inmates may also have been delegated to duties on local farms. The inmates were employed by the firm Berg Burggraf to work in the mine shafts, to lay railroad tracks, and otherwise to prepare the area for the transfer of the Gustloff-Werk. As in other camps that used inmates to perform work in mines, working conditions in the Billroda subcamp were most likely terrible and dangerous, causing inmates to fall ill from diseases such as tuberculosis and to suffer injuries due to the dangerous work.

The inmates were all male, and although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, they appear to have been mainly Russian, Polish, French, Belgian, Dutch, and German. Some discrepancy exists about the exact location of the inmates' housing, and it seems that the prisoners were accommodated in several locations. Some were placed in a former guesthouse called "Weissenhorn" in the nearby village of Kahlwinkel. Others were housed in a shack on the Reichmuth farmstead, in a large storage camp not far from the Burggraf mine, as well as in a movie theater or in barracks in Billroda itself.

The Billroda camp, with 494 inmates, was evacuated in April 1945 to Buchenwald, where the arrival of the prisoners was registered on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Billroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Billroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Billroda subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found at NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found in the AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Billroda," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. See transport lists and memoranda (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

3. "Transport-Liste," to the Rapportführer, Buchenwald, March 27, 1945 (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

BOCHUM (*BOCHUMER VEREIN*)

By the end of the 1930s, the Bochum Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG, a subsidiary of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG (United Steelworks), had an annual production capacity of around 840,000 tons of raw iron and 1,320,000 tons of raw steel. At the outbreak of the war, it employed around 20,000 people. Within the German Reich, the Bochum Verein was the sixth largest producer of raw iron; within the nonmilitary market for finished products, it was one of the five largest producers of railway tracks and rolling railway equipment as well as high-quality wrought and cast iron.

Even in the first years following the National Socialist seizure of power, the Verein had cooperated with the German government and Wehrmacht leadership and had taken part, initially in secret, in the production of arms in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Verein showed its symbiotic relationship to the regime with close cooperation with the National Socialist regime and its organizations, such as the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) and the Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization, NSBO). It realized the "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) of its employees and their indoctrination: as head of the DAF, Robert Ley eventually awarded the Verein a prize as the first company to be a National Socialist Model Enterprise (*Nationalsozialistischer Musterbetrieb*).

With the outbreak of World War II, the Verein became one of the most important manufacturers of 8.8-centimeter flak guns, 8.8-centimeter to 38-centimeter gun barrels (which as semifinished products [*Halbfertigprodukte*] were delivered to other weapons manufacturers), as well as medium-sized bombs, shells of various calibers, torpedo parts, and cast-iron pieces for the production of aircraft engines.

As early as 1939, there already was a shortage of labor in the armaments sector. This situation dramatically worsened after the outbreak of the war as younger employees were called up. As a result, the company's management used its close connections with the National Socialist regime, relying on the strategic importance of the company to insist upon the allocation of foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

In January 1944, forced laborers and POWs constituted more than 38 percent of the Verein's total labor force: 15,261 Germans (including 3,071 women); 820 male and 967 female "eastern workers" (*Ostarbeiter*); 1,149 male and 28 female laborers mostly from West European countries; 774 French and 1,509 Soviet POWs; and 575 Italian military internees (IMIs).

As the number of German employees continually and significantly declined due to call-ups to the Wehrmacht and the labor potential in areas occupied by German troops was largely exhausted due to the forcible recruitment of labor, the company's management examined the possibility of using concentration camp prisoners in the first half of 1944. It finally followed the examples of other armaments producers such as Rheinmetall-Borsig AG in Düsseldorf-Derendorf and demanded from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp prisoners to assemble artillery and flak shells.

The agreement reached between the company management and SS meant that 3,500 prisoners would be used in the production of munitions. On June 27, 1944, a detachment of 446 prisoners with guards arrived in Bochum; the task of this advance detachment was initially to enlarge a small barracks camp to accommodate this number of prisoners; the barracks were located in the western area of the Stahlindustrie factory in the area of the Brüll- and Kohlenstrasse. About 1,000 prisoners were employed in the erection of standardized barracks.[1] To prevent the escape of prisoners, the area was surrounded with a 1,900-meter-long (2,078-yard-long) electrified barbed-wire fence.[2]

It would seem that leading members of the firm were active in the various death camps in recruiting prisoners for later labor detachments: journeys to Auschwitz and Buchenwald meant that the prisoners with relevant qualifications or work experience as well as the necessary physical constitution could be chosen for the heavy work to be done in the armaments foundry.

An intial labor detachment of 210 prisoners, the majority Soviet citizens as well as Poles, Lithuanians, Croats, and Czechs, who were recruited also from other concentration camps and transferred to Buchenwald left Weimar on August 11, 1944. There were other prisoner transports, but it is no longer possible, due to the destruction of files, to reconstruct completely those dates and figures: By September 23, 1944, the Bochum Verein subcamp had 1,213 prisoners, and by November 19, it had reached 1,706 prisoners, which would be the maximum number. On March 16, 1945, the day the camp was dissolved and the prisoners transported back to Buchenwald, there were 1,356 prisoners. (The date of March 3 is often mentioned as the date the camp was evacuated, but it is incorrect. A prisoner died and was buried in Bochum on March 16, 1945. Numerous references in the trial files from after 1945 suggest that the camp was evacuated on March 16.) The determining cause for the dissolution of the subcamp was the closeness of the front and the large-scale destruction of road and rail connections, which made practically impossible the dispatch of the shells produced by the Verein to the munitions firms that filled them with explosives.

The prisoners did heavy physical labor in the projectile foundry in high temperatures; mostly it was unskilled work. The company paid the SS command in Buchenwald 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day for skilled labor and 4 RM per day for

unskilled labor. The Bochum Verein also initiated a system of reward for above-average production—for poor output and so-called loafing (*Bummelei*), the prisoners were beaten and mistreated by the SS guards, foremen, and the company. For good performance, bonuses were given of 0.30 to 0.50 RM per day, which could be cashed in at the camp's canteen for goods. The company revealed this bonus system in preparing its defense against a possible charge before the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg.[3]

The claim of good and humane treatment of prisoners made by leading employees of the Verein initially before the U.S. military courts and later before the German criminal courts is in great contrast to the actual treatment of the concentration camp prisoners and must be seen as a defense strategy. Between July 6, 1944, and March 16, 1945, there were 93 recorded deaths at the subcamp, and the bodies were buried in Bochum cemeteries; at first they were interred in urns, but after the city crematorium was destroyed in an air raid on November 4, 1944, the prisoners who died were buried.[4] More than 62 percent of the dead were 45 or older. The oldest known victim was Márton Biro, born on December 5, 1878, and the youngest was the mechanic Hans Latter, born on July 7, 1928.

The exact number of victims is unknown, in part because in January 1945 the SS put together a transport of 198 "unusable labor" (*unbrauchbare Arbeitskräfte*), many of whom died from their injuries and illnesses after being sent to Buchenwald.[5]

Prosecution of the crimes against humanity committed between June 1944 and March 1945 in the Bochum Verein subcamp by members of the SS proved difficult due to the lack of evidence: the camp commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Grossmann was convicted by a U.S. military court, sentenced to death, and executed for crimes committed at Bochum and elsewhere. According to prisoners, the foreman Emil Vogel shot 3 Russian concentration camp prisoners during an air raid on November 4, 1944, for stealing potatoes from the camp kitchen and murdered another 30 prisoners on March 16, 1945, because they did not immediately obey his command to climb into the goods wagons lined up to evacuate the prisoners. It was also alleged that he tortured a prisoner because he did not produce enough and that the prisoner died from his injuries while being transported back to Buchenwald. Vogel was acquitted on October 7, 1947, for any homicides due to lack of evidence but was sentenced to four years' hard labor for injuring a prisoner, which caused death. His time in prisons from April 1945 was taken into account when determining the sentence.[6]

The bricklayers' foreman Wilhelm Korbhöfer, an employee of the Verein, was in charge of the construction of the barracks camp for the concentration camp work detachment and for repairing it after air raids. He later admitted to having beaten prisoners who did not produce enough or who loafed, with iron bars, work tools, and other objects. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1949 for aggravated assault in 200 cases.[7] Karl Lellesch, who had a supervisory role in the foundry, was sentenced in the same proceedings to three months' imprisonment on two accounts of aggravated assault; Heinrich Bischoff, who among other things was in charge of distributing the midday meal and had repeatedly beaten prisoners, was sentenced to jail for one month.

SOURCES During the evacuation of the Bochum Verein subcamp, it would seem that the camp files were completely destroyed. Historians, therefore, are limited to relying on the limited correspondence between Bochum and Weimar and the Veränderungsnachweise of the central Schreibstube, which are available at AG-B. There are remnants of files in the BA as well as in the files of cemetery administrations in Bochum and neighboring cities. The Bochum Friedhofsverwaltung kept detailed records of cremations of the concentration camp inmates until the destruction of the crematorium, and after its destruction on November 4, 1944, the burials were recorded. This was also the case for burials in neighboring cities. The ASt-Boc holds the trial records for Wilhelm Korbhöfer. Important details can be gained from the published memoirs of former prisoners and the documents of the ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997). Also important are the trial transcripts, which the U.S. military courts conducted against former SS guards in Buchenwald and its subcamps for crimes against humanity, which are available at NARA and AG-B. A document reproduced from AG-B, listing the known dead at the Bochum Verein subcamp, may be found in Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* (Bochum: Kamp, 2000), pp. 36–39.

Gustav-Hermann Seebold
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Urteil des LG Bochum gegen Wilhelm Korbhöfer et al. vom 24. Mai 1949 (2 Ks 14/48), ASt-Boc, ZGS.

2. Details in *USA v. Max Paul Emil Vogel* (File No. 12–390-VOL-12), AG-B.

3. Fremdarbeitereinsatz beim Bochumer Verein, HAK, WA80794300.1, p. 17.

4. A list of named prisoners who died in the Bochum subcamp based on the Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, AG-B.

5. ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997), p. 112. According to this source and the number of dead recorded in the *Gedenkbuch* (Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* [Bochum: Kamp, 2000]), the number of dead in the Bochum Verein subcamp is at least 115. This number does not include the number of prisoners who, weakened by the inhuman treatment, physical abuse, or work accidents, were transported back to the main camp.

6. AG-B, Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald.

7. Ibid.

BOCHUM (*EISEN- UND HÜTTENWERKE*)

Among the over 100 camps established in Bochum, including prisoner-of-war (POW) and forced labor camps, three subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp were constructed to supply inmate laborers to various firms and construction projects in and around Bochum and Wattenscheid. In

late August 1944, one such Buchenwald subcamp was opened on Castroper Strasse. This camp, distinct from both the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III) work Kommando and the Brüllstrasse subcamp at Bochumer Verein, was built to provide workers to the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke AG (later Stahlwerke Bochum). The provision of labor to the factory stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke. Eisen- und Hüttenwerke paid the WVHA a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled worker and 4 RM per day per unskilled worker. For the month of December 1944, the firm owed the WVHA 76,098 RM for the laborers it "employed."[1] The workers, however, were not compensated for their labor.

Eisen- und Hüttenwerke manufactured steel parts, including armor plating, sheeting for V-2 rockets, and other armaments production. With 400 inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Bochum, a camp with several barracks surrounded by electrical fencing was opened on Castroper Strasse on August 20 or 21, 1944. On September 16, 1944, at least two transports of prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke: one with 250 prisoners, the other with 185 prisoners.[2] The prisoners were predominantly Polish, Russian, and French. All were men, and there were both Jews and non-Jews in the camp. Several transports of Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald in July and August 1944 to Bochum, and although most were sent to the Buchenwald subcamp at Bochumer Verein, some Hungarian Jews may have been deported to the camp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke as well. According to an examination of the fate of Jews in Bochum and Wattenscheid by Günter Gleising and others, the number of inmates imprisoned in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp reached at least 932 during its seven-month operation.

According to Gleising's study, working conditions in the Buchenwald subcamps in Bochum were generally similar. Prisoners worked at least 12 hours per day, often in the terrible heat of the steel and ammunition factories, under the brutal supervision of SS guards and civilian foremen. According to one former inmate who was deported from Györ (Hungary) to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and then Bochum, working conditions for the inmates were oppressive, and only the strongest inmates could survive the persistent hunger and the beatings meted out by their supervisors.[3] Food rations were meager and amounted only to small portions of bread, watery soup, and on occasion, margarine and sausage. Another inmate reported that as punishment for the slightest transgression or dissatisfactory work performance, the already inadequate rations were withdrawn.[4] According to former inmate reports, many prisoners died due to physical deterioration from the harsh conditions.[5]

Concerning prisoner demographics and increases and decreases in prisoner numbers, one report lists that by January 1945 there were 648 inmates in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp, and on March 6, 1945, there were 632 inmates.[6] A report submitted by the Standortarzt (garrison doctor) der Waffen-SS on January 31, 1945, listed the number of inmates in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at 634.[7] Some information about death rates and causes of death in the Bochum subcamps can be gleaned from reports submitted to the political department in Buchenwald from the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) who oversaw the operation of infirmaries in the outlying Kommandos. According to reports submitted in January and February 1945, at least 21 inmates died in "Bochum" (with no further specification as to which camp in Bochum) from "heart muscle degeneration," tuberculosis, "general bodily weakness," dysentery, and bronchial pneumonia.[8] According to a weekly report to the infirmary in Buchenwald submitted by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS on March 25, 1945, 2,000 men from "Kommando Bochum" (no further breakdown by subcamp provided) were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945: 35 percent were "physically weakened," 44 were to be placed in the infirmary, and 16 had died.[9]

The SS medic in charge of supervising the infirmary in Bochum was named Brinkmann. According to the same brief, there were 42 guards in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at the end of January 1945.[10]

With the approach of Allied troops, the camp at the Bochumer Eisen- und Hüttenwerke was dissolved at the end of March 1945, and the inmates were transported back to Buchenwald and registered there on March 21, 1945. A March 25 listing of Kommandos, from which inmates were evacuated due to "enemy approach," shows that 616 inmates were evacuated from Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke.[11] Inmates transferred to the Buchenwald main camp in March were most likely sent to the Mittelbau main camp in Nordhausen because the Buchenwald camp was overflowing with prisoners by this time. Allied troops entered Bochum and the surrounding area on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Little information about the Bochum subcamp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Bochum in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For specific information about the various camps in Bochum prior to and during World War II, see Günter Gleising et al., *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Die Jahre 1933–1945 in Berichten, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Altenberge: Wurf-Verlag, VVN Bochum, 1993).

Primary documentation on the Bochum subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Bochum camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in USHMMA,

1996.A.0342 (originally copied from NARA A3355), Reels 146–180. Further analysis of these reports might yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "departures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, firsthand witness accounts of living conditions within the camps in Bochum are recorded in various oral testimony repositories. See especially the MZML, which contain thousands of testimonies from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Bochum camps; see especially protocols 1163, 1542, 2158, 1677, and 2049.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, in *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport EW Bochum," September 16, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 47) and "Transport EW Bochum," September 16, 1944 (BU 47), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 2158 (M.F.).

4. DEGOB Protocol 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

5. DEGOB Protocols 2158 (M.F.), 1808 (S.E.), 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

6. "Aussenkommandos" (BU 39), AN reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

7. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaffen, 1983), p. 253.

8. "Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos," Weimar/Buchenwald January 24, January 26, and February 27, 1945 (BU 36/3), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

9. "Kurzer Wochenbericht Krankenbau KL Buchenwald," Weimar-Buchenwald, March 25, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, pp. 257–258.

10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

11. "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos," March 25, 1945 (BU 36), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

BÖHLEN

As the last of the four refineries of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), the Böhlen facility requested workers from the Organisation Todt (OT) in mid- to late June 1944, in order to repair the damage from Allied air attacks. As of mid-May, Böhlen had had sufficient construction workers at its disposal and therefore did not consider requesting concentration camp inmates, while the remaining three Brabag facilities (Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz) immediately fell back upon camp prisoners to deal with the damage from the Allied bombardment. Weeks after the speaker of the board (*Vorstandssprecher*) and SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Kranefuss organized prisoner contingents for Zeitz and Magdeburg in negotiations with his friend and chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, Böhlen—which began operations in February 1936 as the first of Brabag's hydrogenation works—finally did become interested in additional workers and concentration camp prisoners. The OT-Einsatzgruppe IV "Kyffhäuser," which had begun to build up regional organization and personnel structures, was not in a position to deal with the request. The OT's difficulties in coordinating the requests angered Edmund Geilenberg, head of the war economy emergency program that bore his name. He intervened personally, threatening to inform Albert Speer of the OT's failure. In any event, Geilenberg kept Speer constantly up to date on the progress of the important Geilenberg construction sites, including the use of prisoners. Geilenberg demanded concentration camp prisoners by telegram from Gerhard Maurer (WVHA Office Group DII),[1] and at the end of July 1944, a Buchenwald subcamp was established at Böhlen. The SS transported 1,080 prisoners, mostly of East European origin, to Böhlen. Some publications have put the number at 800, but this is too low. SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, in charge of the labor deployment at the Buchenwald concentration camp, inspected the subcamp in accordance with the usual practice.

As in all Brabag factories, the prisoners were used to construct bunkers and do heavy cleanup and construction work in the destroyed factory and the surrounding area. Manager Herbert von Felbert, who was simultaneously the Geilenberg representative at the factory, coordinated construction work and had the power to give directions to and make decisions for the SS. Because the facility was thus embedded in the Geilenberg program, the prisoners' work for the factory was free. The Reich government reimbursed Brabag for the costs of hiring out the prisoners from the SS as well as for the cost of their accommodation and food. The factory's medical officer, Dr. Eckardt, was responsible for the prisoners' and guards' medical care.[2] At the beginning of September 1944, there were 80 guards; at the end of October, 113. Most of them were probably former Wehrmacht soldiers. There are scarcely any details about the prisoners' working and living conditions as the German Democractic Republic's successor to the Böhlen factory had all remaining contemporary documents destroyed in 1989–1990. In October 1944, the SS recorded that more than 10 percent of the prisoners were sick. More than 60 prisoners who could no longer work were transported via shuttle service back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners. The dead were likewise transported from the subcamp back to the main camp on the Ettersberg. The usual cremation of corpses in a neighboring city crematorium did not take place. The death rate in Böhlen, in comparison to those in the Brabag camps in Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz, was low. Although the construction and cleanup work was similar in all four camps, and although these counted among the notorious construction commandos, no more than a dozen prisoners died in Böhlen. In contrast to the other three Brabag camps, which clearly ex-

isted longer, in Böhlen the prisoners were not Jewish, and so the SS and the company allowed them much better chances for survival than were allowed to Jews. More than 30 prisoners, that is, more than 3 percent, were able to escape.[3]

On November 28, 1944, four months after its establishment, the SS and Brabag dissolved the camp so as to facilitate the transfer of the Brabag factory in Madgeburg to an underground site in Königstein, south of Dresden. Brabag sent 977 prisoners from Böhlen in two groups, on November 14 and November 28, to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Königstein, which was located at the foot of the Königstein castle in the Elbsandstein mountains. The factory manager, von Felbert, had organized the "internal" transfer of the prisoners to the newly established subcamp. In so doing he saved the Königstein Brabag management, who operated not under the name of Brabag but the dummy firm Sandsteinwerke Kohl & Co. Pirna, the time-consuming process of requesting labor from the WVHA.[4]

At the beginning of February 1945 the SS and Brabag in Böhlen reactivated their cooperation. Based upon special authority given by Heinrich Himmler to SS-Brigadeführer Hans Kammler (February 5, 1945), and upon a discussion with Kranefuss, an unknown number of prisoners under SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff were forced to recommence construction work. Bischoff had been in charge of the Zentralbauleitung (Central Construction Administration) in Auschwitz and had been responsible for the construction of crematoria and gas chambers. In Böhlen the factory manager, von Felbert, had the power to instruct the SS.[5]

SOURCES The Böhlen subcamp is mentioned in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer's work *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für Regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996) and is referred to in the authors's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). See also the authors's "Ingenieure als Täter. Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. R. Gabriel et al. (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 46–70.

The Brabag factory files are held in part in the StA-Lg and the BrA-K. In YV as well as AG-B there are deportation lists, and in the BA-B—Bestand R 3 and R 121—are the Geilenberg files relating to Böhlen.

Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA, R 3112/179.

2. Ebd. Bl. 179 u. 196; and BA, NS 4/ Bu, Nr. 210, passim; LHASA-Me, Brabag Zeitz, Nr. 156, p. 13.

3. YV, Microfilm Bu 16 and Bu 17; BA, NS 4/Bu, 136a, pp. 103–146.

4. AG-B, HKW 1, Transportverzeichnis; BA, R 3/1907, p. 79; and R121/1335, Schreiben Brabag an Inko, August 11, 1948.

5. BA, NS 3/457, p. 1.

BRAUNSCHWEIG

On September 13, 1941, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created at the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School) in Braunschweig. Opened in 1935 in a castle, the Braunschweig Junkerschule was one of three academies established to educate future members of the SS. The SS-Junkerschule, an educational system independent of Wehrmacht military training, was created to instill the tenets of National Socialist ideology and history in future SS members. The school system was steeped in the legendary ties of the SS to its alleged Teutonic past (*Junker* means "knight" or "cadet"). The pedagogy, coupled with the administrative independence and physical isolation of the Junkerschule, ensured total ideological and personal control over SS trainees.

Inmates deported to Braunschweig from the Buchenwald main camp were employed in construction and various kinds of repair work at the Junkerschule. In October 1941, the administration of the Junkerschule made a request to the labor service office in Buchenwald for 10 painters, 3 wallpaper hangers, 2 joiners, 1 metalworker, and 1 carpenter, for a total of 17 inmates. The Junkerschule "rented" the inmates at 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate, although the inmates were not compensated for their work.[1] According to the same request report, housing, food, and guard staff were to be provided by the SS-Junkerschule, and the Buchenwald camp would send one Blockführer (block leader). Moreover, an agreement for the transfer of prisoners to the Braunschweig Junkerschule was "personally reached" between the head of the administration at the SS-Junkerschule, SS-Sturmbannführer Mohr, and the commandant of Buchenwald, then SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Koch (later Pister, see below). Those unfit for work in the detachment were selected by the chief of "protective custody" camp "E" (Schutzhaftlagerführer "E"). According to this report, prisoner work at Braunschweig was slated to begin on September 17, 1941, and would last until October 31, 1941.[2] However, as is noted below, inmates were reinstated in the camp in early 1942 after a temporary cessation of inmate work in November 1941. The first group of inmates was transferred back to the Buchenwald camp in October.

After the brief closure of the camp, the administration of the SS-Junkerschule submitted another request to the main camp for inmates for repair work at the school in February 1942. At least 20 prisoners were transferred to Braunschweig to paint and to perform other kinds of maintenance. According to a telex message undersigned by the commandant of Buchenwald, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Pister, the Junkerschule requested the 20 inmates for a period of four weeks to work on the construction of a music school. Pister also noted that another block leader would have to be sent to the detachment from Buchenwald.[3] This initial four-week period was extended, and in April 1942, inmates were still stationed at the school. Correspondence between Mohr and the head of the labor service office (Arbeitserziehungsführer) in Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Philipp Grimm, reveals that Mohr wished to continue inmate work at the school,

although the original agreement stated that the prisoners were to be returned to Buchenwald in March.[4] However, arrangements were made to have these 20 exchanged for other prisoners, and additional skilled and unskilled inmate workers were transferred to the camp. A report on the prisoner labor service in the Braunschweig Junkerschule for the month of June 1942 shows that in the first half of the month there were between 25 and 30 skilled workers and 28 unskilled workers. In the latter part of that month, the number dropped to 13 skilled workers and no unskilled workers.[5]

According to a memo dated July 30, 1942, from the administration of the school to Office (Amt) IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a request was submitted for 6 additional inmates for "urgent repair work" in the month of August.[6] No further information about the inmates, their working and living conditions, or possible escape and resistance attempts could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the camp was last mentioned in contemporary records on May 7, 1943. However, there is no indication whether the inmates were exchanged with Buchenwald on an as-needed basis—as was the case in 1941 and 1942—or if the same group of 13 inmates remained there until 1943.

SOURCES Little information about the Braunschweig subcamp can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and private firms that exploited camp labor, see the entry for Buchenwald/Braunschweig in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which includes ITS information. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Additional information on the SS-Junkerschule can be found in Jay Hatheway's *In Perfect Formation: SS Ideology and the SS-Junkerschule-Tölz* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999); and Richard Schulze-Kossens, "Offiziersnachwuchs der Waffen-SS: Die SS-Junkerschulen," in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch 1979* (Munich: Schild Verlag, 1979).

Primary documentation on the Braunschweig subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, particularly volumes 205 and 209. These and other volumes from this collection, including volumes 176–185, contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "departures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Instandsetzungsarbeiten in den Kasernen u. Unterkünften," October 8, 1941, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald) Band 205, Fiche 1, as copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG.14.023M (hereafter BA, Band 205).
2. Ibid.
3. "Fernschreiben, Nr.: 379; Konzentrationslager Buchenwald/Weimar-Buchenwald," February 12, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
4. "Aktenvermerk," April 17, 1942, and "Aktennotiz," April 17, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
5. "Forderungsnachweis," June 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
6. SS-Junkerschule Braunschweig Verwaltung, An das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, "Gestellung von 6 Häftlingen," July 30, 1942, BA, Band 209.

BUTTELSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Buttelstedt (Weimar district) in April 1941 with 30 male prisoners. The inmates, most likely transferred from the Buchenwald main camp, were deported to Buttelstedt to work for the Firma Schlosser company. The camp was last mentioned on September 27, 1943, with five prisoners.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Buttelstedt subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, and so on) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents with information about the Buttelstedt subcamp are scarce. For Buchenwald administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. This collection may contain further information on the Buttelstedt camp that can be derived from Buchenwald strength reports; a more thorough analysis of the collection may yield more details, such as prisoner demographics. Finally, additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Buttelstedt camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

COLDITZ

The Buchenwald Colditz subcamp was one of seven camps that were established by Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in the last year of the war in Germany and that survived until the end of the war. This camp was established on a factory site 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Leipzig. At its peak, a maximum of 650 Jewish men were engaged in construction work for an

armaments factory.[1] The camp was opened on November 29, 1944, and closed on April 14, 1945, when the prisoners were forcibly marched out of the camp.[2] The subcamp should not be confused with the early concentration camp and the later prisoner-of-war (POW) camp (Oflag IV-C), which at different times were located in the castle in the small city of Colditz.

The Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG from 1934 manufactured munitions, grenades, and toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In six forced labor camps including Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the firm produced munitions from 1942, using thousands of Jewish forced laborers. As a result of German war losses, the HASAG began from the summer of 1944 to relocate to new and existing production sites in Saxony and Thuringia. In 1944, in Colditz, HASAG took over several production facilities from a porcelain manufacturer and contracted with construction firms for their conversion into a prison camp and assembly plant. The southern part of the site was separated from the rest with an electric fence and guard towers. Colditz was chosen as the site for a HASAG subcamp due to the existing connection of the site to the Reichsbahn railway network and its proximity to the main production site in Leipzig. Civilian Polish forced laborers worked on the site with the Jewish concentration camp prisoners. The former were accommodated in the Colditz guesthouse with their own barracks.

Colditz had been initially planned as a camp for women, but on November 29, 1944, 100 men were delivered to the camp. Others were soon to follow. The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a Jewish labor detachment. The men had been selected for forced labor in Colditz, in Buchenwald, or at the HASAG Leipzig camp. Just about all of the Jewish prisoners in Colditz had been seized in Poland or Hungary. A few of the Poles had worked in HASAG factories in Poland. Among the Hungarian prisoners were probably many elderly men, even though the fragmentary records that have survived cannot confirm this. The prisoners were first engaged in the construction of the camp. Prisoners have reported that they worked on an air-raid bunker, on unloading railway wagons that were shunted into the company grounds, and on assembly operations, for example, removing screws from metal plates. It is not known whether the prisoners actually worked in the Colditz production sites producing weapons and Panzerfäuste. In addition to the construction work for HASAG, the prisoners worked outside the camp grounds. A group of 10 prisoners worked in the privately owned Colditz gravel pit, extracting sand for the HASAG.

After three transports, on December 5, 1944, the camp had approximately 300 prisoners. These numbers were to remain relatively constant until the middle of February. The transport lists show that occasionally "sick or prisoners incapable of work" were transferred back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners.[3] A new transport on February 21, 1945, brought another 350 prisoners to the camp so that by the time the camp was dissolved in the middle of April, there were about 650 prisoners in the camp. On April 7, 1945, the last time the camp is referred to in the statistics of the work detachments' strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), there were 633 prisoners listed.[4] In the five months of the camp's existence to April 7, 1945, at least 23 prisoners died, 15 in the last three weeks alone.[5] Seventy-three prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. Of these, some could have died because of illness and exhaustion caused by forced labor. According to the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), 719 prisoners went through the camp.

The accommodations in the camp were rudimentary. The prisoners lived in converted factory buildings where there were multitiered bunk beds. The small stoves in the sleeping quarters were inadequate to heat the rooms, according to the former prisoner Endre György, with the result that the prisoners constantly were cold during the winter months.[6] The infirmary was an area in the factory building separated by a wall of sacking. The prisoners had an open pit as a toilet located outside the factory building. A former HASAG worker stated that some SS enjoyed throwing bricks at the prisoners while they were using the toilet.

SS-Oberscharführer Gens was the detachment commander in Colditz. He is described in numerous reports by survivors as a sadist, who without the slightest reason would injure the prisoners with a bayonet. Gens's deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Zischka. Only the surnames of both are referred to in the documents. The prisoners also recalled that the head of the Colditz company security, Herrmann, was also a brutal character and had probably worked in a HASAG Polish factory. In addition to the SS and company security, Wehrmacht soldiers also guarded the prisoners.

While the prisoners were working, they were supervised by civilian foremen, who had considerable influence on the prisoners' situation. For example, there were foremen who beat the prisoners, and there were others who gave the prisoners additional food. A female inhabitant in Colditz gave the prisoners working in the gravel pit daily reports, based on Allied reports, on the course of the war. This news spread throughout the camp, encouraging the prisoners to survive.

The camp was dissolved on April 14, 1945, the day before a U.S. tank division arrived in Colditz.[7] A few prisoners tried to hide in the factory grounds, but they were discovered and shot in front of the other prisoners. It is likely that the prisoners, along with a group of 1,000 prisoners from Jena, were driven on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Along the way the group was separated and went different ways. There is some evidence that during the march many prisoners were shot because they were too tired to go on or while trying to escape. Gelhard Szymon stated that it was an 18-day death march to Theresienstadt; Dezsó Lichtner said that he went part of the way by train.[8]

Inconclusive investigations began in 1948–1949 into individual HASAG employees and Colditz camp personnel as part of the Leipzig trials against HASAG perpetrators in Poland.

SOURCES The Colditz subcamp is referred to in an essay on the HASAG men's subcamps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,"

DaHe 21 (2005): 237–271. A local association is involved in researching the camp.

Documents on the Colditz subcamp are scattered through a number of archives. SS and HASAG documents relating to the camp have for the most part not survived. In YV, there are individual reports by surviving prisoners (Collections O.15. E, O.69, and O.3). Questionnaires were sent to survivors as part of the Leipzig "Tschenstochau (Czenstochowa) Trial" in 1948–1949 and also by Kriegsverbrecher-Referats des Jüdischen Zentralkomitees in Munich. They are also held in YV (Collections M.21.1 and M.21.3). Several detailed accounts by the Hungarian Endre György and a few documents are also held in the Colditz City Museum.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-B, 46–1–18.
2. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015724–38.
3. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015729.
4. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 9, Bl. 9.
5. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
6. SM-Cd, Endre György: Kiesela und Albin (German translation of a Hungarian report).
7. Otto Schuricht (Antifaschistische Widerstandskämpfer des Kreises Döbeln, Bd. 8), published by the SED-Kreisleitung Döbeln, Döbeln 1976, S. 30.
8. Report Gelhard Szymon, YVA, O.3/1574; Interview Dezsó Lichtner 2.7.45 in Budapest, YVA, O.15.E/692.

DERNAU ("REBSTOCK," "RS," "RB," "MASSNAHME STEPHAN LAGER BRÜCK," "*FA. GOLLNOW UND SOHN*," "*VOLKSWAGENWERKE DERNAU*")

The concentration camp labor detachment at Dernau was located in Bad Neuenahr on the Ahr River in a narrow Eifel mountain valley in southwestern Germany between Koblenz and the Belgian border. The camp was established in early August 1944 on the initiative of Volkswagen executives after negotiations with the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) and the SS. It was a subcamp of the Buchenwald main camp, under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Dernau camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various code names: "Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück" (so called after the leading Volkswagen engineer, Rudolph Stephan), "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn" (named after a Koblenz-based construction company), and "Volkswagenwerke Dernau." In late December 1944, when Allied forces drew close to the area, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Dernau was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen company assigned the production of Fi 103 (V-1) cruise missiles and fighter airplanes, and the SS company Mittelwerk GmbH. The Dernau facility consisted of five tunnels that originally were part of the abandoned Ahr Valley railroad: the Silberberg, Kuxberg, Sonderberg, Herrenberg, and Trotzenberg tunnels, covering a total of 28,000 square meters (33,488 square yards). Under the code name "Kitz," the tunnels had been placed under the authority of the Mittelwerk GmbH and used as a support base for A4 (Aggregat 4, V-2) rocket launching batteries; but in June 1944, when Hitler decided to cut down on V-2 production and have it concentrated in the underground Mittelwerk facility in the Harz mountains, Wernher von Braun agreed to give up a substantial part of the Dernau space to Volkswagen, the company then in charge of V-1 production. There were plans to install a V-1 production line with an output of 3,500—later 5,000—missiles a month in the tunnels, and in mid-July, the first 22 railway cars with equipment arrived from the Volkswagenwerk. The Mittelwerk remained in charge of the refurbishing project. The Trotzenberg tunnel, at 1,300 meters (1,422 yards) the longest, and the Kuxberg tunnel actually got to the point of production machinery being installed. But the facility never got beyond the point of preparations before Allied advance necessitated its evacuation.

The Dernau prisoners were forced to do hard refurbishing work such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces. Construction and production specialists from Volkswagen and from the Koblenz company Gollnow und Sohn supervised the work site. Apart from concentration camp inmates and Germans, the workforce consisted of voluntary and forced laborers from various occupied countries, including 500 Italian Military Internees (Italienische Militärinternierte, IMIs).

The Dernau concentration camp was established on the initiative of Ferdinand Porsche and Anton Piëch, Volkswagen chief executives. The first camp commandant was an SS-Untersturmführer Jansen, who was later replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Schmidt. After an on-site inspection by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt, the first prisoners arrived on August 4 and August 8, two transports of 168 and 299 male prisoners from the German concentration camp in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. Buchenwald agreed to deploy 800 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners to Dernau, but no female prisoners ever arrived. However, the number of male prisoners eventually surpassed that figure and reached 1,200. Four hundred and forty-two prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on transports on August 21, August 23, September 4, and September 14. Dutch, French, and Russian prisoners were represented as well as other, smaller groups. The majority was non-Jewish, but a group of Hungarian Jewish prisoners who had been trained as specialists in V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory arrived on September 6 from the Thil concentration camp in northern France, which also operated on behalf of Minette.

Volkswagen's failure to meet delivery and quality requirements led to the army's withdrawal of its role as coordinator of V-1 production. Consequently, the Dernau facility never became a V-1 factory. As the V-1 production, too, was concentrated into the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen/Harz, most Dernau prisoners were transported to this facility and incar-

cerated in the Dora subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. The first transports numbering some 500 prisoners left from Dernau on September 20 and 21, including the Hungarian Jewish group. The last transport of 199 prisoners from Dernau left for Dora on December 28, 1944; these prisoners had continued the underground refurbishing until then. Work was frequently delayed for shorter or longer periods due to lack of materials so that company payments to the SS for the prisoners' labor equaled only some 170 full-time workers in November and no more than 50 in December.

Evidence is scattered on the Dernau camp and its guard units, who were German SS. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodation was very primitive. The prisoners' barracks were located on the steep hillsides of the valley and apparently divided into a number of small separate compounds, each consisting of a few standard wooden huts with ordinary barbed-wire fences around them. Electrical fencing and watchtowers were lacking. The guards appear to have been just as brutal as in other camps, though. They frequently imparted punishments, floggings, and beatings when prisoners marching to or from work sneaked into the surrounding vineyards in order to ease their hunger and thirst with a few stolen grapes. Provisions in the camp were very poor. Even if there was no systematic killing of prisoners, several deaths occurred according to survivors' testimony.

SOURCES This description of the Dernau camp is primarily based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996); see pp. 703, 824, 867, and 920 for detailed references to specific decisions, transports, and so on. Further brief topographical details are in Michael Preute, *Der Bunker* (Cologne, 1989), p. 47. Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Dernau concentration camp is scarce and scattered, but a number of substantial company records are held at the VWA. This institution and the ASt-WOB also hold copies of documents from AG-B, NIOD, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco, Israel, NARA (USSBS), and BA-K. Survivors' accounts are plentiful but mostly consist of brief written and oral accounts, a substantial number of which were recorded by the author between 1988 and 2002 and are being held by VWA and USHMMA. Other accounts are held by YVA, MA, and VHF.

Therkel Straede

DESSAU (*DESSAUER WAGGONFABRIK*)

A subcamp attached to the main Buchenwald concentration camp was created in Dessau at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik in October 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was created close to a work site to provide labor to a private industrial firm, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik AG located in Dessau. To supplement their labor force, firms such as the Waggonfabrik "rented" concentration camp prisoners from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. For the month of December 1944, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik owed the WVHA 29,226 RM for the laborers (not limited to concentration camp prisoners) that it "employed."[1]

The first transport of 50 prisoners reached Dessau from Buchenwald on October 23, 1944.[2] Although there is no demographic breakdown on the transport list itself, the inmates appear to be predominantly Russian and Polish, and all were male. The largest transports of inmates to the Dessau camp arrived on November 29, 1944 (153 inmates) and December 4, 1944 (130 inmates).[3] These inmates also appear to have originated from Russia and Poland, as well as the Netherlands, France, Latvia, and the Reich. Throughout the autumn of 1944 and early 1945, some inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald at various intervals, most likely due to illness and, at least in one instance, to retrieve supplies from the Buchenwald main camp.[4] The average number of prisoners incarcerated in the Dessau plant during its five-month operation period was about 340.

There is no information available about the proximity or location of the subcamp to the factory. The company manufactured locomotives and railcars and was a subsidiary of the Orenstein & Koppel AG firm (Berlin). The prisoners were employed repairing railcars, among other kinds of work. A number of inmates were assigned specific "skilled" and functional positions, including roofers, carpenters, joiners, barbers, and electricians.[5] No additional information about working or living conditions within the camp could be found.

According to a medical report filed by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 members in the guard staff of the subcamp. No name is listed for the SS medic (*Sanitätsdienstgrad*, SDG); however, one unnamed nurse is listed. According to this report, there were 341 inmates in the subcamp at this time.[6] A January 23, 1945, report on deaths in the Aussenkommandos lists three prisoner deaths in the Dessau subcamp: one Latvian, one French, and one Russian, all suffering from pneumonia.[7] A later report notes that on March 25, 1945, shortly before the camp was dissolved, there were 339 inmates in the camp.[8]

The camp closed on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and companies who used laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Waggonfabrik) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945).* Also see *Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The*

Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Dessau subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, a collection of transport lists to the Dessauer Waggonfabrik camp and other administrative records copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 17. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald concentration camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, and 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171 for Dessau). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Dessau," October 23, 1944, Buchenwald (Bu 64), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

3. "Transport Dessau," November 29, 1944, and "Transport Dessau," December 4, 1944 (BU 64), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

4. Transports of one to seven inmates on various dates, including December 5, 16, and 22, 1944; January 5 and 6, 1945. See also "Rücküberweisung des Häftlinge Martynow Wladimir," November 13, 1945, for a list of supplies from the Buchenwald camp (BU 64), Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

5. See work assignments for inmates listed on transports for October 23, 1944, November 29, 1944, and December 4, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

7. "Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos," January 23, 1945 (BU 36/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

8. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 März 1945," (BU 35), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

DESSAU (*JUNKERS FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE*)

A subcamp attached to the Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the Junkers Flugzeug-und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) in Dessau in July 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was most likely created to provide labor to a private industrial firm, whose efficient and cost-effective production output was deemed important for the German rearmament effort. Concentration camp prisoners were "rented" by private firms, such as the Junkers factory, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for their use of prisoner labor.

The JFM in Dessau was one of several production facilities for the manufacture of Junkers aircraft and aircraft parts. Originally founded in 1895, the Junkers facility in Dessau had expanded considerably by the end of World War I. By the beginning of World War II, armaments needs had so increased that production of Junkers aircraft was increasingly decentralized and spread to various facilities throughout Germany. [See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA") and Buchenwald/Schönebeck.]

No information about the exact location of the subcamp in relation to the Dessau Junkers facility could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, the camp was opened on July 25, 1944. All 50 of its prisoners were male, presumably transferred to Dessau from the main Buchenwald camp.

The Dessau Junkers facilities experienced several damaging air raids by the Allies throughout 1944 and early 1945. A large part of JFM was destroyed in a bombing attack on May 30, 1944. Therefore, the inmates transferred from Buchenwald to the subcamp may have been employed in clearing rubble and performing construction work.

The camp was closed in November 1944, and the city of Dessau and the Junkers plant were occupied by the U.S. Army in April 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Junkers factory in Dessau appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and firms that exploited laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Junkers) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Doku-*

mente und Berichte (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Further information on the Dessau Junkers plant and industrialization of the city can be found in Manfred Sundermann, *Mechanische Stadt? Junkers Dessau* (Dessau: Anhalt Edition Dessau, 2003). The Hugo Junkers Web site, www.junkers.de.vu, also offers considerable information, bibliographies, and photographs of the various Junkers facilities and their history.

Primary documentation on the Dessau Junkers subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found at USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. The Technik Museum "Hugo Junkers" Dessau may also have further archival holdings pertaining to the camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DORNBURG

In the few remaining known sources on this subject, the prisoner detachment (Kommando) at Dornburg is listed as one of the smallest Buchenwald satellite camps. This subcamp, located on the River Elbe in the district of Zerbst, state of Anhalt, existed for only a short time.

Dornburg is first mentioned on March 21, 1945. This Kommando consisted exclusively of male prisoners. On that day four Russians, three Poles, and one German citizen were transferred from the main camp to this Kommando. For this "Dornburg Transport" the rations office provided them with food for one day's march.[1] The surviving documents suggest that in the course of its brief existence neither a variation in the number of prisoners nor a prisoner exchange occurred. On March 21, as on April 11, 1945, the last time the camp is mentioned, the number of prisoners is listed as eight.[2]

The existing documents do not reveal any reasons for the establishment of this Kommando. Moreover, the occupations of the transferred inmates—joiner, carpenter, locksmith, mason, factory worker, and agricultural laborer—also do not permit conclusions about their employers or their deployment. A comparison of their trades recorded in the Kommando lists and in various other documents shows discrepancies in three cases. A comparison of the inmates' numbers in Buchenwald's labor statistics and its transport lists reveals that those inmates ultimately dispatched to Dornburg were originally slated for the "Stein Transport." No connection between these two camps can be determined.

Since the Kommando at Dornburg appears only at the very end of the war, shortly before the liberation of the main camp, and so few prisoners belonged to it, the paths of their persecution leading there—quite different in each case—are traced below.[3]

1. In 1943, arrested by the Radom Gestapo; sent to Auschwitz concentration camp by the Radom SD; from there sent to the main camp Buchenwald; from Buchenwald to Kommando Halle; sent back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.
2. Admission by the Weimar Gestapo of two prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp in March 1945 before the transport to Dornburg.
3. In 1944 the arrest of two prisoners in Warsaw; admitted to Buchenwald by the Kraków SD; from there sent to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf satellite camp; returned to main camp before being sent to Dornburg.
4. In 1943, arrest by the Dortmund Gestapo; transfer through Buchenwald to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf Kommando; sent back to the main camp; continued on to Kommando Halle; returned once again to Buchenwald and finally to Dornburg.
5. In 1943, arrested in Stalino and sent to Dachau by the Sipo (Security Police); then to Buchenwald; sent to Kommando Saalfeld and back to the main camp; in July 1944 sent to Kommando Halle, back to Buchenwald, and then to Dornburg.
6. In November 1944, arrested in Wolot; sent to Buchenwald by Münster Gestapo (field office Bielefeld); from there sent to Kommando Halle; back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.

In spite of these differences in length and other details of their persecution, all eight prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES No secondary sources were available.

Although this satellite camp existed only for a very short time, original documents—a transport list dated March 21, 1945, Voucher No. 25 from the Buchenwald rations department also dated March 21, 1945, and a report on the size of this labor detail dated March 29, 1945—provide historical evidence. Due to the small number of inmates, documents in possession of ITS could be evaluated, which furnished additional information.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 33 [169], p. 96, Voucher No. 25 [Request of the first Schutzhaftlagerführer, the protective custody camp chief warden, to provisions department KL Bu.) contains information concerning the dietary provisions of inmates through reports by appropriate camp officials from March 1, 1945, to April 5, 1945.

2. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 160 [15], II, p. 641/labor details dated March 29, 1945)—the number of inmates is listed according to Kommando membership.

3. ITS contains such individual records as prisoners' personal information cards from Buchenwald, which frequently record the inmates' arrival and transfers.

DORTMUND

The first reference to the Buchenwald subcamp at Dortmund, in the area of the Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union, is found in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog.[1]

The Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union had belonged to Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks) since 1926. This was the largest association of industrial firms in Germany and was headed by Albert Vögler from Dortmund. This Buchenwald subcamp was located in Dortmund on Huckarder Strasse (later the building at Huckarder Strasse 111).[2]

According to contemporary witness reports, 300 female prisoners who had been transferred from Ravensbrück to Dortmund were housed at the camp. Female concentration camp guards were previously recruited in Dortmund and trained at Ravensbrück. On April 1, 1945, 650 prisoners were reported to have been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen by train, after it was apparent that the advancing U.S. troops were moving closer to Dortmund. According to an account by an SS supervisor, however, while a detail was returning to the camp on March 16, 1945, the Dortmund-Hörder plant came under an air attack during which 86 female prisoners fled.[3] The company plants did not suffer severe damage from the bombings. SS members accompanied the 547 female prisoners that remained until April 1, 1945, most of whom were taken again to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, or subcamps such as Magdeburg and Leipzig.

The Dortmund subcamp consisted of a multistory brick building that was connected by an underground passageway to the projectile factory. This passageway followed underneath a factory railroad line. The building's windows were barred, and the doors that led outside were sealed. According to the reports of the public prosecutor, primarily Polish female prisoners were kept on the first floor, and the second floor housed mostly Russians. There were, however, also prisoners from Hungary, Holland, and Germany interned in the building. A document verifies that on November 30, 1944, 398 female prisoners, 78 of whom were sick, were in the prisoner detail for Dortmund-Hörder, which had to work from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. (with a one-hour break). According to former prisoners from Warsaw on the occasion of a visit to Dortmund, which had been organized by the Dortmund history workshop, the average age of the prisoners was probably just under 20 years old. Working conditions at the projectile factory of Dortmund-Hörder, which had also produced munitions in World War I, were described in more detail. They ranged from the production of bombs to grenade turning.

Concerning the terrorization of prisoners by guard personnel, appalling abuses were the exception. Moreover, it has been shown that beginning on March 31, 1943, part of "Construction Brigade II," which was under the authority of Buchenwald concentration camp, was temporarily active as "demolition squad Dortmund." Forty members reportedly belonged to this detail. Additional work details from the so-called Construction Brigade III operated in Dusseldorf-Kalkum, Essen, Cologne, and Duisburg; their total strength reached 1,300 prisoners.

SOURCES Hans Müller's publication "*Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .*": *Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994) formed the basis for this essay. Otherwise, apart from the small article by Günther Högl, "Zwangsarbeiter unter verschärften Bedingungen: Das Aussenlager Dortmund des KZ Buchenwald und das 'Auffanglager Hüttenwerk' auf dem Gelände des Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenvereins 1944/45," HD 3 (2002), no studies of the subcamp exist. Information on the demolition detail may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 366.

Scattered various records on the Dortmund subcamp of Buchenwald do exist. There are references to the prisoners' employment in the AG-B and in the THStA-W. In the file collections of the ZdL (now BA-L) (the same material as in NWHStA-(D)) are interrogation protocols of former prisoners, which are passed down in the context of a preliminary proceeding. In addition, files from the public prosecutorial investigations of the ZSSta-K for combating National Socialist mass crimes at the Dortmund public prosecutor's office are also worth mentioning.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. ITS, ed., *Catalogue of camps and prisons in Germany and German-occupied territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* (Arolsen, July 1949), p. 135.

2. Hans Müller, "*Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .*": *Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994).

3. NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118, Nr. 942, p. 7.

DUDERSTADT

The Duderstadt subcamp was situated in the Prussian province of Hannover (in the south of today's Niedersachsen, Landkreis Göttingen), in the Untereichsfeld. It is connected with the company Polte OHG Magdeburg, which was founded in Magdeburg in 1885. In 1939, Polte incorporated the Duderstadt factory, which had been built that year, as a branch of its company. The site for the Duderstadt factory and the production plant were owned by the Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (LAG), a company partly owned by the Reich Air Ministry. Therefore, the Polte works was only able to act as lessee and producer in its association with the Duderstadt factory. The Duderstadt Polte factory produced different types of ammunition, such as 30mm and 40mm shells, and filled them with the explosive nitropenta.[1]

Already during the construction of the factory, foreign laborers were used. Later, the number of forced laborers continually increased. By the end of 1944, there were 2,549 people working in the factory including 633 German males (25 percent of the workforce), 548 German females (23 percent), 34 male Ostarbeiter (1 percent), 187 female Ostarbeiter (7 percent), 193 other male foreign workers (8 percent), 151 other female foreign workers (6 percent), 17 prisoners of war (1 percent), and 750 female Jewish concentration camp prisoners (29 percent).[2]

These female Jewish concentration camp workers, 747 Hungarians, 2 Poles, and a Czech, arrived in Duderstadt on November 4, 1944. They had been selected between May and August 1944 in Auschwitz for work in Germany and sent to Bergen-Belsen; from there they were sent to Duderstadt. According to Frank Baranowski, they were at first held on the site of the Steinhoff furniture factory close to the Polte factory grounds. A few women were also held in the Steinhoffsche Haus, where 20 to 30 of them lived in one room.

As with the munitions factory, the actual Duderstadt subcamp was located on the Euzenberg, south of the railway line Leinefelde-Duderstadt-Wulften, on the site of a former forced labor camp. It included two accommodation barracks and one wash barracks and was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified barbed-wire fence. Within the fence there was a second 1.5-meter-high (5-foot-high) fence. Views from the public road were screened off with boards. The accommodation was seen by the prisoners who had gone through Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen as comparatively clean and orderly; however, the constant overcrowding and overwork soon changed these conditions. The food was supplied by the Polte factory and is described by the prisoners as insufficient and without any nutritional value.

The Duderstadt subcamp Lagerführer from November 1944 to February 1945 was SS-Scharführer Arno Reisser. Shortly before the end of the war, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer (probably Eduard) Jansen. The doctor responsible for the camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. August Otto, who was assisted by a female prisoner doctor (probably Ryfka Baposhnikov) and a prisoner nurse. The prisoners were guarded by 13 or 14 guards as well as 18 female overseers from Duderstadt and the surrounding area. They had been chosen by the Northeim Labor Office and the Polte company management. The women underwent short training courses in October and November 1944 in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their duties and were in charge of supervising the women on the factory grounds. Like the male guards, they were accommodated in the camp's main building. According to prisoner statements, the female overseers mistreated and threatened the camp inmates.

The work the women did was difficult and damaged their health. The women worked in 12-hour shifts; a few were engaged in the camp kitchen. At least four or five women died during the camp's existence and were buried in the former cemetery of the Jewish community of Duderstadt. A Hungarian prisoner was returned to Bergen-Belsen in January 1945 after giving birth. At the same time five new prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to replace the lost labor.

Production in the camp became ever more difficult from February 1945 due to difficulty in obtaining supplies of materials. As Allied troops approached, the prisoners were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 by bus, by truck, and finally by rail via Magdeburg, Dessau, and Wolfen in the direction of Theresienstadt. A low-flying aerial attack on the transport resulted in several dead and injured. On April 26, 1945, after more than three weeks, the women arrived at Theresienstadt.

Investigations began after the war into Hans Nathusius, one of the co-owners of Polte OHG Magdeburg and the deputy works manager in Duderstadt. The Staatsanwaltschaft (Public Prosecutor's Office) Göttingen also conducted investigations into the subcamp. No convictions resulted from the investigations.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has written a detailed analysis on the Duderstadt subcamp, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). Other publications by Baranowski on the subcamp are *Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995), including "Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte," pp. 111–176; as well as "Fremdarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge im Rüstungsbetrieb Polte in Duderstadt," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde (Mannheim, 1993), pp. 248–316; and "Arbeitskräftebeschaffung," pp. 25–37, in the same publication. In Renate Ragwitz's "Frauenaussenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982), a short description of the Duderstadt camp is on p. 21. The *EfHh* contain several essays on the Duderstadt subcamp including Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen und Duderstadt," 24 (1984): 23–41; Hans Demme, "Der Weg des Atalnó Mosonyi, Häftling im KZ-Aussenkommando Duderstadt," 2 (1985): 171; and Rolf Barthel, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen (1)," 1 (1987): 24–30. Rolf Barthel has recently published on the Duderstadt subcamp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen. Thüringer Forum für Bildung und* Wissenschaft (Jena, 2004). Other descriptions of the camp are by Götz Hütt, "Das Aussenlager Duderstadt des KZ Buchenwald," HdGw 1 (1988); Gudrun Pischke,"Von Auschwitz nach Duderstadt—Zwangsarbeit bei den Polte-Werken," in *Duderstadt 1929–1949*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Ebeling and Hans-Reinhard Fricke (Duderstadt, 1992), 2: 281–292. Gudrun Pischke has written the article on the Duderstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 422–424. This camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:38, where it is incorrectly described as part of the Mittelbau concentration camp, a claim that is no longer accepted by the most recent research. Duderstadt is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1800.

There are many sources on the Duderstadt subcamp. In the ASt-Dud are the following collections: SM1 Nr. 35 (Protocols

with statements of the former Duderstadt prisoners Paula and Bella Samuel, Babetta Fuchs, Ella Löwensohn, Lucia Szepesi, Gabriella and Rosza Farkas, as well as Erszebet and Jolan Reich, made in Budapest 1945); Dud2/12557 (Kanal- und Abwassergebühren der Firma Polte, mit monatlichen Angaben über die Belegschaftsstärke 1941–1945); Dud2/12558 (Bau einer Anschlussstrasse zum Polte-Werk); SMI Nr. 4 (Wartime Photographs of Duderstadt, 1939–1945). The Amtsgericht Magdeburg holds various company register extracts on the Polte factory and its business affairs. In the collections of the BA are details on the Duderstadt subcamp confirming its existence. The Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werks dated December 31, 1944, is held in the BA-K, Best. RGI, BA E 12 I/102. The BA-MA holds the following collections on the Duderstadt camp: RL 3/337 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Produktionsablaufpläne für Polte-Werk Duderstadt), RL 3/695 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Maschinenbestellungen für Werk Duderstadt), and RL 3/1189 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Lagepläne des Duderstädter Zweigwerkes). Further information is found in the collections of the BA-K in Ns 4 Bu/189 (Statistiken über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, Dezember 1944 bis März 1945), and Ns 4/229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943 bis 1945). The BA-P holds under File No. StVE K 237 B, A.1, the criminal investigation files on Hans Nathusius, the deputy manager of the Duderstadt Polte factory. The Polte investigation files of the Sta. Göttingen, File No. 5 Js 20/63, includes a number of eyewitness statements on the subcamp. The BA-DH, Best. ZM 1458, A. 2, holds a list of female concentration camp overseers trained in Ravensbrück, including the names of the Duderstadt women who were deployed at the subcamp. The AG-B holds the Duderstadt subcamp Bestandsliste, Best. BA 46–1-14, which provides an overview of the number of women and their work details. Other relevant documents in AG-BB deal with admissions and transfers to and from the Duderstadt camp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993), p. 35.

2. Interne Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werkes an die Stadt Duderstadt vom 31.12.1944, BA-K, Best. RGI, A E 12 I/102.

DÜSSELDORF (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*)

From March 1944 to March 1945, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf was operated by the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt), which produced building materials for the city of Düsseldorf. In 1938, the SS-owned DESt had been established through an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer in order to produce building materials for the planned Führer cities (*Führerstädte*). To this end, cooperative projects had already been set up between DESt enterprises of the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps and larger cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, or Nürnberg.

The DESt camp in Düsseldorf and another one established at the same time in Essen were created at the initiative of the city administrations. Particularly in the destroyed cities of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the removal or processing of huge amounts of rubble, as well as the lack of appropriate building material, posed enormous problems for the municipal planning departments. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), an account of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) written by three defendants at the Nuremberg Trials, the city administrations of Essen and Düsseldorf had negotiated with managers of DESt about this problem. Oswald Pohl then instructed DESt to "take on a major role in the removal of rubble caused by the aerial attacks and to thereby obtain urgently needed building materials."[1] Accordingly, DESt constructed recycling plants that sold the building materials reclaimed from rubble at the local market price, either directly to the cities or to purchasers authorized by the planning offices.

In accordance with the agreements between the Amt W I of the WVHA and the mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, DESt had to provide "regulation secured lodging" and the guard forces. Food and clothing and the transport of the prisoners were to be supplied by Buchenwald, while the cities or the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West had to provide medical care for the prisoners.[2]

The camp was initially set up as a subcamp to the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) of Buchenwald, situated in Cologne, where first preparations for it began in mid-December 1943.[3] A school at 74–80 Kirchfeldstrasse, where the bomb squad known as Kalkum was already lodged, provided accommodations. The building was badly damaged and still in a "state of reconstruction" in July 1944.[4] The first 50 prisoners arrived in Düsseldorf on March 18, 1944.[5] By late April, 150 prisoners were accommodated in the camp, and in early June 1944, the highest occupancy was reached with 159 inmates.[6] After the withdrawal of the Construction Brigade from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald.

The DESt camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, about whom nothing else is known.[7] However, the commandant of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," Walter Knauf, also appears to have had a coordinating role for DESt as well as for the other Düsseldorf subcamps and the DESt camp in Essen. Knauf reported in turn to Buchenwald.[8] During their work, the prisoners were watched over by one guard duty officer and 14 municipal policemen (*Schutzpolizisten*). Following the orders of Himmler, Polizeioberstleutnant Martin, commander of the Wachbataillone (guard battalions) in Wehrkreis (military district) VI, carried out a security audit of the camp in July 1944. As a result, it was ordered that the windows in the quarters be fitted with bars, a guard be posted on the opposite side of the street during the night, and the guards be increased by one or two officers.[9]

The manager of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Works), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was responsible for the deployment of labor. Among his duties was to ensure that prisoners were used as ordered. Stricter supervision had become necessary after the prisoners from the DESt units were recruited for clearing and repair work in the cities as well. In May 1944, however, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West explicitly prohibited this use of the prisoners. At the same time, he reserved the right to summon prisoners of the DESt camp for special work assignments.[10] It seems that he repeatedly made use of this right. In September 1944, he ordered 50 prisoners to Cologne for a bomb squad, "until further notice."[11]

An area at the Fürstenwall served DESt as a workshop, where the concentration camp prisoners cleaned old bricks and produced concrete blocks from the rubble. According to the Minden Report, the DESt plants in Düsseldorf and Essen grew to "considerable size."[12] By August 1944, DESt in Düsseldorf had sold 2.2 million cleaned bricks to the city. Production of new concrete blocks commenced only in October 1944, however, and by the end of the war, no more than 70,000 had been made.[13]

The municipal prisoner-of-war (POW) kitchen (*Kriegsgefangenenküche*) in Himmelgeisterstrasse delivered the food daily for the prisoners, to both the Düsseldorf and the Essen DESt camps, and invoiced SS-Oberscharführer Goergens for the service.[14] On several occasions, camp commanders complained about the food they had received, including SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, who wrote on May 24, 1944, to the kitchen: "The 210 KZ [concentration camp] prisoners in this camp (DESt camp and "Kalkum") are fed by the Ostarbeiterküche, Himmelgeisterstr., and get the warm food delivered in vats by truck. These transport vats are in such a damaged state that upon arrival, about 20 liters of food has been spilt from each vat, to the detriment of the recipients of the food. I ask you most kindly to redress this grievance, and to ensure that the amount of food allotted to the camp is actually distributed."[15]

Little is known about the prisoners and their living conditions. From June 1944 to the end of the war, 15 men escaped, and 6 were registered as "deceased." As late as February 1945, 10 prisoners were sent from Buchenwald to Düsseldorf. On March 13, 1945, in the face of the approaching liberators, 150 prisoners were sent back to Buchenwald.[16]

A few days after the seizure of Düsseldorf by American troops, someone proposed to restart the DESt plant. However, the municipal construction administration decided to refrain from this plan: "I cannot agree with the proposal that the military authority should confiscate the whole plant for the city, because there is no way to get it running again. In addition to the fact that the driving belts have been stolen from the machines, there is a shortage of labor. Problems could perhaps arise for the city, because KZ prisoners had been used for these works, and assumptions could be made that work can get done here, which are not tenable."[17]

SOURCES Researchers have not focused on the DESt camp. In general surveys on the Düsseldorf camps, it is mentioned only with a few details: Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 188–189; and *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), p. 562. An unpublished manuscript on the history of a few Düsseldorf brickworks includes a mere two pages: Frank Troschitz, "Zur Geschichte der Ziegeleien der Fa. Niermann während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Einsatzes ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Düsseldorf" (unpub. MSS, Düsseldorf, 1996).

Records are sparse, but documents that could be considered as a starting point for more detailed research can be found in various archives: at the THStA-W (collections "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten" and "NS 4 Buchenwald"); the ASt-Dü (departments IV and VII); the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336); and the ZdL (BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, cited from Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.
2. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald No. 10, p. 291.
3. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, 43.
5. Work Deployment Statistics, March 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 230, p. 25.
6. Ibid., pp. 28, 62.
7. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, register of addresses, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183; and Sablonski, May 24, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
8. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, strength report, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229.
9. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 43.
10. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.
11. Arbeitseinsatzführer (leader of the labor detail) Schwarz, September 29, 1944, ZdL (BA-L) IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 27.
12. Cited from Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft*, p. 136.
13. Proceedings ASt-Dü, IV 1099 and IV 1112.
14. File "Verpflegung der in den Deutschen Erd- und Steinwerken eingesetzten KZ-Häftlinge, 1944–1945," ASt-Dü, IV 892.

15. Sablonski, May 25, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
16. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.
17. Amt 58 BE, May 17, 1945, ASt-Dü, IV 1099.

DÜSSELDORF (KIRCHFELDSTRASSE)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the Freidrichstadt district of Düsseldorf in a former school at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80. One of several subcamps of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, and one of two camps created on Kirchfeldstrasse, the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp opened on or around May 28, 1943, to supply concentration camp labor to the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory in Düsseldorf, an economic enterprise managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The camps at Kirchfeldstrasse were established as part of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed outside of Colonge in Deutz (see Düsseldorf-Kalkum). The Construction Brigade was formed under Office Group D of the WVHA to remove and detonate unexploded bombs and for use as cheap auxiliary labor in construction efforts. Private firms, such as DESt, "rented" camp labor (including concentration camp inmates) from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day. DESt-Düsseldorf "employed" 180 skilled workers and 2,553 auxiliary unskilled workers.[1] According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt became an independent subcamp administered by the Buchenwald main camp on June 25, 1944.

All of the inmates in the Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp were men, and according to a list of 151 inmates in the camp dated July 7, 1944, most of the inmates were Russian and Polish, with smaller numbers of Czech, Yugoslavian, French, Belgian, and Dutch inmates.[2] On February 22, 1945, 10 inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Kirchfeldstrasse.[3] Reports listing the number of prisoners incarcerated in the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt camp did not fluctuate markedly during its several-months-long operation: on June 23, 1944, 155 inmates were reported; on August 13–14, 1944, 143; on January 1, 1945, 143; and on March 6, 1945, 150 inmates.[4]

No information could be found about living conditions within the Kirchfeldstrasse camp or about the exact kind of work the inmates performed for the company. DESt was founded in Berlin on April 29, 1938, to mine stone quarries and manage construction and armaments work, exploiting inmate labor from prisoners in Mauthausen, Gusen, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and other camps. Presumably the inmates at the Düsseldorf-DESt camp were involved in construction or other kinds of work associated with rearmament at the Düsseldorf branch of the firm.

Likewise, there is little information known about the guards of the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt subcamp. The camp was most likely guarded by members of the SS. According to a report submitted by garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor in charge of medical care in the camp was named Wallraff, and the medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad SDG) was named Schmidt (the same SDG as in the "Berta" and Borsig subcamps in Düsseldorf).[5] Some correspondence exchanged between the Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 camp and the Headquarters of the Düsseldorf Higher-SS and Police Leader, located in Lohausen, shows the leader of the Kommando (Kommandoführer) as an SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski.[6]

One hundred and fifty inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald from the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse camp sometime in early March 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse appears only rarely in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, including slave labor camps, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Kirchfeldstrasse camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work performed, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain pieces of information about the camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially, BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253. Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Construction Brigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–174. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rep. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Verzeichnis der in hiesigen Lager einsitzenden Häftlinge," Düsseldorf, July 7, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

3. "Transport Düsseldorf," February 22, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

4. "Aufstellung der Br. III, Kdo. Düsseldorf," June 23, 1944 (BU 8/18); "Etats d'effectifs par Kommando," August 13–14, 1944 (BU 5/3); "Stand vom 6. März 1945, Stand vom 1. January 1945" (BU 8/18); USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.

6. Various memos, BA (NS 4): Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253, Fiche 1.

DÜSSELDORF-DERENDORF ("BERTA") (WITH "BORSIG")

Between November 1943 and March 1945 the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had in its Düsseldorf factory, "Hohenzollern," a Buchenwald subcamp. The camp was camouflaged with the code name "Berta." Until the summer of 1944, when it came under Buchenwald administration, the camp was attached to SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed in Cologne-Deutz. On November 1, 1943, the brigade dispatched 135 prisoners from Cologne to Düsseldorf. The brigade was transferred to the Harz in May 1944, and "Berta" became a stand-alone Buchenwald subcamp.

The SS commander in "Berta" was initially Josef Sieghardt, who was born on July 13, 1896, in Grottkau (Upper Silesia). SS-Hauptscharführer Sieghardt joined the Nazi Party and SS in 1931. From 1939 he was an instructor at the Buchenwald concentration camp.[1] A former prisoner, Toni Fleischhauer, had the following to say about the camp commander: "Sieghardt was accustomed to saying that no prisoner would leave this camp alive."[2] When Sieghardt was transferred as commander to a Magdeburg subcamp, he was replaced in April 1944 by SS-Oberscharführer Walther Knauf, a barber, who was born on August 16, 1914, in Gross Karben near Frankfurt am Main. From the middle of 1943, he was a member of the SS guard at Buchenwald. From November 1943, he had served as an SS man in the detonation squad of the SS-Construction Brigade III.[3] In addition to the SS, the guards consisted of 60 policemen, mostly elderly reservists. They were replaced in September 1944 by men mostly from the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (Auxiliary Air Raid Wardens, SHD).[4]

The address of the subcamp was the office of the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG at 54 Gneisenaustrasse in Düsseldorf's Derendorf district. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the so-called Hohenzollern factory on the corner of Dinnendahlstrasse and Schlüterstrasse (Schlüterstrasse later became Neumannstrasse) in Düsseldorf-Flingern. In 1939 Rheinmetall-Borsig AG took over Leichtmetall-Presswerk (Light Metal Sheet Metal Works). During the war the factory produced oxygen bottles, aircraft engine parts, propellers, antimagnetic mine heads, and hollow rocket heads. The prisoners' work was characterized as "important classified war production," as parts were produced for the V-weapons.[5] After the initial construction on the camp was complete, a second transport of 300 prisoners and 21 SS guards left Buchenwald for "Berta" on December 8, 1943.[6] On October 25, 1944, there were 661 prisoners in the camp. This was the highest number.[7] The prisoners were mostly citizens of the Soviet Union and Poles. In addition, there were French, Dutch, Belgian, Czech, Italian, and a few German prisoners (the Germans being the prisoner-functionaries).

An inspection of the Hohenzollern factory and the subsequent security report on the Düsseldorf subcamp in July 1944 reveal that the camp and the prisoners' work sites were closely guarded. At this time, the 360-strong prisoner detachment was guarded by 38 security policemen armed with rifles and machine pistols. The entrances and egresses of the work halls were guarded by the police and factory porters. One policeman patrolled the factory hall; 2 guarded the rear of the accommodation, which bordered on the factory buildings. The SS camp leadership, security police, and the factory's security liaison officer (the factory's connection to the Gestapo) worked closely together in maintaining prisoner discipline. Camp commander Knauf also recruited prisoners to spy on the other prisoners.[8] Punishment was meted out in a specially erected bunker.

Despite the increased security, the number of escape attempts from "Berta" was extraordinarily high. On June 1, 1944, 31 of 385 prisoners were reported as being on the run.[9] At least 4 prisoners were "shot while escaping."[10] Notwithstanding that escape in Düsseldorf was risky, many prisoners, for various reasons, tried to escape. Above all, the political, anti-Fascist prisoners had little interest in constructing V-weapons "to help them win the war."[11] And from the summer of 1944, there was the fear that the political prisoners would be murdered following the invasion by the Allies. For these reasons, the Communist prisoner Fleischhauer and 3 other German prisoners escaped in April 1944.

The willingness to escape was promoted also by the oppressive conditions in the camp. After the war, Sieghardt was accused of refusing medical treatment to several prisoners who had eaten poisonous mushrooms. Fleischhauer reported as follows: "A group of about 5 or 6 prisoners found a wagon full of mushrooms, which they thought were edible. They ate them and within a short period of time developed symptoms indicating that they had been poisoned. They could not be helped in the sick bay. Sieghardt refused to have them transported to a hospital or to call a doctor. . . . As a result, the prisoners died after an agonizing 3 to 4 hours. We later learned that they had eaten poisonous swamp Schierling mushrooms. I am convinced that if they had received prompt medical care they would have survived."[12]

While Sieghardt was camp commander, 11 prisoners died, including 3 prisoners who died from the poisoning mentioned above. From the date Knauf took control until the evacuation of the camp in March 1945, there were a further 16 recorded deaths.[13] According to statements by survivors, Knauf was well known for his brutal behavior: he beat prisoners at random during roll call with a broom handle or a stick, beat them with his fists, and kicked them or mistreated them while they

were at work. Prisoners were punished while they were at roll call—their naked behinds were beaten with rubber hoses. A particular dramatic episode is said to have taken place either in August or September of 1944. Knauf tried to drive 2 weakened prisoners mad by forcing them to sit in a heated container. When 1 of the prisoners, a Russian suffering from tuberculosis, climbed out of the container totally exhausted, he was mistreated by Knauf and forced to continue his work. The prisoner died shortly thereafter as a result of this mistreatment. Knauf personally shot a prisoner who escaped from a work detail and had been recaptured and held in one of the halls of the Hohenzollern factory.

On September 1, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was erected for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG on its factory grounds at 31–37 Rather Strasse in Düsseldorf-Derendorf; Buchenwald records show an initial transport of 300 prisoners.[14] Although this subcamp is recorded in the Buchenwald statistics under the name "Borsig" and operated as an independent camp, Knauf was also the camp commander.[15] The "Borsig" camp should therefore be seen as a subcamp of "Berta."

Little more is known about the history of "Borsig." Other than a transport in September 1944, there were no further transports from Buchenwald. In October 1944, there were 294 prisoners in the camp; at the end of December 1944, there were 260.[16] At the beginning of March 1945, 249 prisoners were still registered at the camp.[17] What happened to the 51 prisoners is not known, as there are no reports of transports back to Buchenwald or reports of deaths. Only 3 prisoners are reported to have escaped from "Borsig." The escapes appear to have occurred from an evacuation transport.

The 1950 judgment on Knauf gives a few further details. He was accused of shooting a prisoner in the "Berta" camp. Two other events were detailed where Knauf mistreated prisoners at the "Borsig" camp. In one instance, Knauf had 4 prisoners beaten because a prisoner had fled from a work detachment. The judgment states the following about the second instance: "At the beginning of January 1945, a prisoner, when the gates of the camp were being opened, dropped cutlery in front of a Kapo. The angry Kapo told the accused who soon turned up with four other Kapos in the Derendorf camp. The accused had the 50–60 prisoners line up and ordered the Kapos to beat each prisoner 50 times with a rubber hose. For an hour the prisoners, including a 15 year old Polish boy, were beaten alternatively by 4 Kapos in the dormitory of the Derendorf camp. The accused supervised the punishment, gave directions and smoked cigarettes."[18]

On March 3, 1945, the prisoners from "Borsig," together with the prisoners from "Berta," were marched in several columns through the district of Berg, loaded onto wagons in Wuppertal, Wermelskirchen, and Essen, and transported to Buchenwald. Some 852 prisoners, 603 from "Berta" and 249 from "Borsig," were registered there on March 10, 1945.[19]

Sieghardt avoided conviction for crimes committed in "Berta" because investigations began well after the war. At the beginning of the 1970s a court medical report stated the following about Sieghardt: "An examination of the patient was relatively difficult. He has delayed memory, difficulty in concentrating, which in part results in a clear attempt to avoid issues and he expresses himself with stereotype expressions: 'I don't really know that, I can't remember that, I don't know how I got involved in the whole thing.' " The expert came to the conclusion that although Sieghardt had clear "memory islands," given his general medical history, it was scarcely likely that Sieghardt would be able to take part in any future examinations.[20] When in 1973 the accusation that Sieghardt refused the poisoned prisoners medical assistance was to be considered, an expert confirmed that he would never be fit for trial.[21] Knauf, on the other hand, had already been sentenced in 1950 to 10 years of jail by the state court in Düsseldorf for shooting the escaped prisoner.[22]

SOURCES The subcamp "Berta" was first dealt with in a research report in 1988 by Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 187. Later publications include a few further sources: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 106–107; Christian Leitzbach, "Der Einsatz ausländischer Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter bei Rheinmetall-Borsig während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), pp. 413–414; and Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999). Hanna Eggerath collected in 1998 and 1999 witnesses' statements about the evacuation march through the villages of Erkrath and Hochdahl: "Auf dem Weg nach Buchenwald: Der Marsch der KZ-Häftlinge durch Erkrath und Hochdahl," in *Journal 19: Jahrbuch des Kreises Mettmann 1999/2000* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Ph. C.W. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 123–130. These relatively good reports provide more detail on the "Berta" camp. The preliminary investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67; IV 429 AR-Z 16/74; IV 429 AR-Z 126/74) should be mentioned here as well as the investigation and trial files held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/64–65; 118/1874–1875; 118/2026–2027; 118/2334–2336; 372/205–209). In the NWHStA-(D) are almost complete copies of the prisoner lists (Court Rept. 118/1176–1178, 2334–2335). In the THStA-W are found further contemporary documents on the camp, although they are spread through the collections NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald.

Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM, (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 249.

"Borsig" is first mentioned in the Kussmann report. There are scarcely any other sources. In addition to a complete list of

names of those in the transport of September 1, 1944, which is held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1178, Part 3), there are the judicial files on "Berta," but these contain only a few statements or references on this camp.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. On Sieghardt, see the trial files in NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/64–65 and Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
2. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 34.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Urteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, (Amsterdam: University Press, 1971), No. 214, 6: 573.
4. Ibid., p. 574; Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999), p. 7.
5. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 42.
6. Transportbefehl, August 12, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 133.
7. Häftlingsverzeichnis [Prisoner Catalogue], October 25, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2335.
8. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–43.
9. Stärkemeldung, June 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 250.
10. SS-Baubrigade III, May 21, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 241R.
11. Toni Fleischhauer, March 20, 1980, AVVN-K, Recording protocol Fleischhauer, p. 8.
12. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 34–35.
13. Zahlen nach HAStK [Numbers from the HAStK], Best. 753/25: Einäscherungsbuch SS-Baubrigade III, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; ibid., KZ Buchenwald Nr. 5, Bd. 13.
14. Überstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald 136a.
15. Knauf, December 13, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229; "Aussenkommandos Männer," October 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
16. "Aussenkommandos Männer," November 30 and December 31, 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
17. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 415.
18. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, No. 214, p. 576.
19. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.
20. Institut für gerichtliche und soziale Medizin der Stadt Duisburg, February 24, 1971, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/64, pp. 127–130.
21. Investigation Proceedings, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
22. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, p. 573.

DÜSSELDORF-GRAFENBERG ("BA") [AKA BORSIG]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in September 1944 at Ulmenstrasse 112 in the Grafenberg district of Düsseldorf. (The International Tracing Service [ITS] lists of camps note the opening of the camp as October 23, 1944; however, a transport list from the main camp at Buchenwald to Borsig survives from September 1944.) One of several satellites of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg subcamp was created to supply concentration camp inmate labor to the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory in Düsseldorf. Inmates were "rented" by Rheinmetall-Borsig from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day and 6 RM per skilled laborer per day.[1] Alternative names for this subcamp include "Borsig" and code name "BA."

According to a postwar report filed by the chief of the Mission Belge de Recherches, the camp was composed of one stone building and was situated on the grounds of the Grafenberg Rheinmetall-Borsig factory. The camp was surrounded by watchtowers and surveillance posts, and prisoners—all men—wore blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms.[2] On September 1, 1944, at least 300 inmates were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Düsseldorf-Grafenberg.[3] Although there is no breakdown by nationality or age provided on the transport list, most of the inmates appear to be Russian, Polish, and French. The population of the camp seems to have remained relatively the same throughout its period of operation. According to a report cited in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, there were 270 inmates in Grafenberg on October 23, 1944.[4] A report filed by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, lists the number of inmates in the Borsig subcamp at 259 in mid-January 1945.[5]

There is little information about the exact kind of work the inmates performed or about living and working conditions within the camp. Presumably the inmates were employed in some kind of metalworking in the Borsig factory, which manufactured parts for aircraft and other industries important for the Reich's war economy.

There is little information about the guards who supervised the subcamp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg. Like other Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf, Grafenberg was most likely guarded by a combination of SS men, members of the Düsseldorf municipal police, as well as the Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD), which consisted of Düsseldorf residents. Civilian employees of the Rheinmetall-Borsig may have supervised the work of the inmates at the factory. The SS medic (SDG) was named Schmidt; he was the same SDG appointed to oversee medical care in the Berta and Kirchfeldstrasse camps.[6]

No information could be located about the evacuation or closing of the camp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg, on the fate of the inmates, or on any postwar trials.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf-Grafenberg appears infrequently in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain scant information about the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Baubrigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–74. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944). The ZAR-D may also yield additional information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *TWC* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. Memo to MACVG from Monsieur C. Pesilier, Chef de Mission, French Liaison, ITS HQ, March 1, 1949, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 69), Reel 17.
3. "Transport Borsig," September 1, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.
4. Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistiche Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990).
5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.
6. Ibid.

DÜSSELDORF-KALKUM (SS-BB III)

From May 1943 to March 1945, an average of 50 prisoners from the Buchenwald main camp were deployed as bomb finders (*Bombensucher*) at a Luftwaffe bomb squad in Düsseldorf. The establishment of this camp can be traced to instructions from Heinrich Himmler, who on November 3, 1942, emphatically cited an October 1940 decree by Adolf Hitler to the Higher-SS and Police Leaders, the chiefs of police, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Reich minister of the air force, and the Reich minister of the interior. According to this decree, in order to avoid losses among the German firefighters and auxiliary workers of the Air Raid Police, prisoners from penitentiaries or concentration camps should increasingly be requested for the dangerous task of retrieving unexploded bombs. To the extent that no camps were in the area of the air defense regions, Himmler ordered that groups of prisoners be detached, each accompanied by an SS private as leader of the Kommando. The inspectors (commanders) of the Order Police were responsible for their accommodation, food, and further supervision.[1]

A few days later, the Amtsgruppe D instructed the camp commandants (Lagerkommandanten) of the concentration camps to hold appropriate prisoner squads in readiness. In concentration camps where construction units (Baubrigaden) had been set up, prisoners were to be chosen from those units.[2] In Rhineland and Westphalia, beginning in the early summer of 1943, the Royal Air Force had increasingly used bombs with delayed fuses, the defusing of which was considered particularly dangerous. On May 28, 1943, the Cologne-based SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), acting on the orders of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, dispatched 50 prisoners to Düsseldorf,[3] where they were lodged in a former school building, located at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 in the Friedrichstadt section of town.

From there, the prisoners went every day to the headquarters of the bomb squad in the Kalkum section of north Düsseldorf. The "Sprengkommando Kalkum" at Arnheimer Strasse 115 was one of several bomb squads of the Luftwaffe in the Luftgau VI (region). Since 1942, specially trained explosives experts worked there under the command of Hauptmann Heinz Schweizer, who was decorated in July 1943 with the Knight's Cross (*Ritterkreuz*) for his work defusing unexploded bombs. The first auxiliary workers assigned to the bomb squad were criminals from the Remscheid-Lüttringhausen jail.

According to a contemporary account, eight municipal policemen (Schutzpolizisten) guarded the concentration camp prisoners in Kirchfeldstrasse and accompanied them on their daily trip to Kalkum.[4] Only two SS privates had been detached from Buchenwald, one of whom was a certain SS-Unterscharführer Pfingsten, who was head of the camp until the end of the war.[5]

The job of the criminals and other prisoners was to dig out the unexploded bombs. According to instructions from the Luftwaffe, only explosives experts were allowed to disarm bombs. However, survivors report that concentration camp prisoners often also did this work. As even the trained explosives experts had hardly any information about the detonation mechanisms of the bombs, which were constantly changing in the course of the war, the disarming of them by untrained prisoners was all that much more dangerous. There are

numerous indications that particularly for the most dangerous jobs of the Kalkum bomb squad, prisoners were often deliberately called in. Former political prisoner Kurt Selbiger relates, for example: "When it is claimed that so many died, the prisoners are meant. They were the ones who were immediately dragged in there and sent to work on the 'hot' problems. The majority of the delayed fuses exploded in the first few hours—and this happened often. It was Russians, Russians in KZ clothing, who were repeatedly assigned temporarily to the bomb squad, but they did not really belong to our unit."[6]

Some of the conventional prisoners who were part of the Kalkum bomb squad, among whom were many Communists, attempted to improve the lot of the concentration camp prisoners assigned to the squad. For example, they successfully pleaded with the camp leadership (Lagerleitung), consisting of explosives experts, for the withdrawal of the SS guards after they had brought the prisoners to the camp in the morning. Self-interest definitely played a part in this request, as the SS presence worsened the atmosphere for the conventional prisoners as well. In the same way, these inmates were able to influence the allocation of the prisoners to the labor details so that some of the prisoners did not have to go into the city but could remain in the camp during the day. Supplying them with food took precedence, but besides that, the prisoners were provided with clothing and reading materials and took part in political discussions. Since there was a strong resistance organization (*Widerstandsorganisation*) in Kalkum, which had succeeded in establishing numerous contacts in the city, the provisions were much better than in the camp in Kirchfeldstrasse, to which the concentration camp prisoners had to return in the evening. These "sharp practices between the camp and the outside world" soon attracted the attention of the Gestapo, which at the end of January 1944 raided the camp and arrested several prisoners for attempted high treason.[7]

The number of prisoners who died in the bomb squad was high but hitherto could not be determined precisely. Until May 10, 1944, the Kalkum detachment was managed as a subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III, and for this reason, it is not always clear from the death reports to Buchenwald before that date if prisoners from the Kalkum camp were among the deceased. After the SS-Construction Brigade III was withdrawn from Cologne, Kalkum became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald and still had at the time 32 prisoners.[8] On July 3 and September 1, 1944, altogether 35 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Kalkum.[9] When the camp was dissolved on March 13, 1945, only 34 prisoners remained to be brought back to Buchenwald.[10]

After 1945, the prisoners were quickly stricken from the memories of the explosives experts who had supervised them in disarming the bombs. Walter Merz, in a book motivated by his autobiographical intentions, mentions the conventional and concentration camp prisoners only in passing with the words "they were quite happy here."[11] A former explosives expert from this group, who was interviewed in the 1980s, indeed mentions the conventional prisoners but refers to the concentration camp prisoners merely as "other prisoners" who he says sometimes accompanied them.[12]

SOURCES As early as 1977, Norbert Krüger published findings on the Kalkum camp in an essay on concentration camp (KZ) prisoners in bomb squads: "'Wenn Sie nicht ins KZ wollen . . .': Häftlinge in Bombenräumkommandos," APuZ 16 (1977): 25–37. Andreas Kussmann, who in the mid-1980s undertook research for the city of Düsseldorf on local KZ subcamps, published his results in 1988. See Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–192. The authors of a more recent publication, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), based their work predominantly on this essay.

There are numerous sources on the Kalkum camp that could facilitate more intensive study. The collection Andreas Kussmann assembled in the course of his research contains extensive documentary material on the Kalkum camp (ASt-Dü, Sammlung Kussmann, Nos. 33–43). Besides photocopies of documents from many different archives, there are noteworthy photographs and interviews with former explosives experts and prisoners from Remscheid-Lüttringhausen. In addition, accounts by political prisoners from the penitentiary are held at the AVVN-D (Collection 3690, Johann Jürgens) and at the archives of the Frankfurt SKDW (AN, 1442, Otto Hertel). At the THStA-W, in the collections "NS 4 Buchenwald" and "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," further sources on Kalkum can be found again and again. Finally, trial files regarding investigations of homicides at the SS-Construction Brigade III and the Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf are informative. They are preserved at the BA-L (IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR 126/74) and at the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349; Court Rept. 118/2334–2336).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StAN, NG-1002.
2. WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA, 414, 6380, cited from ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 34.
3. Buchenwald concentration camp, May 28, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, BA-L, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–44.
5. Buchenwald concentration camp, September 5, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229, p. 67; and Buchenwald concentration camp, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118, No. 1183.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 40.
7. Gestapo Düsseldorf, January 27, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 36/13, p. 105.
8. Buchenwald concentration camp, June 23, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.

9. See entries in the daily transfer reports from Buchenwald, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.

10. Ibid., entry March 13, 1945.

11. Walter Merz, *Feuerwerker: Namenlose Helden der Bombennächte: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Rastatt: Erich Pabel Verlag, 1970), pp. 14–15.

12. Heinrich Z., March 9, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection, Folders 33–36.

EISENACH ("EMMA," "EM")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Eisenach (Thüringen) in March 1944 to provide prisoner labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) plant. The arrangement stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out the inmates to BMW at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Eisenach BMW camp was code-named "Emma" or "Em."

The average number of inmates in the Eisenach subcamp during its nearly one-year operation was 500 inmates, although the prisoner strength of the camp did fluctuate. In August 1944, for example, the camp is listed as having 669 inmates in strength reports. By August 4, the number of inmates in the camp had fallen to 590, and by August 5, to 564 inmates.[2] Surviving transport lists show that some inmates from the Eisenach subcamp were sent to the Abteroda men's subcamp (code-named "Anton") on July 31, 1944, and other inmates continued to be transferred to the Abteroda camp from Eisenach on several instances in the following months.[3] Reports dated after August 1944 also indicate the Eisenach and Abteroda camps together ("Emma+Anton") but break down the numbers of prisoners in each, which further suggests that the Abteroda men's camp consisted largely of Eisenach inmates, at least for a certain period of time.[4]

Inmates in the Eisenach camp were assigned to the BMW plant in Eisenach Duererhof, where they worked in the production of aircraft engine parts. Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been German, Italian, Russian, French, and Polish. According to a detailed listing of the types of prisoner labor assigned to various subcamps from Block 17 in Buchenwald, in September and October 1944, the Eisenach subcamp received skilled workers who performed labor as electricians, machinists, mechanics, shoemakers, locksmiths, and carpenters.[5]

Likewise, there is little information about living conditions within the camp, the circumstances or motives for killing the inmates, the survival rate, or resistance and escape attempts. The prisoners were most likely housed in one of the work halls of the factory or in a brickfield. Undated photos taken during the days after Eisenach camp's liberation by D.A. Weckwerth depict prisoner barracks, a watchtower, and a gallows where prisoners were likely punished by hanging.[6]

There is scarce surviving information about the commandant or guards of the Eisenach camp. According to a report filed by SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Eisenach camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named König, an SS medic named Carl, and 50 guards. The camp population was 386, according to this report.[7]

The camp was closed on February 17, 1945, and the prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Eisenach subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Eisenach in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Eisenach subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Band 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Eisenach camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 44. The D.A. Weckwerth papers (USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54) contain brief information about the Eisenach camp and three photos of the grounds at the time of liberation.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, various, August 1, August 4, August 5, 1944, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*).

3. ". . . von Aussenkommando Eisenach nach dem Aussenkommando Anton überstellt," July 31, 1944 (79 inmates); September 17, 1944 (2 inmates); October 20, 1944 (4 inmates) (BU 44), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, see, for example, lists from November and December 1944. BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*), Reel 5.

5. Verlegungen vom Block 17, Rücktransporter vom Aussenkommandos, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 55, Fiche 1.

6. D.A. Weckwerth papers, USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54.

7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

ELSNIG

Elsnig is located about eight kilometers (five miles) to the north of Torgau on the Elbe. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

The subcamp was established for female Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG) and its chemical plant in Elsnig. The camp was located close to the factory grounds on the Reichsstrasse that connected Torgau and Wittenberg. The camp, with 7,500 square meters (8,970 square yards), was relatively small and consisted of several wooden barracks, a wash barracks, kitchen, and infirmary. The buildings were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) records the first mention of the camp as October 10, 1944, the first transport of prisoners most likely arrived at Elsnig on October 16. The prisoners were 750 Polish Jewish women from Bergen-Belsen. Previously they had been in ghettos in Poland and in Auschwitz. One of the women was Eva Rosencwajig Stock, who—together with her mother, aunt, and sister—was taken to Elsnig. Eva's sister, aged 13, worked with five other children in the camp kitchen, while the adult women worked in the armaments factory. They worked in two 12-hour shifts, producing and filling shells with TNT and naval explosives.

The subcamp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Kurt Völker. Survivors described him as brutal. He frequently mistreated the already weak women and terrorized them with countless roll calls. He repeatedly threatened to kill them. According to some witness reports, Völker forced some women to dig their own graves, but he did not follow through with the executions. The guards were 12 SS men, mostly ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), and 26 female overseers. At their head was Elfriede Schmeisser, described by surviving prisoners as being just as brutal. Schmeisser was in charge of selections inside the camp. The victims were the young, those who could no longer work, and pregnant women. Selected women were transported to Auschwitz and from January 1945 were sent back to Bergen-Belsen. Rozencwajig reported that her sister and the other young girls were excluded from the selections at her request and that a German foreman had also intervened to protect the girls.[1] The relationships with the German labor force and the German supervisors and foremen is described by Rozencwajig as ambivalent: as the SS had announced that the prisoners were prostitutes and criminals, the Germans kept their distance or were openly hostile. Only over time, some changed their attitude and chatted with the prisoners and occasionally offered assistance.

The women worked on health-damaging tasks in the chemical factory, where they were exposed to poisonous and acidic substances and provided with almost no protection like clothing, gloves, or goggles. Many women suffered from infections to breathing passages, and two women died in November and December 1944 from tuberculosis.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945 (the ITS date of April 20 is most likely too late). The women were either taken in goods wagons, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, or passenger trains, according to a statement by Rosencwajig, in the direction of Ravensbrück. On April 20, 1945, the train was caught up in an Allied air raid on Potsdam: many women were killed and a few, including Rosencwajig, her mother, and aunt, were able to escape. After hiding for a few days in empty houses and in a forest, Rosencwajig and her relatives found refuge in a camp for Italian foreign laborers.

Völker was extradited on February 25, 1947, to Poland, where a court sentenced him to six years' imprisonment for his crimes. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1960s were inconclusive.

SOURCES A detailed description on the Elsnig subcamp is by Irmgard Seidel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 435–436. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 40; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1801.

The THStA-W and the BA-K, Best. NS 4 Bu 221, are of relevance for the camp. The Standesamt Weimar holds a list of new prisoner numbers for Elsnig, November 1944, which can also be found in the AAC-C. The DIZ-T holds further details on the Elsnig subcamp under der Signatur BB 55194. Investigations by the ZdL (now at BA-L) are kept under File AR-Z 117/1970. The USHMMA holds statements by two former prisoners at the camp: Celia Rothstein Elbaum (1997.A.0185) and Eva Rosenczajig Stock (RG-50.030*0225).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*022, Oral history interview with Eva Rozencwajig Stock, July 26, 1989, transcript, p. 10.

ESCHERSHAUSEN ("STEIN") AND HOLZEN ("HECHT") [AKA HECHT-OT BAULEITUNG, DEUTSCHE ASPHALT AG-GRUBE HAARMANN] ("H," "HT," "OT")

In 1944 to 1945, several forced labor camps were located in the hilly Hils area of the Weserbergland in central Germany. As in the nearby Harz Mountains, armaments factories were established in underground caves and tunnels, as well as in provisional buildings in the forests. Two Buchenwald subcamps, "Hecht" and "Stein," were established in Holzen and Eschershausen. These were concentration camps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Other forced labor camps in the area included one for German Jews, "Half-Jews," and non-Jews married to Jews; one for German convicts and deported foreigners from the Hameln penitentiary; and mobile units of the SS-Construction Brigade VI (Baubrigade VI) (Eisenbahnbaubrigade I)—probably identical

with an unspecified Dora subcamp mentioned in some testimonies—and the SS-Baggerregiment "Speer," both of which utilized hundreds of concentration camp prisoners at the building of railway connections to the mining area where the underground factories were hidden.

The factories were established in five asphalt mines belonging to the Natur-Asphalt Gesellschaft and the Deutsche Asphalt AG (DASAG). According to the plans, over 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) of production space—later to be expanded to 300,000 (358,800 square yards)—were to be established underground and shared by several armaments companies. The Volkswagen subsidiary Minette was meant to occupy the major part for the manufacturing of Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile and fighter airplane body sections, and it was eager to obtain storage space for large sheet metal presses from its main factory in Fallersleben and machinery looted from the Peugeot automobile works in France. C. Lorenz AG (code names "Huta" and "Otech") produced radio equipment for airplanes; the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, Firma Reinhardt, and Marathon Werke produced airplane and submarine engine parts. The refurbishing project was, however, subject to frequent change because of practical difficulties, changing armament priorities, and rivalry between the companies over space and resources. Eventually, additional production space was prepared in primitive concrete buildings that were erected in the forests and narrow valleys of the area.

The Organisation Todt (OT–Einsatzgruppe IV "Kyffhäuser") was in charge of project coordination. Underground refurbishing was in the hands of the Deutsche Asphalt und Tiefbau AG; other construction companies involved were the Siemens Bau-Union (Siemens Construction Union) and the Francke Werke of Bremen. While plans grew ever grander, the actual armaments output of the Hils facilities was never very impressive.

A variety of forced laborers were occupied in construction work and production and accommodated in various improvised camps. The "Hecht" concentration camp was established in August 1944. This camp is also mentioned in Buchenwald records as SS Kdo. Hecht-OT-Bauleitung, as Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann, and as "H," "Ht," and "OT." Hecht prisoners performed heavy earthmoving, logging, construction, and underground refurbishing work. Supplying slave labor was its sole purpose, as was the case of the second Buchenwald subcamp, Stein, the prisoners of which installed machinery in the production areas and worked in Volkswagen manufacturing. Hecht was the code name for the entire construction project; Stein, for the Volkswagen production facilities. The two camps were under joint administration and command of SS-Scharführer Gemeinhard but occupied separate areas in Holzen ("Hecht") and Eschershausen ("Stein").

Hecht prisoners were first accommodated in small tents that were erected by the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth) on August 3, 1944. The first prisoners probably arrived shortly thereafter. A transport of 263 prisoners arriving from Buchenwald on September 14 included Kapos and a prisoner physician but also 3 replacements for prisoners who had already died in the camp. Eventually four barracks were erected for prisoners' accommodation, surrounded by watchtowers and a high-voltage barbed-wire fence; three additional barracks served as the guards' quarters.

Living conditions in the camp were devastating. Morbidity and mortality were high due to grave undernourishment, poor hygiene, work accidents, and extreme guard and Kapo brutality. Frequent transports—the first of which was as early as October 1—brought replacements for the deceased and those who were returned to Buchenwald in order to be exterminated as "unfit for work." A transport of 253 prisoners from Buchenwald on November 21 included 35 replacements. The prisoner strength of 494, reported by mid-December 1944, remained stable until March 1945, but at least 143 new prisoners had to be brought in as replacements during the six months between September and March in order to maintain it. "There was dying like on an assembly line," one survivor recorded.[1] Volkswagen payments to the SS represented the full-time labor of approximately 320 prisoners in November 1944 and 510 in January 1945.

Construction remained the main activity, but from December on, concentration camp prisoners were also employed in Volkswagen armaments production (the "Stein" project). Stein prisoners were accommodated in huts in the larger community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) "Schwarzes Land" in Eschershausen. By the end of 1944, this mixed camp provided accommodations for 1,200 forced laborers, 65 convicts, and 300 concentration camp prisoners. This arrangement placed the prisoners under a double reign of terror exercised by the SS guards and by the cruel SD *Abwehrbeauftragter* (factory defense commissioner) of the area, SS-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Willi Busch, who used his revolver, whip, and fierce dogs against camp inmates on several occasions.

On February 17 and 18, 1945, 600 skilled metalworkers were selected in Buchenwald for Stein. They arrived in Eschershausen on March 4, together with 43 replacements, augmenting the total number of prisoners in the Hecht and Stein camps to 1,103. Another 415 prisoners who were selected for Stein on March 11 never reached Eschershausen. On March 31, 700 prisoners were transported back to the main camp in open railway cars; other evacuees ended up—by way of the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke—in Celle, where many fell victim to an Allied air raid and a massacre perpetrated by locals. Some 200 prisoners, most of whom were emaciated, ill, and barely alive, were liberated in Eschershausen by U.S. troops on April 7, 1945.

Existing Buchenwald transport lists are incomplete, so the total number of Hecht and Stein prisoners may have been higher than the above figures, but survivors' estimates of 1,500 to 2,000 and speculative figures of 5,000 to 7,000 in some literature must be judged too high. Most Hecht and Stein prisoners were Polish, Soviet, and French (among whom was a nephew of Charles de Gaulle, the Marquis de Vichy, who was tormented to death in the camp). A large proportion were Jewish. In each of the prisoner groups, clandestine resistance organizations were organized, which engaged in protecting weaker compatriots and preparing for a mass

escape or an uprising for which weapons and explosives were acquired. The sudden evacuation thwarted these plans. A radio receiver was built, and news circulated illegally.

According to survivors' testimony, Gemeinhard was an alcoholic who inspired guard and Kapo violence. Ways of tormenting the prisoners were mock executions, which actually cost the lives of 2 prisoners, and the burying alive under rocks and debris of weak prisoners who were unable to stand. At least 10 prisoners are reported to have been executed for attempting to escape, but some prisoners actually managed to escape. The guards—30 by October 1944, later substantially more—were half SS and half elderly army and navy soldiers. A navy officer replaced Gemeinhard, probably in January 1945, and tried to bar the beating and mutilation of prisoners, thereby easing the prisoners' plight somewhat. Prisoner-functionaries participated actively in the brutalities. The first camp elder (Lagerältester), Becker, was replaced by Zenon Rozansky, an antisemitic Pole, in mid-November, as a number of privileged posts passed from German criminals into the hands of Polish political prisoners, which only worsened the situation of Jews in the camp.

Survivors' testimonies report several examples of compassion and courageous help from local inhabitants of the traditionally Socialist mining environment, whereas many functionaries who were brought in by the armaments companies displayed ruthless, fanatical Nazi attitudes.

SOURCES This description of the Eschershausen/Holzen camps is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 830; and articles by Grieger in *JWg* (1993) and in Hermann Kaienburg, ed., *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–45* (Opladen, 1996). Further information, some of which is contradictory and erroneous, may be found in Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945*, vol.1, and *Zwangsarbeit für die Rüstung im südniedersächsischen Bergland*, vol. 2 (Braunschweig, 1993–1994). Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camps is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps is scattered, but Buchenwald records allow for the reconstruction of transports in and out of the camp. The VWA and ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco/Israel, NARA (USSBS), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). Survivors' accounts of the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps are scarce.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Walter Altmann in, Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945* (Braunschweig, 1993), p.182.

ESSEN (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*) ("SCHWARZE POTH 13")

The German Earth and Stone Works (Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, DESt) operated a Buchenwald subcamp from February 1944 to March 1945 in Essen. At the camp, building material was recycled from rubble for the city of Essen. The SS-owned DESt had been established in 1938 following an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer. Its task was to acquire building materials for the planned Führer Cities (*Führerstädte*). With this aim in mind, several projects had been set up between DESt firms from the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps with larger cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Nürnberg.

In both Essen and Düsseldorf the initiative to have DESt camps erected in the cities came from the city councils themselves. The heavily bombed Rhineland and Westphalia experienced great difficulties in removing and recycling the rubble as well as in producing new building material. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), both the Essen und Düsseldorf city councils negotiated with the managers of DESt about this problem. The Minden Report, a study on the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was prepared by one of three accused at the Nuremberg Trials. According to the report, Oswald Pohl instructed DESt to "involve itself on a large scale with the removal of rubble caused by the bombing and to obtain building material from the rubble as quickly as possible."[1] This led to the construction of a rubble recycling plant through which DESt sold the recycled building material at market prices either directly to the cities or to a third party authorized by the building administrations (Bauverwaltungen).

The prisoners of the Essen camp were, at least until May 1944, exclusively Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners taken from the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), which was stationed in Cologne. Twenty-five prisoners were selected as early as December 13, 1943. Presumably they formed an advance detachment sent to construct the camp in Essen.[2] The camp first appears in the statistics of the Buchenwald concentration camp on February 1, 1944, with a reference to 20 prisoners. One day later there were already 100 prisoners in the camp. The highest number of prisoners, 150, was recorded on April 8, 1944.[3] About 90 of them were Soviet prisoners, and 40 were Polish; in addition to 3 Germans, there were also French, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, and Luxemburgers. After the SS-Construction Brigade withdrew from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent Buchenwald subcamp.

According to an agreement between Office W I of the WVHA and the lord mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, the DESt had to provide both "accommodation in accordance with city regulations" and guards. Supplies, clothing, and transport of the prisoners were the responsibility of the Buchenwald concentration camp. The cities and the Higher-SS

and Police Leader (HSSPF) West were responsible for the medical care of the prisoners.[4]

The first prisoners lived in barracks in the vicinity of the police headquarters until the camp was set up in the rooms of the badly damaged Hotel Grinzing, located on Adolf-Hitler Strasse (later Viehofer Strasse). Königstrasse 35, which ran parallel to Adolf-Hitler Strasse, backed onto the rear of the hotel and was also part of the camp. The camp, situated in the middle of the city, was code-named "Schwarze Poth 13," named after the SS administration's quarters.

The house at "Schwarze Poth 13," owned by a married couple called Fendel, was requisitioned in March 1944 by officials from the Building Supervisory Office (Bauaufsichtsamt). The officials are reported to have stated: "Things are going to be completely different around here! Concentration camp inmates are being brought here. We are requisitioning this property."[5] The area around "Schwarze Poth," Königstrasse, Kirchstrasse, and Postallee was closed off by a fence in July 1944 following an inspection by the Essen Gestapo. It was here that the SS administration, prisoner accommodations, and machines to grind the rubble were located.

The camp commander was SS-Unterscharführer Reinhard Sichelschmidt.[6] Walter Knauf, who was in charge of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," appears to have played a coordinating role between Buchenwald and the DESt camp.[7] An inspection report by the Essen State Police Office on July 13, 1944, provides information on security:

> They have 1 Police Master and 19 sergeants to guard the camp. Nine men secure the camp during the day doing sentry duty for 11 straight hours, mostly in the neighboring streets. Another three guard external details. The prisoners' accommodation is secured at night by three men who alternately stand guard. . . . The guards are mostly police reservists and there is the risk that after 11 hours sentry duty their attention will wane because of tiredness. The only weapons the guards have are pistols, which is inadequate considering the size of the area to be secured. It is essential that the guards be armed with rifles.[8]

The head of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Plant), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was in charge of the work. One of his duties was to ensure that the prisoners worked in accordance with requirements. This was partly in order to prevent prisoners from the DESt detachments being used for cleaning and repair work in the cities. In May 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West had prohibited the use of prisoners for such work. At the same time, he reserved the right to use prisoners for special work assignments.[9] And, in fact, prisoners were later used to recover unexploded bombs that were then deactivated by the Düsseldorf bomb squad known as Kalkum.

During the above-mentioned inspection by the Essen Gestapo, the prisoners' work tempo was deemed unsatisfactory. The report states as follows: "Regretfully the pace of work is slow. For example, a detachment was pulling bricks from piles of rubble. The prisoners, who had to carry the bricks about 15 meters [49 feet] to the street, moved slowly and each prisoner carried no more than two or three bricks. The foreman stated that the orders required them to carry five bricks. They did not do this because there were no measures, such as arrest or shortening of rations, to force them to work more quickly."[10] The camp was in the middle of the city and open to public view. In these circumstances it was not possible to apply the usual concentration camp terror as the writer of the report, obviously annoyed, stated: "In this situation the question arises whether such concentration camp detachments are not pointless as they require a large number of guards and more rigorous disciplinary measures cannot be applied to achieve better results because they are in public view."[11]

It is impossible to gauge to what extent the prisoners' circumstances were improved because the camp was more exposed to the public. A former prisoner, Werner Betzold, the camp elder, reported the noteworthy intervention of a policeman who apparently saved his life. Betzold stated at the beginning of the 1980s that he asked the camp commander Sichelschmidt for a doctor for the prisoners several times. Sichelschmidt constantly refused the request. One morning at roll call he informed Sichelschmidt that he no longer wanted to be camp elder. Sichelschmidt pulled his pistol in anger. A police officer intervened, shouting, "You will not shoot him!" and summoned more police by blowing his whistle. Sichelschmidt let Betzold go but punished him by transferring him to the DESt camp.[12]

At least 5 prisoners died in the Essen camp—3 during the period when the camp was part of the SS-Construction Brigade and 2 in June 1944. At least 5 prisoners were able to escape, and at least 8 were classified "incapable of work" and sent back to the main camp.[13] The remaining 129 prisoners in the camp were sent back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945, in the face of the advancing Allies.[14]

Investigations by state prosecutors after 1945 did not reveal any punishable offenses. The former camp commander Sichelschmidt lived at least until 1988 untroubled by his former workplace.

SOURCES It is thanks to Ernst Schmidt from Essen that the camp became the subject of attention in the 1980s. He collected reports from eyewitnesses, survivors, and participants as well as documents that he published in a chapter in the second volume of his book *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988). Included in the book are a photograph of the house at "Schwarze Poth 13" and a group photo of the guards (pp. 187, 198). The material he collected is held by the Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Archive Ernst Schmidt, Collection 19/370).

Other sources can be found in the THStA-W (Collections

"KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," "NS 4 Buchenwald"), NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336), and in the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, as cited by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.

2. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.

3. Work Deployment Statistics, February, March, and April 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 5, 25, 50.

4. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 291.

5. Cited by Ernst Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945*; *Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988), 2: 194.

6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Directory, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183.

7. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, Strength Report December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.

8. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

9. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.

10. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., pp. 196–198.

13. Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne, 1996), p. 235; THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

14. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.

ESSEN (HUMBOLDTSTRASSE)

The subcamp of Essen (Humboldtstrasse), an external work detail (Kommando) of the Buchenwald concentration camp, existed from August 1944 until March 1945. The subcamp held 520 Hungarian Jewish women, who were forced to work in the Friedrich Krupp Inc. cast steel factory.

The Humboldtstrasse camp was established in 1943. It initially housed French civilian workers, followed later by female forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Italian military internees. They all worked in the Essen factories of the Krupp firm. In 1944 German staff members of the Krupp cast steel factory were conscripted into military service; the foreign civilian workers or prisoners of war (POWs), who could initially replace them, were barely obtainable in the face of German defeats on all fronts. Therefore, in the early summer of 1944, the company increased its efforts regarding the allocation of camp prisoners. After the acting personnel manager personally applied to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, a written request for prisoners was addressed to the commanders of the Buchenwald camp. It was granted in June 1944.[1] However, while the company had wanted 2,000 male craftsmen, the WVHA allocated to Krupp Inc. female prisoners from the group of Hungarian Jewish women who in early 1944 had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and not gassed.

Corporate management thereupon sent a representative to the neighboring city of Gelsenkirchen, where on the grounds of Gelsenberg Benzin AG approximately 2,000 female Jewish camp prisoners were housed in tent camps and primarily employed to clear debris. The camp was administered by the Buchenwald concentration camp. Because the Krupp factory held open workstations for no more than 300 women, and the SS prisoners were only portioned in groups of 500, a contingent of 500 women plus 20 female prisoner-functionaries was agreed upon. These 520 prisoners, most of whom were women around 20 years old, were transferred to the Humboldstrasse camp at the end of August 1944.[2]

There, five barracks in the western section of the camp complex had been separated for the female inmates and enclosed with barbed wire. On the other side of the fence, Eastern female workers from the USSR were housed. In front of the enclosed section was a barrack for the guard squad. The camp for the Jewish inmates lay on a open field, had no leveled paths, and had four sleeping barracks and a kitchen with a cafeteria. In the sleeping barracks the women found roughly 65 bunk-bed frames with straw sacks. The rooms, which had until then housed Italian military internees, were incredibly filthy. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was 30-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Albert Rieck, and his deputies were the two SS-Unterscharführer Willi Kerkhoff and Otto Maier. In addition to the SS guard Kommandos, the Krupp firm had recruited women from its own workforce to act as guards. They were sent to a 10-day crash course for concentration camp overseers in the Ravensbrück female concentration camp, and there they were inducted into SS service. Initially the guard squad was composed of 44 women and 15 men. However, half of these guards soon received other tasks.[3]

The prisoners were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and ordered to roll call in front of the barracks. Following breakfast, which at first consisted of bread and margarine, they were taken by streetcar to the Krupp cast steel factory, where work began at 6:00. The majority of the Hungarian female inmates worked in Steel Mill II; instructed by German workers, they were charged with stoking the oven, performing the welding, and carrying out various chores. Most of the women were employed in a two-shift system consisting of 12 hours each. The work on the night shift was easier, since the women were often only responsible for overseeing the meters. How the Jewish women in Steel Mill II fared depended largely upon the benevolence of the German workers and above all on the demeanor of the factory manager, boss, and assistant foreman.

The scale of different behaviors ranged from clandestine solidarity, which was personally risky (since it was forbidden), to open brutality. It appears that indifference predominated at Humboldtstrasse. During aerial bombings, people were preoccupied with their own problems; the misery of the foreigners was both obvious and irrevocable. Individual relations with the prisoners varied considerably among the guard squad as well. The female prisoners were especially fearful of the frequently abusive camp leader Rieck and Emmi Theissen, the leader of the SS women's Kommando.

When Essen was subjected to a heavy Allied air raid on the night of October 23–24, 1944, the camp prisoners took refuge in ditches that were only 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep and therefore provided little protection. The guards found refuge in a bunker that neither the prisoners nor the neighboring Eastern workers were allowed to enter. The camp area received one direct hit; 58 Russian women were killed. Since the quarters of the prisoners were also completely destroyed, the women temporarily repaired the less-damaged kitchen barrack and set up in its dining hall a large, continuous communal bed, for which there was only some straw and an insufficient number of blankets. Because the streetcar stopped operating after the strike, following breakfast (which was rationed considerably smaller and later wholly omitted), the women had to march 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) through Essen to work under the watch of abusive SS men. Since they received no footwear, they walked with old wooden clogs, rags bundled around their feet, or barefoot, even in winter. In the factory, as part of reparation work, they had to drag bricks, transport metal plates, and perform other heavy labor. In the evening after 6:00 P.M., they lined up for the return march, received their evening meal in the camp, now mostly cauliflower soup and bread, and then crowded themselves together to sleep in the increasing cold. During this time one woman died of tuberculosis, another as a result of severe frostbite. When it was discovered that one of the women was pregnant, she was sent back to Birkenau.

Yet another Allied air strike on December 12, 1944, destroyed the kitchen barrack of the Humboldtstrasse camp. The women were put up in the cellar rooms of a nearby, burned-out barrack. For the next quarter year, most of them had to sleep on a damp cement floor with a blanket or on a little straw. The management committee of the Krupp firm knew of the women's circumstances. However, nothing was done, especially because since January 1945 the situation in Essen tended toward chaos. In February 1945 camp director Rieck announced his orders that under no circumstances should he let the camp prisoners fall alive into the hands of the Allied troops. The board of directors of the Krupp firm decided that the prisoners should immediately leave Essen. On March 17, 1945, under the direction of a Krupp administrator and several SS guards, the women marched to the neighboring town of Bochum, where they boarded a special train to Buchenwald, along with Jewish male camp prisoners from Hungary. The journey to Buchenwald, in third-class passenger cars and freight cars, took three days as a result of the war situation.[4] From Buchenwald the women were immediately led to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which took another three days. Arriving in Bergen-Belsen on March 22, 1945, the women experienced a typhus epidemic, terrible hunger, and the imminent threat of SS firing squads. It is unclear how many of the original 520 women survived through the capture of Bergen-Belsen by British troops on April 15, 1945. Directly after liberation of the camp, the majority of survivors were taken to Sweden by the Red Cross.

A few days after the evacuation of the Hungarian Jewish women from Essen, six of them—Rosa Katz, Gizella Israel, Erna and Elizabeth Roth, Agnes and Renée Königsberg—used an Allied air strike to escape while on their way to work. They hid himselves in the cellar of the demolished mortuary of the Essen Jewish Cemetery. They stayed there a couple of days, without water or food. Eventually Rosa Katz called on a married couple, Erna and Gerhard Marquardt, who lived close by. The couple provided for the escapees and brought them to a hideout that was less dangerous. In the aftermath, several others (in addition to the Marquardts) participated in the rescue of the six women, above all Karl Schneider, who, like Gerhard Marquardt, worked in the Krupp steel mill, Schneider's neighbor Erna Lippold, the grocerer Fritz Niermann, and his employees Gertrud Hahnen and Adolf Gatzweiler.[5]

After 1945, and during the successive trial against Krupp, the leaders of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp were included among the authorities charged with expressly following inhumane labor policies and the cooperation of Ruhr Basin industry in National Socialist crimes. No member of the guard personnel was legally prosecuted after 1945. Preliminary proceedings were only opened against Lagerführer Rieck following his death.

SOURCES The basic overview about the history of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp is derived from Ulrich Herbert, "Von Auschwitz nach Essen. Die Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Humboldtstrasse," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 13–34. On the basis of personal interviews with Krupp workers, Herbert also reconstructed the relations between the German corporate employees vis-à-vis the foreign laborers—not just Jewish—who were coercively appointed, in his "Apartheid nebenan: Erinnerungen an die Fremdarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet," in "*Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll*": *Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Lutz Niethammer (Berlin, 1983), pp. 67–69. The Essen local historian, Ernst Schmidt, told the history of the subcamp based on conversations and correspondence with several Hungarian Jewish prisoners who were able to flee from the subcamp in early 1945, as well as those Esseners who assisted them. See his "Essener Aussenläger des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988), 2: 187–220; and "Das Schicksal der ungarischen Jüdin Rose Szego und ihrer Familie," in *Jüdisches Leben in Essen 1800–1933*, ed. Alte Synagogue Essen (Essen, 1993), pp. 193–197.

Primary sources for this camp start with StA N, Nürnberg Subsequent Proceedings, Case X (*USA v. Alfried Krupp et al.*), Prosecution Document Books (especially B 42, 48, 49, 50, 53, 57) and Defense Document Books (in particular M 3 and 4), as well as trial protocols, ZdL (now BA-L), Bestand IV 429 AR-A 51/71 (D), Bände 1–5. This includes evidence: for

example, the recollections of 36 former prisoners, 22 former members of the guard squad, virtually all at the time officers in the Krupp property management, and German workers who were employed at Krupp.

Michael Zimmermann
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Walter Hölkeskamp, September 15, 1947, Dok. NIK 11679, Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse Fall X, B 42; Aussage Ihn, 1.10.1945, Dok. D 274, Case X, B 59; Sitzung der Sonder-Arbeitseinsatz-Ingenieure Krupp, 21.6.1944, Dok. NIK 9804, Case X, B 58.

2. See v.a. Affidavit Dolhaine, September 18, 1947, Dok. NIK 11675, Case X, B 48.

3. For guard personnel, see v.a. Aktenvermerk Krupp, Wirtschaftsbüro, July 29, 1944, Dok. D 238, Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Schwarz vom 27.8.1947, Dok. NIK 11313; Affidavit Geulen, August 9, 1947, Dok. NIK 11731; Affidavit Hermanns, Dok. NIK 11930; Affidavit Dominik, Dok. NIK 11729; Affidavit Trockel, Dok. NIK 11676; alle: Fall X, B 48; ZdL (now BA-L), OSta Köln, 24 Js 14/71 (Z).

4. For the dissolution of the Humboldtstrasse camp as well as the transport to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen, see Aussage Dolhaine, May 21, 1948, Fall X, Protokoll S. 8942; Ihn an Lehmann, Doc. D, Dok. 274; Affidavit Rosa Katz, Doc. D 277, Fall X, B 48; SS-Arbeitskommando Krupp an Oberlagerführung Krupp, 9. und 14.3.1945, Dok. NIK 7014; Korrespondenz mit der Reichsbahndirektion, Dok. NIK 13001; Affidavit Grossmann, Dok. 12604—alle Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Kerkmann, November 25, 1947, Dok. NIK 12877, Fall X, B 49; Affidavit Sommerer, March 11, 1948, Dok. Lehmann 165, Fall X, M 3; Affidavit Stender, 11.3.1948, Dok. Lehmann 166, Case X, M 3.

5. As reconstructed from oral history interviews in Ernst Schmidt, "Essener Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988).

FLÖSSBERG

The Buchenwald Flössberg subcamp was one of seven camps established by the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) during the last year of the war in Germany. The camp was located close to the village of Flössberg, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Leipzig. There was a maximum of 1,200 Jewish men in the camp who had to do construction work for a new armaments factory.[1] The camp received its first transport of prisoners on December 28, 1944, and closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were transported away.[2]

From 1934, the Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG produced increasing quantities of munitions, primarily grenades and, toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In 1939, the company took over as trustee for the Wehrmacht in Poland several factories that manufactured munitions. From 1942 on, in six forced labor camps including camps in Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the company manufactured munitions, using thousands of forced Jewish laborers. Camps were established in each of the company's factories. As the front got closer and closer to the Polish factories and the HASAG subcamps, the company began in the summer of 1944 to relocate its existing production sites to Sachsen and Thüringen. It also established new sites in those states. Flössberg was probably chosen as the last of the seven HASAG subcamps because of its good rail connections and its forest location, which allowed the production facilities to be camouflaged. Flössberg was not far from the main factory in Leipzig and not far from Colditz, where there had been an earlier subcamp. The company established the subcamp on a field close to the village of Flössberg on the edge of a forest at the end of November 1944. The company's employees and "foreign laborers" built barracks and fences for the prison camp before the arrival of the first transport of 150 men from Buchenwald on December 28, 1944.

The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a "Jewish Work Detachment." The men had been chosen in Buchenwald or were from one of the six other HASAG camps and sent for forced labor in Flössberg. At first the prisoners were kept busy with the construction of the camp and production facilities close to the camp. They had to carry rails and lay the bed for the railway tracks as well as lay a company railway line. Survivors have talked about leveling the ground and transporting building materials for the construction of factory buildings and barracks in the forest. "The work was done in boggy ground, on the run," according to former prisoner Szmul Lustiger.[3] A few prisoners were required to unload and assemble the machines, which probably originated from the HASAG factories in Poland and were to be used to manufacture the Panzerfäuste. It is not known whether the machines actually produced these weapons during the four months of the camp's existence. In addition to construction work, the HASAG prisoners, especially in March 1945, were used outside the camp after Allied bombing raids on the factory facilities in the forest. They were used to clean up and disarm unexploded bombs in the nearby manor of Beucha.

The Jewish prisoners in Flössberg came from different countries, but there were many Hungarians and Poles. Some had already worked in the Polish HASAG factories. On the Flössberg transport lists are men of all age groups, but most were between 25 and 35 years of age. Non-Jewish males were sent to Flössberg as prisoner-functionaries. Michael Eichler reported on a German barrack elder (Barackenältester) who had been arrested because he was a homosexual. The number of prisoners in Flössberg climbed steadily to the beginning of March 1945 and soon passed the number of villagers. According to the transport lists there were in January 300 to 450 internees, and on February 2, 1945, 769. After that, there was a prisoner exchange. On February 17, 1945, and on March 2, 1945, 230 prisoners were taken to Buchenwald. During the same period of time, 990 Buchenwald prisoners and inmates from the HASAG camps at Schlieben and Leipzig were taken to Flössberg, with the result that by the end of February the camp reached its highest capacity of 1,450. This was to last only for a short time. After that the numbers declined continually in large part due to the many deaths. The final strength report

dated April 7, 1945, records 1,144 prisoners. At least 166 prisoners had died in the camp by April 7, 1945, 94 alone in the last month of the camp's operation.[4] Some 1,904 prisoners went through the camp. This means that in the four months at least 9 percent of the prisoners had died. Of the 586 prisoners (31 percent) who were returned from Flössberg back to the main camp, the majority were so exhausted that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky made the following notation in his weekly reports: "Condition very poor."[5] In Flössberg there was a minimum of medical care provided by a camp prisoner doctor. He had to treat the sick, wounded, and exhausted without beds and with almost no medicine. Especially in February, SS and company personnel selected prisoners in Flössberg on several occasions for "physical weakness" but also including those who had an accident, suffered from frostbite, eczema, skin, and digestion problems, had tuberculosis, and so on. Those selected were transferred back to Buchenwald. Many would have died there or in the evacuation of the camp in April. This situation leads one to conclude that Flössberg was one of the toughest detachments in the last phase of the war.

The main reasons for the deaths of so many prisoners were the extreme prison conditions and the debilitating forced labor. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks and slept on straw mattresses or on bare stretchers. There were no sanitary conditions in the camp. The prisoners got some of their water from puddles in the boggy area. There was no possibility to wash clothes in the camp or to change clothes. The prisoners were fed daily with soup. This was inadequate for many prisoners who had to survive the difficult 12-hour shifts.

The prisoners suffered from the long roll calls and the treatment of their guards. SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, in command of the Leipzig subcamps and responsible for the HASAG camp, had to answer to the Buchenwald camp commander, Hermann Pister, in February 1945, for his mistreatment of prisoners. SS-Untersturmführer Scheller, commander of an SS Pioneereinheit (Field Engineer Unit), who was also noticed for his mistreatment of the prisoners in the camp, was threatened by Plaul with severe punishment. The leader of the Flössberg camp, SS-Oberscharführer Strese, was relieved of his command at the same time. He was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Lütscher.

The prisoners were guarded by SS units. According to former prisoner reports, many of the guards were wounded or invalided men. Other SS men were said to be very young. During their forced labor, the prisoners were supervised by German civilians who were mostly skilled HASAG or construction tradesmen. They allocated the prisoners to work and guarded them. The prisoners, outside the camp site, came into contact with the local population, for example, when constructing the railway facilities. The HASAG factory was an object of curiosity in Flössberg, as former priest Erich Senff recorded in his diary on February 6, 1945: "The Hasag factory is now a place for excursions for Flössberg."[6]

On March 5, 1945, the Flössberg HASAG factory facilities and probably the guards' accommodation barracks were destroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners' camp was spared from the air attack. However, until the camp was evacuated, the prisoners had to reconstruct the destroyed facilities under the most severe conditions. The prisoners were driven from the camp on April 13, 1945, and deported by rail in the direction of Mauthausen.[7] Around 100 prisoners were squeezed into each wagon, which had been used to transport explosives. When the journey commenced, the prisoners were given a loaf of bread for their journey, which was to last several days. Once a day they were allowed out of the wagons to go to the toilet. When this happened the countless dead were taken from the wagons. According to prisoners' reports, some of the prisoners, after a few days, were driven on to Mauthausen by foot. When they arrived, the survivors noticed that the guards had gone.

SOURCES The Flössberg camp is discussed in an essay on the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271.

Documents on the Flössberg subcamp are scattered among many archives. Fragmentary SS-HASAG correspondence on this camp has survived. In AG-B and THStA-W, there are a few relevant documents especially relating to the work done by the Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt (NS4Bu, KZuHaftaBu). There are several survivors' reports in different languages or records of interview at YV (Collections M.1.E, M49.E, and O.3). The priest at Flössberg, Hans-Ulrich Dietze, has collected information on the camp since the 1970s.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. NARA, Washington—RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015767–808.
2. Diary Erich Senff, copy in the ownership of the writer, April 13, 1945. Report Szmul Lustiger (translation from the Polish by Agnieszka Lasota), YVA, M.49/784.
3. Rept. Szmul Lustiger.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
5. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 15 und Bl. 18.
6. Diary Erich Senff, a.a.O.
7. Interview with Emil Bergmann, YVA, O.3/9185. Also Rept. of Szmul Lustiger.

GANDERSHEIM [AKA BAD GANDERSHEIM]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Bad Gandersheim (Lower Saxony province) in October 1944 to provide labor to a branch of the Heinkel-Werke (Heinkel Works) located at the Bruns Apparatebau GmbH in Brunshausen near Gandersheim. Like other armaments firms that exploited prisoner labor, the Bruns Apparatebau hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 9 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day, payable to the SS by the firm.

The first transport of 206 inmates was selected and left Buchenwald's so-called small camp (*kleines Lager*) on October 2, 1944. The group consisted of skilled laborers who were chosen for work in the factory as well as those selected for their relative physical strength who were to construct the camp itself. The inmates were transferred to Gandersheim in cattle cars and, until the camp barracks were constructed, were housed in an empty church. Prior to its use as a temporary subcamp, the church was used as quarters for prisoners of war (POWs) as well as for pregnant Russian and Polish slave laborers who were forced to give birth there and to abandon their newborn children. One half of the church was covered in straw on which the Gandersheim inmates slept, and a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was partitioned off near the entrance of the church.

Following the arrival of the inmates, civilian foremen and supervisors from the Bruns Apparatebau factory came to the church to select prisoners for work. Those not selected formed the fence commando (Zaunkommando), which was assigned to construct the barracks for the new camp. Inmates sent to work in the factory were marched to the Bruns Apparatebau, located in nearby Brunshausen. The Heinkel firm had leased the Brunshausen factory to continue production of He 219 radio navigation equipment and fuselages. German personnel who had worked originally for the Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd., another subsidiary of Heinkel) in Mielec, Poland, were transferred to Brunshausen after the Ostwerke was dissolved in the summer of 1944.

Although the prisoners generally preferred work in the factory to the unprotected outdoor conditions of heavy labor in the Zaunkommando, conditions in the factory were also difficult. Constant pneumatic drilling made the work extremely noisy. German civilian foremen who supervised the work beat the inmates who were suspected of sabotage or who did not work efficiently enough.[1] The prisoners were underfed, especially for the physical conditions they were expected to endure; most testimony and prisoner memoirs comment on the persistent lack of food, constant hunger, and futile attempts to search or barter for extra food. In a few instances, civilian workers in the Bruns Apparatebau offered extra food, but these cases of assistance were rare. The pursuit of tobacco was another common obsession of the inmates. The latrine shared by all inmates in the camp was a crude hole with wooden benches surrounding it.

All of the inmates in the Gandersheim subcamp were men, with the largest groups of prisoners coming from France, Italy, Russia, and Poland. There were also smaller numbers of German, Belgian, Czech, Spanish, Croatian, Dutch, Serbian, and Slovenian inmates. Additional demographic information, such as the average age and professions of the inmates, can be gleaned from further research and statistical analysis of transport lists and other administrative records.[2] After the initial October transport from Buchenwald, 333 inmates were transported to Gandersheim from Dachau.[3] On December 18, 1944, another 50 inmates were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Gandersheim.[4] After the construction of the camp was completed, inmates were divided into three barrack blocks. The average strength of the Gandersheim camp throughout its seven-month period of operation was about 500 inmates. By April 1945, there were 519 inmates.

As in other camps, the hierarchy of camp supervision incorporated prisoner-functionaries as well as members of the SS who guarded and administered the camp. Therefore, in addition to work assignments in the factory or in construction, several inmates, mainly German professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), were selected as work overseers (Kapos), block elders (Blockältester), and camp elders (Lagerältester). A report published in the study by Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier identifies the Lagerältester as prisoner Paul Knopf. The Blockältester for the three blocks were Edmund Grudowski, L. Wischnewsky, and B. Rullan. There were six inmates appointed to orderly duty (*Stubendienst*), three to the laundry, as well as eight Kapos, and other assignments to the infirmary, storage, and SS quarters.[5]

The names of many of the SS guards stationed in Gandersheim are also known. Hauptscharführer Willy Dillenburger was the commandant of the camp. Other guards in service in Gandersheim included: Unterscharführer Urban; the Dutch-born Unterscharführer Anton Przybliski; Unterscharführer Albert Janke, who was in charge of inmate work assignments in the camp and the evacuation march; Truppführer Albert Jokussies; Schütze Emil Kraaz; Unterscharführer Paselt; Truppführer Stephan Müller; Truppführer Georg Muller; Oberscharführer Ignaz Grescher, who headed the infirmary section; Rottenführer Helmut Vogt; Schütze Antoine Otto, in charge of the kitchen; Hans Herman; Schütze Eggers; Oberscharführer Sepp Schralm; and August Köhler.

Some of the guards and Kapos were known especially for their cruelty and propensity to punish and beat the inmates at every chance. At various intervals, some inmates were transferred back to the infirmary at the Buchenwald main camp if they were no longer able to work.[6] Surviving transfer/strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) also show that deaths were reported to the Buchenwald administration intermittently from Gandersheim.[7] Those who died in the camp were taken to the nearby Clus forest and buried. The largest execution of prisoners took place just prior to the evacuation of the camp in April 1945, when 40 inmates were shot in the forest and buried. They had stepped out of the columns upon the request of the SS for those too weak to march in the evacuation. Their bodies were later recovered by American troops, identified and researched, and reburied in the cemetery of Salzburg.

Despite the working and living conditions, there were a few cases of sabotage in the Brunshausen factory, as well as some escape attempts, especially during the evacuation marches. Sabotage in the factory was difficult, however, because civilian foremen and Kapos monitored each stage of the production process carefully.[8] Movements to dissolve the camp began on April 4, 1945, when the 40 weak inmates were executed. About 460 inmates were rounded up and evacuated on foot. The original destination was to return to Buchenwald; however,

the Allies had already advanced toward Nordhausen and Erfurt. Instead, the march continued east, in the direction of the Harz Mountains, passing through Ackershausen, Dannhausen, Kirchberg, Bad Grund, and Clausthal-Zellerfeld. By April 13, after considerable division of the Gandersheim march and combining with several other evacuation marches from camps (including Langenstein, Wansleben, and others), a part of the Gandersheim march reached Bitterfeld and was transferred by train to Dachau.[9] The 9th U.S. Army liberated Gandersheim on April 10. Of those Gandersheim inmates who reached Dachau, about 150 survived.

None of the civilian employees of the Heinkel firm in Brunshausen were brought to trial after the war, although the director Kleinemeyer was said to have encouraged the punishment of inmates. His subordinate, referred to as "F.F" by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, and who conducted labor negotiations with the SS, was also not prosecuted and went on to various governmental and mayoral positions in Wolfenbüttel and Lower Saxony after the war. Truppführer Albert Jokussies and Kapo Friedrich Sohl were tried in Hannover in 1948 for the execution before the march as well as shooting other prisoners during the march. They were sentenced to four years in prison.[10]

SOURCES Two major secondary sources upon which this entry builds cover much of the history of the Buchenwald subcamp at Bad Gandersheim. See Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier, *Bad Gandersheim: Autopsie d'un Kommando de Buchenwald* (Le Pecq: G. et P. Texier, 2003), for a comprehensive history of the camp, including several photographs, diagrams and layouts of the grounds, research reports, reproduction of primary documents, and many survivor testimonies. Their study also includes extensive statistical analyses, especially of the demographics of French former inmates, as well as a nearly comprehensive list of Gandersheim inmates with their professions, ages, and so on (pp. 91–126). Robert Antelme's *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998) is a detailed and moving memoir about living and working conditions in the Gandersheim camp, the treatment by specific Kapos and guards, and the treacherous evacuation marches from the camp at the end of the war. For brief information on the Gandersheim camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Several private collections and archives contain primary documentation on the Bad Gandersheim subcamp, and the text by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier makes special note of them. See, for example, AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69 and BU 5/3). For the Jokussies and Sohl proceedings, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1998), vol. 4.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert Antelme, *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlbora Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998), pp. 140–145.
2. See the "KL Buchenwald, KDO Gandersheim ('Gh')" collection of documents (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport Gandersheim," November 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Transport Gandersheim," December 18, 1944 (BU 7/14), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 6.
5. See le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 129, for SS report listing camp prisoner staff.
6. See transport report dated November 18, 1944, from Gandersheim to Buchenwald (7 inmates), as well as report dated January 10, 1945 (10 inmates) (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
7. Veränderungsmeldungen, January 28, 1945 (2 deaths) (BU 36/4); January 31, 1945 (1 death due to bronchial pneumonia) (BU 36/4); February 6, 1945 (1 death due to rickets) (36/3); February 13, 1945 (2 deaths due to lung inflammation) (BU 36/4)—all in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
8. See testimony of Roger Perret, in le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 11.
9. See evacuation diagrams in ibid., pp. 133–143.
10. See *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4.

GELSENKIRCHEN-HORST

One of the Buchenwald forced labor detachments was established in the Gelsenkirchen suburb of Horst in the Ruhr. It was located at the Gelsenberg Benzin AG hydrogenation factory. The factory was heavily damaged on June 13, 1944, during an air raid, and production came to a standstill. However, the importance to the war effort of hydrogenation and the manufacture of aircraft kerosene meant that orders were given for the immediate removal of the damage. The labor shortage meant that the dangerous work was to be done by forced laborers. As a result 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women were "selected" in Auschwitz for work in Gelsenkirchen. These women were from Transylvania, Sighet, and its surrounding areas. They had been in Auschwitz for six weeks. The Buchenwald subcamp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst was established with the arrival of the Hungarian women on July 4, 1944.[1] The extent of the damage to the hydrogenation factory meant that the deployment was practically meaningless.

The camp was established on an empty field to the east of the Gelsenberg Benzin factory. It consisted of three large army tents. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners remember it as being electrified. It was flanked by watchtowers with guards armed with machine guns.[2] The SS guards, men and women, but a majority of women in uniform,

were at first accommodated some distance away in the hotel "Zur Post" in the Gelsenkirchen city district of Buer until the real camp in a stone building was established outside the camp. In this building was located the camp administration. The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich. Most of the wardresses were conscripted for the task. Before they arrived via the Buchenwald main camp at Gelsenkirchen (they were later to go to other camps), they had undergone a training course with another 100 future wardresses at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[3]

The heads of the Hungarian women were shaved. They were dressed in a sacklike dress of coarse linen and wore primitive shoes with wooden soles. The women had to work 12 hours a day. The work was heavy physical labor in the Gelsenberg Benzin factory and for the Oberbauleitung (Project Management) of the Organisation Todt (OT) in Essen-Kupferdreh. Their primary task was to clean up the factory. They also had to unload ships in the canal's port. The work demanded from the overtaxed women was brutally driven. They were mistreated. However, a few witnesses have stated that the supervisors showed some compassion. Others recall that a few pregnant women were deported to Auschwitz. Yet others say that a child was born in the Gelsenkirchen camp and either strangled by a supervisor or killed with an injection.[4] There is evidence that two women died in the Gelsenkirchen subcamp on August 26 and 29, 1944. They probably died as a result of the typhus epidemic raging in the camp.[5]

As the cleanup work at the Gelsenberg Benzin plant was obviously a failure and there could be no thought of resuming the production of synthetic fuel, consideration was soon given to dissolving the subcamp. The Krupp Walzwerke (rolling mill) made a request to use the women, and on August 24, 1944, 520 of the Hungarian women selected by Krupp representatives were transferred to the Essen camp in Humboldtstrasse.[6] [See Buchenwald/Essen (Humboldtstrasse).]

The women who remained in the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp were the victims of a new air raid on the hydrogenation factory on September 11, 1944, at 5:42 P.M. The Allied attack hit the camp and the women who were not permitted to go into the bunkers or air trenches. The number of dead inmates is not certain: according to the Gelsenberg Benzin AG, 151 women were killed. SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, commander of the guard, gave the number of dead women as 138. The surviving women had to commence preparations the day after the raid for the cremation of the corpses. The remains were cremated and interred in three mass graves. The Gelsenkirchen Cemetery Office (Friedhofsamt) determined in 1949 that additional women had died in the hospitals as a result of severe injuries incurred during the raid. Three women died in the Bottrop Marien Hospital and were buried in the Jewish section of the Bottrop Westfriedhof. According to the Friedhofsamt, other women who died in the hospitals were hurriedly buried in mass graves.[7]

As the Gelsenberg factory had been irreparably damaged by the attack, the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp was dissolved on September 14–15, 1944. The camp commander SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich reported on September 16 that 1,215 women had been transferred to Sömmerda in Thüringen for forced labor at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory located there and that 520 had been taken to Essen, where a new Buchenwald subcamp had been established in Humboldtstrasse. There were 138 women "killed by enemy action," 94 were wounded, 23 were in hospitals, and 8 pregnant women had been sent to Auschwitz. Two had died from typhus. Another report from the camp at Sömmerda on December 18 referred to a woman who had died and a camp strength of 1,271 prisoners. At the end of November or the beginning of December, a transport of around 50 women, who had been injured and had been left behind at Gelsenkirchen, left for Sömmerda. Above all, it was the women from the hospital in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, which in the meantime had been destroyed, who were deported to Sömmerda. A survivor reported that after she was injured in the bombing raid that she and other women, after a stay in a hospital in Gelsenkirchen, were deported to Sömmerda on December 2, 1944.[8]

The injured women were delivered to hospitals in the surrounding area, 31 alone to the Catholic Gelsenkirchen-Horst St-Josefs-Hospital. The chief doctor in the surgery department, Dr. Rudolf Bertram, admitted the women. Dr. Bertram was also the chief doctor in the Catholic Marienhospital in Gelsenkirchen-Rotthausen, which took in other wounded women. The Catholic sisters (Franciscans in the St-Josefs-Hospital and sisters of the order Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi in the Marien Hospital) cared for the wounded. Many of the women, despite the help of the hospital personnel, were not able to escape the National Socialists. Most of the women were deported on January 16, 1945, to Sömmerda in Thüringen. Only 17 women experienced liberation in Gelsenkirchen. Dr. Bertram was honored in 1980 as one of the Righteous Amongst the Nations at Yad Vasham in Israel for his work in saving Jews.[9]

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg only began investigations long after the liberation from National Socialism. It questioned 64 former prisoners and six former SS members. The majority of the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp personnel, some of whom had gone to Sömmerda, could not be determined.[10] The camp commander, Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, born in 1889 in Ludwigshafen, was generally regarded as humane. He had first commanded a camp in Mühlhausen, then the Gelsenkirchen subcamp, and finally the Sömmerda subcamp. He died in 1966 without a trial. Dietrich was a soldier and officer in World War I; during the Weimar Republic he worked as a finance officer at the Handwerkskammer (trade corporation) in Kaiserslautern, a middle-class profession. During World War II he was called up. He tried for front-line service and ended up in the SS, where he reached the rank of Obersturmführer. Dietrich, who had been a member of the Buchenwald SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) since October 1942, graduated to commanding subcamps. After the liberation from National Socialism, Dietrich was interned by the Americans. They transferred him to the

French, who released him from internment in 1949. His final release took place in 1959. During denazification proceedings, Dietrich, against expectations, was not classified as an activist.[11]

Due to the contradictory statements by survivors of the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp and the failure to identify the perpetrators, male and female, the ZdL in Ludwigsburg suggested that the Essen state prosecutor take up the investigations. The senior state prosecutor halted the investigations into the subcamp on August 16, 1971, "as there were no prospects of any success."[12]

SOURCES The following works contain information on Gelsenkirchen-Horst: Heike Herholz and Sabine Wiebringhaus, "KZ Aussenlager Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, Eine Dokumentation," BeStG 11 (1983): 121–142; Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004); Alte Synagoge, ed., *Eine Dokumentation zu KZ-Aussenlagern in Essen* (Essen, 1985); Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945: Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999); Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . .*, *Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996); Stefan Goch, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Konzentrationslager in Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2004), pp. 271–278; Goch, "Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 445–448; Goch, *Jüdisches Leben—Verfolgung—Mord—Überleben*, *Ehemalige jüdische Bürgerinnen und Bürger Gelsenkirchens erinnern sich* (Essen: Klartext, 2004), pp. 219–233; Marlies Mrotzek, *Das KZ-Aussenlager der Gelsenberg Benzin AG* (Fernwald: Germinal, 2002).

The following archival collections are important for this subcamp: The state prosecutor's investigations into crimes at the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp: BA-L (formerly ZdL): the camp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B); the camp at Sömmerda with regard to the transport of the prisoners from Gelsenkirchen-Horst to Sömmerda, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66). For the location and description of the camp from the perspective of a young flak assistant: Heribert Haffert, "Die Bombenoffensive der Luftwaffen Grossbritanniens und der USA gegen das Ruhrgebiet während des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1939–1945," assembled by Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen, typewritten eyewitness report, 2000), at Institut für Stadtgeschichte/ASt-Ge, HB 3338.

Stefan Goch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (darin enthalten 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.

2. Ibid., Bes. Bl. 487; Vgl. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 41, available at ASt-Ge, HB 3338.

3. Witness statement of a former wardress on November 11, 1969, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 739; also in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 114; Schlussvermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.

4. Witness statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66); Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 494.

5. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 1; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11; Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, ibid., Bl. 22. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bes. Bl. 534, 620, 1486; Witness Report by Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004), pp. 117–120.

6. BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 13.

7. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42; Schlussvermerk der ZdL, June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 537, 603.

8. Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 22; Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bes. Bl. 487. Zur Verlegung nach Sömmerda, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) with many witness statements.

9. For reference, see Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . .*, *Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen,1996).

10. Investigations in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) und 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66).

11. Investigations of the ZdL April 5, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 2349; Investigations, in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 346 ff.; Assessment of the Spruchkammer files on Eugen Dietrich, ibid., Bl. 392.

12. Schlussvermerk der ZdL June 23, 1971, and Abschrift der Einstellungsverfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Essen (29 a Js 357/71) vom August 16, 1971, in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487 und 530.

GIESSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Giessen in late March 1944. On March 22, 1944, 50 inmates from the main Buchenwald camp were transferred to Giessen to supply labor to the SS-Infirmary (Sanitäts- Ersatz und Ausbildungsabteilung) located at 106 Licherstrasse.

The Giessen subcamp was in operation at the SS-Infirmary from late March 1944 to March 26, 1945. There is no information about the exact size of the Giessen camp or its prox-

imity to the hospital. During its yearlong operation, there were between 75 and 100 inmates incarcerated in the Giessen subcamp. The first-known transport into the camp left Buchenwald on March 22, 1944, with 50 prisoners. Another relatively large transport of 30 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Giessen on May 11, 1944, with additional transports to Giessen on April 5 (6 inmates); June 5 (2); June 10 (3); August 10 (6); October 7 (3); October 30 (3), and November 10 (1 inmate).[1] According to a listing of subcamps and their prisoner "strength reports" submitted to the Waffen-SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) in Buchenwald, there were 77 inmates in Giessen in January 1945.[2] A similar report from March 6, 1945, confirms the number of inmates in Giessen at 77.[3] From these known transport lists and strength reports, we can conclude that the number of inmates did not fluctuate greatly from the original number deported to the camp in March through May 1944. However, some transport lists were undoubtedly lost, and therefore these can provide only a partial picture of the number of prisoners in the Giessen camp.

A general overview of the demographics of the Giessen camp population can also be gleaned from these transport lists. All of the prisoners were men, and most of the prisoners transported to Giessen were Russian political prisoners. There was also a large group of political prisoners from Czechoslovakia, in addition to political prisoners from Germany and Austria, Poles, French, and Italian prisoners. One political prisoner, Kurt Oskar Dimler (inmate number 2426) was returned to Buchenwald on the November 10, 1944, transport; however, he appears on six of the above transport lists and therefore may have had a functionary prisoner role (such as Kapo) to accompany transports to and from the main camp.[4] As in most of the satellite camps, prisoners who were too weak to work were often transferred back to the infirmaries of the main camps in "exchange" for healthier inmates.

The identity of the commandant of the Giessen camp and the number of guards in Giessen are unknown. The camp was evacuated on March 26, 1945, to Buchenwald and the prisoners registered there on April 3, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog entry for Giessen, a group of prisoners evacuated from Giessen were freed en route to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Little information about the Giessen subcamp at the SS-Infirmary on Licherstrasse is found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Giessen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Giessen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Giessen camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also the archives of the German BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180, (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Giessen," 22 March 1944; "Veränderungsmeldung," 5 April 1944; "Transport Giessen," 11 May 1944; "Transport Giessen," 5 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 August 1944; "Transport Giessen,"/"Veränderungsmeldung," 7 October 1944 (BU 4/26); "Transport Gissen" [*sic*], 30 October 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 November 1944—(all BU 46, except Veränderungsmeldung from 7 October) AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants et victimes de guerre as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

3. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 March 1945" (BU 39), AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transports from 22 March 1944, 5 April 1944, 5 June 1944, 10 June 1944, 7 October 1944, 30 October 1944, and 10 November 1944, AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

GOSLAR

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Goslar (Hannover province) in November 1940 to provide labor to the Goslar air base (*Fliegerhorst*) for the Waffen-SS-Neubauleitung. The Goslar air-base headquarters paid 3 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate for labor to the Main Office for Budgets and Building, Office I/5, which was subordinated to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) from September 1941. The inmates were not compensated for their labor. A subcamp of

Neuengamme was also created in Goslar, but this camp was established in 1944.

Memoranda exchanged between Office I/5 and Goslar describe various aspects of the inmates' assigned work and the administrative organization of the camp. The inmates slated for work at the Goslar air base were unskilled laborers who performed manual labor, such as clearing rubble; stacking, loading, and unloading wood; and various other construction-related tasks. The inmates were assigned, for example, to construct barracks for a camp for Russian prisoners and also to build barracks at the Goslar air base. A memo dated March 19, 1941, notes that the Buchenwald inmates lived in a Luftwaffe barracks on the air base, and food supplies were provided by the Buchenwald concentration camp.[1] According to the same document, the guard staff consisted of both SS men and low-ranking Luftwaffe officers. Inmates may have also performed construction work for a Firma Maibaum and worked in mines north of the village of Hahndorf, through which they marched on their way to the assignment. They worked Mondays through Saturdays, up to nine hours per day.

The average prisoner population of the Goslar subcamp was 80 inmates, but this number fluctuated over the camp's two-year operation. According to a list of inmates in the camp compiled on June 27, 1941, the 140 inmates in the camp were mainly Poles, Russian political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), and "asocial" inmates from the Reich.[2]

In addition to information about the formation of the guard staff provided by various administrative correspondence, few other specific details about the guards or living conditions in the Goslar camp can be found. The commander of the Goslar air base was Major Grawert, who assigned some Luftwaffe officers to guard the camp.[3] According to former prisoner K. Deterok, the Kommandoführer was an SS-Hauptscharführer Höber. This same former prisoner described the compassion of one of the SS guards who allowed him to sneak a handful of horse feed when no one was looking. While Deterok attempted to consume the feed in a quiet corner, Höber discovered and punished him: "With a strange power he fell upon me, hitting me, beating me down with his fists. When I fell to the ground, he worked on me with his feet."[4] At least two inmates, Walter Krämer and Karl Peix, were shot on November 6, 1941, for "attempting to escape."

The camp was dissolved in December 1942, and the inmates presumably were evacuated to Buchenwald. A memorial plaque was erected in the cemetery of Hahndorf in 1990 to commemorate the death of an inmate in the Neuengamme subcamp in Goslar, as well as the earlier deaths of two inmates in the Buchenwald subcamp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Goslar subcamp are limited. This entry builds upon information in Peter Schyga et al., "*Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Goslar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS). Information about and a photo of the memorial plaque in Goslar are found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager* (Hamburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme, 2000).

Surviving primary documentation on the Goslar subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37. See also prisoner lists in the Goslar camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 46.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "An das Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, Hauptabteilung I/5, Berlin-Lichterfelde West," March 19, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37.

2. "Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Goslar," K.L. Buchenwald, June 27, 1941 (BU 46), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "An die Fliegerhorstkommandantur Goslar," May 21, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG. 14.023M, BA Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. K. Deterok, as quoted in Peter Schyga et al., "*Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999), n.p.

GÖTTINGEN

In Göttingen (Lower Saxony), a relatively small subcamp of Buchenwald was created in February 1945. The camp was established to provide laborers to the Göttingen SS cavalry school (*Kavallerieschule*) in Weende. The cavalry school was created in September 1944 by order of the SS-Führungshauptamt, and by October 1944, the school enrolled around 200 students and used 70 horses for instruction. Inmates transferred from the Buchenwald main camp were used as laborers in construction work at the school, working for the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Management (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). There is no further information, however, about the exact work the prisoners performed, and it is unclear which building of the school was used as living quarters for the inmates.

On February 2, 1945, 30 male prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Göttingen.[1] Although the Commando was small, the group of prisoners transported to

Göttingen represented diverse nationalities. According to Cordula Tollmien's study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II, at the camp's height there were 3 German inmates, 13 Poles, 2 Lithuanians, 6 Russians and Ukrainians, 2 Slovenians, 1 Czech, 1 Dutch, 2 French, and 2 Italian inmates. The oldest prisoner was 54 years old, while the youngest was 19. Most were political prisoners; at least one was a prisoner of war. Nearly all of the inmates had been imprisoned in various camps prior to their arrival in Buchenwald and its satellite in Göttingen.

There were few transfers or changes in the number of inmates imprisoned in the Göttingen camp during its three-month existence. On March 5, 1945, 1 Polish inmate was transferred back to Buchenwald due to ill health, as well as an Italian inmate who was declared "unsuitable" on the report to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald.[2] The Kapo Walter P. (a German political prisoner) accompanied this transfer, and 2 inmates (a carpenter and a bricklayer) were substituted for the 2 Göttingen prisoners. Two additional prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Göttingen on March 10, 1945, making the highest total number of prisoners in Göttingen 32.[3]

There is no information about the commandant or guards of the Göttingen camp. Signatures on transport lists are illegible, and no other specific names of guards are mentioned in the camp documentation.

The camp was most likely evacuated at the time the cavalry school was closed at the end of March 1945. The school was dismantled in three train transports in the direction of Prague, and the horses were distributed to farmers in the Göttingen area. American troops entered Göttingen on April 7 and 8, 1945. On April 11, 1945, the Buchenwald main camp was liberated, and lists of survivors were drawn up. Seventeen inmates survived the Göttingen Commando in total; some escaped the camp between the evacuation of the cavalry school and the entry of American troops. Other surviving inmates were taken to an infirmary in Göttingen, where they stayed until July 1945.

SOURCES The Göttingen subcamp of Buchenwald appears infrequently in secondary literature. Some information for this entry comes from a study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II by Cordula Tollmien (www.cordula-tollmien.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Göttingen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Bericht* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Göttingen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Göttingen, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Göttingen subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, volumes 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. These and other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also stored at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Göttingen camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. (This is duplicated at the YVA, ITS Arolsen, BD-3.) Additional duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports," can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 2 February 1945, BU 43, AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. Arbeitskommando Göttingen, An den Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers KL Buchenwald: Transportliste, 5 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 10 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

HADMERSLEBEN ("HS")

Two miles south of Klein-Oschersleben and about 161 kilometers (100 miles) northwest of Leipzig, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Hadmersleben (Saxony-Anhalt) in March 1944. The camp was created to exploit prisoner labor for the construction of aircraft factories and the production of parts for the Messerschmitt 262 (Me 262) jet fighter in the area of Hadmersleben and Oschersleben. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp inmates were hired out to industrial armaments firms from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The creation of the Hadmersleben camp, which deployed two work details (Kommandos) code-named "Hans" and "Ago," came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A4 of Office Group C of the WVHA. Led by Hans Kammler, Office Group C was in charge of construction projects, and it was broken down into Special Inspections and local Construction Directorates (or Leadership Staffs). The WVHA hired out inmates to the Kommandos at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM

per unskilled laborer per day.[1] In Buchenwald entry registers, the Hadmersleben subcamp was also code-named "HS."

Both Hans and Ago worked under the auspices of Leadership Staff A4 and were presumably contained within one camp at Hadmersleben. The prisoners at Hadmersleben worked at two different armaments sites, as well as in the construction of the camp and in the production of wings for the Me 262. The Hans Kommando was employed by the Schlempp engineering office for the construction of the Siebenberg GmbH plant, which began production in January 1945. The Ago Kommando worked for "AGO" Flugzeugwerke Hadmersleben bei Oscherlseben, beginning in October 1944.

The Hadmersleben camp had an average of 1,000 inmates, and by the end of its operation in April 1945, more than 1,400 prisoners were incarcerated there. At first, prisoners were housed on the grounds of a former sugar factory. From September 1944, the inmates were divided into 10 barracks, each (12×30 meters) (13×33 yards), on the so-called *Schutzenplatz*.

Inmates were transported to Hadmersleben from Buchenwald and other camps beginning in March 1944 and were transferred back to the main camp at various intervals due to illnesses such as tuberculosis, general physical deterioration, and other conditions that marked them as "unsuitable for work." These prisoners were generally exchanged for healthier inmates to continue slave labor in the Hadmersleben Kommandos. Records of transport lists from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando date from March 13, 1944; 100 inmates were transferred to Hans on this date.[2] Four days later, an additional 120 inmates arrived at the Hans Kommando. These were all male, predominantly Russian and Polish, with a smaller number of Serbian and Lithuanian inmates.[3] Other large transports from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando took place on April 3 (205 inmates); May 23 (150 inmates); September 5 (200 inmates); and on November 19, 1944, nearly 200 inmates were transferred from Sachsenhausen to Hans.[4]

Transports to and from the Ago Kommando at Hadmersleben were also carried out throughout 1944 and early 1945. Larger transports arrived for the Hadmersleben Ago Kommando on July 5, 1944 (100 inmates); September 5, 1944 (200 inmates); December 12 (125 inmates); and January 10, 1945 (200 inmates).[5] On July 5, 1944, it was noted in Buchenwald transfer list records that 4 inmates were transferred to the subcamp Leipzig-Thekla.[6] Inmates working in the Ago Kommando were all men and included Russians, Belgians, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Yugoslavs. There were also French and German inmates in both Kommandos.

There are few descriptions of living and working conditions in the Hadmersleben camp. The most extensive account is provided by former prisoner Lajzer Finkielsztejn, who was born in Łódź, Poland, and who emigrated to Brussels, where he joined an armed resistance group. He was arrested by the Gestapo, sent to Breendonck and then Buchenwald, from where he was transported to the Hans Kommando with 149 other inmates on May 22, 1944.[7] Finkielsztejn described the work area as a "former salt mine transformed into an underground factory" for manufacturing airplane parts. His dossier noted that he was a "dangerous element," and he was interrogated by the Security Police in the region of Magdeburg. Finkielsztejn had to wear a white band across the back of his uniform, which read "Brussels Gestapo."[8]

Finkielsztejn reported about an instance of escape and resistance within the Hadmersleben camp. He witnessed the hanging of a Czech prisoner who had escaped and was later caught and brought back to the camp to be executed. According to Finkielsztejn, the gallows were outfitted with a rope and a stool, and once the prisoner was marched to the stool and the command given, the stool was kicked out from underneath by the executor. The Czech prisoner, who was led to the gallows in front of the assembled camp as an example and who was, according to Finkielsztejn, "hardly recognizable due to the beatings he had received," gained control over the execution. When the order was given, he spat in the face of the executioner and kicked the stool himself, angering the guards and causing excitement within the camp. According to Finkielsztejn, "This courage, this heroism galvanized us, gave us courage, and made us believe in the defeat of the Germans, something I will never forget."[9]

There is little information about the guard staff of the Hadmersleben camp and Kommandos. A memo describing the transfer of one inmate to Buchenwald from the Hans Kommando due to illness on March 24, 1945, was undersigned by Kommandoführer SS-Obersturmführer Schoeb. No additional information about his dates of service could be found. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Siedlausky, in charge of overseeing medical conditions in Buchenwald and its subcamps, the "strength" of the guard troops in A4 on January 31, 1945, was 122. The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary and medical care in Hadmersleben was named Weinrich, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Naumann. The report also notes that there were 1,443 inmates in the Hadmersleben camp at this time.[10]

The Hadmersleben camp was evacuated in late April or early May 1945, in anticipation of the advance of Allied troops. According to Finkielsztejn, the inmates were marched in columns, most likely toward Theresienstadt, as the inmates were liberated somewhere in the Sudetenland.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Hadmersleben subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Hadmersleben, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Hadmersleben subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG, originating

from ITS (see especially BU 44, BU 7/14). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Hadmersleben camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD. For the testimony of Lajzer Finkielsztejn, see the archives of the Wiener Library (London), *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Doc. No. P.III.h. No. 1044 (Reel 56).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Hans," March 13, 1944 (BU 44), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. "Transport A4," March 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
4. Transport lists, dated April 3, May 23, September 5, and November 19, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. Transport lists, dated July 5, September 5, and December 12, 1944, transport list dated January 10, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. Handwritten notation, July 5, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. Lajzer Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck to Hadmersleben," in *Testaments of the Holocaust*, Series 1 (Wiener Library, London), 7 pp. See also "Transport 'Hans,'" May 23, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
8. Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck," pp. 3–4.
9. Ibid., p. 4.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/HECKLINGEN

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. East of Halberstadt, a separate camp was established in Hecklingen near Stassfurt on October 12, 1944. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Hecklingen subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit." The Hecklingen subcamp was closed on November 10, 1944. There is no information about the fate of inmates imprisoned there.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/JUNKERSWERKE ("JUHA")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. The Junkerswerke camp ("JUHA"), which was located near the larger "Malachit"/"BII" camp, was created in July or August 1944, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) lists. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, and several governmental offices coordinated these efforts. The subcamps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were established in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. In March 1944, Hermann Göring ordered all German aircraft production factories to relocate to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler (Sonderstab-Kammler). SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into SS Special Inspections and Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Surviving camp records show two large transports of 250 prisoners each from Buchenwald's main camp to JUHA on September 12 and December 12, 1944.[1] A total of between 800 and 900 prisoners were deported from Buchenwald

throughout the fall of 1944 and early 1945. All of the prisoners were men, and they were French, German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian, among other nationalities. Due to either illness or incapacity to work, some of JUHA's inmates were often transferred out of the subcamp back to Buchenwald's main infirmary at various intervals.[2]

Inmates incarcerated in the Junkerswerke camp were employed at the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc. (JFM) facility, which was established in 1934 and originally located at Klusstrasse 38 in Halberstadt. Much of their labor was aimed at transferring the JFM production facilities to caves located south of Halberstadt in the Klusberg Mountains. Subcamp inmates as well as workers from the Ostarbeiter barracks, two distinct camps located on the factory grounds, were used for this work. The two newly planned facilities were code-named "Makrele I" (in the Felsenkeller) and "Makrele II" (on Sternwarte), and the plants manufactured wing parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 162 fighter jets. Junkerswerke "rented" inmates from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day, and they were used for the construction, metalworking, and assemblage of airplane parts.[3]

There is little information on the working and living conditions within the Junkerswerke camp. As noted above, prisoners were constantly transferred out of the camp to the main infirmary in Buchenwald, presumably due to illness or other incapacities. Judging from the records of the Halberstadt/("Malachit"/"BII") complex (see subcamp entry), the environment in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp and work at the Junkers factory were harsh. Prisoners were underfed, and debilitating diseases were rampant. They worked under horrible circumstances, lacking proper equipment and protection in tunnel excavation. They also suffered severe maltreatment from the guards. However, prisoners employed in factories such as Junkerswerke generally fared better than those forced to excavate the tunnels, as they were in Malachit.

The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt camp complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the camps were guarded by members of the SS. There is no specific information about the identity of the Lagerführer of the Junkerswerke camp. Other guards who appear in the administrative records involved in the camp include Sturmscharführer Skischus, Oberscharführer Thinius, Rottenführer Karl Preis, Scharführer Max Uhlig, Sturmmann Oskar Siebert, Scharführer Karl Zerchlowitz, Rottenführer Kurt Müller, Unterscharführer Rudolf Swejtkowski, Unterscharführer Hans Wiemer, Sturmmann Walther Müller, and Rottenführer Joseph Figiel.[4]

The camp was evacuated on April 8, 1945, and the prisoners were most likely sent to Malachit. See Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," for further information on the evacuation of that camp.

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess, (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn-und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction, Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu*, 107: 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates from the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggo nel Pianeta Nazista: Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une experience de la deportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960). For a history of the Junkerswerke Halberstadt, see Werner Hartmann, *Halberstadt Luftfahrtgeschichte* (Flugzeug Publikations GmbH—GeraMond, 2000).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt complex are in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work Commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. The USHMMA also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors from the camp; 7 of them have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM (under "Halberstadt" or "Langenstein"). For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB). Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633,

and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 32–17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents on, photographs of, and testimonies about the Halberstadt camps, can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Halberstadt (Junkers)," September 12, 1944, and December 12, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See memos dated September 26, 1944 (6 inmates); October 13, 1944 (2 inmates); October 14, 1944 (2 inmates); and several other transfers throughout November, December, January 1945, February and March, (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Report of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, concerning assignment of concentration camp inmates to armament production, January 6, 1945, NI-4185, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

4. See "K.L. Buchenwald; Kdo. Halberstadt—Junkers Werke" (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0042.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/MAGDEBURG

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. Northeast of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Magdeburg on March 19, 1945. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Magdeburg subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. For further information on this program, see the Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," entry. There is little information about the camp located at Magdeburg, most likely because it operated only for about one month. However, it is known that the prisoners were forced to clear rubble in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

The camp at Magdeburg was closed on April 10, 1945, the same day that the main subcamp at Malachit BII was evacuated.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE ("MALACHIT," "BII," "LANDHAUS")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. The largest subcamp in this area was code-named "Landhaus," "BII" (by the SS), or "Malachit" (by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production [Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion, RMfRK]), beginning in July 1944). It was created on April 21, 1944, with an initial transport of 18 prisoners from Buchenwald.[1] For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see the entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and Wernigerode.

The camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were created in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, an effort coordinated by several governmental offices. In March 1944, Hermann Göring placed the direction of all aircraft production factories to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler, the Sonderstab-Kammler. SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into Special Inspections and SS-Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Because the first convoy of prisoners to the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex was relatively small and the camp had not yet been built, these inmates and arriving transports were housed in a former guesthouse called Landhaus am Gläsernen Mönch, on the outskirts of Langenstein. "Landhaus" became the headquarters for the SS central office for local construction efforts. Surrounded by barbed wire, Landhaus's

garden served as a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), and SS and other guards from the nearby Halberstadt airfield supervised the camp. From late April to May 1944, as the number of prisoners increased to about 800, they were shifted to a barn, where living conditions were primitive and overcrowded.[2] Prisoners slept on four- and five-level bunks, using straw sacks as mattresses. The first group of inmates to arrive was responsible for building the prisoner camp in a well-hidden forest near the work camp, and they also built barracks for the SS men. Additionally, these initial prisoners began the excavation of tunnels for the eventual relocation of underground factories. Construction of the Malachit camp was declared "complete" in June or July 1944 with the installation of electricity, 7 prisoner blocks, an infirmary, kitchen, watchtowers, and barbed-wire fencing. However, unlike the fully constructed SS barracks that lay outside the camp, some prisoner barracks were just shells with neither windows nor doors. By the end of February 1945, there were 18 prisoner blocks in the camp. Although it was planned for 2,000 inmates, Malachit would eventually hold more than 5,000. Several work camps, such as the one established at Langestrasse Ost II, opened near Halberstadt to provide labor to the tunneling projects and underground factories.[3]

Accurate estimates of the total number of prisoners incarcerated in the Malachit camp complex vary and are especially complicated to deduce, due in part to the number of subcommandos that were billeted in the same camp. For this reason, secondary literature and contemporary documentation are often unclear and do not always specify the number of inmates assigned to commandos in the Malachit complex or whether their numbers are included in total estimates. However, it is certain that the number of inmates in Malachit steadily increased throughout the summer and fall of 1944, climbing to around 4,500. The camp most likely reached its highest capacity in February 1945, with almost 7,000 inmates—not necessarily including those in the smaller commandos. The number may have grown even higher in April 1945, when smaller camps were absorbed by the Malachit camp.[4] Historians have estimated that the total number of inmates incarcerated in the camp during its yearlong operation (including its subcommandos) exceeded 10,000 with most of its prisoners coming from France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Other large groups of inmates were deported from Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Hungary—especially with evacuations from Auschwitz II–Birkenau and Gross-Rosen in January and February 1945, respectively. In smaller numbers, people from Luxembourg, Romania, Albania, Spain, Portugal, Estonia, and the United States also comprised the camp population. Most inmates were deported to the camp directly from Buchenwald but also from other concentration camps, such as Neuengamme, as well as subcamps, such as Junkerswerke and Aschersleben. Prisoners included Jews, political prisoners, professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), so-called asocials, and others.

Some of the Malachit prisoners were assigned to commandos at Maifisch, managed by the office of Organisation Todt (OT) beginning in October 1944, and some to Malachit AG from January 1945. Beginning in November 1944, prisoner labor from the Maifisch commando was assigned to construction initiatives of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK). Like other projects of this kind, private industrial firms also used prisoner labor. The Krupp-Gruson Factory (Krupp-Gruson-Werke) in Magdeburg "employed" the prisoners of the Maifisch commando, which maintained about 200 inmates during its three-month operation, after which the inmates were absorbed into the Malachit camp.[5] Inmates in the Maifisch commando were forced to work on tunnel excavation in the Hoppelberg Mountains to make space for the Krupp plant. Some 800 prisoners were assigned to the Malachit AG commando to work on tunnel excavation and road and railway construction. The firm Bode, Grün & Bilfinger AG (Mannheim) managed the transport of materials from the tunnels to a dump, as well as plans for construction. Erzbergbau Salzgitter GmbH, a sister company of the Hermann-Göring Werke, was responsible for breaking ground in the tunnels. Other firms included Firma Peter Bauwens und Julius Schmidt (Magdeburg), Konzerne AEG, Siemens, and Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) Halberstadt.

The main goal of prisoner labor was to provide underground space for the manufacturing capabilities of the Junkers factory to protect it from air raids and to further production of aircraft and weapons parts, such as fighter jets and V-2 rockets. From the first days of their arrival, the prisoners were forced to dig tunnels in 8-hour shifts through the Thekenbergen to make room for these underground factories. Other commandos were assigned to haul away material excavated from the tunnels in 12-hour shifts. Within 9 months, the inmates had broken and transported more than 750,000 cubic meters (980,963 cubic yards) of sandstone with primitive equipment in inhumane working conditions, and after 10 months, they had created nearly 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) of tunnels.

Laboring inmates had to cope with improper protection and insufficient equipment; they were subjected to beatings and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards; and they suffered from malnutrition, starvation, and rampant, debilitating diseases. Prior to their work assignments, prisoners endured brutal and long roll calls in extreme conditions.[6] Those assigned to work in the tunnels could hardly breathe, and many accidents, some fatal, occurred during the workday. One former inmate reported after the war: "The work itself was . . . brutally hard. . . . From a high rampart we carried fifty-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks into deep underground for twelve hours. How many times young, thin adolescents collapsed under the heavy sacks! The guards stood next to us with rubber truncheons and loaded revolvers. Their nice warning was: 'If the sack is *kaput*, you'll be *kaput*, too.' "[7] Those who fell ill or were injured in the tunnels were transported on planks or ladders to the overflowing camp infirmary, where imprisoned doctors and nurses could not help the fallen inmates, due to their lack of supplies and medication.[8]

On average, a prisoner working in the tunnels died within about six weeks. According to one prisoner doctor, nearly 30

to 40 inmates died per day. [9] Over its entire operation, between 50 and 70 percent of the 8,000 to 10,000 inmates in the Malachit camp died, including those killed on death marches during the evacuation. Another several hundred inmates died at the camp's liberation due to illness, starvation, and disease. Bodies from the camp were first incinerated in the Quedlinburg crematorium, and toward the end of the camp's operation, they were buried in mass graves. One former prisoner reported that weak inmates were often gathered up with the dead and buried alive.[10]

A report submitted by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945 notes that there were 287 guards in the Malachit camp.[11] Waffen-SS as well as Luftwaffe soldiers (at first) guarded the camp. The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the Lagerführer of Malachit was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Tscheu. SS-Obersturmführer and Regierungsinspektor Wilhelm Lübeck led the building of the new armaments factory in the Malachit tunnels. Inside the tunnels, about 150 civilian employees who served as foremen drove prisoner labor with the utmost cruelty.

Tscheu was notorious for his brutality and punished the inmates for various infractions. For poor work performance, theft, and other smaller crimes, he deprived them of food. On the camp grounds, there were two types of punishment cells: a prison bunker and death cells (*Todeszellen*) in which inmates were locked until they died. Another form of maltreatment was the punishment commando (Strafkommando), in which prisoners were assigned to especially heavy labor, such as the construction of railway lines. Those caught trying to escape were beaten, tortured, and executed by fellow inmates chosen for this task.[12] As one former prisoner reported after the war, beatings and lengthy torture sessions were common in Malachit. He recalled, "I remember occasions when I was beaten for five hours continuously. When I lost my consciousness, water was poured on me."[13]

Prisoners did attempt to escape the camp, and some were able to flee the death marches after its evacuation.[14] Prisoners expressed solidarity according to nationality, as well as through an informal prisoner organization, which was formed by "functionary" inmates, who controlled work statistics and counted the prisoners.

Because they considered the camp's function and operation "top secret," prior to the evacuation of the camp, the SS ordered 22 inmates to burn files and documents pertaining to the operation of the camp in the nearby Quedlinburg crematorium. The entire group of 22 was then summarily shot. Before the advance of Allied troops, on the evening of April 9, 1945, some 3,000 surviving inmates of Malachit were rounded up and marched, in six columns of 500 each, onto the road leading out of the camp. Surrounded by SS guards, they were forced to march for at least 12 days and covered over 300 kilometers (186.4 miles), some reaching Wittenberg near the Elbe, Leipzig, and southwest to Giessen. As one Hungarian Jewish inmate testified at the end of the war, "Those who were unable to walk or [who] were caught stealing something, or whose feet simply slipped, were immediately shot."[15] One column was completely annihilated, and another arrived near Berlin on April 28 with only 18 survivors. Only about 500 of the 3,000 inmates survived the marches. One inmate who survived to be liberated en route by American troops at the end of April recalled, "It was an infernal, unbearable thought that liberation was this close and still it was unapproachable, probably hopeless."[16]

A few days after the SS marched the group of prisoners out of the camp, troops from the 399th Battalion of the 8th Armored Division and 83rd Infantry of the U.S. Army entered Malachit on April 11, 1945. They encountered between 1,400 and 1,600 weak and dying inmates who had remained in the camp.[17] Several days later, military ambulances brought many of the ill to a field hospital in Halberstadt. Two citizens of Langenstein, a parish priest named Hager and a nurse, Frau Abel, also entered the camp to offer their assistance. The Allies ordered civilians from Langenstein to bury the dead in mass graves.[18] Although the Allied medical staff attempted to revive the prisoners to the best of their ability, another 144 inmates died at the field hospital from diseases such as tuberculosis, tubercular meningitis, and failed blood transfusions.[19] They were buried in a mass grave in a cemetery in Halberstadt.

There is no information about postwar trials conducted against Hoffmann, Tscheu, Lübeck, or the guards of the Malachit camp. However, death certificates of prisoners in Malachit and other related records were entered as evidence in War Crimes Case 000–50–09 brought by the United States Army Europe (USAREUR) against several guards from Buchenwald and other camps.[20] Klaus Ferdinand Huels, a sergeant in the Wehrmacht who had a supervisory role over guards in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, was tried in Case 000-Buchenwald 36 from October 31 to November 4, 1947, and acquitted.[21]

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the Halberstadt camp complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, by Verena Walter et al., (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction: Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu* No. 107, 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggo nel Pianeta Nazista:*

Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une experience de la deportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex are found in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture, for example, of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. USHMMA also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM also holds copies of death certificates and related records from 1944 to April 1945 from the Malachit camp in Acc. 1998.A.0074 (related to U.S. Army Europe War Crimes Case 000–50–9). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors (under Halberstadt or Langenstein), and 7 of these survivors have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM. For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633, and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 33–17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents, photographs, and testimonies, about the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport B II," April 21, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 46), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to Malachit, dated April 21 (18); April 26 (200); ca. May 8 (300); and May 23, 1944 (300) (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16). [DEGOB translations provided by Gábor Kádár.]

3. "Halberstadt Langenstein, Rapport provisoire sur les camps de Halberstadt et de Langenstein," Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (BU 78), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

4. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to "Malachyt" for February 9 and 10, 1945 (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

5. "Transport Maifisch," October 7, 1944, and "Transport Maifisch," October 23, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. For example, see the HJMA, DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

7. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

8. Report of Dr. Kaisne, undated (BU 115), Acc. 1998. A.0045, Reel 18.

9. Ibid., p. 1.

10. Testimony of Eddie Willner, May 25, 1989, USHMM, RG.030*0252.

11. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), p. 251.

12. Josef Vik, "Zustände im KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge; Aussage des ehemaligen Lagerschreibers am 26. April 1945," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuches*, by Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 139–144.

13. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

14. Vik, "Zustände," p. 142.

15. DEGOB Protocol, No. 913, T.S.

16. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

17. For one testimony of first encounter with newly opened camp, see USHMM, RG-09.005*26, U.S. Army Nurse, Maeceille B. (Pless) Beem; and USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of Joseph Zalinski, U.S. Army.

18. Depicted in USHMM, Photo Archives WS 10109.

19. USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of J.R. LaVietes, Laboratory technician of the 78th Field Hospital, 3rd Armored Division, U.S. Army. See also DEGOB Protocol, No. 3440, I.F.

20. Zwieberge/Malachit death certificates and related records, 1944–1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0074, as copied from NARA, RG 338.

21. Further information about this and other trials related to Buchenwald can be found in NARA, RG 338, War Crimes Case Files. It is possible that other guards who served in Malachit were tried but in connection to their service in other camps.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/WERNIGERODE

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. On March 19, 1945, 20

kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Wernigerode. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and "Malachit."

The creation of the Wernigerode subcamp fell under the SS program to shift armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. [For further information on this program, see Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit")]. There is little information about the camp located at Wernigerode, most likely because it was in operation for a relatively short period of time. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 20 inmates in the Wernigerode camp.

The camp at Wernigerode closed on April 5, 1945, just prior to the evacuation of the largest Halberstadt camp, known as Malachit.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

HALLE [AKA BIRKHAHN-MÖTZLICH]

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Halle an der Saale in Saxony to provide labor to the Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd. (Siebel-Flugzeugwerke) in July 1944. (According to the Halle entry in the International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, inmates were also sent to the "Bauleitung Professor Doktor Ingenieur Rimpl, Kostenstell B-XII," but no other information about this commando could be found.) Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Siebel Aircraft Factory. Prisoners were "employed" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable by the employing firm to the WVHA. However, prisoners were not compensated for their work.

The Siebel factory was established in 1934 when the original founder of the firm, Hanns Klemm, sold his shares to Friedrich Wilhelm Siebel. At this time, the company's production output transitioned from its original manufacture of sport planes and their parts to producing military aircraft for the German Luftwaffe. A camp for male inmates was created at the factory in late July or early August 1944 to increase output with the least amount of cost. The prisoners were used for labor in the metalworking department, constructing parts for airplane wings. According to a report filed in January 1945 by the chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) for the Buchenwald camp, laborers worked a total of 166,364 hours in December 1944. Siebel employed 10,159 skilled workers and 4,965 auxiliary workers in December.[1] Most likely not all of these laborers were Buchenwald inmates, and not all were imprisoned in the Halle subcamp (likewise, not all of the inmates in the subcamp were used for labor at Siebel). The workday at the factory was 10.5 hours long.[2]

There is no information about the actual construction, size, or layout of the camp in Halle. There were at least five blocks and one block for SS guards, and the camp was located at Boelkestrasse 70. Various correspondences concerning the Halle subcamp refer to it as "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich." Mötzlich was a small village near Halle where an airfield was created in 1917, and presumably the camp was located near this airfield.

Several transport lists showing the movement of prisoners from Buchenwald to Halle have survived; however, the exact destination of each list is not always clear (most indicate that prisoners were transferred to Halle, others more specifically state "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich," and others denote "Halle Siebel" or some variation of this). The total number of inmates suggested by the Halle lists added together far exceed the numbers shown on SS monthly reports for Siebel from the same period. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the number of inmates in the Halle subcamp because the collection of transport lists may not be complete, some of the existing lists may be duplicates, and not all of the prisoners transferred to Halle were incarcerated in this particular camp or employed by Siebel.

In late July 1944, 525 inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Halle, with an additional 515 inmates following on July 31.[3] Although these lists provide no breakdown by nationality, most of the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, and perhaps Czech. Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Halle throughout the following months, and the number of inmates imprisoned in the subcamp both increased and decreased at various intervals during its eight-month existence. In general, the pattern of incoming transports increased throughout the fall of 1944, and by January 1945, some inmates were shifted from Halle to other subcamps. Seven inmates were deported from Buchenwald to Halle on August 10, 1944, mostly French political prisoners.[4] Additional transports from Buchenwald arrived throughout August and September, and the number of prisoners transferred to Halle exceeded 2,000.[5]

However, these numbers differ from monthly reports from Halle filed by the SS administration of the camp. According to a monthly report dated August 13–14, 1944, the Halle-Siebel camp had 525 inmates.[6] From September 1 to 20, 1944, 1,000 inmates were transferred to Halle-Siebel from Buchenwald (500 on September 2, 500 on September 12). On September 27, an additional transport of 20 inmates was sent to Halle. Beginning in January 1945, inmates were transferred from Halle to the Buchenwald subcamp in Annaburg. Ninety-seven inmates were transferred to Annaburg in December 1944.[7] Between January 1 and 31, 1945, there appears to have been no transports to Halle from Buchenwald, and on February 2, 7 inmates were transferred to Halle, with an additional 5 on March 23.[8] Another report from March 25, 1945, shows that on January 1, 1945, Halle-Siebel had 633 inmates, and on March 6, 1945, it had 528 inmates.[9]

In addition to work performed at the Siebel airplane factory, some inmates were employed in various functions within the camp. In November 1944, there was at least 1 inmate appointed as block elder (Blockältester), 10 inmates worked in

the kitchen barracks, 1 inmate assigned to barracks orderly duty (*Stubendienst*) for each of the five blocks and 1 for the SS barracks, as well as 2 barbers and a cobbler.[10] The inmates were divided into several commandos that included clearing rubble from air raids, as well as other construction and repair work.[11]

The commander of the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer F. Noll. At least 20 SS guards were transferred from Halle to an unknown assignment in January 1945, but no additional information in camp reports or correspondence on the number or the ranks of guards in Halle can be found.[12]

There is little exact information about prisoner deaths and punishment or the methods, motives, and circumstances of the murder of inmates. As in most other concentration camps, inmates were probably subject to arbitrary abuse or maltreatment meted out by the guards. Punishment and rewards were connected to the inmates' work performance. According to several communications with Noll regarding the behavior of individual prisoners, transgressions at the workplace, such as neglecting equipment or stepping away from a running machine, were punishable by denying the offending prisoner his midday meal as well as his allotment of cigarettes.[13] In at least one instance, a telegram from the Halle factory to Noll dated October 18, 1944, recommended that the cigarette rations of several prisoners be raised due to their excellent performance.[14] There is no information confirming that Noll permitted this allocation.

Some SS monthly reports also indicate the average number of inmates who received care, both inpatient and outpatient, in the Halle infirmary. Both in January and February 1945, about 50 inmates received ambulatory care, and 30 were admitted to the infirmary. The monthly report from February 1945 also indicated 1 prisoner death and that food supplies were "sufficient." However, there is no way to confirm that the SS reports reflect accurate numbers of ill inmates or living conditions within the camp.[15]

The subcamp in Halle was last noted in German records on March 31, 1945.

SOURCES The Halle subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Halle in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). For further information on the history of the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke, see H-J. Ebert, Udo Mahn, and H.-D. Tack, *Dokumentation der 90-jährigen Geschichte der Luftfahrt und des Luftsportes in der Region Halle* (*Saale*), Heft 3, and *Die Siebel-Flugzeugwerke Halle (1934–1946)*, Heft 9 (IG Luftfahrtgeschichte im Luftsportverband Sachsen-Anhalt e.V, n.d.).

Primary documentation on the Halle subcamp is located in several archives. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Siebel and the kinds of work performed, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Halle subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular volumes 8, 31, 54, 55, 176–185, and 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the Halle subcamp; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a collection of transport lists to and from the Halle camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 7 and 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as "strength reports," from the AN can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamp at Halle and other satellite camps of Buchenwald.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945, February 1, 1945, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

3. "Transport Halle," ca. July 2, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 8/18), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 8). See also "Transport Halle," July 31, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 44, Reel 16, and BU 5/5, Reel 6), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

4. "Transport Halle," August 10, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. Additional transfers arrived on August 13, August 17, September 2, September 12, and September 27, 1944. The total number of prisoners on these transports exceeded 1,500. See BU 44, BU 8/19, and BU 5/5, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

6. Buchenwald: Etats d'effectifs par Kommando, August 13 and 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

7. Memorandum from Arbeitseinsatz-Ing., SS-Kommandoführers [Söderberg ?], December 28, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced at USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

8. Buchenwald: Mouvements internés, September 1, 1944–March 31, 1945, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6.3.45 and Stand vom 1.1.45," BU 39, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

10. List of prisoner functions in Lager Birkhahn, Hall a/S., November 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

11. "Arbeitseinsatz der Häftl. Halle 16 am 21 August 1944," submitted to Siebel Flugzeugwerke on August 21, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 260.

12. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945," BA NS4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

13. Correspondence from SS-Hauptscharführer Noll, October 15, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

14. Memo from Werke der Stadt Halle, Aktiengesellschaft to Lagerführer Hauptscharführer Noll, October 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

15. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945" and "Monatsbericht und Stärkemeldung, 20 Februar 1945," BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

HARDEHAUSEN

Due to Germany's military situation, the Institute of National Political Education (Napola) Bensberg was transferred to Hardehausen, following a final order issued by Heinrich Himmler on November 2, 1944. The old Cistercian monastery located in Hardehausen was confiscated, and extensive rebuilding and expansion of the structures used as hospitals for the Luftwaffe, and later as a women's technical college, were begun.

The first preparations for the move had already been made by September 1944. It is known for certain that SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff brought 10 prisoners along with him to Hardehausen.

These 10 were a detail from Buchenwald that had been ordered over from that camp to Bensberg in March 1944 to do restoration and extention work in the old castle of Bensberg, then the home of Napola. Holthoff was the leader of this elite school. He was responsible for transport, shelter, and supplies for the camp, as he held administrative power concerning the prisoners. Disciplinary power and power of command were always held by the SS, in the person of a noncommissioned SS officer in Bensberg whose name remains unknown. The move to Hardehausen, however, must have already been finalized by the end of December 1944.

The work detail (Kommando) still went by its old name at this point;[1] shortly thereafter, its designation was changed to "Napola Hardehausen." So the prisoners' camp was named after its place of deployment (Einsatzort), as was very often the case with Buchenwald details ordered out to do forced labor somewhere.

According to a statement made by a witness at that time, the prisoners were said to be housed in the top level of the monastery's old grain barn, built out of massive, unfinished stone.[2] Napola fed the prisoners.

In court, the witness Peter Georg, who was a prisoner in Hardehausen from February 1945, accused Josef Schramm of tyrannically reducing the prisoners' rations from day to day and also often threatening prisoners with beating.[3]

The concentration camp prisoners worked behind a two-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) stone wall that surrounded the entire property of the monastery. A main gate on the southern side and a side door on the northern side of the monastery grounds were, according to the information of the contemporary witness, guarded or locked yet occasionally passable for residents.[4]

In 1945, about six families lived on-site. Among them was also a man named Pahl, who held a lease from the Prussian state province of Hardehausen. The State Attorney's Office of Paderborn used information from a statement he provided for its 1966–1967 investigation of the Hardehausen camp.[5] Pahl admitted that about 30 to 40 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald were present shortly before Easter, but he said he was unable to remember any details. Nothing was revealed concerning cruelty or murder within the scope of this legal investigation. A trial was not instituted.

Reports on the strength of the prisoner population from Bensberg and then Hardehausen show that it varied from 10 at first to 40 in late February and 12 at the camp's closure.

The monastery building, with all of its functioning rooms, had to be rebuilt completely. Gardens were to be planted to promote self-sufficiency, an area for riding was to be prepared, and the complete installation of electric service was to be carried out. Napola was to have its own swimming pool next to the monastery building, on which the prisoners had worked. (An extended pond remains in its place as evidence.)[6]

In addition, the house of the institution's leader, north of the monastery boundary, needed to be readied for occupation. Supposedly, the prisoners were to build a connecting road with a solid foundation, from the former monastery, the Napola's refuge at that time, to Scherfede (later a district of Warburg).

In January 1945, the prisoners worked 12 hours on each of the month's 31 days.

Only a few *Jungmannen* (pupils) of the institution were already in Hardehausen. Hardly any classes were held because the majority of the school's materials (*Schulausstattung*) remained unpacked in the cloister,[7] and construction work on the building that was actually to serve as the institution was well under way.

The transport of 30 prisoners from Buchenwald was arranged in a memorandum dated January 29, 1945:

Buchenwald Concentration Camp—Labor Detail—
Re: New Kommando "Napola" Hardehausen.

> For this Kommando, to which the 10 prisoners of Napola Bensberg come, 30 prisoners will be assigned.[8]

The job affiliation of the transferred inmates can also be found here; one Kapo and one foreman, "who are knowledgeable of road construction," belonged to the group of 30 concentration camp prisoners. Nationalities were not recorded.

However, as Peter Georg explained during his eyewitness testimony in the trial against the Kommando leader in Hardehausen, one of the "Buchenwald trials" held in Dachau in 1947, there were "various nationalities," among them Russians and Poles. Contrary to the two lists, he remembered that only 36 total prisoners were in Hardehausen.[9] Holthoff, according to the document, was responsible for the transport. Ten policemen were assigned as the guard detail. Related documents are still missing. A succinct order for clothes for work outdoors was in force for the prisoners.

The Kommando leader was SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schramm. He went to Hardehausen on March 1, 1945. According to his statement, one SS-Unteroffizier Heinrich, also from Buchenwald, was actually designated for the task in Hardehausen but was then posted to the subcamp in Göttingen.

It can be assumed that Schramm arrived one week after the prisoners had marched from Buchenwald in the direction of Hardehausen.

While still at Buchenwald, Schramm had received his first SS rank when he had gone to Weimar for cleanup work that was necessary following the February 26, 1945, air-raid attack on Weimar.[10] Schramm therefore first arrived at Hardehausen on April 1, 1945. It remains unclear who brought the group of prisoners to Hardehausen and who functioned as Kommando leader until Schramm's arrival as commander of the camp at Napola.

On November 19, 1947, a denazification court at the Dachau "Buchenwald trials" sentenced Schramm to life imprisonment for murder. The crime attributed to Schramm was, however, not committed in Bensberg or Hardehausen but rather in the vicinity of Weimar itself.[11] Witnesses described him, when he was leader of Blocks 17 and 39, as "brutal up until the very end" and as "probably the most dangerous block leader" in Buchenwald.[12] Schramm was released from prison on May 25, 1948.[13]

In the last days of March 1945, Holthoff fled with the remaining pupils; the prisoners were no longer of any interest to him.

On April 3, 1945, American troops occupied Hardehausen.

The Hardehausen subcamp was a small, independent camp with 10 prisoners, except for about six weeks when 40 prisoners were there. The work demanded of the prisoners did not profit either the economy or armaments production. Nevertheless, it held local significance in the creation of an infrastructure for the field of education and for the ideological strengthening of the National Socialist dictatorship.

The subcamp was not founded in the interests of politics on a grand scale; rather, it was the result of a personal initiative from the periphery of National Socialist rule. To realize his plans, Holthoff first tried to use good relations in this area. Many officials did this, as Karola Fings writes, in reference to the assembly of workforces for Construction Brigade III. When this strategy could no longer be continued due to the war, Holthoff utilized the authority and resources of his superiors, whose long-term interests demanded that the successful work of Napola continue undisturbed for as long as possible because the up-and-coming leadership of the SS, among other things, was supposed to arrive there. The prisoners placed at Napola were workmen who were intensively sought after and desperately needed; moreover, only limited numbers were available, and they were not easy to replace. Therefore, life-threatening arbitrariness from the Kommando leader and guard staff could not necessarily be expected in this subcamp. Nevertheless, the prisoners understood from experience that they were at the mercy of a system and its representatives who could at any time, and for no reason whatsoever, demonstrate an inhuman side. Lack of nourishment, beating, and degrading treatment were at the very least part of daily life in the Hardehausen subcamp, along with the loss of freedom and awareness that as foreigners they were on a daily basis at the mercy of an enemy state.

SOURCES The Napola-Bensberg subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp was housed in the Bensberg castle (municipality of Bensberg, Rheinisch-Bergisch area, later belonging to the city of Bergisch Gladbach) until approximately December 1944. This first phase is reconstructed well in literature. The work of Klaus Schmitz would be one example here: "Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ-Buchenwald," *Rheinisch-Bergischer Kalender* Rh-Bkal 59 (1989): 209–215. This work expands upon two previously written student papers from 1983: Michael Aulerich et al., "Die Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt Bensberg," and Siegfried Balkow et al., "Kriegsgefangene-Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg." These papers were submissions to the competition for the Bundespräsident prize (student essays on historical themes), organized by the Körber Foundation in Hamburg. They can be viewed there. They are also available, as with the work by Schmitz, in ASt-BG. For proof of the subcamp in Bensberg and Hardehausen, the work of *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp 152, 366, and 565 (formerly: *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons—CCP*). In her book *Messelager Köln*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1996), Karola Fings provides reliable details on the time period of the Construction Brigade III in Cologne and the independence of the Bensberg subcamp. Information regarding the leader of the Napola-Bensberg is offered by Joachim Lilla, Martin Döring, and Andreas Schulz, *Statisten in Uniform: Die Mitglieder des Reichstages 1933–1945. Ein biographisches Handbuch: Unter Einbeziehung der völkischen und nationalsozialistischen Reichstagsabgeordneten ab Mai 1924* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

In addition to Weinmann, the time of the Napola in Hardehausen (later a district of the city of Warburg in Ostwestfalen) is documented in the file records in the LA-NRW-SPDet. Estates can be found here under the call numbers M1 IIIc Nos. 3333 and 3402, as well as D 100 Warburg. All the student papers refer back to unpublished source material of the ASt-BG, which is available under shelf numbers F2/1080 and

V160 (more recently: J 16/3). The IfZ also has additional related material available under the call number NI-4181, as well as BA in collection NS4, Bu/vol. 253. BA-L manages the results of enquiries made by the Paderborn State Attorney's Office on the subcamp Napola-Hardehausen (formerly subcamp Bensberg as of January 1945) under the reference of the State Attorney's Office Paderborn: 2 AR 50/66. Among other things, the statements of a contemporary eyewitness of the prison camp can also be found there.

In the so-called Buchenwald trials, an individual trial was carried out against Kommando leader of the Hardehausen subcamp, Josef Schramm. His statements regarding his stay and occupation in Hardehausen, accompanying witness testimonies, and the verdict are all located in the NARA, 1376, RG 153, Record of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck*, War Crimes Case No. 12–390, B2833, THStA-W. The *Stärkemeldungen* of the subcamp Napola or Napola-Bensberg also come from THStA-W. They belong to the collection: KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, NS4 Bu 1366; KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, Box 27, No. 9. The accompanying lists of prisoner names come from one document: StAGL, HS 313, unpaginated, under the heading: "Aufteilung der Baubrigade III (Köln)"; and prisoner lists from: NARA, RG 242, Film 25, No. 0015355, No. 0015356, No. 0015357, and No. 0015358. Lastly, the death report of Jan Kubat is located under prisoner number 21943 in the AG-B's card index of prisoner numbers.

Dieter Zühlke
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. "Häftlingseinsatz für Rüstungszwecke im Monat Januar 1945 unter Angabe der geleisteten Arbeitsstunden, Absatz: Kriegswichtige Zwecke, Napola Hardehausen," AG-B, author's copy without shelf mark.
2. Cf. documents from BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, not paginated.
3. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12–390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
4. Verbal statement of Mr. Struck, resident, August 1994.
5. This and in the following: BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50–66, n.p.
6. Verbal statement, contemporary witness Mr. Struck, 1994.
7. StABGL, collection Vermandel, letters from pupils.
8. From ZdL (now BA-L), file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, n.p.
9. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12–390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
10. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . trial of Schramm, p. 97.
11. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . Az.: TK1-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, indictment, p.1; cf. witness statement of Peter Georg, l.c.
12. Witness Apitz, *USA v. Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . l.c., p. 109.
13. AG-B; and *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Lippe* . . . , l.c.

HESSISCH LICHTENAU

The subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau, with a population of 1,000 female prisoners, was first mentioned on August 1, 1944. The inmates brought from Auschwitz to Hessisch Lichtenau were Jews, predominantly Hungarian, and others including Romanian (1), Slovakian (3), Polish (1), and Yugoslavian (3). One can gather from the list of new arrivals to this subcamp from the Auschwitz concentration camp that the women and girls were between the ages of 15 and 49 years old. Mothers were often brought to the camp with their daughters or other relatives. On September 19, 1944, as was common practice, they were registered and given serial numbers by the political section of the Buchenwald concentration camp, under whose administrative authority they were kept. The women who were brought to Hessisch Lichtenau received the prisoner numbers from 20,001 to 21,003.

The prisoners were put to work in an explosives factory in Hessisch Lichtenau. Shells, bombs, mines, and cartridges were filled there with the explosives TNT, picric acid, and nitropenta. The contractor was the Fabrik Hessisch Lichtenau GmbH zur Verwertung chemischer Erzeugnisse (Hessisch Lichtenau factory, a limited liability company for the exploitation of chemical products), a sister company of the Dynamit-AG (DAG), formerly the Alfred Nobel and Co.

The female inmates lived under miserable conditions in a barracks camp, the "camp clubhouse" (*Lager Vereinshaus*), on the edge of the city, closely watched by a staff of SS guards. They marched daily for an hour and a half to an armaments factory located in a dense mixed wood/meadow area. The normal working time for the Jewish forced laborers was 10.5 hours per day. A majority of the women worked in a three-shift rotation, which also had them working on Saturdays and Sundays. In addition to their shifts, the women and girls often had to carry out different tasks on the factory grounds for between 2 and 4 hours; and besides that, there was the march to the factory and back to the camp. The inmates who worked the night shift often had to work in the camp during the day, so that 4 hours of sleep was an exception for those on the night shift.

The Jewish prisoners had to perform not only dangerous but physically difficult work. They were utilized where uncomfortable tasks had to be done: the making of explosives, cleanup work on the factory site, work in the forest, the loading and unloading of train cars, loading work in the factory, excavation work, such as the digging of ditches and wells, and the shifting of a water pipe. They also did various physically demanding tasks for a building contractor that performed tasks for the explosives factory.

These prisoners were stationed mainly in the most dangerous positions in the filling station and press building. In the press building, many came in direct contact with picric acid. The picric acid, which had to be filled by hand, contained very poisonous yellow crystals, whose vapors penetrated the body through breathing or through the skin. In the same way as contact with the explosive TNT in the filling

stations, picric acid caused a great deal of permanent damage to the forced laborers' health, such as lung and liver damage as well as allergies.

The former forced laborer Blanka Pudler describes her work in the factory as follows:

> I had to carefully stir the explosive material in the shells with brass sticks so that they would cool evenly, allowing no air bubbles to develop in the explosives. A hard, iron-like skin developed on the surface. One had to break this open with sticks. I had to breathe in the bitter tasting, unhealthy vapors that made me numb, and I often regained consciousness only when the hot explosives spattered my face, leaving my face full of burns. Sometimes I had to grab assembled shells, weighing nearly 30 kilograms, at the end of a conveyor belt. I often hurt my hands severely while doing this work. I always hid my infected wounds. I didn't want to be sick, because I knew that being sick was equal to being dead.[1]

These forced laborers also suffered under the cruelty of the German foremen. The absolutely lawless situation, in which these women and girls found themselves, was used to maltreat and torture them. Based on their status, they had no chance of defending themselves. Civilians, who showed no consideration for the prisoners' terrible physical condition, also repeatedly pushed them on during their work.

In addition, there was the daily terror of the SS on the way to work and in the camp. After a deployment on March 20, 1945, the SS guard staff was made up of 25 SS members, often older men not fit for the front, and 32 female guards. The camp leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willi Schäfer, born in 1906. He came from Stettin, was married, and had children. Concentration camp survivors describe his behavior as "fair" in view of the overall situation in which they found themselves. His deputy was the SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, who came from the Buchenwald concentration camp shortly after the establishment of this camp and who, due to his sadism toward the prisoners, made efforts to intensify the conditions in the camp. Zorbach was two years older than Schäfer and had already joined the Nazi Party in 1931.

An indication of how quickly the inmates' capacity for work was used up under the conditions of the camp and in the factory is made clear by the fact that already at the end of October 1944—not even three months after the arrival of the forced laborers in Hessisch Lichtenau—206 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Since the factory was only interested in those fit to work and those who possessed a healthy capacity for labor, these women were sent to the extermination camp. Prisoners who were pregnant, sick, and unable to work were selected. On October 24, 1944, the camp commandant reported the death of 5 female forced laborers, among them a 16- and a 17-year-old girl, to the Buchenwald concentration camp. There is no information on the cause of death. Again on January 4, 1945, 2 women were singled out as unfit to work and were brought to Bergen-Belsen, one because she was pregnant and the other because of "mental illness."

According to statements made by former prisoners, hidden resistance and sabotage operations occurred in the camp and in the factory. A former prisoner reports the following on this: "A couple of us organized a sabotage group . . . one or the other explosive would be forgotten in the mixing room, and if that was not possible, then the shells were marked and it was my job to destroy almost invisible parts during unloading, to be sure that the shells would be harmless."[2]

At the end of March 1945, the exhausted inmates of the subcamp were evacuated in the face of advancing U.S. forces. First the women were transported to Leipzig by train under the watch of the SS guard staff. The trip lasted five days. A week later they were sent on a two-week-long march, which was called a "death march" by those who survived. The SS shot many prisoners who could not march any further. The death march ended in Wurzen, just east of Leipzig, where the Jewish women who survived the march were liberated by U.S. troops on April 25, 1945.

From 1967 to 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), located in Ludwigsburg, and the State Attorney's Office in Kassel carried out investigations against the camp leader, his deputy, and the other members of the SS for the killing of prisoners in the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp and during the evacuation march. The trial was called off on March 10, 1976, because it was impossible to determine the whereabouts of the camp leader Schäfer and his deputy Zorbach.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp comes from two books by Dieter Vaupel: *Das Aussenlager Hessisch Lichtenau des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald 1944/1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 3rd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 1984) and *Spuren die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001). The former title has also been published in English in the collection by Randolph L. Braham, *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Gregor Espelage dedicates an extensive chapter to the Lichtenau subcamp in his book *"Friedland" bei Hessisch Lichtenau: Geschichte einer Stadt und Sprengstofffabrik in der Zeit des Dritten Reiches in Zwei Bänden* (Hessisch Lichtenau: Stadt Hessisch Lichtenau, 1994).

There are many scattered records on the subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau. The correspondence of the SS including prisoner and transport lists and lists of those kept back and temporarily not deported are located at APMO, in BA-K, and YV. A collection of files in BA-L is of particular significance in that it deals with the investigative trial concerning prisoner deaths in the Hessisch Lichtenau camp. Two former concentration camp prisoners published autobiographical works on their experiences in the camp and in the explosives factory: Trude Levi, *A Cat Called Adolf* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1994); and Judith Magyar Isaac-

son, *Seed of Sarah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Both books have also been published in German translation.

Dieter Vaupel
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Blanka Pudler, quoted in Dieter Vaupel, *Spuren, die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001), p. 337.

2. Gertrud Deak, quoted in ibid., p. 114.

JENA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Jena (Thüringen) in late September or early October 1944. The inmates were transferred from the nearby main camp to Jena to work for the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), located on Loebstädter Strasse 50. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp prisoners were hired out by private industrial firms, such as RAW, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of prisoner labor. RAW-Jena paid the WVHA 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1]

Inmates brought to the Jena subcamp were used by the RAW to repair the railway and perform other kinds of work in the factory. Because the camp was located only about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from the main Buchenwald camp in Jena, groups of prisoners were often sent to the camp from Buchenwald on special tasks as requested by the Jena mayoral office.

From transport lists and transfer reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) generated about the movement of inmates to and from Jena, a general picture emerges of the number of inmates in the Jena subcamp at various intervals during its five-month-long operation, information about the demographics of the camp population, as well as frequency of deaths, illnesses, and departures from the camp. The first transport of 400 male inmates left Buchenwald and arrived in the Jena subcamp on October 4, 1944. The prisoners appear to be Polish, Russian, Czech, French, Belgian, and German, but nationality, age, and profession of the inmates are not provided in the report.[2] By the end of October, there were at least 573 inmates imprisoned in the Jena subcamp. At the end of November 1944, the number had reached around 800, with another large transport of 300 prisoners arriving in Jena on November 4, 1944.[3] On January 23, 1945, the last large transport of 133 inmates arrived in Jena.[4] Throughout the following months, smaller transports shifted prisoners between Buchenwald and Jena.[5] According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the average strength of the Jena subcamp was 800 inmates, but the camp most likely reached its peak in January 1945, with 942 inmates.[6]

Although no witness reports from former inmates of the Jena subcamp could be found to attest to the conditions within the camp, some of the transport lists and other transfer memos show that on certain dates inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp in exchange for stronger, healthier inmates. These inmates, deemed completely unsuitable (*völlig ungeignet*) for work at RAW, exhibited various illnesses, including tuberculosis, dysentery, diphtheria, angina, and other conditions. Other inmates were transferred from Jena to Buchenwald to be punished; in one instance, three inmates were returned for plundering a supply train.[7] Some reports show the "departure" of inmates from the camp; many of these departures actually meant that the inmates had died. For example, a transfer report dated February 13, 1945, lists one Pole, a professional criminal (*Berufsverbrechener*) named Jan Filipowicz, as having departed the Jena camp.[8] A list of deaths in the Buchenwald subcamps undersigned by the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG), an unnamed SS-Rottenführer, in the prisoner infirmary shows that on the same date one death was recorded for Jena: Jan Filipowicz, who died on "February 6, 1945 at 5:30 p.m., due to pneumonia."[9]

The Kommandoführer of the Jena subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Zenker. The Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwarz.[10] According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor assigned to oversee medical operations in the Jena subcamp was named Götze, and the SDG was named Wilhelm. The same report lists the strength of the guard troops at 66 and the camp as having 942 inmates on this date.[11]

The Jena subcamp was last mentioned in administrative records on April 11, 1945, with 519 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Jena subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on the Jena camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Jena subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 43, BU 8/20). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Jena camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Jena," October 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. "Transport Jena," November 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

4. "Transport Jena," January 23, 1945 (BU 8/21), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

5. See "K.L. Buchenwald, Kdo. Jena ('Je')" collection in BU 43, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

7. "An das Konz. Lager Weimar Buchenwald, Schutzhaftlagerführer," November 23, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

8. "Veränderungsmeldung," KL Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 4/35), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. Death report, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, p. 4.

10. See memos regarding exchange of inmates to Buchenwald, on which the names "Zenker" and "Schwartz" are legible, dated November 8, 1944, and January 11, 1945 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

11. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

KASSEL

There were actually two Buchenwald subcamps in Kassel at different times. The first subcamp utilized seven carpenters from the carpentry repair workshop of the main camp who went to Kassel with the subcamp leader SS-Hauptscharführer Arno Weber without an additional guard staff for a week from January 20 to 25, 1941.

The second subcamp included 12 prisoners—5 skilled workers and 7 unskilled laborers—who worked for the construction firm Itten Bros. in Kassel-Nordhausen (HWL) from November 12, 1942, through December 8, 1942 (in total, 180 workdays, as there was no official work on Sundays). The firm received a proof of debt issued by the "Waffen-SS Buchenwald concentration camp (administration)" and had to transfer "to the account of the Buchenwald concentration camp administration at the Reichsbank branch in Weimar No. 76/144" the amount of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for the day's work of a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer.

SOURCES Literature specifically on the two subcamps was not available. In AG-B there are lists of prisoners (call numbers NS 4 Bu 16, Bu 155, Bu 138), in which the subcamp is cited. These lists reveal that the assumption in the "Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. 47, published by ITS is incorrect, as there were actually two different subcamps (not just one) in the city of Kassel. The proofs of debt for the deployment of prisoners with regard to the second subcamp are in AG-B (call number NS 4 Bu 222). In ITS (call number: Buchenwald 14), a short reference is made to the jobs. The Itter firm was listed in the Kassel register of master craftspeople until 1962.

Dietfrid Krause-Vilmar
trans. Lynn Wolff

KASSEL-DRUSELTAL

The work detachment Kassel-Druseltal—based to the west of Kassel on the road to Habichtswald-Ehlen—was established in July 1943 as an outside detachment of the Buchenwald concentration camp in a private residential building rented by the SS. The building, an old timber house, had originally been an inn. The house had previously been used as a camp for French prisoners of war, so barbed wire, trip wires, and bars were in place.

The camp was a detachment of the SS-Building Administration Main Office (WVHA). The first recorded transport of prisoners from Buchenwald took place on July 24, 1943. From October 1943 to the middle of July 1944, there were between 122 and 148 prisoners in the camp; from the middle of July to January 1945, there were between 162 and 188 prisoners; and at the end of March 1945, when the camp was dissolved, there were 139 prisoners. In all, 288 prisoners were registered: around one-third were Poles, another third were Russians (from the Soviet Union), 39 were Germans, 26 were Czech, 13 were French, 6 were Italians, 6 were Belgians, and 4 were Dutch.

The majority of the prisoners were classified as "political"; a few others were classified as "Bibelforscher" (Jehovah's Witnesses) or as "antisocials."

The prisoners worked at construction (building two barracks for the SS administration on Panoramaweg and garages and rooms on the Strasse Unter den Eichen and performing excavation work for the construction of warehouses) for the Höherer-SS and Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader) Josias Prince zu Waldeck and Pyrmont. Waldeck was often present at the construction area. By establishing this work detachment, he had also created the need for his own building administration in Kassel (independent of the Buchenwald concentration camp), which was founded in January 1944. Two Polish architects (Kasimir Ciszewski and Severin Samulski), two Czech building engineers (Vaclav Jilek and Josef Pytlik), a Dutch archivist (Apolonius Hess), and a Dutch clerk (Alfred F. Groeneveld) made up the members of the skilled workers in the building administration office. The Gestapo buildings in the Wilhelmshöher Allee in Kassel had been destroyed by air raids, and so, in Waldeck's mind, there was an urgent need for new accommodations to be erected.

The prisoners in their striped clothing were clearly visible on their way to work and while working in the city. A photograph shows five prisoners and a guard at a construction site on Strasse Unter den Eichen in Kassel. The prisoner-functionaries used the city tram to go shopping. "The tram passengers neither attempted to make contact with us nor did

they have the courage to try. They mostly looked past us as if we were not there. Only once did an SS man demand that we leave the vehicle because he did not want to sit with criminals in the same tram. The Oberwachtmeister shrugged his shoulders and said 'By Order of Obergruppenführer Waldeck'—and with that the matter was at an end."[1]

SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Best was commander of the camp; his deputies were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Hronizek and SS-Unterscharführer Gerhard Heinrich. From October 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Rudolph signed documents as camp commander. SS-Unterscharführer Karl Weyrauch was in charge of the building administration. The prisoners were mostly guarded by older members of the municipal police.

Supervisory positions were allotted to the Germans, while the majority of the Poles, Russians, Italians, French, Belgians, ands Czechs were mainly involved in excavation work and construction. The block elder was Joseph Schuhbauer; the Kapos in the building detachment were exclusively German prisoners.

The Kassel work detachment was regarded as being a comparatively bearable camp. This was due to the fact that the guards were policemen and because of the skilled work undertaken (in the detachment were carpenters, electricians, bricklayers, roof tilers, and other workers in the building trades). In several reports of former prisoners, reference is made to the maltreatment of the prisoner Franz Nemeth from Vienna by the SS, which resulted in severe injuries. It is not known what happened to him after the war.

Seven (and possibly an additional five or six) prisoners were able to escape in October 1944 (or possibly a little later).

On March 29, 1945, a few days before American troops marched into Kassel, the camp was dissolved. The 139 prisoners were "withdrawn to Buchenwald because of the approaching enemy." Several prisoners managed to escape during this transport.

SOURCES There is a comprehensive report by a former Dutch prisoner: Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald* (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991). The appendix contains the prisoners' names and arrest dates.

The archives of the ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collections: Buchenwald 2; 5; 6; 11; 14; 15; 19, 20; 25; 26; 33; 36; 44, 19; 45; 47; 49; 52, 80) has numerous files (e.g., an "Inspection Report on Accommodations and Work Places in Kassel" by an SS-Obersturmführer Work Leader, dated July 1943; the persecution of a "Bibelforscher").

The AG-B holds autobiographical reports on the Kassel subcamp by Hermann Fischer, Richard Krauthause, Kurt Leonhardt, Josef Peschke, Richard Thiede, and Josef Schuhbauer.

See also the BA-B: SS Records 11678; BDC O-5254; SL 16–28; NSDAP Files.

Dietfrid Krause-Vilmar
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald*, (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991), S. 81.

KÖLN-DEUTZ (*WESTWAGGON*)

On September 25, 1944, 200 inmates, guarded by 21 SS men, left the Buchenwald camp, in the direction of Cologne.[1] After a journey lasting two days, the transport reached its destination: the United West German Railway Wagon Factories Inc. (Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG) in Köln-Deutz. The factory grounds, later to be taken over by Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz Motoren AG and used as an armaments factory, were already the site of several forced labor camps and a "work education camp" (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[2] The factory, known as "Westwaggon," produced railway cars and buses and, during the war, essential parts for tanks and submarines.

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Menne Saathoff, who was born on May 12, 1914, in Akelsbarg (East Friesia). Saathoff, who after finishing school worked in the family business, entered service with the SS in 1934, joined the Wehrmacht in 1936, and in July 1939 joined the commandant's staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[3] In his 1946 report, survivor Jean-Paul Garin described Saathoff as follows: "He was impulsive, nervous, and without strength of character, which allowed him to resort to bestial tendencies. He was brutal and sensual."[4]

The prisoners were first quartered in a stone building on the factory grounds at 131 Deutz-Mülheime Strasse.[5] The prisoners included French, Dutch, a few Germans and Poles, and the largest group, Soviets. The prisoners' doctor, Charles Cliquet, and his orderly, Jean-Paul Garin, both French, could move relatively freely around the factory and make contact with civilian workers and foreign forced laborers.

The SS took the prisoners to work in the factory buildings from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They also worked on Sundays. A few prisoners from Westwaggon were made available for the bomb disposal squads. The soldiers picked them up in trucks in the morning. They worked mostly in Köln-Mülheim. They were also used to expand the military airport at Köln-Ostheim. The police president of Cologne also made use of the Deutz subcamp. For example, in February 1945, 41 prisoners came under the control of the Cologne police.[6]

Hygiene, medical care, food supplies, and accommodation in the last days of the war in the subcamp can only be described as catastrophic. The bombing raids on Cologne, on the right bank of the Rhine, from the middle of October 1944 resulted in no water and electricity. The prisoners could not wash and were not given replacement clean clothes.[7] An air raid on October 28, 1944, burned down the stone building, and one prisoner died in the flames. From that date, the detachment had to live in an air-raid shelter beneath a factory building.[8]

The shelter had no natural light and was narrow and stuffy. There was no furniture. The prisoners had to sleep on the floor, on straw. Each morning and evening, the camp commander, Saathoff, held roll call in front of the shelter. He walked between the rows of prisoners, carrying a stick. After work, a Soviet prisoner distributed soup and bread to the prisoners, which they took with them into the shelter. The prisoners were then locked in until the morning. A bucket served as a toilet. It was emptied in the morning.

A bombing raid on October 28 destroyed all medicines and medical instruments. Illness spread, and there were several cases of scabies. By the end of the year, Saathoff had transferred 15 sick prisoners back to Buchenwald. The result of imprisonment in the camp is shown in the illnesses: they suffered from tuberculosis, asthma, rheumatism, and inflammation of the joints; one prisoner's face was paralyzed. Several had injuries to ligaments and to their backs, which can be attributed to poor nutrition and the heavy work.

Saathoff had all prisoners who could not work transported to Buchenwald. In a transfer report from November 1944, the following is written: "These 6 prisoners are sick and are being returned to Buchenwald. The age of these prisoners and their illnesses mean that they are a burden and risk for the detachment during air raid alarms and attacks. They are not able to maintain the pace during the alarms."[9] At the same time, Saathoff was concerned to prevent contact between the prisoners and others. Two prisoners were returned to Buchenwald with the words: "These two prisoners are constantly talking to civilian workers, they are lazy and cheeky and given the closeness to the front are a security danger."[10]

It was in December that the prisoners for the first time in weeks received fresh clothes. In January 1945, two prisoners were put on laundry detail so that the prisoners' clothes could be changed weekly. This was possible after a well was dug in front of their quarters. The prisoners suffered as the quality of the food deteriorated. A report in December 1944 stated the following: "The supply of bread sometimes does not occur because there is a scarcity of motor vehicles. This has a noticeable effect. Nevertheless bread is supplied whenever possible."[11] In January, the supplies had "fallen somewhat when compared with the previous month."[12]

However, in the last weeks of the war this subcamp gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. One-third of the prisoners—at least 65 of them—were able to successfully escape the SS grip.[13] In bombed-out Cologne, there were many possibilities to live illegally in the ruins, to join escaped forced laborers or prisoners, or to work in one of the more than 200 forced labor camps under an assumed name. Sergej Stepanov stated that thorough preparations were required to escape.[14] While working with the detachment at the airport, he made contact with forced laborers from a camp at Köln-Ostheim, who advised him to flee. While searching for bombs, he found civilian clothing, which he hid for his escape. He and Viktor Sokolov escaped on November 22, 1944. With the help of other forced laborers, they hid first in the ruins, then for two weeks in the camp hospital at Köln-Gremberg, so that their hair could grow. Finally, they reported as civilian laborers to a forced labor camp, which had returned from preparing tank ditches in Aachen. Thus Sergej Stepanov and Viktor Sokolov were liberated in Cologne.

Pawel Potozkij was less successful. With the help of Soviet forced laborers, he escaped on October 27, 1944, from the Westwaggon camp.[15] He was picked up by an SA patrol in February 1945 and locked in the Gestapo prison. Despite brutal interrogation, the Gestapo failed to identify Potozkij. He was released to a forced labor camp in Deutz, where he was recognized by an SS man from the Westwaggon subcamp and sent back to Buchenwald on February 26, 1945. Friends hid him among those suffering from typhus and said he was dead. He was released from the infirmary at the beginning of April, using a pseudonym, and was liberated on April 11, 1945.

The Westwaggon subcamp was still in the city even after American troops had occupied the left bank of the Rhine on March 6, 1945. On March 10, 1945, 92 prisoners, with another 26 on March 15, 1945, returned to Buchenwald.[16] Of the original 200 prisoners, there remained just over half. There are no recorded deaths among the prisoners other than one who died during a bombing raid.[17] Just before the prisoners were returned to Buchenwald, a large group escaped in Cologne. As with Garin, they were of the opinion that on no account did they want to go back to Buchenwald: "We felt that the end of the war was arriving. Moreover, we proposed that we should not remain in their hands during these last days."[18]

In 1966, the Cologne state prosecutor investigated the Buchenwald subcamps in the Cologne city area, including the "Kommando Köln-Westwaggon."[19] The state prosecutor found no evidence of any homicides. The fate of Saathoff after 1945 is not known.

SOURCES Subcamp Westwaggon was first investigated in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade by Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 155–158. Sources on the camp are relatively few. As well as transport lists, held in the HStA-D, there are the monthly reports. See THStA-W Court Rept. 118/1179 and Monthly Reports NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, 69–78). In addition, there is the 1946 book by survivor Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), pp. 147–161, as well as several interviews with former prisoners on living conditions in the subcamp. The latter can be found at the NS Document Center, City of Cologne (Interview Marian Gazinski NS-Dok, Z 10.584, Interview Sergej Stepanow NS-Dok, Z 10.551, and Interview NS-Dok Pawel Potockij Z 10.517).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Transport Köln-Deutz," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 25, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179; and Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Administration, September 23, 1944, Prisoner Transfers to Köln/Deutz-Tief, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 240a.

2. 19. Police District Cologne to the Aliens Office, June 20, 1949, HAStK, Acc. 606/2, p. 72. See also Gebhard Aders, "Die Firma Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG im zweiten Weltkrieg," Parts 1 and 2, in RrhK 14 (1988): 89–143 and 15 (1989): 129–176; and Adolf Störiko, "Geschichte der 'Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG' Köln-Deutz ('Westwaggon')," JfEbG 7 (1973): 26–66.

3. See the signatures of Saathoff, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 69; and BA-B, BDC/RS.

4. Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), p. 148.

5. Enquetes sur les prisons et les camps douteux, Rapport 94976, AMSPE, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brüssel, Anlagen zu Bericht Nr. 451.

6. Movements Book, Receipt-Nr. 90, lfd. Nr. 28/2, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136, p. 10.

7. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, October 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 78.

8. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, November 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 77.

9. SS-Hauptscharführer Saathoff, November 20, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179.

10. Ibid.

11. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, December 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 79.

12. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, pp. 69–70; and Monthly Report, January 30, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 52, p. 65.

13. Based on the Movement Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.

14. Interview Sergej Stepanov, NS-Dok, Z 10.551.

15. Interview and materials from Pawel Potockij, NS-Dok, Z 10.517.

16. Movement reports, March 10, 1945, and March 15, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b.

17. See the "Köln-Deutz" movement reports from September 25, 1944, to March 25, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.

18. Garin, *La vie dure*, p. 154.

19. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-NIEHL (KÖLN-"*FORD*")

The Ford Factory (Ford-Werke AG), located since 1931 at 1 Henry Ford Strasse, Köln-Niehl, was the German headquarters of the American Ford Motor Company. During the Nazi era, it was one of the most important truck suppliers for the Wehrmacht. The subcamp was constructed in Cologne after Albert Speer at the beginning of July 1944 discussed with Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler an increase in the production of trucks. Himmler promised 12,000 workers. "For this purpose," according to Speer, "one or more truck factories must be quickly converted into concentration camp operations."[1]

On August 12, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Ford. This number remained relatively static. The 35 Soviet citizens, 10 Czechs, 2 Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 stateless person were guarded by 16 SS men.[2] From time to time, the prisoners were supplemented with inmates from other subcamps in Cologne. Even before the camp was constructed, Ford had made contact with the SS. Repeatedly, prisoners of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) had to work at Ford in, for example, constructing trenches for protection against shrapnel or loading and unloading.[3] Kazimierz Tarnawski part of a group that daily made its way from the subcamp in the Cologne Trade Fair Center to Ford—sometimes, when transport was not available, the journey was made by foot. The group loaded ships on the Rhine with boxes destined for a subsidiary in Bucharest. Another work detachment built bunkers in the northern part of the factory.[4]

According to the then-24-year-old Marian Gazinski, the barracks, which served as accommodations for the subcamp, were about 70 to 100 meters (77 to 109 yards) from the factory, painted green, very clean, and fenced in. In the middle of the barracks were the commander's offices, a kitchen, guardroom, and a toilet and washroom. On either side, to the left and the right, were dormitories for 20 persons. The dormitories had three-level bunk beds and a separate dining room.

The prisoners were led to work by the SS men, who guarded them. They worked daily for 12 hours. The prisoners were separated from other workers while they worked. Gazinski allocated the prisoners' work according to need, for example, working as turners, working on engines, or working on regulating engine ignition. The prisoners also had to work as bricklayers and carpenters.[5]

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Gergel, born on January 22, 1917, in Bucharest, was the camp commander.[6] During World War I, he and his mother moved to the Sudetenland, which later became part of Czechoslovakia. He was a locksmith in Brno. When German troops occupied the Sudetenland in 1938, he joined the Waffen-SS. He took part in the western campaign, after which he was transferred to the 4th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battallion) in Weimar-Buchenwald. Gazinski describes Gergel as educated and as not a brutal person. The SS did not mistreat the prisoners and were, as Gazinski described them, "very correct but firm." As an experienced concentration camp prisoner, who had a lot of experience with the SS, he said: "We were always behaved because we were disciplined. We knew that you could lose your life for the smallest trifle and for that reason we maintained order."

Gazinski remembers the food at Ford as being particularly poor. He said that it was even worse than at Buchenwald. In the morning, there was coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread; in the evening, spinach and three potatoes or soup from the leaves of white beets. The best food that he could recall was lentil soup. During the 15-minute break at lunchtime, the prisoners were not fed, and there were no extra rations for particular occasions.

Four prisoners were able to escape from the Ford camp.[7] Nine new prisoners from Buchenwald and 2 from the Cologne city camp were transferred so that, for a period, there were 60

prisoners at work. One of them died for reasons unknown, and 5, again for unknown reasons, were taken to Buchenwald.[8] On February 27, 1945, when production ceased at Ford, the detachment was dissolved, and 48 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.[9] Three prisoners remained at Ford. On March 6, 1945, when American troops entered, they left. The remaining 2 were taken to the subcamp at the Westwaggon factory on the eastern side of the Rhine.[10]

The existence of the small subcamp was quickly forgotten after the war. A survey by Cologne in October 1949 resulted in vague references to Ford factory, such as: "There are no documents available for the time in question and one has to rely on the employees. Supposedly for three months between forty ands fifty people worked on the factory grounds and it is suspected that they were concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald."[11] Investigations by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 did not result in evidence that justified prosecutions.[12]

SOURCES Hanns-Peter Rosellen published a history of the factory for the years 1903 to 1945: "*Und trotzdem vorwärts*": *Die dramatische Entwicklung von Ford in Deutschland 1903 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Zyklam, 1986). The concentration camp prisoners are not mentioned, and the forced laborers, both male and female, are only mentioned and then in a favorable light (pp. 32–35). It was only on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II that a study on the American military government in Cologne revealed for the first time the role of the Cologne Ford factory during the war. See Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Köln*, *Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), pp. 181–188. The first mention of the subcamp was made in a documentary report titled "Forced Labor at Ford," in *Zwangsarbeit bei Ford*, ed. Projektgruppe Messelager (Cologne: Betrieb Rode-Stankowski, 1996), pp. 32–35. Simultaneously, further results were published in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 152–154. The book *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War*, ed. Reinhold Billstein, Karola Fings, Anita Kugler, and Nicholas Levis (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000) did not reveal any new insights on the concentration camp but did on the company's policies.

The sources are scarce. According to the Ford factory, it does not maintain its own archive. There is no reference to the subcamp in the reports, which describe the Ford factory under administration from 1942 by the Reich Trustee for Alien Property ("Reichstreuhänder für die Behandlung feindlichen Vermögens") and which are held in the BA (R 87/6205, 6206). There is merely a transport list and few other documents in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1179) and in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, 136b). Survivors' reports cannot fill the gaps, as they are not directly related to the subcamp but to other subcamps in Cologne from which workers were allocated to Ford or by forced laborers who had seen the prisoners at Ford. A few of these reports are held by the NS-Dok (Z 10.530, Interview Wladimir Lebedew; Z 10.662, Interview Mareno Mannucci; Z 10.584, Interview Marian Gazinski; Collection Project Group Trade Fair Center, Report by Michel van Ausloos).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Cited by Willi A. Boelke, *Deutschlands Rüstung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Hitlers Konferenzen mit Speer 1942–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 396.
2. "Transport Köln (Ford)," August 12, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
3. Report by Michel van Ausloos, NS-Dok, Slg. Project Group Trade Fair Center, and Interview Wladimir Lebedew, NS-Dok, Z 10.530.
4. Interview Mareno Mannucci, NS-Dok, Z 10.662, and Interview Kazimierz Tarnawski, NS-Dok, Z 10.614.
5. Report on the work by the detachments at Köln-Ford, August 20, 1944, ZSL-L (BA-L), IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 18.
6. BA-B, BDC, RS.
7. Movement reports, September 14, 1944, November 14, 1944, November 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
8. Numbers, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 117–146; and NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, pp. 2–42.
9. Movement Reports, March 6, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 45; and Interview Marian Gazinski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.584.
11. Cologne City Office to the Arolsen City Office, October 26, 1949, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
12. NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-STADT

On August 15, 1944, the Buchenwald concentration camp sent 300 male, mostly Soviet, prisoners to the Rhine metropolis as "Kommando Köln-Stadt." They were accompanied by 17 SS men as guards.[1] The detachment was to fill the labor gap that occurred after the SS-Construction Brigade III had been withdrawn in May 1944. It was urgently needed to remove rubble from the heavily damaged city. The idea to use prisoners originated with Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé, who had personally intervened with Heinrich Himmler and requested the further use of prisoners.[2]

Grohé's action was supported by the Cologne city administration, especially by Robert Brandes who as the lord mayor had plenipotentiary powers at this time. The building administration, which reported to him, negotiated with the work allocation leader Schwartz at the Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944 on the conditions for the use of the prisoners. One of the difficult negotiating points was the deployment of guards, which in part were to come from the city. While the city wanted to use factory security guards or other auxiliary police, the concentration camp administration insisted that the

guards be Waffen-SS, police, Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe members.[3] According to a survivor's statement, members of the Wlassow Army were supposed to supplement the SS guards.[4]

The subcamp was on the grounds of the Cologne Trade Fair Center, where—from the beginning of the war—there had been a number of different camps. The two subbarracks, which comprised the subcamp, stood directly on the Rhine, scarcely 100 meters (109 yards) from the Cologne Cathedral, on the other side of the river.[5] The camp was fenced, but the prisoners could make contact through the windows with the eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*), who were in the western buildings of the Trade Fair Center.[6]

Several prisoner work detachments were assigned by the Cologne city administration to remove rubble from the city. The majority of the prisoners were divided into two groups. In 12-hour shifts a large group of prisoners worked day and night on a military airport, which could have been the "Butzweiler Hof" in Köln-Longerich. The prisoners were taken to the airport by truck. Some had to load aircraft with bombs, and others had to repair the bomb damage on the runways.[7] Another group was allocated by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to Luftwaffe bomb disposal squads. The bomb disposal squads had the life-threatening job of retrieving unexploded bombs.[8] The detachment was reinforced with 50 prisoners from the Düsseldorf camp at the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt).[9]

Within a few weeks the camp had around 260 prisoners. There are no recorded deaths in the camp. The decimation of the prisoner numbers is due in large part to the high number of escapes. By the beginning of October 1944, 37 prisoners had escaped; 2 were transferred to Buchenwald because they were sick; while another 3 were returned to the main camp for punishment.[10] One of them was Iwan Kutuzow. He was handed over to the political department of the camp on September 2, 1944, accused of "mutinous talk."[11] Kutuzow was held for one month under arrest in a cell. On October 5, 1944, he stated while being questioned that during work at the "Kommando Flughafen" he answered a police officer's question. He was believed, and on the same day, the political department transferred him to the prison camp.

That October, the city of Cologne was beginning to fragment under pressure from the bombing raids and the Allies approaching from the West. Several air raids had destroyed a large part of the still-intact transport routes, apartment blocks, and industry and resulted in a mass flight of the population from the city.[12] The prisoners used the opportunities given by the attacks and the piles of rubble to escape. Finally the barracks camp was destroyed in the middle of October 1944 during a bombing raid on that part of Cologne on the right side of the Rhine. It would seem that none of the prisoners were killed. As there was no longer any suitable accommodation, the subcamp was dissolved. In the relevant monthly report, the Waffen-SS base doctor stated, "The subcamp Köln-Stadt was dissolved and on 25.10.1944, 224 men returned to the Buchenwald concentration camp."[13]

A group of 34 prisoners of the subcamp Köln-Stadt remained in Cologne, as they were recorded in the "strength reports" of the subcamp Köln-Ford on November 20, 1944.[14] Almost all of these prisoners managed to escape, with the result that on November 23 the remaining prisoners were officially transferred to the Ford camp.[15]

The subcamp Köln-Stadt existed for just two months. With the withdrawal of the camp, the importance of prisoner labor for the city became apparent. The police president, who as Air Defense leader coordinated the recovery of unexploded bombs, wrote on October 31, 1944, to the Cologne government president: "Now that the concentration camp prisoners who removed unexploded ordinance have been withdrawn to the main camps the removal of unexploded ordinance has almost completely stopped."[16]

An investigation by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 on the conditions in the Buchenwald camps in the city of Cologne uncovered little about the "Detachment Köln-Stadt."[17] It was also not possible to locate the responsible commander, and there were no indications of homicides committed in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp Köln-Stadt has until now only been considered in connection with the SS-Construction Brigade III. See Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons 1996), pp. 149–151. There are a few original documents scattered in a number of archives: THStA-W (Collection NS 4 Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten [Prisones]) and in the court reports of the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). There are only a few memoirs: an interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.559; and a letter from Edward Zdun, in NS-Dok Collection, Project Group Trade Fair Center.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport Lists, August 15, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179; and Statement, undated, on Doctors and Carers in subcamps, AG-B, 51-9-13/2.

2. Telegram from Grohé to Himmler, dated May 2, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 46.

3. Telegram from Schwartz to the Lord Mayor Cologne, Office 89, dated August 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.

4. Statement by Edmund K., BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 82–83.

5. Letter from Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.

6. Interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, NS-Dok, Z 10.559.

7. Ibid; and letter by Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.

8. BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, Bl. 82.

9. Telegram from the Work Leader Schw. to Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, dated September 29, 1944, AG-B, 56-3-10.

10. Prisoner Numbers, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 145. Other numbers in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 107–123.

11. Record of interview of the Political Department Buchenwald, dated October 5, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 15, p. 81.

12. See Review of attacks in October 1944, in Peter Simon, "Köln im Luftkrieg 1939–1945," SMSK 9, Heft 2 (1954): 106–110.

13. Garrison Doctor Waffen-SS Weimar, Monthly Report on the Medical Service in Buchenwald Concentration Camp, October 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 116.

14. See the strength reports, AG-B, 61-0-14-2.

15. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, p. 142.

16. Police President Cologne to the Cologne Government President, dated October 31, 1944, HStA-D, BR 1131/119.

17. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KRANICHFELD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Kranichfeld (Thüringen) near Weimar in late 1941 to restore one of two castles in the town, the Oberschloss Kranichfeld. Kranichfeld was named a Nazi model city (*Mustergemeinde*) in 1940 when the SS took over the castle. At least 50 inmates were deported to the area from Buchenwald and were deployed to work at the castle and in other kinds of manual labor in possibly two distinct subcamps in the city.

Restoration of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld fell under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion and Care of German Cultural Monuments (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler). The Society came under Oswald Pohl's Office Group W8 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was focused on Special Tasks (*Sonderaufgaben)* and charitable organizations. Although the Society was allegedly a nonprofit organization focused on restoring German cultural heritage in architectural form, such as the Wewelsburg castle, according to historian Michael Thad Allen, much of the capital generated for the Society was funneled into questionable SS business ventures.

Discrepancy surrounds the exact dates of the work details (Kommando[s]) sent to Kranichfeld. Correspondence between the administration of the Buchenwald camp and the Office for Special Tasks shows an early exchange (May 1941) regarding the condition of the Kranichfeld castle as well as a recommendation for sending 50 inmates to work there. The letter details 4 skilled workers (including a carpenter, bricklayer, and a metalworker), as well as 46 unskilled workers, to be hired out at a cost of 0.30 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked over four hours and 0.15 RM per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked under four hours.[1] The head of Aussenstelle I/5 in Buchenwald authorized inmates to Kranichfeld as of May 24, 1941. They were to be housed in a large storeroom. The food was to be provided by the Buchenwald camp and prepared in an existing kitchen. The Buchenwald camp would provide the guard staff (members of the SS), who were to be housed in a large building near the castle. The Kommando was to be inspected weekly, and its administration was to have weekly consultations with the head of construction, believed to be a Mr. Wohlgast. The camp's duration was "indefinite," although the memo notes that the operation would last "probably until fall."[2]

According to another memo dated June 19, 1942, to the SS-Bauleitung Oberschloss Kranichfeld (Construction Office of the Kranichfeld castle) from the mayor of Kranichfeld, a request made by phone to shift the inmate Kommando used for the city of Kranichfeld until June 15, 1942, to the construction of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld, starting June 16, 1942, could not be granted. Two SS men are mentioned in the heading of the memo, including SS-Untersturmführer Bangert and SS-Oberscharführer Gutsell.[3] Instead, the date of the shift was June 18, 1942. This suggests that if there was a second Kommando set up in Kranichfeld, it was first used for clearing rubble and other kinds of labor for the city of Kranichfeld and was then shifted to construction activity at the castle.

Other materials from the administration of Buchenwald include claim certificates for "inmate labor for the Kranichfeld city administration." One claim, dated May 1942, notes that there were 20 unskilled laborers allotted to Kranichfeld for May 1 and 2 and then 40 unskilled laborers from May 4 to May 30, 1942 (total of 2,880 RM). A claim for April 1942 was submitted for 30 days of work for a total of 20 unskilled workers (total of 60 RM). Another claim for inmate labor was submitted in June 1942, for 17 days of work by 40 unskilled workers (total 1,800 RM). These claim certificates suggest that either the initial Kommando of 50 inmates deployed in May 1941 remained in Kranichfeld for over a year or there was a second Kommando created there in April 1942.[4] (The International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, as noted in Martin Weinmann, dates the camp in 1943 for a period of eight months, although there is no supporting evidence in the Bundesarchiv files or ITS transfer lists.)

There is little surviving information about the Kommando(s) set up at the Kranichfeld castle. A surviving (undated, but most likely from 1941) transfer list notes 51 inmates who were transferred from Buchenwald to Kranichfeld.[5] The inmates appear to represent various nationalities, especially Poles and Germans.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Kranichfeld subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, etc.) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For brief information on the Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler, see Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Primary documentation on the Kranichfeld subcamp is scanty. For the undated list of prisoners in the camp, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. Likewise, the BA (NS 4, Band 205), reproduced at the USHMMA in RG-14.023M, contains relevant administrative data on the camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Der Reichsführer-SS, Amt für Sonderaufgaben, Berlin-Lichterfeld-West, Geranienstr. 5," May 24, 1941, BA (NS-4), Band 205, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M.
2. Ibid.
3. "Verrechnung Häftl-Kds. der Stadt Kranichfeld u. Bauleitung Oberschloss, Kranichfeld," June 19, 1945, BA (NS-4), Band 205, USHMMA, RG-14.023M.
4. "Forderungsnachweise," April 1942, May 1942, June 1942.
5. "Kommando Kranichfeld" (n.d.) (BU43), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

LANGENSALZA ("LANGENWERKE AG")

Langensalza (from 1956, Bad Langensalza) lies in the Thüringian District of Unstrut-Hainich, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Erfurt. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

At the end of 1943, the city was to be used as a transfer destination for parts of the Dessau Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke's production facilities. The buildings of the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG and, from March 1944, buildings of the Buntweberei Gräsers Witwe und Sohn were emptied and handed over to Junkers.

As with the Niederorschel subcamp, which was connected organizationally to the Langensalza subcamp, the Langensalza subcamp had the code name "Langenwerke AG." In both camps, wings were assembled for the Junkers (Ju) 88 and later in particular the (Fw) 190. The prisoners were accommodated in two different sites: around 200 prisoners were quartered on the factory grounds and the others in a barracks camp, which was erected opposite the production site.

Prisoners of war were initially allocated to the "Langenwerke AG," but from the late summer of 1944, the use of concentration camp prisoners was envisaged. The first contingent of 100 prisoners arrived in Langensalza on October 21, 1944. However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is first referred to on October 20. A second transport followed on October 26 with 50 people, and on October 29, a third transport with 182 prisoners arrived. From November 1944, the subcamp was given a special task: it became the central punishment camp for prisoners who had escaped from concentration camps and had been recaptured. These prisoners' clothing was marked with a red dot (the so-called *Fluchtpunkt* or Escape Dot) on the front and back, a sort of target for the guards, should the prisoners try to escape again. Langensalza took prisoners from at least nine concentration camps throughout the whole of the Reich. The first transport of 40 Fluchtpunkt prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on November 9, 1944. Another transport followed within a few days. Altogether there were in Langensalza 48 Fluchtpunkt prisoners from Sachsenhausen, 33 from Flossenbürg, 218 from Neuengamme, 88 from Natzweiler, 181 from Dachau, 93 from Mauthausen, 22 from Gross-Rosen, 18 from Auschwitz, and 27 (males) from Ravensbrück.

On January 2, 1945, there were 1,458 inmates in the camp, the maximum number that was probably reached. Although two transports of 200 prisoners each were sent on to Dora-Mittelbau in January and February, it is likely that the number of prisoners did not fall below 1,200. This was also partly the result of the low death rate: it would appear that even though Langensalza was a punishment camp for prisoners who had committed a crime, the skills that they had acquired in armaments production increased their chances of survival. Two prisoners died in December 1944; in January 1945, 16; and in February and March 1945, again 2 in each month. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that prisoners no longer capable of working at the Langensalza subcamp were repeatedly transferred back to Buchenwald—from mid-November to mid-December alone, 11 prisoners were sent back.

The relocation of the prisoners back to Buchenwald was planned at the end of March following the cessation of production and the approach of Allied troops. The transfer of 1,240 prisoners back to Buchenwald began on April 3, 1945 (according to ITS: April 10–11). The few camp inmates who remained in Langensalza, 59 according to a strength report dated April 11, 1945, were probably liberated at Langensalza by Allied troops.

SOURCES The earliest work on the Langensalza subcamp was by the ILKB in May 1945. For a reproduction of the report, see *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), esp. p. 105. A detailed description of the camp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 484–486. Baranowski is the author of two other works pertaining to the subcamp: *Geheime Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995); and *Rüstungsproduktion in Mitteldeutschland* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2006). The camp is also mentioned in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald, Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin, 1990), p. 104; Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1819.

There are numerous sources, both published and unpublished, on the history of the Langensalza subcamp. In addition to documents in the AG-B, the following collections are of interest: LASA-DO, Bestand Junkers-Werke, numbers 1063 and 1072, as well as an interim report on the Langenwerke AG, which refers to the planned use of concentration camp prisoners; in the Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung of the ASt-BL, Best. Sa 3/105-1 (for the cremation of prisoners of the Langensalza subcamp and of Ostarbeiter, 1944–1945), Sa 3/105-3 (on the prisoners employed and deceased in the Langensalza subcamp), Sa 3/105-7 (on the erection of a memorial for the prisoners' death march, 1984), and Sa 3/105–8 (on a special exhibit in the Langensalza Heimatmuseum [local museum] in 1995 on the subcamp in the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG). NARA, RG 242, Film 25, p. 15975, contains the Langensalza subcamp Veränderungsmeldungen.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LAUENBURG IN POMMERN

The Lauenburg subcamp attached to Buchenwald was established on November 11, 1941, in Lauenburg, Pomerania. Inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Lauenburg were assigned to work in construction and repair work in an SS-Unterführerschule (Officers' School) in the town. There is no information about the original number of prisoners transported to the Lauenburg satellite camp in November 1941.

A general overview of the demographics of the camp population can be gleaned from a transport list of inmates who left Buchenwald for Lauenburg on March 23, 1942.[1] All of the inmates in Lauenburg, including those deported to the camp on this transport, were men. Most of the inmates on the March 23 transport were Poles (40); followed by "asocials" from the German Reich, both Germany and Austria (33); political prisoners (22); "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) (16); and inmates declared "unworthy" of Wehrmacht service, "Wehrunw." or "W.U." (2). (One inmate, number 2939, had an unknown classification of "W.A.") The ages of these 114 prisoners ranged from 18 to 54 years.

The camp was in operation from November 1941 until February or March 1945. However, in April 1942, the administration of the Lauenburg camp shifted from Buchenwald to Stutthof. An order issued by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on March 28, 1942, noted that, effective April 1, the Lauenburg camp would be transferred to and administered as a satellite camp of Stutthof. The Stutthof subcamp was established with the prisoners of the March 23 transport, and the inmates performed similar kinds of labor at the SS-Unterführerschule. (See Stutthof/Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg].)

SOURCES Little information about the Lauenburg subcamp of Buchenwald can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Lauenburg in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussen-kommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Lauenburg subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Lauenburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 5 and 7. See also the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various satellites, can be found in the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, see Stutthof/Lauenburg for additional primary and secondary sources on the camp during its operation as a subcamp of Stutthof. Additional resources include the AMS and the AK-IPN Gd.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. "Nummerliste des Kommandos Lauenburg," March 23, 1942 (BU 4/16 and BU 8/5), AN (ITS Arolsen), as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reels 5 and 7, respectively.

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNAU (ATG)

Schönau is located in Saxony, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the west of the city of Leipzig. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Schönau at the end of August 1944. While it is likely that the camp already existed on August 20, 1944, the first transport only arrived on August 22. There were around 500 Hungarian Jewish women, who had been brought from Stutthof for work at the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG) Maschinenbau. The headquarters of the company was located at Leipzig-Schönau W 32, Schönauer Strasse 32.

The subcamp was situated close to the "Werk 1," the ATG's main factory, at Schönauer Strasse 101, between Lindenallee and Schönauer Strasse, to the north of what later was Robert-Koch-Klinik. The barracks and infirmary were surrounded with barbed wire. There were two guard towers. The guards were SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Rudolf Eisenacher. At the end of 1944, there were 24 SS men and 28 female overseers.

Many of the imprisoned women were young—the average age was 20. Many women had been through an odyssey since their initial internment in Hungary—they had been through a number of concentration camps including Auschwitz, Stutthof, and Riga. The women at the Leipzig-Schönau ATG subcamp were employed in aircraft production. The ATG was one of the most important German bomber manufacturers, producing above all the Ju 52 and the Ju 88 as well as Junkers aircraft engines. Its main factory, or *Stammwerk*, assembled the two half shells of the fuselage that had been manufactured elsewhere. The women worked in this production process. They worked two shifts each of 10.5 hours broken by a 30-minute break. In August 1944 the prisoners worked 49,500 hours, and in September 1944, 138,504 hours. Work in the armaments industry was difficult, which is confirmed by the transports of women returned to Buchenwald who could no longer work. Pregnant women or women who had given birth in the camp were also removed from the camp. On November 17, 1944, two women who could no longer work were transferred, and on January 27, 1945, it was four women. In this last transport, there were two women who had given birth shortly before the transport. They were transported with their babies, one of whom died on the way to Bergen-Belsen. The second infant died with its mother in the Bergen-Belsen camp. A girl, born stillborn in the camp on January 11, 1945, was cremated a few days later in the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery) crematorium.

Camp survivors unanimously describe the work as difficult, but the living conditions were more bearable than what they had previously experienced. This is largely due to the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners and the adequate food supply. There was a bonus system for prisoners who excelled at work, which offered rewards in the form of small items from the prisoners' canteen (which often were unusable by the women in their situation).

There were on average 500 women in the camp until the middle of February 1945. On February 19, 180 women were transferred to the Plömnitz ("Leopard") subcamp, where a women's camp had been established adjacent to the men's camp.

The women who remained in Leipzig-Schönau continued to work until March 31, 1945. There were 315 women in the camp on this date. A few days later conditions in the camp worsened considerably with the arrival of a transport of women evacuated from Hessisch-Lichtenau. Two days later these women were taken to Leipzig-Thekla, leaving the women of Leipzig-Schönau still in the subcamp.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 13, 1945. There are different versions on the evacuation. Klaus Hesse states that about 200 women were taken in the direction of Bernburg/Ballberge, with the remainder being taken eastward to an unknown destination. The International Tracing Service (ITS) simply states that the prisoners were liberated in April 1945 in Wurzen/Sachsen. This statement agrees with what is stated in an article by historian Irmgard Seidel, where the women were driven by foot via Wurzen, Oschatz, and Strehla in the direction of the Elbe. Women who were too weak to continue the march were shot by the SS. According to this source, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 25, 1945, at Strehla, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the northeast of Oschatz.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated crimes at Buchenwald's three Leipzig subcamps between 1966 and 1971. The investigations ceased at the beginning of the 1970s without result.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel wrote about the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 493–495. Background information on the ATG and its subcamps can be obtained from the following publications: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 96–102; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 111–112. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1820.

Documents on the ATG Maschienbau GmbH and its subcamp at Leipzig-Schönau are held in the ASt-L, in Bestand GesA [Gesundheitsamt] Nr. 893, which includes information on the transfer of the concentration camp prisoners from the east to Leipzig. For a detailed review of the ATG files and its subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). The cremation of the stillborn girl on January 11, 1945, is recorded in the Leipzig City Einäscherungsbuch (Register of Cremations). Further archival documents are held in the Best. NS 4 BU (BA-K, THStA-W, including 189, 221) in the AG-B (at BwA 46-1-14). The investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded under file number IV 429 AR-Z 22/74. Judith Magyar Isaacson has written about the conditions in the subcamp after the arrival of the evacuee transport from Hessisch-Lichtenau in *Befreiung in Leipzig: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Witzenhausen: Ekopan-Verlag, 1990), pp. 154–162.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (*HASAG*) (MEN)

Schönefeld is a suburb of Leipzig in Saxony. A subcamp for women was established at the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) factory, Leipzig-Schönefeld O29, Hugo-Schneider-Strasse, in the autumn of 1944. A subcamp for men was opened at the same location at the end of November 1944. Some 130 prisoners were planned for the men's camp and were carefully chosen in Buchenwald according to their professional and trade

skills. This applied especially to precision mechanics, carpenters, transport workers, watchmakers, plumbers, and roofers. At the same time, in Buchenwald prisoners were chosen for administrative functions. All the men of the transport were Hungarian and Polish Jews and either spoke fluent or broken German. A second transport arrived on November 24, 1944, with 150 prisoners. Another transport arrived on December 2, 1944, with 400 men. In the last transports there were mostly Italian and French prisoners, but there were also prisoners from other countries. The 680 inmates of the camp for men were accommodated either in part of the HASAG camp for women, which had been cut off from the rest of that camp, according to historian Wolfgang Knospe, or, according to other sources, such as Klaus Hesse, in their own camp between Bautzen and Torgau Strassen.

As with the women in the Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG subcamp, the men were mostly used in the production of *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons). The HASAG, described after the war by the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Obergruppenführer Pohl, as one of the largest employers of concentration camp labor, employed at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 prisoners in its camps at Leipzig-Schönefeld, Altenburg, Colditz, Flössberg, Herzberg, Meuselwitz, Schlieben, and Taucha. In December 1944, it was probably more than 16,000. Already long before 1933, HASAG managing director (and SS-Sturmführer) Paul Budin had developed close connections with the SS and the Nazi Party. During the war, he negotiated personally on a number of occasions with Pohl on the use of prisoners in the HASAG factories in the General Government and the German Reich. As special commissioner (Sonderbeauftragter) for the Speer Ministry for the Production of Panzerfäuste, Budin had all means at his disposal to brutally exploit the concentration camp prisoners so as to produce the new miracle weapon: 6,800 units were produced in August 1943 for the first time. By December 1944, the production rate of Panzerfäuste had increased to 1,296,000. Budin, together with the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, and the Buchenwald Standortarzt, Gerhard Schiedlausky, had inspected the site of the Leipzig camp in June 1944 as part of their plan to ensure seamless cooperation and production. In October 1944, when the HASAG subcamp was in the process of being built, Budin thanked the WVHA for the use of more than 10,000 prisoners in HASAG enterprises in Germany. In November 1944, Budin supplied the SS with more than 300,000 Panzerfäuste as a gesture of gratitude to the supplier of cheap labor that could be ruthlessly exploited.

That the male prisoners in the subcamp were massively exploited is confirmed by the fact that prisoners who could not work were selected and replaced by prisoners from the main camp (on December 15, 1944, four prisoners and on December 16, 1944, five prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald).

On February 24, 1945, the SS transferred 100 prisoners from Leipzig-Schönfeld HASAG to Flössberg, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Leipzig. Within a few weeks, construction on a new Buchenwald subcamp was begun, which would be the last HASAG subcamp. The numbers in the camp at Leipzig-Schönefeld sank: on January 31, 1945, there were 221 men in the camp; on March 26, 1945, only 83. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was liberated on April 18–19, 1945.

SOURCES Wolfgang Knospe contributed the article on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 501–502. For further information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust, see the essay by Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; and Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, esp. pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49.

For a detailed review of the HASAG files including those of its Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, and Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). Other archival sources on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp are held in the AG-B, Best. NS 4 Bu of the BA-K and the THStA-W, as well as ITS Buchenwald-Best.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (*HASAG*) (WOMEN)

The subcamp at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in Leipzig-Schönefeld was established in June 1944 under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Its labor allocation was controlled by the Buchenwald camp, which assumed administrative control of the subcamp on September 1, 1944. Eight hundred women from Majdanek arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944, of whom 566 were Poles; 109 were of other nationalities; and 39 were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who had refused to work in armaments production.

On June 26, 1944, 151 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Initially, there were temporary accommodations in a nearby field. This was replaced by a camp on Bautzen Strasse about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the factory. The camp was surrounded by an electrified fence and guard towers. The women were accommodated in a former factory building that was divided with separation walls into "blocks." Several hundred women were assigned to each block. The blocks were equipped with multitiered wooden bunk beds, tables, and benches. In the

cellar of the central main building there were two large washrooms with hot and cold showers and, according to survivor Pauline Buchenholz, flushing toilets but without doors or toilet paper. On the ground floor was the kitchen, canteen, and office. The infirmary was on the first floor. In the final phase of the camp, additional accommodation barracks were made available.

Buchenholz stated that initially the prisoners' food was adequate: "[T]he bread and the soup were delicious. For one week we got a different soup every day, then the procedure was repeated."[1] During the first month the HASAG provided rations for armaments workers, but after that, the prisoners' diet consisted of poor-quality SS food.

According to a survivor, Felicja Karay, the HASAG, based on experiences in Poland, made sure that there was good hygiene in the camp and made allowances for what the female prisoners regarded as the most important conditions: there was conspicuous cleanliness; most of the prisoners were given new clothing (a prison dress, striped jacket, and underwear), and often they were allowed to keep their own clothing. However, the HASAG policy must be seen pragmatically: the camp lay in the city, infectious diseases would easily have spread to the German civilian population and the HASAG clearly wanted to keep its skilled workforce which would be hard to replace. The prisoners were kept clean and given medical care, while at the same time the HASAG worked them to death and let them starve.

On July 12, 1944, another transport from Ravensbrück arrived with about 2,000 prisoners. With this transport, Leipzig-Schönefeld became the largest Buchenwald female subcamp. Soviet citizens (1,208) and Poles (1,089) formed the largest prisoner groups. In addition, there were 361 French women, 110 Belgians, 60 Greeks, 25 Czechs, 24 Yugoslavs, 13 Italians, as well as a few Spanish, Serbian, Dutch, Estonian, Romanian, Croatian, Portuguese, Swiss, Argentinean, British, Lithuanian, Luxemburger, and stateless citizens. On August 4, a transport of 1,273 Jewish women arrived from the former HASAG camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna. By the end of August, 24 children from this transport, aged between 4 and 17, were sent to Auschwitz with their mothers to be gassed. The mother and sister of Stefan Jerzy Zweig, the "Buchenwald Child," were included in the transport to Auschwitz. Selections took place in the camp until its final days, and more than 99 women were sent to Bergen-Belsen.

On July 22, 1944, 2,100 women arrived at the camp including Czechoslovakians, Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Another 250 women arrived at the camp at the beginning of September 1944–700 Poles, victims of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising. A final transport of around 500 women arrived on December 3, 1944, that included both Jewish and non-Jewish women. At the end of January 1945, Leipzig-Schönefeld held 5,067 women.

The camp commandant was Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, previously Schutzhaftlagerführer in Buchenwald and in the Dora subcamp. Plaul, who was in command of all other HASAG camps for women, seldom appeared inside the camp but was often present at the roll calls and at the camp gate. A few survivors have described him as a "beneficent commandant," but others say that he repeatedly had referred to the prisoners as a "pack of swine." Plaul put the prisoner administration exclusively in the hands of Polish non-Jews, which resulted in the planned tensions between the female groups. Pole Joanna Szumańska was the camp elder, a name synonymous with brutality. Her deputy was another Pole, Zinaida Braginska (Zina), who was liked by everybody because of her friendly personality. Poles held positions of block elders and room elders and controlled the camp office, food stores, canteen, infirmary, and camp security.[2] Non-Poles worked in the kitchen, including the 39 Soviet POWs.

Records show that there were 41 female SS on September 23, 1944, and 59 on March 1945. The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) until the beginning of 1945 was Käthe Heber. She was most likely succeeded by First Wardress Else Noatzsch. Compared to other camps, Leipzig-Schönefeld was not so horrendous a camp: the women's hair was only shorn when there were lice in their hair, and within the camp they could move about relatively freely. Unsuccessful escape attempts were not punished with death. Eight women died in the camp. Nevertheless, there was an extensive system of roll calls and beatings (the women were sent to Buchenwald for the infamous 25 blows), and the SS used dogs to intimidate the prisoners.

The women began to work on July 12, 1944. They worked mostly in the Nordwerk and in Factory Building F, where they assembled grenade parts, stamped the production dates on the shell casings, inserted detonators, and monitored the screwing-on of shell tips for a range of different bombs. Many of the workplaces were hot, filled with metal dust, and lacked fresh air, which resulted in health problems.

Survivors have described an ambivalent relationship with the German labor force. The SS had described the women as whores, criminals, and thieves with the result that many Germans at first kept their distance or were openly hostile. Karay stated that the relationship slowly improved: German foremen helped when the prisoners were sick or had accidents; they brought bread, underwear, or stockings for the prisoners. Several survivors have attested to the fact that German foremen looked after pregnant women, giving them double rations or assigning them to light work. There were several children born in the camp, but only two survived, as they were born when the camp was being evacuated. On the other hand, there are other witness testimonies that stated that there was no assistance and support from the Germans.

The cultural activities in the camp are an interesting part of its history. Many women learned foreign languages and wrote and recited poetry. There was cultural competitiveness between the different nationalities. For example, the French in the autumn of 1944 put on a "Hat Parade," a collection of head wear made out of rags and rubbish. The "Bunkerkommando," a cultural group of up to 70 Poles, celebrated Polish Independence Day in November 1944 with a concert of folk songs and dances. The New Years' Eve concert put on by the Jewish women was lavish—there were jazz, waltzes, chansons, and a drama titled "Die Abenteuer des Sokrates im Konzentrationslager" ("The Adventures of Socrates in a

Concentration Camp"). Plaul and the SS women were invited to the festivities and took part.

Work in the camp came gradually to a halt from the middle of February 1945. Prisoners died during an air raid in the middle of March. At the beginning of April, around 1,000 Jews of different nationalities as well as Soviet women and Poles arrived from Ravensbrück. A staged evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945. Beginning with the Jewish women, around 4,000 inmates were sent on a death march on April 13, and another with 800 prisoners being evacuated on April 14. The ill, the Soviet POWs, and a 200-strong "Clean-Up Kommando" (Reinigungskommando) were left behind. They followed the other women on April 15. The deputy camp elder, Braginska, took over supervision of the women left behind. A few days later, U.S. troops reached the camp and with a large media presence rescued the only American prisoner in the camp (the wife of a general on Charles de Gaulle's staff) before the other women were sent to various hospitals.

The women who were evacuated marched via Wurzen and Riesa along the Elbe. There were executions during the march. Plaul ordered that the women be divided into groups of 200 to 300 people. According to Karay, up to a third of the women died in many of these groups. Close to Strehla on the Elbe the survivors were liberated by the Red Army. What happened to Plaul is unknown: historian Irmgard Seidel states that he fled, whereas Karay believes that he fell into the hands of the Soviet Army and was subsequently released after some women interceded on his behalf.

Budin blew up the HASAG administrative buildings at the end of the war. In 1945, former guard Elfriede Kaltofen was tried in Poland. Arrest warrants were issued against other SS women: their outcome is unknown. Szumańska was arrested in Poland after Jewish prisoners denounced her and was later tried. She was acquitted for lack of evidence and then resettled in France, where she was again arrested and released without conviction. Later, she immigrated to the United States. Former guard Ingeburg Schulz was sentenced by a French military court in Reutlingen to five years in prison, which she served.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) into the events at the Leipzig-Schönefeld camp ceased in 1976 without conclusive results.

SOURCES The most important source on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is Felicja Karay's monograph *Wir lebten zwischen Granaten und Gedichten: Das Frauenlager der Rüstungsfabrik HASAG im Dritten Reich*, trans. from the Hebrew by Susanne Plietzsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001) and published in English as *Hasag-Leipzig Slave Labour Camp for Women: The Struggle for Survival, Told by Women and Their Poetry*, trans. Sara Kitao (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002). Irmgard Seidel described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 495–500. Background information on HASAG and its subcamps has been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64, Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstver pflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Extensive information on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), with a description of the camp (pp. 28–32), biographies of Paul Budin (p. 49) and Wolfgang Plaul (p. 51) as well as of former prisoners Lise London (p. 63), Suzanne Orts (pp. 66–68), Danuta Brzosko-Medryk (pp. 69–71), Sybilla Jęczen (pp. 77–78), Matylda Woliniewska, a member of the "Bunkierkommando" (pp. 79–81), Felicja Karay (pp. 106–108), and Helena and Sylvia Zweig (Stefan Jerzy Zweig's mother and sister, pp. 121–123); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1848.

The USHMMA holds statements by several survivors of the camp: Edith Pick Lowy (RG 10.333); Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (RG-02.107); and Sara Getzler, "The story of two sisters" (RG-02.168). In the Wanda Rotbart collection (Acc. 2002.78.1) there is a poem written by a former prisoner during the camp's existence on the rear side of a HASAG form. Luna Kaufman, a survivor, took part in 1983 in an oral history interview (RG-50.002*0010). Other archives hold numerous sources on the subcamp including the BA-B (Best. NS 4 Bu); AG-B; YVA, which holds statements by more than 80 former prisoners; IPN; and AŻIH. Investigations by the ZdL in the 1970s are held under reference IV 429 AT-Z 22/74 at the BA-L. Some of the camp survivors from Leipzig-Schönefeld have written their autobiographies: *Asher sakharnu lessaper* (Tel Aviv, 1988); Rut Kornblum-Rosenberg, *Nedder: Sikhronot* (Tel Aviv, 1986); Halina Nelken, *Pamietnik z getta w Krakowie* (Toronto, 1987); and Towa Zilberberg, *Ima, bakashatekh nitkabla* (Bnei Brak, 1994).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (unpub. MSS), USHMMA, RG-02.107, p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 50. According to Buchenholz, the Lagerschutz was infamous for its brutality. Buchenholz also describes the Lagerälteste: "As soon as [the manager] appeared in the hall, she started to beat the women about their faces" (p. 40).

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

LEIPZIG-THEKLA ("EMIL," "E," "ENGELSDORF")

In the spring of 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created 1.6 kilometers (1.0 mile) northeast of Leipzig in the suburb of Thekla to provide labor to the aircraft manufacturer Erla-Werke on Theklär Engelsdorferstrasse. The work detail (Kommando) was code-named "Emil" or "E" in Buchenwald administrative records, and beginning in July 1944, the name "Engelsdorf" was also associated with the camp. Like other firms that exploited prisoner labor to meet increasing armaments needs, Erla-Werke hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. As of December 1944, Erla employed 2,445 skilled workers and 21,246 unskilled workers.[1] However, the subcamp inmates were not compensated for their labor.

Beginning in March and April 1943, inmates were transported to the Leipzig camp from the Buchenwald main camp.[2] As noted in telegrams dated March 12, 1943, 65 prisoners were put to work constructing the barracks for the subcamp in Thekla. Sixteen members of the SS were also sent to guard the camp. By May 1943, the strength of the Thekla camp rose to 213 prisoners and 34 guards. Some 174 of the prisoners were deployed to the Erla-Werke, while the rest were used in the construction of the camp.[3]

Most of the inmates arriving on these initial transports into Leipzig-Thekla were political prisoners, all male, and predominantly Russian and Polish. By June 1943, smaller numbers of "asocial" prisoners were also transferred to the camp. Other national and prisoner classification groups represented in the prisoner population throughout the camp's nearly two-year operation included Czech, Lithuanian, French, Italian, Belgian, Greek, and Yugoslavian political prisoners, so-called work-shy (*Arbeitscheu*) inmates, and beginning in May 1944, "asocial Gypsies" (*ASR Zigeuner*). In addition to transports from Buchenwald, transfers of prisoners arrived in Thekla from Gross-Rosen (September 10, 1943; this convoy was originally destined for the subcamp "Laura" in Saalfeld but was directed to Leipzig-Thekla instead) and Sachsenhausen (July 7, 1944).[4] By August 8, 1944, the number of inmates recorded in the Leipzig camp was 1,456.[5] The average strength of the camp was 1,050 inmates, and by the time of the camp's dissolution in April 1945, there were at least 1,400 inmates imprisoned in Leipzig-Thekla.

Little information about working and living conditions in the camp has survived. The inmates in the Emil Kommando at Erla-Werke were most likely employed in factory work, assembling parts for engines. Work assignments in the factory were generally harsh and driven by prisoner-functionaries called Kapos. At various intervals, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness and incapacity for work and exchanged for relatively healthier inmates. In Buchenwald, they were sent to the infirmary where they generally perished. The frequent exchange of prisoners, beginning in the fall of 1943, testifies to the presumably difficult conditions within the camp and its work site.[6]

Inmates were also transferred from the Leipzig-Thekla camp to other work sites. For example, on November 30, 1943, at least 100 prisoners were deported from Leipzig to the Flossenbürg work Kommando Johanngeorgenstadt.[7] Beginning in January 1944, they were also transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamps in Mülsen St. Micheln (where another branch of Erla-Werke was located) and Flöha.[8]

There is little information available about the guard staff of the camp. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Schiedlausky, who oversaw medical treatment in the Buchenwald camps and who assisted in selecting prisoners for work assignments, 134 guards were assigned to the



U.S. troops accompany local German civilians inside the liberated Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald, April 19–22, 1945.
USHMM WS # 12070, COURTESY OF MAX ESPER

camp as of January 31, 1945.[9] The same report notes that the SS doctor for the Leipzig-Thekla camp was named Luz, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Hanschel. A police report dated April 29, 1945, and attached to the War Crimes Investigations Unit 6822 collection lists some of the more prominent guards as of April 18, 1945: SS-Hauptscharführer Goetze, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Badstuebner, SS-Unterscharführer Taenzer, and SS-Sturmmann Baumbach.[10] Telegrams sent to the commandant's office in Buchenwald in the early months of the camp's operation were signed by various SS-officers, including SS-Obersturmbannführer Borell, SS-Hauptscharführer Kenn, SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, and SS-Unterscharführer Jacob. These latter may have been Lagerführer or officers in charge.

Upon learning of the advance of American troops, the commandant of the Leipzig-Thekla camp received orders to evacuate. The evacuation of the camp began on April 15, 1945, when more than 1,200 inmates were rounded up and taken to an unknown destination in several trucks. Those who were too ill or weak to be transported remained behind in the camp. The following day, the approximately 300 remaining inmates were herded into barracks number five, where they were provided food rations.[11] After having locked the doors and sealing the windows, the SS set fire to the barracks. Some inmates burst out of the barracks but were immediately shot by the SS. Others were impaled by or gunned down near the electrical wire fencing. Some escaped to an adjacent field, where they were caught by a Hitler Youth squad and executed. The U.S. War Crimes Investigating Team 6822 estimated that at least 90 prisoners, including several Russian, Polish, French, and Czech inmates, died in the fire or were shot. One surviving French inmate made contact with Lieutenant Daniel Camous, a French officer attached to the U.S. First Army, and reported the atrocities.

The 69th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Leipzig-Thekla on April 19, 1945. Days later, the U.S. Army Signal Corps documented and photographed the remains of the massacre. According to a report by a U.S. Army Protestant chaplain filed on April 28, 1945, a similar operation planned for a nearby camp with over 250 women prisoners was averted by the advance of the 69th Division. On April 24, the U.S. Army arranged a multifaith funeral and buried the bodies in the southern cemetery (*Sudfriedhof*) in Leipzig; prominent members of the Leipzig community were also present.[12]

At least one of the guards of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, Walter Karl Heinrich, was sentenced to five years in prison for the murder of a French inmate during the evacuation march from Leipzig-Thekla.[13]

SOURCES Much of the secondary literature on the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp derives from reports on the ruins of the atrocities found at the liberation of the camp. See especially Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). The film produced by the U.S. War Department at the end of the war, *Death Mills (Die Todesmühlen)* (produced in 1945 by the Signal Corps, Army Air Forces, and U.S. Navy, and released by International Historic Films, Chicago, 1997), documents the opening of several camps, including the remains of the massacre at Thekla. For a brief description of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Peter Kohl and Peter Bessel's *Auto Union und Junkers: Geschichte der Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke GmbH Taucha 1935–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003) chronicles the history of the Junkers factories in the Leipzig-Taucha region, with brief references to Erla-Werke. An unpublished manuscript by Holger Dieckhoff, "Die Entwicklung der Erla-Werke GmbH" (Diplomarbeit, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1989), stored at the StA-Lg, describes the history of Erla-Werke. Trial information is available on the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv, including information on the trial of Walter Karl Heinrich, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

Several archives contain relevant primary resources on the Leipzig-Thekla camp, but most focus on the last days and liberation of the camp and derive from immediate postwar investigation processes. A series of photographs taken at the liberation of the camp and documenting the investigation of atrocities committed during the evacuation can be found in USHMMA, series designation 13.925 (Collections: 1991.170.002). Testimony about the liberation of the camp is also found in the USHMMA, J. Milner Roberts interview, RG-50.030*0191. See also AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 108, BU 48, and BU 50). Within this collection, there are also lists of French and Belgian prisoners drawn up from infirmary (*Revier*) lists in the Leipzig subcamp. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). For those pertaining to Leipzig, see especially Reel 171. These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the camp. Other documentation may be found in the StA-Lg.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Leipzig," March [illegible date] (55 inmates); April 11, 1943 (100 inmates) (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. "An den Lagerkommandanten des KL Buchenwald," various dates, March–July 1943, BA NS 4 Buchenwald, Band 150, Fiche 1: Correspondence Conc. Buchenwald Sub-camps, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG.14023M.

4. "Transport Laura," September 10, 1943; "Nachweisung, vom KL Sachsenhausen nach Leipzig uberstellten Häftlinge," July 10, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

5. "Buchenwald, États d'effectifs par Kommando," August 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

6. See, for example, transfer lists dated December 30, 1943 (10 inmates); January 28, 1944 (5 inmates); February 29, 1944 (21 inmates); and so on (BU 48), collection USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

7. "Transportliste für Johanngeorgestadt [*sic*]," November 30, 1943 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

8. "Anlage 1 zum Schreiben der Verwaltung des Konz.-Lagers Buchenwald . . . ," January 27, 1944 (BU 8/2), USHMMA, Acc. A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

10. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18. Original Repts. located in NARA, RG 338, Records of ETOUSA, USFET, JAG.

11. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

12. J. Milnor Roberts, oral history interview, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0191.

13. Fritz Bauer, ed., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam) vol. 34 (2005), Lfd. Nr. 862.

LEOPOLDSHALL ("JU," "LH")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Leopoldshall (in the Kreis Bernburg district), about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Leipzig, in December 1944. Code-named "Ju" or "Lh," the subcamp was created to supply prisoner labor to the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Co. (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Zweigwerk Schönebeck). As was the case in other satellite camps created later in the war, inmates were "rented" from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) by private firms, such as the Junkers firm, which paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day.[1]

Production at the Leopoldshall Junkers factory began in 1934, manufacturing engine parts and tails for the Junkers aircraft models Ju 52, Ju 86, Ju 87, Ju 88, and Ju 188. The Junkers factory was located on Industrie Strasse in Leopoldshall, although there is no information about how close the subcamp was to the firm.

Inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Leopoldshall beginning December 28, 1944. One hundred prisoners were transferred on the initial transport.[2] Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport list, the inmates appear to have been French, Polish, and Russian. Another transport list has survived, dated February 13, 1945, that details the transfer of 158 inmates to Leopoldshall from Buchenwald, including Russian and French inmates.[3] On March 8, 1945, 8 inmates—3 French political prisoners and 5 Russian political prisoners—were transferred from the Buchenwald subcamp Schönebeck, where another branch of the Junkers factory was located.[4] A report filed by the garrison doctor of the Buchenwald camps, SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945, lists Leopoldshall as a Jewish outlying commando (Jüdische Aussenkommando); however, the existing transfer lists do not indicate the type of inmates who were imprisoned in Leopoldshall or whether or not they were Jews.[5]

There is little evidence about living conditions in the Leopoldshall camp or working conditions at the Junkers factory. On March 12, 1945, three inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald infirmary, presumably to be exchanged for healthier inmates.[6] The reason for their return is noted as "Tbc" or tuberculosis; therefore, conditions in the camp were most likely difficult and unsanitary. Moreover, there may have been additional transfers and exchanges of prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp, and information about them may not have survived.

There is little information about the commandant or guard staff of the Leopoldshall subcamp. Memos regarding transfers of inmates and exchanges of ill inmates are undersigned by the head of the Leopoldshall commando, SS-Obersturmführer "Sorell" or "Forell."[7] The January report filed by garrison doctor Schiedlausky does not include any additional information about the number of guards or medical staff in the Leopoldshall subcamp.[8]

The camp was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, due to the advancement of Allied troops. At least one inmate, French prisoner Pierre Freudenreich, died in the town of Gross Pankow during or shortly after the evacuation.[9]

SOURCES The Leopoldshall subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), provide overviews of and documents pertaining to the Buchenwald camp system.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Leopoldshall subcamp. See the archives of the AG-B und AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 41/2 and BU 8/13. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These

reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and "strength" of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from more thorough research of this collection.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of a report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Leopoldshall," December 28, 1944 (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

3. "Uberführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," February 13, 1945 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

4. "Uberführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," March 8, 1945 (BU 8/13), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

6. "Uberführung von kranken Häftlingen," March 12, 1943 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

7. See transfer lists, BU 41/2 and BU 8/13, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sing insgesamt," in Bartel, *Buchenwald*, p. 253.

9. "Buchenwald—Kdo 'LH'—Leopoldshall," list of French and Belgian prisoners compiled presumably by ITS (BU 40), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

LICHTENBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Lichtenburg in September 1940 for a temporary two-week duration. Due to the camp's short operation period, there is extremely little information about this subcamp, for example, about its location, inmates, or commander. The camp was opened on either September 11 or 12, 1940. According to documentation on daily work statistics in records kept by the Buchenwald main camp administration, there were 35 inmates stationed at the Lichtenburg subcamp.[1] The camp also had two guards posted as watch troops. However, unlike other satellite camps created at this time (such as Tonndorf, Berlstedt, and so on), there is no sentry commander (Postentruppführer) listed for Lichtenburg.

The Lichtenburg subcamp is documented in the Buchenwald records as an external commando (Aussenkommando), as opposed to a work commando deployed from Buchenwald, and therefore prisoners were transported from Buchenwald to the work site at Lichtenburg, where they stayed for two weeks. However, the exact location of the Lichtenburg subcamp and work site is indeterminable. A series of camps (including pre-1937 early camps, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, and a subcamp of Sachsenhausen) were established at the fourteenth-century Lichtenburg castle in Prettin (Saxony-Anhalt). [See Sachsenhausen/Prettin (Lichtenburg).] However, various secondary sources on the Lichtenburg camps make no mention of a Buchenwald subcamp established there. It is also possible that the Buchenwald Lichtenburg camp was created in a town called Lichtenburg (Saxony), although the exact location is unknown.

The Buchenwald Lichtenburg subcamp is last mentioned in the work statistics for September 28, 1940.[2] The number of prisoners and guards in the camp did not fluctuate during its period of operation.

SOURCES There is virtually no mention of the Lichtenburg subcamp in secondary literature. Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system but no information on Lichtenburg. Similarly, the Lichtenburg camp appears only rarely in primary documentation. It does not appear in transport lists collected by the ITS, copies of which are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG. The BA Buchenwald collection (NS 4) has brief information about the dates of operation and number of prisoners in the camp but nothing further (see BA, Band 156, Fiche 1–4). The AG-B and AG-MD may have other information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Arbeitsstatistik, Aufstellung der Täglichen Arbeitskommandos, 1940," September 11–27, 1940, pp. 79–93, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), Band 156, as copied at USHMMA, RG 14.0423M.

2. Ibid., p. 79.

LIPPSTADT (*LIPPSTÄDTER EISEN- UND METALLWERKE*) [AKA LEM, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT I]

Lippstadt was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen until 1945. It is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Gütersloh. According to Buchenwald files, a subcamp for female prisoners was established in Lippstadt on July 31, 1944, when 530 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived. The average age of the women was 27. On September 1, another 2 women from Auschwitz arrived, and on November 23, another 300 women including 139 from Slovakia, 92 from Poland, 41 from Hungary, 10 from France, 9 from Germany, 4 from Holland, 4 from Italy, and 1 Czech. These women were also aged mostly between 20 and 30, with the youngest aged 15. The women from this transport were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 25001 and 27000.

The camp was on the site of the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM), Cappeler Landstrasse 32. LEM was an armaments enterprise founded in 1935 that produced various kinds of ammunition, among others, hand grenades and aircraft parts. The prisoners were accommodated on the northeastern edge of the site (to the south of the Graf-Adolf and Walldorf Strasse intersection). There were several preexisting barracks that were cordoned off. The guards consisted of 10 to 12 SS men, according to Burkhard Beyers, or 27 men, according to *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*. They were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Bieneck. There were also about 15 female overseers, former employees of various armaments firms who had undergone a three-week training course in Ravensbrück and were deployed for service in the subcamp.

The camp, with an area of around 10,000 square meters (12,000 square yards), consisted of five barracks. Four had dimensions of about 15 × 50 meters (50 × 164 feet) and were chosen to house the prisoners. These barracks were divided along a central corridor into rooms, each holding 30 to 40 women who slept in multitiered bunk beds. Each woman had her own bed and blanket. At the end of the corridor were the toilet block and the washroom. The barracks were heated. The fifth barrack, which was 28 × 50 meters (92 × 164 feet), functioned as the prisoners' infirmary. According to survivors' statements, two female prisoner doctors were active, Elsa Oblat-Pick, a Jew who probably held a doctoral degree in medicine, and a Polish doctor, Kristina Klemanska-Estreicher. They probably answered to a German nurse. The prisoners had primitive protection from air raids in a slit trench. It took about 5 to 10 minutes to walk from the camp to work.

The food was extremely limited and as a rule consisted of a drink in the morning, a little soup for lunch, and bread for dinner. Prisoners who worked the night shift received neither food nor drink during their shift. Despite this, many of the women in the Lippstadt camp, most of whom had spent a short time in Auschwitz, found the conditions less rigid than in Auschwitz. However, prisoners reported frequent persecution by the female SS—for example, if a prisoner was suspected of theft, she was usually forced to strip naked, and the usual punishment for less serious disciplinary breaches was to kneel in the snow with bare legs. There are reports of the women being subjected to beatings. Numerous survivor statements refer to a special humiliation: the women on their arrival in the camp were given new civilian clothes. So that these clothes could be recognized as prisoners' clothes, the sleeves were removed from the shirts and replaced with sleeves made of a different color and material. There are repeated survivors' reports that they felt like "clowns" dressed in these clothes, that they felt offended in their dignity and self-esteem. Nevertheless, the women attempted to maintain their dignity: at Christmas 1944, for example, they decorated a Christmas tree and exchanged small gifts that they had cobbled together from waste metal and smuggled out of the factory under the threat of death.

For their employment in the factory, LEM supplied winter coats to the women, which were marked in the back with a bright cross of yellow oil paint. LEM also provided work overalls for the women. The regulations required the women to work in separate areas under the supervision of German foremen and skilled tradesmen. The women worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours (with two breaks totaling 45 minutes). Weekly they alternated between day and night shifts.

Only a few women, working in specially chosen areas with other laborers, worked in three shifts each of eight hours. Survivors report physically demanding work such as carrying heavy parts to the machines and putting the heavy and unwieldy parts into the machines. Magda Müller, a survivor, stated that each day she had to insert screw threads into 1,000 hand grenades.[1] There are reports that the German foremen and tradesmen insulted and emotionally mistreated the women. But there are also reports that they were sometimes given food by them.

The work and living conditions in the camp must be described as very poor. Medical care was completely inadequate, particularly after the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in December, and worsened as the end of the war got closer. In March 1945, the SS-Kommando Lippstadt reported to the Standortarzt in Buchenwald that 30 prisoners were bedridden in the infirmary and 85 were being treated as outpatients. One woman was suffering from tuberculosis, 4 from diphtheria, and in the course of the last month there had been 20 work injuries. There are seven recorded deaths at the Lippstadt subcamp. The women, together with one deceased baby that had been born in the camp, were buried at the nearby Jewish cemetery. All the women died from cholera and dysentery as a result of the exhausting work and living conditions and not as an immediate result of physical violence.

Most probably more women in the Lippstadt subcamp died in the camp than appear in the statistics, as those too weak or ill to work were selected and sent to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen. There are at least three such recorded transports: a transport that included all the pregnant women left for Auschwitz on August 1, 1944 (this was probably the result of a birth in the camp), and there was a transport of 3 pregnant women to Bergen-Belsen on January 8, 1945. Both transports were accompanied by the Jewish doctor—as the SS, until the last minute, tried to maintain the illusion that she would look after the prisoners in her care. A final transport departed Lippstadt on February 9, 1945. It included 3 women and their babies as well as 69 women who were either sick or no longer capable of working. According to a former prisoner, quoted in the publication *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*, on this transport one baby was trodden to death by an SS man. Whether this was intentional remains unclear, but according to the witness, there was no apology. It is likely that shortly before the camp's dissolution there was one further transport of 25 sick prisoners to Bergen-Belsen: while on February 25, there were still 750 women in the camp, there were only 725 when the camp ceased to exist: the difference could be explained by one further transport of women no longer capable of working.

From the beginning of 1945, work in the LEM was constantly interrupted by supply problems and raw material shortages. Statements as to when the camp was evacuated differ between March 29 and 31, 1945. Accompanied by the SS

and, according to survivors, also Wehrmacht soldiers, the women moved in a northeasterly direction toward Bergen-Belsen. The SS only allowed night marches, fearing low-flying Allied air attacks. When the Allied troops got closer, Commandant Bieneck threatened to shoot the women. On the morning of April 1, 1945, Easter Sunday, the guards abandoned the women close to the village of Kaunitz, about 14 kilometers (9 miles) to the northeast of Lippstadt. A few hours later the women were liberated by soldiers of the U.S. Army. The dates stated by the International Tracing Service (ITS) for the evacuation (April 2, 1945) and liberation (ca. April 4, 1945) are clearly too late.

In the 1970s, the Bielefeld state prosecutor investigated events in the subcamp and collected statements from 97 women who had been in the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1974 with the conclusion that mistreatment was not an everyday occurrence in the Lippstadt LEM subcamp. However, many survivors suffered for the rest of their lives from the physical and psychological effects of the camp.

SOURCES The camp is described by Burkhard Beyer in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. The same author has written *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay "Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. Extensive details on the subcamp are to be found in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), which is based on statements by 13 former prisoners—Ruchla Krengiel Kuperszmidt, Sarah Barr, Halina Zauder, Fryda Duczyminer, Edith Vodny, Ibolya Welisch Friedmann and Eszter Eilon Friedmann, Dr. Aniko Manfeld Oppenheim, J. Warech, Miriam Navon, Alice Cimber, Magda Müller, Gisela Freiberg, and Elena Levy. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival details on the Lippstadt LEM subcamp are found in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K, NS 4 Bu, in the ASt-Lip, which include aerial photographs of the LEM factory site and the camp in March 1945, in the AG-B, and ITS. The USHMMA holds the statement by survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179). Survivors have also written about the camp, such as Rudnoy Tewrez's autobiographical work *Szabadulo Asszonyok* (The path to freedom) (N.p., 1947); and Olga Szekulesz in "Alomhajon [Upon the ship of dreams]," Htv (August 1964), which describes her attempts to maintain the prisoners' hopes for freedom by telling them stories about her prewar life.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Statement by Magda Müller in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), p. 57.

LIPPSTADT (*WESTFÄLISCHE METALLINDUSTRIE*) [AKA WMI, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT II]

Lippstadt, which until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen, is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Gütersloh. At the end of July 1944, a subcamp was opened at the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM). On November 20, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was opened at a branch of the Westfälische Metallindustrie (WMI) in Hospitalstrasse 46. Two hundred and fifty Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück arrived at the camp on November 20, and on December 23, 65 women from Bergen-Belsen followed. The women from this transport were from Hungary and other Eastern European countries. The last transport arrived on February 15, 1945, with 20 mostly Hungarian Jews, again from Bergen-Belsen.

The subcamp was located in the center of the city, situated between apartment blocks and secured with fences and walls. The women's accommodation as well as their job site was located inside the camp, so they never left the camp. The camp was guarded by six SS men under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Fügmann. He was assisted by a few SS women who had been recruited from local industries and had gone through a short training course at Ravensbrück.

During the war, WMI specialized in supplying the armaments industry. Prisoners from the subcamp manufactured parts for the aircraft industry including altimeters. As in many camps, the prisoners worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with one break of 45 minutes. Their task required precision and concentration and was less physically strenuous than the work in many other subcamps. This possibly explains why there are no recorded deaths in the Lippstadt WMI subcamp. According to the records, there was only one transfer from this camp, which sent four pregnant or breast-feeding mothers to Bergen-Belsen. It is also possible that the camp's location, in the middle of a residential area, caused the SS to provide at least a minimum of hygienic standards so as to prevent an outbreak of disease spreading to the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the prisoners' medical care, delivered by a few prisoner nurses, as well as the food supply remained woefully inadequate.

Most likely the women from this subcamp were evacuated on March 31, 1945, in an easterly direction following the heaviest air raid on Lippstadt during the war on March 10, 1945. As a result of the air raid, work inside the subcamp had almost completely stopped. On April 1, 1945, the U.S. Army

closed the so-called Ruhr Pocket (Ruhrkessel). By this time the women were already at Kreiensen. From there, they were evacuated by rail to Leipzig. Here, they were initially held in the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) subcamp. A few days later, they set off on a march with the women of this camp. Most of the prisoners from this evacuation march were liberated by Soviet troops near Pirna on the Elbe.

SOURCES Burkhard Beyer describes the Lippstadt (WMI) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. Beyer has also published *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay "Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. The Lippstadt WMI subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival references to the Lippstadt WMI subcamp are held in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K (NS 4 Bu), the ASt-Lip, AG-B, and ITS. The USHMMA holds a statement by camp survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LÜTZKENDORF ("LD")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Lützkendorf (in the Querfurt district), about one mile north of the village of Krumpa bei Merseburg and two miles northwest of Braunsbedra, in July 1944. Code-named "Ld," the camp was established near the synthetic oil refinery Wintershall Oil Company (Wintershall AG Mineralölwerk, Lützkendorf), later renamed Mineralöl GmbH Addinol, to supply concentration camp inmates for reconstruction work after destructive Allied bombing of the refinery in July 1944. The Wintershall factory "rented" concentration camp inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day.[1]

There is no information about the exact location of the Lützkendorf subcamp, nor are there descriptions of its size. The Wintershall Oil Company also used slave laborers to work in its factory; presumably, a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) was also constructed on or near the factory grounds. Nine hundred inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf on July 14, 1944.[2] Although there is no demographic breakdown on this transport list in particular (even in its duplicated forms), the inmates appear to have been Polish, Russian, and Czech, with smaller numbers of French and German prisoners. Smaller transports of inmates from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf arrived over the following months: 9 French inmates were transferred on August 15; 3 inmates on August 16; 3 on September 5; 80 on September 9, 1944;[3] 4 on September 14; and 3 on September 19. Some of the inmates were civilian workers (*Zivilarbeiter*) or so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*).[4]

There is no information about living or working conditions in the Lützkendorf camp. As in other satellite camps, presumably prisoners who were too ill to work were "exchanged" for healthier inmates from the main Buchenwald camp at various intervals. On November 5, 1944, 100 inmates were sent to Block 59 in Buchenwald.[5] There may have been at least one woman on this transport, Marian Klysz. At least one "change of status" report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) dated November 25, 1944, notes that 13 inmates in the Lützkendorf subcamp "departed" or presumably died, although no date of "departure" is given with their names.[6] The inmates on this report were predominantly Russian civilian conscript laborers and political prisoners, as well as 1 Polish prisoner.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was closed on January 18, 1945, with 370 inmates remaining. There is no information about the guards or commandant of the Lützkendorf camp. Moreover, the camp does not appear on a surviving report from garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky dated January 31, 1945, because the camp was closed by this time. On January 23, 1945, about 357 inmates were transferred from Lützkendorf to Mittelbau.[7]

SOURCES The Lützkendorf subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the Lützkendorf camp, including information from ITS, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, including pertinent documents.

There are also few primary sources on the Lützkendorf subcamp. See the AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 5/5, BU 8/18, BU 4/32, BU 8/11, and BU 48). Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and departures from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA,

RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and numbers of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from a more thorough research of this collection.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Lützgendorf [*sic*]," July 14, 1944 (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. "Transport Lützkendorf," September 9, 1944 (BU 8/19), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

4. "Veränderungsmeldungen," dated August 16, August 17, September 6, September 15, and September 29, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

5. "Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach Block 59," Arbeitsstatistik KL Buchenwald, November 5, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

6. "Veränderungsmeldung," November 25, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

7. "Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach KL Mittelbau überstellt," January 23, 1945 (BU 4/34), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 5. Another transport list dated January 3, 1945, also survives, in which 373 inmates were transferred either to Lützkendorf or, as is more likely, to Buchenwald. The title of the transport is illegible, however. See "Transportliste [?]," January 3, 1945 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

MAGDEBURG (*POLTE OHG*) (MEN)

Magdeburg is located on the Elbe River and until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. In 1885, Eugen Polte founded the Polte company, which during World War II operated as Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) Magdeburg. During the war, the company became an important manufacturer of munitions. In June 1944, a subcamp for women was opened at Polte. On November 3, 1944, a transport of 500 men from the Stutthof concentration camp arrived at the Polte main factory in Magdeburg at 65–91 Poltestrasse; 300 women were also in this transport.

The men had been selected in Stutthof because of their professional qualifications. When they arrived in Magdeburg, they were held in quarantine for 10 days because a typhus epidemic had broken out in Stutthof after their departure. After the 10 days, they were divided among different production areas, replacing Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The prisoners were held in the empty Soviet POW camp, in Poltestrasse (later Karl Liebknecht Strasse) directly opposite the factory and next to the women's camp. The 500 men were held in two barracks; in addition, there was an infirmary and a roll-call square. The camp was fenced in with a high barbed-wire fence. The guards were 59 SS men who were based outside the camp and commanded by Kommandoführer Hoffmann. Prior to this position, Hoffmann had been a member of the command staff at the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where he had already supervised some of the prisoners who had been sent from Stutthof to Magdeburg.

The majority of the prisoners in the first transport were Jews from Latvia. There were also Jews from Poland, Lithuania, and Germany in the transport. A second transport arrived on December 2, 1944, from Bergen-Belsen. As with the first transport, there was a group of 300 women on the transport who were sent to the women's subcamp. The prisoners in this transport were mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews. The average number of prisoners in the men's subcamp was somewhere between 500 and 600.

The camp inmates worked at the Polte firm in alternating 12-hour shifts. Sundays were rest days, either in whole or in part. The Polte firm ensured that because of their skilled status the prisoners had living conditions rarely seen in concentration camps: the barracks were heated, and in the washrooms there was running warm and cold water. Each prisoner had his own bed (on a two-tiered bunk bed) and a blanket. Each barracks had sleeping and eating quarters. Boris Kacel, a survivor, stated that when the prisoners arrived, the barracks were clean and neat. However, there was no kitchen in the camp, and the prisoners' food had to be brought from the outside.

There were two Jewish doctors in the infirmary. Beside work injuries, the cases they dealt with were primarily exhaustion, colds, and hunger edemas, an indication of the poor nutrition, clothing, and general working and living conditions of the prisoners. These conditions were made worse by the rigid SS and prisoner administration punishment system, which in part was in the hands of violent, criminal prisoners. Kacel stated that the camp elder was David Kagand, and the barrack elders were Harry Kussman and Max Finkelstein. Among the prisoners, the so-called Inner Service (*Innendienst*) under an inmate named Nachke was notorious for its brutality. The number of prisoners who died in the men's Polte subcamp can only be estimated. It is thought that a few dozen prisoners died in the camp or, because they were no longer capable of working, were selected and sent back to the main camp. At this late stage of the war, selection and return to the main Buchenwald camp meant certain death for a prisoner, because the prisoners were sent to the Kleine Lager in Buchenwald, where there was scarcely any chance of survival.

A third transport of 130 prisoners reached the camp on March 19, 1945. It originated in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge subcamp. The transport consisted mostly of prisoners of Polish and Hungarian nationality. By this time production in the Polte factories had mostly come to a stop because of supply difficulties, so that the prisoners were not used in armaments production but in cleaning up Magdeburg after bombing raids. Kacel stated that in the final stage of the camp around 30 prisoners were used in cleanup work, while the other prisoners were used to construct defense fortifica-

tions in and around Magdeburg. While doing this work the prisoners were at times shot at by Allied aircraft or troops.

On April 11, 1945, three weeks after the arrival of the last transport, the SS guards fled the approaching U.S. troops. Fearing possible outrages by the prisoners who were left to their own devices as well as being held responsible by the Allied troops for the conditions in the camp, Volkssturm (German home guard) men were put in charge. They drove the prisoners, both male and female, who had not managed to escape in the previous two days to the other side of the Elbe on April 13, 1945. While resting at the Neue Welt sports stadium the completely exhausted prisoners came under U.S. artillery fire. While trying to escape the fire and seeking cover, they were shot at by the Volkssturm and SS troops. Many were killed or injured. Under SS guard, the prisoners were then sent on a death march to Sachsenhausen, with countless other prisoners falling victim along the way.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following years the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the men's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the men's Polte subcamp ceased without any result.

SOURCES Pascal Bergrich contributed the article on the men's Polte subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 518–520. Pascal Bergrich is also the author of "Die Polte OHG und das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald Polte-Magdeburg" (unpub. Magisterarbeit, Magdeburg, 2003). Information on the Polte OHG is in Frank Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMMA holds the memoirs of Joseph Kiman, "A Witness to History" (RG-02.176) as well as oral history interviews with another survivor, Henry Bermanis (RG-50.030*0341). Under WS# 83415 to 83421, the USHMMPA holds photographs of the Polte-Werke immediately after its liberation, among others, a portrait of a former prisoner and the reconstruction of an event where a Jewish prisoner is thought to have been shot by a German foreman on April 11, 1945. Other archival material on the subcamp can be found in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K), as well as ITS. A list of the skilled workers at the subcamp is in the YVA, call number Bu 44. The files on the preliminary investigations by the Magdeburg state prosecutor into the members of the Volkssturm in 1951–1952 are held in: BStU, Aussenstelle Magdeburg, BV Magdeburg, Allg. S 2/81, vol. 12, and S4/81, vol. 2. Boris Kacel, a camp survivor, has published his memoirs in *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998). Axel Deutsch, who arrived at Magdeburg (Polte) in March 1945, published his memoirs as "Ich habe Auschwitz überlebt"; see http://www.lpm.uni-sb.de/lpb/DeutschAlex/auschwit.htm.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAGDEBURG (*POLTE OHG*) (WOMEN)

Until 1945, Magdeburg was part of the Prussian province of Saxony and the site of heavy industry. A concentration camp for women was established on June 14, 1944, in the Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) factory at 65–91 Poltestrasse. It was administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, although it answered to the Buchenwald concentration camp on labor matters.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was located directly opposite the factory in Poltestrasse. The prisoners lived in primitive wooden barracks. There was no glass in the windows, and the barracks were not heated. The barracks were ridden with vermin and held at least 100 women in each. The living conditions in the women's camp were markedly different from those in the male camp, which opened a few months later. The difference in the living conditions can be explained—the men were chosen because of their professional qualifications and were regarded as "valuable" skilled workers, whereas the women were seen as cheap auxiliary labor.

On September 1, 1944, the camp came under the complete control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. At that time, there were 1,815 women in the camp. Around 60 percent of them were Soviet civilian laborers, who had been sent by the Gestapo to the Ravensbrück concentration camp when their attempts to escape had failed. From there they were sent on to the Polte-Werke. There was no doubt that these women had been concentrated in the Magdeburg camp on purpose—a practice that was followed in a few other subcamps. That the women did not give up their desire for freedom is shown by the large number of escape attempts: 19 were registered in the subcamp by the end of 1944, 18 of which were by Soviet women. Also in the camp were political prisoners from Poland, mostly victims of the suppression of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—6 Italians, 5 French women, a Czechoslovak, 3 Yugoslavs, a Lithuanian, a German, and 1 stateless woman.

On November 1, 1944, there were 2,427 women in the camp. At the end of December 1944, two further transports with 300 Hungarian Jews from Stutthof and 300 Polish Jews from Bergen-Belsen arrived at the camp. The women worked under difficult conditions: in two 12-hours shifts, broken only with an hour's break, working with highly dangerous chemicals without any protection at all. The women worked in different sections of the factory, in the pickling area (*Beizerei*), drilling area (*Bohrerei*), and the lacquer area (*Lackerei*), cleaning munitions and pressing the shell casings. The difficult work conditions for the inexperienced and malnourished women resulted in many work accidents, some of which resulted in death. In addition to the difficult work conditions the women had a completely inadequate supply of

clothing: as a rule they were not given either underwear or shoes. Many women suffered from colds, breathing difficulties, tuberculosis, and skin diseases, which were caused by the chemicals, general exhaustion, and malnutrition. Until the camp was dissolved in April 1945, there were 18 recorded deaths of prisoners. Many more women were transferred back to the main camp because they were too weak to work or they were pregnant: 24 women in January and 58 at the end of March 1945. In March 1945, a child was born in the camp, which at this time was the second largest Buchenwald subcamp.

The camp was guarded by 87 SS men and 42 female guards. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kramer was in charge of the camp until November 1944. He was then replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Andreas Hochwarth. Both camp commanders were strict, subjecting the women to punishment including penal labor, special roll calls, food deprivation, and bunker confinement. Especially feared was a punishment known as the *Prügelstrafe*, where the women received 25 blows with a stick. It is likely that in the spring of 1945 a woman was executed because of suspected sabotage (according to survivor Boris Kacel: a Ukrainian; according to historian Irmgard Seidel, a Soviet citizen). The hanging was undertaken by an execution squad from Buchenwald that traveled to the camp with a portable gallows. Kacel stated that the women, who at this time were held in the men's camp, were given a day off work so that they could witness the hanging. As a means of deterring further sabotage attempts, the body remained hanging from the gallows for 24 hours. The increasing intensity of the bombing raids on Madgeburg resulted, no later than March 1945, in increasing disruption and suspension of production in the Polte-Werke. As Kacel describes for the men's camp, most likely also the inmates of the women's camp were increasingly used to construct fortifications and dig ditches. The SS attempted to evacuate the camp forcibly on April 11, 1945, but were unsuccessful when the women panicked. Instead of evacuating the camp, the guards fled. Two days later, the inmates of the men's and women's camps, who had been left to themselves, were driven across to the eastern bank of the Elbe by Volkssturm (German homeguard) units, where they came under fire from U.S. artillery. The SS and the Volksturm began shooting the prisoners in the Neue Welt stadium who were trying to take cover. There were a large number of dead and wounded. The surviving women were forced to march via Oranienburg and Brandenburg to Ravensbrück, where it is suspected they arrived six days later, on April 19, 1945.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following year the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the women's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the women's subcamp ceased without any conclusive results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the women's subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 515–517. Frank Baranowski's *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993) contains information on the Polte OHG. The subcamp is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 42–47. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

Documents on the subcamp are held in the collections of the USHMMA, including a tape of an interview with a survivor of the camp, Bella Mischkinsky (RG-50.549.020017), as well as two oral history interviews with survivors (Bella Mischkinsky, RG-50.030*0340, and Sonja Gottlieb Ludsin, RG-50.030*0262). The ZdL investigations are documented under File 4 429 AR-Z 45/75 at BA-L. Boris Karcel in his autobiography *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998) refers a number of times to the women's camp. The execution of the Ukrainian woman is described at p. 203.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAGDEBURG-ROTHENSEE (*BRABAG*) [AKA MAGDA]

Fritz Kranefuss, spokesman for the board of directors of the company Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline, or Brabag), had tried unsuccessfully since 1943 to obtain concentration camp prisoners to work at his fuel production company. In May 1944, when Allied squadrons bombed and damaged the Brabag factories, and the SS was simultaneously deporting Hungarian Jews, the situation changed. Kranefuss, who had excellent connections within Heinrich Himmler's Personal Staff and was the executive officer of the Friends of Himmler (Freudeskreis Himmler), was able to secure concentration camp prisoners to remove rubble and to construct air-raid bunkers. In quick succession, Brabag established subcamps at its factories in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf, near Zeitz, in Magdeburg-Rothensee, in Schwarzheide, and in Böhlen near Leipzig, as well at its underground storage sites in Königstein near Dresden, and Berga/Elster. In 1944–1945, Brabag used more than 13,100 concentration camp prisoners specifically for construction work.

On June 17 and July 23, 1944, a total of 2,127 mostly Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald to Magdeburg-Rothensee.[1] The boys and the men had been selected in Buchenwald and Auschwitz. They were between 14 and 65 years old, and because the entire Jewish population of whole townships had been deported, they included students, teachers, fathers, and sons. Not all were of Hungarian origin. Many were Ukrainians or Serbs. In addition, 45 non-Jewish prisoners, mostly of German, Czech, Polish, French, and Belgian

origin, were deported to Magdeburg-Rothensee and were the prisoner-functionaries.

The subcamp, named "Magda" by the SS, was located on the edge of a housing settlement and an industrial area. The citizens of Rothensee could observe what was happening in the camp through the barbed wire. They had daily contact with the prisoners, for example, on the street as the prisoners marched by or at the construction sites. The emaciated and mistreated prisoners were part of everyday life for the civilian population and the Brabag workforce.

The prisoners were used as an auxiliary construction force at the destroyed Brabag factory and for the building of the bunkers.[2] They laid a system of pipes and cables, repaired rail tracks and roads, cleaned bricks, dug pits, and transported gravel. The work was marked by severe time constraints; by a systematic underutilization of technology; and by constant physical burdens placed on the prisoners, who did not receive adequate food, clothing, or medical attention. The conditions wore down the prisoners, who quickly lost their physical health and died. During the cold times of the year the death rate quickly soared: 130 died in October 1944 and 140 died in November.

Violent abuse became more and more prevalent. Some of the prisoners were killed by one of the SS guard dogs and torn to pieces. The daily violence included mistreatment and humiliation at the construction sites and the camp. The brutality of several guards and Kapos remains in the memories of many survivors and many Magdeburg civilians.

The SS guard detachment numbered 142 men, 112 of whom are known by name. Of these men 82 percent were Wehrmacht soldiers who in 1944 had either volunteered to leave their army and Luftwaffe units and join the SS or who were forcibly transferred to the SS. Theofried Alter, one of the SS camp leaders, had been a noncommissioned officer in the Luftwaffe. At times, an additional 35 policemen were requisitioned as guards. Many soldiers had suffered war injuries, and two-thirds were over 35. A significant percentage of the men did not match the image of a typical SS man, either due to their age, physical condition, or dress. They had not gone through the SS drill at the "Dachau School," although some had experience in guarding Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They either adapted to or tolerated SS violence in the Magda subcamp.[3]

Engineers and foremen from the Brabag factory, the Organisation Todt (OT), and several other construction companies organized the work and directed the prisoners. Brabag was part of the Geilenberg Program, which had been established by Hitler and Albert Speer on May 30, 1944, to secure the production of fuel. Under this program, the Reich reimbursed Brabag for all of the costs incurred in the feeding of the prisoners and in the paying of fees for the prisoners levied by the SS. Edmund Geilenberg, founder of the program and its head, gave his local factory delegates, most of whom were senior engineers at the factories, extensive powers to undertake the construction program and coordinate the use of the prisoners. The engineers in turn were subject to directives from the SS. The plant representative of Brabag Magdeburg, the factory management, and the local OT Construction Unit determined the working conditions and the places where the prisoners worked. Thus, the group of people who presided over the life and death of the prisoners was not limited to the SS guards; it also included civilian industrial representatives.[4]

Sick prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. On September 27, 1944, alone, 525 prisoners were sent back. Of these, the SS selected 388 prisoners and transported them on October 3, 1944, to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On December 29, 1944, following a decision by the plant representative, 401 prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen, where it is likely that almost all of them died. The Magda subcamp was dissolved on February 9, 1945, and the remaining 465 prisoners reached Buchenwald on February 16.[5]

At least 550 prisoners (30.4 percent) died in Magdeburg-Rothensee. Two-thirds of those who died were aged between 40 and 65. The fate of 100 prisoners remains unclear, but most likely they died or were killed in Magdeburg. The SS cremated the corpses in the city crematorium of the Magdeburg West Cemetery. Before cremation, the Brabag company doctor issued death certificates that were checked by the Magdeburg district medical officer. The death certificates were written so that the cause of death corresponded with the condition of the corpse. The notes of the Magdeburg district medical officer have survived and are an important source for the camp's history.[6] Another 789 Jews died due to appalling living conditions and the selections that took place in Magdeburg. If one counts these people, the death rate in the Magda subcamp was 66.7 percent.

Among the more unusual events in the history of the camp was the care that prisoners injured during a bombing raid received in a Magdeburg public hospital. Also, the camp elder (Lagerältester), Walter Duda, escaped in November 1944. The guards had given him a key to the camp gate so that he could go to the SS barracks and play cards.

State investigations of the guards after 1945, as well as attempts by former prisoners to receive compensation from Brabag in the courts, remained unsuccessful.[7] Only SS-Private Otto Krause was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a U.S. military court in Dachau in 1947. Those Brabag employees responsible for the use of prisoners, such as the factory director Dr. Erich Würzner, who continued to head the factory until into the 1970s, were not called to account.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne, 2004). Benjamin B. Ferencz has documented the statements of survivors in proceedings against Brabag for compensation in *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). The records of the trial were destroyed by the West Berlin judicial authorities. Additional information on Brabag camps may be found in Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:131–275; and Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1996). On Wehrmacht guards in the camps, see Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht

und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.

Files and other material on the camp history are to be found in the appropriate archives such as AG-B and YV, ZdL (now BA-L), BA, as well as the Deutsche Dienststelle (German Services Office) in Berlin (the former Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle, WASt). A few documents are kept in the archives of the Magdeburg Jewish community as well as Brabag-K, from which the most important collection on the Magdeburg factory has disappeared. The former prisoner Ivan Ivanji wrote his memoirs in the form of a novel, *Schattenspringen* (Wien, 1993). John Weiner, also a prisoner, published an extract from his memoirs in an article titled "Todesmarsch," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 162–170.

Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport lists, YVA, Microfilm, Bu 16, Bu 44, Bu 45.
2. Various survivor repts., YVA, AG-B, AG-D, Magdeburg Jewish Community Private Archives.
3. Statements by former guards, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, Bd. 1 u. 2, passim; WASt; Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.
4. LHSA-Me: Bunawerk-Schkopau, Nr. 745; Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1996), 3:32; Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:141.
5. Transport lists, YVA: Microfilm, BB1, Bu 8, Bu 19, Bu 44; BA, R 50I/Film 80089, 349:125.
6. Death reports July/August 1944, Westfriedhof (Western Cemetery) Magdeburg, Jewish Community Archive Magdeburg, Crematorium Magdeburg, YVA: 0.51.
7. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, vol. 1 u. 2, passim; LA-B: Rep. 39, Nr. 27/1, 2, 3; Benjamin B. Ferencz: *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

MARKKLEEBERG

Markkleeberg lies on the southern edge of Leipzig. An engine factory was located here, which from the end of 1943 was used by the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, JFM) as a branch factory for the production of small aircraft parts for its aircraft. The head office was located at 1 Stöhrstrasse Markkleeberg. According to the Leipzig building files, the unused factory buildings of the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr in Marleeberg-West had been leased to Junkers in 1940. In December 1943, a new production facility was established on that site. There is no doubt that the establishment of Junkers facilities in Markkleeberg was connected with the damage caused by Allied bombing raids in which the traditional Junkers production facilities concentrated around the Mockau airport fell victim.

Drafted German workers and foreign forced laborers worked in the new factory. A barracks camp with seven wooden barracks was constructed at Equipagenweg for them. According to Klaus Hesse, in 1943 projections were planned for a barracks to hold 768 men—the building plans, the original of which are held by the Markkleeberg archive, even contemplated a camp for 1,248 men. The camp was largely destroyed during an air raid in February 1944 and replaced with new brick barracks. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guard towers, it was now planned to hold concentration camp prisoners.

The first transport of female prisoners, 500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived on August 31, 1944. With this arrival, the camp had officially opened. Included among the prisoners were two 14-year-old sisters, Erzsebet and Katalin Szasz, who survived the selection by giving false ages.

Another 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived on October 10, 1944, from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On October 23 and December 6, 1944, 300 Hungarian Jews arrived on each date from Bergen-Belsen. With these transports the camp consisted of 1,300 female inmates, all of whom were Jewish.

The camp commander was Alois Knittel. He was in command of 18 SS men who secured the outside of the camp and 25 female guards responsible for internal camp supervision. Knittel was feared by the prisoners for his brutality. He meted out beatings as punishment as well as dark cell confinement (*Dunkelarrest*) and once commanded the women to spend the night kneeling in the snow as punishment for suspected sabotage. During this punishment three women died. His subordinates were just as brutal: survivors stated that the SS men entered the camp to watch the women, humiliate them, and persecute them and that the female overseers beat the women with their hands, cudgels, and whips.

The women were primarily used to produce parts for the construction of aircraft engines, a physically demanding work. There were cases of understanding between the German foremen and the skilled workers, on one hand, and the prisoners, on the other. A German foreman, for example, assigned one of the 14-year-old sisters to an easier workstation as it was impossible for her to operate the heavy machines. With that he saved her from a transport back and almost certain death.

In February 1945, two transports each with 125 female French political prisoners arrived from the Buchenwald Abteroda subcamp. The women were sent to Markkleeberg as punishment for suspected sabotage, and Knittel punished them by assigning them to the most physically demanding work in a construction detachment. The French women, who were isolated from the other prisoners in their own barracks, were forced to clear forests, construct roads, and do loading work without any tools.

Survivors describe the camp living conditions as harsh. The barracks were overcrowded. Toward the end of the camp's existence, in March 1945, the number of prisoners rose above 1,500, with the women sleeping in shifts. There were insufficient washing facilities. The prisoners' light clothing, completely inadequate for winter, helped in causing many illnesses. As in other camps, women who could no longer work were selected and taken to Bergen-Belsen. The same fate awaited pregnant women. Nevertheless, there are survivor reports of

children being born in the camp. The fate of one child is known: he died three days after his birth and was cremated and buried at the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery).

The camp was evacuated on April 13, 1945. The goal was Theresienstadt. About 40 women were able to hide during the evacuation and escape the death march. They remained in the camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 17–18, 1945. Some 1,539 women were forced to march via Wurzen, Oschatz, Meissen, Niederau, and Pirna in the direction of Königstein. The sick and those who could no longer march were put on hand carts, which were pulled by the other women. Women who collapsed during the death march were shot by the SS. Many women were able to escape in the area around Königstein and during the last days of the march when they were close to Theresienstadt; escape was made easier by the close proximity of the Red Army.

The convoy of women, which had broken up into many small groups, reached Theresienstadt between April 30 and May 4, 1945; 703 women from Markkleeberg arrived at Theresienstadt. More than half the women had either successfully escaped or died on the death march. Many women were so affected by the march that they remained for several weeks under medical care.

In the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced preliminary investigations that were later continued by the Hof Landgericht (regional court). The investigations ceased in 1971 as former Lagerführer Knittel had died and other perpetrators could not be found.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Markkleeberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 520–523. In Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 118–120, the stories of the two 14-year-old Hungarian sisters who survived the camp are given: Zahava Stessel (Katalin Szasz) and Cheva Ginsburg (Erszebet Szasz). The camp is described at pp. 38–42. Background information on the camp can be found in the following materials: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 102–105, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 109–111. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMMA holds a handwritten poem (Acc. 1993.97) written by a prisoner and handed to the survivor Elizabeth Mermel. The poem is accompanied by a pencil drawing showing 12 prisoners. Other archival documents on the camp are held in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K); the ASt-L, Einäscherungsbuch (on the baby that died in the spring of 1945 and who was cremated); and the AG-B. The ASt-L, Signatur Nr. 3413, holds details on events leading to the lease of the land owned by the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr & Co. in 1940. Other archival documents are held in the ASt-Mkg, including building details dated July 15, 1943, relating to the construction of the barrack camps originally planned for Epiphanienweg. Investigations by the ZdL are held under File 4 AR-Z 89/1971 und 2 Js 669/71 at BA-L. Miriam Powat, a camp survivor, has published her memoirs under the title *Le-lo shiḥrur: Zikhronotai mi-teḳufat ha-Shoah* (Tel Aviv: Eḳed kelali, 1982).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MEUSELWITZ

In October 1944, the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven concentration subcamps in Germany in the small Thüringen town of Meuselwitz. There were at peak times in this subcamp, which lay 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the south of the HASAG Leipzig main factory, 334 Jewish men and 1,500 mostly non-Jewish women. They were forced laborers in an armaments factory. The women's camp was established on October 5, 1944, and the men's camp on November 3, 1944.[1] The SS dissolved both camps in the middle of April 1945 when it removed the prisoners by rail.

The Leipzig light company, HASAG, in order to profit from the National Socialist armaments program, had converted its factory to the manufacture of munitions and grenades. The Meuselwitz factory had come into the company's possession as part of this expansion process in 1936. The conversion of the Meuselwitz porcelain factory into an armaments factory was initially financed by the company's own bank. In the first year of the war, the Army High Command (OKH) supported this process with the injection of large amounts of capital. In the summer of 1944, as a result of German losses in the war, HASAG relocated machines and labor from Polish factories it obtained during the war to a number of places including Meuselwitz. At the same time, the company increased its production of the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In September 1944 the director of the company, Paul Budin, received, in return, a special power of attorney (*Sondervollmacht*) from the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Production. In February 1944, the Meuselwitz factory employed 3,270 people including at least 2,000 civilian "foreign workers" (*Fremdarbeiter*).

Meuselwitz was opened on October 5, 1944, as the fifth and last of the HASAG camps for women. It held 1,500 women. On November 3, 1944, the company opened a camp for men parallel to the existing camp, just as it had done in Schlieben and Taucha. Both barracks camps lay on both sides of a street in the northwest of an industrial area. The camps were separated from the surrounding area by a simple barbed-wire

fence. It was not electrified. The concentration camp prisoners were used in armaments production in Meuselwitz. In a number of different factory buildings the prisoners had to work on lathes or on production lines and worked mostly with sheet metal and other metals, producing munitions, shells, and Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked on weeklong shifts rotating between day and night. Each shift was of 12 hours with breaks. During their spare time the men were often forced to do additional work, for example, unloading railway wagons or being forced by the SS to do cleaning-up work. On Sundays during their free time the prisoners were forced by the SS to clean their barracks. Former prisoner Fred Schwarz states that his civilian HASAG foreman was furious with the camp administration when the prisoners were disturbed while working because then they could not reach their quotas: "Today there's another stink. A Wehrmacht officer comes up to the foreman. He needs two big and two small [prisoners], but the foreman says that this is not possible. But a few minutes later we are under [the officer] nevertheless [on a bomb-disposal detail]."[2] As in other factories, there was tension between the interests of the company and the camp security.

The Buchenwald Camp Statistics records the Meuselwitz camp for men as a "Jewish Detachment." Leaving aside the prisoner-functionaries, the male Meuselwitz prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Holland, and Czechoslovakia. In the middle of December 1944, the camp reached a strength of 300 prisoners with three transports from Buchenwald and Auschwitz.[3] According to the Buchenwald weekly medical reports, seven male prisoners in toto died in the camp.[4] On January 6, 1945, eight prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. Three prisoners managed to escape. One of those was captured and beaten to death in front of his fellow prisoners by the camp commander, Bergmaier.

The Meuselwitz camp for women, unlike the camp for men, is recorded in the statistics as a "mixed detachment," even though there were only 18 Jewish women in the mix. The majority of the 1,500 women were Poles.[5] Many of them were female civilians who had been arrested following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, registered in the concentration camps as political prisoners, and transported to Meuselwitz via Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Until their evacuation, numbers in the camp for women remained constant at around 1,350 prisoners. Sick women were transferred from Meuselwitz back to Ravensbrück. According to the Buchenwald medical reports, 8 women died in the camp. This total does not include women killed in Allied bombing raids.[6]

There were two large air raids on the HASAG factory in Meuselwitz. The first, on November 30, 1944, destroyed large parts of the women's camp. Thirty-eight prisoners and an SS warden died. Sixty-six women were seriously injured. On a second air raid on the old factory, the Allied reconnaissance aircraft dropped red flares on the prisoners' camp, protecting it from the bombardment. The production facilities in the camp were partly destroyed.

Compared to other HASAG subcamps, prisoner conditions were comparatively good. The prisoners had their own beds in the barracks. Each bed had a straw mattress filled with old paper, a blanket, and a towel. At the windows there were tables and chairs. In a shed there was coal with which the stoves in the rooms were heated. On Sundays, the prisoners in the men's camp organized lectures on a variety of subjects. The prisoners' food consisted of coffee, a slice of bread, and a little cheese or sausage before work. After work there was soup. The main building, which included a kitchen, was located in the camp for women. For this reason the male prisoner orderlies had to collect their food in the morning and evening at the fence. The camp had a heated washroom with toilet. There was no toilet paper, so the prisoners used old company forms. There were no showers in the camp for men. The prisoners, however, were allowed every second day after the end of their shifts to shower in the factory washroom, located next to the air-raid shelter. They showered under supervision. Instead of soap, the prisoners filled a piece of paper with a "white greasy liquid" from the machine room. As a result, many prisoners suffered from skin complaints. The prisoners had hardly any medicine.

The camp leader was the 31-year-old dairy manager and SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Blume. In the middle of December, SS-Untersturmführer Bergmaier took over Blume's post. Under him the prisoner regime became much harder. He encouraged his subordinates to mistreat the prisoners. During their work the prisoners were guarded in the factory buildings not only by SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers but also by men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm).

In addition to the guards, there was a layer of non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries from Buchenwald. Fred Schwarz reported on an event that highlights their role. Meuselwitz citizens often saw the following events through the fence: "Yesterday we were standing at roll call. One of us could not stand straight and one of the fence visitors yelled: 'Hey, you are standing in the wrong direction!' Whereupon Lody, in the front row, yelled back 'Not us, you are going in the wrong direction.' "[7] Schwarz commented on the cheek of the prisoner-functionary Lody as follows: "The medical orderly cannot permit this. We are going to get a terrible beating."

According to reports on the day between April 12 and April 14, 1945, all prisoners from the Meuselwitz camp were deported by train via Chemnitz to Graslitz.[8] Before their departure, the prisoners had to empty the open flat rail wagons of coal. In Altenburg the female prisoners from that HASAG subcamp joined them. In Graslitz a number of prisoners were able to escape as a Wehrmacht train, coming from the opposite direction, was attacked from the air.

The highest-ranking SS man from a HASAG camp brought to justice after the war was the first Meuselwitz camp commandant, Heinz Blume. In a successor trial to the U.S. Army's Buchenwald trial in Dachau, Blume was sentenced to death by hanging on October 24, 1946. In 1946–1947 there were two independent but inconclusive investigations in Ludwigsburg and Prague into the role of two SS wardresses.

After liberation, the HASAG group attempted to keep control of its property as shown by reports on looting in Meuselwitz, Altenburg, and Leipzig.

SOURCES The HASAG subcamp for men is referred to in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Meuselwitz subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," ISKDW 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29.

Material on the Meuselwitz subcamp is held in a number of archives. SS HASAG documents have not survived. In YV there are a few reports by surviving prisoners (Collections M.21.1, M.68 and O.3). In AG-R there is an unpublished report by the survivor Maria Kosk. The trial files on the Meuselwitz camp commander Heinz Blume are located in the NARA, RG 153, Records of the Army Judge Advocate General, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al*. The HASAG building plans and a plan of the Meuselwitz site are held in the ASt-Me. There are two published reports by survivors: Miloš Pick: *Verstehen und nicht vergessen: Durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Buchenwald-Meuselwitz. Jüdische Schicksale in Böhmen 1938–1945* (Heimsheim, 2000); and especially extensive is Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996). Schwarz prepared a sketch plan of the camp for his memoirs (p. 263).

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-B, HKW, Film 15; NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739.
2. Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996), p. 291.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739–45.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
5. AG-B, HKW, Film 15.
6. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
7. Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 287.
8. NARA, RG 153, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al*; Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 299.

MÜHLHAUSEN (*GERÄTEBAU GMBH*) ("MARTHA II") [AKA SS-KOMMANDO GERÄTEBAU]

The Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony, present-day Thuringia, north of the Thüringer Wald on the River Unstrut. The prisoners worked for Gerätebau GmbH, a subsidiary of the clockmaker Thiel, Ruhla, which manufactured timers and precision instruments. The Thiel company, which also supplied the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic, had acquired the site in Mühlhausen in 1934 and commenced production in 1937 under the name Gerätebau GmbH. The production buildings were, in part, camouflaged by planted concrete roofs and were fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.5-feet-high) concrete steel wall.

From the beginning of the war, there were difficulties in supplying the company with an adequate labor supply, with the result that as early as 1940, at the instigation of the local labor office, consideration was given to the use of Jews from concentration camps.[1] But instead Polish workers were recruited as forced laborers first. They were accommodated in the so-called B Camp, which was about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) away from the factory, on the edge of the Mühlhausen city forest.

The supply of foreign labor became inadequate in time. Therefore, following a private discussion between a representative of Gerätebau, Oberingenieur Braun, and the commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister, the establishment of a subcamp for 500 female inmates was agreed upon. Gerätebau undertook all the necessary preparations, including the selection of 23 women from the company's staff for training as guards at the Ravensbrück concentration camp in August and September 1944. The camp's opening was accordingly delayed. An advance detachment of guards from Buchenwald under the command of SS-Sturmführer Otto Baus arrived in Mühlhausen on August 15, the administrative personnel on August 27, and 12 guards on August 30, recruited from the SS and Wehrmacht. The first mention of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp is on September 2, 1944. On September 3,300 Hungarian Jews from the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto arrived in Mühlhausen. The first 8 female guards followed on September 6, with the remainder arriving from Ravensbrück on September 16.[2] The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) was the transport leader, Bässler. On October 30, 200 (some sources say 144) Hungarian and Polish, mostly very young, Jewish women, who had been sent to Auschwitz from different ghettos, arrived at the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. With these women, the camp had reached its planned prisoner strength.[3] At the end of November, the women were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 48001 and 48463. There were minor variations in prisoners held here as women no longer capable of working or pregnant were sent back: for example, in the autumn of 1944, 4 pregnant women were sent to Auschwitz, and at the end of January 1945, 2 were sent to Bergen-Belsen. From Bergen-Belsen, 6 Jewish women were sent to the subcamp as replacement laborers.

The women walked each day from their barracks in the so-called B camp to the place where they worked. They worked in three shifts: from 5:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., from 7:15 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and from 5:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. In addition to their long hours of work, the prisoners had to withstand the daily walk, catastrophic hygiene conditions in the camp, and the elements (with completely inadequate clothing). Even the camp leader, Baus, complained to Buchenwald that the women in winter could not work efficiently without shoes and underwear. There were 40 seriously ill women in the infirmary on November 14, 1944, where they were cared for by an SS medical orderly who was also responsible for the Mühlhausen male camp. [See Buchenwald (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I").] He was assisted by three female prisoner nurses. At least 3 women died in the

subcamp—according to the official death notices, 1 died of pneumonia and 2 died of tuberculosis. They were cremated and their remains buried at the Mühlhausen cemetery.

Just about all the women worked in the Gerätebau factory buildings for the munitions manufacturer Thiel, Ruhla, and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, Inc., JFM), which operated the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers camp (also known as "Julius M" and "Martha I"). They produced detonators and precision instruments that were primarily used in aircraft. Only a few women worked in the camp: the camp elder, Sara Feldman, and 2 women who were in charge of the food, another 1 in the storeroom, 3 in the SS kitchen, 2 in the office, 11 in the prisoners' kitchen, and 8 women in each barracks as *Stubendienste* (room leaders) who were in charge of cleaning the barracks. In addition, there were the three nurses who, as already mentioned, worked in the infirmary.

The camp was most probably dissolved because of the difficulties in maintaining supplies. There are different dates given for its dissolution: Frank Baranowski puts the date at the end of February 1945; Carsten Liesenberg, as March 1; the International Tracing Service (ITS), as March 3; while others cite the closing date as March 8, 1945. The women were evacuated by train to Celle. From there they walked the 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to Bergen-Belsen. This camp, where all order had broken down and which no longer received supplies, was to be the death place for many of the women evacuated from Mühlhausen. Orna Birnbaum, one of the women who worked at Gerätebau, stated that by the time Bergen-Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, 80 percent of the 698 women who had been evacuated from Mühlhausen were dead.[4]

SOURCES There are a number of detailed descriptions of the subcamp including Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 81; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 87–96; and Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen: Mühlhauser Museen, 1998), pp. 97–99. Franziska Jahn describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 530. An early description of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp is by Renate Ragwitz, "Frauenaussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982). In this essay, Ragwitz examines the Buchenwald subcamps and women with a specific analysis of the Mühlhausen camp on p. 27. Rolf Barthel has contributed a two-part description of the subcamp in the *EfHb* 1 (1984): 32–35; and 2 (1984): 127–131. The subcamp is mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999), p. 854; Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); as well as Günther Gotta, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Auswertung städtischer Quellen zur Faschismusforschung—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des KZ Buchenwald und seiner Aussenlager," AuGF-MHL (1985): 6–12. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:52.

There are numerous primary sources on the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. Detailed information is to be found in the THStA-W, especially the collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports, as well Uhrenwerke Ruhla, especially references 197, 449, 450, 453, 456, 520, and 1010. Most relevant are the collections of AG-B, the microfilm collections of IPN, as well as the documents on the subcamp including a list from November 20, 1944 (eight pages, unsigned) and Best. Bu63–27–1, which includes the planned use of concentration camp prisoners in 1940. The ASt-Mühlh under reference 86/253 has information on the subcamp; the Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen has a collection titled "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge." Also relevant are the BA-K collections 41356 and the Allg. Proz. ZNI, No. 4 171–4270 (Forderungsnachweise der SS für Häftlingsarbeit).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. THStA-W, Uhrenwerke Ruhla, Signatur 450.
2. According to Rolf Barthel in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 94, another four female guards from the Gerätebau GmbH were trained at the end of January 1945.
3. For detailed information on the age and professional qualifications of the prisoners, see ibid., p. 89.
4. Ibid., p. 95.

MÜHLHAUSEN (*MÜHLENWERKE AG/ JUNKERS*) ("JULIUS M," "MARTHA I")

The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke subcamp was located in the Thüringian city of Mühlhausen in the former Prussian province of Saxony. The city lies to the north of the Thüringen Wald on the River Unstrut, northwest of Erfurt and to the southeast of Göttingen. Initially the official name of the camp was Mühlenwerke AG, Betrieb Mühlhausen/Thüringen, Mackensenstrasse 90, later Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck, Einsatz Mühlhausen. The "Mühlenwerke AG" was used as a code name as were the two names "Julius M" and later "Martha I."[1] As indicated by the name, the subcamp arose from the decentralization of aircraft production by the Junkers-Werke, which was caused by the increasing Allied air raids on Germany. The decision to create new production facilities for Junkers, which were to cover 15,000 square meters (161,459 square feet), and the decision to establish a new subcamp called Martha II were made almost simultaneously, on April 20, 1944.

The camp was located on the grounds of the Thuringia-Spinnerei on the Wendenwehr at Mackensenstrasse 90 (later Friedrich-Naumann-Strasse). The Thuringia-Spinnerei, which manufactured worsted yarn, had ceased production during the war and leased its production facilities to Junkers. The prisoners' work areas were located in the northern section of the mill. They slept in wooden bunk beds in a factory building, which was separated from a storage area by partitions.

There were not only concentration camp prisoners working on the site but also forced laborers and foreign laborers. The prisoners of the subcamp manufactured aircraft and engine parts for Ju 188, Ju 288, and Ju 200 aircraft. The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps where prisoners worked for Junkers. Junkers had relocated various production areas from Schönebeck to Mühlhausen. They built an oven facility with three toploader kilns and a muffle kiln.[2] The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. In February and March 1945, when production came to a standstill, the camp inmates were sent to Mühlhausen to clean up after bombing raids. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back from Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke to Buchenwald. In addition, there was an ongoing exchange of small detachments with other subcamps.

The number of prisoners was between 570 and 800. The first time the camp is mentioned, there were 69 prisoners registered in the camp. In July 1944, the numbers increased to over 400, and in November, there were almost 700 prisoners in the camp. Later, the camp strength was around 550. The International Tracing Service (ITS) records show that the number peaked at 800. The prisoners came mostly from the Soviet Union and Poland, with some from France and Czechoslovakia. There were a few Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners as well as a few Jews—for example, the German Jew Jochanan Zeewi (Karl Paul Wolff) whose Jewish identity was not known in the camp where he was considered a "Dutch political." Several prisoners had arrived at Mühlhausen via Auschwitz, and at least 1 was a foreign worker who had been involved in an illegal relationship with an underage German girl, for which he was sent to the concentration camp.[3] The camp elder was named Müller.

The camp commandant was an SS-Obersturmführer named Dietrich, in charge of 24 Luftwaffe members who were no longer capable of active service. Historian Rolf Barthel stated that the guards consisted of a few SS men and 4 *Wachschutz* (uniformed factory guards).

Toward the end of the war, probably around April 3 or 4, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to Buchenwald in front of the approaching enemy forces. They were driven on foot to Buchenwald, spending two days in the nearby Gustloff factory before they were sent to the main camp. The travails of some of the Mühlhausen prisoners were not at an end: they were forced in the following days to join other prisoners who were driven on death marches out of Buchenwald.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has described the camp in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 83–87; Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen, 1998), pp. 96–97; and Franziska Jahn's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 531–532. Earlier descriptions of the camp are by Rolf Barthel, "Faschistische Verbrechen in Niederorschel und Mühlhausen," *EfHb* 4 (1986): 117–122, esp. p. 117; Barthel, "Der Schwur von Buchenwald wurde bei uns verwirklicht," *EfHb* 4 (1986): 291–294, esp. 291; and Barthel's two-part article "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen," *EfHb* 1 (1987): 24–30, and 3 (1987): 217–223, esp. p. 218; and Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The fate of the Mühlhausen prisoner Marian Gawronski is described in Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 52; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1825.

Unpublished documents on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG subcamp are held in the collections of the THStA-W (collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports from Buchenwald), and in BA-K, NS 4/ Bu 219 (Übersichten über Anzahl und Einsatz der Häftlinge, 1943–1944). In the collections of the LASA-DO, there is information on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke camp, in the collection on the Junkers-Werke, reference numbers 165, 299, 407, 626, 913, 1375, and 1646, as well as number 1-1369 (407). Information can also be obtained in the following collections: AG-B (among others, No. 3781, Häftlingsverzeichnis Lfd. Nr. 3781–3810). The microfilm collections of IPN, BA-BL, R 4603/112 (Übersicht über Fertigungs- und Verlagerungsstätten der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie, Stand Januar/Februar 1945), and YVA, reference numbers 03/5 292, 015E/E 281, and 017/16, also hold information.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113.

2. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 84.

3. For the fate of this prisoner, Marian Gawronski, see Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen*, p. 85; and Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984).

NEUSTADT BEI COBURG [AKA KALAG]

Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) wanted new production facilities with a low-cost labor force and as a result established the Cable and Wire Works, Inc. (Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG, KALAG). By this means, it could negate the effects of labor shortages caused by competition in the armaments industry.

By the turn of the year 1943–1944, the labor situation was so desolate—because of the war—that management's hoped-for increase in production proved impossible to achieve. To counter this situation, a two-pronged strategy was proposed in the middle of March 1944: first, the pressure on the workers was increased by increased cooperation with such National Socialist organizations as the Gestapo. This resulted in the exemplary punishment of two employees and the threatened withdrawal of special ration cards. Second, Hans Joachim Schulz, head of the Neustadt cable factory, informed his superiors from Berlin that it was possible to take on "500 people, of whom 200 would be Germans." After the war, Schulz suggested that the initiative to use prisoners came from the head office in Berlin.[1] In considerations of those responsible, the numerous instances in which Siemens had already used prisoners successfully must have played a role. The best known of these was the model project "Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück," which began in 1942.[2] It was probably in August 1944 that female employees of KALAG were sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp for training as "supervisors."[3] They returned on September 7, 1944, with 398 mostly Hungarian Jewish women but also some from Yugoslavia, Poland, and France and a few Germans. They were sent to the "barracks camp," which was on or next to the KALAG grounds. One can assume that the prisoners had been selected in the Ravensbrück concentration camp by company representatives according to suitability and knowledge of German or because they were relatively healthy: the women were mostly young, aged 16 to 45; more than half were under the age of 30.[4]

The prisoners began working in the Cable and Wire Factory as early as September 10.[5] "[Four hundred] concentration camp prisoners (Hungarian Jewesses) . . . are employed in quality control, preparation of conduit wire and repair of field telephone cables. They are currently being trained by staff employees." The company prepared itself for the eventuality that "training would cause a temporary reduction in the output of marine, field telephone, and long distance military cables."[6] The work was described after the war as heavy work, actually men's work. The prisoners worked under the supervision and command of KALAG employees. They were separated from the other workers and worked in day and night shifts from 6.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M. Each shift had a 40-minute break. The prisoners constituted about 20 percent of the employees. Noteworthy, 46 women were categorized as "prisoner apprentices." Probably, they were women who on the basis of their experience were not as productive as others and for whom KALAG had to pay less than the 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day fee for "prisoner workers."

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Maronowski. He was in charge of 13 SS men and initially 22, but later 24, female SS wardens. They guarded the prisoners while they worked. After the war, survivors accused Maronowski, a few female SS, and a tradesman named Stein—in stark contrast to the statements by the SS and firm employees—of mistreating prisoners for trivial reasons and of reserving food for the guards and only allowing the smallest portion to reach the prisoners. For supposedly unsatisfactory performance at work, prisoners stated that they had to stand for hours-long punishment roll calls in the cold.

In contrast, the SS female wardens and the KALAG employees stated that they treated the prisoners "humanely" and secretly gave them food. A newspaper article from 1966 refers to an unnamed Israeli couple who attempted to visit and thank the former foreman, Renz, for his help and assistance.[7] If there is at least some evidence that supports those reports, it comes in the form of existing statements of former SS personnel and also of KALAG supervisor Schulz, which they made in the course of postwar hearings and investigations and in which they were speaking as the accused. There is little meaning in those statements; the attempts at self-exculpation are too obvious. When considering the conditions, one must keep in mind that before the overwhelmingly Jewish female forced laborers arrived in Neustadt, they had gone through a number of selections and so could have perceived the absence of an Auschwitz-like immediate threat to life as an improvement, if only in relative terms. Correspondingly, the investigation could not prove any deaths or killings for the Neustadt subcamp. The health and nutrition of the prisoners who arrived in Neustadt are unanimously described as poor; the prisoners had to be first clothed and "fattened up." Food was cooked for the prisoners in a camp kitchen, which was supervised by one of the SS female wardens.

The level of sickness in the camp offers information about the actual supply situation and the effects of prisoner treatment. In this connection, a particular event should be mentioned: probably on November 5, 1944, an outbreak of smallpox was spotted among the prisoners of the subcamp. As a result, the SS female wardens and the factory personnel who came in contact with the prisoners and also the prisoners themselves were inoculated against smallpox! The background to this strange event—the inoculation and treatment of the prisoners—was surely the result of the extraordinary danger represented by the highly infectious viral disease. An effective inoculation had been in existence for some time. The firm's internal reports state that the prisoners lost only one and one-half days of work because of disinfections and inoculations. They reveal that there were on average 20 sick prisoners (the highest number was 36) up until November 1944.[8] Occasionally, the night or day shift could not work, and sometimes fewer than half of the female prisoners turned up to work. The sick did not have to work. They were treated in the infirmary by Polish doctor Maria Pruszyńska, who was transferred to Neustadt, with two other prisoners, at the end of September; further, the KALAG doctor, Dr. Alfred Karcher, is supposed to have treated prisoners.[9]

Without having details about the sick rate for the following months, one can still assume that the transfer of 5 prisoners to Bergen-Belsen on February 28, 1945, was connected with their health and ability to work, because at this time Bergen-Belsen already operated as a reception and death camp for prisoners who could no longer work. Moreover, in March, 5 prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to Neustadt as replacements. In an undated statement, a female SS warden noted the transfer of a prisoner with tuberculosis back to Buchenwald. There were still 32 sick on March 23, 1945, and 4 prisoners were "spared" by being allowed to work in the offices. The supply situation and the living and work conditions in the subcamp at KALAG were probably not much better than those in other factories: priority was given to production; terror that was not aimed at increasing production and that endangered the investment of training had no place. If any prisoner's production declined, they were transferred back into the SS camp system, which supplied replacements.

With the approach of the end of the war and the increasing difficulties in supplying raw material and energy, the firm's management sought to get rid of the subcamp, which would appear quite compromising when the Allied troops arrived. KALAG's management pressed the local National Socialist leadership and the armaments inspectorate to take back the responsibility for the prisoners. They were even prepared to supply food for the return and vehicles for prisoners who were no longer capable of walking. Finally, the head of the works, Schulz, gave the camp commander Maronowski his "marching orders." The camp was dissolved on April 6, and the prisoners marched with the SS men via Kronach, Münchberg, and Paulusbrunn to Eger, which is presently in the Czech Republic. The prisoners were freed in Domažlice.

On the basis of a now-missing statement by a former French prisoner, Anne-Marie de la Marlais, the American occupation authorities as well as the Hungarian government launched investigations against the camp personnel. As a result, the Hungarians reserved the right to seek the extradition of former guards for crimes committed in the camp, should any of the guards be apprehended.[10] It obviously did not come to that; instead, the former female SS wardens of the subcamp at Neustadt bei Coburg were the subject of denazification proceedings in 1947. These proceedings are found today mostly in the BA-K.[11]

In 1966 the state prosecutor at the Coburg State Court (Landgericht Coburg) commenced a murder investigation.[12] There were no prosecutions. The proceedings ceased in 1967. In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced an investigation that included the statements and results of the investigation undertaken by the Coburg state prosecutor and the denazification proceedings.[13]

SOURCES In addition to the already mentioned sources, the most important collection on the subcamp at Neustadt is the AS-M. Regrettably, the most useful sources cannot be accessed by independent historians as they form part of the uncataloged documents in Siemens' "Temporary Archive" (Zwischenarchiv). Two sources, which are connected with the use of the prisoners in the cable factory at Neustadt, have recently been released and have been quoted in this article. Collection NS4 in THStA-W is of importance and includes microfiche from the BA and AG-B. It is possible that there are survivors' reports in the YVA.

The author is not aware of any publications on the subcamp KALAG at Neustadt bei Coburg. In the local history sources, the camp is either seldom mentioned or is presented in a favorable light. This is also the case with unpublished sources. In addition to the press articles from 1947 and 1966 (sources mentioned above), there is an article titled "Kleiner Lichtblick in dunkelster Zeit—Von 1944 bis 1945 befand sich in Neustadt ein Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald mit 400 Häftlingen," *NPC*, December 5, 1995, that contains blatant errors, painting a rosy picture of conditions in the subcamp.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. T18, p. 18; letter by Hans Joachim Schulz (Werks- und kaufmännischer Leiter), dated June 11, 1947. I am grateful to Mr. Rainer Axmann, Weitramsdorf, for this reference.

2. See the entry Ravensbrück/Siemenslager Ravensbrück, this volume.

3. See the statement by [SS-Warden] Martha S., born. L., dated November 15, 1976, in Bergen-Enkheim, BA-L, IV410AR-Z60/67, Bl. 1571.

4. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, October 22, 1944, AG-B, NS 4 Bu 268 MF 0007744.

5. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for the weekly wage week 51, 10.-6.9.1944 (n.d.), SKG Wochenberichte, SAA 4947, n.p.

6. See Helmut Scheurich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Neustadt bei Coburg, 1993), p. 305.

7. See "Hilfsbereitschaft sollte anerkannt werden—Missverständnisse vereiteln leider einen Besuch bei Meister Renz," *NT*, August 12, 1966.

8. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for wage week 7.5.-11.11.44 (n.d.), SAA 4947; KL Neustadt b. Coburg, Arbeitseinsatz, [SS-OSchaF Maronowski] Kabel- u. Leitungswerke v. 5.11.1944 bis 14.11.1944 in Neustadt b. Coburg, THStA-W, NS 4 BU268, n.p.

9. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, v. 12.10.1944, AG-B (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu 268 fol. 0007743); and StA LG-Co an Generalstaatsanwalt Oberlandesgericht Bamberg betr: NL Neustadt bei Coburg KL Buchenwald, v. 3.4.1967, BA-L a.a.O.

10. See verbal note of Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Legacy of the United States of America [War Crimes in C.C. Neustadt Coburg] v. 25.8.1947, in Budapest with 7 "Records of Testimonies" of former prisoners of the subcamp, NARA, Cases not tried, RG 549–000–50–30 Neustadt C.C. Box 529 o.Pag.

11. StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. Einzelfallakten T 18.

12. StA-C, Staatsanwaltschaft Coburg, 5Js 802/66.

13. BA-L, 4 429AR1928/66.

NIEDERORSCHEL ("LANGENWERKE AG")

The Niederorschel subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony in Obereichsfeld, not far from the city of Worbis in the northwest of Thuringia. The use of the code name "Langenwerke AG" indicates the close organizational connection with the subcamp in Langensalza about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) away, which also was named "Langenwerke AG."

Files from the Buchenwald concentration camp mention the Niederorschel subcamp for the first time on September 4, 1944. A transport of 100 prisoners was sent from the main camp, arriving at Niederorschel on September 6, 1944. Two hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on October 8 and another 282 prisoners from Auschwitz on October 30, 1944, who had been directly selected in Auschwitz by leading employees of the "Langenwerke." One prisoner was shot on the journey from Auschwitz via Görlitz, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Sangerhausen, and Nordhausen.[1] Another 150 Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Niderorschel on December 14; the camp now had 693 inmates, its highest number. Historian Wolfgang Grosse states that altogether 734 prisoners from 15 countries were held in Niederorschel, most of them from Slovakia, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

The Junkers-Werke, for whom the prisoners worked, had already begun to relocate parts of its production process to Niederorschel as part of the "Fighter Staff Program" (Jägerstab-Programm) and with the permission of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). In Niederorschel the Junkers-Werke had acquired the confiscated plywood factory (*Sperrholzwerk*) of Hermann Becher, which until then had used forced laborers from Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union to produce plywood boxes to hold grenades. Under the auspices of the Junkers-Werke, parts for the wings and undercarriage for the Focke-Wulf 190 were produced on the site. In order to take over the production site, Junkers, according to historian Frank Baranowski, who has conducted detailed research of the camp, had to pay monthly rent to the RLM. Niederorschel was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps in which prisoners worked for the Junkers-Werke.

The Niederorschel subcamp, with an area of 502,000 square meters (about 600,000 square yards), was relatively small. The prisoners were accommodated in the rooms of the former mechanical spinning mill Vereinigte Textilfabrik AG and slept in three-tiered wooden bunk beds. There was a kitchen and an infirmary that was under the control of the French prison doctor Charles Odic.[2] The accommodations and the roll-call square were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. Barbed-wire fences formed a corridor through which the prisoners were led to the plywood factory about 200 meters (656 feet) away. The two factory buildings in which the prisoners worked were also fenced in with barbed wire.

Oberingenieur Scheunemann was the operations manager of the Langenwerke AG.[3] The camp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Masorsky, who, like his deputy SS-Oberscharführer Adam, had previously been posted in Majdanek. The camp was guarded by up to 40 SS men.

The prisoners cut duralumin surfaces for the wings, riveted them, put in cables in the wings for takeoff and landing mechanisms, and installed the undercarriages. Former Jewish prisoner Somcha Bunem Unsdorfer, who in the autumn of 1944 was brought from Auschwitz to Niederorschel, gave a moving description of the work and living conditions in the camp in his memoirs *The Yellow Star*. The difficult work conditions were marked by 12-hour shifts, working with heavy work tools and machines, the constant noise of presses, riveting, and drilling, but also the metal dust, which was damaging to the health. Unsdorfer details the completely inadequate food as well as the poor hygienic conditions in the camp and mentions an incident in which six prisoners were punished because of supposed sabotage.[4]

Nevertheless, Niederorschel is described by many prisoners as a bearable camp, especially when compared to Auschwitz. The SS only entered the camp for roll call, and the civilian labor force that supervised the work was regarded as bearable. Grosse stated that between October 19, 1944, and February 19, 1945, there were only 19 deaths in the Niederorschel camp, all from typhus, diphtheria, and dysentery. These prisoners were taken to the Buchenwald Mühlhausen subcamp that was administratively connected to Niederorschel and cremated in the city crematorium at Mühlhausen. Grosse gives several reasons for the relatively low death rate: Communist Lagerkapo Otto Herrmann repeatedly intervened with the camp command for decent treatment of the prisoners who were a specialized labor force; in addition, the civilian population helped the prisoners on numerous occasions. For example, the owner of the plywood factory, Herrmann Becher, repeatedly gave buckets of a cold glue made from potatoes that was intended for armaments productions and instead was used to improve the prisoners' nutrition. Civilian laborers and the village population also repeatedly supplied the prisoners with food. The local master locksmith, Johannes Drössler, took 11 (according to other sources, 12) prisoners who had escaped from the camp and hid them for two months in a barn until the end of the war. Altogether around 30 prisoners were hidden and cared for by the Niederorschel villagers after their escape.

From the spring of 1945, there were increasing production and supply difficulties in the camp. The wings produced by the prisoners were no longer taken away; the prisoners were increasingly used for other labor in Niederorschel and its surroundings, as, for example, clearing forests. On February 18, 1945, a group of 16 prisoners (according to other sources, 135 prisoners, most no longer capable of working) were taken to Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, to work on the construction of a subterranean production facility with the code name "Malachit."

The evacuation of the camp occurred on the night of April 1–2, 1945: 527 prisoners were sent to the main camp by foot via Berlstedt, where they spent three nights. Probably at least 10 prisoners died on the evacuation march, and about 100 were able to escape. Some 425 prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 10, 1945, which was liberated on April 11.

The camp commander, Masorsky, was tried in 1947 and sentenced to eight years in prison. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) brought no results and were stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski prepared an exhaustive first sketch of the Niederorschel subcamp in *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit: Der Grosseinsatz von Fremdarbeitern, Kriegsgefangenen und KZ-Häftlingen in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft unter Berücksichtigung der Untertageverlagerung in der Endphase des NS-Regimes* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1998), pp. 74–76. This sketch was expanded in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 117–122. Rolf Barthel describes the camp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 77–81. Wolfgang Grosse presents the most recent research on this subcamp in his essay in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 534–536. An early but error-filled description of the subcamp, based upon witness and local newspaper reports from the 1960s, is by Hubert Hoppmann, "Die Geschichte des Nebenlagers Niederorschel des KZ Buchenwald 1944–1945," *EfHh*, (1. Teil) 2 (1973): 155–161; and (2. Teil) 3 (1973): 223–226. Also in the *EfHh* 24 (1984): 23–41, is an essay by Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen, Duderstadt." Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke mention the camp in their "Aktuellen Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992).

Documents on the Niederorschel subcamp are held in the LASA-DO, in the Junkers-Werke collection reference numbers 269 and 626. The AG-Nie's collection "Aussenkommando Niederorschel" gives an insight into detailed issues on the camp. In the THStA-W in the collection Weimar, Amt zum Schutze des Volkseigentums (LK 241), there are documents on the camp collected mostly after World War II. The BA documents on Niederorschel are in BA-K collections NS 4/Bu vorl. 136a (Arbeitseinsatz, Überstellungen und Rücküberstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, 30.5.1951 bis 5.12.1944); and NS 4/Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945); and in BA-BL, All. Pro. 2, NIE-4185 (Abrechnung des Stundenlohns der Häftlinge bei der SS). The transport of prisoners from Auschwitz to Niederorschel is listed in APMO, Zu- und Abgangslisten von Häftlingen. The StFvMHL holds a file called "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge," which probably dates from April 27, 1964, and lists the Niederorschel prisoners cremated in Mühlhausen. Also see the investigations by the ZdL kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 142/1971 at BA-L; the BA-L, reference number 24 Js 24/71 (Z), also holds files relative to the investigation. Two former prisoners from the Niederorschel subcamp have written about it in their memoirs: Somcha Bunem Unsdorfer, *The Yellow Star* (1961; repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983); and former camp doctor Charles Odic published *Demain Buchenwald* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1972). Isaac Leo Kram, another prisoner from Niederorschel, was cited in "Liberation in Buchenwald," in *Muted Voice*s, ed. Gertrude Schneider (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 238–253. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:53; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1829.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement of former prisoner Dr. Leopold Fiala (Fischer) in Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 119.

2. Unsdorfer, a prisoner in Niederorschel, mentions in his memoirs *The Yellow Star* (1961, repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983) that there was a Hungarian doctor in the prisoners' infirmary.

3. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 81.

4. Unsdorfer, *The Yellow Star*, p. 161.

NORDHAUSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Nordhausen in late August 1943 to provide labor to an immense project that aimed to convert tunnels in the Harz Mountains to sites for V-2 production. Code-named "Dora," the camp was redesignated the Mittelbau main camp on October 28, 1944. See the entry Mittelbau Main Camp [aka Dora].

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

OBERNDORF ("MUNA," "MS," "MU")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Oberndorf at the Luftmunitionsanstalt 5/IV (Aerial Munitions Institute 5/IV), Post Hermsdorf (Thüringen), in November 1944. Inmates were hired out to the military station at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[1] The prisoner strength of the Oberndorf camp was between 100 and 200 inmates. It was code-named "Muna," "Ms," or "Mu" in related documentation.

One of the first transports of inmates left Buchenwald to Oberndorf on November 16, 1944, and included 100 inmates.[2] Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, German, and French. Additional smaller transports of 5 to 10 inmates each arrived in Oberndorf throughout the following months, and another relatively large transport left Buchenwald for Oberndorf on December 19, 1944.[3]

The inmates were brought to the Hermsdorf Luftwaffe post to perform various kinds of labor at the Luftmunitionsanstalt

5/IV, including transferring, transporting, and stacking bombs.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Oberndorf subcamp. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Oberndorf camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named Schreiter, and 43 guards were stationed in the camp. The camp population was 195 at this time, according to this report.[4]

The Oberndorf subcamp last appears in related documentation in February or early March 1945 with about 100 inmates.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Oberndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Oberndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). For a broader history of German Luftwaffe artillery, see Horst-Adalbert Koch, *Flak. Die Geschichte der deutschen Flakartillerie und der Einsatz der Luftwaffenhelfer* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1965).

Surviving primary documentation on the Oberndorf subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Oberndorf camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Muna," November 16, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Transport Muna," December 19, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: Dokumente und Berichte (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960) p. 251.

OHRDRUF ("SIII")

A Buchenwald subcamp was opened in northern Ohrdruf, south of Gotha and about 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Buchenwald, in November 1944. The camp was established to provide labor to a planned construction project for an immense communications center inside the basement of the Mühlberg castle in Ohrdruf, near a military training facility. The prisoners were assigned to work to connect the castle to the main railroad line and to dig tunnels in the nearby mountains, which would be used as emergency shelter for the train that contained the *Führerhauptquartier* (Hitler's headquarters). The center was to serve as a shelter for members of the highest command in the event of a retreat from Berlin. Code-named "SIII," the camp population grew rapidly: by the end of November it reached 2,500; in December 1944, it was 4,500; and by March 29, 1945, it climbed to 11,700.

The camp population, mostly prisoners transferred from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Stutthof, Plaszow, Dachau, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau (including many Hungarian Jews), represented many nationalities. There were French, Belgian, German, Hungarian, Czech, Latvian, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Yugoslavian prisoners. There were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), common-law prisoners, homosexuals, and Jews. According to the postwar testimony of Buchenwald labor allocation chief SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) issued an order that Russian prisoners of war (POWs) would be appropriated to Ohrdruf in late 1944.[1]

Prisoners in Ohrdruf were assigned primarily to dig large caverns inside the mountains to house the communications center. The caverns also later served as one of the secret storage areas for looted art and other valuable objects from across Nazi-occupied Europe. Beginning the day at 5:00 A.M., and following a roll call and distribution of meager rations, prisoners deemed healthy enough were sent to the caverns from the camp to assist in the blasting process; local civilians performed the dynamiting, and prisoners followed close behind to dig, pick up rocks, and other related tasks. They had no protective equipment with which to work; thus they suffered serious accidents, injuries, mutilation, and often death. Former prisoner Rolf Baumann recalled that "the pace of the work was tremendous. Prisoners were often beaten by the supervisory personnel, the SS, Tenos [*Technische Nothilfe*, technical emergency helpers], as well as civilian personnel."[2]



A view of the barracks, fence, and watchtower at the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, April 6, 1945.
USHMM WS # 85351, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYZANOWSKI

Survivor accounts describe instances of sabotage or of deliberately slowed working, when possible.

The inmates were also assigned to various kinds of work within the camp itself, such as in the kitchen barracks, in storage areas to sort prisoner clothing and other belongings, as well as among the prisoner staff of the camp (such as camp elder, Kapos, and so on). Another former Ohrdruf prisoner, Jerôme Scorin, was assigned with another prisoner to pull carts full of corpses from the work sites and camp to mass graves. "Every time that I lifted one of the [bodies], it was like I was manipulating a frozen puppet," Scorin remembered. "Often the wide-open eyes which fixated on me and the unarticulated skeletal bodies made me want to turn my head. I wanted to avoid the glance of Death."[3]

Those who were too ill to work or who were injured were transported back to the Buchenwald main camp's *Revier* (infirmary), after languishing in the Ohrdruf "hospital" barracks. Abram Korn, a survivor of Ohrdruf, recalled the deplorable conditions upon his arrival in the camp. Because of his swollen, injured foot that was wrapped only in rags, he was sent immediately to the so-called infirmary, which had no facilities to treat the dying and wounded. The barracks were converted horse stables, with "no windows and no beds. We didn't even have shelves to sleep on as we had at Buchenwald. We slept on dirty straw on the floor, with only one blanket per person. . . . The other prisoners with me did not even have the strength or the desire to communicate with each other. They were simply waiting to die. . . . Whenever one of the prisoners died, someone else would take his blanket and any food that he might have."[4]

According to a listing of 100 prisoners who had died, dated February 28, 1945, and submitted to the political department in Buchenwald, the various reasons for death include (but are not limited to) colitis, bronchial influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and typhus.[5] A memo from SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky to the commandant of Buchenwald described an overview of the health status of the inmates as of March 31, 1945.[6] Out of the reported 10,249 inmates in the camp (including Crawinkel and the tent camp), some 1,993 inmates were recorded as ill in the north camp's infirmary. A further 187 inmates were reported as invalids.

Prisoners were housed in former POW camps located on the grounds of the troop training facility in Ohrdruf: the north and south camps. On December 24, 1944, the north camp held some 4,800 prisoners, the south camp just over 5,700. One estimate claims the camp reached over 13,000 inmates by the end of March 1945.[7] The camps were surrounded by electrified fencing and barbed wire and flanked by watchtowers.

The camp administration in Ohrdruf consisted of SS officers, and the guards included Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans, from Ukraine and the Baltic states. There were also older German Wehrmacht veterans assigned to guard the camp, who were unfit for the front and who were said to have treated the prisoners relatively better than their SS counterparts. Baumann reported that "Deputy Commandant Stiwitz and SS Sergeant Müller behaved especially brutally, handing out punishments of twenty-five or more lashes with a cane for the slightest reasons."[8] Other prisoners recount the torture of inmates who were hung on hooks and left to suffocate, were beaten to death, or hung from gallows.

Despite the continual transfer of prisoners to Ohrdruf, the completion of the railroad connection to the communication center was never accomplished due to the rapid approach of the Allies in late March and April 1945. Between 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners were evacuated on foot and in lorries to Buchenwald and toward Regensburg in early April 1945. Prior to their departure, hundreds of inmates who were too feeble or sick to walk were executed by the SS: some were shot, while others, according to some witness testimony, were locked in the kitchen barracks, which was then dynamited.[9]

Ohrdruf and the inmates who survived in the camp were liberated by members of the U.S. 602nd Tank Destroyers' Battalion, along with Combat Command B of the 4th Armored Division and the 89th Infantry Division on April 4 or 6 of 1945. The first occupied concentration camp that American soldiers came across in the European Theater, the encounter represented an immense break with the common rules of warfare under which the soldiers had previously operated. Because of this horrific encounter, due to visits to the camp days later by Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and George S. Patton, as well as the numerous photographic accounts and film footage taken of the Ohrdruf liberation, the opening of the camp and days immediately following liberation are well documented. The troops encountered the decomposing remains of hundreds of executed inmates, some covered in lime, others half burned on pyres, and wandering, starving prisoners. Liberator testimony of the encounter is plentiful and graphically describes the horrors found in the abandoned camp: Major Donald Luby, in a letter given to Army Nurse Selma Faver on April



U.S. generals Dwight D. Eisenhower (*center*), Omar Bradley (*to Eisenhower's left, arms akimbo*), and George S. Patton (*behind Eisenhower's right*) lead an entourage inspecting the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald shortly after liberation, April 12, 1945. In front of Patton, with his head bent taking notes, is *Stars and Stripes* correspondent Jules Grad.
USHMM WS # 21700, COURTESY OF NARA

18, 1945, wrote that a Russian prisoner led him and other troops to a barracks where nude bodies were stacked halfway to the roof: "From where I stood," he wrote, "I could see the bruises on the skin of some of the bodies, and the blood still clotted around the holes crushed in skulls. These bodies too were emaciated, the thighs of the dead being no larger than the wrist of an average sized man."[10] Local residents were forced to view the camp, a practice that was later copied in other liberated camps.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary source publications on the Buchenwald subcamp of Ohrdruf; however, most focus on the liberation of the camp. To cite some few examples, see Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bernard Weinstein, "The Liberation of Ohrdruf: A Paradigm of Liberator Testimony," in *What Have We Learned? Telling the Story and Teaching the Lessons of the Holocaust: Papers of the 20th Anniversary Scholars' Conference*, ed. Franklin H. Littell et al. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993); Captain Kenneth Koyen, *The Fourth Armored Division: From the Beach to Bavaria* (Munich: Herder Druck, 1946); Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive* (Washington, DC: Office of Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973); Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley Books, 1980); and Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also Dieter Zeigert's *Hitlers letztes Refugium? Das Projekt eines Führerhauptquartiers in Thüringen 1944/45* (Munich: Utz, 2003) for analysis of the planned project to shelter Hitler's command center near Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999).

There are also many primary sources related to the Ohrdruf subcamp, mostly consisting of testimony of both survivors of the camp and liberators of the camp. The USHMMA is a repository for both kinds of testimony. See, for example, the testimony of former inmate Bernard Pasternak, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0177, as well as that of Abram Korn, USHMMA, RG-02.191. See also Rolf Baumann's piece in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), and other published survivor testimonies such as Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Von Pabiance und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena*, *Blizyn*, *Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *Ohrdruf biz zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Erhard Roy Wiehn, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2004); Jerôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994); and Marcel Lanoiselée, *Ohrdruf, le camp oublié de Buchenwald: Un survivant témoigne* (Paris: Picollec, 2005). Liberator accounts, including photos, letters written to families in the States about what they witnessed, memoirs, and so on, also abound in the USHMMA. Too numerous to list here, they include Andy Murray Coffey's collection (staff sergeant in the 89th Infantry Division), RG-09.040; Gideon Kantor, Acc. 1997.A.0360; Al Sommer Jr.'s letters to his family, Acc. 1995.A.034; Fred Diamond's letters to family, RG-04.055; and Irving Levin's photos, Acc. 1989.194. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 1232, 1313, 1436, 1686, 1782, and 2492, among dozens of others. There are numerous photos regarding the liberation of Ohrdruf; a significant collection is stored at the USHMMA; see, for example, Acc. 1998.A.0154, Acc. 1996.A.0293, Acc. 1995.A.515, Acc. 1995.A.127, and Acc. 1995.A.417, in addition to many photographic records in the USHMMPA. Films of the liberation are also stored at the USHMMA and NARA. Transport lists to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMM and would yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation: they are copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp can be found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Deposition of Albert Schwartz, Trial IV, Doc. NO-2125, reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: Dokumente und Berichte (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 285–286.

2. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), p. 192.

3. Jerôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994), p. 156.

4. Abram Korn, "Fate: One Man's Journey through the Holocaust," USHMMA, RG-02.191, pp. 129–130.

5. "Verstorbene Häftlinge im Aussenkommando SIII," Buchenwald, February 28, 1945, AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 36/4).

6. "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge in S III," Schiedlausky, March 31, 1945, published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* , p. 280.

7. See Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

8. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192. Indeed, photographic coverage of the liberation of the camp documents newly freed prisoners demonstrating the whipping blocks in Ohdruf to American troops, including Eisenhower and Patton; see, for example, USHMMPA, 10281 and 63511 (courtesy National Archives).

9. Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif*, p. 160.

10. Donald Luby, "Apr. 18, 1945, Report and Photographs Relating to Post-Liberation Buchenwald, 1945," USHMMA, RG-04.039*01.

OHRDRUF/CRAWINKEL

A satellite camp attached to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was opened in Crawinkel (Thüringen) in 1944; it was first mentioned in related documentation in December 1944. An average of 3,000 inmates from Ohrdruf were sent to the Crawinkel camp, which provided labor to quarry excavation and tunnel construction for railroad tracks, a project that fell under the administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office Group C (Building).

The camp seemed to have been set up separately from the Ohrdruf subcamp to bring prisoners closer to the work sites. Postwar testimony of a former inmate in the Ohrdruf and Crawinkel camps, Rolf Baumann, noted that

> gun emplacements and tunnels were later built adjacent to the troop training area, an area that had been set aside as a Führer headquarters. . . . But the work sites were too far from the camp at Ohrdruf (at first we rode the 8 miles [13 kilometers] there every day in buses). Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp. There the general conditions were still more unfavorable [than at the Ohrdruf main camp]. Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports.[1]

Inmates were sent to the work sites from the camp. One former inmate remembered that they reported to the work sites on foot, walking in snow so deep that even vehicles could not pass.[2] Another, who had been imprisoned in Auschwitz, Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Ohrdruf, Buchenwald, and Flossenbürg, noted, "Crawinkel was perhaps the most terrible place during the entire deportation. We lived underground and had to work very hard."[3]

The majority of the inmates sent to the Crawinkel subcamp of Ohrdruf were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Jews, including many Hungarian Jews who had been deported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Buchenwald. The inmates were housed in a tent camp and in the unheated bunkers of a munitions factory. The prisoners not only endured the hardships of intense physical labor, subsisting on meager rations, but also the cruelty and maltreatment of the guards. Some inmates attempted to escape and were immediately punished if caught. Baumann recalled that "in Crawinkel there was a special cellblock, Cellblock 2, that the Security Service used for recaptured escapee prisoners. There, only a half ration of food was given out every three days. Light and air were nonexistent. I remember an incident where one evening five comrades were hanged because of escape attempts. Among them was a fifteen-year-old Polish comrade who cried in despair, 'Mother, Mother, I am still so young, I don't want to die yet!' "[4] Another inmate reported the constant abuse they suffered from the guards: " 'You swine, dogs, accursed Jews, you Bolsheviks!' were the usual nicknames."[5]

Due to the closing in of the front, the camp was evacuated at the end of March 1945 or early April 1945. Baumann reported that the inmates "walked the 42 miles [68 kilometers] to Buchenwald by a circuitous route. The last 1,000 prisoners received no more food. We were under way for three full days and arrived worn out and depressed. The ill and the weak who could no longer keep up on the way were liquidated with a shot in the base of the skull. It is worth mentioning that on the way some members of the SS already took off their insignias in order to pass themselves off as Wehrmacht members."[6]

SOURCES There are few resources on the Crawinkel subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Crawinkel in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Crawinkel subcamp. For additional testimony from a former prisoner in the camp, see the interview with Allen Moskowitz stored in USHMMA, RG-50.002*0020. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB; see especially protocols 387, 1232, 2077, 2100, 2241, 2319, 2760, 3237, and 3510. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at USHMMA and could yield a more detailed statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Crawinkel subcamp: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.
2. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
3. DEGOB Protocol, 3510 (A.L.).
4. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192.
5. DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
6. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 193.

OHRDRUF/ESPENFELD

A subcamp of the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was created closer to the work sites near Ohrdruf in August 1944. Espenfeld, a tent camp, was one of two camps set up to house prisoners closer to the quarries and construction tunnels. Inmates in the tent camp of Espenfeld were transported from Ohrdruf. As former inmate Rolf Baumann has noted, "Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp (Espenfeld). There, the general conditions were still more unfavorable (than at Ohrdruf main camp). Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports."[1]

The Espenfeld camp may have held up to 7,000 Ohrdruf prisoners, mostly Russian, Polish, and Czech. They were employed in tunnel construction in Jonastal. Espenfeld was evacuated at the end of March 1945 as the front got closer. According to Baumann, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Buchenwald, which was some 64 kilometers (40 miles) away. Those who were unable to walk were shot and left behind by the SS.

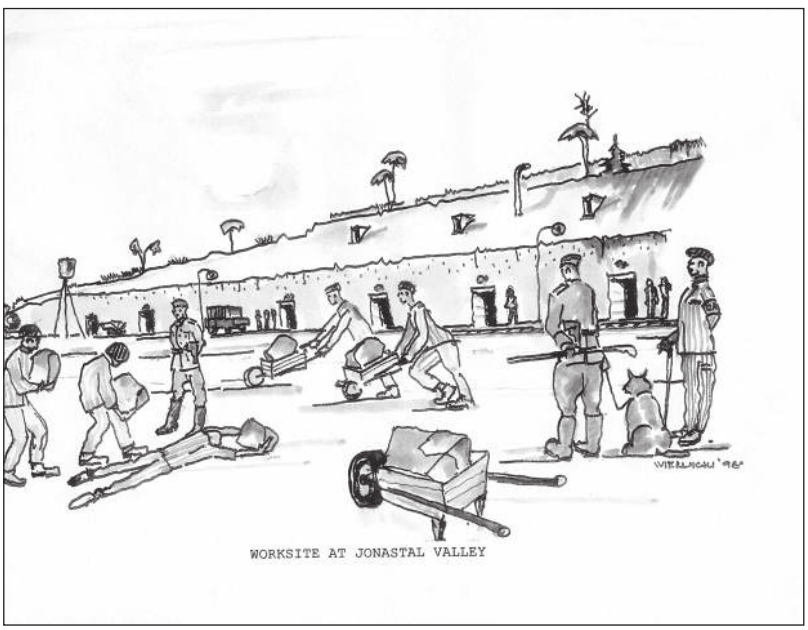
SOURCES There are few resources on the Espenfeld subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Espenfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald), which is the source of much of the information for this entry.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Espenfeld subcamp. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMMA and may yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Espenfeld satellite: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.



A postwar drawing by Holocaust survivor John Wiernicki, "Worksite at Jonastal Valley."
USHMM WS # 33671, COURTESY OF JOHN WIERNICKI

PENIG

Penig is located in Saxony near Rochlitz, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the northwest of Chemnitz. In January 1945, a Buchenwald subcamp was established for females in the local Max-Gehrt-Werke, a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). On January 10, 1945, 700 Hungarian Jews arrived at a barracks camp established in an unused gravel pit on the road between Penig and Langenleuba-Oberhain. They came from Ravensbrück where they had been most likely selected by employees from the Gehrt firm. The prisoners at the Penig subcamp were mainly Jews who had fallen into German hands only during the last phase of the war. They were forced to march for several weeks to Germany from Budapest, where they had been held in very cramped quarters. When they arrived on December 7, 1944, in Ravensbrück, the camp had already been overcrowded with evacuation transports from the east. For these women, in the middle of winter, there were no other quarters than primitive, emergency tents as shelter without heating or toilet facilities.

Conditions were not that much better at their new destination, the Penig subcamp. It is true that the women were housed in barracks now, but the only medical care provided was a female dentist and thus completely inadequate. Only at the end of the war, in March, a prisoner doctor began to practice there. Washing facilities for the hundreds of women were not completed for a long time. There was no chance for the women to change or wash their clothes. They were not given shoes. The camp, which appeared to be built in a hurry, had no kitchen; the women did not receive food inside the camp but only at the beginning and end of each shift. Survivors speak of the poor-quality food, of which there was too little, and in any case, it was completely inadequate to nourish the women working in difficult conditions in winter. The Max-Gehrt-Werke had fenced in the camp with barbed wire so that escape was just about impossible. The guards, 26 SS men and 18 SS women, were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Ebenhöh, who had previously been stationed at the Langensalza subcamp.

According to Buchenwald files, the subcamp opened on January 15, 1945. The women worked without breaks and on Sundays in three shifts of eight hours each. Evidence for the ruthless exploitation of the women and the inhuman conditions in the camp is the massive increase in the number of inmates reporting sick. During January, an average of 36 women reported sick each day. In February, the number was 59, and in March, 96. The women suffered from illnesses caused by the work conditions and living conditions—typhus, tuberculosis, lung inflammations, gangrene, and furunculosis. As a result, a "cripples barracks" (*Krüppelbaracke*) was added on the edge of the camp where those hopelessly ill were put—an indication that selections and transfers of sick prisoners back to Buchenwald or Bergen-Belsen had now become impossible. At least 10 women died in the three months that the Penig subcamp existed. At the end of March 1945, 15 to 20 percent of the women were so weak that they could neither work nor be part of the evacuation march.

At the beginning of April the camp, in which frightful conditions already prevailed, had to take in a transport of 100 women evacuated from the Abteroda subcamp. The camp's evacuation most likely occurred on April 13, 1945, with the goal of heading to Theresienstadt. The women were taken in the direction of Mittweida and Chemnitz and from there in the direction of Leitmeritz (after World War II in the Czech Republic). On this part of the march the majority of the guards disappeared. Most of the women from the disintegrating group were liberated by the U.S. Army, but 34 completely exhausted women arrived on April 20, 1945, in Theresienstadt.

The 70 to 80 women who could not march remained in the camp. The women suffered from life-endangering malnutrition, typhus, diphtheria, and tuberculosis and were squeezed into the cripples barracks. Two days after the evacuation of the camp, they were liberated by the U.S. 6th Armored Division on April 15, 1945. Their situation, medical treatment, and evacuation were recorded in a series of photographs by David E. Scherman and Sam Gilbert of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. The women who died in the camp were buried in the local cemetery in 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) that took place between 1966 and 1973 were stopped without result as neither the camp leader, Ebenhöh, nor the guards could be located.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 544–546. The fate of Rosa Deutsch, a survivor, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 103–105. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832.

The series of photographs on the camp's survivors is held in the AG-B and USHMMPA (WS # 09775, 129730975, and 39850–893). Other archival sources on the subcamp are the collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K, THStA-W), also listed in the AG-B. Investigations by the ZdL were recorded under file IV 429 AR-Z 109/1971 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD") [AKA LEAU] (MEN)

Plömnitz is in Sachsen-Anhalt between Bernburg and Köthen. The Buchenwald subcamp established here in the summer of 1944 was connected to the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), which had been founded in March 1944 and whose aim was to increase the production of fighter aircraft. To achieve this goal,

armaments production was to be relocated underground. The prisoners of the Plömnitz subcamp were used in the unused mine shafts of the Solvay-Werke, Salzvertriebs-GmbH Bernburg, shafts Plömnitz I and II as well as Peissen. Under the command of the Organisation Todt Bauleitung Bernburg (OT Building Administration Bernburg), the construction management section through the Schlemm engineering firm, and the supervision of the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG), Maschinenbau, the prisoners were distributed to several large construction companies such as the Berlin firm Heinrich Butzer and the Bautzen firm Walter Jakob.

Seven large halls were to be established in the mine shafts for use as production sites. The prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts. Initially, they only had the most primitive tools, using in part their bare hands to remove the salt from the shafts, loading it on to tip carts, and pushing them to the unloading shaft. After completing this task, concrete could be laid, a preliminary step to the use of the shafts for armaments production.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives August 22, 1944, as the date that the subcamp was established, it is likely that prisoners had been working in the shaft already since March 1944. At this time, around 500 prisoners arrived by rail at the "Antoinette" mine in Plömnitz, where they were accommodated in a tent in a gravel pit to the west of the shaft. By August 1944, around another 1,000 prisoners had arrived at Plömnitz. A barracks camp in nearby Leau was prepared to hold them. Until it was ready, the prisoners were held underground. With the completion of the barracks camp, as confirmed in ITS, the camp was also mentioned under the alternative name Leau from October 29, 1944, on.

There were mostly Polish and French prisoners in Plömnitz, as well as smaller groups from other countries. According to former prisoner Willi Fuhrmann, prisoners from 16 countries worked in the shafts. At the end of October 1944, there were 1,486 prisoners working underground. Furthermore, there were smaller contingents of other prisoners (48 French prisoners of war, 10 Belgian civilian workers, and 16 prisoners from penitentiaries) as well as 50 miners, 150 company employees, 100 OT members, and 58 guards.

The camp consisted of six barracks, a kitchen, and a wash block that was erected at the beginning of 1945. The camp leader in Plömnitz was SS-Oberscharführer Hans Schmidt. The work conditions for the prisoners were extraordinarily tough: the walk to work and back again took an hour each way. In addition, the prisoners had to cover another two kilometers (1.2 miles) underground. The high salt concentration in the air caused many skin and breathing problems. There was a lack of ventilation in the shafts, made worse by the use of a diesel locomotive moving in and out of the shaft. The difficult work and the poor nutrition resulted in the high death rate of almost 40 percent of the camp inmates. According to Fuhrmann, there were up to 600 dead in Plömnitz. Fuhrmann also stated that prisoners who could not work were not selected and taken back to the main camp but were beaten to death by the SS in the shafts. He claims that on one occasion 200 prisoners were killed in this manner. The dead were hastily buried by a "burial detachment" in an abandoned open coal mine in Preusslitz. After the end of the war, when the area was under American occupation, these 600 corpses were exhumed and buried in the Leau cemetery. In 1947, the Soviet military administration exhumed them again and reinterred them in the Soviet memorial in Bernburg.



Exhumed bodies in a mass grave at the Plömnitz ("Leau") subcamp of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 01973, COURTESY OF NARA

Around 700 prisoners were evacuated on April 11, 1945, in a three-day death march via Bernburg, Köthen, Dessau, and Wulfen. On the March, 300 prisoners were shot by the SS, and the survivors were liberated by Allied troops on April 14, 1945. Around 100 prisoners who were kept in the camp by the camp command for vital war work were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the Plömnitz subcamp (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. The results of the research done by Willi Fuhrmann can be read in his "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989. An older reference to the camp is to be found in "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966. The Plömnitz subcamp is also described by Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD") [AKA LEAU] (WOMEN)

Plömnitz lies in Sachsen-Anhalt between the cities of Bernburg and Köthen. A Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners had been established here in March 1944. Around 1,500 men were used to prepare underground facilities for armaments production in the caverns near Plömnitz. During the summer of 1944, close to the village of Leau, accommodation barracks were erected for the prisoners.

The female transport that arrived on February 21, 1945, in Plömnitz consisted of 180 Hungarian Jews from the Leipzig-Schönau (ATG) subcamp. They were held in a separate area of the male camp in barracks surrounded by barbed wire and were guarded by female guards. It is likely that the prisoners had a support role in the male camp such as working in the kitchens, washing, and the like.

The women's camp was dissolved at the end of March 1945, two weeks before the male camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows the last date the camp was mentioned as March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the camp at Plömnitz (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. Two articles that deal with the history of the camp are "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966; and Willi Fuhrmann, "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989.

The Plömnitz subcamp is also described in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

QUEDLINBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Quedlinburg (Saxony), north of the Harz Mountains, on April 20, 1942, with 60 inmates transferred from Buchenwald. The camp was created to provide labor to the Fliegerhorst Quedlinburg (Quedlinburg air base) and is last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on January 6, 1943, with 45 inmates.

According to work statistics reports compiled by the labor allocation office in Buchenwald, there were 60 inmates in the Quedlinburg subcamp in April and June 1942; 5 were considered laborers (gardeners), while the remaining 55 were unskilled workers.[1] Another subcamp was created in Quedlinburg in September 1944, but this was attached to Mittelbau (see Mittelbau/Quedlinburg).

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Quedlinburg subcamp of Buchenwald are lacking. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Quedlinburg subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the Quedlinburg subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Other documentation may be found in AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, June 29, 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

RAGUHN

Raguhn is located in Anhalt, about 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the southwest of Wittenberg and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the city of Wolfen, not far from the Mulde River. The local Heerbrandt-Werke (Heerbrandt factory) was a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). Toward the end of the war, it was dragged into the increasingly desperate attempts of the Third Reich to manufacture aircraft. As part of the process, one of the last Buchenwald subcamps for women was established. The camp consisted of a compound, separated from a previously existing camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), which consisted of three barracks.

On February 7, 1945, a transport of women and girls arrived in Raguhn. They were to be the camp's inmates. With the arrival of these prisoners, the camp officially appeared in the documents. The numbers of women in the camp vary between 500 (according to historian Irmgard Seidel and the Web site Deutschland—ein Denkmal) and a maximum of 700.

From the age and social structure of the women, one can conclude that those brought to this camp were the "last reserves" of female prisoners who could work: there were many older women and women with a long history in camps. For example, Seidel mentions Gertrud Adler who at the age of 18 was arrested in Libyan Benghazi and spent time in a number of Italian POW camps before she was sent to Auschwitz and later to Bergen-Belsen. Adler is typical of the widespread geographical origins of the women who were French, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, and German, as well as women from the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. There was also a Turk and an American. While some women had been sent from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen, others had been interned in Theresienstadt and taken from there to Auschwitz.

Just about all the women, except for an Italian resistance fighter and a Hungarian "political," were Jewish. The large number of married women suggests that women had long been able to avoid arrest because they were married to "Aryans"; 29 women in the camp were classified as "Jewish Mischlinge First Degree."

The women started work on February 12, 1945, at the Heerbandt factory. In the factory building II they assembled parts for aircraft production. However, their work was not efficient—the war was coming to an end, and there were constant delays in the delivery of supplies. The camp existed for only eight weeks. The high rate of illness—around 10 percent of the women were ill or incapable of working—is evidence of the harsh work and living conditions, lack of food, and poor hygiene, as well as the damage the women had suffered in earlier camps. Nine women died in the camp. The causes of death are given as pneumonia, weakness of the heart, intestinal illnesses, brain embolisms, and brain fever.

On March 1, 1945, there were 25 SS men and 20 SS women providing security in the camp. The camp leaders were SS-Oberscharführer Dieckmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Grossmann.

The evacuation of the camp probably began on April 9, 1945, as the enemy was close. The women were loaded into cattle cars and shipped to Theresienstadt. More than 60 women died along the way (probably more than 10 percent of the transport) from hunger, cold, and exhaustion. Some 429 of the prisoners arrived on April 20, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 22, 1945) in Theresienstadt, with another 15 dying in the following days from the trials of the journey.

In 1948, the camp leader Grossmann was sentenced to death by a U.S. court in Bavaria. He was executed in 1948 in Landsberg am Lech. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on events in the camp and the camp evacuation were commenced in 1966 but ceased in the 1970s without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes Raguhn in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 551–552. As early as 1946, the survivor Suzanne Birnbaum published her experiences as a concentration camp prisoner. Her memoirs were reissued in 2003 as *Une française juive est revenue: Auschwitz*, *Belsen*, *Raguhn* (1946; repr. Paris: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 2003). Earlier versions were published under the same title in 1946 by Editions du Livre Français (Paris) and in 1989 by Hérault-Editions (Maulévrier). Pages 117–128 of her book are dedicated to her time as a prisoner in Raguhn. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 55; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Under reference RG-50.002*0059 at the USHMMA, there is an oral history interview by another survivor, Gitla Grynwald, about the camp and the transport to Theresienstadt. Other archival documents on the Raguhn subcamp are in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu at THStA-W, BA-K, and in AG-T. The latter holds a list of the prisoners who arrived at Raguhn. Investigations by ZdL are kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 1921/66 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ROTHENBURG

About 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Nürnberg, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the medieval, walled city of Rothenburg in October 1944 to provide labor to Christian Mansfeld GmbH. Like other satellite camps that were established in the later years of the war, the camp inmates were hired out to the Mansfeld firm and other armaments industries from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day (payable to the SS). In December 1944, the Rothenburg Mansfeld firm was scheduled to pay the SS 8,760 RM for 2,190 worker days.[1]

On October 24, 1944, 80 inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Rothenburg. Most of the inmates on this list appear to be Russian and Polish; all were male.[2] Smaller numbers of French and German inmates may have arrived later. The population of the Rothenburg camp does not appear to have fluctuated greatly during its nearly six-month period of operation. At various intervals, inmates were transferred out of the camp due to illnesses, such as tuberculosis, and replaced with other inmates. For example, on November 15, 1944, 2 inmates were transferred to Buchenwald due to illness and joint problems; a request was made for substitutes.[3] Another inmate was transferred to Buchenwald on January 2, 1945, and Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky ordered the return of the inmate nurse from Rothenburg to Buchenwald on March 15, 1945. No reason was given.[4] Smaller transports of 2 to 5 relatively healthier prisoners arrived in Rothenburg to replace the inmates.

There is little information about the kind of work the inmates performed for the Christian Mansfeld company or about the living and working conditions within the camp. The prisoners may have been employed in mechanical work as well as in the construction of a sluice on the Saale River.

Scant information about the guards of the Rothenburg subcamp could be found. According to a report filed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the strength of the guard troops was 13. There was one inmate nurse and 79 inmates listed in the camp at this time.[5] Names of SS guards appear on the transfer memos, although not all are legible, and their terms of service are unknown. According to the transfer memo dated November 11, 1944, the Kommandoführer on duty at this time was SS-Hauptscharführer Wieland.[6] Another memo dated March 15, 1945, lists the Kommandoführer as SS-Hauptscharführer Krüsken.[7]

The Rothenburg camp was evacuated on April 5, 1945, with 76 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Rothenburg subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Rothenburg, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Rothenburg subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 49). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Rothenburg," October 24, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
3. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
4. "An K.L. Bu. Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald," January 2, 1945 (BU 49); "An des K.L . . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 253.
6. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
7. "An des K.L . . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

SAALFELD ("LAURA") [AKA SS-ARBEITSLAGER SAALFELD, LA]

The Saalfeld or "Laura" subcamp of Buchenwald was established in the vicinity of Schmiedebach and Lehesten (Thuringia) on September 21, 1943. Connected to the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora camps by rail, it was created to provide inmate labor for the manufacture of parts for the V-2 rocket. Code-named "Laura" and in administrative correspondence frequently referred to as "SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld" or simply "La," the camp supplied laborers to Vorwerk Mitte and Firma Oertel to manufacture and test rocket engines. Facilities were located near a slate mine, the underground tunnels of which were used to mask production from Allied air raids. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground. Thus similar to the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Dora camp, the Laura subcamp was established in the context of the decentralization and subterranean mass transfer of armaments production facilities.

The first transport of 100 inmates to the Saalfeld camp left Buchenwald on September 20, 1943.[1] Two days later, another transport took place with 100 prisoners.[2] At first the inmates were housed in a former miners' hut, which was typically unheated and had few sanitary facilities and windows without glass panes. After the number of inmates increased, they were moved to the camp proper, a complex of buildings that had already stood near the mine and that had been evacuated. The main housing unit for the inmates was Block 1, a 1929-constructed barn, and a smaller, older barn was used as the inmates' kitchen. Block 2 was the prisoner canteen and kitchen and also housed smaller, specialized work details (Kommandos), such as electricians and joiners. Block 3 was delegated for Italian military internees as well as a punishment block, from October 1943. Across from Block 1 stood the roll-call area and another newly constructed wooden barracks, Block 4. A triple-layer fence and barbed wire surrounded the camp, which was flanked by six watchtowers. The SS living quarters were located just outside the perimeter.

Over 10 nationalities were represented by the inmates in the Laura subcamp: Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs; a small number of Lithuanians, Luxemburgers, and Spaniards; and one American inmate of Italian descent. German prisoners were classified as so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) or "asocial." There were also political prisoners, Jews, as well as Italian military internees, but this latter group was recorded separately in camp statistics and wore different uniforms.

The camp reached its highest number in mid-December 1943, with just over 1,200 inmates. In March 1944, prisoners who were no longer able to work were deported to Bergen-Belsen, and additional contingents of inmates from Buchenwald arrived.[3] Other transports of inmates were sent from Laura to Dora in May 1944; additional ill inmates were transported to Bergen-Belsen.[4]

Inmates in the Laura camp were used in various capacities to support rocket production and were split into several work Kommandos. Most were used in the construction of underground factory installations and the proving grounds for the V-2 engines. The largest and most dreaded Kommando was the pit Kommando (Grubenkommando), in which inmates had to dig in the tunnels with primitive tools (or sometimes none at all) in terrible conditions: with smothering dust, little air or water, no breaks, and a grueling work pace. Accidental deaths due to lack of proper equipment or protective clothing were frequent; inmates were often crushed under falling rock or got infected cuts on their hands due to the sharp slate and lack of hygiene. Other large Kommandos had difficult tasks such as constructing railway lines. Thus smaller Kommandos were coveted—for example, those that involved short-term work such as painting or electrical work.

Living conditions within the camp were overcrowded and dreadful. Rations were small; invariably, former inmates reported

a persistent hunger in the camp. At the end of 1943, certain national groups of prisoners (French, Poles, Belgians, and Czechs) were permitted to receive mail and packages, the contents of which were used to barter for additional rations. From the summer of 1944, rations improved slightly, and a canteen was created where goods could be bought. Hygienic conditions were terrible, and medical care at the camp's infirmary was hardly effective in treating the increasing illnesses and injuries, especially as the inmates' physical deterioration worsened as the months of grueling work wore on. In November 1943, 40 deaths were recorded; in December, over 125. With few exceptions, inmates' corpses were transported back to Buchenwald to be cremated; others were taken to the corpse cellar within the Laura camp's infirmary. The most deaths were reported in April and May 1944, when increasing numbers of prisoners were forced to assist in the testing of the engines.

In addition to the generally abysmal circumstances in the camp and work Kommandos, the inmates regularly faced the cruelty of the guards and overseers. The first commandant of the Laura camp was SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who served in Laura until the fall of 1944 when he was transferred to the women's subcamp of Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG). He had been a deputy commandant in Buchenwald prior to commanding the Laura subcamp. The camp leader (Lagerführer) in the Laura subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Schmidt, was notoriously cruel and sought arbitrary reasons for punishment, which generally began with 25 lashes with a whip or rubber truncheon. From November 1943 to May 1944, there were about 150 SS guards who patrolled the camp, including many young ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche): Romanians, Yugoslavians, and Hungarians. In addition to the Lagerführer and the guard staff, about 15 other SS-Unterführer who directed other elements of the camp's administration (e.g., Rapportführer, Arbeitseinsatzführer, Blockführer, and Kommandoführer) were also stationed in the camp.

Supplementing the camp administration provided by the SS were several inmates selected to serve as prisoner-functionaries. These included the professional criminal Alfons "Ali" Kunikowski, who was appointed camp elder (Lagerältester), and other block elders and Kapos. These prisoners generally received some privileges and were treated marginally better than other inmates. In the summer of 1944, there was a transition in the camp guard staff, in which Lagerältester Kunikowski was sent to punishment in a pit Kommando. Plaul was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Leible as commandant, and many of the guards were replaced by convalescing Luftwaffe soldiers.

Despite the horrendous conditions in the camp, some inmates found means to cope, and a few even managed to escape. Those who were caught were executed. Other inmates devised ways of slightly lessening their workload when Kapos or guards were not looking, and still others forged communal bonds with prisoners who spoke the same language.

The Laura camp was hastily evacuated on April 13, 1945, two days after the Buchenwald main camp was liberated and on the same day that American troops reached nearby Schmiedebach. Between 600 and 650 inmates were evacuated from the camp in a forced march toward Wurzbach. Those who could not keep up or who attempted to escape were shot by SS guards who drove the march, although some did flee successfully. In Wurzbach, the prisoners were loaded onto a freight train headed for the Allach subcamp of Dachau, a trip that lasted six days. It is unknown how many Laura inmates reached Allach, which was overflowing with prisoners in catastrophic conditions. Allach was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

Postwar investigations and trials were conducted against few of the guards of the Laura camp. Wolfgang Plaul's whereabouts after the war were unknown; however, he was accused in absentia for the deaths of many inmates, predominantly in the forced death march of women from the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) camp, where he was the commandant from the fall of 1944. The proceedings against him were dropped in 1972. The Köln Zentralstelle (Cologne Central Office) attempted to bring charges against Schmidt, based on numerous witness testimonies of his cruelty in Laura. However, due to the commonness of his surname and the fact that he, too, was missing after the war, the process ceased in 1962. Former camp guard SS-Rottenführer Ewald Pöckelmann was arrested at the end of 1947 and accused and brought to trial in 1948 by Oberstaatsanwaltschaft Rudolstadt. However, he was released from custody, went missing, and was accused in absentia in 1951. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term; however, his whereabouts remained unknown, and he did not serve the sentence.

Two trials related to the Laura subcamp ended with the implementation of the sentence reached: the Buchenwald trials against SS dog handler August Giese and against Kunikowski. In March 1948, Giese was sentenced to a four-year prison term, having been found guilty of the murder of a Polish inmate and the brutal maltreatment of other inmates. His prison term began on May 10, 1945, when he was incarcerated in the Dachau camp by American troops. Kunikowski was deemed guilty of the murder of a French inmate and the maltreatment of other inmates. Sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, his term was lessened to five years due to his incarceration on December 9, 1946.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the thorough analysis of and research on the Laura subcamp by Dorit Gropp in *Aussenkommando Laura und Vorwerk Mitte Lehesten—Testbetrieb für V2-Triebwerke* (Berlin: Westkreuz-Verlag, 1999). In addition to a systematic use of many archival collections, Gropp incorporated two detailed memoirs of former inmates of the Laura camp, which also serve as an important resource on the camp: Ryszard Kessler, *Die Hölle im Schieferberg: Erinnerungen an Laura* (Saalfeld, 1998), and Aimé Bonifas "Verichtungskommando Laura," in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, eds. Holm Kirsten and Wolf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald-Laura-Saalfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and

Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Laura subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Laura camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49, Reel 17. As Gropp's book has noted, trial documentation can be found in several archives, including the ZdL (now BA-L) and BA-DH (formerly BDC), ZM 1345 and ZA 7743; these latter are also copied in the archives of the USHMMA, RG-14.050M. See Gropp's text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and a bibliography pertaining to the Laura subcamp and its postwar history.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Laura," September 20, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 49), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
2. "Transport Laura," September 22, 1943 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Transport Laura von 25. Mars 1944," Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "Aufstellung der 200 Häftlinge, von Kdo- Laura nach kdo-Dora überstellt sind," May 30, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SCHLIEBEN

The company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven German subcamps in the small Brandenburg city of Schlieben in July 1944. It would last until the end of the war. Initially opened as a camp for women 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the northwest of the main HASAG factory in Leipzig, it developed into one of the largest Buchenwald subcamps for men, with more than 2,000 male Jewish prisoners. The camp, which initially held 998 women, was reduced in size within a month of the establishment of the camp for men.

Since 1934, HASAG, a Leipzig lamp manufacturer, had been primarily involved in armaments manufactures. In the summer of 1944, following German war losses, it relocated its Polish factories to existing and new production facilities in Saxony and Thüringen. The company decided during this period to expand its facilities in Schlieben. It acquired those facilities in 1940 and in 1943 had production barracks installed in an expanded shooting range in a forest. Buchenwald camp commandant Hermann Pister, together with Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky and Verwaltungsleiter Otto Barnewald, inspected the Schlieben site on June 21, 1944, to consider the deployment of concentration camp prisoners for use by HASAG. It was initially planned to deploy 1,000 women in Schlieben in the middle of July 1944 and in the long term to increase that number to 2,000. Schlieben, together with Leipzig and Altenburg, was one of the first three HASAG camps for women. On August 31, 1944, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) transferred administration of the Schlieben camp from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald.

The subcamp commenced operations on July 19, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 998 women, many of whom were Sintezza [that is, female Sinti (Gypsies)].[1] The number of women in Schlieben was reduced to 147 when, on August 14, 1944, a camp for men with 1,387 Buchenwald prisoners was established.[2] Most of the women who first arrived in the camp were deported to the HASAG camps in Altenburg and Taucha. Later, another 100 women arrived at the camp, and almost all of them were to remain until the camp was evacuated. Buchenwald camp statistics describe the camp for men as a "Jewish work detachment." It was the first of seven HASAG camps for men and was by any means the largest. Other than the non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries, most of the prisoners came from Poland or Hungary. In the first two months of the camp's existence, the number of prisoners increased to 2,020. In December, it temporarily increased to 2,515.[3] Later, the number of prisoners in the camp declined. Between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945, there were three large transfers of mostly sick and weakened prisoners back to Buchenwald. In addition, in February, there were several prisoner deportations from Schlieben to the HASAG subcamp at Flössberg—the largest on February 17, 1945, with 540 prisoners being transferred. The number of prisoners in Schlieben dropped for the first time to under 1,500 and remained, as shown by the last documented strength report (*Bestandsmeldung*) on April 7, 1945, at a similar level.

The prisoners were used as forced labor in all areas of the company. The area to the north of Schlieben was divided into a fenced-in prisoner camp with factory facilities and weapons' testing areas. When the camp was established, there was already in the prisoner area a few brick barracks, sanitary facilities, a laundry, and a kitchen. This was because HASAG employees, members of the Wehrmacht, and prisoners of war (POWs) had lived in succession on the site. Later, wooden barracks were to be erected on the site of a large cleared area on the edge of the forest. The area was bordered by an electrified fence, and the camp was visible from the road. The factory buildings in the forest produced chemicals for shells and antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and assembled metal tubes, filled with explosives, delivered to the site. They formed the basis for the Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked in the factory buildings under the supervision of HASAG's German foremen. As in the HASAG Factory "C" Skarżysko-Kamienna, which supplied many Polish prisoners for Schlieben, the rest of the camp avoided the prisoners in this area because their bodies and clothes were marked by poisons, and they smelled of chemicals. Women were forced to work in the foundries. Maria Peter stated the following: "I stood with two women at a large drum in which a liquid was boiling. It burnt our eyes and we looked as if we had jaundice. The burning eyes and the feeling of wanting to vomit made the work hell. We were given no protective clothing and were helplessly exposed to the liquid."[4] The prisoners had to assemble the Panzerfäuste in the larger production departments. They had to stand at tables and work

benches. As former prisoners stated, they had to work in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work demanded concentration to make sure that the production line did not stop. Menasze Hollender stated: "The German foremen and the Kapos ran back and forth screaming at and beating the prisoners. The workers often collapsed because of exhaustion, hunger, and the torture."[5] The foremen were given bonuses for achieving increased production, which caused them to drive the prisoners on mercilessly. On the HASAG weapons testing area in Schlieben, Panzerfäuste were developed and tested, as were munitions. Work in the construction and maintenance area of the Schlieben factory was seen as more bearable by the prisoners, compared to conditions in the production facilities.

There was a large explosion in the factory on October 12, 1944, which killed 96 male prisoners. The factory was totally destroyed. On October 14, 1944, Buchenwald sent 226 skilled construction workers to construct a temporary building. Just about all were sent back on November 6, 1944. Paul Budin, the HASAG managing director, immediately thanked the Reichsführer-SS for the "special assistance."[6]

In addition to the 96 victims of the explosion, at least another 99 prisoners died in the camp.[7] Altogether 195 prisoners died during the seven and a half months of the camp's existence to the beginning of April 1945.[8] Some 738 prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald during the camp's existence, most to the sick bay.

SS-Untersturmführer Kempe was the camp commander in Schlieben. He remains in the memories of the prisoners as being particularly brutal. SS, Wehrmacht soldiers, and Ukrainian guards guarded the camp.

The prisoners, in an attempt to get around the inadequate food supply, traded with the Italian forced laborers who worked in the camp. They lived in the local area and had the opportunity, according to Hollender, to bring food into the factory. In return, they were given industrial products, which the prisoners had secretly manufactured, such as rings, tin boxes, lamps, and cutlery. Prisoners who worked on the railway facilities outside the camp smuggled food into the camp. It is also known that a few prisoners in the camp celebrated Jewish festivals so far as conditions allowed. Elyahu Winkler stated: "On Channuka we lit the Channuka candles in the window. . . . They weren't really candles. Someone used cooking oil from the kitchen."[9] With the help of the oil, they put together lights. The prisoners put their "candles" in the windows even though they had been ordered to turn off all lights due to the repeated Allied bombing raids.

There are different statements regarding the evacuation of the camp. What is certain is that the SS, shortly before the occupation of Schlieben by the Soviet Army, evacuated the camp. Hollender stated that the camp was evacuated in stages.[10] The first stage was on April 14, 1945, when a transport of 700 "prisoners who could not work" were taken out of the camp. Other statements refer to April 20, 1945, as the evacuation day and April 21, 1945, as the day that the Red Army occupied the town.

Panzerfäuste were produced for the Red Army from what was left of the supplies in the camp for six weeks after the liberation of Schlieben. In 1947 a mass grave of 107 corpses was found near the camp. They were reinterred in a Schlieben cemetery. A square stone has rested on the communal grave since 1952. As part of the so-called Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) trial in Leipzig in 1948–1949, Wehrmacht officer Richard Müller was sentenced to six months' prison; former auxiliary laborer and factory security guard Gustav Erich Graichen was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment; and former shift foreman in the foundry Viktor Lamkewitz received life imprisonment.

SOURCES The Schlieben subcamp for men is referred to in an essay about the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Schlieben subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," ISKDW 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29. A local publication has 15 pages of source material on Schlieben, but the commentary is incorrect: *NS-Lager in Finsterwalde und Orte in der Region Südbrandenburg 1939–1945* (Finsterwalde, 2001).

Archival documents on the Schlieben subcamp are scattered in several archives, some in the THStA-W, Bestände KZuHaftaBu and NS4Bu; in AG-B, Bestände 62–63–2, NS4Bu; and in ASt-Slb. In YV, there are many accounts by surviving prisoners in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, and Hungarian, some of which have been used here (for example, from the collections M.21.3, M.49, and O.3). BA-DH holds the Leipzig state prosecutor's trial files from 1948–1949, which related to investigations into individual perpetrators from HASAG.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 13a.
2. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015701.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015656–723.
4. Rept. Maria Peter, cited in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie," *ISKDW* 27:55 (2002): 27.
5. Rept. Menasze Hollender (translation from the Polish), YVA, O.3/1012.
6. BA-DH, SSO, Budin, Paul, 4.12.92.
7. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 116–7.
8. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
9. Interview with Elyahu Winkler (in Hebrew), YVA, O.3/10707.
10. Rept. Menasze Hollender, p. 44.

SCHÖNEBECK (*JUNKERS-FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE AG*) ("J," "SCH," "JULIUS") (WITH "SIEGFRIED")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Schönebeck in March 1943 to provide labor to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck. The use of concentration camp prisoner labor at the Junkers Schönebeck stemmed from

an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the firm, which "rented" inmates from the SS at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] Located on what was later named Barbyer Strasse in Schönebeck, the Junkers Zweigwerk had opened in 1936 to operate a metal shop for press works for Ju 88 production. The Schönebeck subcamp was referred to in corresponding documentation as "J" and "Sch." The camp itself, located in the immediate vicinity of the Junkers firm, was called "Julius." A second Kommando, code-named "Siegfried," was also created at the Schönebeck camp in March 1945 to provide labor to the Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG).

The first transport of 100 inmates from Buchenwald arrived in Schönebeck on March 19, 1943.[2] According to French former inmate Marcel Lorin, an engineer from Junkers came to Buchenwald to select those inmates who could be considered skilled laborers. A "professions list" (possibly dated May 1943) shows that many inmates were noted as locksmiths, drill operators, mechanics, milling cutters, and so on.[3] Inmates in Schönebeck represented several different nations, including Russia, Poland, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia. Smaller numbers of prisoners came from Yugoslavia, Spain, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and the German Reich; these latter were often appointed members of the prisoner administration such as Lagerältester (camp elder) and medics. Imprisoned in the camp were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Arbeitscheu* (work-shy), Gypsies, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals) and Jews.

Transports to and from the Schönebeck camp were frequent. The average strength of the camp population was about 1,200 inmates, although at the time of the evacuation in April 1945, there were just over 1,500 inmates in the camp. Most of the larger transports of prisoners (between 100 and 150) arrived in Schönebeck from Buchenwald, but there were also transfers from Dachau (August 1944) and possibly Sachsenhausen. In addition to transfers of prisoners back to Buchenwald due to illness (see below), there were also transfers to other camps that exploited prisoner labor for rearmaments efforts, such as Mühlhausen ("Martha"), beginning in the spring of 1944; Aschersleben in August 1944; Westeregeln ("Maulwurf") in November 1944; Mittelbau in December 1944; and Leopoldshall in February 1945.[4]

The Julius camp in Schönebeck consisted of nine unheated wooden barracks for the prisoners' living quarters, a kitchen, a small infirmary, an administrative barracks, and a roll-call area. Prisoners slept on trilevel bunks, which were shared by the inmates and exchanged between shifts. In some instances, two or three prisoners slept on one bunk, sharing the allotted one soiled coverlet per person to gain warmth. The camp was surrounded by 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) fencing and another layer of barbed-wire mesh fencing and flanked by two watchtowers.

A typical day in the Schönebeck camp began at 4:30 in the morning. The inmates endured long roll calls several times a day. Standing outside in terrible weather conditions with thin clothing exacerbated the frail inmates' illnesses, such as pleurisy, angina, bronchial pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Inmates who were deemed "unfit for work" were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp infirmary. Corpses of those who died in the camp were either buried or, as noted in a memo by SS physician Dr. Waldemar Hoven, transferred to Dr. Imfried Eberl in Bernburg, where they were cremated with no recorded death certificates.[5] Food rations were sparse, and Lorin recalled that even with the occasional "organizing" of extra food, the inmates were starving.

The inmates worked in 12-hour shifts in the Junkers firm, finishing parts for the Ju 88 aircraft; by the end of 1944, work shifts had been reduced to 9 hours. The inmates were divided into work in four production halls: a finishing hall for supports for wing cross struts and fuselage; a press works where paneling for the fuselage, cockpit, and wings was finished; a foundry; and lastly, a thermal treatment workshop. The halls where camp inmates worked were separated from the rest of the plant by barbed-wire fencing, and interaction between the camp inmates and other workers was prohibited. From March 3, 1945, another large work Kommando was created at the Schönebeck camp to provide labor to NARAG. (However, a transport list of 15 inmates to "Siegfried," dated September 10, 1943, suggests that this Kommando may have been created earlier than 1945.)[6] Some 400 inmates were used in the manufacture of electrical parts for the V-2 rocket. Inmates were also assigned to various work Kommandos around the camp (such as in the kitchen or infirmary) as well as clearing rubble after air raids in Magdeburg and digging trenches along the Elbe.

In addition to suffering from malnutrition, exhaustion, and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards, the inmates often faced dangerous work conditions in the factory. Lorin reported that those assigned to the foundry had no protective equipment and were exposed to combustible gas. Evidence of work-related accidents abounds in the administrative documentation generated with the transfer of ill or wounded inmates to the Buchenwald infirmary. For example, two inmates were transferred to Buchenwald from Schönebeck on February 3, 1945; the reason for their transfer is cited as "Unfall—Amputation" (Accident—Amputation).[7] This kind of report was issued frequently over the camp's two-year operation.

SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Borell was the commandant of the camp. Prior to leading the Schönebeck subcamp, he served in Sonderlager Hinzert from 1940 to 1942; in Ravensbrück in 1942; and Majdanek from 1942 to 1943. Until June 1944, the SS who served as guards in the camp consisted mainly of Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans. After June 1944, there were also members of the Luftwaffe assigned to guard the camp. German civilian foremen and supervisors watched over the inmates' work in the Junkers factory and reported any suspected acts of sabotage or prisoners deemed unfit for their assigned tasks to the SS or to the Kapos. Inmates were often punished by being forced to stand along the low wall that surrounded the SS garbage pit, with arms raised or hands behind their heads for several hours.

Despite the inmates' general poor physical condition and the guards' strict supervision, some inmates did manage to escape. Lorin recalled that one prisoner managed to obtain false documentation that registered him as a civilian foreign worker, thus enabling him to return to France. Other inmates attempted to scale the barbed-wire fencing, especially during air-raid alerts or other moments of disorder. Acts of sabotage were also frequently organized by a group of prisoners in the factory. Lorin also noted that solidarity was forged along national and linguistic lines; for example, those who spoke French gathered and shared songs, poems, and memories of life at home. When food packages were distributed among some groups of more privileged political prisoners (such as the French; Russian inmates could not receive any packages), some inmates pooled the contents of their packages and redistributed them to weaker inmates.

The camp was dissolved on April 11, 1945, as American troops were 60 kilometers (37 miles) from Schönebeck. The inmates were evacuated on foot in several groups. Some inmates remained behind, hidden in the camp, while others evaded the march. About 400 inmates marched for 23 days in columns until they were liberated by American troops near Friedrichmoor.[8]

SOURCES There are several useful secondary sources on the Schönebeck camp. This entry builds upon the extensive memoir of daily life in the Schönebeck camp by Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993). Another piece detailing current research efforts and former prisoner experiences in Schönebeck is an article by Katharina Strass, "Dunkles Kapitel während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Schönebeck: Fünftgrösstes KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald mit etwa 1800 Häftlingen is heute fast vergessen," *V*, February 12, 2005. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Schönebeck in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

There is also relatively abundant primary documentation on the Schönebeck subcamp. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 210, 213, 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Schönebeck camp and various other reports, including Veränderungsmeldungen, copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 5/2, 5/4, 5/5, 8/10, 40, and 41/3. Testimony from former inmates can be found in the MZML, which contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 2475, 2920, and 3158. NARA Microfilm Publication A 3343, Records of SS Officers from the BDC, SSO-091, has personnel information about Gustav Borell.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).

3. "Berufs-Liste für Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, date illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).

4. Numerous transport lists to and from the Schönebeck camp can be found in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3 and BU 8/10).

5. "Aus einem Bericht des SS-Arztes Dr. Waldemar Hoven über eine Dienstreise in das Aussenkommando Schönebeck vom 19. März 1943," reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 279.

6. "Transport Siegfried," Buchenwald, September 10, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).

7. "Überführung von kranken Häftlingen nach K.L. Bu," Schönebeck, February 3, 1945, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).

8. A detailed description of the complex evacuation, including diagrams, can be found in Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

SCHÖNEBECK (*NATIONALE RADIATOREN*)

The subcamp Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) was part of a complex of three concentration camps that existed from March 10, 1943, to April 11, 1945, in Schönebeck an der Elbe. It was located on the Elbe River outside of Magdeburg, an industrial strongpoint in central Germany. The camps were subcamps of Buchenwald under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). They provided slave labor for the aircraft industry; for the Schönebeck branch of the Dessau-based Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM); and Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG), a subsidiary of Volkswagen industries.

Although the Schönebeck camps existed for more than two years and had a total prisoner population of 1,563 prisoners (on April 11, 1945), information on the camp is scarce. It is not clear if they were separate, autonomous camps or subentities of one administrative unit and, if they had separate camp compounds.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) *Haftstättenverzeichnis* (1979), the Nationale Radiatoren camp

was established on March 3, 1945, but the accuracy of the information is questionable. An earlier date seems more likely.

Nationale Radiatoren was taken over in early 1944 by Volkswagen, at that time in charge of the series production of the Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile. The excess capacities of the low-priority radiator factory were intended to replace facilities at the Volkswagen main factory, which was to be decentralized in order to diminish the risk of air-raid damage. Volkswagen kept the Nationale Radiatoren name for camouflage reasons while converting the production facilities to the manufacturing of V-1 parts. The production area was expanded as spacious cellar vaults below the nearby Kaiserbrauerei Allendorff beer brewery were rented. Even after Volkswagen lost its role as coordinator of V-1 production to the SS-owned Mittelwerke in October 1944, the Schönebeck facility—eventually incorporated into another Volkswagen subsidiary, the Minette GmbH, as an SS takeover attempt was fended off in January 1945—continued to produce V-1 parts that were delivered to the Mittelwerke and also engaged in the manufacturing of airplane parts for Junkers and Messerschmitt.

Production continued until a few days before the area was liberated by U.S. troops on April 12, 1945. A decision by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt (a nephew of Ferdinand Porsche, the inventor of the "people's car," who was the leading chief executive officer [CEO]) on March 21 to transfer 200 prisoners from the Nationale Radiatoren camp to "Stein" in Eschershausen, another Buchenwald subcamp providing manpower to Volkswagen, was thwarted by the Allied advance. Instead, 400 Nationale Radiatoren prisoners were evacuated on April 11 to occupied Czechoslovakia where Volkswagen possessed additional production facilities. The company decision had provided for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to be transferred to the Volkswagen main factory in what was later named Wolfsburg, but the ill prisoners never arrived there.

In November 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Arthur Schmiele, an engineer who had been in charge of the selection of prisoners in Auschwitz for Volkswagen, and the CEO of a Minette factory in Dernau that was run by means of concentration camp prisoners, was appointed CEO of the Schönebeck facility. The exploitation of prisoners at the Nationale Radiatoren may have started shortly afterward by prisoners from the Schönebeck Junkers camps being assigned to the Nationale Radiatoren. Since that company's total employment never expanded beyond 1,000, most of whom were foreign forced laborers from the Soviet territories and Italy, it seems likely that the number of concentration camp prisoners never exceeded the 200 to 400 registered in March 1945.

According to one Buchenwald strength list, by September 5, 1944, SS personnel in the Schönebeck camps counted one officer who probably served as the camp commandant, two noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and one enlisted man, whereas guards seem to have been ordinary army soldiers.

SOURCES This description of the Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) camp is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996). Preliminary data may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Archival material on the Nationale Radiatoren camp in Schönebeck is scarce. The VWA holds the note of March 21, 1945, and other documents, as well as copies of documents from the AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco, Israel, and BA-B. Brief details on the Nationale Radiatoren factory have been published by Cesare Pilesi, an Italian military internee (IMI), in ANEI, ed., *Resistenza senz'armi* (Firenze, 1984) p. 270.

Therkel Straede

SCHWERTE-OST

By the middle of the 1930s, the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Schwerte-Ost, which had opened in 1922, had over 2,000 employees and had risen to become the most modern and efficient locomotive repair shop in the German Reich. It was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the center of Schwerte in the direction of Schwerte-Geisecke. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) stone wall still borders the former factory premises. Beginning in 1944, a small part of this wall was used to delimit the grounds of the subcamp.[1] The task of the RAW was to repair locomotives damaged in the war in order to preserve this war-critical method of transportation. During World War II, the RAW was thus a "war-critical" operation that, with the increasing duration of the war, could no longer meet its labor requirements, as many male employees were called to the front. The National Socialists attempted to compensate for this deficit with prisoners of war (POWs) and slave laborers, which ultimately led to a subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp being set up on the factory premises.

From April 6, 1944, until January 29, 1945, up to 710 concentration camp prisoners were kept at Schwerte-Ost in wooden barracks.[2] Although lists of transfers to and from the outside detail at Schwerte-Ost exist in the Buchenwald archive in Weimar, it is not possible to determine exact numbers. Various preserved documents make clear that primarily potential concentration camp victims were transferred back from Schwerte-Ost to Buchenwald. These were usually people who violated rules or who undertook escape attempts. There exists, among others, a list "Transport Schwerte, Weimar-Buchenwald" from June 23, 1944, that contains 150 names with prisoner numbers.[3] It is certain that the first 100 prisoners were sent to the camp on April 6, 1944. On August 7, 1944, the number of forced laborers was 425, all of whom were designated "auxiliary laborers." Documents from the Buchenwald archive show that on September 8, 1944, a transport with 265 prisoners with the numbers 84271 to 84535 came to Schwerte-Ost from Sachsenhausen.[4] The biggest verifiable

number, with the above-mentioned 710 prisoners, is entered for September 29, 1944.[5]

The strength of the SS guard personnel amounted to 40 men on April 15, 1944. The prisoners' work assignments were identical with those of the German regular workforce. The entire camp originally consisted of at least 12 barracks in which not only prisoners from Buchenwald were housed but also POWs and slave laborers. The Buchenwald prisoners were, however, rigidly separated from the other prisoners. How awful the fate of the concentration camp prisoners must have been is documented by the fact that every month a fifth of the population either died or was returned to the main camp for extermination, due to their inability to work. According to contemporary witness reports, it can be stated that the factory management at Schwerte-Ost was not organized for human extermination like the Nazi camp leadership was at Buchenwald. Evidence of the shooting of prisoners, described with the remark "shot while trying to flee," has survived, however.[6]

On the other hand, the Reichsbahn was known for its business sense and, for example, was paid by the SS the third-class fare for transporting Jews in cattle cars. The income, though, that the SS took in from hiring out prisoners was enormous and amounted to over 6 million Reichsmark (RM) for the male prisoners at Buchenwald in January 1945 alone.[7] According to a report from former Schwerter and political prisoner Joseph Arturjanz (Buchenwald number 84275; Sachsenhausen number 22917), he arrived at Schwerte-Ost in October 1944.[8] Of the 500 prisoners that he registered, which included French and Belgians, in addition to Soviet Russians, 250 men worked per shift on damaged locomotives. Female prisoners were not among these workers. Provisions were reportedly worse than at Buchenwald so that in June 1944 it was arranged for the kitchen operation to be newly organized.

In December 1944, as Allied troops continued their march toward the Ruhr area, the prisoner detail was called back to the main camp. Contemporary witnesses also attributed the relatively early closing of the camp to the high number of escapes. According to Joseph Arturjanz, four cattle cars made available for approximately 500 prisoners arrived at the Buchenwald main camp. A document from the Buchenwald archive dated January 25, 1945, shows that at least 10 prisoners, all of them from the Soviet Union, managed to escape on the way back to Buchenwald. A few days later the prisoners were again loaded on to a transport and arrived at Dorndorf on December 24, 1944. On the other side, it was reported that a last prisoner transport from Schwerte-Ost arrived at Buchenwald around January 15, 1945.

SOURCES Marita Riese's publication "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen": Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989) formed the basis for this entry. Unfortunately, this work is hard to find and now out of print. Additional information may be found in H. Körner and P. Gurris, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000). Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) also provides more information on Buchenwald subcamps.

On the history of the Buchenwald external detail at the RAW in Schwerte-Ost, transport lists of prisoners as well as documents on the "working detail Schwerte" are accounted for in AG-B.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Marita Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen": Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989), p. 25.
2. H. Körner and P. Gurris, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000), pp. 73–74.
3. Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," p. 33.
4. Ibid., p. 50.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
6. Ibid., p. 65. For May 31, 1944, 8:45 AM, the "political" Russian Sewastjan Pantschenko (born 1898) is mentioned.
7. Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 240.
8. Joseph Arturjanz quoted in Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," pp. 55–59.

SENNELAGER

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created on November 26, 1944, in Augustdorf near Paderborn to provide inmate labor to the SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs und Ersatz-Regiment (tank training and replacement regiment) in the Sennelager training complex. Code-named "Sennelager," there were 10 inmates stationed at the camp for the first month of its five-month operation, until January 1945, when 37 additional inmates were transferred there from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They were housed in the north camp (*Nordlager*) of the Sennelager complex. Inmates were hired out at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[1]

The first transport of 10 inmates to Sennelager left Buchenwald on November 26, 1944.[2] Four inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to illness on December 15, 1944, and were replaced by 4 different inmates on December 20, 1944.[3] Three inmates were sent back to Buchenwald on January 3, 1945, presumably also due to illness or "incapacity for work." On January 17, 1945, 37 inmates from Birkenau were transferred to Sennelager. Most of the inmates were Polish political prisoners or Polish Jews, with a smaller number of Slovak political prisoners and Slovak Jews. There was one Polish "work-shy" inmate.[4] There is no information available about the exact kind of work the smaller contingent of prison-

ers performed, but the transport document lists some of the duties of the inmates. Most were designated as bricklayers, with smaller numbers of concrete workers, 2 civil engineers, and a painter. Two inmates from this transport were transferred to Buchenwald on January 25, 1945, due to illness.[5]

The camp was evacuated to Buchenwald, and the prisoners arrived there on April 5, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sennelager subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sennelager in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Sennelager subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sennelager camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49. Additional documentation may be found in AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Sennelager," KL Buchenwald, November 26, 1944 (BU 49) AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "An die Kommandatur K.L.—Bu. Abt. III," Augustdorf, December 15, 1944; "Transport Sennelager," Buchenwald, December 20, 1944, (BU 49), USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "Neuzugänge vom 17. Januar 1945," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 17, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. To K.L. Buchenwald, Senne, January 25, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SÖMMERDA

Sömmerda is located to the north of Erfurt in the district known today as Weissensee. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established there in the autumn of 1944 where the prisoners worked at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Werk Sömmerda, on Dreyse-Platz. Already months before, the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had requisitioned 1,100 female laborers: 650 were to work in the detonation factory and 450 in the test factory (*Laborierwerk*).

The camp was located 20 minutes away by foot in the Pestalozzistrasse close to the Erfurt-Nordhausen railway line. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers and consisted of six barracks. The guards' accommodation was outside the camp. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Dietrich, who was in charge of 16 SS men and 22 female guards. The wardresses were staff from Rheinmetall-Borsig who had been trained in Ravensbrück. Originally, the company had even offered larger numbers of women to the Buchenwald concentration camp to be trained as guards.

On September 19, 1944, 1,216 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at Sömmerda and began working the next day. They were severely traumatized. They had lived through a bombing raid in their former camp at Gelsenkirchen-Horst. As a result the Gelsenkirchen-Horst camp was dissolved with 84 injured women remaining in hospitals in Gelsenkirchen and its surrounding area. They were sent in separate transports to Sömmerda up until the beginning of April 1945. On March 1, 1945, the Sömmerda camp had 1,293 women, reaching its maximum capacity.

Under the control of German skilled tradesmen and foremen, the women manufactured ammunition, working on a large number of machines such as drills, milling machines, and precision revolving lathes. Although not many details of the work and living conditions are known, the high rate of illness at around 10 percent is indicative of the difficult work and living conditions. Many women suffered from illnesses arising from the cold including bronchitis, lung diseases, and stomach and bowel problems, as well as general weakness and malnutrition. According to official records, nine women died in the Sömmerda subcamp. The statistics do not record the number of babies born in the prisoners' infirmary. According to a survivor, there were several births in the camp. The newborns were removed from their mothers and killed.

Sömmerda is one of the few subcamps where there are records of the women's cultural activities. There was a camp paper, and the women wrote and performed new lyrics to popular couplets and chansons in which they described their fate as prisoners. It was possible for religious Jews, albeit secretly, to maintain their prayers and fasting.

The factory was closed in the middle of March due to production difficulties. On April 4, 1945, the women were taken from the camp by foot in an easterly direction. The women incapable of marching were taken by rail to Altenburg. The women marched via Mühlhausen, Bad Kösen, Naumburg, and Zeitz. On April 10, 1945, they were split into two groups: one group moved via Zitzendorf to Meuselwitz, where they continued their death march with the prisoners of that camp. The second group, after a two-day stop in Albenburg, was driven to Glauchau. Here some of the women, thanks to an American tank attack, were able to escape and were rescued. The remainder of the women marched in a southeasterly direction; most likely they were to be taken to Theresienstadt, but before they arrived there, they were liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in the vicinity of Cheb (Eger).

The camp commander, Eugen Dietrich, was interned by U.S. troops for a short time but was not tried. He died in 1955.

Between 1966 and 1971 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Sömmerda subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1971 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Sömmerda subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 575–577. The fate of two Sömmerda survivors, Romanian Jew Judith Rosenthal and Hungarian Jew Sarah Udi, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 112–127. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:58; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1841.

The USHMMA has the following archival material on the Sömmerda subcamp: Lilly Isaacs papers, Acc. 1995.88, consisting of two diaries written by Isaacs while she was a prisoner in Sömmerda; and an oral history interview with Rose Lazarus about her experiences as a prisoner in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerda, RG-50.002*0083. Other sources on the Sömmerda subcamp are located in the collections of the AG-B and collection NS 4 Bu (for example, reference 221), at BA-K. Investigations by the ZdL in the late 1960s and the early 1970s are in file 429 AR-Z 1927/66 and 130/1970, which is held at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SONNEBERG-WEST ("SONNEBERG," "SG")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Sonneberg-West (Thüringen) in September 1944 to provide labor to the Firma G.E. Reinhardt Zahnradfabrik (gear factory). Its code name in related documentation was "Sonneberg" or "Sg." Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the G.E. Reinhardt firm hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The average strength of the prisoner population was about 400 inmates during its six-month operation.

The first transport to Sonneberg-West left Buchenwald on September 14, 1944, with 260 inmates.[2] However, evidence of a possible earlier transport is suggested in a surviving telegram from the SS (presumably the Labor Allocation Office) to the G.E. Reinhardt firm, dated August 27, 1944.[3] The telegram states that the transport from Częstochowa (Tschenstochau) arrived (to what exact location is unclear) and that the SS officer who sent it should be informed by the firm when the accommodations and security apparatuses are ready for the incoming inmates. According to the telegram, this group of prisoners was scheduled to be transferred to the G.E. Reinhardt firm in Sonneberg-West, located at Hallestrasse 39, on September 1 or 2.

Inmates were brought to a camp, the barracks of which were most likely located on the grounds of the firm itself. They may have also been accommodated in sand pits in the immediate vicinity of the Reinhardt firm. The inmates were used for labor in the manufacture of aircraft parts for Ju 52 transport planes, as well as other gear mechanisms for tanks and other weapons.

The inmates were transported to the Sonneberg camp from the main Buchenwald camp and possibly from elsewhere (such as Częstochowa and Gross-Rosen). After the transport of 260 prisoners on September 14, additional transports arrived in Sonneberg (among other possible dates) on October 5 (4 inmates), October 12 (20), November 14 (1), November 17 (150), and February 15 (50). The inmates were Jewish males, and many were from Poland and Hungary. One Hungarian Jewish former inmate reported that the food and treatment in the Sonneberg camp were better than what he had received in Buchenwald. However, he recalled that "it did not take long; the SS sergeants came and they spoiled it. The German workers behaved quite normally, they did not beat us too much, but the SS did . . . it was terrible."[4] Another former inmate recalled nothing else but being provided little to no food or drink and receiving constant beatings.[5]

In several instances, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness or incapacity for work. At least one inmate was returned due to a knee injury; therefore, it can be deduced that working conditions in the camp were difficult and even dangerous.[6] One trace of a recorded death survives: a Polish Jew named Friedman Eliass, transported to Sonneberg on November 4, 1944, died February 6, 1945, due to pleuropneumonia.[7]

Scarce details remain about the guards or commandant of the Sonneberg camp. In a report by the garrison doctor of the Waffen-SS, dated January 31, 1945, the camp is listed under "Jewish external details" (Jüdische Aussenkommandos) with the SS medic as Eger and 33 guards assigned.[8] At this time, the camp held 423 prisoners.

The Sonneberg camp was evacuated at the end of March or early April 1945, and the prisoners were marched toward Lehesten. However, some sources note that the prisoners were brought back to the camp, where they stayed one night before they were evacuated again to the Sudetenland (see Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke). According to one survivor, the camp was evacuated on April 3, and the prisoners were marched on foot. "After a week we returned to Sonneberg, [and] then we spent a day there and then we were taken again, this time to the opposite direction. We kept on marching until the eighth of May. For the whole trip we got two kilograms [4.4 pounds] of bread, ten decagrams [3.5 ounces] of margarine, and two spoonfuls of sour cream. . . . The mortality rate was twenty-five percent. Twenty-one were shot. Those unable to walk were shot."[9] They were liberated in the vicinity of Luditz on May 7 or 8, 1945, by American troops.

Two postwar proceedings were conducted against former guards in the Sonneberg camp. The accused, Ottomar Böh. and Josef Brü. (full surnames classified), were brought to trial in Marburg for the killing of prisoners during the evacuation of Sonneberg and the subsequent march into the Sudetenland. Proceedings against them were suspended, and they were both acquitted in December 1970.[10]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sonneberg subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sonneberg in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Sonneberg subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sonneberg camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 636 and 744.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Sonneberg," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 14, 1944 (BU 50), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Diensttelegramm: G.E. Reinhardt," August 27, 1944, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210.

4. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S. [translation by Gábor Kádár].

5. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 1782, M.K. According to this transcript, M.K. arrived at Sonneberg from the Gross-Rosen camp.

6. "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 8, 1944 (two inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg," November 12, 1944 (two to three inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 29, 1944 (one inmate, knee injury); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, January 18, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

7. Reports on deaths in the Aussenkommandos, Weimar-Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), Document 213, p. 3, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwad: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

9. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S.

10. Case Nr. 744, NS Crimes in Detainment Centers, Final Phase Crimes in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* ed. Fritz Bauer (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968) vol. 34.

STASSFURT ("REH") [AKA NEU-STASSFURT, STASSFURT I]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in September 1944 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide labor for underground construction in the armaments industry. The use of concentration camp labor stemmed from an agreement between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated on reports as the "Neu-Stassfurt" or "Stassfurt I" camp, was code-named "Reh," and its average prisoner strength was about 450 inmates. A second subcamp, known as Stassfurt (Wälzer & Co.), was established nearby with prisoners from the Stassfurt I subcamp in January 1945.

The first transport of inmates to Stassfurt left the Buchenwald main camp on September 13, 1944. This initial transport consisted of 500 inmates, all male and predominantly French political prisoners.[2] The inmates were initially employed to work in subterranean construction projects for the Schlempp engineering firm in two salt mines: shaft four and shaft six. Schlempp was leading the effort to construct underground installations for the Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) and Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Wire Works, Inc., KALAG). Construction continued until January 1945, when production at the KALAG firm began, also employing prisoner labor. At this time, about 200 prisoners were siphoned to the Georg Wälzer & Co. firm, also in Stassfurt. On November 13, 1944, 20 skilled inmates were assigned to work as electricians at Siemens-Schuckert in shaft six.[3]

The Stassfurt camp was said to have been located between Löderburg-Lust and Atzendorf and consisted of four wooden barracks surrounded by a double tier of barbed-wire fencing. Outside the fencing there were two barracks for the SS guard staff. The camp had been newly constructed by Italian military internees who had also been incarcerated in Stassfurt prior to the French camp inmates' arrival. The camp population remained relatively constant (between 450 and 500 inmates) until January 1945, when additional transports of inmates (including Russians and Polish Jews) were transported to Stassfurt for work in the KALAG firm and for Wälzer.[4]

The working conditions for inmates in the Stassfurt camp were terrible. For those on the day shifts in the mines, the day began at 4:30 A.M., when the inmates received small rations of ersatz coffee and bread. By 6:00 A.M., the prisoners departed for work in the mines, which lasted up until 7:00 P.M., with a half-hour break at midday. At the end of the day, the prisoners endured the nightly roll call, after having been distributed soup rations. Former inmates recall a constant hunger and obsession with finding food, as well as the brutal

maltreatment from the guards and Kapos, or prisoner work overseers. Memoranda exchanged between the Stassfurt camp administration and the Buchenwald main camp detail some of the illnesses that befell the inmates in Stassfurt, such as influenza, typhus, and conditions that made them otherwise incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*).[5]

Little is known about the guard staff of the Stassfurt camp. The commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Wagner, and the camp elder (Lagerältester) was Bernard Baur, a German prisoner. The prisoners generally referred to the guards and Kapos by first or nicknames; therefore, little information about their identities can be discerned. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor for Buchenwald, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, on January 31, 1945, there were 49 guards in the Stassfurt camp at this time and 494 inmates (not including those used for work at the Wälzer & Co.). The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary in the Stassfurt camp was named Reins, and the SS medic, Grosser.[6]

The Stassfurt camp complex was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, in face of the approaching front. The inmates were driven on a deadly march toward Czechoslovakia, during which hundreds more perished. Those who survived the foot march were liberated in the region of Annaburg.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts at www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Reh," Buchenwald, September 13, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Folgende 20 Häftlinge . . . ," November 13, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists, and a reconstruction of the movement of prisoners to Reh, in BU 48, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. "An die Rapportführer KL BU," SS AbKdo, Reh, Schacht VI, September 27, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

6. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel: *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

STASSFURT (*WÄLZER & CO.*) [AKA STASSFURT II]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in January 1945 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide camp inmate labor to the Wälzer & Co. firm. The use of concentration camp labor in Stassfurt stemmed originally from an agreement forged in the late summer of 1944 between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated in reports as "Stassfurt II," was established with inmates that had been transported to the Stassfurt I subcamp and who were deployed in January 1945 to work for Wälzer & Co.

The Wälzer camp population remained relatively constant at about 200 prisoners. Like the Stassfurt I camp, the Stassfurt II camp was last mentioned on April 10, 1945, when the inmates were sent on a death march in the direction of Annaburg. There is no concrete information about whether this work detail (Kommando) had living quarters separate from the Stassfurt I camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts on www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

SUHL

In July 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Suhl (Thüringen) about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Weimar, attached to the munitions factory Gustloff-Werke. Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simsons' firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter.

The Suhl subcamp existed for a relatively brief period, from July 15, 1943, to October 2, 1943, when the between 80 and 100 inmates were deported to Mittelbau. The inmates were used for the construction of barracks for a slave labor camp. Only two transport records could be located, the first of which shows the transfer of 1 prisoner, a Russian political prisoner, from Buchenwald to Suhl in July 1943.[1] Another report, dated either September or October 1943, shows the transfer of a Polish prisoner to Suhl.[2]

SOURCES There are few resources, either secondary or primary, on the Buchenwald subcamp in Suhl. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Suhl in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Suhl subcamp is also scarce. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Buchenwald subcamps copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 50 and BU 8/17.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1."Transportliste Suhl," Buchenwald, ca. July 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 50).

2."Nach Aussenkommandos gingen," [Buchenwald], dates illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 8/17).

TANNENWALD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the vicinity of Usingen (Hessen-Nassau province, Prussia), most likely in Dornholzhausen, on December 7, 1944, to supply labor for special projects attached to the "Adlerhorst" and "Tannenwald" SS center of operations. Adlerhorst was set up in the Kransberg castle after it had been confiscated by the Nazis in September 1939. From 1941, together with the Ziegenberg castle, parts of the castle served as a military convalescent home and as a Luftwaffe main headquarters for Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. The castle was renovated to accommodate its expanding role. At the beginning of 1944, the seat of the Nazi Party Province Administration (Gauleitung) Hessen-Nassau was located there. In 1944 and 1945, Kransberg also served as Himmler's and Göring's "Tannenwald" headquarters (Feldpost No. 14.441).

In order to increase structural security around the location, an effort that was led by the Bauinspektion "Rhein-West" Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Inspectorate "Rhine-West" Waffen-SS and Police) of Wiesbaden and planned by the Organisation Todt (OT), a prisoner construction work detail (Kommando) was ordered from Buchenwald to work on the construction of an underground tunnel and bunker system. Originally, the camp was planned to receive inmates from Natzweiler but was changed to the administrative responsibility of Buchenwald.[1] On December 7, 1944, 10 inmates were transported from the Buchenwald main camp to the Kransberg castle.[2] Their first assignment was to construct the Tannenwald subcamp itself, which was most likely located between the old castle walls and the cemetery. After the construction of the barracks, which were built to hold up to 100 inmates, as well as an administrative and supplies structure, the prisoners were assigned to work on the proposed tunneling project. The main goal of their labor was to construct an escape tunnel underground from the SS bunker in the castle to the street.

The inmates were forced to build a tunnel into the mountainside. Because the prisoners lacked equipment for the terribly difficult work, as well as proper protective clothing in the harsh winter, working conditions in the Tannenwald camp were miserable. The broken stones, which were excavated by hand, were carted in trucks away from the construction area

and dumped elsewhere. Constantly hungry and exhausted, the prisoners also endured maltreatment from the guards and work overseers. According to a report by the chief of labor allocation in Buchenwald dated January 6, 1945, unskilled workers who were apportioned to Tannenwald were hired out from the SS at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day.[3]

The prisoners in the Tannenwald camp were all men, and at most, the camp held between 42 and 44 prisoners during its nearly four-month existence (although on average it only held about 30). According to a Buchenwald work statistical report, it was supposed to be allotted up to 100 inmates.[4] Most of the inmates were from the Soviet Union and Poland, with smaller numbers of German, Czech, Italian, and French prisoners making up the camp population. The number of inmates remained relatively constant. Periodically, inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to their being deemed incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*). For example, on January 5, 1945, the commandant of the Tannenwald camp signed a memo to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald, stating that prisoner Nikolay Spuskaw was to be transferred back to Buchenwald in exchange for another inmate due to his incapacity for work.[5] On an itemized list of inmates in the camp, dated March 23, 1945, 12 inmates are listed along with their "professions": 1 shoemaker, 2 blacksmiths, 2 bricklayers, 2 locksmiths, an electrician, and so forth.[6]

Transport lists signed by the commandant are illegible, though his rank can be determined as SS-Unterscharführer.[7]

Likewise, there is no further information about living conditions, escape attempts, or resistance within the camp. According to the research of local historian Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, some local youths were able to sneak extra food to some of the prisoners on occasion, thereby somewhat easing the inmates' situation.

Due to the fast-changing front, the prisoners were unable to finish the efforts begun on the underground tunneling. At the end of March 1945, they were evacuated back to the Buchenwald main camp and received there on March 31, 1945. The first leg of their trip back to Buchenwald was by forced march on foot, before they were loaded onto a train in the area of Weimar and taken to the camp. The Kransberg castle and surrounding areas were liberated by American troops in June 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Tannenwald subcamp of Buchenwald. An article by Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, "Häftlinge bauten einen Tunnel für Himmler," *FR*, April 12, 2005, provides a short overview of the camp, and much of this entry builds upon this information. Another article by Torsten Weigelt, "Tunnelbau für Himmler and Göring," *FR*, May 11, 2004, also briefly mentions the Tannenwald subcamp as well as the ongoing research efforts of Vorlaeufer-Germer and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für politische Bildung im Hochtaunuskreis (www.arbeit-und-leben-hochtaunus.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For similar information, see also the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, *Hessen I*, *Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995).

Primary documentation on the Tannenwald subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections including AG-B. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Tannenwald camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tannenwald subcamp (a report on prisoner number 769, a skilled worker allocated to Tannenwald but working for the DAW, and work statistic information dated December 1944), see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Fiche 1, and BA Band 8: "Einsatz von Häftlingen zu kriegswichtigen Arbeiten und in kriegswichtigen Betrieben, 1944–945."

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . ," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.
2. "Transport Tannenwald," December 7, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 50) AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
3. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
4. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . ," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.
5. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
6. "Personalaufstellung der zum Konzentrationslager Buchenwald überstellten Häftlinge vom Arb. Kdo., Feldp. Nr. 14441," March 23, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
7. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). The document is signed by "SS-Uscha. U. Kdo. Führer," but the signature is largely illegible.

TANNRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tannroda (Thüringen) in 1942 to provide labor to the Mitteldeutsche Papierwerke company in Tannroda. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was first mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on June 12, 1942, and last mentioned on November 4, 1942. However, a report on the use of labor in Buchenwald dated October 25, 1941, notes that there were 15 unskilled laborers in Tannroda; therefore, the camp

(or an outlying work detail from Buchenwald) may have existed already in 1941.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tannroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Tannroda subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. The AG-B and AG-MD may contain other relevant documentation.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1."Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," October 25, 1941, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 4.

TAUCHA (MEN)

Taucha lies about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In the autumn of 1944, the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established a male subcamp in Factory II, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse 3a, a few days after a subcamp for women had been opened.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on October, 10, 1944, when around 100 prisoners from Auschwitz II-Birkenau arrived in Taucha. Most of the prisoners in this transport came from Theresienstadt, with a few from Hungary. The men arrived at the same time as a transport of Jewish women. They were held in the camp complex on Wurzner Strasse 33, which was separated from the women's camp with barbed wire. Both the male and female subcamps were about a 30-minute walk from the HASAG factories, where the prisoners worked. The detachment leader of the male camp was SS-Scharführer Schmidt; the Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Martin. SS-Unterscharführer Langner was also involved in the camp's administration.

Later around 100 prisoners of other nationalities were brought to the camp, including French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Latvians, Poles, Germans, Russians, Swedes, and Slovaks. At the end of October or the beginning of November 1944, the camp reached 700 inmates (the highest number that would be reached) after 500 Danish policemen arrived at the camp. The policemen were used for a short time to construct a railway embankment close to the HASAG, and at the beginning of November, they were returned to the main Buchenwald camp. The loss of labor was compensated for in mid-November with the admission of new prisoners so that the camp strength reached at this time around 400 prisoners. This number would remain largely unchanged until the end of the camp—on March 29, 1945, there were 460 prisoners in the subcamp.

The prisoners worked in Factory III at HASAG where, among other things, they assembled antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and grenades. The working and living conditions were difficult, a fact supported by the number of illnesses the prisoners suffered, many of which resulted in death. They included tuberculosis, diphtheria, pneumonia, and heart attacks. The subcamp had an infirmary with SS medical orderlies and prisoner doctors and nurses. In the event of serious accidents, HASAG used the factory doctor and a doctor under contract. This suggests that HASAG and the SS, at least to a certain extent, wanted to maintain the valuable, trained workforce but were not interested in a basic, humane use of the prisoners' labor and an improvement in their work and living conditions.

Although contact was not envisaged between the male and female camps, it was tolerated by the camp command. Inmates from both camps could rehearse a New Year's performance and perform several times before the inmates of both camps.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 6, 1945. The prisoners were driven by foot in the direction of Teplitz-Schönau. According to survivors, their treatment along the way by the SS, under the command of SS-Scharführer Trautman, was brutal.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced in 1966 to investigate events in the camp and on the death march. In 1974, the investigations were transferred to the Cologne Central Office, which ceased investigating in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp (male) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 585–586. Martin Schellenberg in "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271, provides basic information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust and on selected HASAG subcamps in the Leipzig region. Klaus Hesse investigated the Third Reich's armaments program during World War II in *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der

Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

Archival documents on the Taucha subcamp are to be found in the AG-B, Bestand NS 4 Bu of the BA-K, as well as in the ITS Buchenwald-Bestand. The ZdL investigated the camp under file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TAUCHA (WOMEN)

Since 1939 the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) had had a factory in Taucha, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In 1939, the company had acquired in Taucha 33 storage buildings in Wurzner Strasse and converted the buildings into a factory for the production of cartridge shells and grenades. Production began in 1940. In the following years German and foreign forced laborers worked in Taucha, as in many other HASAG factories. Klaus Hesse, who has analyzed the armaments industry in the Leipzig region between 1933 and 1945, has connected the imposing increase in the number of HASAG "workforce members" (*Gefolgschaftsmitglieder*) with the increase in armaments production in the Third Reich: during "normal times" the HASAG had 2,000 Gefolgschaftsmitgliedern (according to the chairman of the HASAG supervisory board in a letter from 1943 to the Reich Trustee for Labor for the Saxon Business Region, or Reichstreuhänder für Arbeit für das Wirtschaftsgebiet Sachsen). By the end of 1939 the HASAG had 29,056; by the end of 1941, 43,468; in June 1943, 53,740; and in March 1944, around 64,000. Sixty percent of these workers were foreigners, and many of the forced laborers who slaved for the HASAG—at the end of 1944 it was more than 10,000—were not included in the statistics.

The forced laborers were accommodated mostly in barracks camps. At the beginning of September 1944, another barracks camp was established in the Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse in Taucha, which was fenced in with barbed wire and had guard towers. It was planned to hold more than 1,000 female concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the HASAG. After Leipzig-Schönefeld, Schlieben, and Altenburg, Taucha became the fourth female HASAG subcamp. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Buchenwald files on September 7, 1944, when 500 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) arrived in the camp. They had originally come from Auschwitz and had ended up in Taucha after traveling via Ravensbrück and the HASAG camps in Schlieben and Altenburg. More female Sinti and Roma were concentrated in Taucha than in any other Buchenwald subcamp. Many of the women worked with poisonous substances, as evidenced by the burns and discolorations on their skin and hair.

At the beginning of September 1944, the new camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt from Buchenwald, arrived in Taucha. Schmidt, whom the women soon began to fear because of his brutality, was in command of 50 SS men and 14 female guards.

Other transports arrived on September 16 and October 6, each with 300 women from Ravensbrück. Just about all of the women were political prisoners from many nations: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the United States. On October 10, 400 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz. They were accompanied by a transport of 100 men, for whose quarters one of the barracks in the women's camp was fenced off with barbed wire.

On October 13, 1944, the commander of the subcamp reported that the camp held 1,371 female and male prisoners including 335 female Gypsies, 400 female Jews, and 536 female "Aryans."

Jews and Sinti and Roma had to work in the most dangerous areas, where they quickly succumbed to the appalling work conditions. Within a month of the camp being founded, 168 women who could no longer work were sent back to Auschwitz, including 149 Sinti and Roma and 19 Jews. There the women were given new prisoner numbers and transferred back to Ravensbrück.

The women in the subcamp had inadequate clothing, and there was an almost complete lack of hygiene. For example, until the end of 1944 there was no washing facility for the women; it was only from December that the women were able to wash themselves and sometimes take a warm shower. It was only in November 1944 that the female prisoner doctor in the camp took up her practice. In these three months, 3 prisoners died and many of them suffered from typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and other illnesses caused by consumption, exhaustion, and malnutrition. In the autumn of 1944, on average 4.5 women were ill each day and confined to quarters, with 177 receiving outpatient treatment. The numbers of women confined to quarters from illness on January 20, 1945, had increased to 177.

In January 1945, the subcamp was placed under new command: SS-Unterscharführer Martin Wagner replaced the camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt. Supported by SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who was in command of all HASAG subcamps, Wagner demanded that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky immediately improve the women's medical care. In the following period, there was in fact a small improvement, but the SS was incapable of fundamentally improving the conditions of the women in the last few months of the war due to the general conditions in Germany and the general disinterest of the SS in the prisoners' situation. Toward the end of the camp's existence, 70 women who could no longer work were taken back to Ravensbrück. They were replaced by internal transfers from the HASAG complex of subcamps. Some 100 women arrived in Taucha from Leipzig-Schönefeld on February 28, 1945. A final transport of severely ill women left Taucha a few days before the subcamp was evacuated. 150 women were taken to Bergen-Belsen including 67 Sinti and Roma.

On April 6, 1945, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), or April 14, 1945, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, the evacuation of the approximately 1,200 women in the camp began. As with prisoners generally in the Leipzig region, the women from Taucha were led in an easterly direction until they reached the Elbe River near Riesa. From there

they marched south in the direction of Teplice. Many women were able to escape along the way, and many were shot by the SS when they could no longer march. The women were finally liberated by Soviet and U.S. troops when the troops entered the Sudetenland.

Eighty seriously ill women and a few nursing staff remained in the Taucha subcamp. After the SS left the camp, they were guarded by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) men. The prisoners were liberated a few days later by the U.S. Army.

In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the subcamp and the death march. In 1974, the preliminary results of the investigation were sent to the Central Office in Cologne. Investigations ceased in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 582–585. Information on the HASAG and its use of prisoners can be found in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; as well as in Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109.

There are several witness accounts of the Taucha subcamp. Ruth Elias, a survivor who with her future husband, one of the prisoners at the male camp who rehearsed and performed at the New Years' event, published her memoirs under the title *Die Hoffnung hielt mich am Leben* (Munich: VERLAG, 1988). The fate of survivor Nina Schalagina is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 85–87. Jeanne Levy-Rosenberg, another survivor, describes her evacuation in the spring of 1945 to Taucha and her one-week stay in the camp before the death march continued in *Durch die Hölle. Von Hoannd durch Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *Ravensbrück*, *Malchow*, *Taucha*, *zurück und nach Israel. Jüdische Schicksale 1944–1949*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre-Verlag, 2000), p. 116. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBl. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

The collections of the USHMMA hold several witness documents including oral history interviews with the survivors Ruth Elias [Eliaz] (RG 50–120*0036) and Erna Elerat (RG-50.120*0035). Other archival documents on the subcamp can be seen in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K), as well as IPN, sygn. 4. Investigations by the ZdL were conducted under reference file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 and are held at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TONNDORF ("T")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tonndorf with an initial 6 inmates, possibly as early as August 1941. Sources on the exact opening dates of the camp vary, while some surviving documentation indicates that the camp (or even an outlying work detail [Kommando] from Buchenwald with the same name) existed already in 1938. The Tonndorf camp's code name in related documentation is "T," and the average strength of the subcamp's prisoner population in the years 1944–1945 was about 45 inmates. Located about 5.5 kilometers (3.4 miles) from Bad Berka, the Tonndorf subcamp was created to supply laborers to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Construction Directorate) B II.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the camp opened either on August 30, 1941, with 5 Buchenwald inmates, or September 27, 1943, with 6 Buchenwald inmates. Correspondence from the SS-Obersturmführer and chief of Bauleitung II to the Buchenwald "protective custody" camp chief (Schutzhaftlagerführer), dated October 3, 1945, details instructions for bringing in food for the "six inmates of the Tonndorf Kommando."[1] By January 13, 1945, there were at least 44 inmates in the camp, and by March 29, 1945, 112, according to ITS. One transport of 40 inmates may have arrived in Berka in mid-March 1945 from the Buchenwald subcamp Abteroda (Thüringen).[2]

The discrepancy in dates may be related to the kind of work the prisoners were assigned to do upon their arrival in Tonndorf. The earlier Kommando (1941) was said to have worked for the Steinbruch Merkel (Merkel quarry), while later work assignments (Kommando numbers 121 and 91) were divided between the Bad Berka-Martynwerke and the Blankenhain Sandgruben (sand pits). The inmates were all male and appear to have been Polish, German, Russian, Czech, and French and/or Belgian.

Some information can be gathered about the earlier Kommando (or possibly subcamp) that was created in 1938, but it is difficult to ascertain whether this group of prisoners was the same as that assigned to the Bauleitung II in 1943. According to work statistics reports on expected labor assignments submitted in September and December 1938, and designated as "outlying work gangs" (*Kolonnen ausserhalb der Postenkette*), a Kommando was sent to Tonndorf to construct a camp in the vicinity of Tonndorf, near Bad Berka, as well as to perform excavation for future irrigation.[3] It is possible that this labor was begun by movable or temporary work Kommandos from Buchenwald and later continued, in part, by the inmates in the more permanent Tonndorf subcamp.

Moreover, according to ITS records, there was a subcamp or Kommando of Tonndorf called Bad Berka. It is noted

briefly in March 1945 that there were two transports from Buchenwald to Berka, the second of which also saw inmates transferred to Blankenhain (and one of which may have originated from the subcamp in Abteroda).[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tonndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tonndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Tonndorf subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tonndorf subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170, 209. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Tonndorf camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Other documentation may be found in the AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Verpflegung für Häftlinge Kommando Tonndorf," Weimar-Buchenwald, October 3, 1943, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 209.

2. "Transport Berka," Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik uber: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplatze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 3. September 1938" and "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik uber: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplatze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 9. September 1938," Buchenwald, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170.

4. "Transport Berka," KL Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (40 inmates) (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). See also "Transport Tonndorf," KL Buchenwald, ca. March 2, 1945 (25 inmates to Bad Berka) (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

TORGAU

The city of Torgau is on the Elbe River to the northeast of Leipzig. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Torgau with the arrival of a transport of 500 prisoners from Ravensbrück on September 4, 1944. The women were mostly French political prisoners—according to a survivor, two-thirds of them were members of the French resistance. There were also in the transport 3 Americans, 3 Britons, 3 Swiss, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, a Belgian, a Dane, a Pole, and a Russian, all of whom had been arrested in France. Most of the women wore their civilian clothes, which had been marked with a large cross sewn on in a conspicuous color so as to clearly identify the women as prisoners.

The prisoners worked in the army ammunitions facility or Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Heeresmuna) Torgau, which reported to the Heeresfeldzeugkommando Kassel. This structure might explain why the camp leader, Karl Weinhold, Stabsfeldwebel of the Wehrmacht, was transferred to Torgau where he became an SS-Oberscharführer. As part of his new assignment, Weinhold became a member of the Waffen-SS; prior to this, he had been a member of neither the SS nor the Nazi Party. Prisoners describe Weinhold as a "humane" camp leader. Under his command, the prisoners were not beaten, and there were no draconian punishments. Survivor Rachel Kaufmann, on the other hand, has described how after an escape attempt by a female inmate all the prisoners had their rations temporarily reduced to one-third as punishment. In light of the weakened condition of the prisoners, this must be seen as a draconian punishment. Twenty-five female overseers arrived with the prisoners. They had worked in local industries and had been sent to Ravensbrück for a short training course.

The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. It consisted of a brick building and several wooden barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated as well as an infirmary, kitchen barracks, tailor, and a wash building, which only had cold water. The camp was connected to the Heeresmunitionsanstalt by a path through a field.

The women worked in two shifts. They produced bombs and grenades as well and cleaned unexploded ordnance. The last of these activities was extremely dangerous: the prisoners had to scratch residue from the inside of the ordnance and then clean it in an acidic bath. While the women were given rubber aprons, their hands and faces were not protected, with the result that the chemicals damaged their skin and lungs. Already in September 1944, two prisoners died and several fell ill from tuberculosis. The camp was dissolved after one month, with one-half of the women being transported to the Abteroda subcamp on October 2, 1944, and the other half being returned on October 5, 1944, to Ravensbrück. Only eight French women remained in the camp and were given the Buchenwald prisoner numbers 37668 to 37675.

The second phase of the camp's history began on November 18, 1944, with the arrival of 250 Hungarian Jews. Most of these women came from Carpatho-Ukraine and Siebenbürgen and had been living in ghettos and camps from May–June 1944. They were taken finally to Germany via Auschwitz. Many of the women were related. Kaufmann, who was taken to Torgau with a transport from Bergen-Belsen, described in her memoirs that she and her fellow prisoners could not work for two weeks: they were so undernourished that they first had to be fed before they could work. They received daily bread, margarine, jam, sometimes sausage, and twice daily soup. According to Kaufmann, the prisoners were surprised by the clean accommodations (each block had its own canteen and dormitory), by their being allowed to sing and organize cultural events, and by the friendly and cooperative approach of the block elders.

Other prisoners have described the working and living conditions as more debilitating: the barracks swarmed with lice and other bugs; there was only warm water once a week;

and as soon as the women began to work, the food diminished in quantity: the women were given soup only while they worked and bread once a week. The women wore dark green overalls (other sources say dark blue) and wooden clogs while working in the munitions factory. They worked in day and night shifts and, according to Kaufmann, were assigned tasks on the basis of their hand sizes: women with large hands transported munitions by pulling and pushing wagons between the individual factory buildings; women with smaller hands assembled munitions and did precision work with a variety of munitions that were produced in Torgau. Relations with the German workers can only be described as complex: officially there was a ban on contact, and it seems that many workers did in fact ignore the prisoners. Kaufmann, however, relates cases of contact and support but also of shift foremen who screamed at the prisoners and beat them.

From March 1945, as a result of the lack of supplies and the approach of the Allied troops, work ceased in individual departments. Some women were now used to drag boxes of dynamite into underground bunkers in the forests around Torgau. Food became even more scarce.

There are two accounts of the end of the Torgau subcamp: historian Irmgard Seidel states that at the beginning of April the guards and female overseers disappeared, and the commander left the women to themselves. While the women remained at night in the camp, during the day they searched for food in the vicinity of the camp and thus were discovered by U.S. troops. This probably happened after April 10, 1945 (ITS puts the date for the camp's liberation as April 26, 1945). The camp leader Weinhold was arrested. The women then set off for Leipzig, where U.S. medical units cared for them, while others made their way home.

Kaufmann, on the other hand, states that the women were evacuated at the beginning of April in goods wagons. The women were given bread but no water. Along the way, the train was attacked by Allied bombers, killing prisoners. Kaufmann and five other female prisoners were able to get through to Berlin but cannot recall when and how the accompanying soldiers disappeared.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced the investigation into acts of violence in the camp in 1966. No brutal acts could be proven, and as the former camp leader, Weinhold, had died in 1966, the investigations ceased.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the entry on the Torgau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 590–592. Statements by the survivor Rachel Kaufmann are to be found in Gerda and Manfred Struck and Christina Mulolli, eds., *Rachels Erinnerungen: Ghetto Lodz—Auschwitz—Bergen-Belsen—Torgau* (Bonn: Gegen Vergessen—Für Demokratie e.V., 2002). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:60; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1845.

Investigations by the ZdL are filed under file IV 429 AR-Z 1941/66 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TRÖGLITZ [ALSO REHMSDORF, GLEINA] [AKA WILLE]

The Allies bombed the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) oil refineries on May 12 and 28, 1944, including the refinery at Tröglitz near Zeitz, where petroleum was derived from brown coal. The removal of the damage was slow, with the result that the Brabag commenced negotiations with the SS to use prisoners for this work. On June 4, the Buchenwald concentration camp transported the first prisoners to Tröglitz—an advanced detachment of 200 Dutch prisoners. They were accommodated in an inn at Gleina.

Until the dissolution of the camp at the beginning of April 1945, the prisoners were accommodated in three locations within the village district so that the camp is known under different names.[1] At the beginning, the prisoners lived in the village of Gleina; later, in a tent camp in Tröglitz near the Brabag factory; and from January 1, 1945, in a brick barracks camp in Rehmsdorf. The improvised camps at Gleina and Tröglitz existed simultaneously until the Gleina camp was dissolved in November 1944. All three locations were to the east of the small city of Zeitz, which later was in Sachsen-Anhalt, and to the south of Halle-an-der-Salle. The camps were initially constructed by Brabag and later by the Organisation Todt (OT), but with such haste that they remained incomplete so that the prisoners suffered from an acute shortage of space. There was a lack of toilets, washing facilities had not been properly thought through or were lacking, and there was no drainage system. Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky determined that there was a high risk of infection in the camp at Tröglitz and demanded that Brabag improve the prisoners' living conditions. The demand was prompted by economic considerations alone. The prisoners were sent to a public hospital in Zeitz for delousing before some of them, on their own initiative at the beginning of 1945, began the construction of a disinfection facility.

The SS named the camp after the cooperative Brabag factory manager, "Wille." It was the first Buchenwald subcamp that held Jewish prisoners. In comparison with other Buchenwald subcamps, it also held the largest number of Jewish prisoners. Characteristic of the camp was the murderous construction work that the prisoners had to perform, the high death rate, and the large fluctuation in prisoner numbers. Between Buchenwald and Tröglitz there developed a regular commuter traffic: sick and dying prisoners were exchanged for new prisoners; individual prisoner-functionaries traveled regularly back and forth to the main camp.

Between June 11 and September 8, 1944, the SS transported another 5,197 prisoners to the camp, mostly Hungarian Jews. There were also a few Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians,

Rumanians, Belgians, French, Latvians, and Germans in the camp. The Jews, who included the writer Imre Kertész, had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in May 1944 and then had been chosen for forced labor within Germany. From here they were transferred to Germany. The Brabag, which owned three other factories in Böhlen near Leipzig, Magdeburg/Rothensee, and Schwarzheide, used the prisoners exclusively for building and clearing work. The prisoners had to unload building materials, repair roads and railways, dig out damaged pipe and cable networks, and disarm unexploded ordnance. In so doing, German technicians could quickly rebuild the complicated chemical factory. The heavy building work and a mixture of violence and killings caused the prisoners to be completely exhausted within a few weeks. If a prisoner died on the Brabag site, they were often disposed of with the building rubble.[2]

The German war machine was heavily reliant on its own production of petroleum. Albert Speer, the minister for armaments, secured the production of petroleum as a result of the Allied bombardment. With Hitler's permission he instigated on May 30, 1944, the Geilenberg Program. Edmund Geilenberg, one of his most capable staff members, was put in charge of the program. Brabag was classified as an extremely important war industry and from no later than July 1944 worked closely with the Geilenberg staff. As a result, Brabag gained easier access to prisoners. The Armaments Ministry financed the reconstruction costs and the costs of the prisoners. Geilenberg and leading Brabag managers ruthlessly drove the construction work and with great urgency so that the prisoners' situation deteriorated.

In the summer of 1944, weakened and injured prisoners were transported several times from the subcamp to Buchenwald; on September 23 there was a transport of 996 prisoners. The majority were selected in Buchenwald and on October 3, 1944, transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On November 23, 1,000 prisoners were transported to Buchenwald, 2 of whom died on the way. Five hundred prisoners were transported on November 27 to the Berga-Elster subcamp (code name "Schwalbe V"), where they had to excavate caverns for the proposed subterranean relocation of the Tröglitz factory. Fifty prisoners were immediately selected by the SS command in Berga and transported on to Buchenwald, because they were no longer capable of working. On February 6, 1945, the SS filled the gap and deported 1,175 prisoners from Buchenwald to the subcamp, which in the meantime had been relocated to Rehmsdorf. The prisoners were mostly Poles, who probably had been sent from Auschwitz to Buchenwald between January 20 and 23. On the same day, the Rehmsdorf camp SS selected 618 exhausted prisoners and transported them back to the main camp. The prisoners were killed in the following days in Block 59 by injections. On March 9, 1945, another 554 exhausted prisoners were selected in Rehmsdorf and sent to the Bergen-Belsen camp.

According to available information, there were a total of 6,641 prisoners in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf who were forced to work.[3] Some 3,974 were selected and transported to other camps, of whom 2,000 were sent to death camps. According to SS administration files, at least 733 prisoners died in the subcamp. Of these, the SS had 658 cremated in the city crematoria in Gera, Altenburg, and Weissenfels. Indications that the Rehmsdorf prisoners were buried in mass graves at nearby Mumsdorf remain unconfirmed. Another 788 prisoners died on various transports or shortly after their arrival in Buchenwald in Block 59. The death march, which the remaining prisoners were driven on in April 1945, resulted in at least 934 deaths. In Reitzenhain on the German/Czech border, there was a massacre when low-flying Allied fighters attacked the prisoners' train. The survivors fled into a nearby forest where they were hunted and seized by SS units, members of the local Nazi Party, SA, Hitler Youth, and local Reitzenhain citizens. There was a bloodbath as the armed hunters killed 388 prisoners. The survivors reached Theresienstadt on April 21, 1945. Less than a quarter of the Rehmsdorf prisoners survived the Holocaust in Rehmsdorf and the other murder sites.

Rudolf Kenn, a long-serving member of the Buchenwald camp SS, was in charge of the SS guards at the subcamp. Seventy-seven percent of the guards were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been transferred in 1944 from the army and the Luftwaffe to the SS.[4] None of them were called to account after the war for crimes committed in the Wille subcamp. Only a prisoner, the camp elder Hans Wolf, was sentenced to death in 1946 in the U.S. Army's Dachau trial for his brutality.

Contact between the prisoners and the local population was ambivalent. To be sure the local Nazi Party advised the villagers of the establishment of the camp and prohibited any contact with the prisoners. Nevertheless, there were many areas of contact. Prisoners worked on the construction sites with German tradesmen and Brabag employees. Prisoners also repaired private houses in the surrounding villages that had been damaged by air raids. Sick and wounded prisoners were taken to the Brabag clinic and treated by a doctor from Zeitz. The prisoners' corpses were examined by a local doctor. In addition, the state authorities were also occupied with the camp: the Merseburg Regierungspräsident was informed about all construction activity, and the registry office and the Gera cemetery argued with the SS about the correct method to register and cremate dead prisoners.

The Brabag engineers who were in charge of the construction work were put in charge by the camp SS and were extremely well informed. Even a member of the board, Heinrich Bütefisch, inspected the prisoners' work. After the end of the war, Brabag denied any responsibility for the prisoners and rejected all claims for compensation by former prisoners.[5] After Bütefisch had been convicted in the IG Farben trial, he was awarded the Federal German Service Cross (Bundesverdienstkreuz) in 1964 by Federal President Heinrich Lübke. After public protests, Lübke had to recall the award.

SOURCES This article is based on Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler,"* 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). The camp was researched

for the first time by the East Berlin Colloquium under Professor Walter Bartel. The resulting article, which was never published, is to be found at YV. Also important is the work by Lothar Czossek, *Vernichtung, Auftrag und Vollendung. Dokumentation über das Aussenlager Rehmsdorf des KZ Buchenwald* (Rehmsdorf: Heimatverein, 1997).

Primary documentation for this camp can be found in AG-B, YVA, and the Nuremberg Trials. Additional information on the camp staff may be found in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 156/ 71. On Brabag's compensation cases, see LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1–3. Imre Kertész published his memoirs in *Roman eines Schicksallosen*, 6th ed. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002); as did survivor Michael Rozenek in *"Wie wird es einmal enden?* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990). Other survivors' reports are to be found in the local museum at Rehmsdorf, Lothar Czossek, as well as in YV. For details on the Geilenberg Program, see the Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow essay "Ingenieure als Täter, Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation: Interdiziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Ralph Gabriel et al., (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2004).

Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. There are various accounts on the date the camp was dissolved: Lothar Czossek puts the date as April 6 and 7, Walter Bartel, April 12 and 13. The SS Buchenwald documents cease from April 1 and do not mention the dissolution of the camp.
2. Report by Kurt Lenzner, 1979, AG-B, 62–54–1, AL Brabag/Zeitz.
3. All the dates on the prisoner transport and the number of dead have been gathered from the AG-B and YVA. The numbers that Lothar Czossek derived from prisoner reports have not all been confirmed. AG-B, NS 4 Bu/ 136b und 230; 4–46–1-18/ Stärkemeldungen; NS 4/136a; Filme Nr. 18a und 26; Häftlingsnummernkartei.
4. BA-L (formerly ZdL), 429 AR-Z 156/ 71.
5. LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1–3.

UNNA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Unna (Westfalen province) in July 1943 to provide inmate labor to the 5th SS-Korps-Nachrichten-Abteilung, which was stationed in Unna. They were assigned to work for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police).

The camp's population did not fluctuate greatly during its seven-month operation. The first transport of 50 inmates was deported to Unna on July 24 or 26, 1943.[1] Most of the inmates on this transport were Poles, with a smaller number of "asocial" prisoners. All of the inmates were men. Additional transports from Buchenwald were sent to the Unna subcamp in the following months: on August 9, 8 inmates; September 22, 5 inmates; October 13, 5 inmates; and December 2, 2 or 3 inmates.[2] The inmates were most likely housed in an old brick factory near the SS barracks on Iserlohner Strasse.

The Unna subcamp was last noted in related records on February 29, 1944, with 50 prisoners. The camp may have been closed and evacuated on March 3, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Unna subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Unna in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also K.-G. Klietmann's *Die Waffen-SS: Eine Dokumentation* (Osnabrück: Verlag "Der Freiwillige" GmbH, [1965]) for brief description and breakdowns of the structure and locations of SS units. [Note that this Order of Battle was published by the Waffen-SS veterans organization.]

Surviving primary documentation on the Unna subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Unna camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1."Transport Unna," K.L. Buchenwald, July 24/26, 1943 [exact date illegible] (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
2. See transport lists to Unna, K.L. Buchenwald, August 9, 1943; September 22, 1943; October 13, 1943; and December 2, 1943; (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

WANSLEBEN ("MF," "WILHELM," "BIBER II") [AKA MANSFELD]

During the course of the war, the production facilities in the Third Reich were increasingly affected by growing Allied air superiority. The ability to preserve the manufacturing capabilities for important war products became increasingly difficult. Allied air raids became more and more precise and were directed at the most important industrial facilities, such as aircraft manufacturers, which could scarcely sustain any more damage. At the beginning of 1944, Hitler decided that the most important factories should go underground. Disused mines with their kilometer-long (0.6-mile-long) tunnels were ideal for this purpose. However, there were not as many mines as were needed. In order to meet the demands of the Führer, additional bomb-safe facilities had to be created. They either had to be located in underground facilities, which had not been used before, or in above-ground buildings, which had to be built. These building and production plans demanded an enormous labor supply.

The subcamp Wansleben, which opened in January 1944, was a small part in this ambitious, urgent plan. It was located not far from Buchenwald.[1] The SS chose this location for male prisoners using the requisite guidelines. It was an unused potassium mine, Einsatz Kalliwerk Georgi in Wansleben am See, for which an underground Junkers factory was planned. The underground facilities were code-named "Wilhelm" and "Biber II." Other names associated with the camp included "MF" and Mansfeld. Documents held by the International Tracing Service (ITS) mention the camp for the first time on March 13, 1944, in a transport document from Buchenwald, which lists a transport of 50 male inmates from Buchenwald to Wilhelm.[2] These inmates were predominantly political Polish and Russian inmates. A handwritten notation "A VI" indicates with the letter *A* the planning proposal and with the number *VI* the order in which the project would be realized. It signifies that this operation fell under the program of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstaab) A6. The SS command, responsible for the use of prisoners in the subcamp in the development of the mine, was known as "A VI." From the beginning of April, the detachment was known by several names. On March 15, 1944, the first reference to the use of 300 prisoners appears.[3] Until February 1945, there is documentary evidence to support the use of labor by this subcamp. The highest number of prisoners, 844, is recorded in December 1944.

There are other names that appear in the documents and refer to the use of prisoners in the production process. On July 26 1944, the company Christian Mansfeld GmbH ("Georgi-Mine") is mentioned with 50 prisoners. Prisoners transferred from here on August 24, 1944, and November 13, 1944, are recorded as working for the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Biber II." Other firms to use this name were:

- The Kali-Werk Georgi (only for the duration of the war); the firm Christian Mansfeld GmbH Leipzig was the sole shareholder. Prisoners were used until March 1945. On January 15, 1945, there were 1,140 prisoners. This was the highest number.
- The company M. Wagner, which from November 1, 1944, used 281 prisoners. A further reference to the use of labor from March 1945 is still available. On November 27, 1944, there were 306 prisoners, the highest number for this company.

A letter dated June 11, 1944, from the work detachment "A 6 Wansleben am See" to the labor head at the main camp with reference to the exchange of prisoners shows the importance of the use of prisoner labor. The use of every prisoner was vital. For this reason, there had to be an exchange of sick for healthy prisoners. In certain cases, prisoners were put in the infirmary.[4] There were even measures taken against flies and fleas so as to preserve hygiene.

Former inmate Pierre Bourlier has recorded some details about the living and working conditions within the Wansleben subcamp.[5] Deported to the camp in October 1944, he reported that the inmates experienced constant hunger. "The work was nothing, the beatings nothing major, the lack of sleep nothing, the discomfort nothing, the vermin an accident, but the hunger never failed to remind us of our condition." Hunger reached obsessive proportions, and with the arrival of more and more prisoners at Wansleben, rations diminished increasingly.

According to Bourlier, the workday began at 4:00 A.M. for the inmates, who were wakened brutally by the block leader (Blockführer). Prior to being sent to work, roll calls lasted for hours, and according to Bourlier, the commandant himself delivered blows to the assembled inmates. Work in the underground factory was harsh due to the high temperatures, artificial blinding light, and thick dust. Shifts left for the underground factory every 12 hours, and inmates were used to transport and install machinery. Once these were installed, they were assigned to more "skilled" labor in production. Bourlier has noted that there were attempts by the controllers to pass through defective parts to production; however, this was difficult as the assembly process was monitored closely. One chemical engineer, a Hungarian prisoner, was beaten and humiliated in front of the Kommando for accepting 200 unusable pieces. According to Bourlier, these kinds of punishments were not rare.[6]

From the transport and admission lists, it is possible to determine the nationalities of the prisoners. There were Albanians, Belgians, Danes, Germans, French, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Serbs, Spaniards, Czechs, Hungarians, and stateless prisoners. It is also possible to ascertain their last places of detention before Wansleben. They were Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen.

SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Mathesius was the first commander of the camp; he was followed by SS-Sturmscharführer (Christian name, Hermann?) Helbig. Public executions took place in Wansleben in a factory hall, which was next to the salt factory. The prisoners, under the threat of being beaten, were forced to watch the executions.[7] On April 6, 1945, a few days before the camp was evacuated, SS-Untersturmführer Göbecke, commander of the SS-Staff A VI, sent a courier to Buchenwald to ascertain what was to be done when the enemy appeared.

The Wansleben detachment was evacuated on April 11–12, 1945.[8] On April 14, 1945, the American army occupied the village of Hinsdorf and freed the detachment. Soon after liberation, the Hinsdorf villagers reported details of the evacuation transport. The evacuation transport is said to have gone through Angersdorf, Zöberitz, Nienberg, Weissandt-Gölzau, Arensdorf, Köthen, and Quellendorf. According to contemporary statements, the victims of the evacuation are buried with respect in the cemetery in Köthen. The number is not known.

SOURCES Documents from the time of the subcamp were most useful. The documents are prisoner lists, employer requests, strength reports of the detachments, and documents

that enable the chronology of the detachment to be determined. These documents also form a record group in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 50 for files pertaining to Wansleben).

The article is also based on information in secondary sources. See, for example, Thomas Fickenwirth et al., *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig 1939–1945: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2004). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), p. 595.
2. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 318 [4–9]).
3. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 52 [382 R]).
4. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 338 [4]).
5. Pierre Bourlier, "Buchenwald Matricule 76888," unpub. paper, available at http://eisenbei.club.fr/buchenwald_matricule_76888.html.
6. Ibid.
7. "Transcripts 22. Januar 1946–4. Februar 1946," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, *Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, (Munich: Dephin Verlag, 1984) 6: 278.
8. Bourlier also describes extensively one account of the evacuation march and liberation en route by American troops.

WEFERLINGEN ("GAZELLE")

The Weferlingen subcamp (code name "Gazelle"), located in today's Gardelegen district not far from Helmstedt, is first mentioned in the files of the Buchenwald concentration camp on August 22, 1944. At this time, 505 male prisoners were sent in the direction of Weferlingen, located in the Prussian province of Saxony, to prepare underground caverns for the relocation of armaments facilities. In the "Gerhard" mine near Walsbeck, whose site office was located in Weferlingen, Brüssing Nutzkraftwagen AG and its suppliers had already begun to relocate their production facilities by early 1944. At first the prisoners were housed in tents near the mine, on the Buchberg. Later, some of them were accommodated in barracks in Gralsleben (other sources say in nearby Walsbeck near Helmstedt). The remainder of the subcamp prisoners worked underground and were accommodated there: the prisoners slept in bunk beds that were located in the mine's tunnels.

The prisoners were used to extend the caverns, to prepare them for the installation of the machines, and to transport the machines. The construction project company Gerhard, Weferlingen, the infrastructure development company Dallmann (Westfalen), Büssing AG, and Niedersächsische Motorenwerke are named by the International Tracing Service (ITS) as employers of the prisoners. The prisoners have described the working conditions as extraordinarily difficult. Almost weekly the sick, exhausted, and those incapable of working were returned to Buchenwald to be replaced by healthier Buchenwald prisoners. In this way the total number of prisoners in the subcamp remained constant, between 440 and 460; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated October 28, 1944, lists 472 laborers for the Weferlingen subcamp, and one dated April 11, 1945, puts the number at 449. As Frank Baranowski in his essay on the Weferlingen subcamp states, the subcamp prisoners comprised around two-thirds of the approximately 650 laborers working at the construction site.

Despite the harsh exploitation of the camp inmates' labor, the construction did not proceed as quickly as planned. It was only at the end of January 1945 that the first production sites commenced operation. Most likely, concentration camp inmates were used here for the production of engines for submarines, aircraft, and high-speed boats.

Werferlingen was one of the Buchenwald subcamps that was not evacuated. Baranowski thinks that this probably had something to do with a decision of the camp's commandant who refused to obey an order from the Buchenwald main camp to evacuate the camp. According to Baranowski, the camp was liberated by Allied troops on April 12, 1945. On the other hand, the ITS gives April 14, 1945, as the date the camp was liberated. This date is based on a statement given by a prisoner.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Weferlingen subcamp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 599–602. References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in the exhibition catalog Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Berlin [West], 1990), p. 104; in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; as well as in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:61; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in a variety of original documents. Transport and transfer lists of the Gazelle camp are to be found in NARA, RG 242, Film 26, pp. 16848–16855, 16860. The subcamp's Bestandsliste and Stärkemeldungen are located in the AG-B, collections 46–1-18 and 46–1-20. SS Forderungsnachweise for prisoners in Weferlingen are held in the BA-B, Bestand All. Proz. 2/Nie

4185 (n.p.). Documents relating to the underground work are held in AOCZ, Bestand VS85-III (n.p.).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WEIMAR (*GUSTLOFF WERKE I AND II*)

Although numerous outlying prisoner and forced labor work Commandos hired out for SS and private firms dotted the landscape of Weimar and its vicinity during World War II, the firm that exploited the most inmate labor was the Gustloff-Werke I (the so-called Fritz-Sauckel-Werk, or FSW, also known as Gustloff Weimar), for which a work Kommando was established on February 16, 1942, to produce carbines. The exact location of the Kommando or subcamp for Gustloff I could not be determined; it may have been a separate camp in or around Suhl, or production may have been issued from a barracks within Buchenwald itself prior to the construction of Gustloff II.

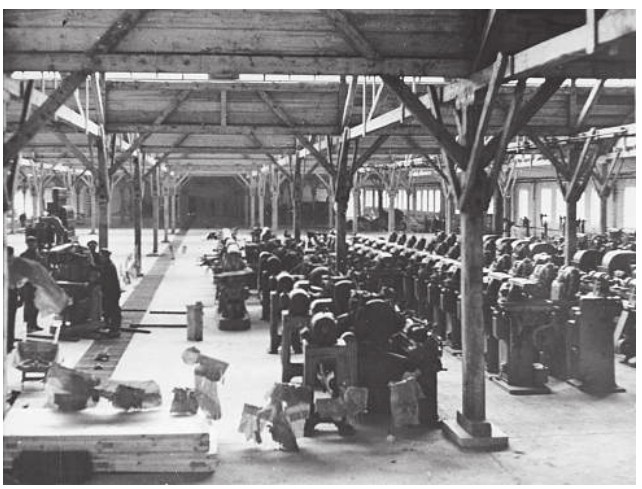
After lengthy negotiations between the SS and Gustloff, a second Gustloff factory (Gustloff-Werke II or Gustloff II Buchenwald) was established in the eastern part of the Buchenwald camp in March 1943, after about a year and a half of construction, which also used inmate labor from Buchenwald. Construction on Gustloff II was slated to begin on July 13, 1942, by Hans Kammler's SS-Building Brigades, according to correspondence between Oswald Pohl and Heinrich Himmler in the spring of that year.[1] Technical planning for Gustloff II was left to the responsibility of the Gustloff firm, including design of the factory space. The Gustloff firm owned the machinery and supervised its installation. Production in Gustloff II soon lagged behind the envisioned target goal of 75,000 carbine pieces due to construction delays and labor allocation errors. In time, the Gustloff firm in Buchenwald would be transformed to produce machine guns and other automatic assault weapons, a technical shift that slowed production even further and caused Himmler great dissatisfaction.

Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simson's firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter. The director of Gustloff was Fritz Walther.

One of the Armaments Ministry's pilot projects to incorporate industry into the concentration camps, the use of concentration camp inmate labor from Buchenwald in Gustloff I stemmed from an agreement between the SS and the directorship of Gustloff. Inmates were "rented" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled laborer and 4 RM per day per unskilled laborer.[2] Likewise, the cost of inmate labor in Gustloff II was the same.[3] The inmates were to be used in the production of infantry vehicles, gun barrels, carbines, tools, and other munitions. According to transport lists to and from the Gustloff Weimar camp, there were several national groups represented by the prisoners: Russians, Poles, Czechs, French, Dutch, and Germans. The camp held political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), and Jews—all were male.[4]

In July 1942, construction on Gustloff II began, and the complex would consist of 13 plant halls in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Eleven halls were to be used for armaments production for Gustloff, and 2 halls would be assigned to "Mittelbau," which would produce control modules for V-2 (vengeance) weaponry. The SS described the construction efforts as Project X, and in a Kommando of the same name, inmates were assigned to build the halls. Until construction was completed, carbine production for Gustloff already set up in barracks (the exact location of which is unknown—it may have been within the Buchenwald camp itself) was continued. In the spring of 1943, after the completion of the first 8 work halls, Gustloff II began to absorb some production capability. In addition to carbines, automatic assault weapons and parts were to be manufactured; accordingly, the number of inmates assigned increased. In March 1942, 163 inmates worked in the Gustloff I barracks, and in June 1943, the number amounted to 1,088 in Gustloff II.[5] By July 1944 the number of people assigned to Gustloff I and II climbed to 4,824 inmates, plus 2,268 foreign slave laborers and 1,074 German workers and staff.

Work in Gustloff I and II was very difficult for the inmates. Shifts lasted between 10 and 12 hours and were divided between day and night. Work was performed from Monday to Saturday. Inmates faced strict disciplinary measures and supervision. According to guidelines issued by the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, in November 1943, and enforced by the directors of the factory, each prisoner was to be judged according to his efficiency in terms of his output as a worker. Anyone who did



Prisoners work at the Gustloff-Werke munitions plant near Buchenwald concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS # 85867, COURTESY OF AG-B

not reach his assigned quota by the end of the week was to be punished or suffer from a withdrawal of rations. Conversation at the work area was not allowed, and anyone found not working according to the described guidelines was to be severely punished.[6] Mieczysław Makowski, who was assigned to work at Gustloff-Werke, recalled his days in Gustloff and working in the Kommandos: "A blur of mud and dirt, oil flowing from the broken machinery in the bombed plant which we were supposed to clean up, incessant shouts of the *Kapos* and the enraged SS, the swooshing sounds of the whips, and sporadic pistol shots or machine gun burst from the watch towers remind me that the end could be near indeed, and perhaps not in the way I would like."[7]

Contact between the prisoners and the German and other workers within the factory was strictly prohibited, although there were interactions. Generally the civilian workers were ambivalent toward the inmates; however, there were some examples of individual assistance provided to the inmates. For example, one worker named Karl Werner intervened on behalf of four inmates who were slated to be transferred to Dora. Other workers went out of their way to report inmates of suspected sabotage or idleness, which resulted in their immediate punishment. Inmates also recall being beaten by the German masters and foremen. Former prisoner Heinz Gross reported that acts of sabotage, either through organized poor construction in certain stages of the manufacture process, using the wrong material to produce certain tools, or through sheer underproduction, were frequent at Gustloff-Werke. According to Gross, sabotage was possible due to the lack of technical knowledge of the civilian masters, engineers, and other supervisory personnel in the factory.[8]

Transports of inmates to the Gustloff subcamp from Buchenwald were frequent. Inmates who were too ill or physically exhausted to work were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) of Buchenwald, where they generally perished. The frequency and number of inmates transferred to the Buchenwald infirmary over the camp's three-year operation are evidence of the terrible living and working conditions within the camp.[9]

The commandant of the Gustloff camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peter Merker. From a report dated January 31, 1945, by the SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky, there were 2,350 inmates in Gustloff I. The SS medic assigned to the camp was named Wilhelm, and there were 49 guard troops in the camp, according to the report.[10] Prisoner reports on the brutal treatment and arbitrary murder by the SS are plentiful. Max Pabst reported that he observed SS Sergeant Schmidt's sadistic treatment of prisoners: shooting prisoners at point-blank range due to his irritation with them, drowning another inmate in a water-filled container, and torturing a young Russian prisoner who he caught eating tree bark out of desperate hunger.[11]

On August 24, 1944, the installations at Gustloff II were almost completely destroyed during an intense Allied bombing.[12] Inmates were forced to remain at their assigned workplaces during the 15-minute bombardment. At least 315 inmates died, 525 were severely wounded, and at least 900 others injured less severely. Armaments production in Gustloff II was handicapped considerably. Gustloff I was also bombed on February 9, 1945, also hindering production. In this attack, 91 German workers and 93 slave laborers and Ostarbeiter (Eastern European workers) were killed, as well as 300 inmates, with at least as many wounded.



Prisoners clearing damage at the Gustloff-Werke II munitions plant near Buchenwald, following the August 24, 1944, U.S. bombing raid.
USHMM WS # 85869, COURTESY OF AG-B

Most likely inmates working for the Gustloff complex were absorbed into the Buchenwald main camp by April 1945 and were either evacuated earlier or liberated on April 11, 1945.

One guard from the Weimar subcamp, Bernhard Rakers, was tried in Osnabrück in connection with his maltreatment of prisoners in Gustloff and elsewhere. He received a life sentence plus 15 years.[13]

SOURCES Several secondary sources provide information about the Weimar subcamp of Buchenwald. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Weimar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. A useful study of camps in Weimar, and which forms the basis of this entry, was written by Jens Schley, *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager, 1937–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1999). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Discussion of the administrative conflicts surrounding the creation of the Gustloff satellite can be found in Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 190–198.

Surviving primary documentation on the Weimar subcamp can be found in various archives. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 112/2. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4),

BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 205, 206, 133, and 119. Testimony from former Weimar inmate Alexander Agafonow is published in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Holm Kirsten and Wulf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002). See also USHMMA, RG-02.075*01, for the testimony of Mieczysław Makowski, another former inmate of the camp. The official SHAEF report on Buchenwald (1945) also contains pertinent information; see USHMMA, RG-04.015*01. See also the USHMMPA for aerial shots of the destruction of the Gustloff II factory as well as of prisoners working on the assembly line in Gustloff II (WS 85867). For the Rakers case, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Behelfsmässigen Bau einer Gewehrfabrik in Weimar-Buchenwald in Verbindung mit den Gustloff-Werken," published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 238.

2. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, 6:765.

3. Ibid., p. 765.

4. See Weimar/Buchenwald transport lists collection, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2).

5. See "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald (various, 1942)," BA NS-4 Buchenwald, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Gustloff lists are broken down by "Gustloff-W. Tag" (day shift), "Nacht" (night shift), "Lager" (camp area), and "Barackenbau" (barracks construction) as well as by skilled and unskilled labor.

6. Published in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 303.

7. Mieczysław Makowski, "A digest of memoirs of a Polish Holocaust survivor, 1992," USHMMA, RG-02.075*01.

8. Heinz Gross, "Sabotage in the Buchenwald Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, pp. 311–312.

9. See the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2), for further detailed information.

10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt" Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 251.

11. Max Pabst, "Murders in Building the Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, p. 303.

12. See USHMMPA, WS 04756, 04757, 04758, 04759, 85885 (courtesy of NARA and USAFHRA) for aerial photographs of the targeted areas and subsequent destruction.

13. Case 340 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

WERNIGERODE ("RICHARD")

The Wernigerode subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains. It was attached to the Rautal-Werke GmbH, which in the 1930s manufactured cylinders and engine housings for a range of aircraft, cars, and speed boats. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the factory had been converted, at the instigation of the Reich Air Ministry, into the most modern of German light metal foundries. It was prepared for war production and was to supply the Junkers factory in Dessau and the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg.

During the war, the Rautal factory was constantly plagued by workforce shortages. As early as 1941, around 300 forced and foreign laborers from France and Belgium were used in the factory, being accommodated in a camp on Veckenstedter Weg on the edge of the camp. From 1942, male prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were also used in the Rautal factories. At the end of their daily shifts, they returned to the main camp, which was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) away. In 1943, the decision was made to accommodate the concentration camp prisoners where they worked, most likely because of the long route they had to travel. The forced labor camp on Veckenstedter Weg, probably because of its isolated but close location to the factory, was chosen to accommodate the prisoners from Buchenwald.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on March 25, 1943. An advance detachment of 95 prisoners arrived at the camp, which now had the code name "Richard." There were already three wooden barracks there. To these four were added: five of the barracks were for prisoner accommodations, one for the Kapos, and one functioned as a kitchen and washroom. The camp was fenced in with a double, 3.5-meter-high (11.5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. The inner fence was electrified. Barracks for the SS and a bunker were located outside the camp.

The camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann. Under his command, 56 SS men guarded the prisoners who mostly came from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. There were only a few prisoners from Germany or other European countries. The number of prisoners in 1944 was around 800; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), dated October 28, 1944, puts the number of prisoners in Richard at 789; a Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, lists 802 prisoners. Kurt Wabbel was the camp elder and Kapo.

The prisoners not only expanded the camp; they worked in the Rautal factories processing metal, in the foundry, in the coring section, in the fettling shop, and in departments dealing with quality control and dispatch. The prisoners also worked at nearby Galgenberg hill, where under the code name "Mergel" they prepared underground production sites. None of them were ready by the end of the war. Other prisoners laid railway tracks, especially as part of the relocation of the Richard camp in November 1944 to Hasserode at a site at Steinerne Renne. Around 500 prisoners had been transferred to this camp by

December 1944. The remaining prisoners were taken to the Schönebeck and Westeregeln subcamps, and the camp at Veckenstedten Weg was dissolved. As with the old camp, the new Hasserode camp was surrounded by a double electrified fence enclosing four accommodation barracks, two large factory buildings, a kitchen, and three barracks for the SS. There was a rail connection that led directly to the production buildings. There were 49 SS guards who were substituted with Luftwaffe members and uniformed Romanians, Hungarians, and Croatians. In the new camp, the prisoners continued to work in armament production, producing parts for the V-2.

Within a short period of time, the prisoners were either sick or incapable of working. The reasons for this were the exhausting work conditions, the inadequate nutrition, and the lack of cleanliness in the camp. During the camp's existence, there were at least 50 transfers of groups of invalid and exhausted prisoners back to the Buchenwald main camp. At least 11 prisoners are known to have died in the camp. Estimates put the number of deaths in the camp at 18 at least.[1] An indication of the difficult work conditions in the Wernigerode camp was the high number of escapes: at least 7 prisoners whose escape attempts did not succeed were executed in the subcamp, 6 of them Poles.

The Wernigerode subcamp evacuation march began on April 10, 1945. Around 500 prisoners left the camp, but only 57 arrived 16 days later at Leitmeritz (present-day Litomerice in the Czech Republic).

In 1947, the detachment leader of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann, was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES There are several descriptions of the Wernigerode subcamp. A comprehensive description of the camp, written by Franziska Jahn, is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 606–609. Today there is a memorial on the camp site on Veckenstedten Weg that can also be seen on the Internet: www.wernigerode.de/WRPortal/Landkreis/Kultur_und_Kunst/Mahn–+und+Gedenkst%C3%A4tte/. Another description of the Wernigerode camp is to be found in the brochure Landkreis Wernigerode, ed., *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.). The subcamp is also referred to in *Niemals Vergessen! Gedenkort für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus und Stätten der Unmenschlichkeit des NS-Regimes* (Magdeburg: Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., 2005); and the documents in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999). The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, 2000), p. 139, where the Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, is mentioned. The English exhibition catalog Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1937–1945: A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition* (Frankfurt am Main: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), p. 177, shows the Wernigerode camp in a map of Buchenwald subcamps. This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:62; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. See Landkreis Wernigerode, *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.), p. 24.

WESTEREGELN ("MAULWURF," "TARTHUN," "MW")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Westeregeln (Saxony) in October 1944. Inmates were deported to the Westeregeln subcamp, code-named "Maulwurf," "Tarthun," or "Mw," to provide labor for construction projects that would enable fighter jet production to go underground to shelter it from Allied bombardments, which had increased since 1943. The Westeregeln inmates were assigned to construct an underground facility for the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke, JFM), Zweigwerke Schönebeck. Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the JFM hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1]

Contradictory information provides only elusive indication about the exact location of the Westeregeln subcamp itself. Secondary sources state that the inmates were housed initially in the Hadmersleben subcamp, where Buchenwald prisoners were used for work on construction and the manufacture of aircraft parts in two different work details (Kommandos): "Hans" and "Ago." The inmates were then brought to work in the Westeregeln mines. At some point during the camp's nearly five-month operation, the inmates were moved to barracks near shaft III of the Kaliwerke mines (also known as the Salzwerk Westeregeln GmbH, Werk 7), northwest of Westeregeln. There may have also been a subcamp located near shaft IV/VI in Tarthun, but it is unclear if this is the same as that which housed the Westeregeln inmates or is a separate barracks within the same camp complex. Marcel Lorin, a former inmate of Schönebeck, noted that the Westeregeln subcamp was located in the western part of the village of Egeln, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Schönebeck.

The first transport of inmates to the Westeregeln subcamp left Buchenwald on October 31, 1944, and was composed of 50 inmates.[2] A transport from Buchenwald left on January 29, 1945, and included 238 inmates.[3] Inmates were also transferred from the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald in several

instances: November 28, 1944 (50 inmates); December 26 (148 inmates); January 31, 1945 (1 inmate); February 2 (12 inmates); February 6, 1945 (8 inmates); February 9 and 19 (12 inmates each); and March 10, 1945 (1 inmate).[4]

The inmates were all male and appear to be mainly Polish, Russian, and French. According to a report on the conditions of medical attention in the Buchenwald subcamps, submitted by SS garrison doctor Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS medic in charge in Westeregeln was Naumann. At this time, there were 27 guards assigned to the camp, which held 564 prisoners.[5]

A Belgian former inmate who was transferred from Schönebeck to Westeregeln in December 1944, Léon Humblet, recalled that the camp consisted of a few wooden barracks 500 meters (547 yards) from the salt mine. The inmates worked in the assembly and finishing of parts for the He (Heinkel) 162. In March 1945, the rate of production was doubly accelerated. Working underground, the inmates suffered in terrible heat but emerged to below-zero temperatures above ground. Hygienic conditions in Westeregeln were also dismal, and water was not provided to the camp until three weeks before the evacuation.

The camp was last mentioned in Buchenwald records on April 4, 1945, and it was most likely evacuated on April 11. The inmates were assembled and evacuated on foot in groups of 100. After about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles), the SS abandoned the columns, and the inmates dispersed in the region of Magdeburg the following day.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Westeregeln subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Westeregeln in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Westeregeln subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 11/2. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found at AG-B. A former inmate of the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald, Marcel Lorin, has written a brief passage on Westeregeln based on survivor testimony in his book *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Maulwurf," October 31, 1944 (BU 11/2), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Transport Maulwurf," K.L. Buchenwald, January 29, 1945 (BU 11/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists collected in BU 11/2, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also additional transport lists to Schönebeck collected in BU 8/12 and BU 41/3.

5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

WITTEN-ANNEN ("AGW")

The Buchenwald subcamp in Witten-Annen was created in September 1944 to supply prisoner labor to the Ruhrstahl Annener Gussstahlwerk (code-named "AGW") in support of increased German rearmament efforts in the last year of the war. Like other subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp and within the camp system more generally, the supply of prisoner labor to the AGW, a steel factory, followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the factory. Inmates were hired out from the WVHA by the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.

AGW was founded in 1865. One of the leading producers of steel casting, it boasted a long tradition of armaments production. In 1930, the AGW firm combined with other steel manufacturers in Hattingen and Witten to form the Ruhrstahl AG. During World War II, foreign workers, especially Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other slave laborers, filled the gaps in Ruhrstahl's labor supply. The workers, which came to include Italian military internees as well, were housed in provisional accommodations near the factory, and living conditions were primitive. But by late summer 1944, due to increased production goals and waning successes in the German war effort, additional workers were still needed. In August 1944, the administrative leaders of the Ruhr iron and steel industrial complexes announced that concentration camp inmates would be used as workers in the factories.

On September 16, 1944, 700 inmates were rounded up in the Buchenwald main camp and were slated for deportation to the Witten-Annen subcamp. Among the first transport to the new subcamp were over 200 declared skilled workers, including locksmiths, metalworkers, electricians, and engineers. Not all inmates deported there were considered skilled laborers, however. The inmates were crowded onto closed freight cars, and the transport to Witten-Annen lasted several days. Upon arrival at the local train station, the accompanying Kommando from Buchenwald took leave of the inmates, who were handed

over to a contingent of SS guards. The prisoners were marched to the camp, in full view of the local population.

The inmates arrived to a newly constructed, nearly completed, camp complex. The subcamp consisted of four barracks within the inmate section of the camp, which housed 150 prisoners each, a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*), and other functional buildings, as well as living quarters for the SS guard staff. The inner inmate camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fencing, and the camp was flanked by watchtowers. From the beginning of 1945, SS troops patrolled outside the fenced-in area with guard dogs. The camp was located near the Dortmund-Witten train line.

Because the camp was relatively new, the inmates initially perceived the living conditions in Witten as an improvement to those they had experienced in Buchenwald. Some of the typical problems associated with camp life were missing, at least initially. No vermin infested the newly built barracks, and each prisoner had his own bunk with two woolen coverlets. Some inmates reported that the barracks were heated, at least until the end of 1944.

The original transport included only male inmates. They were predominantly French and Russian, with smaller numbers of Italian, Czech, Polish, Belgian, and German prisoners. Some of the French prisoners had been deported to Buchenwald via Toulouse in August 1944; others, from Paris or Compiègne. Most of the inmates had spent at least a short time in Buchenwald prior to their arrival in Witten-Annen. The prisoners were predominantly political prisoners, and some were imprisoned for resistance or sabotage activities or flight from previous captivity. A small number (five) were classified as "asocial," two were homosexual, and five men were categorized as mixed bloods (*Mischlinge*). Many of the German inmates were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*)—these were often appointed as prisoner-functionaries. The average age of the prisoners was under 30; one-fifth were under 20. The youngest prisoner was 16 years old, and the oldest, a Polish engineer, was 63 years old.

The inmate population remained at 700 at least until the end of September 1944, when a series of escape attempts reduced the number to 685. Prisoners who were caught were summarily executed. By November, the number of inmates was reduced to 670 due to deaths from various illnesses and other escapes. On December 11, 1944, 58 ill prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald, where they were placed in the infirmary. Although there were additional transports to Witten-Annen after January 1945, the camp population at the time of liberation was about 600.

The inmates were marched daily to the steel factory, located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away, to work 12-hour shifts in Hall A7. The day and night shifts were exchanged weekly. While at work, the inmates were closely monitored at all times by the camp elder (Lagerältester), Kapos, and German civilian foremen and supervisors. Poor work performance or mistakes (perceived as sabotage) were punished frequently, and some prisoners witnessed near-death beatings of fellow inmates. The inmates were not allowed to leave their workstations and endured long roll calls before and after work.

Living conditions within the camp itself were also terrible. Survivors of the camp recall most frequently the constant hunger they experienced daily. Food rations were small. According to one French former inmate, Robert Maréchal, the inmates were provided first with 300 grams (10.6 ounces), then 450 grams (15.9 ounces), and by December 1944, 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of bread, with small amounts of margarine. The inmates were also given cabbage soup. Food supplies gradually decreased from January 1945. In addition to persistent hunger, the inmates were perpetually cold, as they had no proper clothing to withstand the particularly harsh winter of 1944–1945. Some inmates attempted to create extra warmth by stuffing their clothing with newspaper, straw, or cardboard; if discovered, they faced severe punishment. The camp infirmary had little capability of handling the many illnesses that resulted from the poor nutrition, inclement weather conditions, and strenuous work experienced by the inmates. The severely ill or wounded were transported back to the main Buchenwald camp.

The Witten-Annen inmates also suffered from the ill treatment of the guards. Approximately 30 SS troops guarded this subcamp. A system of supervision was also instituted in which "functionary inmates," such as the camp elder and Kapos, held authority over their fellow prisoners. Lagerältester Alfred Spillner was remembered for his particular cruelty toward the inmates, as were the Kapos, whom many inmates remembered as being more brutal than the SS. The first commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, a member of the Nazi Party since 1931, who was said to be brutal and sadistic. Due to the frequent escape attempts made by the prisoners, he was relieved of his post in November 1944 and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hermann Schleef, who had been a guard in the Papenburg and Sachsenhausen camps. Schleef was also the commander of a subcamp attached to the Kaunas camp prior to his post in Witten-Annen.

On March 27, 1945, the SS made an announcement that the camp would be evacuated in face of the advancing Allied troops. The following night, the 613 inmates were marched in columns in a northeastern direction. Several inmates attempted to escape the march, and many succumbed to exhaustion en route. By March 31, the inmates had reached Lippstadt. The SS guards abandoned the prisoners, who were liberated by American troops. On April 11, 1945, the U.S. Army occupied Witten.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry builds upon the thorough analysis and research of the Witten-Annen subcamp by Manfred Grieger and Klaus Völkel, *Das Aussenlager "Annener Gussstahlwerk" (AGW) des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, September 1944–April 1945* (Essen: Klartext, 1997). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Witten-Annen in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Witten-Annen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Witten-Annen camp copied from

AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 40 and BU 51, Reel 17. Many of these documents and others, including work statistics reports, administrative documentation from the Annener Gussstahlwerk, and transport lists from the ASt-Wi, BA, and THStA-W, are published in Grieger and Völkel. See this text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and bibliography pertaining to the Witten-Annen camp and its postwar history.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

WOLFEN

The city of Wolfen in Sachsen-Anhalt is located to the south of Dessau on the Elbe River. From May 1943, there was a subcamp for women at the IG Farbenindustrie AG Filmfabrik Wolfen. Prior to this, the factory had used foreign forced laborers, among others, in the production of synthetic fibers. From the beginning of 1943, consideration was given to the use of concentration camp prisoners to increase production, to supply the demand of the German population and, above all, the Wehrmacht.

In April 1943, the subcamp was established on Thalheim Strasse close to the factory. The so-called Russian camp (*Russenlager*) and a camp for female eastern laborers (*Ostarbeiterinnen*) who were also working in the Filmfabrik Wolfen were already located there. Aleksandra Lawrik, a survivor, described the camp positively in comparison with her previous experiences: the barracks were relatively clean and heated, each woman had her own bed and cupboard, and there were even showers with hot water.

SS-Obersturmführer Bräuning was the camp leader. He arrived at the camp in the middle of May 1943, four days before the arrival of the first transport from Ravensbrück. On May 17, 1943, 250 young women and girls were brought from Ravensbrück to Wolfen. All the women came from the Soviet Union and Poland and were accompanied by female overseers who had been supplied from Ravensbrück, as there were not enough women in Wolfen who had applied to be trained as guards.

In the factory, the women worked in the rayon, Vistra, and artificial silk departments. The work in producing synthetic fabric was extraordinarily damaging to the prisoners' health as often corrosive chemicals were used in the process. Many women suffered burns to the skin and to their air passages, which also resulted in illnesses such as tuberculosis. Two women died in the camp; others who had become too ill to work any more were returned to the main camp.

The company management was excited about the cheap labor force and within a few weeks of the camp's opening was requesting additional prisoners, while at the same time demanding that the female overseers exercise greater discipline and increase the prisoners' production. But it was not until December 1, 1943, that additional prisoners were sent from Ravensbrück. The transport included 125 women. As before, most of them were Soviet citizens: Ukrainians who had been arrested for resisting the occupation forces or Ostarbeiterinnen who had been sent to concentration camps by the Gestapo for leaving the places of work assigned to them. Probably at the beginning of 1944, another 50 women arrived in Wolfen from Ravensbrück.

Starting in June 1944, the camp's administration was gradually transferred from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald, so that by September 1, 1944, Buchenwald finally took over the camp. The new camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Grämlich, a Wehrmacht invalid. The prisoners have described the camp leader as patient and many of the female overseers as strict, brutal, and affronting. A list of prisoners at the subcamp prepared at this time lists 425 female inmates, including 316 Russian civilian workers and 109 political prisoners: 100 Poles, a Czech, 7 Yugoslavs, and a German from Breslau. The camp was guarded by five SS men. There were 17 female wardens. In September 1944, a female French prisoner doctor was brought to Wolfen and took over the medical care of the women.

At the beginning of 1945, the lack of raw materials and supply difficulties resulted in the first cessation of production. The camp administration planned to relocate 250 women in the direction of the Sudetenland, but nothing came of this due to the lack of transport at the end of the war. The 250 women were therefore evacuated to Bergen-Belsen on February 18, 1945.

On April 17, 1945, the Wolfen subcamp was evacuated in a southerly direction, with the probable goal being Theresienstadt. The women were at first taken in goods wagons with a group of other women who most likely a few days before had arrived from the Duderstadt (Polte) subcamp, in the direction of Dresden-Pirna. On the march in the direction of Teplitz (present-day Teplice, Czech Republic), a few women were able to flee, and the guards, including the camp leader Grämlich, also disappeared. The remaining women were liberated by Soviet troops.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began preliminary investigation in 1956, and the results were handed to the general federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe in 1971. Shortly thereafter the investigations ceased due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written the contribution on the Wolfen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, ed., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 618–621. Another description of the subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald. 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 89–91, where the experiences of a survivor, Aleksandra Pawlowna Lawrik, are recounted. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:63; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1850.

Information on the Wolfen subcamp is to be found in the AG-B and BA-K, Bestand NS 4 Bu (Signatur 221). The investigations by ZdL, held at BA-L, were done under files IV 429 AR-Z 121/1971 and 1965/66 (B).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DACHAU



The Dachau camp gate with the slogan, "Work Will Make You Free," 1939–1942.
COURTESY OF AG-D, DAA 12.479/F-883

DACHAU MAIN CAMP

Dachau was the only concentration camp that existed for the full 12 years of the National Socialist dictatorship. During this period the number and composition of the prisoners changed fundamentally, as did the living conditions and chances for survival.

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler and his followers assumed power in Germany. Soon thereafter, at a press conference on March 20, Heinrich Himmler, then the Munich police president, announced the establishment of a concentration camp at Dachau.[1] The camp, which was located in an empty munitions factory from World War I and which had a capacity of 5,000 prisoners, initially was to serve as a holding center for political opponents of the regime.

The first 100 "protective custody" prisoners, who arrived on March 22, were Communists. The first Jewish prisoners were also arrested as political prisoners. Initially, the prisoners were guarded by the Bavarian State Police. When the SS took over the camp on April 11, 1933, there began a campaign of despotism and terror from which the prisoners had no protection. The SS guards' hatred was directed in particular against Jewish prisoners. By the end of May, 12 prisoners had been either tortured to death or driven to commit suicide.

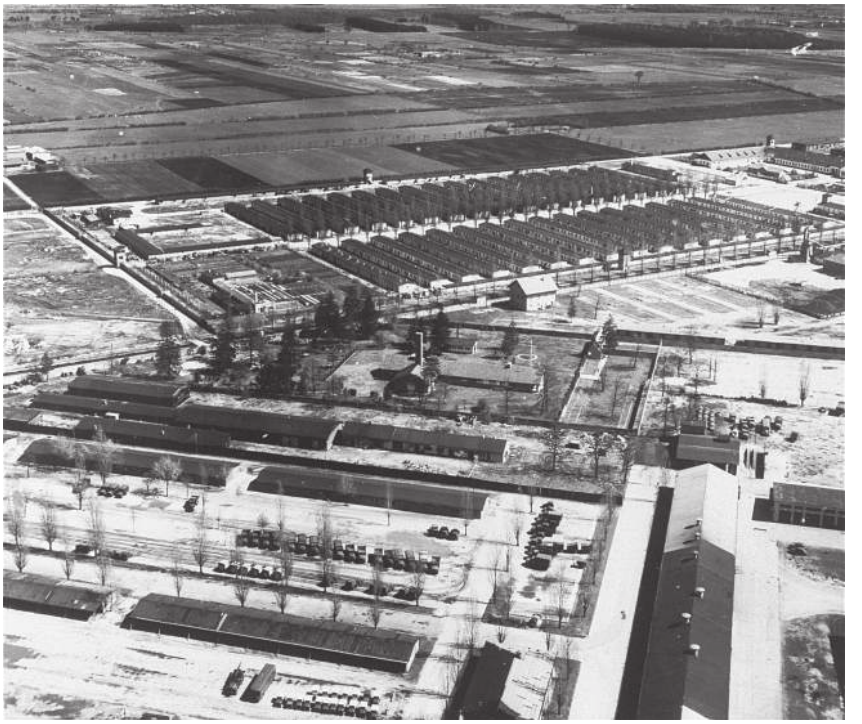
In June 1933, Himmler, now Reichsführer-SS, named SS-Oberführer Theodor Eicke as commandant of Dachau. Eicke instituted an organizational scheme that included detailed regulations that were later adopted in all other concentration camps. His "Disciplinary and Punishment Orders for the Prison Camp" regulated methods of torture to be used as punishment, including methods of execution.[2] Under Eicke's leadership, Dachau became a "School of Violence" and a model for concentration camps established afterward. Numerous groups of visitors were shown a staged demonstration of the supposed reeducation of political prisoners. In the first few years numerous reports about the camp appeared in the now-nazified German press. Even international delegations were fooled by the façade. Lastly, Eicke divided the camp administration into the commandant's headquarters, the commandant's adjutant, an SS guard detachment, the protective custody camp, the medical department, and the political department, as well as an administration unit for the commercial facilities.

In May 1934, Eicke began directing the creation of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps Reichsführer-SS (IKL RFSS), of which he became chief in 1939. Altogether there were seven commandants of Dachau: Hilmar Wäckerle (commandant April–June 1933), born 1899, killed in action in July 1941 near Lemberg; Eicke (June 1933–July 1934), born 1892, died February 1943 in an aircraft crash; Heinrich Deubel (December 1934–March 1936), born 1890, died 1962; Hans Loritz (April 1936–July 1939), born 1895, committed suicide in January 1946; Alex Piorkowski (February 1940–September 1942), born 1904, sentenced to death by a U.S. military court, 1947, executed in Landsberg in 1948; Martin Weiss (September 1942–November 1943), born 1905, sentenced to death by a U.S. military court in 1945, executed in Landsberg in 1946; Eduard Weiter (November 1943–April 1945), born 1889, committed suicide in May 1945.

The first prisoners in Dachau established their accommodations in single-story stone barracks, along with their supply facilities and a so-called Bunker, the camp prison, in which the SS guards tortured individual prisoners to death or drove them to commit suicide. Workshops were established in the empty factory buildings, in which the prisoners increasingly worked as required by the SS. The SS originally intended that the prisoners would cultivate the surrounding moors, but the plan only reached partial fruition. In some work detachments, such as the feared gravel pit, the prisoners—above all the Jews—were worked to death or shot "while trying to escape." The lives of the prisoners were regulated by a strict military code. The SS guarded the camp and the work detachments, while the prisoners organized the supplies for the camp, the daily life in the camp with its roll calls, meals, and even the work. Gradually a hierarchy developed in the prison population, which became increasingly important among the various national groups over the course of the war. The SS took pains to ensure that prisoner-functionaries operated as spies and became the instruments of their crimes. Political prisoners in Dachau held the most important positions during the 12 years of the camp's existence. Overwhelmingly, they tried to stand by their fellow prisoners against the SS.

After the political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses arrived in Dachau at the end of 1933. They were followed during the 1930s by the so-called work-shy (*Arbeitsscheu*); criminals who had served their prison terms; "Gypsies"; homosexuals; and others who for various reasons did not fit into the National Socialist community. From 1937 on, the prisoners wore striped prisoner clothing to which a prison number was affixed, as well as a marker, the so-called triangle, whose color identified the category to which the prisoner belonged. Jews were marked with the yellow star.

In 1937 to 1938 the prisoners constructed a completely new camp, whose 250×600-meter (820×1969-feet) layout included, in part, the old camp. Thirty of the 34 wooden barracks were used to hold the prisoners. They were called blocks and were divided into four sections, each of which held 52 men. A supply building was constructed, as well as a new camp prison with 134 single cells and an entrance building whose gate bore the inscription "Work Will Make You Free." Seven watchtowers outfitted with machine guns, a tall wall topped with electrified barbed wire, as well as the so-called barrier, a strip of grass on which the prisoners were forbidden to tread on pain of death, were supposed to make escape impossible.



Post-liberation aerial view of the Dachau concentration camp, May 1945.
USHMM WS # 12446, COURTESY OF RAY SCHMIDT

Once construction on the new camp was completed, the prisoners were compelled to prepare a plot of land to the east of the wall for the planting of an herb garden. This area was ready in 1939 and was incorporated into the SS-German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH).

Following the annexation of Austria in the spring of 1938, the first non-German prisoners arrived in Dachau, the Austrian prisoners. In addition to Jews, there were numerous prominent politicians of various political persuasions. Then, after the *Kristallnacht* pogrom on November 9–10, 1938, more than 11,000 Jewish men from Germany and Austria were taken to Dachau. Most of them were released after a few weeks, on the condition that they leave Germany, and after their possessions had been seized. Until 1938, the number of prisoners fluctuated between 2,000 and 2,500 annually. Following the arrival of the Austrians in 1938, the number jumped to 6,000, and after the arrival of the Kristallnacht Jews on December 1, 1938, the number jumped to 14,232. By the beginning of World War II, about 500 prisoners had lost their lives in Dachau.[3]

At the end of September 1939, the camp was cleared until February 1940 for the training of the SS-Totenkopf-Frontdivision (Death's Head Front Division), and the prisoners were transferred to the camps at Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, and Buchenwald. With this came the end of the camp's prewar history as an instrument of Nazi terror, used at first exclusively against German political opponents, then against all who "did not fit in." The prisoners were subjected to arbitrary handling by their guards, but as yet there had been no mass murders, no epidemics to which thousands fell victim, and no deaths by starvation. The majority of the prisoners could still hope that they would leave the camp alive.

With the beginning of the war, the exploitation of concentration camp prisoner labor assumed greater significance. The SS established its own commercial enterprises in Dachau, later known as the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW). The herb gardens were expanded. Many prisoners died during this expansionary phase. The prisoners' rations deteriorated dramatically during 1941 and 1942, and the death rate increased rapidly. The first epidemics



Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler inspects a prisoner at Dachau, May 8, 1936.
USHMM WS # 10719, COURTESY OF AG-D

broke out, with tuberculosis becoming the most common illness. At the same time, the number of punishment reports increased, as did corporal punishment, and the so-called post (*Pfahl*) or tree hangings. Both torture methods could result in permanent injuries or could lead to the death of the prisoner.

The composition of the prisoner population changed continually during the war. From March 1940 to the end of the year, 13,377 Poles were forcibly taken to Dachau. They remained the largest national group until liberation. Also, among the clergy who arrived in Dachau from all the other concentration camps, the Poles were the majority. The first Soviet prisoners, mostly young men who had volunteered for work in Germany, arrived in the autumn of 1941. They remained the second largest national group until 1943. In addition, from August 1941 to the middle of June 1942, 4,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who had been selected from various POW camps, were shot in Dachau.

As for the nations of Western Europe overrun by Germany, initially only individual prisoners or small groups were sent to Dachau. In 1942, Yugoslav partisans began to arrive. They, like the veterans of the Spanish Civil War, were highly regarded by their fellow prisoners because of their solidarity and their courageous attitude in the camp. The number of Jews in Dachau was relatively small, with the exception of the large influx of Jews following Kristallnacht. In November 1941, the order was given that all Jewish prisoners in camps in the "Old Reich" were to be deported to Auschwitz.[4] Only from the spring of 1944 on were Jewish prisoners again sent in large numbers to the subcamps.

From the spring of 1941 on, prisoners in concentration camps were included in the so-called euthanasia program, which had been aimed primarily at murdering the mentally ill and handicapped. In September 1941, a medical team from Aktion 14f13—the code name for the program as it applied to camp prisoners—selected Dachau inmates who were incapable of working. In January 1942, they were taken in a so-called invalid transport to Hartheim Castle in Austria, where they were immediately gassed. During the course of that year, 2,524 Dachau prisoners were gassed in Hartheim.[5] In addition, from the autumn of 1942 on, sick prisoners who did not recover within three months were murdered in the camp by SS doctors or criminal prisoner-functionaries, using lethal injections.

Medical care for the prisoners in Dachau was completely inadequate. The SS doctors had no interest in healing the sick, who therefore avoided the infirmary for as long as possible. From 1941 on, moreover, they had to fear that they could be the subject of gruesome medical experiments there. In the spring of 1942, Luftwaffe physician Dr. Sigmund Rascher received permission from Heinrich Himmler to investigate, using prisoners, the stresses that Luftwaffe pilots were exposed to during plane crashes or parachute jumps. Of the nearly 200 prisoners placed in a pressurized chamber, in which they were exposed to sudden and painful drops in air pressure, at least 70 to 80 people lost their lives. From the middle of August until October 1942, experiments were carried out in cooperation with the Luftwaffe entailing immersion in freezing water, in an effort to find out if pilots who ditched could be saved. Dr. Rascher directed the experiments, with the support of Himmler, until May 1943. According to eyewitness statements, between 80 and 90 people died out of 360 to 400 prisoners used for the experiments. From February 1942 to March 1945, Professor Dr. Claus Schilling, the renowned researcher of tropical diseases, infected approximately 1,100 prisoners with malaria.[6] It is not possible to determine the number of victims of these experiments as the test victims were released back into the camp after the experiments. In addition, primarily Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were the subject of experiments in the conversion of seawater to drinking water, as well as in the effectiveness of a blood coagulation agent. Some prisoners were artificially subjected to septicemia and phlegmone so that the effect of various treatments could be tested on them.

During the war, the infirmary, which the SS avoided for fear of infection, developed into the most important center for international solidarity and clandestine support for ill and endangered prisoners, next to the work detachments in the record office and the work allocation office. Open resistance was impossible under the conditions in the concentration camp. The secret distribution of news about the course of the war strengthened the prisoners' resolve, as did music, literature, or the arts, but those were only available to a limited circle of inmates.

As the number of dead climbed ever higher, a crematorium with one oven was constructed next to the prison camp in the summer of 1940. From May 1941 on, prisoner deaths were recorded in the camp's own death register. Construction of a new crematorium with four ovens and a gas chamber began in the spring of 1942. From the spring of 1943 on, the dead were cremated in the new facility. The gas chamber was not used for mass killings, but there are statements to the effect that Dr. Rascher, in connection with his human experiments, also conducted "test gassings" there.[7] The secluded area of the crematorium was, moreover, used as an execution site, especially in the last years of the war.

The last phase at Dachau, from 1943 to 1945, witnessed a dramatic increase in prisoner numbers as well as the establishment of around 170 subcamps and work detachments in which the prisoners were used as forced laborers, mostly for the German armaments industry.

In March 1942, the IKL became part of the recently created SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which attempted to improve the prisoners' living conditions, in order to reduce the death rate and so obtain more labor.[8] Improvements, such as additional food, reached only a limited number of prisoners, however.

The expansion of the Dachau camp complex in 1943 began with the establishment of subcamps at large production sites. The SS hired out the prisoners to Messerschmitt, Dornier, and Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). Sick and weakened prisoners were sent back to the main camp.



An SS officer oversees the formation of a work detachment at Dachau, 1936.
USHMM WS # 60639, COURTESY OF AG-D

The majority of the Dachau subcamps were established, however, during the course of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. The largest project was the relocation of fighter-plane production into camouflaged underground factories in order to protect the industry from bombing raids. In early 1944, the authorities planned the creation of a new "Jägerstab" (Fighter Staff) administrative complex, including representatives from the armaments industry, the SS, and the Armaments Ministry for the Dachau Region, to be housed in three underground bunkers located in Landsberg am Lech and in Mühldorf am Inn. Some 11 camps were located near Landsberg and 4 camps near Mühldorf, to which around 39,000 prisoners, almost exclusively Jews, were brought. Their living and working conditions were by far the worst in comparison to the other subcamps. One estimate claims that half of these prisoners lost their lives in the 10 months they were there. Also, in both Landsberg and Kaufering, there were women's camps in which primarily Hungarian Jewish women were held.

According to a secret report written by Polish camp recorder Jan Domagała, 78,635 prisoners were registered in 1944, that is, 38 percent of the total of 206,206 who entered the camp between 1933 and 1944.[9] The majority of transports, each with several thousand prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe, arrived in the early summer of 1944. Poles, Hungarian Jews, French resistance fighters (many of these were "Night-and-Fog" [*Nacht-und-Nebel*] prisoners), Soviet forced laborers, and Italian POWs formed the largest national groups. By the spring of 1945, there were prisoners in Dachau from 37 countries, several of which were represented by only 1 prisoner.

During the last months before liberation, the camp was catastrophically overcrowded, due to the constantly arriving transports from other camps that were evacuated ahead of advancing Allied troops. The food supply and hygienic conditions continually worsened. There were no medicines. In November 1944, a typhus epidemic broke out in which 3,000 prisoners died in January 1945 alone and which cost the lives of about 15,000 prisoners altogether before liberation.

In the last days of April, on Himmler's orders, the evacuation of the main camp and the subcamps began. On April 26, 1945, 2,000 Jewish prisoners left the main camp by train, and 6,887 prisoners were forced to march in a southerly direction.[10] Any prisoner who could not continue was shot. Not until the first days of May were the last survivors of the march overtaken by American troops, after the guards had fled. A group of 137 prominent hostages, including Leon Blum, the former French president, and Franz von Schuschnigg, the former Austrian chancellor, was also transported in a southerly direction. They were handed over to the Allies in the Tirol on May 4 in good condition. In Dachau itself the SS personnel fled the camp on April 27 and 28. On April 28, a group of 20 to 30 citizens from Dachau, together with a few prisoners who had fled from the camp, attempted to occupy Dachau's city hall. A retreating SS unit shot 6 of the "insurgents," among whom were 3 of the prisoners. The liberators from the 42nd and 45th Infantry Divisions of the U.S. Seventh Army entered Dachau on April 29, where they stumbled across a transport of several thousand corpses before they reached the approximately 32,000 survivors. Several thousand dead lay on the camp grounds. More than 2,000 prisoners died in May 1945. By 2002, the Red Cross International Tracing Service (ITS) put the number of deaths at the Dachau concentration camp at 32,099, but that number should be increased to over 40,000, as the deaths of prisoners brought to Dachau for execution were never registered, and the deaths in the subcamps and during the evacuation have never been precisely determined.[11]

In July 1945, after the last survivors had left the Dachau concentration camp, the American military authorities established an internment camp there for those suspected of involvement in war crimes and crimes against humanity. The first large military trial began on November 15, 1945, against 40 men accused of committing crimes in the Dachau concentration camp. This trial would be a model for subsequent trials: 36 of the accused were sentenced to death; 28 of them were executed in Landsberg. Further trials followed up until 1948, dealing with crimes committed in Dachau and its subcamps but also in the camps at Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, Mittelbau, and Buchenwald. SS crimes against Allied soldiers were also dealt with. Altogether there were 489 trials in Dachau, with 1,672 accused. There were 462 death sentences, but not all were implemented. There were 256 acquittals. During the course of the 1950s those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment either had their sentences reduced or were released.

SOURCES The first monograph on the Dachau concentration camp was published in 1968 under the auspices of the Comité International de Dachau, by Paul Berben, *Dachau 1933–1945* (Brussels, 1968). Günther Kimmel, state prosecutor at ZdL, as part of the project "Bavaria during the Nazi Era" for IfZ, wrote a short historical outline of the camp titled "Das Konzentrationslager Dachau," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat (Munich, 1979), 2: 349–413. Robert Sigel investigated the Dachau military trials in *Im Interesse der*

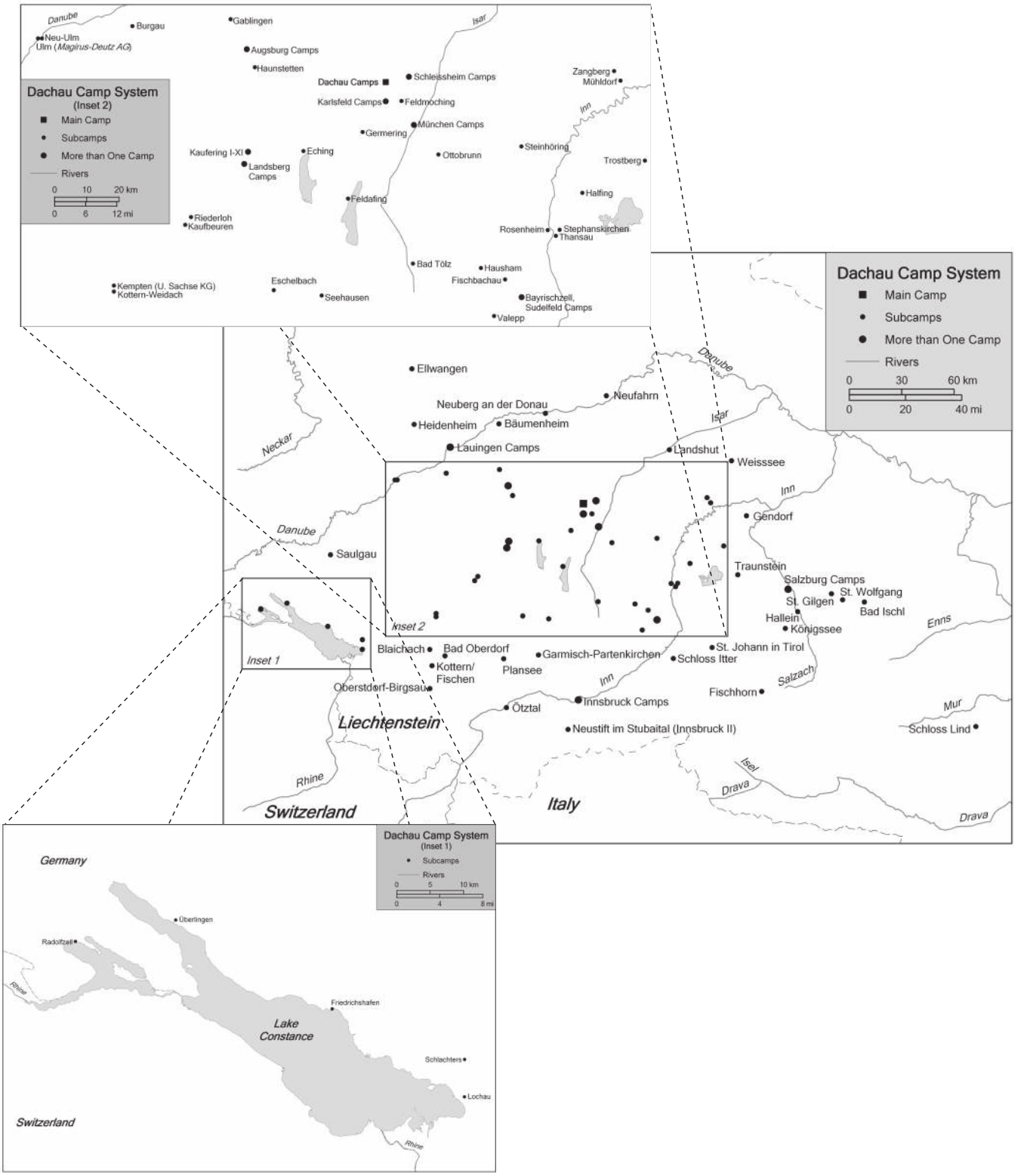
Gerechtigkeit. Die Dachauer Kriegsverbrecherprozesse 1945–1948 (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Beginning in 1985, the Comité International de Dachau, under the direction of Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, has published the scholarly annual *DaHe*. Each publication places emphasis on a particular theme of concentration camp history. The 20 volumes that have appeared to date contain numerous memoirs and studies on the history of the camp. In 2001, American historian Harold Marcuse published his book *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp* (Cambridge), which puts the history of the area after 1945 into the overall context of the history of the concentration camp. In 2002, the Comité International de Dachau published a new monograph on the Dachau concentration camp by Czech historian and survivor of the camp Stanislav Zámečnik, *Das war Dachau* (Luxembourg, 2002); English and French translations followed in 2003. The majority of the approximately 850 publications on the history of the Dachau concentration camp in the Memorial's library are survivors' memoirs in various languages.

Some of the Dachau concentration camp's original files, such as the Political Department files, were destroyed by the SS before the camp was liberated. The largest collection of files is held at Bad Arolsen, under the control of ITS; these files have only recently become available. Other original documents are to be found in the archive at YVA, IS-O, USHMM, and NARA (documents that were collected for the U.S. military trials in 1945–1948). The most important collection of documents for the history of the subcamps is the ZdL investigations files of BA-L. The SS personnel files are located in BA-DH. The establishment of an archive at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial began in 1964. The collection of original documents is not extensive and derives mostly from private donations to the memorial. During the years, copies of all the important collections from other archives have been made. This includes an alphabetical list of the Dachau concentration camp prisoners compiled from the prisoners' card index seized immediately after liberation. It contains about 180,000 names with date entries. It also is based on the Dachau entry books. There is in addition a press archive as well as a collection of tape and video interviews with survivors. There is also a collection of artwork.

Barbara Distel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *MNN*, March 21, 1933.
2. IMT Nuremberg, Doc. 775-PS.
3. Numbers from Variation Reports Dachau Concentration Camp, ITS, Arolsen 1973, AG-D, A-2570, A-2571.
4. Letter from RSHA, November 5, 1941, IMT Nuremberg, Doc. NO-2522.
5. Transport List, AG-D, 8996, 8999–9023.
6. List of Experimental Persons, Malaria Station at Dachau Concentration Camp, ITS, Arolsen, AG-D, Nr. 5703.
7. Witness Statement Dr. Frantisek Blaha, May 3, 1945, to the Investigating Officer Colonel David Chavez Jr., StA-N, Rept. 502-IVPS.
8. WHVA Circular, Berlin, January 20, 1943, IMT Nuremberg, 1947, Doc. NO-1521/26.
9. Jan Domagala Transports into the Dachau Concentration Camp, AG-D, Nr. 1045.
10. KL Dachau, List of the Evacuees on 26.4.1945, IS-O, AG-D, Nr. 1012.
11. According to investigations by Stanislav Zamecnik, the dead number at least 42,359.


Dachau Camp System
(Inset 2)
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 10 20 km
0 6 12 mi
Danube
Burgau
Gablingen
Neu-Ulm
Ulm (Magirus-Deutz AG)
Augsburg Camps
Haunstetten
Dachau Camps
Schleissheim Camps
Zangberg
Mühldorf
Karlsfeld Camps
Feldmoching
Isar
Inn
München Camps
Germering
Kaufering I-XI
Eching
Landsberg Camps
Ottobrunn
Steinhöring
Trostberg
Halfing
Feldafing
Riederloh
Kaufbeuren
Rosenheim
Stephanskirchen
Tharsau
Bad Tölz
Hausham
Fischbachau
Kempten (U. Sachse KG)
Kottern-Weidach
Eschelbach
Seehausen
Bayrischzell, Sudelfeld Camps
Valepp
Dachau Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 30 60 km
0 20 40 mi
Ellwangen
Neuberg an der Donau
Neufahrn
Heidenheim
Bäumenheim
Neckar
Lauingen Camps
Landshut
Weisssee
Gendorf
Saulgau
Traunstein
Salzburg Camps
St. Wolfgang
St. Gilgen
Bad Ischl
Hallein
Königssee
Enns
Inset 2
Inset 1
Blaichach
Bad Oberdorf
Garmisch-Partenkirchen
St. Johann in Tirol
Schloss Itter
Kottern/ Fischen
Plansee
Oberstdorf-Birgsau
Salzach
Fischhorn
Ötztal
Innsbruck Camps
Mur
Liechtenstein
Neustift im Stubaital (Innsbruck II)
Schloss Lind
Rhine
Switzerland
Italy
Isel
Drava
Drava
Dachau Camp System
(Inset 1)
Subcamps
Rivers
0 5 10 km
0 4 8 mi
Germany
Überlingen
Radolfzell
Rhine
Friedrichshafen
Lake Constance
Schlachters
Lochau
Switzerland
Rhine

DACHAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Dachau subcamp complex was a gradually evolving camp system comprising numerous different types of camps. Chiefly in 1944 and 1945, its network spread out into the surrounding areas, both near and far.

The number of subcamps varies between 169 and 187, depending on whether separate camps for male and female prisoners in one location are counted separately and whether subdetachments of the subcamps are included in the count. The International Tracing Service (ITS) list fixes the date for the first subcamp as 1937. Beginning as early as 1933, however, there were already labor detachments deployed for "public tasks" outside the main camp. Between 1938 and 1941, 13 subcamps were established. In 1942, the number doubled, and in the following year, it grew by an additional 18. The number increased dramatically in 1944, 84 new subcamps being established in that year alone. In the first four months of 1945, another 44 subcamps were added to the system. [Note: Not all of these sites met the criteria to be included as subcamps in this volume. —ed.]

Initially, the private interests of high-ranking SS members played a major role in the establishment of the subcamps. In the 1940s, the decision-making process was based increasingly on economic and war-related considerations. Until 1942, the Dachau camp commandant had the authority to assign concentration camp prisoners to private industry or farms. Beginning in the spring of 1942, private industry had to apply to Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg for prisoners. It was from here that the deployment of prisoners was ordered after the applications had been reviewed.

With regard to administration, all of the subcamps were directly subordinate to the Dachau main camp. Depending on the size of the subcamp, each had its own camp or detachment leader. At some subcamps where there were only a few prisoners, no camp commander was stationed on-site.[1] The close organizational ties between the subcamps and the main camp were evident in various aspects: all legal mail had to be sent by way of the censorship office at Dachau; provisions for the smaller subcamps were supplied by Dachau, as were tools and other objects of daily use. Reports on prisoner infractions were relayed to the main camp, and the prisoners themselves were sent there for punishment,[2] although whippings and hangings were also carried out in the larger subcamps.[3]

There was no strict administrative system for all subcamps. The form of administration varied, depending on the date the camp was established, its size, and the respective individual camp commandant or detachment leader. The freedom of action enjoyed by the commandant or detachment leader became apparent when, for example, penal reports were not forwarded to the main camp or the prisoners' provisions were improved or when cruel despotism reigned.

The prisoner populations of the subcamps varied substantially in number. There were camps with only a few prisoners and large camp complexes in which thousands of prisoners performed labor. The camps with the largest prisoner populations were those in the service of the armaments industry located in and around Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf.

In principle, all prisoner groups from Dachau were allocated to perform labor in the subcamps. In certain subcamps, however, the prisoner populations consisted solely or to a disproportionate degree of a particular category. The early subcamps had mostly "political prisoners," reflecting the composition of the inmates in the main Dachau camp at the time. It was not until the outbreak of war that the number of foreign prisoners increased.

There were Jews in the subcamps until 1942. Following the order to make the Reich "free of Jews," all Jewish prisoners were deported from Dachau.[4] It was not until 1944–1945 that Jews, chiefly of Eastern European origin, were sent to the Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf subcamps either directly or by way of the main camp. Jehovah's Witnesses, on the other hand, were regarded as diligent and unproblematic prisoners who—because of their religious convictions—would not engage in any resistance. They were purposely sent to subcamps in remote locations where escape was easy, and in many cases, they even worked without being guarded.

One group of prisoners was excluded from deployment to the subcamps. Evidence of these protective detention prisoners of all nationalities is found on lists of January 1944 designating them as "NAL" (for *nicht aus dem Lager*), which meant that they were "not to leave the camp" for the performance of labor.[5] They were presumably classified in this manner because they were prone to escape or faced proceedings by the Political Department or the Gestapo.

In the first Dachau subcamps, the prisoners were assigned to labor chiefly to satisfy the personal interests of those in power. The prisoners had to perform garden or household work for the members of the SS and their families in the direct vicinity of the concentration camp or to build or renovate holiday homes for the higher SS officials. In contrast, the prisoners assigned to SS enterprises such as the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) or the porcelain manufacturer Allach constituted a more significant economic factor.

It was only with the outbreak of war and the increasingly grave lack of labor that the concentration camp prisoners took on significance as an economic factor. On the one hand, smaller prisoner detachments were deployed to private firms in and around Munich, for example, a jam factory, horticultural nursery, or shoe store. The numerically larger detachments integrated from 1942 onward into the armaments industry were of greater significance.

In the last year of the war, within the framework of the so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) Program, thousands of prisoners were put to work relocating armaments production plants to underground sites, performing heavy labor under inhuman conditions.

As is already implied by the various sites of deployment, the working conditions in the subcamps varied greatly. In several smaller detachments garden work was carried out or houses built; in other detachments the prisoners had to work in factories or perform heavy manual labor on construction sites. To no small extent, the respective conditions reflected the attitudes of the master craftsmen or company managements, many of them civilians. The SS guards were not involved in the work process but were responsible solely for guarding the prisoners. This did not, however, prevent many guards—or, many civilian foremen—from brutally goading the prisoners to work. In many locations, however, either at the workplace or in the vicinity of the camp, some civilians stood up for the prisoners, either easing their work or supplying them with food.[6]

Often, the decision as to whether a prisoner worked in the open air or indoors was a question of life or death, as the prisoners usually did not receive warm clothing or gloves in winter.

The employers paid the prisoners' wages directly to the Dachau concentration camp. In adherence to strict instructions issued from Berlin, the hourly wages for skilled and unskilled workers were recorded monthly on so-called *Fordernachweise* (claim vouchers), then to be transferred to a Dachau concentration camp bank account.[7]

There are no details concerning the total number of prisoner deaths in the subcamps. The mortality rate in the early subcamps was relatively low. It later climbed exponentially in the camps connected with the armaments industry. The most disturbing accounts testify to the construction projects of the Jägerstab Program, where many thousands of prisoners died of malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion.[8]

Subcamps of that type contrast with those described positively by the prisoners because there was no mistreatment, and the food was better. Especially in the final months in the Dachau main camp, when particularly grim conditions prevailed there due to overcrowding, poor food, and illnesses, transfer to one of the better subcamps could mean survival.

The living conditions of prisoners outside their workplace were decisively influenced by their living quarters. In many subcamps, barracks with sanitary installations were built for the prisoners; in others the prisoners slept in cellars, garages, or factory buildings. The prisoners did not always have beds and blankets at their disposal. In many cases, the lack of washing facilities resulted in the spread of fleas, lice, and disease to which the prisoners—weakened by malnutrition—had no resistance. Only a few subcamps had a prisoner infirmary. Prisoners who were unable to work were sent back to Dachau.

The overwhelming majority of the subcamps was supervised and guarded by the SS. The SS were universally feared by the prisoners due to their cruelty and unpredictability. The prisoners were ruthlessly driven by the guards, and anyone who did not work quickly enough was brutally beaten.

At the Organisation Todt (OT) construction sites, OT men who equaled the SS guards in brutality stood guard. Particularly in the last months of the war, Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe personnel who were no longer fit for front-line service replaced the SS men who were still fit.[9]

Among all the tormenters, there were also guards who treated the prisoners better. The latter, for example, would consciously overlook a prisoner picking up a cigarette butt from the ground or a civilian giving a prisoner some bread. It is reported of some guards that they smuggled letters for the prisoners or arranged contact with family members outside the camp. Such examples, however, remained the exception.

A number of subcamps were only temporary and were closed before the end of the war. The majority of the Dachau subcamps in existence until the end of the war were dissolved in mid- or late April 1945. The prisoners were forced to march on foot back to the Dachau main camp or were taken there by rail or truck. The concentration camp was already overfilled at the time, and the majority of these prisoners were then sent on evacuation marches. Other subcamps were closed and the prisoners driven in a southerly direction for days without food. Many subcamps, on the other hand, were not dissolved or evacuated. Here the camp officers had either fled or the camp commandant disobeyed the orders from Dachau. In these cases the prisoners were spared an evacuation march and were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES Scholarly publications on the subcamps are rare, although general works about the main camp do contain some information. More recently, a number of interesting monographs have been published, some of which were summarized in vol. 15 (1999) of *DaHe* under the title "KZ-Aussenlager—Geschichte und Erinnerung." For a systematic overview of the Dachau subcamp complex, see this author's "Organisation und Struktur der Aussenlager des KZ Dachau" (Ph.D. diss., TU-Berlin, 2004).

Sources on the Dachau subcamp complex are scattered throughout a number of archives. The BA-B holds, among other sources, the administrative files of the Reichsführer-SS and the IKL as well the Collection NS4 on concentration camps. The AG-D contains extensive material on individual subcamps. The original transcripts and documentary evidence from the Dachau Trials of 1948–1949 are located in NARA and comprise not only original concentration camp files but also numerous testimonies concerning the subcamps. The investigation files of ZdL (now held at BA-L) and the Munich Sta. are in BHStA-(M) and provide substantial material on German postwar trials. YVA also holds documents on the Dachau subcamps. There is, moreover, a large abundance of memoir literature, much of which is held in the library of AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. In Hausham the camp commandant visited the farm only once a month to see if everything was in order; see Biographie Frieda Hopp, geb. Gross, GAZJ.

2. See Belehrung für Übersetellung, dated June 4, 1942, BA-B, NS 4/Da 2; and letter from WVHA, Amtsgruppenchef D to the Camp Commandants, Oranienburg, dated December 11, 1943, BA-B, NS 3/426; Lebensbericht von Gerhard Oltmanns, 1975, GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Wolfgangsee), and Lebensbericht von Paul Wauer, n.d., GAZJ (St. Gilgen); testimony by Pawel Respondek, Chorzow, dated October 22, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34434; statement under oath by Karl Röder, Vienna, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75/vol. 1 (Eleonore Baur).

3. See testimony by Herbert Slawinski, Augsburg, dated October 17, 1956, BHStA-(M) Sta. 34588/2 (Subcamp Augsburg), and statement by Michael Kulig, Ratibor, dated August 14, 1968, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34817/1 (Subcamp Allach).

4. See letter from the RSHA, dated November 5, 1942, IfZ, MA-444/5.

5. See DaA Hängeordner Schutzhaftvorgänge/NAL (Nicht aus dem Lager)/Häftlingslisten.

6. See letter from Johannes Van Loo, dated October 17, 1984; AG-D, A412/Hängeordner Aussenkommando Unterfahlheim/Nachkriegsermittlungen (Post-War Investigations) and Lebensbericht Willi Lehmbecker, n.d., GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Obersudelfeld).

7. The instructions from Berlin concerning the hourly wages of concentration camp prisoners were changed several times, here just one example: letter from WVHA, Chef d. Amtes C VI, to Reichsrüstungskommissar für die Preisbildung, Berlin, dated October 13, 1944, BA-B, R 13 VIII/243; see also Forderungsnachweise über den Häftlingseinsatz des SS-Berghaus Sudelfeld von Dezember 1944 bis März 1945, BA-B, NS 33/177.

8. See Case 000-50-1-36, *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.*, Mühldorf Trial Files, NARA, RG 338 Box 541.

9. See Heinz Boberach, "Die Überführung von Soldaten des Heeres und der Luftwaffe in die SS-Totenkopfverbände zur Bewachung von Konzentrationslagern 1944," *MM* 34 (1983): 185–190.

AUGSBURG (*MICHELWERKE*)

"Sometime during 1944 around five hundred Hungarian Jewish women came to Augsburg, where they were housed and put to work in the collection camps of the Michelwerke (Industriehof) Keller & Knappich. The appearance of these people, who were clothed in a kind of sack and shorn of their hair, was terrible."[1] This is the wording of a not-quite-error-free report by the Augsburg police directorate from the period after the war. It makes reference to the Michelwerke subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp, within which all 500 women were housed in the North Building (Nordbau) and not at Keller & Knappich. However, some of these Jewish women worked at this firm.

The Michelwerke women's camp existed in the Kriegshaber district of Augsburg from September 7, 1944, through April 1945.[2]

The 500 women arrived in Augsburg in freight cars on September 7 from Hungary as well as from Hungarian areas of Slovakia at that time, the Carpatho-Ukraine and Transylvania. Their path of suffering had led them through Auschwitz II-Birkenau to the concentration camp Krakau-Plaszow, located near Cracow, then back again to Auschwitz, and from there to Augsburg.[3]

After the war, some of the women told about their journey along the way to Augsburg. Katarina Szolar stated, "After a six week stay, we left Płaszów, on August 6 and were transported to Auschwitz. . . . Here our hair was cut off and numbers were tattooed on our upper arms. My number was A17356. We slept twelve to a bed. Often the topmost bed collapsed under the weight. . . . We seldom had the opportunity to wash ourselves. We were often scared, because we didn't know whether we were coming into shower rooms or gas chambers. It often happened that we came from the shower naked and our clothing was gone. When we asked the supervisor we got a kick in the backside."

Szolar continues: "After six weeks in Auschwitz, five hundred stark-naked women were selected in the pouring rain and transported to a camp in Augsburg. First we had to clear away the rubble of a bomb attack and later we worked in a factory that produced airplane parts. We worked very hard there, twelve hours a day, day- and nightshift."[4]

In a report, the reception of the women in Augsburg is described as follows: "At the train station we were received by a doctor, who directed a comforting speech toward us. He said that our situation changed here—we will work for the German Reich—we can let our hair grow, we will be treated humanely, and medical care is available to us."[5]

Both the female prisoners and the male and female guards slept on the second floor of the Nordbau of the Michelwerke. The women of the concentration camp were divided into three sleeping rooms. After arriving, they received new straw sacks, which they could fill with fresh straw, and pillows. Each had a separate place to lie in the bunk beds. A shower was also available. Doctors from the factory cared for the women's health.[6] The way to the Michelwerke was easy to supervise. The women reached the workrooms through a corridor. Therefore, the building was not fenced in with barbed wire. Food was prepared in a kitchen strictly responsible for feeding the Jewish women; they ate in the dining hall of the canteen building.

The majority of the women worked in the Michelwerke, as well as at Keller & Knappich, which was not far away. The Michelwerke produced electrical parts for airplanes—plugs and relays, for example. Keller & Knappich produced small mortars and cartridges for 2cm guns. After air raids the women were also used to clear debris in a branch facility of the factory. Smaller groups of women also worked in the neighboring town of Neusäss. There, the Lohwald factory produced camouflage paint. Apparently some of the Hungarian women in Neusäss were also deployed in a supply camp for Messerschmitt.[7]

In at least one of the firms, the women of the concentration camp were not allowed to use the same toilets as the other male and female workers. Three labels were placed on the bathrooms: "Only for Germans," "Only for Russians," "Only for Jews." The members of the workforce from other nations were allowed to use the toilets of the Germans.[8]

Former soldiers of the Wehrmacht, who no longer could be sent to the front because of injuries or sicknesses, guarded the Michelwerke subcamp. Some were apparently replaced by the SS in September 1944. In addition, female SS personnel belonged to the 10- to 12-person-strong camp personnel. These women were also in uniform.

The commandant of Michelwerke could not be identified. Some women stated that the commandant did not belong to the SS but rather to the Wehrmacht. He behaved decently, and the same went for most of the guard staff. He died later, supposedly during an air raid while prisoners were being evacuated to Mühldorf.[9]

Aliza Javor reported after the war that one female guard in the factory of Keller & Knappich once slapped a Jewish girl. As a result, the guard was surrounded by foreign civilian workers who demanded that she treat the concentration camp women in a decent way if she valued her life. The Hungarian woman praised especially the French workers. From time to time, they gave the women from the concentration camp food and bread. She also confirmed that the German workers were civilized. Because she could speak German, she received a German newspaper daily from them. Another Hungarian woman reported that an SS man kicked her in the stomach during the distribution of food. Otherwise, the testimonies agree that there was no mistreatment or even crimes in the Michelwerke camp. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) arrived at the same result after completing its investigation in 1975.

Nevertheless, the Jewish women were under intense psychological pressure. According to Javor: "Every evening there was roll call, after we had arrived from work. The Oberscharführer, our camp commandant, never missed the opportunity to say, if we don't work well, we would have to go back to Auschwitz." Around 10 women could not get through the work, meaning they were labeled "unable to work" and sent to Dachau. Two pregnant women, who had married shortly before

their deportation, were transferred to Landsberg am Lech. They gave birth to their children in the hospital there.[10]

At the beginning of April 1945, the Michelwerke camp was dissolved. The women were taken by train to a different Dachau subcamp, located at Mühldorf am Inn. Although the traveling distance was not all that far, the trip took several days. The women remained in Mühldorf until the end of the war.

While in transit, the Hungarian women feared for their lives again. The train taking them to Mühldorf was attacked by Allied airplanes. In vain, the women waved their striped concentration camp shirts in order to signal to the pilots that there were concentration camp prisoners in the train. This attempt was futile, however, for military personnel were also being transported in this same train. Lea Vegh reported later during a court hearing that she and a couple of other women fled to a small forest during an air raid. An SS man, whom the Hungarian women in the Augsburg camp apparently called "the crazy soldier," killed one of those who fled with a shot in the head.[11] The women and men were liberated by U.S. troops at Lake Starnberg.

SOURCES In YVA there are many statements of the Hungarian women on the Michelwerke camp. Further statements were taken from the ZdL's Schlussvermerk. In addition to this, the author spoke with contemporary witnesses in Kriegshaber and Neusäss.

In Wolfgang Kucera's book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg: AV, 1996), there is a chapter on the Kriegshaber camp (pp. 106–107). The camp is also dealt with in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen: KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 56–62.

Gernot Römer
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Statement of the Augsburg Police Directorate from May 20, 1945, in YVA, M-1L/1 350/10.
2. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975, in BA-L, IV 410 (D) AR-Z 147/75.
3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Statement of Katarina Szolar, YVA, 572/27-0 L.
5. Aliza Javor statement, YVA, 03/1028.
6. Wolfgang Kucera, *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg: AV, 1996), p. 106.
7. Inquiries of the author.
8. Javor statement.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975.
10. Javor statement.
11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975.

AUGSBURG-HORGAU

For only one month, from March to April 1945, a concentration camp existed in the forest near Horgau.[1] The villagers of Horgau in particular have expressed doubts about this period of time, claiming it is too brief. This claim could be correct. By at least February 1945, prisoner barracks were not yet ready. However, a letter refers to a military facility constructed by the Organisation Todt (OT), Senior Building Administration Swabia, concerning the Horgau forest camp: "On 5. 2. 1945 permission was given to the building office for the construction of a concentration camp, as an extension of Kuno I, consisting of 5 prisoner barracks, guards barracks, and a 450-meter [1,476-foot] fence. The barracks are not yet ready."[2] A month later the barracks had apparently been delivered and constructed.

Before the above-mentioned date, concentration camp prisoners had worked in the Sheet Metal Facility of the Messerschmitt Aircraft Factory. Each day they were taken by rail from the Augsburg camp at Pfersee, and at the end of the shift, they returned from the Horgau rail station. For this reason, Horgau is referred to in the official documents as a subcamp of Augsburg-Pfersee.

"Horgau was a forest storage camp that lay some 12 kilometers [7.5 miles] west of Augsburg on the Augsburg-Ulm highway. The camp consisted of 21 low, wooden barracks, hidden in a dense pine forest, which could not be seen from the air or the nearby road"—this description, according to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey report about the armaments facility in the forest. It was not the only Messerschmitt factory that was hidden by trees from Allied air reconnaissance. Others were located in nearby Burgau, as well as in Kematen in Tirol, Austria.

Construction of the factory began on September 15, 1944, and it was ready within three and one-half months. Twenty-one low buildings were built: assembly halls, prefabricated barracks, supply stores, and accommodation barracks. In order not to fell too many of the trees that provided the camouflage, holes were left in the roofs and walls so that the trees could stand. In particular, wings for the Me 262 jet fighter were produced at the camp. Once completed, these were transported via the Augsburg-Ulm autobahn for final assembly at Kuno near Burgau. The camouflage of the camp was apparently perfect as reconnaissance planes of the U.S. Army Air Forces did not locate the camp.[3]

Foreign forced laborers were employed at the sheet metal facility in addition to the German personnel: Russians, Hungarians, French, Alsatians, and some prisoners of war (POWs). Josef Langenmeier, then the owner of a nearby forest café at the Horgau Railway Station, estimated the number of prisoners at 120. The midday meal for the foreign civilian labor force was prepared at his inn and distributed in the tent that served as a canteen in the forest factory. According to Langenmeier, the thermos vat was carried back and forth by concentration camp prisoners. These men wore striped clothes and were fed someplace else—apparently very badly. Langenmeier observed that the men fought over the food scraps. Once he gave coffee and bread to four men who had shoveled coal for the forest café. In his kitchen, he employed four Russian women who peeled potatoes and threw the peels out the window. Several of the guards allowed the prisoners to dig in the pile of peelings, while others forcibly stopped it. Langenmeier stated, "There

were decent guards. One SS man had even begged for potatoes for the prisoners while in the forest café."

From his café, Langenmeier was able to observe the arrival and departure times of the freight trains carrying the prisoners from the camp at Pfersee between Augsburg and Horgau. In the morning the men were forced to sing while marching to work. When they returned in the evening, they were mistreated as they climbed down from the wagons: "No one climbed down without being beaten." Langenmeier also stated that "eventually the transports were stopped between Augsburg and Horgau and the prisoners then had to live in tents near the factory."[4]

In March 1945, a transport of 307 prisoners of various nationalities from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp arrived at Horgau. This transport had traveled many days through Swabia with insufficient rations. There were men and women in the transport. A number were dead when the transport finally arrived in the Swabian towns of Lauingen, Burgau, and finally the station at Horgau, or they died soon after their arrival.

Former railway station master Joef Mayr told Langenmeier that there were 2 dead when the train arrived at Horgau. The concentration camp prisoner Baruch Ginzberg stated that one-half of the 50 men of that transport did not survive. The journey of suffering of the then-16-year-old Pole from Łódź, Ginzberg, was via the forced labor camp at Auschwitz-Krenau (where he worked in an oil refinery), to the concentration camps at Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, and finally Bergen-Belsen. Here the prisoners' muscles were examined as if they were cattle at a meat market. Those capable of work were put on a new transport—in open freight wagons. After an air raid, the train stopped for days at Würzburg. They survived by drinking water from the Main River and by eating snow. Many prisoners died. To warm themselves, they lay on the warm corpses and covered themselves with the dead. Ginzburg claims that in Horgau the dead were unloaded. He does not know what happened with the corpses, and he does not know the day they arrived in Horgau.

Ginzburg is clear that he finally got something to eat in Horgau. Otherwise, all that remains in his memory are a few barracks in a forest, barbed wire, wooden beds for sleeping, dogs, and SS guards. He did not have to work, and he was not mistreated. His respite in the forest camp was not long. He was taken to a subcamp at the Pfersee air intelligence barracks and liberated, together with his father David, by the American soldiers in Klimmach, Swabia, on April 27, 1945. It must have been unusual for both father and son to have traveled the same path and have survived together. In 1946, Baruch Ginzberg was in Italy. It was there that he learned that his mother and sister had survived. In 1947 he made his new home in Israel.[5]

The Horgau camp was closed on April 4, 1945, at which point there were 274 prisoners still there. They were taken to Augsburg-Pfersee. A few weeks earlier, 27 had been taken to the Dachau main camp. Investigations have revealed no evidence to suggest that prisoners were killed at Horgau. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) stated after questioning witnesses, including David Ginzberg, "that conditions in the camp were quiet. Further investigation is not recommended as it is unlikely that there will be evidence to contradict existing statements that there were no homicides in the camp."[6]

The judicial authorities have not been able to determine who the commander was of the Horgau camp. The men were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers who were no longer capable of serving at the front. They were transferred to the SS for this purpose. Many of the inhabitants in Horgau appeared not to have noticed that about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the Horgau railway station that there was a Messerschmitt factory in the forest and a subcamp for concentration camp prisoners.

A Messerschmitt employee said after the war that Horgau was a "model camp in a forest, a place for recuperation for deserving prisoners, which should be expanded." Whether there were such plans can no longer be determined.[7]

SOURCES Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984) contains information on the camp (pp. 91–94). Historian Wolfgang Kucera devotes a chapter to the Horgau subcamp in his book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996), pp. 99–100.

The ZdL investigation files in BA-L provide information on the Horgau subcamp. Footnotes in the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey's *Messerschmitt Report* at NARA provide information on the factory. When the author prepared a chapter on the Horgau camp in 1984, conversations with Baruch Ginzberg and Josef Langenmeier in Tel Aviv and villagers in Horgau were most helpful.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 10, 1975, BA-L, IV 410 AR 2139/67, p. 2.
2. OT, R 50 I/24 fol. 1, BA-P (a copy is held by Horgau village).
3. USSBS, Messerschmitt Report (1945), NARA, Microfilm 1013 Roll 1.
4. Josef Langenmeier, conversation with the author, 1984.
5. Baruch Ginzberg, Israel, conversation with the author, 1984.
6. ZdL, Schussvermerk, July 10, 1975, pp. 3–4.
7. Written statement by former Messerschmitt employee Ludwig Wiede from September 14, 1945, for OMGUS in Augsburg, author's archive.

AUGSBURG-PFERSEE

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was known as "SS-Labor Camp Augsburg-Pfersee." This camp replaced the Messerschmitt AG subcamps Haunstetten and Gablingen Airport, which were destroyed by bombing raids on April 13, 1944, and April 25, 1944, respectively.

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was constructed on April 27, 1944, in the long lorry hall of the former air intelligence barracks at Augsburg. The hall, which still existed in 2005, had 10 large gates. The prisoner's block was located behind the gates. The men slept in bunk beds, which took up almost all the space. There was only space at the back of the block for a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, such as the block elder or the barracks orderly.

In the camp there was an infirmary (*Revier*) in the westernmost part of the hall. The camp elder, camp secretary, and other prisoner-functionaries were housed in the eastern part of the block. Punishment was administered in front of this area. Here the prisoners were whipped on the so-called fastening stand (*Bock*) or hanged from the gallows.

A square in front of the hall was used for roll call. It was fenced in with barbed wire. The camp gate was on the eastern side of the camp. The SS guards were quartered near the camp gate. The number of prisoners in the Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp varied between 1,500 and 2,000 men. The majority of these men were "political" prisoners. There were, however, others in the camp categorized as forced labor, "protective custody," Jehovah's Witnesses, "Gypsies," homosexuals, and also Jews. The majority of the prisoners did not come from Greater Germany. They were from Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and White Russia.[1]

The number of prisoners changed constantly. Prisoners who could no longer work were transferred back to the main camp and replaced with those who could work. The SS exchanged Jewish prisoners with the Kaufering subcamp. Augsburg-Pfersee also exchanged prisoners with other Messerschmitt camps in southern Bavaria and Württemberg. The Augsburg Kommando was also responsible for camps in northern Swabia, such as Burgau, Horgau, Lauingen, or Bäumenheim. As a result, there were numerous prisoner transfers. As the front line neared, prisoners evacuated from the west also arrived in southern Germany, including Augsburg; thus prisoner numbers continued to grow before the end of the war.[2]

The prisoners worked almost exclusively for Messerschmitt AG. A few prisoners were given special tasks. Some were used by the city of Augsburg and the German Railways to clean up and rebuild after bombing raids; others just worked in the camp.

The majority of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts in the Messerschmitt factory, which was about six kilometers (four miles) away in Haunstetten. The Me 410 and Me 210 airplanes were built here, and parts for other airplanes, including the jet fighter Me 262, were also produced in Pfersee. The prisoners worked at the production machines, transport within the firm, the supply depots, construction, and rubble clearing.

At the beginning of 1945, a large number of prisoners from Pfersee worked on the construction of a replacement factory for Messerschmitt in a forest near the Horgau railway station. There, in primitive conditions, wings were made for the Me 262 jet fighter. At the beginning of March 1945, a separate subcamp was erected for this purpose.

Life in the camp was marked by overwork and a lack of food. There was constant danger from bombing raids. The prisoners had no protection in the event of a bombing raid. The shelters could only be used in exceptional circumstances when work was being done. The only protection for the prisoners when air-raid sirens sounded was to march to a nearby gravel pit to the west of the barracks.

The prisoners received assistance from individual workers and inhabitants of Augsburg who gave them food. Help was sporadic and certainly not the rule. International Red Cross packages only reached the prisoners toward the end of the war. However, prisoners from the Soviet Union (who were in the overwhelming majority) did not receive any packages. The packages improved the food supply and offered the opportunity to barter for additional food.

At least 81 men died in Pfersee and were either buried or cremated at the Augsburg West Cemetery.[3] The number who died is probably higher because until the autumn of 1944 the sick and dying prisoners were sent back to Dachau. The most prisoners died in February and March 1945 as the result of an epidemic of spotted or typhus fever.

In addition to those who died from exhaustion and illness were those murdered by the SS. Typically, prisoners who were to be punished were taken to the main camp. However, executions also took place in the camp at Pfersee because of escape attempts, alleged sabotage, looting, stealing, and disobedience. The prisoners were sometimes hanged. In addition to formal executions, there also were a number of instances when prisoners died as a result of mistreatment by the guards.[4]

The camp was guarded by SS units. The officers and noncommissioned officers were long-serving SS personnel, while among the lower ranks were a few former Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer suitable for service at the front. One of the camp leaders was SS-Untersturmführer Horst Volkmar. The last camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Jakob Bosch, who prior to this posting had been in command of the subcamp at Lauingen.

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was evacuated on April 25, 1945. A small number of the sick and men unable to march were transported by the SS to Dachau, while the remainder of the 1,600 men marched in a southerly direction, guarded by the SS. When the American troops arrived a few days later, they found an empty camp. After a few days marching along the edge of the Wertach River, the prisoners reached the village of Klimmach. Here they were freed by American troops. Two men died in Klimmach as a result of the exertions of the march. During the march at least 1 prisoner died. He was buried in Bergheim near Augsburg.[5] Whether other prisoners died during the march is unknown.

During the Dachau Trial in 1947, charges were filed against SS members who were stationed in the Pfersee camp. However, there was not a separate trial for Pfersee personnel. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State

Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg did not result in any charges being filed.[6]

SOURCES Wolfgang Kucera's *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996) analyzes forced labor and the Augsburg armaments industry. It focuses on the living conditions in the local subcamps. It analyzes accessible written sources and eyewitness reports. Gernot Römer's *Für die Vergessenen. KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern. Berichte, Dokumente, Zahlen und Bilder* (Augsburg, 1984) focuses on the subcamps in Swabia. It describes the subcamps using eyewitness statements and relevant investigation files.

In BA-L (formerly ZdL) there are investigation files into the Augsburg camp and in fact for almost all subcamps. The files contain detailed statements by former prisoners and members of the SS. The AG-D has collections on individual Dachau subcamps and prisoner reports, which also deal with the subcamps. There is a prisoners' data bank and lists of documents relating to the subcamp. The Augsburg Cemetery has a few old files that state the burial sites of the prisoners. There are copies of the official death lists. The ITS at Bad Arolsen also has data on Augsburg-Pfersee. For a survivor's memoir, see Dimitrijus Gelpernas, "Landsberg-Kaufering-Augsburg: Städte wie alle anderen? Bericht eines aus Litauen Deportierten," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 255–277. This essay describes the conditions in the named camps as well as transfers within the concentration camp system.

Wolfgang Kucera
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Prisoners lists from AG-D.
2. BA-L, prisoner reports in the Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.
3. Augsburg Cemetery Files.
4. BA-L, statements in the Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.
5. Augsburg Cemetery Files
6. BA-L, Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.

BAD ISCHL [AKA BAD ISCHL, UMSIEDLERLAGER]

A Dachau subcamp existed in Bad Ischl in the Upper Austrian Salzkammergut, approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) east of Salzburg. It was attached to the local resettlement camp, which existed from February 9, 1942, until December 19, 1942. The resettlement camp was erected in the Roith district of Bad Ischl, on the road to Ebensee. It held "Volksdeutsche" self-styled Donauschwabos, ethnic Germans who had come to Germany from their earlier settlement areas in Hungary and Romania. The camp was run by the Oberdonau branch of the Ethnic German Liaison Office (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle) in Linz, which also employed the roughly 60 male inmates who worked in the camp.

The prisoners were used for erecting and furnishing the barracks of the resettlement camp and were housed in the first barracks built on the camp grounds. Forty of them—37 Germans and 3 Poles—had arrived in a first transport from Dachau on February 9, 1942. Almost all of them were categorized as "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). Some 24 inmates—10 Poles, 9 Germans, and 5 Czechs and Slovaks—arrived on June 17 in the subcamp. Among them were a plumber and an electrician; all others were unskilled workers.

The camp Kapo was Ludwig Geiber, a German originally from Saarbrücken. Not many details are known about the living and working conditions in the subcamp, but no inmate died there. Between June and the end of August 1942, several small groups of inmates were returned to the Dachau main camp. This could indicate that their work was no longer needed, that they did not possess the required skills, or that they had become incapable of working. From the end of August on, about 45 prisoners remained in the camp until it was dissolved in December 1942.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) did not reveal many details about the camp, but apparently there was no severe mistreatment or violent deaths in the camp. Therefore, the investigations were called off in 1972.

SOURCES Albert Knoll describes the Bad Ischl (Umsiedlerlager) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 290–291. Another description of the camp can be found in Wolfgang Quatember, "Ein Aussenkommando von Dachau in Bad Ischl," in ZVWmE, Nr. 55 (December 2001). The camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:65.

The reference for the ZdL investigations is located in the BA-L, IV 410 AR 1627/ 72. Some archival material on the subcamp can be found in AG-D; see Überstellungslisten (transport lists) from May and June 1942 under signature DaA 55673.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Lynn Wolff

BAD OBERDORF

There could not have been a smaller subcamp than the one that existed in Bad Oberdorf. It was composed of one Dachau prisoner and existed for a month: from March 20 to April 25, 1945. Despite these circumstances, it is registered as one of the subcamps attached to the Dachau concentration camp.[1]

This sole prisoner was assigned to Ilse Hess, the wife of Rudolf Hess. Rudolf Hess, a longtime comrade of Adolf Hitler, was Hitler's deputy from 1933 to 1941 in the leadership of the Nazi Party, and in 1939 he stood second in the line of succession to Hitler as head of state. In May 1941, secretly and apparently without Hitler's knowledge, Hess flew from Augsburg to Great Britain in a self-piloted plane to attempt peace negotiations; as a result, he lost all of his offices. Until 1945, Hess was held in British custody, and in 1946 at the Nuremberg Trials of leading Nazi war criminals, he was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for crimes against peace. He died in

1987 in the Allied war criminals prison in Berlin-Spandau, where he had been the only prisoner since 1966.

Ilse Hess was forced to flee Munich due to the Allied bombing campaign and spent the last years of World War II living in Bad Oberdorf in Allgäu. There she managed a small farm of cows, sheep, and horses. The horses provided express service between Bad Oberdorf and Hindelang, as per a local government contract. Several foreign workers, reportedly two Frenchmen and an Austrian, assisted Hess with the farming work. In March 1945, a concentration camp prisoner was assigned to her as a laborer. Hess later recalled that this man was only employed with her for a short amount of time. During that time, she received an order that the man was not allowed to eat at her table. "I only laughed scornfully. We all ate together. He was treated like everyone else," she said. The man slept in the house and did not wear prisoner clothing. "At any rate," she said, "no concentration camp subcamp existed in Bad Oberdorf."[2]

The camp prisoner sent to Bad Oberdorf was a Jehovah's Witness who had been detained in Dachau since 1937 due to his religious beliefs. His name was Friedrich Frey, and following World War II, he claimed to have been dreadfully mistreated in Dachau, resulting in lifelong physical damage. The SS especially hated Jehovah's Witnesses because of their inflexibility. Frey reported that one time the "protective custody" camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer) came to him and said, "You will never again see your pretty Black Forest; you'll march back there through the chimney, but not through the gate!" He responded: "Our God Jehovah, in whom we believe, can and will save us!" Thereupon the SS man screamed at him, "Your Jehovah won't come over the barbed wire and free you." Frey concluded one account of his imprisonment with the words: "When I walked home from Hindelang in May 1945, I was fully able to sense Jehovah's protection."[3]

After World War II, the judiciary investigated the subcamp of Bad Oberdorf; however, the inquiry was discontinued in 1973 as "unnecessary and no longer useful." In conclusion, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) pointed out that in such small labor details the only prisoners used were those "who were generally worthy of preferential treatment."

SOURCES This entry is based on the author's conversations with Ilse Hess and her son Wolf-Rüdiger Hess. The conversations about the Bad Oberdorf detail took place in 1983. The name of the Jehovah's Witness and his report are derived from GAZJ. See also ZdL, Schlussvermerk, in BA-L (IV 410 AR 171/73).

The one-man detail of Bad Oberdorf is described in the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), p. 117.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, February 1, 1973, in BA-L, IV 410 AR 171/73.

2. The author's conversation with Ilse Hess on May 17, 1984.

3. Friedrich Frey's account about his imprisonment, located in GAZJ.

BAD TÖLZ

The subcamp of Bad Tölz existed from the summer of 1940 (May 1, 1940, according to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations [ZdL] in Ludwigsburg and was mentioned for the last time on April 18, 1945. It was attached to the local SS-Junkerschule (Leadership School), which provided officers for service in the SS-Verfügungstruppen und- Totenkopfverbände (Special Assignment Troops and Death's Head Units).

In summer 1940, 172 prisoners arrived from Dachau. They were kept in five rooms in the basement of the eastern wing of the Junkerschule. Most of the inmates were Poles; many were Germans; and a few were Czechs, French, Italians, and Hungarians. Only very few of the inmates were Jewish. Over the following years, the number of inmates remained mostly stable.

The Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS (ZBL) employed the inmates. It used the workers for a wide variety of tasks: One group of the prisoners was to renovate the barracks, prepare roads and pathways at the grounds of the Junkerschule, and build stables. Additional prisoners worked as orderlies in the barracks block of the SS-Junkerschule at Bad Tölz. Another labor group worked approximately 8 kilometers (5 miles) outside of Bad Tölz, constructing a shooting range and clearing a forest, while others were employed working in the market garden, the swimming pool, the Angora rabbit breeding farm, the kitchen, and the bodyshop attached to the Junkerschule. From 1942 on, inmates were also put to work for the city of Bad Tölz, where they had to unload potatoes and coal. During the last months of the war, a group was taken daily to Dürrnhausen-Habach, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Bad Tölz, where they had to build barracks.

The working conditions of the inmates varied according to their work detachments. While most inmates considered the conditions better than in the main camp, the inmates working on erecting the shooting range and clearing the forest suffered from their daily long marches to their job sites, the strenuous physical labor, and the brutality of their guards. At least two inmates died in the camp: The Pole Florian Głowinski died from falling off a scaffolding, and the German Hans Schading committed suicide. At least three inmates tried to escape but were caught by the SS.

SS guards from Dachau were in charge of the camp. Their first commander was Ludwig Frisch, who treated the inmates comparatively mildly but turned wild when he got drunk at night and threatened to shoot prisoners. From the beginning of the camp, German inmate Christian Rank was Oberkapo and Wilhelm Wimmer his deputy. Accused by the SS of theft, both prisoners and two other inmates were

returned to the main camp on September 1, 1942, and German inmate Franz Vinzenz from Munich became the new Oberkapo.

At the end of the war, when the SS drove the inmates from Dachau to the south, the Bad Tölz prisoners were forced, on May 1, 1945, to join this death march. That night, all the prisoners were driven into a gorge in the mountains and were afraid they would be shot. Due to the interference of a Wehrmacht general, however, the SS troops were dissuaded from killing the inmates. Apparently, the general also insisted that the inmates be returned to the Junkerschule, where they were liberated within a few days by U.S. troops.

SOURCES This description of the Bad Tölz subcamp is based upon the article by Dirk Riedel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 293–296.

The subcamp is recorded in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:66. The death march of the inmates at the end of the war is described in Jürgen Zarusky, "Von Dachau nach nirgendwo. Der Todesmarsch der KZ-Häftlinge im April 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit in Bayern (Munich, 2000), p. 56; and in Andreas Wagner, *Todesmarsch*, (Ingolstadt, 1995), p. 55.

In 1976 the ZdL conducted an inquiry under the reference number BA-L IV 410 AR-Z 79/76. The files contain numerous testimonies in German, as well as in Polish and Hebrew. In AG-D, there are some records detailing the history of the Bad Tölz camp. They can mainly be found under the signatures DaA 16889 (letters by Kommandoführer Frisch), DaA 35672–34678 (various Überstellungslisten [transport lists]), and DaA H 959 (interview with Oberkapo Franz Vinzenz).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Hilary Menges

BÄUMENHEIM

"In Bäumenheim, in the district of Donauwörth, a self-sufficient camp for men, with approximately five hundred prisoners, existed from August 1, 1944 to April 25, 1945. The prisoners were assigned to work at the Messerschmitt Augsburg factory and were housed within the factory premises in a partially constructed extension building." So reads a comment from a report written in 1976 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.[1]

The camp was located on the property of the farming machine manufacturer Dechentreiter. At the time, the company was very well known in Germany, especially for its production of threshing machines. Despite the protests of the company president, Dechentreiter had to cede a portion of its plant to the Messerschmitt airplane factory. The kitchen and storerooms were located on the ground floor of a walled, two-story house, and the prisoners' quarters were located on the second story. A watchtower was located by the main street, and barbed wire surrounded the building.[2] "We were not guarded very closely," one prisoner recalled later.[3]

A number of the men were skilled craftsmen. For example, a Polish man had already been employed at an airplane plant in his home country. The concentration camp prisoners were brought from the Augsburg-Pfersee camp to Bäumenheim in trucks. One of the men related later that airplane parts were produced in two 12-hour shifts, but another reported that there was only one shift. Every now and then, foremen would slip something to the prisoners: "sometimes a sandwich, sometimes cigarettes, sometimes tobacco for pipes."[4] However, a Polish man also testified that the prisoners were beaten by Kapos and overseers.[5] No one reported crimes against prisoners; therefore, the ZdL discontinued its investigation in 1976. According to the Donauwörth rural district administration, the officers in charge were "Wiesmeier, reportedly from Munich, and Renz, reportedly from Vienna."[6]

A letter dated January 23, 1945, describes hygienic conditions in Bäumenheim. The letter was written by the SS-Oberscharführer with Dachau's senior camp doctor, Karl Fuhrmann, and addressed to the senior SS camp doctor at Dachau. The letter reads:

> The SS and prisoner quarters are in order, we are working on continual improvements and the correction of existing deficiencies. The prisoners' clothing is to some extent very ragged and the supply of underwear is exceedingly insufficient; consequently an effective battle against lice remains impossible. We lack reserve linen. I was shown linen which was practically in rags. The officer-in-charge requests that three hundred sets of linen and clothing be sent, since it is impossible to effectively perform de-lousing with the current laundry inventory. The bathing and laundry facilities are sufficient for current demands. Vermin extermination (using hot air apparatus) will be put into commission in approximately eight days. At this time approximately 50% of the prisoners are de-loused. I spoke with the manager regarding complaints about the prisoner toilets in the factory building, and discovered that the four toilets for civilian workers located next to the prisoner toilets would be allocated for prisoner use within a period of eight days (after the dividing partition was removed). Thus the number of prisoner toilets will be satisfactory. I found everything in order in the prisoners' area, but sterilization equipment is needed. The officer-in-charge requests that the prison doctor be replaced, since he does not appear to exhibit surgical competency.[7]

When it became known in 1944 that Messerschmitt wanted to produce airplane parts in Bäumenheim, the head of Dechentreiter, as well as the Asbach-Bäumenheim mayor, attempted to prevent it. The mayor pointed out in particular

that because of such an armaments factory the village could become the target of Allied air strikes. Only a few houses had underground cellars, and most, therefore, could not offer protection to residents; there were also no shelters. It would soon become apparent how legitimate the fear of air strikes actually was. A map with bombing targets was found in the possession of a downed British pilot officer; one of the targets was Bäumenheim.[8]

March 19, 1945, was a lovely spring day. It became the darkest in the history of the village. The catastrophe occurred shortly after two in the afternoon. Fighter planes attacked the village in droves, dropping 700 high explosive bombs and thousands of incendiary bombs. Most of them fell in open fields because the wind diverted the smoke markers that had been set for the pilots. Therefore, no bomb hit the actual target, the Messerschmitt factory, but half of all houses were destroyed, as well as the train station, and 93 Bäumenheim residents were killed, including the mayor.

Camp prisoners almost never appeared in public. Residents encountered them elsewhere, however, when the men or women marched through the town to work or when they were returning to their barracks from work. In Bäumenheim, the camp prisoners lived directly beside the Messerschmitt factory. When the air-raid sirens drove them into the foxholes around the town, residents saw the men in striped prisoner uniforms. Also, when the bombs rained down on March 19, the prisoners found themselves seeking cover in the foxholes. They panicked and ran into the open whenever bombs struck close by. They fled from the foxholes and ran directly into the middle of the carpet bombing. The exact number of men killed in this way was never determined, although the estimate is approximately 80. One Bäumenheimer said after an attack, "I saw a dead camp prisoner with an incendiary bomb sticking out of his skull."[9]

The victims of the Bäumenheim air raid, or what remained of their bodies, were buried in the new community cemetery. At the funeral service, Catholic priest Josef Dunau eulogized all of the bombing victims: the city residents, prisoners of war, foreign forced laborers, and also the camp prisoners. Among other things, he said, "Oh God and Lord, we have now gathered in your holy house, in the devotional remembrance of this hour, to consecrate the loved ones whose lives were brought to a terrible end on March 19, 1945. Many of them are well known, because they lived with us for years on end; many of them are virtual strangers, especially those who had to tarry here as prisoners of war, Dachau concentration camp prisoners, or forcefully displaced persons. We who are left over feel beholden to act with love toward all of the dead—to provide sheltering hands to the souls, whose bodies searched in vain for protection, to save for Heaven those who were lost from this Earth."[10]

The Bäumenheim camp was closed at the end of April. Former camp prisoners' accounts regarding this event vary. Josef Pilawski wrote that the platoon was marched by foot to Dachau and that he escaped shortly before reaching Fürstenfeldbruck.[11] Max Wittmann had a different account of the camp's dissolution:

> Everything was just left lying and standing around. The prisoners gobbled up what was still edible and whatever else came their way. Then there was a forced march to the train station, where we were crammed into cattle cars. The overfilled train took off in the direction of Landsberg. We got off at Landsberg and continued to march by foot under strict surveillance. We had to sleep in the forest. Most of us had brought our blankets along, so we were protected from cold and the outdoors to a certain extent. We were en route approximately eight days. We arrived in Dachau on an April morning. We had to stand for a long time in the pouring rain until we were all assigned to various blocks. I ended up in Block 22. The beginning of the end had come.[12]

SOURCES This entry is based upon Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). In the volume *Unsere Heimat Asbach Bäumenheim*, edited and published in 1987 by the Asbach-Bäumenheim community, the subcamp is addressed on pp. 44–46. Additionally, in 1995 Gisela Blank wrote a term paper about the subcamp in the history honors course at the Augsburg Holbein high school.

Research for *Für die Vergessenen* was based upon the records of Sta. Mue I as well as the records from ZdL (now BA-L), in addition to testimony by Asbach-Bäumenheim community members and some statements or documents in AGe-A-B, YVA, and LA-B. Max Wittmann's book *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings*, ed. Erich Kunter (Stuttgart-Botnang: Kulturaufbau-Verlag, 1946) depicts the time Wittmann spent as kitchen Kapo in the Bäumenheim subcamp.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, October 18, 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 709/69.
2. According to city resident Josef Reicherzer in conversation with the author on July 14, 1984.
3. The former camp prisoner Fritz Kessler in conversation with the author on January 14, 1984.
4. Ibid.
5. Sta-Mue I, 120 Js/1885/74 a-e, record Pfersee, testimony of former prisoner Ostapiak.
6. YVA, records of the Donauwörth district office from May 23, 1946.
7. LA-B, citation illegible.
8. Statement by Josef Reicherzer, ibid.
9. Statement by Josef Reicherzer and Herta Rössner, Bäumenheim, in conversation with the author.

10. AGe-A-B, transcript of the memorial funeral address on March 19, 1945.

11. AGe-A-B, writings of the former prisoner Josef Pilawski in 1986.

12. See Max Wittmann, *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings*, ed. Erich Kunter (Stuttgart-Botnang: Kulturaufbau-Verlag, 1946), pp. 222–227.

BAYRISCHZELL

The Dachau subcamp of Bayrischzell was located 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) to the southeast of Munich. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), it operated from November 1943 to April 5, 1945. Ten male prisoners of unknown nationality worked in the camp for Office W VIII/2 Rest and Recuperation Facilities (Genesungs- und Erholungsheime) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was based in Oranienburg. The prisoners were detailed to work in an SS hospital.

The Bayrischzell subcamp was not the subject of investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

SOURCES The Bayrischzell subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:66.

General information on the main Dachau camp can be obtained from BA, NS4, KL Da.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BLAICHACH

Blaichach im Allgäu, a subcamp of Dachau, consisting of some 700 prisoners, existed from July 21, 1944, to May 1, 1945.[1] The men worked 12-hour shifts in the Allgäu Baumwollspinn- und Weberei AG (Allgäu Cotton Mill, Inc. and Weaving Mill), producing parts for BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) that were of importance to the war effort. One detailed eyewitness report of this work has survived. This was written by Karl Läufle who was at that time a schoolboy and who many years later became the mayor of Blaichach. His parents' house was directly opposite the camp. The boy closely observed what happened and later recorded what was imprinted in his memory.

Läufle recalled:

> Already by the summer the machines and weaving tables were taken from the mill and machines producing armaments were put in place for assembling aircraft and submarine engines. Also, in the spinning mill there was militarily important machinery which constructed instruments for range finding and targeting devices. The factory site was surrounded by a 3m [10-foot-] high barbed wire fence with guard towers and search lights. The front and back of the spinning mill was similarly fenced-in. There was speculation whether this was supposed to be a prison camp or an armaments factory. For a long time this remained unclear. One day about eight hundred prisoners arrived from Dachau to work in the new factory. Along with the concentration camp prisoners came a company of guards. They were mostly older and some had been wounded. The commander was an SS officer named Stutz. He was a tall, slim, and typically athletic German, who surely would have been considered a prime Aryan if Germany had won the war. . . . In addition to the concentration camp prisoners there was a large number of foreign and forced laborers, mostly Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles, but also French, Belgians, and Dutch, all brought to Blaichach as a workforce for the armaments industry.[2]

Former prisoners have confirmed the statements of the mayor. Their sleeping quarters were on the first and third floors of the factory. The guards were accommodated in the cellar. The shifts began at six in the morning and at six in the evening. While the men who slept on the first floor were working, the men on the third floor were sleeping, and vice versa. Behind the building there was an open square for roll call. Escape was impossible: the barbed-wire fence was electrified. The prisoners were guarded by elderly former Wehrmacht soldiers who had been wounded and could no longer be sent to the front. They only got SS uniforms after a prolonged delay, according to former prisoner Karl Rüstl.[3]

Rüstl, an Austrian, came from Graz. He had been sent to a concentration camp because during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 he had fought with the "red" Republican troops against the army of later dictator and Hitler ally General Francisco Franco. Rüstl was transferred from Dachau to Blaichach in the middle of 1944. He was placed in charge of prisoner supplies there. With the ration cards allocated by the Food Office of the camp, he purchased food in the village and the surrounding area while accompanied by an SS guard. Although he was always able to get more food than was officially allocated to the prisoners, shortages were the order of the day. Karl Pold, like Rüstl an Austrian, and before World War II a combatant for the Spanish Republic, reported that daily they were given "one hundred fifty to two hundred grams [5.3 to 7.0 ounces] of bread, stew for lunch, and also watered down coffee." He weighed only 42 kilograms (93 pounds) when liberated in 1945.

Pold was one of the lucky ones. He was part of a detachment that did construction work outside the camp. They replaced windows destroyed by Allied bombings, and they helped farmers in the fields. He stated that while doing such work he met some "very good people" in Blaichach. Pold was not very complimentary about his guards—he had praise only for the unit leader (Kommandoführer). Often he acted as if he

saw nothing—for example, when Pold disappeared into a house whose inhabitants gave him food. Pold reassured the Kommandoführer after the war when the latter said: "Hopefully you prisoners will not kill me." Pold answered: "You don't have to worry."

Life was difficult for Pold and his companions in Blaichach. However, in comparison to the main camp, it was bearable. According to Pold: "Every Blaichach prisoner was afraid of being sent back to Dachau. Everyone said: don't fall sick and don't end up in the sick bay. If you don't get well you will be sent back to Dachau and it is possible you will go up the chimney."[4]

Rüstl obtained a portion of supplies for the prisoners in nearby villages. He stated that he, the paymaster of the Gebirgsjäger (Mountain Infantry), and his deputy told anti-Nazi jokes in Sonthofen—if there was a decent foreman with them, he joined in. Rüstl recalls the son of a baker from whom they got bread. The young man had been a member of the Hitler Youth. Rüstl did not take any cigarettes from him until he said one day, "I am concerned that you don't take any cigarettes from me. Everyone in our house is Anti-Nazi." Rüstl reported: "We then listened to English radio together." He also tells of a question from a local veterinarian who with the words "What are the criminals doing there?" asked if the rumors about Dachau were true.

Five prisoners died of illness in the Blaichach camp.[5] They were buried on the banks of the Ill River, and after the war they were reinterred in the village cemetery. According to Rüstl, there were instances when the prisoners were beaten; for example, when defective parts were produced, there were such punishments as "25 blows to the back side." Serious crimes were not committed by the guards.

When in April 1945 the end of the Third Reich finally approached, the prisoners in Blaichach, according to Rüstl, established an illegal military committee. This committee even possessed a few weapons. The factory security guards who were in charge of the BMW production site had exchanged weapons for sausages. Läufle described in his memoirs the final days and hours: "The camp was evacuated during the night of 25/26 April. The prisoners and the guards marched in the direction of the Hindelang-Tannheimer Valley. The majority returned two days later, either alone or in groups. They were wet and frozen. They were no longer accompanied by the guards. The Volksturm [German Home Guard] took over guard duty." By April 30, 1945, continued Läufle:

> The concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers were already moving freely about the village. People were afraid that there would be looting after the village was captured. . . . Around 5:30 P.M., when three tanks drove through the village, they [were] cheered by the concentration camp prisoners and the forced laborers. White flags were hanging from just about every house. . . . The villagers returned to their homes in the evening or the next day. Aside from a few isolated instances there was no looting. The foreigners and concentration camp prisoners, armed with rifles, patrolled the village and the local roads. They stopped dispersed soldiers and held them as prisoners.

According to Läufle's published memoirs: "Apart from a few isolated instances, the looting and atrocities that had been feared by the villagers did not take place. The former political prisoners made every effort to stop the criminal elements. The 'politicals,' including doctors, lawyers, engineers, and academics, and Austrian 'politicals' from Mauthausen and Dachau told the villagers details of the concentration camps. A committee of 'politicals' took over the administration of the former camp. In the first few weeks after the war the majority of the prisoners tried to return home."[6]

There was in those days a tragic case of mistaken identity: A civilian was arrested in Blaichach. The concentration camp prisoners and the foreign laborers believed the man was an SS thug. The man had to dig a grave and was shot. He was the victim of a mistake! It was later discovered that he had never been a member of the SS or the concentration camp. He was reinterred in the winter of 1945–1946 next to the bodies of dead prisoners from the Blaichach camp.[7]

SOURCES Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in KZ-Lagern* (Augsburg, 1994), pp. 117–123, is the only secondary source on the Blaichach camp.

This essay is based almost exclusively on eyewitness reports. The memoirs of Mayor Karl Läufle are held by ASt-Bl. Karl Rüstl's and Karl Pold's recollections are recorded in *Für die Vergessenen*. Läufle's descriptions were published in the *ObEr* (1975, 1994).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Sonthofen Council August 19, 1945, in a questionnaire to the Historical Commission at the Central Committee in Munich, YVA, MIIL/1/128.
2. Mayor Karl Läufle in *ObEr* (1975).
3. Karl Rüstl, Graz, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
4. Karl Pold, Vienna, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
5. Läufle, *ObEr* (1975).
6. Läufle, *ObEr* (1994).
7. Ibid.

BURGAU

According to a communiqué from the Günzburg City Council dated June 15, 1946, "A 'labor camp' was to be found in the city of Burgau. In the middle of February 1945 about 120 Jews arrived in the city; during the night of March 3 to 4,

1945, another transport with about 500 Jewish women from Fürstenberg on the Oder arrived; and around midday on March 4, 1945, a third transport from Lauingen arrived. This camp was only to be a transit camp and therefore existed from the middle of February 1945 to about the 4th or 5th of April 1945."[1]

In early 1944, the aircraft manufacturer Messerschmitt transferred part of its personnel department to Burgau. The wooden barracks erected for the department were confiscated at the beginning of February 1945; guard towers were erected and the land fenced in with barbed wire and wire mesh; and defensive obstacles were put in place. Soon thereafter 120 Jewish prisoners from Dachau arrived. At least some of these men had previously been in the horrific camp of Riederloh II. One of them was Izchak Tennenbaum. He said the following about the Burgau camp: "The conditions in the camp were very poor. We received almost no food. We worked nights in a factory that made airplanes. I worked in Department 2, checking brakes and tightening screws."[2]

The factory of which Tennenbaum spoke was the so-called Messerschmitt Kuno I factory. It was a well-camouflaged camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Burgau, in the Scheppach Forest. It was located close to the Augsburg-Ulm autobahn. Me 262 jet fighters are said to have been built in a hall on the grounds of the factory; 200 of these fighters were constructed there. The factory was in production before the concentration camp prisoners arrived. Among others, numerous foreign workers from countries occupied by German troops worked there. Shortly before the end of the war in 1945, American planes bombed the site.[3]

The two transports with about 500 women and girls drew the attention of the citizens of Burgau. The Jewish women from Poland and Hungary were closer to death than life when they arrived. Many had died on the journey. The first transport, with Hungarian women, arrived on the night of March 3 to 4, 1945; the second with Polish women arrived around noon on the following day. It came from the north German concentration camp Bergen-Belsen and had been traveling for a fortnight. Local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele wrote the following about their arrival: "Half-frozen, emaciated, and starving they climbed down from the cold cattle trucks. Urged on by female guards, they marched, ill and exhausted to the not-so-distant camp on Jahn Square."[4]

Ruth Deutscher was part of this transport. The Polish women were taken in January 1945 from Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) via Buchenwald to Bergen-Belsen. The women stayed there for a few days, after which they had to parade naked before a German commission. The healthy-looking women were loaded onto a train, which, after a stopover at Lauingen, arrived in Burgau. On the way there, the train stood in Würzburg for nine days on a branch line. The city had been bombed, and the rail lines had been hit. Deutscher said the following: "At the beginning we got nothing to eat. Then, to keep us alive, we got a spoon of a soup each day. Women died every day. The wagon doors were opened and the corpses were just thrown out. There were many dead."[5]

Only a small number of the women had to work with the men in the Kuno forest factory. Most were kept busy in the camp, and for many, there was no work at all. Buses or trucks took those who worked in the Kuno factory to their work; sometimes the men and women had to go by foot. "Those who could not walk were dragged between those who could," recalls Paula Brekau, a German woman who worked in the factory at the time.

German civilians in Burgau attempted to give the starving prisoners some food. Brekau reports that in her village, Grossanhausen, she collected milk, potatoes, and bread from the farmers; her friend Gusti Schäffler brought food from Hafenhofen. She especially bought food for a prisoner's child. She thinks the child was about 12 years old.[6] It was not the only child among the prisoners. The twins Rachel and Sarah Herzfeld, born in 1929, were also there.[7]

On the day that the transports arrived, 3 Jewish female prisoners died from exhaustion and malnutrition. Another woman died the following day. The Burgau Registry of Deaths has the names of 18 prisoners who died in the subcamp: 13 women, 5 men, all Jews and all from Hungary. The youngest to die was 17 years old.

The graves of these 18 victims are not located in Burgau where they died. A note in the Registry explains why:

> A place had to be found to bury the dead. In a discussion held around midday on March 4, it was decided to establish a cemetery for the prisoners. The cemetery was about 1 kilometer from the subcamp. The local publican, Anton Schäffler, had leased a field from the city in the area known as Hagenmähdern (on the border with the community Burgau-Scheppach). The field was about four acres in size. This project was abandoned on March 6th because beneath the surface there was ground water. The Mayor's representative then suggested a newly forested area near the autobahn by-pass. This was particularly suited for a cemetery but Obersturmführer Volkmann in Augsburg, following a telephone enquiry, rejected the idea as regulations did not permit the establishment of a cemetery for concentration camp prisoners. According to Volkmann they had to be buried in the general cemetery. There was to be no trace of the burial plot.[8]

The dead concentration camp prisoners found their final resting place at the Jewish Cemetery at Ichenhausen, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Gravestones recall these victims of the Third Reich.

The Burgau subcamp did not exist for even two months. It was dissolved on March 24, 1945. The men and women were taken by train to the subcamp at Kaufering. Some of them did not stay there for very long. Before they were liberated by American troops, they were marched to Allach near Munich.[9]

After the war, judicial authorities investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Burgau camp. A former

prisoner said the camp commander, SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kresse, threatened during a roll call to shoot those who were found to have shoelaces made from electrical wire (he probably was referring to the cables from the airplanes). However, this witness did not see any crimes.[10] The investigations were not pursued.[11] In proceedings against Kresse before a U.S. military tribunal in 1947 in Dachau, Burgau local doctor Dr. Karl Schäffer as well as city councillor Albert Gutmann spoke out in favor of the camp leader. Schäffer had looked after the men and women in the concentration camp. Kresse, who immediately after the war assumed the name Johannes Kulik, was sentenced to five years in prison. However, because of the period he had been held in custody while the case was investigated, his sentence was reduced to two years.[12]

In a letter written to Dr. Fred Frankl, head of the Translation Department during the Dachau Trials, Dr. Schäffer wrote the following: "The sentence is the lightest which has been delivered to date in Dachau for a former camp leader. . . . When one considers the criminal character of the entire concentration camp system and the shocking conditions in most of the camps, then one must recognize in particular when a man in a leadership role has acted in a humane manner and eased the burden, to the extent he could, on the prisoners."[13]

SOURCES Several chapters are devoted to Burgau in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Further published sources are not known, but local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele prepared an unpublished report titled "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung" in 1982.

The author found information in the ZdL files at BA-L, AG-D, YVA, and the ASt-Bur. While working on *Für die Vergessenen*, the author found numerous witnesses in Israel and in Burgau who were able to give information on the camp.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. YVA, Letter of the Günzburg Council to the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone in Munich, M-I/L 359/56.
2. Statement by Izchak Tennenbaum, AG-D, 15.872.
3. Research by the author.
4. Xaver Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung" (unpub. MSS, Burgau, 1982).
5. YVA, Report Ruth Deutscher 033287; and 1984 in a conversation with the author.
6. Paula Brekau in a conversation with the author.
7. Rachel Herzfeld, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
8. File noted March 8, 1945, ASt-Bur.
9. Tennenbaum statement.
10. Ibid.
11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 131/69.
12. Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung."
13. Copy of a letter dated March 4, 1947, in ASt-Bur.

DACHAU (*ENTOMOLOGISCHES INSTITUT DER WAFFEN-SS*)

During a telephone conversation in January 1942, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered Wolfram Sievers, the chief of the SS-Research and Training Cooperative "Das Ahnenerbe," to establish a new research institute, the Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS (Entomological Institute of the Waffen-SS). Its purpose was to research and develop substances for fighting vermin, such as lice, fleas, mosquitoes, and gadflies, that afflicted human beings.[1] Dr. Eduard May took charge of the Institute on February 10, 1942. This hitherto unknown scientist was neither a Nazi Party nor SS member but a trained zoologist who had studied widely in related scientific disciplines such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, geology, and paleontology.[2] In May 1942 he qualified for a professorship in Munich at the Faculty for Natural Philosophy and the History of the Natural Sciences.

The decision to transfer the Entomological Institute to Dachau was made in April 1942. It was made because there were already medical establishments based in the Dachau concentration camp and because Professor Carl Schilling was already conducting experiments on prisoners with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin hoped that there would be close cooperation between Schilling and May.[3]

The Institute was given a parcel of land close to the Dachau concentration camp. The parcel was on the Alten Römerstrasse (later 4 Würmmühle). Two wooden barracks were planned. The larger of these was to house the laboratories and offices, while the smaller barrack would accommodate the scientists. However, the shortage of building materials in the fourth year of the war meant that construction did not proceed quickly. Dr. Philipp Luetzelburg mentioned in a letter dated October 5, 1943, one and a half years after Himmler's directive, that only water and electricity had been connected.[4] The concentration camp made available a 30-man-strong work detachment for construction of the Institute. Luetzelburg exercised strict control over it and made sure that the prisoners worked their utmost from morning to evening. Despite his efforts, the Institute could only begin its laboratory work in 1944. Until then, May had a temporary office in the Dachau concentration camp.

Dr. Rudolf Schütrumpf, a prehistorian (*Prähistoriker*) who had worked for the "Ahnenerbe" from 1938, had worked closely with May since March 1943. In addition to him there were few scientists at the Institute. There were eight assistants and "amateur biologists" (*Hobby-Biologen*)[5] who had been made available for work at the Entomological Institute by their SS and police units. Sievers planned, but did not carry out, experiments on the prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp.[6]

In addition to the prisoners who constructed the two barracks on Römerstrasse, there were four female prisoners who were permanently available for work at the Institute. They

were transferred to Dachau on September 21, 1944, from the concentration camp at Ravensbrück.[7] The four female Jehovah's Witnesses were locked for two days in a bunker at Dachau before they were marched to the nearby Institute. They were housed in a room in the research barracks. In the Institute, they were made responsible for cleaning. They were allowed to wear civilian clothes, did not have to work Sundays, and were free to move around. They also ran errands in Dachau for the scientists.[8] The women appear to have been treated well. There was neither a leader of the work detachment nor guards to supervise or guard the women.

The staff at the Entomological subcamp remained the same until the end of the war. The four female prisoners were not evacuated to the concentration camp and were freed by American troops.

There were no investigations into Dr. May after the war for his activities at the "Ahnenerbe." By the end of 1945, he was lecturing again at the University of Munich. In 1951, he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Free University in Berlin. After the war, Dr. Schütrumpf received his qualification for a professorship in Köln and was appointed a professor in 1970.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources for the Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS subcamp start with Angelika Heider, "Mücken-Fliegen-Flöhe: Das Entomologische Institut des 'SS-Ahnenerbe' in Dachau," *DaHe*, 15 (1999): 99–115. On the "Ahnenerbe," see Michaels H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945; Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (1966; Munich: Oldenburg, 2001). For the postwar careers of May and Schütrumpf, see Ute Deichmann, *Biologen unter Hitler: Porträt einer Wissenschaft im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).

The BA-B holds a few documents on the "Ahnenerbe" and the Entomological Institute. The AG-D holds a list of the names of the women in the work detachment. ZdL's investigations (now held in BA-L) resulted in a statement by a survivor.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. File note by Wolfram Sievers, January 2, 1942, BA-B, R 26/III/287.
2. Resume Eduard May, November 10, 1941, BA- NS 21/910.
3. Notes of a conversation between Wolfram Sievers and Dr. Eduard May, April 3, 1942, IfZ, NO-721.
4. Letter by Philipp Luetzelburg, October 5, 1943, AG-D, A 20.542.
5. Angelika Heider, "Mücken-Fliegen-Flöhe: Das Entomologische Institut des 'SS-Ahnenerbe' in Dachau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 102.
6. Michaels H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945; Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (1966; Munich: Oldenburg, 2001), p. 229.
7. List of Female Prisoners (Ethymological [*sic*] Institute), August 27, 1944, AG-D, 981.
8. Statement by Martha K., April 13, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1586/72.
9. Ute Deichmann, *Biologen unter Hitler: Porträt einer Wissenschaft im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), p. 237.

DACHAU (*FLEISCHWARENFABRIK WÜLFERT*)

The Fleischwarenfabrik Wülfert (Wülfert Meat Products Factory) was established in 1889, and from that date it was located at 19 Schleissheim Strasse in Dachau. The owner of the factory in 1930 was Hans Wülfert, a founding member of the local Dachau chapter of the National Socialist Party and a man notable in the 1930s for donations he made to the local party and to other National Socialist organizations.[1] In the years following 1930, Wülfert operated his factory strictly in accordance with National Socialist principles. From 1933 on, the factory bore a sign that read "The Oldest National Socialist Business in Dachau," and for the most part, the firm was run by loyal party members.[2] In 1935, Bernhard Huber became a part owner and manager of Wülfert GmbH. Beginning in August 1941, 16 prisoners with the Wülfert GmbH worked in the cellar of the Schlossberg in the old town of Dachau. In the following year, the size of the work detachment grew to 60.[3] They worked in all areas of the factory—slaughtering the cattle, writing correspondence in the office, loading tins of meat at the Dachau Railway Station, or cleaning tins. The prisoners wore work clothes and had to work 11 or 12 hours daily and, as required, the night shift. Hans Wülfert also used the prisoners outside the factory to maintain the gardens at his home in Rothschwaige.[4]

Until February 1943, the prisoners were sent daily from the concentration camp to the factory, but their accommodations remained at the concentration camp. After a typhus epidemic at the Dachau main camp in January 1943, a subcamp was established on the factory grounds on Schleissheim Strasse. The typhus epidemic meant for the factory management that production was stopped, as the prisoners were confined to the camp. With the establishment of the camp on the factory grounds, Wülfert GmbH was now responsible for the hygiene and care of the prisoners.[5] When the subcamp opened, the number of prisoners working in the meat goods factory increased to 320.

SS-Oberscharführer Franz Weinberger was the detachment leader until September 1943. There were 15 SS guards under him who watched the prisoners while they were working and who escorted them to workplaces outside the factory grounds. The guard detachment was withdrawn at the end of September 1943, after it had become involved in the illegal acquisition of tins of meat. SS-Hauptscharführer August Müller was then appointed commander of the labor detachment, and Heinrich Palme was named commander of the guards. An additional 15 SS guards were brought in as well to the Wülfert GmbH. One year later in September to October 1944, Unterscharführer Palme replaced Müller as leader of the camp.[6]

The Dachau concentration camp provided the prisoners' food, which was supplemented with meat and sausage from

the factory. Being in the Wülfert detachment was much sought after, as it was possible for the prisoners to obtain supplementary meat and sausage while they were working. The main camp also profited from food stolen by members of the Wülfert detachment, as this was smuggled into the concentration camp, and especially weakened prisoners could be furnished with food.[7] On one occasion, a wagon bearing the laundry of prisoners from Wülfert was searched at the gate as it arrived at Dachau, and large quantities of meat and sausage were discovered.[8]

The company management and the SS guards tried in vain to stop the thefts. However, stealing continued throughout the entire existence of the camp. Those who were caught had to reckon with receiving severe punishment. In most cases the thief was reported to the administration of the main camp, and the prisoner was withdrawn from the detachment. The frequency with which this happened is demonstrated by the high fluctuation in the number of prisoners in the detachment that was reported in the shift reports of the Dachau Labor Detachment Office.[9] Back in the main camp, the prisoner received either 25 blows with a cane or three days in the "standing bunker." In extreme cases, both sets of punishment were applied.[10]

There are no reports of prisoner deaths in this detachment. Witnesses report, however, that punitive beatings were carried out at the factory. Wülfert was very unpopular with the prisoners because he worked hand in hand with the camp administration. He used his close connections with the Dachau concentration camp so that prisoners caught stealing were reported by telephone to the "protective custody" camp leader. He knew the punishment that would be meted out to the prisoners. Wülfert cursed at foreign prisoners in particular when he caught them stealing food.[11]

The Wülfert GmbH profited not only from prisoner labor; it also supplied the concentration camp and the SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungslager) with goods.[12] Wülfert also cultivated close relations with different SS members of the camp. Among the employees of the factory, the barbecues held several times each month were particularly well known. At these, Wülfert and his clerk Emil Kempter entertained party bosses and SS functionaries with generous amounts of alcohol and sweets. In the mail-order office, Redwitz, the leader of the protective custody camp, Rapportführer Trenkle, and the detachment leaders Müller and Palme, as well as Sister Pia, regularly got packets of meat and sausage.[13] A female civilian worker stated after the war that each Saturday she delivered by bicycle a package of sausages to the house of camp commandant Weiter.[14]

At the beginning of the war, the Wülfert GmbH was able to increase its business rapidly, in particular because of the large contracts it had with the German Wehrmacht.[15] Most of the profits were used to expand the factory, the expansion being carried out by prisoner labor. On March 19, 1945, three prisoners managed to escape from the factory barracks. SS-Oberscharführer Degelow then searched the site.[16] The three prisoners managed during the night to escape over the roof, and they disappeared into a neighboring lot.

From the middle of April 1945, the production of sausage and tinned meat was limited because of transport and delivery difficulties, and therefore the detachment was reduced to 54 prisoners. The last prisoners returned to the Dachau main camp on April 26, 1945.[17]

Wülfert and his business partner Huber were convicted by a U.S. military court in the Dachau Trials in March 1947 of crimes against humanity and of supporting the National Socialist regime. They were sentenced to between two and five years in jail, respectively.[18] During the appeal process that followed, they were acquitted. In 1948, they were investigated as part of the denazification proceedings and classified in Group I, the main offenders. They were rehabilitated in 1949 during the appeal process and classified in Group V, the lowest category.[19]

In 1950, the Munich State Court investigated the connection between the prisoner detachment and the Wülfert GmbH.[20] The investigations ceased in the same year. Wülfert and Huber returned to Dachau in 1950 as respectable citizens. They were welcomed back enthusiastically with banners reading "Finally they have returned" hung from the factory gates.

SOURCES There are relatively good records on this subcamp. In the AG-D there are a few change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*). Details about the camp were made clear in survivors' statements given as part of the Dachau Trials and the denazification proceedings against Hans Wülfert and Bernhard Huber. The Dachau Trials references are NARA, RG-153 (Records of the U.S. Army War Crimes Trials), Boxes 202 and 210, and RG-338 (U.S. Army Commands), Boxes 310–311. Karl A. Gross mentions the Wülfert detachment in *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen; Bericht und Tagebücher des Häftlings Nr. 16921* (Munich: Neubau Verlag, [1946]).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Various receipts are to be found in the denazification file of Hans Wülfert, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
2. Letter from the Dachau City Mayor to the Dachau Military Government, n.d.; statement Leopold G., August 5, 1947; both in Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
3. Letter from Wülfert GmbH, May 1, 1942, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
4. Statement Alfons H., AG-D, 26.815; Correspondence Dr. Max Rau; Statement Hans S., September 26, 1947, in Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
5. Medical Certification of the First SS Camp Doctor, Dachau Concentration Camp, May 10, 1944, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
6. Statement Heinrich Palme, November 11, 1946, in NARA, RG-153 Box 202.
7. Karl A. Gross, *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen: Bericht und Tagebücher des Häftlings Nr. 16921* (Munich: Neubau Verlag, [1946]), p. 111.
8. Statement Weinberger, Franz, September 19, 1947, in NARA, RG-153 Box 210.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

9. Dachau Concentration Camp Variation Reports, AG-D, 35.673, 35.674–35.677.

10. Letter by 41 Former Prisoners of the Kommando Wülfert, July 3, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Carton 2013 (Hans Wülfert); Statement Matthias R., AG-D, 26.815 Correspondence Dr. Max Rau.

11. Letter by 24 Former Prisoners of the Kommando Wülfert, July 5, 1945, NARA, RG-153 Box 210.

12. Compare Schreiben von Hans Wülfert an Oswald Pohl und die Kommandantur des KL Dachau, April 19, 1938, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).

13. Statement Karl G., November 26, 1947, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).

14. Statement Katharina O., December 9, 1947, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).

15. Information from the Wülfert Infomation Bulletin from the Finanzamt Dachau, January 20, 1948, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).

16. Record of Control of the SS-AbKdo Wülfert March 20 and March 22, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).

17. Letter Hans Wülfert GmbH to DAF Kreisverwaltung Dachau, April 11, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert); Statement Heinrich Palme, November 7, 1946, NARA, RG-153 Box 202.

18. Case 000-50-2-72, NARA, RG-338 Boxes 310–311.

19. Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert); SpkA Box 4379 (Bernhard Huber).

20. Sta. Mü, StanW 34455.

DACHAU (*GUT POLLNHOF*)

The Gut (Manor) Pollnhof subcamp is one of the Dachau subcamps for which there is only fragmentary material available. The source base is very limited, consisting of the investigations conducted in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, which offer only general insight into events in Pollnhof.[1]

Pollnhof was one of the agricultural enterprises located in the immediate vicinity of Dachau that was operated and administered by the SS. Other examples of these businesses are the "plantation" with its herb gardens or the Liebhof Manor in Dachau. Prisoners from Dachau were organized into various detachments and detailed to do agricultural labor at Pollnhof (later 16 Steinstrasse in Dachau). The earliest records of a prisoner work detachment at the site are from 1942 when about 50 prisoners were deployed there.[2] The prisoners were escorted daily by the SS guards from the concentration camp to the manor, which was about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) away. Here the prisoners worked the farm, either in a large group or in several smaller groups. Horses needed tending to, fields had to be ploughed or sown, or the harvest had to be brought in. The prisoners then returned for evening roll call.

The manor was under the command of an SS-Unterscharführer named Reise. He was also in charge of the work assignments. There was no detachment leader (Kommandoführer) at Pollnhof, although there were 10 SS members who guarded the prisoners. The composition of the guard staff changed daily.

There are no known prisoner deaths at Pollnhof. However, the few reports that do exist suggest severe prisoner mistreatment. If a prisoner was caught stealing a carrot or a potato lying on a field, he was severely beaten on the spot and removed from the work detachment. Additional punishment awaited the prisoner when he returned to the Dachau concentration camp.

For a period of about four weeks in March 1945 there was, in addition to the daily work detachment, a permanent Dachau subcamp at the Pollnhof manor. A former prisoner recalls that he, together with six other Polish prisoners of war and a Kapo, were accommodated in a small room adjacent to the stables.[3] March 1, 1945, is given as the date the subcamp was opened. The prisoners were accommodated at Pollnhof because of a typhus epidemic that was raging in the main camp. During their stay, the eight prisoners looked after the horses at the manor. After the four weeks had passed, the prisoners continued to work at the manor but were housed in the concentration camp once again.

The survivors reported that they went out each day to Pollnhof until April 25, 1945. The prisoners' card index contains the name of a Polish prisoner beside whose name are the words: "Liberated Pollnhof." This is the only indication that after April 25, 1945, one or more prisoners were still working at the manor.

SOURCES Gut Pollnhof is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 201.

Sources on the subcamp are limited. There are no contemporary documents available. The ZdL investigation files in BA-L hold only two survivor statements.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.

2. Statement Stanislaw F., October 5, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.

3. Statement Jodef S., February 6, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.

DACHAU (*PRÄZIFIX GMBH*)

In 1933, Ludwig Nachtmann established a factory for the manufacture of screws, the Präzifix GmbH, on Munich Strasse in Dachau. From the beginning of the war, special screws for aircraft engines were produced at the factory. In 1940, Gustav Adolf Heyer from Berlin took over the firm.[1] The next year, he relocated production to a new factory that had been constructed at 2–3 Johann-Ziegler Strasse (Factory I). At the end of 1941, Präzifix GmbH, an important supplier for the Messerschmitt factories and Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW), received permission to establish Factory II

on the Flosslände at the SS camp site. The existing munitions bunkers were connected by one-story barracks, in which only Dachau concentration camp prisoners and a few civilian workers could be found working. Even before a Dachau subcamp was constructed on the factory grounds at the Flosslände, 12 prisoners had worked in 1940 for the Präzifix GmbH on Munich Strasse.[2] However, these prisoners returned each evening to the Dachau concentration camp. A prisoner work detachment was based at the Flosslände from the autumn of 1942. It included Edgar Kupfer. He and 36 other prisoners were brought to Factory II, and for the next two years they worked in the office of the supply camp. He kept a secret diary that has survived and that precisely details the events that occurred in the work detachment at Präzifix.[3]

Initially, the prisoners marched daily the 1.5 kilometers (about 1 mile) from the concentration camp at Dachau to Factory II. But several wooden barracks were constructed on the factory grounds following a typhus epidemic at the main camp at the beginning of 1943. These barracks became the permanent subcamp. Kupfer wrote in his diary that he and approximately 130 other prisoners slept in the barracks for the first time on February 7, 1943.[4] Additional barracks were then built, and the detachment increased in size to 400 prisoners.[5] There was a kitchen barracks with an annex for food storage, a room for storing clothes, and a detention barracks. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire and with six manned watchtowers. Search lights were affixed to the watchtowers to illuminate the camp at night.

Sanitary facilities at the Flosslände were inadequate, so from May 1943 on, the prisoners, under SS supervision, were escorted on Sundays to the "protective custody" camp to bathe and to wash their clothes.[6] A prisoner doctor from the main camp visited the prisoners in the Präzifix camp once a week.

Director Heyer and 5 to 10 civilian employees from the firm organized labor assignments and supervision. Heyer did not regularly visit Factory II. The civilian foreman Oberskirchner was always present. He was responsible for production. Also constantly present were the foreman Seifert in the tool shop, deputy foreman Goldap, and an electrician. The relationship between the foremen and the prisoners varied, as many tried to help the prisoners, whereas others participated in bullying them.[7]

There were skilled tradesman among the prisoners, such as turners and locksmiths. There were also unskilled laborers from all parts of Europe. Prisoners from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were the most strongly represented.[8] The prisoners worked in 12-hour day and night shifts at the lathes, boring and milling machines, and the grinding machines, making precision parts and replacement parts for aircraft. Most of the civilian workers left the Flosslände in 1943 because they were either called up for military service or transferred to Factory I on Johann-Ziegler Strasse. The prisoners then took over the administration of Factory II.

There were at least three Kapos in the camp, so-called day and night Kapos, for each shift. Walter Ohldorfer, Christian Weber, Josef Straka, Karl Weber, and August Madriz were only a few of the Kapos at Präzifix.

Supervision of the camp and guarding of the prisoners were the responsibility of the SS. The guard detachments, among whom elderly Luftwaffe members could be found above all, changed often. Only the commanding officers were stationed for longer periods at the Präzifix subcamp. These officers took the morning and evening roll call. The names of several commanders are known: Scharführer Ernst Angerer (the end of 1939 to June 1942), Unterscharführer Josef Heller, Obersturmführer Arno Lippmann (January to August 1944), and Hauptscharführer Johannes Berndt. The 10 or 12 SS guards were accommodated in a barracks outside the camp fence.[9]

Rations at the Präzifix camp were relatively good, certainly better than in the Dachau main camp. Prisoner Karl Weller was in charge of the kitchen and the food store. He and another four prisoners prepared the meals for the detachment.[10] Prisoner-functionaries in Dachau's main camp tried to get their friends into the camp at Präzifix precisely because it was known as one of the better subcamps.[11]

An unusual feature at Präzifix was the recreation barracks where the prisoners could spend their free time. On Sundays and public holidays, entertainment was provided here. Each nationality put on sketches and national dances. A small prisoner orchestra played. Director Heyer arranged for musical instruments and took his wife to the performances. There was a choir of 14 Polish prisoners[12] and a soccer team, which played on Sundays against other teams from the main camp.[13]

In July 1944, Dr. Otto Eifler, a convinced National Socialist, took over control of operations at Präzifix.[14] Director Heyer had come into conflict with the Gestapo and at the beginning of 1945 was sent to the front. A number of statements by different people indicate that he was removed because he had given favors to the prisoners.[15] Conditions for the prisoners deteriorated with Eifler's arrival at Präzifix. While Director Heyer protested against the brutal actions of the SS and organized additional rations,[16] Dr. Eifler did not act to assist the prisoners. The free Sundays introduced by Heyer were stopped.[17] In August 1944, Dr. Eifler stored furniture in the recreation barracks, which he had 20 prisoners bring to the camp from his bombed-out apartment in Munich. With that, recreational performances at Präzifix came to an end.

Two weeks after the recreational barracks was closed, it was discovered that toothpaste, soap, and a pair of old men's shoes were missing from a box. During the ensuing search of the camp, the missing items were found in the possession of three Russian prisoners. Hauptscharführer Berndt severely beat the prisoners, and they were sent back the next day to the main camp for interrogation. Only one of the three was returned to Präzifix, to be hanged to death in front of the other prisoners. He had been convicted of looting. The two other prisoners were hanged at the Mauthausen concentration camp and at the Allach subcamp.[18]

Altogether there are several known cases of hangings and mistreatment at the Präzifix subcamp. For example, a Russian

prisoner who tried to escape at the end of 1943 was transferred back to the main camp after he had been brutally beaten at Präzifix.[19] A fight broke out among the prisoners at the end of May 1944 during the construction of an electrical substation. The incident was reported to the leader of the detachment, who reported the three prisoners to the Dachau camp administration. The prisoners, two Russians and a Pole, were hanged for sabotage at the Dachau concentration camp crematorium on December 17, 1944. As a deterrent, all the prisoners at Präzifix were forced to attend the hangings.[20]

An air raid at the end of October 1944 hit a nearby munitions depot, and as a result, part of the factory at Präzifix was destroyed. Thirteen wounded and a few dead prisoners were taken to the Dachau concentration camp.[21] Once the damage had been repaired, production recommenced in Factory II.

The Präzifix subcamp was dissolved on April 26, 1945, and the detachment was led back to the Dachau main camp. About half the prisoners, Austrians, Germans, and Russians, had to join the evacuation march. This group stayed together until it was freed by the Americans in the vicinity of Wolfratshausen. A photo taken on May 1, 1945, documents their liberation.[22] Director Heyer died in action at the front during the last few days of the war. His operations manager, Dr. Otto Eifler, was charged in connection with a prisoner execution and tried in the U.S. Army's 1947 Dachau Trials but was acquitted.[23] Proceedings against Eifler on suspicion of murder by the Munich II state prosecutor at the Präzifix subcamp ceased in 1977.[24]

SOURCES The source base for this camp is unusually good. The AG-D hold the lists of names and transfer lists as well as a number of unpublished reports by and interviews with survivors of the detachment. There is also a photograph of some of the Präzifix prisoners after their liberation. The material for this essay was supplemented by information from the ZdL investigation files at BA-L, the Sta. Mü and a compensation file (Sta. Mü). The Eifler proceeding is found in NARA, RG-338 (Records of U.S. Army Commands), Box 314, Case 000-50-2-88. Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, a former prisoner, was able to keep a diary during his imprisonment; see his *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen. Als Häftling in Dachau* (Stuttgart, 1960) and *Dachauer Tagebücher: Die Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings 24814* (Munich, 1997). The memoirs of Karl Weller also mention the subcamp; see *Im Strudel des Zeitenstromes. Aus dem Leben eines Zeitgenossen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. On the firm takeover, see Application for Compensation in *Nachtmann v. Heyer*, Sta.Mü, WB Ia 332.
2. Statement Wilhelm H., October 23, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
3. Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen. Als Häftling in Dachau* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 85–110; and Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher: Die Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings 24814* (Munich, 1997).
4. Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 73–74.
5. Statement Karl W., September 17, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
6. Statement Jan B., May 15, 1973, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
7. Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 74–75.
8. List of Names Detachment Präzifix, n.d., AG-D, 35.678.
9. Statement Walter E., July 29, 1976, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/2.
10. Karl Weller, *Im Strudel des Zeitenstromes. Aus dem Leben eines Zeitgenossen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 204–205.
11. Statement August J., October 11, 1973, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
12. Interview Sigismund R., July 25, 2002, AG-D, Records of Interview.
13. Bericht Ferdinand Hackl, n.d., AG-D, 36.470.
14. Statement Oskar Eifler, October 18, 1977, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 75/76.
15. Statement August J., October 11, 1973, and Karl W., September 17, 1974, both in Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
16. Weller, *Im Strudel des Zeitenstromes*, p. 204.
17. Interview Sigismund R., May 2, 1998, AG-D, Records of Interview.
18. Statement Walter E., November 30, 1946, AG-D, A 8827/1; and Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 372–374.
19. Statement Lorenz F., June 12, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
20. Statement Walter E., November 30, 1946, AG-D, A 8827/1; and Franz W., June 10, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
21. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, October 23, 1944, AG-D 35.675; Kufper-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 383–386.
22. AG-D, F 549.
23. Case 000-50-2-88 in NARA, RG-338 Box 314.
24. Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1-2.

ECHING [AKA OT, NEUFAHRN]

Eching is located in the district of Freising, Upper Bavaria, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Dachau. The Eching subcamp existed from April 10, 1945, to April 24, 1945, under the designation OT (Organisation Todt), about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town of Eching. The camp was located at the outskirts of Eching, at Dietersheimer Strasse between Dietersheim und Neufahrn. It was composed of two to five wooden barracks, a kitchen, wash barracks, and an infirmary, and these were hidden away in a gravel pit. It was surrounded by a wire fence but had no watchtowers. At night, searchlights hindered escape attempts.

On April 10, 1945, 500 male inmates arrived by train from Dachau. Among them were Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Italians, French, and Germans. At the Eching camp, they were to erect an airport under the direction of the SS and OT. The airport was to be erected in the Garchinger Heide (Garching Meadows), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the camp. In

1936, the local *Fliegerhorstkommandantur* (aerodrome headquarters) had acquired the grounds and had run a glider field; and in 1944 plans had evolved to turn this airport into an alternative landing field. For that purpose, the inmates had to prepare a landing strip of 320×43 meters (350×47 yards). According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), some inmates were used to construct defensive fortifications in the area around Eching.

The camp was guarded by some members of the SS but also by Luftwaffe soldiers and elderly members of the OT. Apparently there were no deaths in this camp, but survivors report a number of severe physical punishments.

Two weeks after the camp was erected, it was dissolved. Construction work ceased on April 24, 1945, and the SS left the camp. With only OT guards remaining, some inmates used the opportunity to escape. On April 29, 1945, U.S. troops arrived at Eching and liberated the remaining 483 prisoners.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg started an investigation in 1973 but was unable to identify the camp commander and the guards.

SOURCES Rudolf George describes the Eching subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 314–315.

The Eching subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

Primary sources for Eching are found in the ZdL files, BA-L number IV 410 AR 5/ 73, including a number of survivor statements.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ELLWANGEN

The Dachau subcamp of Ellwangen was located in Württemberg, 69 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Stuttgart. It was established on July 3, 1941, and existed until October 17, 1942. It was located in the SS garrison at Ellwangen, where a motorcycle replacement battalion was stationed. Members of this battalion, mainly from its convalescent company, were also in charge of guarding the inmates of the camp. Apparently also the first camp commander, an SS-Oberscharführer, came from the battalion. Inmates described him as decent and humane. In July 1942, he was replaced by an SS-Oberscharführer from Dachau who treated the inmates much more brutally.

There were about 35 inmates in the camp, 25 of whom had arrived early in July 1941. Later, about 10 more inmates followed. Except for a Czech and a Pole, all others were Germans; none were Jews. The prisoners were kept in the basement of the administrative building, which contained three bedrooms, a day room, and a toilet. Inmates worked for the needs of the battalion: 10 of them as tailors and shoemakers; others as gardeners and construction workers. Apparently, a few of them also worked outside the garrison in a local stove fitting company. The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog states that some also worked on the construction of a shooting range about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the barracks.

There were no reported deaths of prisoners in the camp. Two inmates were shot after being returned to the main camp, but it is unclear if this was connected in any way to incidents at the subcamp. In October 1942, the subcamp commander dissolved the camp and had the inmates transferred back to Dachau, since he considered the subcamp in Ellwangen not important to the war effort.

SOURCES Immo Eberl describes the Ellwangen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 316–317. Another description of the camp can be found at *Vernichtung und Gewalt. Die KZ-Aussenlager Ellwangens*, ed. Friedensforum Ellwangen (Ellwangen, 1987). The subcamp is referred to at pages 66–71.

The Ellwangen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

The ZdL ceased its investigations in 1973 without results; its files are listed as BA-L, IV 410 AR 6/ 73. They contain witness statements and two sketches of the camp. The Ellwangen subcamp is also mentioned in some documents kept at AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ESCHELBACH
[AKA, ERRONEOUSLY, ECHELSBACH]

Eschelbach is close to Wolnzach, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Dachau. In 1944–1945, a Dachau subcamp was located there; it was established on the site of a religious order, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern, in Echelsbach, which during the war was also the site for a resettlement camp (*Umsiedlerlager*) for Germans. Pursuant to an order from the Nazi Party Reichskanzlei, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern evacuated their buildings for "vital war purposes" on July 24, 1944: in the internal courtyard of the Don-Bosco home a barracks was erected and fenced in with barbed wire. It held around 40 male prisoners from Dachau. It is known that the prisoners were in the camp from at least December 12, 1944. They came from Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Serbia, and the Netherlands. They were to lay underground cables in the direction of the nearby district city of Pfaffenhofen and were guarded by a detachment leader and four SS men.

According to survivors' statements, the hygienic conditions and prisoners' food were completely inadequate. Local women are said to have secretly supplied the prisoners with food. One prisoner probably was shot by the SS while earthworks were being done.

The camp was dissolved on April 4, 1945, with the prisoners being returned to Dachau. There were no postwar investigations into the camp.

SOURCES Eschelbach is often confused with Echelsbach, a village near Oberammergau. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68, but under the incorrect name of Echelsbach. A detailed description of the subcamp is by Reinhard Haiplik in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 317–318. Reinhard Haiplik's *Pfaffenhofen unterm Hakenkreuz: Stadt und Landkreis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Pfaffenhofen, 2003) refers to the camp and the work done by the prisoners.

Survivors' statements on the Eschelbach camp are held in AG-D, 29018/1.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FELDAFING

From the spring of 1942, a subcamp of Dachau existed in Feldafing, District Starnberg (Bavaria). The first group of approximately 30 prisoners arrived there from Dachau at the beginning of April 1942.[1] The camp was closed in early 1945, probably as early as January, and the prisoners were transported back to Dachau.[2]

The camp was located on land where the Reich School of the Nazi Party (Reichsschule der NSDAP) was being constructed. The school, founded by the SA in 1934 as the National Socialist Senior School, Lake Starnberg (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Oberschule Starnberger See) was renamed in 1939 the "Reichsschule der NSDAP." It was a school for the elite, a school where future leaders of the National Socialist state would be trained. In 1937 to 1938, the NSDAP began extensive construction work in the fields and forests to the south of Feldafing. The concentration camp lay to the northeast, a short distance away from the school construction site. Walls of the barracks could still be found after the war ended.

The camp included at least one wooden barracks on a concrete foundation for the prisoners, surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, which was possibly electrified. There was a second barracks for the guards (8 to 12 SS men). Some of the former prisoners speak of one barracks, while others of two barracks or simply of barracks.[3] Likewise, there are contradictory statements concerning how the camp was guarded: no guard tower or a guard tower on the hilly part of the camp or four guard towers on each corner of the camp or a little guard's house at the entry.[4] What is certain is that there were closely located barracks that accommodated unguarded construction workers. Altogether there were five barracks next to one another in which construction workers, prisoners, and SS guards were separately accommodated.[5] The prisoners' barracks, about 20–25 × 4 meters (66–82 × 13 feet), based on estimates from the surviving walls, have been described as follows: they had two rooms in which there were three-tiered bunks. Numbers of prisoners fluctuated a great deal. The lowest number, mentioned by a witness, is 30 (this appears to relate to a work detachment and possibly one of the rooms); the highest number is 100. A witness (J. Brzezinski) stated that "later when the number of prisoners grew to about three hundred . . . two barracks were made available for the prisoners."[6] The rooms also functioned as eating and living rooms. In addition, there was a washroom and a built-in toilet (it is not known if the toilets were per barracks or per room). Some witnesses' statements are accompanied by sketches, but these do not give a uniform picture and in any event are accompanied by statements that have not been translated from Polish.[7] According to one witness (T. Etter), the prisoners had contact with the "free" laborers.[8]

The prisoners, all of whom appear to have been from Dachau, were used in earthworks and grading works for construction on the site, as well as in road building, in the construction of air-raid shelters (the latter probably outside the grounds of the Reichsschule), and toward the end of the war, tunnel construction and work in the Dornier Factory in nearby Tutzing. This work involved improvement of a diving board on the lake (B. Misztal), cleaning rooms (J. Brzezinski), and transport of food from Feldafing to Tutzing (T. Etter). Finally, Hugo Lausterer, a guard, has claimed that from November 1944 the prisoners were used to construct in Feldafing an underground factory for the Messerschmitt factory (Augsburg).[9] The company responsible for the construction at the Reichsschule in Feldafing was Hoch-Tief AG, based in Munich.[10]

The conditions under which the prisoners had to live and work were terrible. The working day began between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. and ended around 6:30 or 7:00 P.M. While suffering from hunger, the prisoners had the heaviest labor to perform under the brutal pressure of the SS and the Kapos. Food was "sent from Dachau every ten days . . . a prison cook with assistants cooked daily for the SS as well as the prisoners."[11] A few prisoners have claimed that the food in Feldafing was better than in Dachau; others say the opposite; one (T. Etter) admits: "We prisoners were only saved from death by starvation because we had the chance to get packages."[12] When working, the prisoners were exposed to the elements. The heat caused them more problems than the cold. From this can be concluded that they were at least equipped with a minimum of warm clothing.

From 1969 there were around 40 prisoners identified in investigations. Of these, 15 were questioned, and at least 3 stated they were in the camp from 1942 to 1945—the whole period of its existence. The occupants in the camp apparently changed a great deal—possibly because many prisoners could not stand the heavy physical labor and were returned to the infirmary at Dachau. What is also notable is that of the questioned witnesses 4 were Polish Catholic priests, 1 of whom stated that in Dachau they were retrained as bricklayers.[13] One (Z. Franczewski) stated that he was in a group of "about ten priests" who were sent to Feldafing.[14] There were also Germans (Jews and "Gypsies") in the camp, Italians, some French, and Greeks. But mostly the prisoners were Eastern Europeans. It is not possible to work out the number of Jewish prisoners.

As for the question of whether—and if so, how many—prisoners were murdered, there is no definitive answer. The Ludwigsburg investigators have listed a number of different types of homicide.[15] However, in most instances they suspect that the victims died later—on the transports to Dachau or in the Dachau infirmary.

The camp commandants were SS-Oberscharführer Engelbert Niedermayer (born in March 1912 and executed on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg); SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss (born on March 3, 1906, and also executed on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg); an SS member (rank unknown) Jakob Scheck (born on January 8, 1907, questioned on December 14, 1971, by the Mannheim Criminal Police); an SS member (rank unknown) known as "bloody Peter" who could not be further identified. An additional 14 people could be identified as "SS members in the camp," among them Lausterer and Weydemann. The spellings of the names Niedermayer and Seuss must be considered with some reservation because there are no surviving written documents from or about the camp leadership, and the witnesses' statements show only a phonetic knowledge of the names. Both Niedermayer and Seuss were sentenced to death in the U.S. military trials against Weiss, Jarolin, and others (000-50-2) for homicides committed in the Dachau camp.[16]

Investigations were made into the Feldafing actions of Kapo Alfred Minik (born on September 7, 1907, in Zoppot). In 1978 he could not be located, but unconfirmed reports suggested that he lived in Danzig-Ohra (see below).[17] Another prisoner-functionary was the Heidelberg medical doctor Fritz Barth, who is described as the prison doctor. He died on October 31, 1946, in Heidelberg.[18]

Heinrich Göbel was the Hoch-Tief engineer in charge of construction at Feldafing. He was mayor of Feldafing from 1960 to 1970. He died on April 17, 1973, and as far as is known, he was never questioned. On the other hand, there is a written statement by his brother Georg who worked as a draftsman on the construction site in Feldafing.[19]

In March 1969 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began to investigate homicides committed in the Feldafing subcamp. Preliminary investigations in 1976 by the state prosecutor at the State Court Munich I were conducted against Alfred Minik and others suspected of committing murder. The investigations were stopped on July 28, 1978.[20]

SOURCES Nothing in detail has been specifically written on the Feldafing subcamp. It is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979); Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Bayern 1933–1945—Ausstellung des Architekturmuseums der Technischen Universität München und des Münchner Stadtmuseums* (Munich: Architekturmuseums der Technischen Universität München, 1993), p. 525.

Primary sources for this essay begin with StA-Mü, File "Sta. 34800," which contains statements of former prisoners who refer to the Feldafing camp: Jozef Brzezinski (pp. 157–159), Mikolaj Chwedorowicz (pp. 181–182), Stanislaus Ciok (p. 47), Tadeusz Etter (pp. 193–195), Zygmunt Franczewski (pp. 149–150), Bronislaw Misztal (pp. 135–139), Andreas Müller (pp. 44–45), Zygmunt Pisarski (pp. 119–120), Ignacy Przybylski (pp. 201–203), Ferdinand Rose (pp. 29–30), Ludwig Rosenberg (pp. 52–53), Anton Schneider (p. 39), Stefan Sowiak (pp. 166–167), Josef Szematowicz (pp. 102–103), Stanislaw Zys (p. 232); the file also contains interrogation records of SS members, including a copy of the statement by Hugo Lausterer (p. 223), questioned by the American investigating authorities in 1945, as well as interrogations by the Bavarian State Criminal Office in 1977 and 1978 by Josef Harbeith (p. 284), Johann Remlinger (pp. 278–280), Friedrich Schassberger (p. 275), Johann Schöpp (pp. 266–267), Christoph Weydemann (p. 271); finally, a 1978 written record of an interview with Georg Göbel, from Fa. Hoch-Tief AG (pp. 281–282). In addition, the author has analyzed the oral statements by amateur historians of Feldafing (in particular, Karl Holzwarth) who have researched the history of the Reichsschule der NSDAP and the DP camp in Feldafing as well as people who after the war were accommodated on the grounds of the former Reichsschule. In AGe-Fe there are no records, including no entries in the Register of Deaths, as the Reichsschule was outside the jurisdiction of the community. There is a dearth of sources on the Reichsschule. There are few files, as indicated in Harald Scholtz, *NS-Ausleseschulen: Internatsschulen als Herrschaftsmittel des Führerstaates* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), p. 299. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the sources on the DP camp in Feldafing held at YIVO (microfilm available at ZfA) hold details on the subcamp.

Ursula Ludz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See StA-Mü, File Sta. 34800, p. 29 (Zeuge F. Rose), S. 18 (Letter by Criminal Commissar Gasper). Also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstäten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979) 1: 68, which with reference to the concentration camp files, has the following first mention—April 6, 1942.

2. ITS, *Verzeichnis* (Closure—23.4.1945 [transfer to Dachau]); also Sta. 34800, pp. 18, 243 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).

3. Statement about "a" barracks in Sta. 34800, pp. 29, 39, 102, 135, 199; "two" barracks, ibid., p. 149; "barracks," ibid., pp. 45, 194.

4. On the little guard's house at the entrance, the most probable version, see the statements by the SS men Schöpp and Remlinger, ibid., pp. 267, 279.

5. Statement G. Göbel (Building Draftsmean at Fa. Hoch-Tief), ibid., p. 282, who admittedly, probably in error, speaks of five prisoner barracks; also K. Holzwarth in a discussion with the author.

6. Sta. 34800, pp. 157–158.

7. Ibid., pp. 97, 101, 147, 151, 198.

8. Ibid., p. 193.

9. Ibid., p. 223.
10. See also ITS, *Verzeichnis*, p. 68.
11. Statement by Oberscharführer and Kommandoführer Chr. Weydemann, who was in the camp from the end of 1942 to the autumn of 1944, Sta. 34800, p. 271.
12. Ibid., p. 194.
13. Priest J. Brzezinski, the monks M. Chwedorowicz, the priest Z. Franczewski, without a statement on retraining, as well as T. Etter, who, when questioned in 1969, was bishop in Posen (Poznan).
14. Sta. 34800, p. 149.
15. Ibid., pp. 251–254 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).
16. All details in this paragraph come from notes by the State Prosecutor Dressen, ibid., pp. 243–248.
17. Ibid., pp. 285–286, 290 (Final Note by Senior Criminal Commissioner Gulder).
18. Details on Dr. F. Barthare also contained in the notes by Gulder, ibid., p. 286.
19. Ibid., pp. 281–282.
20. State Prosecutor State Court Munich I, Az.: 320 Js 15530/76 (14 Js 25387/76 Sta. Mü II): "Homicides in the Dachau Subcamp Feldafing," Entry July 28, 1978, in the enclosed, separately numbered, file in Sta. 34800, pp. 8–14.

FELDMOCHING

The Dachau subcamp of Feldmoching was located 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) northwest of Munich. The only reference to the camp is in the files of the Dachau concentration camp for October 2, 1944. Male prisoners were held in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp is not described in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005) but is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:68.

The Feldmoching subcamp is mentioned in a document held in AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FISCHBACHAU

Fischbachau is located in the Miesbach district in Upper Bavaria, about 56 kilometers (34.8 miles) to the southeast of Munich.

The Dachau subcamp in Fischbach existed from September 12, 1944, to January 21, 1945. It consisted of about 20 to 25 male prisoners, most of them Germans, Austrians, Italians, French, and Poles; some were Jehovah's Witnesses. Most of the inmates had been chosen for their professional qualifications in fields related to construction work.

Under the control of the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Administration, the inmates were to construct wooden temporary quarters, which apparently were meant for higher-ranking SS officers from Munich and their families. During the existence of the camp, two houses, for four families in total, were erected.

The inmates were guarded by six SS men who, according to survivor testimonies, never mistreated the prisoners. During the existence of the camp, the inmates received special food rations—according to investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), one inmate therefore described the Fischbachau camp as the best camp that he ever experienced. Like the guards, the inmates were housed in "OT-huts," little dwellings made of pressed cardboard, with an interior height of about 160 centimeters (63 inches). The huts were placed on a local farmer's cow pasture.

On January 21, 1945, due to harsh winter conditions that made further construction work impossible, the camp was dissolved, and the inmates were returned by truck to the Dachau main camp.

SOURCES Barbara Hutzelmann described the Fischbachau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 321–322. Investigations conducted by the ZdL can be found at BA-L under the signature ZStL IV 410 AT 1211/69.

Fischbachau is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FISCHHORN

The Fischhorn subcamp of Dachau was located on the western edge of the village of Bruck on Grossglockner Strasse, in the district of Zell am See, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Salzburg. The camp probably was located on the grounds of Castle Fischhorn in Bruck, since the SS officers who were in charge of the inmates were located there. Albert Knoll states that there were two subcamps in Fischhorn: one with the Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS, under Office Group C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the other one with the SS-Remount Office, which was in charge of finding horses for military use and which held about 100 horses in the Bruck stables. However, there was no separation between these two camps as far as personnel and space were concerned; the two camps only show up separately in accounting documents regarding the fees to be charged for the employment of the inmates. Both camps existed from September 9, 1944, until their liberation in May 1945.

A first transport of 50 male inmates arrived on September 9, 1944, followed by a second one of 100 inmates on September 18. Many inmates were Soviets; the others, French, Poles, and Italians. According to Knoll, the inmates were between 18 and 35 years old; their apparent Kapo, Karl Herkert from Hamburg, was 44.

The Remount Office was located at Bruck Castle, which was the confiscated property of the former German ambassador to Peru. Also, the headquarters of an SS division was located there. The prisoners were guarded by Volksdeutsche (ethnic German) SS men, probably from Bessarabia. Their

number cannot be established anymore. The first camp commander was Hans Hahn, who had been a guard in Flossenbürg and Dachau since 1939. On February 10, 1945, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Ristek, who had been the commander of the Radolfzell subcamp.

The prisoners worked in the construction of stables for the Remount Office and in the fields around the castle. Here, they probably worked next to foreign forced laborers. According to one survivor statement, some inmates of the camp also worked in the Sandkommando (sand detachment), where they had to extract sand from a local creek.

There are differing opinions as to where the inmates were accommodated. One inmate states that the prisoners were kept on the loft of the administrative building of the castle. Another inmate describes barracks where the prisoners were kept: simple walls, plain sand floor, no insulation, and only one tiny stove to heat the whole building. The only chance for the inmates to wash themselves was the horse troughs, and there was only one latrine. Even a report of the SS camp physician, dated March 27, 1945, stated that the inmates' quarters were primitive, the latrines insufficient and unhygienic, and the kitchen dirty. Those conditions, in combination with exhausting working conditions, led to many inmates becoming unable to work very quickly. Already 20 days after the erection of the camp, 15 sick inmates were returned to Dachau and replaced by new ones. Another replacement took place in the fall of 1944 when 15 new inmates, all of them from the Neustift subcamp, arrived in Fischhorn, along with their guards. Apparently, 1 inmate died in the camp, and next to the Dachau subcamp in Weissee, Fischhorn had the worst living conditions among all Dachau subcamps in Austria.

SOURCES This description of the Fischhorn subcamp is based in part on the article by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 324–326.

Fischhorn is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 69.

The ZdL investigations in 1969 are found under the file reference BA-L IV 410 AR 708/69. Survivor and witness statements can also be found at NARA, RG 153, B 191 F09, and B 210, F01. Material available at AG-D includes Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise (signature DaA 37154), Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35674), Belegstärken (strength reports, DaA 404), and the report of the SS camp doctor (DaA 32769).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FRIEDRICHSHAFEN

The Dachau subcamp in Friedrichshafen was established on June 22, 1943, and was dissolved on September 26, 1944.[1] It was formed as part of the program for the planned revenge weapon, the so-called *Aggregat* 4 (A4), later known as the V-2 rocket. Technical problems involving the testing area at Usedom on the Baltic had caused delays. As a result, in September 1941, Oberst Walter Dornberger, chief of Department 11 of the Office for Development and Testing of the Army Armaments Office (Heereswaffenamt), and Dr. Wernher von Braun, technical director, made contact with Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH (Zeppelin Airship Construction Company) and on April 7, 1942, established a branch of the military testing unit, HVA-P (Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde), in Friedrichshafen. Undertaken there were the production of engine mountings, rear sections, and middle sections, and the series assembly of the A4/V-2. At the beginning of May 1942, construction began at the testing area at Oberraderach near Friedrichshafen. Skilled German construction workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and Russian forced laborers (later also concentration camp detainees) built an oxygen plant, three testing units with measuring devices, their own electrical generator, and a water piping system from Immenstaad on Lake Constance for their large reservoirs. The plant was connected by a rail line to the Teuring Talbahn (valley railway).[2]

In August 1943, Hitler granted Heinrich Himmler the responsibility for the A4 program. SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Hans Kammler then deployed workers from the camps/subcamps. The Army Armaments Office stated the following: "In principle the assembly in all four production series will be done by detainees . . . 1,500 in Friedrichshafen."[3] The Army Armaments Office probably used subcamp detainees in all production work because they could be more closely guarded and the risk of espionage was less. Once the job was finished, the life of a prisoner was not worth much.

An advance detachment of about 100 men constructed the subcamp in Friedrichshafen. Using an electrical fence, these detainees sectioned off part of the Don forced labor camp of the Luftschiffbau company. The camp consisted of six sleeping barracks, a wash/toilet barracks, and an infirmary/storage barracks. The camp had direct access to the factory.[4] The kitchen barracks remained in the Luftschiffbau company's Don camp.

In August 2003, a transfer list of detainees from Friedrichshafen to Buchenwald dated September 25, 1944, was found. On the basis of this list, the nationalities of the detainees are known. Nationalities included Germans, Russians, French, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Belgians, Spaniards, Luxembourgers, Greeks, and Italians. A large number of the detainees were political prisoners, including veterans of the Spanish Civil War and escaped Polish and Russian prisoners.[5] All of the detainees questioned during the course of postwar investigations were concentration camp veterans who had been in the following camps: Flossenbrück, Ravensbrück, Mauthausen, Gusen, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and others. The female German cook, who cooked for a few weeks for the advanced detachment until the SS arrived, stated to the author that there was a German Jewish prisoner from Stuttgart.

The detainees worked exclusively for the Luftschiffbau. In Friedrichshafen they worked on construction projects, built a bunker for the SS, and in 1944, together with forced laborers of diverse nationalities, excavated an underground tunnel. After air raids, the detainees removed the rubble and disarmed unexploded bombs. Whether this work was done exclusively for the Luftschiffbau or also for the city of Friedrichshafen is not known. So far as is known, at the testing grounds in Raderach, they were used for construction work, the production of oxygen, and the engine testing, as stated above.

The planned capacity of detainees, 1,500, was not reached. The majority of detainees who testified against SS member Grün in postwar investigations mentioned housing of between 500 and 800 detainees. If one takes into account deaths and replacements, there could have been between 1,000 and 1,200 detainees who were in Friedrichshafen.

The guards were SS from Germany, ethnic Germans from Hungary, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Sudeten Germans. The camp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg. His deputy was a Sudeten German, Beck, known as "Dziadek" (grandfather). He is said to have treated the detainees decently. Grünberg was born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg an der Elbe. He was a member of the SS-Death's Head Division during the Polish and Western campaigns and arrived in April 1941 at Oranienburg. He was at first platoon leader of a training company for recruits. In September 1942, he was put in charge of a training unit in Auschwitz. From November 1942 to March 1943, he attended the Junker School in Braunschweig, returning to Auschwitz an SS-Untersturmführer in command of the training company. From May to July 1943, he was hospitalized with diphtheria; afterward, he remained in Auschwitz until September 1943. He then was sent to Friedrichshafen as company and subcamp commandant. He remained there until he was transferred to the Überlingen subcamp in September 1944.[6]

Several detainees of the advanced detachment have stated that they were housed well, that they had good food, and that during the first weeks security was not as tight. That changed when the subcamp was secured with barbed wire, high-voltage electricity, floodlights, and search lights. Former forced laborers from the Ukraine and the Netherlands told the author that any attempt to make contact with the detainees at work was strictly forbidden by the guards. They also witnessed the detainees being prodded with rifle butts and dogs being used to make them hurry. A female Ukrainian from the forced labor camp stated that a young Ukrainian prisoner Alexander (Senja) Sapomenko from Browarski, Kiev district, had yelled his address over the fence. She made contact with his parents. Over a period of several months, she received mail, photos, and packages and gave him information through the fence.

It was discovered that two detainees (Spanish Civil War veterans) had made contact with two female Ukrainians in the adjoining camp for forced laborers. The record of the interview dated November 3, 1943, and a letter, hidden in an apple and sent to the Ukrainian women, are in the Grünberg investigation files. The two German detainees were punished by being beaten 20 times each with a stick and were transferred on November 12, 1943, to Buchenwald.[7]

The detainees reported of two escape attempts during air raids or shortly thereafter. Seven detainees, five Poles and two Belgians, escaped on April 21, 1944. Only two Poles managed to make it home. The others were recaptured.[8]

On June 21, 1944, the day after an air raid destroyed the industrial facilities, two Russian detainees with the numbers 48675 and 50515 were shot. The death certificates, signed by the official doctor, states the cause of death as infantry bullet entries to main arteries and the bronchial passages.[9]

During investigation proceedings against SS member Grün, a prisoner reported of eight cases of typhus. There were no deaths. The typhus epidemic is said to have spread in September 1943 from the subcamp to the Luftschiffbau's civilian work camp Don, as well as from Seeblick I and Seeblick II of the firm Maybach Motorenbau GmbH (Maybach Engine Construction Company).[10] According to an entry in the Friedrichshafen Standesamt (Civil Registry Office), several foreign laborers from Western Europe died in these three camps.

The chief medical officer in the Surgery Department of the Karl-Olga Municipal Hospital operated on two injured detainees, one French man with the number 68748 and a Pole with the number 49417.[11]

There is little information about the number of detainees who died. On the basis of various lists of the dead, it is known that among the dead there were people from Albania, Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, the Netherlands, Poland, and Russia.[12] In the Register of Deaths kept by the Standesamt Friedrichshafen, the causes of death are noted—they include contusion of the upper body and stomach, liver ruptures, tuberculosis, fractures to the base of the skull, burst intestines, heart and circulation failure, and death during air raids. However, only a few of the deaths are recorded by the Friedrichshafen Registry. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that 89 people died during the air raid on April 27 and 28, 1944, and 72 died during the air raid on July 20, 1944.[13] The dead are said to have been cremated in the Lindau crematorium. There are records of 26 detainees being cremated here between December 21, 1943, and August 28, 1944, 3 of whom came from the subcamp in Saulgau.[14] Altogether there are records of 40 Friedrichshafen detainees being sent to the crematorium, 31 as a result of air-raid attacks; 13 were Germans. There are no graves in Friedrichshafen for the detainees.

There were 11 air raids on Friedrichshafen, of which 7 hit the subcamp. On April 27 and 28, 1944, the city and a large part of the subcamp were destroyed, and the population of 16,000 was evacuated. The air raid of July 20, 1944, destroyed most of the industrial facilities. About 300 detainees from the subcamp were sent to the Raderach subcamp, which had been partially evacuated by construction workers and POWS. From here, 100 detainees had to return each day to Friedrichshafen to defuse unexploded bombs, remove rubble, and build underground tunnels for the remaining German and foreign

workforce in the city. Raderach was bombed on August 16, 1944. On September 25, 1944, the Friedrichshafen subcamp was dissolved. The detainees were sent to Buchenwald and from there to Kohnstein near Nordhausen, Saulgau, and Überlingen.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Friedrichshafen subcamp is the book by Christa Tholander, *Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945: Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in der Zeppelin-Stadt Friedrichshafen* (Essen, 2001). There have been no independent publications on the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Sources are hard to find, and there was little interest in examining them. The few publications that exist on Friedrichshafen deal with the planning, development, and technical aspects of the A4 and V-2. Included in these publications is Raimund Hug-Biegelmann's "Friedrichshafen und die Wunderwaffe V2: Das Wehrmachtsgelände bei Raderach und die Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH," JBLS 11(1994): 302–316. Oswald Burger in "Liebe im KZ: Aktenspuren der Unmenschlichkeit," JBLS 4 (1985): 270–272, presents insights into the punishment regime in the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Oswald Burger's *Der Stollen* (Überlingen, 2001) contains the protocols of the orders to place the armaments industry underground after the air raids of April 27 and 28, 1944. Chapter 6 of this book contains a biography of the camp commandant, Georg Grünberg, "Georg Grünberg: Eine SS-Karriere." The book by Georg Metzler, *Geheime Kommandosache: Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben—Das Aussenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945)* (Bergatreute, 1997), deals with the Saulgau subcamp and only touches on Friedrichshafen. A purely technical book that scarcely deals with Maybach's use of foreign workers but that refers to the spreading typhus epidemic is Wilhelm Treue and Stefan Zima's *Hochleistungsmotoren Karl Maybach und sein Werk* (Düsseldorf, 1992).

There are few archival sources dealing with Friedrichshafen. It was only in September 2003 that the transfer lists from Friedrichshafen to Buchenwald dated September 25, 1944, were found in AG-D. The BA-L holds the investigation files of the SS man Grün, who was a guard in Friedrichshafen, and the statements by the detainees. The same are also held in StA-L and by the Sta. Stuttgart. The results of the investigations against Grün, IV 410 AR-Z 25/71, were handed to the Sta. Stuttgart on April 13, 1973, with file reference Az 86 Js 559/70. It was noted that proceedings could not commence against the accused Grün because he had died in 1947. The closed file is kept under the file reference BA-L: B 162 ARZ 7100025, Band IV, p. 935. As cited by Hug-Biegelmann, TARA-KU holds aerial photographs of the plant. In the Schlussvermerk of the investigation on p. 729, there is a list of the seven firms in Friedrichshafen that had used concentration camp detainees in day and night shifts. The investigation here mistakenly translated from the ITS Arolsen volume I (p. 187) and II (p. 27) the English reference "CWC." CWCs were civilian workers camps—camps for forced laborers and not camps for concentration camp detainees. "CCKdo" means concentration camp Kommando. This error caused some consternation in the city as the references were referred to by Oswald Burger in "*Zeppelin und die Rüstungsindustrie am Budensee*," *1999. Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, part 1 in Heft 1/1987, pp. 8–49, part 2 in Heft 2/1987, pp. 52–87. when referring to Überlingen and inadvertently put in the Friedrichshafen city history and used by people in accordance with their politics. A correction was made in the author's unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Konstanz. That it was only the Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH that used concentration camp detainees was confirmed in the author's published dissertation *Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945.*

Christa Tholander
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, Schlussvermerk of April 13, 1973, in the investigation against the SS man Grün, Dachau Concentration Camp Guard, Friedrichshafen subcamp, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 25/71, pp. 729–733, with reference to the Catalog of ITS Arolsen of 1969.

2. ASt-Fn, TARA-KU, HVP-subcamp Raderach dated May 27, 1944, with the construction as of autumn 1943.

3. For his article in BA-MA, Hug-Biegelmann used the files of HVA-P, Best. RH 8.

4. StA-L, EL 317 III, Az. 878. Investigations against the SS man Grün, Guard Concentration Camp Dachau, subcamp Friedrichshafen, on Suspicion of Nazi Crimes. Statements by former prisoners.

5. AG-D, Best. 36.247.

6. A detailed biography and photo of Grünberg in Oswald Burger, *Der Stollen* (Überlingen, 2001), pp. 40–45. Also the record of the interview on August 17, 1965, at the Amtsgericht Freiburg, 3 Gs 49/65. A short description of the investigation against SS man Grün, see endnote 4, StA-L. His date of birth is stated as July 10, 1906.

7. Oswald Burger, "Liebe im KZ," Akterspuren der Unmenschlichkeit," 270–272. The source is the investigation files of the Sta., District JBLS 4 (1985): Court Munich II, 4(1985): against Georg Dietrich Grünberg on Suspicion of National Socialist Crimes of Violence, Az. I Js 7/65, p. 76.

8. See endnote 4. Statement by Wladislaw Hudy, December 9, 1969. He was successful in his escape to Poland.

9. ASt-Li, Best. "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and file "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I," AZ B 67.8.

10. Wilhelm Treue and Stefan Zima, *Hochleistungsmotoren Karl Maybach und sein Werk* (Düsseldorf, 1992).

11. ASt-Fn, Ausländer File, "Liste über in der Privatpraxis behandelten Kriegsgefangenen, deportierten Ausländer und freiwillige ausländische Arbeiter in der Zeit vom 2.9.39 bis 25.4.45."

12. The author's analysis of the Death Lists in the ASt-Fn and AG-D is 35 names. See ASt-Li: "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I" File, AZ 67.8.

13. ITS, *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons* (Arolsen, 1945, 1951), p. 185.

14. See ASt-Li: "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I" File, AZ 67.8.

GABLINGEN

It is unclear for how long the Gablingen subcamp existed. The List of Detainees of the Red Cross's International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp existed from Febru-

ary 21, 1944, to April 25, 1945. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in its investigation files refers to a time perhaps commencing in the spring or summer of 1944.[1] One of the depositions of the state prosecutor Munich I states: "The subcamp existed for between fourteen and sixteen months. It was most likely formed in January 1944. . . . It was finally dissolved in the spring or summer of 1944."[2] Spring of 1945 is probably correct, as in April of this year an air raid destroyed the camp, although it is possible that it was then rebuilt. Two of the nearly 1,000 prisoners died in the bombing.

The Gablingen subcamp was located between the railway running from Augsburg to Nürnberg and the main road (later known as Bundesstrasse 2, Federal Highway 2), connecting these two large Bavarian cities. Four watchtowers and a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded the barracks that held the detainees. The men worked in a subsidiary factory of the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory). The site also had an airfield.

The subcamp was located in a heavily militarized area. It was, therefore, a prime target for bombing raids. Not far from the airfield and the Messerschmitt factory was a so-called *Luftpark* (air park) underground, hidden in a forest. This was a supply base that held everything from bicycles to airplane engines that were required by the German Luftwaffe. Not far from the airfield was a large factory belonging to the IG Farben chemical concern, also a vital undertaking for the war effort. This was an area hit many times by bombs, as were the nearby villages of Gablingen and Stettenhofen.

Prisoners have stated that they were housed in four dark, gray wooden barracks. They slept in two-tier narrow bunk beds. Food is described as "satisfactory" by some. Others say it was inadequate. Ernst Rauter, a former detainee, stated the following: "I was constantly hungry. In the morning we had bread; at lunch, day after day, turnips and potatoes." Rauter states that the camp was heavily guarded and that the SS used dogs. "There was no escape from them."[3]

There were 352 prisoners in the Gablingen subcamp on February 21, 1944. An additional 600 detainees were sent to the subcamp on April 14, 1944, following the destruction of the Haunstetten subcamp. At least some of the men spent the nights in a not-too-distant gravel pit. Shortly thereafter, many of the men were transported to other camps, at Augsburg-Pfersee, Lauingen, and Leonberg near Stuttgart. The largest prisoner group in the camp was Russian, but there were also Poles, French, Austrians, Norwegians, Dutch, and Greeks. Among the German detainees were political, asocial, and criminal inmates. The nationality of a few "Gypsies" is unknown.

In a few of the hangars at the Gablingen airfield, parts were produced for the Messerschmitt jet fighter Me 262 and starter motors for the jet bomber Me 410. Many of the detainees were skilled tradesmen in the metal industry. One of them has stated that they had to work 12 hours a day riveting. Later he was involved in distributing materials. Other detainees had to keep the site and the hangars clean. Others were taken each day by truck to Augsburg to work at the Messerschmitt factory at Haunstetten or to excavate unexploded bombs and disarm them. Some of the men evacuated from Haunstetten to Gablingen after the bombing raid have stated that they did not have to work. "We could recuperate. We did not have to work." This welcome rest ended at the latest when the men were again transferred to other camps.

The detainees in Gablingen were guarded mostly by Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer capable of service at the front. They had been transferred to the SS. At least two of the guards were Luftwaffe soldiers who had donned the SS uniform and served in Dachau subcamps. The guards lived in wooden barracks located on the outside of the barbed-wire fence. Their office was located inside the camp. The Munich state prosecutor determined that the first commandant of the Gablingen subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Anton Kellner. He was born in 1910 in Röthenbach/Pegnitz. He stated that it was in the spring of 1944 that he was transferred from Dachau to the Leonberg subcamp. A note by the ZdL states: "He could have meant the Gablingen subcamp." Proceedings against Keller were discontinued in 1976.[4]

On the morning of April 24, 1944, soon after the attack on the Messerschmitt camp at Haunstetten, American airplanes attacked the airfield, the Messerschmitt facility, and the subcamp. Incendiary bombs set the camp on fire, and it was completely destroyed. A former detainee, Edmond Falkuss, a clerk in the Haunstetten, Gablingen, and Pfersee subcamps, wrote in a letter dated March 28, 1989, that the night shift prisoners and the administration staff were the first to be evacuated. An ill detainee was forgotten, and according to Falkuss, this man was the only victim. The Gablingen subcamp inmates were immediately transferred to the Air Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichten-Kaserne) at Augsburg-Pfersee. Other sources state that on April 24 two Italian prisoners who had fourth-degree burns were killed.[5]

Several witnesses have stated that detainees were executed in the Gablingen camp. However, the reports differ as to the number of victims. According to Falkuss, "A few inmates were hanged in Gablingen and Pfersee. The RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) gave the orders on the recommendation of the protective custody camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer). He himself could not carry out hangings without approval. The hangings took place either for looting or something less, such as an escapee committing a crime, often minor, before being recaptured."[6]

In 1995, in another letter Falkuss sent to the Federal German Archive, he gives exact details of an execution that he says took place in the spring of 1944 in Gablingen. Two men arrived from Dachau for this execution "just to be there and give directions. One of the officers gave a speech, which was translated into the prisoners' different languages. I was instructed to translate it into French."

Investigation File IV 410 AR 144/65 of the ZdL states: "On a day sometime after April 13, 1944, four detainees from the Gablingen camp were executed in front of the assembled camp inmates for attempting to escape. A temporary

gallows was erected under which there was a table. The delinquents had to stand on the table. After the SS men had put a noose around their necks, the table was pulled from under their legs. There are no details as to who did the hangings." Former prisoner Franz Rehbein is referred to as the witness.

According to one witness, Siegfried Rosenberg, six detainees were hanged in Gablingen because they intended to escape.

Other detainees claim to have witnessed the execution of more than 10 inmates, while still other prisoners report of the execution of numerous detainees in Haunstetten or in Augsburg-Pfersee. The grounds given for the death sentences were usually theft of food or escape attempts. The investigating lawyers came to the conclusion that the reason for so many reports of execution had to do with different locations and numbers and that after the bombings the detainees were repeatedly transferred from one camp to another.[7] There can be no doubt that there were executions.

The detainees have also reported that they were mistreated in Gablingen. The guards as well as the camp elder (Lageräl*tester)* are said to have kicked or otherwise mistreated prisoners so that at least 10 died; two SS men are said to have beaten a French professor, between the barracks, until he lay lifeless. Another former inmate has stated that the SS properly treated the detainees.[8] The investigators were not able to check the veracity of these statements.

SOURCES The only published records on the subcamp Gablingen are the books by historian Wolfgang Kucera, *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996); and Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). In this latter book, there is a reference to the Gablingen subcamp in the section on the Swabian camps, pp. 80–83.

Most of the primary source information and several witness statements in this entry come from the investigating files of the Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75) and the ZdL (BA-L, IV 410 AR 144/65). Edmond Falkuss gave his information to the author in a letter dated March 28, 1989. Falkuss also sent the author a copy of his 1995 letter to BA. In addition, the author has spoken with a few former camp detainees.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Both entries in the final note of the ZdL, IV 410 AR 144/65, stored at BA-L.
2. Proceedings 120 Js 205 795/75, Sta. Mü.
3. Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75), details from several former detainees.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
5. Edmond Falkuss, March 23, 1989, in a letter to the author.
6. Ibid.
7. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
8. Ibid.

GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN

The Dachau subcamp Garmisch-Partenkirchen was located 82 kilometers (51 miles) to the southwest of Munich. It was established on December 9, 1944, in the former Sonnenbichel hotel, which had been evacuated for the SS and had been in use as a hospital for SS members, under the control of the SS garrison doctor.

Probably beginning on December 10, approximately 14 male inmates from Dachau were put to work in the hotels Sonnenbichel, Haus Wittelsbach, and Haus Partenkirchen, which were all used as SS hospitals. The inmates worked mainly as masons, carpenters, and in similar construction jobs. They were accommodated in the servants' quarters of Sonnenbichel and were guarded by three SS orderlies and a detachment commander who slept in the room next to them. There was no mistreatment or killing of prisoners, and according to one survivor, they were left in peace. The humane treatment of the inmates was confirmed by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1969.

On April 27, 1945, the U.S. Army reached Garmisch-Partenkirchen, and the prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), the Garmisch-Partenkirchen subcamp is described by Barbara Hutzelmann on pp. 332–333.

The subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 70.

The ZdL file records are BA-L IV 410 AR 1210/ 69.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GENDORF [AKA EMMERTING]

The Gendorf subcamp was established in October 1943.[1] It is also known as the Emmerting subcamp, due to its location at Emmerting near Burgkirchen an der Alz in the district of Altötting. However, the first mention of the camp in the files of the Dachau concentration camp command is dated February 1, 1944.[2] It is last mentioned at the beginning or middle of April 1945.[3] It was a camp for male prisoners.

Even though it was situated close to Mühldorf, the Gendorf subcamp did not belong to the complex of subcamps around Mühldorf, involved in the construction of a semi-underground bunker, known by the code name "Weingut I." It also differed from these camps in the categories of prisoners, work assignments, size, and the period of existence. There was another camp for foreign laborers and a so-called *Ausländerkinderpflegestätte* (center for the care of foreign children) in Gendorf, but these were not part of the concentration camp system.[4] However, the foreign workers were also assigned to work at the Anorgana-Fabrik in Gendorf.

The Anorgana factories were planned as sites for the production of poison gas and were part of the Verwertungsge-

sellschaft für Montanindustrie (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company) in Berlin, which in turn was owned by the Wehrmacht. The Wehrmacht rented the factories to IG Farben, who operated them on behalf of the Wehrmacht. Constructed at the end of 1939 and beginning of 1940, the Anorgana factory produced a substitute for glycerine, the so-called diglycol, which was necessary for the production of artillery ammunition but also served as an antifreeze. It also produced acetaldehyde, which was required as an ingredient for paints and varnishes but could also be used for the production of synthetic rubber (*Buna*).

Although the factory was established in Gendorf for the production of poison gas, no such gases were ever produced. Only from February 1943, mustard gas was produced there as a test for a couple of months. It was of so little interest for the conduct of the war that the production was soon ended. Actually, the Gendorf location was not ideal: industry complained about transport problems and poor energy supply. The Anorgana files reveal that the disposal of waste water was a particular problem. In 1945, a prominent member of IG Farben was in Gendorf: the chemist Dr. Otto Ambros, who had been active in Auschwitz and was later convicted in the IG Farben Trial. He came to Gendorf following the evacuation of Auschwitz and the relocation of the main Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (BASF) laboratory to Gendorf. In April 1945, he still managed to convert the factory to the production of soap and detergents. After the war, the Gendorf factory manufactured brake fluids, antifreeze, and detergents.[5]

Up to 3,000 people were working at the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in August 1943: German civilian workers, foreign laborers, *Ostarbeiter* (forced laborers from Eastern Europe), prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees. The Eastern European workers and other foreign laborers were housed in a camp outside the factory, which is said to have held 1,200 workers on average. The Gendorf subcamp, however, was located directly on the factory grounds from the autumn of 1943.

The number of imprisoned men in the camp varied between 200 and 250. On November 29, 1944, 249 prisoners are reported to have been in the camp;[6] at the beginning of April 1945, there were still 200 prisoners in Gendorf.[7] The prisoners came from numerous European countries, in particular, from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, and Germany. On May 19, 1944, the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eduard Weiter, inspected the camp. On this occasion, 60 young prisoners were requested by the Anorgana management to receive "apprenticeship training." Already in April 1945, before the end of the war, the camp was evacuated.[8] The prisoners were reported to have been taken on foot and by train to the various subcamps around Mühldorf, which were in turn evacuated at the end of April.

According to reports of former prisoners, the camp located on the Anorgana factory grounds consisted of two to four barracks for the prisoners, a barracks for the SS guards, and two operational buildings. Again, according to former prisoners, there were between 10 and 40 SS guards. The prisoners speak of the usual camp punishments. One prisoner, Janez Erbeznik from Ljubljana, found a small radio while doing some cleaning-up work and smuggled it into the camp, was discovered, and taken as punishment with other prisoners from his work detail to a camp of the Mühldorf group of camps, where conditions were particularly bad. He was later able to escape from the Mittergars camp.[9]

The prisoners were used mostly at the Anorgana factory. According to the factory manager, Dr. Max Wittwer, the prisoners worked 55 hours per week, that is, 10 hours each weekday and 5 hours on Saturday. A few prisoners worked for the company Unic in Burgkirchen. Within the Anorgana factory the prisoners also did excavation work. They dug holes and lined them with cement so that pits were created to be used for the production of chemicals. A few prisoners worked as metalworkers, in particular, welders. A listing of the hours worked in February 1945 shows that relatively many hours were calculated with the rate for skilled laborers, as the proportion of qualified prisoners was quite high (2,063 skilled workers' hours against 3,610 by laborers). The relatively high percentage of skilled laborers among the prisoners was confirmed by Wittwer, who stated that Otto Ambros and he had requisitioned skilled workers from the Dachau concentration camp. On the factory grounds, apprenticeships were planned for young prisoners including locksmiths and pipe makers, but they never came to fruition. According to other statements, many prisoners simply stated they were skilled so as to improve their work and ultimately their survival chances.[10] After bombing raids the prisoners were used to clean up nearby Mühldorf as well as Munich.

While the nearby subcamps in Mühldorf and the center for the care of foreign children (where 150 children of mostly Soviet female foreign laborers died because of systematic neglect) were the subject of detailed American research (including the Mühldorf Trial before an American military tribunal in Dachau), the Gendorf subcamp was forgotten. Only after the establishment of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) Ludwigsburg did systematic research begin. When the investigations by the ZdL revealed no homicides—prisoners mentioned only that one or more prisoners died through methyl alcohol poisoning—the interest of the German state prosecutors weakened. The only officially recorded death is that of Polish prisoner Mitrofan Ganko, who died of alcohol poisoning on September 3, 1944. His death is recorded in the Emmerting Register of Deaths. Ill prisoners were transferred back to the Dachau concentration camp with the result that no further deaths were recorded in the relevant death registers in the local towns. Survivors have confirmed that there were no intentional homicides. Investigations by the ZdL ceased as a result. Legal proceedings were instituted for mistreatment of foreign laborers (as opposed to concentration camp prisoners)—an accused was charged that he had mistreated foreign laborers at Anorgana who either arrived late at work or did not show up for work.[11]

SOURCES There are several publications by Peter Jungblut on Gendorf, in particular, *Tod in der Wiege. Gendorf 1939–45* (Altötting, 1989) and "*Rein strategische Gesichtspunkte*": *Gendorf 1939–1945: Eine Ortsgeschichte* (Self-published, 2001).

As with many subcamps, there is little information in the archives. There are only remnants of files, which are held in AG-D.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The manager of the Anorgana factory, Dr. Max Wittwer, dates the establishment of the camp and the arrival of the first prisoners in October 1943; see Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).

2. According to investigation by ZdL (BA-L IV 410 AR 706/69), the first mention of the camp is dated May 26, 1944. The subcamp existed at this time. The AG-D holds a letter from a Gendorf prisoner dated March 12, 1944.

3. Investigations by ZdL reveal that the camp is last mentioned on April 5, 1945; in the ITS Catalog, April 14, 1945.

4. For more details, see Peter Jungblut, *Tod in der Wiege. Gendorf 1939–45* (Alötting, 1989); and Jungblut, "*Rein strategische Gesichtspunkte*": *Gendorf 1939–1945: Ein Ortsgeschichte* (Self-published, 2001). A typed MSS is held in the AG-D, Signatur Nr. 35625

5. See the report on a visit to the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in October 1946, OMGUS, Nr. 25353, shipment 1, Box 188–2, Folder 13.

6. List of Dachau Subcamps dated November 29, 1944, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 38.132.

7. List of Dachau Subcamps, April 3, 1945, AG-D, Nr. 404.

8. In the list of the Dachau Subcamps dated April 26, 1945, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 1667, the camp is noted as no longer holding prisoners; on the list of Dachau Subcamps, April 29, 1945, Signatur Nr. 1341, the camp is no longer mentioned.

9. The description by former prisoners is held in the AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34545 and 34751. There is also preserved a letter from Janez Erbeznik from the Gendorf subcamp to his father, dated March 12,1944, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34.431/3.

10. Composition of labor demands for February 1945, AG-D, Nr. 37154; Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).

11. Traunstein 1a Js 18/59, the statute of limitations for assault expired on June 26, 1959, and investigations ceased. The files have been destroyed, but there exists a copy that was delivered to the Sta. München at the OLG München 2273, BHStA-(M).

GERMERING [AKA NEUAUBING]

The Germering subcamp was also known as Neuaubing, as it was located in the Munich district of Neuaubing, at the road between Munich and Landsberg. It was in close proximity to the railway and only a few kilometers from the Dornier company in Neuaubing, the German Railway Repair Yard in Neuaubing, the Dornier airport in the west, and the fuel storage facility of the Wissenschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft (Scientific Research Society) in the south. In 1943, the Dornier company, which produced military aircraft, had received permission from the village of Germering to erect a camp for about 1,600 of their employees.

There is disagreement over the date on which the subcamp was formed. The International Tracing Service (ITS) gives the date as January 1944, while statements made by witnesses to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg give a date of May 1944. Aerial photographs prove that as of July 1944, six barracks for inmates, three barracks for guards, and one other building had been erected. Another aerial photograph from September 1944 shows the completion of two more barracks.

Also, there are different estimates regarding the number of inmates in the camp. ITS claims that the camp held approximately 50 inmates, but survivor Anton Jež states that there were about 125 inmates at work daily. The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and watchtowers and guarded by SS.

Construction work appears to have ceased no later than September or October 1944. Apparently, the camp was never used as a production site and was not planned to be such. According to ITS, the last mention of the subcamp was October 1, 1944, but witnesses' statements in the ZdL file mention May 1945 as the date the subcamp was dissolved. More likely, the camp never came to full use after the prisoners' barracks were destroyed in a heavy bombing raid in July 1944. It is possible that from that time on the prisoners were transported daily to and from Dachau. According to the ZdL investigators, the truck that transported the prisoners was driven by a woman. Food supplies were also sent daily from Dachau.

Investigations by the ZdL confirmed survivors' statements that the camp leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Ludwig Geiss, treated the detainees humanely. Geiss took command of the Saulgau subcamp on December 1, 1944. The detainees of this subcamp also praised his humane treatment. Under Geiss's command, there appears to have been no mistreatment or killing of prisoners.

SOURCES The Germering subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). Ludwig Geiss is described by Georg Metzler in *Geheime Kommandosache: Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben; Das Aussenlager Saulgau und die V 2 (1943–1945*) (Bergatreute: Verlag Wilfried Eppe, 1997). Franz Srownal described the Germering subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 336–337.

The ZdL investigation files are filed as BA-L IV 410 AR 1216/ 69. The files contain witnesses' statements and lists of names of the guards. Documentation regarding the erection of the camp can be found in ASt-Germ.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HALFING [AKA BRÜNINGSAU]

In the Bavarian town of Halfing near Rosenheim (Upper Bavaria), Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), owned an estate, the "Villa Brüningsau." Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, was friends with the Brüning family, whose daughter Elfriede had married Pohl in 1942. Even before the wedding, 10 Dachau inmates had been sent to Halfing to renovate the villa. Eight of these 10 inmates were craftsmenn by profession: carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and painters. Seven of the 10 were Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 came from Czechoslovakia. The inmates remained only a very few days in Halfing, but the dates for their transfer back to the main camp differ: transfer lists from Dachau provide November 23, 1942, as the date for their return to the main camp, while the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp ceased to function on December 18, 1942.

Not later than in the fall of 1944, Dachau inmates were once more sent to Halfing to work on the grounds of Villa Brüningsau. Probably on September 7, 1944 (according to ITS), eight prisoners from Dachau—mostly Jehovah's Witnesses and almost all of them craftsmen—were brought to Halfing and worked on renovating the estate. Pohl and his family at that time lived near the Ravensbrück concentration camp, and at least a part of Villa Brüningsau had been transformed into an orphanage. The prisoners were guarded by one to two SS men from Dachau and were kept in one of the rooms of the estate. On November 12, 1944, the inmates were again sent back to Dachau.

Early in April 1945, seven Dachau prisoners were taken to Halfing again: three Poles, one Russian, and three Germans. But apparently they were not put to work at the estate, since the front was rapidly approaching. The seven inmates were taken by bus to the Stephanskirchen subcamp, where they joined the evacuation march of the prisoners and were liberated near Nussdorf by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated this camp in 1976 but discontinued the work when the results were inconclusive.

SOURCES This entry is based upon an article by Dirk Riedel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 340–341. Riedel is also the author of an article on Halfing in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945: Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich, 1994), p. 32. The Halfing subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:70. For more background information on the subcamp, see also Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung. Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS. Oswald Pohl und das Wirtschafts-Verwaltungs-Hauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 2001).

The results of the investigations by the former ZdL (now BA-L) are found in File IV 410 AR-Z 40/ 76.

Records at AG-D include Überstellungslisten (transfer lists), DaA35672, DaA 35676, and DaA 35678.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HALLEIN

Hallein is located in the Austrian state of Salzburg (until 1945 it was known as the Reichsgau Salzburg), about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of the city of Salzburg. A barracks for mountain troops (Gebirgsjäger-Kaserne) was located here, where the Mountain Troops Training and Replacement Battalion (Gebirgsjäger-Ausbildungs-Ersatzbataillon) No. 6 for wounded soldiers was established during the war.

Before September 1943 (probably from June), around 30 male prisoners were brought from Dachau to Hallein and accommodated in wooden barracks in the quarry on the road to Adnet. The prisoners were employed by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration). As the numbers of prisoners grew—the maximum number reached was 90—the camp was secured with barbed wire, and a second barracks was built. SS guarded the camp. The prisoners worked in the SS barracks; they constructed a shooting range and an area for close-quarter fighting within the barracks. They also worked in the city of Hallein, in the surrounding mountain pastures, and in the quarry where the camp was located.

Due to the difficult work conditions and the poor food rations, more and more prisoners became incapable of working; there is evidence of a constant rotation of prisoners with the main camp. The SS guards ruthlessly drove the prisoners while they were working. Inmate Josef Plieseis stated that there were repeatedly random murders of the prisoners, including some "shot while trying to escape." Plieseis, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, was able to escape in August 1943 with the assistance of a local female, Agnes Primocic. It was one of three successful escapes from the camp. He then led a group of several hundred partisans in Salzkammergut.[1] Primocic helped two other prisoners to escape in the autumn of 1944, Alfred Hammerl and Leo Jansa.

There were still 55 prisoners in the camp in April 1945, but they were no longer required to work. There were isolated attempts to escape, and the Hallein population—above all, Agnes Primocic—attempted in negotiations with the camp leader and the mayor to secure the release of the prisoners. The prisoners were able to leave the camp on April 5, 1945, and were accommodated in empty barracks in the town.

SOURCES Albert Knoll comprehensively describes the Hallein subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 341–344. Another description of the camp is to be found in Barbara Distel, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65, esp. 61. Wolfgang Wintersteller also refers to this Dachau subcamp in *KZ Dachau—Aussenlager*

Hallein. Vorläufiger Bericht (Hallein, 2003). The Hallein subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:71; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBI. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1809.

Primary sources for the Hallein subcamp are found in AG-D in Best. 35674 (Überstellungslisten des KZ Dachau, 9. und 20. Juni 1944, and 32769 Vierteljahresberichte des Lagerarztes). For details on the camp living conditions, see the statements by Johann Myrda, July 18, 1947, in NARA, RG 153, Box 222, Folder 10. Statements by Agnes Primocic regarding her acts in helping the prisoners in the subcamp are to be found in Peter Kammerstätter, *Freiheitsbewegung im oberen Salzkammergut–Ausseerland 1943–1945; Materialsammlung über die Widerstands und Partisanenbewegung WILLY-FRED* (Linz, 1978), p. 393; and *Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschieht: Die Lebenserinnerungen von Agnes Primocic* (Salzburg: Akzente-Verlag, 2004), p. 58. Josef Plieseis has described his time as a prisoner in Dachau and Hallein in *Vom Ebro zum Dachstein* (Linz, 1946).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Plieseis's escape in June 1943 confirms the early establishment of the camp, which is officially mentioned for the first time on September 1, 1943. Details of his escape and the subsequent events are described in the memoirs of Agnes Primocic, *Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschieht: Die Lebenserinnerungen von Agnes Primocic* (Salzburg: Akzente-Verlag, 2004).

HAUNSTETTEN

A subcamp for concentration camp detainees was erected within a few days in February 1943 in the community of Haunstetten (later part of Augsburg). It was located on the site of a former prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and comprised numerous wooden barracks holding between 150 and 200 people each.[1] The site—a former gravel pit with a pond—was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and four guard towers. The rectangular subcamp was bordered on each side by a road. Affixed to the fences were reed mats and signs with the words "Standing Forbidden." This was an attempt to stop passersby and villagers from finding out what was happening in the subcamp. At night searchlights illuminated the site. If they were turned off, the detainees, villagers, and foreign workers who were housed in the area knew that the air-raid alarm would sound. Opposite the camp were the barracks for housing the SS guards. These buildings burned down on December 1, 1943; a noncommissioned officer died during the fire.

With about 2,700 detainees, the Haunstetten subcamp was one of the largest in Germany. The first 200 men came from the Mauthausen concentration camp and the remainder from Dachau. The majority of the detainees are said to have been Germans and Austrians, but there were many Russians, French, and Poles in the camp. Almost all of them worked in 12-hour day and night shifts for the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory).[2] A few prisoners had to produce transport sleds in a carpenter's shop. In addition to the SS, guard dogs were used as the detainees moved back and forth to the camp—this stopped escapes and prevented conversations with the local population. Polish detainee Nikolai Salivadnij was bitten by one of the animals. Salivadnij refused to be treated: "I feared a selection and being taken to the crematorium."[3]

Austrian Franz Olah was the senior orderly in the infirmary. He reported: "The infirmary had more than just basics; it also had medicines and such. The subcamp's inmate doctor was a splendid Polish doctor, with whom I got on very well. The head of the infirmary was an old Sudeten German left-wing activist. I am not sure whether he was a communist or a social democrat, but we got on well."

After liberation, Olah, who was Viennese, became one of the most well known Austrian politicians. As a member of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), the trained piano maker became minister of the interior and president of the Austrian Union Council.[4]

Wilhelm Reitzmayr, an Austrian who was incarcerated in concentration camps because he fought with the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939, reported on hygienic conditions in the subcamp. He was told when he arrived at Haunstetten in the autumn of 1943, "You had to disinfect everything. The camp was full of lice and filthy." In one of the rooms, underwear and clothes were exposed to the gas Zyklon B with little success: "The lice were just as before." Reitzmayr did this work for three weeks. Then he was appointed block elder (Blockältester) in Block B, which had 600 Russians. Among them were young boys of 16 and 17. Russians and Poles were the worst off in the subcamp. "Germans and Austrians got packages from relatives. The Russians and Poles never got them."[5] Pole Jan Kosinski indicated how great the hunger must have been, when he described raiding the commandant's pigs' trough for a couple of cold potatoes and how good they tasted.

Former detainee Ernst Rauter recalls that the "Gypsies" continued to play music in this period of suffering.[6] Pole Zygmunt Sucharski stated "that a music group was formed in the camp: On Saturday afternoons or Sundays when there was free time, the detainees played music and the French prisoners sang." Apparently the group was so good that the villagers approached the camp to listen to the music.

The Messerschmitt *Meister*, who trained almost all the inexperienced men who constructed aircraft parts, "treated the men generally with consideration," according to a Polish detainee. There were also excesses by Messerschmitt people, however. After the war the production foreman and plant manager at Messerschmitt AG was accused of "inhumane treatment of the concentration camp political prisoners," which made him a top-level state criminal. "M. roughly rebuked whoever made contact with the political inmates or spoke with them, with the result that they avoided any future

contact with the detainees. 'If I see that [happen] again, tomorrow it will be you who will be standing here wearing a striped suit,'" according to one witness. The denazification proceedings sentenced the Messerschmitt man to four years' hard labor, and his property was confiscated. The detainees also accused the SS guards of excesses.[7]

Since 1945, judicial authorities have not been able to make a final determination of whether detainees were killed in the Haunstetten camp. A former prisoner stated in 1947 that he heard a shot during the night shift at Messerschmitt. Shortly thereafter, a young SS man appeared in an excited state. He said that he had just shot a young Russian trying to escape. The detainee himself did not see the shooting.[8] Other inmates have stated that a Kapo beat two detainees to death; that six men were hanged for stealing food; and that four Russian prisoners who escaped after a bombing raid on the Messerschmitt factory were executed.[9] Other witnesses contradicted the statements, stating: "In Haunstetten no inmates were killed."[10]

What is without doubt is that many concentration camp detainees died during air attacks on the Haunstetten camp. A note by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg states that 430 men died, and 340 wounded were taken to the Dachau infirmary. Another source places the number of dead at 399.[11]

Blockältester Reitzmayr experienced the large attack on April 13, 1944, that completely destroyed the camp: "Large clouds of smoke, huge craters. The guard towers were gone. Only rubble remained where once the barracks stood." Only 11 detainees survived the attack uninjured. The massive bombing completely destroyed the camp; it was not rebuilt. The surviving detainees were, in part, taken to the subcamp at Gablingen. Not long after that, a new subcamp for Messerschmitt was built at the Augsburg-Pfersee Luftwaffe Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichtenkaserne).

After the war, the judicial authorities had difficulty in determining the names of the Haunstetten commandants. Former detainee Edmond Falkuss, in a letter to the author in 1989, named three people, about two of whom he stated: "At the beginning in Haunstetten: Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm: brutal and relaxed; Hauptscharführer Peter Betz: inhibited, sadistic." Wilhelm is said to have been demoted and transferred following the fire in the guard barracks, the flight of six prisoners, and the murder of one detainee. Betz was sentenced to death in 1945 by a U.S. military court. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. During the trial, Betz admitted to being stationed in Haunstetten, between March 1943 and January 1944, and later at the infamous Mittelbau concentration camp. Betz joined the SS in 1933 as a means to avoid unemployment. His village in Franken petitioned for mercy. After the head of the prison at Landsberg praised the conduct of the prisoner, his sentence was reduced to 15 years, and he was released early, in 1955.

SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Welter was in command of the work details at Haunstetten. After the war he was sentenced to death by a U.S. military court and executed on May 29, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.[12]

SOURCES In addition to Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), historian Wolfgang Kucera has dealt in detail with the subcamp at Haunstetten in his book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996). Another published source is the brochure by Karl Filser and Ludwig Feig, *Haunstetten im Bombenkrieg* (Augsburg, 1994). The information on camp commandant Peter Betz was taken from Robert Sigel's book *Im Interesse der Gerechtigkeit: Das Dachauer Kriegsverbrecherprozesse 1945–1948* (New York: Campus, 1992).

The most important sources for this entry are the extensive investigation files of the ZdL and the LG-Mü I, together with the numerous statements by former subcamp detainees and citizens of Haunstetten, with whom the author spoke. Jan Kosinski's book *Man zahlt jeden erlebten Tag* (*Liczył się kazdy przezyty dzień*) (Kraków, 1980) is the author's account of those times.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L IV 410 AR-Z 143/75.
2. Ibid.
3. Nikolai Salivadnij in a conversation with the author.
4. Franz Olah, 1983, in a conversation with the author.
5. Wilhelm Reitzmayr, on March 17, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
6. Ernst Rauter, on December 3, 1983, in a conversation with the author.
7. "Augsburg Bericht," *SchwLZ*, July 25, 1947.
8. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, Zentrale Stelle; Statement by Hans Willi Lackner, March 18, 1974, to the Bavarian State Police.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk.
10. Ibid.
11. Private Archive, Hans Grimminger, chronicler of the air raids on Augsburg.
12. ZdL, Schlussvermerk.

HAUSHAM (MEN)

Two subcamps of the concentration camp Dachau were located in Hausham, Upper Bavaria: one for male and one for female inmates. The male inmates from Dachau were employed at the estate Unter- und Vordereckart 23, which was used as a SS-Kameradschafts- und Erholungsheim (Comradeship and Rest Home). The building, originally a vacation home for the working class, had been taken over by the SA in 1933 and was later rented from its private owner by the Dachau concentration camp. From then on, it was used as SS-Kameradschaftsheim Vordereckart.

Between 4 and 14 male prisoners were held there, most of whom were craftsmen. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), inmates were employed at Hausham from

July 9, 1942, on, but more detailed records only exist for the period from March 1944 on. At that time, the Dachau administration applied with the local authorities in Miesbach for the permission to build a barn for small farm animals, and information was provided that the work would be done by inmates of the camp. The prisoners also worked as masons and carpenters, laid water main pipes, and began laying the foundations for an air-raid shelter.

According to witnesses, the inmates were accommodated in a barnlike building and were guarded by only one guard. One can assume that the male inmates, like the female inmates of the neighboring property at Ober- und Hintereckart 24, enjoyed relative freedom.

The subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 26, 1945, as containing four male inmates. On April 29, 1945, Hausham was liberated by the U.S. Army.

SOURCES Information regarding the construction activities at the property in 1944 can be found at BHStA-(M), BPL Miesbach, 1944/40. Fragmentary records on the subcamp Hausham are to be found in AG-D, among others, the strength reports *(Stärkemeldungen)* for April 3, 1945 (DaA 404) and April 26, 1945 (DaA 32789). ZdL investigations were filed under the designator BA-L IV 410 AR 31/ 73. The files contain various statements by witnesses, among them the one by Gustav R. regarding the accommodations of the inmates, from June 4, 1974.

The Hausham camp is described by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), 2: 344–346. It is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:71.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

HAUSHAM (WOMEN)

The history of the Hausham subcamp is not completely clear. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, a subcamp of Ravensbrück at that location is first mentioned in a document dated October 27, 1943, and last mentioned on November 30, 1943. It next appears in the records as a subcamp of Dachau, beginning with a document dated October 5, 1944, and last mentioned on April 25, 1945. Since neither the number nor the composition of the prisoner population changed between its last mention as a Ravensbrück subcamp and its first as a Dachau subcamp, and since the work the prisoners did also remained the same, one may assume that this subcamp continued to exist between November 1943 and October 1944 and that it changed jurisdictions at that latter date, like so many other Ravensbrück subcamps—but that can only be an assumption without further documentary evidence.

The camp was located on a former farm at Ober- und Hintereckart 24, which the SS had acquired after the outbreak of the war. The camp held approximately 10 women, all of them Jehovah's Witnesses: 1 woman came from Belgium, 2 from Poland, 3 from Germany, and 4 from the Netherlands.

The camp was created to supply workers for Amtsgruppe W V (Land-, Forst und Fischwirtschaft) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The "Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH" German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd., (DVA), which was in charge of agricultural enterprises undertaken at various concentration camps (such as Dachau and Ravensbrück), fell under the jurisdiction of Amtsgruppe W V. However, survivors of the camp report that the inmates were not employed working for the DVA's specific tasks of testing new crops or breeding animals but did rather normal farm- and housework. In winter, they were also used for digging snow at the property. Survivors also report that in winter 1944–1945 they had to cut down a tree, using only the most primitive tools.

As Jehovah's Witnesses, the women enjoyed a number of privileges: They were allowed to wear their own clothes, to read the Bible secretly, and to secretly meet local Jehovah's Witnesses for services on Sundays. The farm manager also allowed secret visits of relatives and correspondence of the inmates with relatives and friends. Former Hausham inmate Frieda Hopp reported that there was at least one female SS guard (Aufseherin) who oversaw her work. But after the inmates complained that she treated them too harshly, she was replaced by an unnamed SS officer who was much more lenient, even working together with the inmates. Repeatedly, the officer and a male inmate who accompanied him brought food, clothes, and letters for the women from their friends incarcerated in Dachau.

The last report regarding the Hausham subcamp is listed in the Dachau files for April 26, 1945. Hausham and its 10 prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 29. On May 8, the women returned to their homes; in a letter to the farm manager, they expressed gratitude for his treatment of them.

SOURCES Primary and secondary source material on the Hausham subcamp is limited. Information on the Dachau subcamp at Hausham in this entry can be found in Kerstin Engelhardt, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager Dachau," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 218–244 (see esp. pp. 229–230). Some information on the Hausham camp can also be found in Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium. Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 457; and in Erhard Klein, *Jehovas Zeugen im KZ Dachau. Geschichtliche Hintergrunde und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld: Buchhhandlung Edeltraudt Mindt, 2001), p. 90. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of prisoner work, employer, and so on, see both the Dachau and Ravensbrück entries for Hausham in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For background information on the DVA, see Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2001); and Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Die biologisch-dynamische Wirtschaftsweise im KZ: Die Güter der "Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung" der SS von 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin: Trafo, 1999). Survivor Frieda

Hopp's report can be found in GAZJ in Selters/Taunus, Memo NL December 31, 2002, February 21, 2003, and April 29, 2003. The camp is also described by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 344–346.

Primary sources on the Hausham subcamp of Ravensbrück are equally scarce. See File IV 410 AR 31/73 at the ZdL (now BA-L) for information on the Dachau subcamp at Hausham. The AG-R could also contain pertinent files and reports from former inmates that may provide additional information on the Hausham camp.

Christine Schmitt van der Zanden and Evelyn Zegenhagen

HEIDENHEIM

The subcamp probably came into being on October 20, 1941, on the site of the Heidenheim Police School as a station for a 50-man-strong work detail from Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners were required by the commander of the Police School, Polizeimajor Erich Petrasch, to do work for the school that had already been delayed since the summer of 1939 due to the general labor shortage. This work entailed the completion of the so-called Schlosshau settlement nearby as well as its interior outfitting, which was to house police officers and their families (nine buildings with 33 apartments), and the installation of the required drainage connections (which because of the topography—the Police School was located on a hill—was rather complicated). After a winter with heavy snowfall when the prisoners were also deployed for weeks to clear the snow in the town, they were additionally required to build in the forest near the Police School a double-track, 330-meter-long (361-yard-long) shooting gallery suitable for machine-gun training.

During this time, the prisoners were under contract with the Ulm construction company Rapp & Schüle. They were housed in a wooden barrack behind one of the police officers' buildings at the school. The barrack and a small grass area in front, which served as the roll-call area, were surrounded by a simple barbed-wire fence. The prisoners were exclusively guarded by police trainees. There was only one SS man on location: he was the detachment leader and had been sent from Dachau. The windows of the barrack were barred with barbed wire. The barrack was divided into sleeping and living quarters, storage, and a toilet and washroom, which the prisoners in the first few weeks had to install themselves. At night it was forbidden to leave the barrack. There were no guard towers, search lights, and so on. However, there were also no escape attempts.

The detachment comprised men who were skilled in the work required: bricklayers, stove fitters, roof layers, electricians, tilers, painters, as well as gardeners. According to estimates of a former prisoner, there were about 15 to 20 skilled tradesmen, and the rest were deployed as laborers.

There were two Kapos (one for external and one for internal work) and an orderly. All the prisoner-functionaries were Germans and "political" (red triangle). In all, there were only 3 among the 50 male prisoners who were not "reds": a "green" (PSV, or Police Security Custody); a "black" (AZR, Reich Forced Labor); and a pink triangle, the latter a hairdresser who was also the detachment leader's (Kommandoführer's) cleaner. There were no Jews (yellow triangle).

Except for six Poles and a Slovenian, the detachment consisted of Germans. On the one hand, this probably reflected the then–prisoner structure at Dachau and, on the other hand, that the Heidenheim detachment was seen as a "good" subcamp, the result of which was that prisoners who worked in the Dachau labor allocation office sent "their" people to the subcamp.

According to the aforementioned witness, there was only one change in the composition before the camp was closed. When the Kommandoführer went on leave in April 1942, he took with him back to Dachau three prisoners, two Germans and a Pole. The Pole was taken because he was to be released for unknown reasons. The Germans were taken because they had been involved in accidents and injured and were therefore no longer of use to the detachment. (One had broken his arm while working with a jackhammer, and the other had lost four fingers through a steel rope attached to a winch). The SS leader, appointed as deputy, brought with him three other Poles from Dachau as substitutes for these workers. The strength of the detachment thus did not alter. The two injured prisoners are said to have later died in Dachau, in the infirmary. There were no deaths in Heidenheim.

The SS detachment leader in charge was Oberscharführer Josef Ruder, who was promoted on May 1, 1942, while he was at Heidenheim, to Hauptscharführer. Born in 1910 in a Bavarian village, he came from a very impoverished family. During the Great Depression (1931), he joined the Nazi Party and SS because he saw the opportunity for a career. From April 1934 he was a guard at the Dachau concentration camp. Among others, he was in charge of Pfeffermühle (Pepper Mill) at the Plantage (Plantation) in Dachau; Heidenheim was his only self-supporting subcamp. He was married and had three children. His family, however, remained at Dachau. Called up in 1943, he was captured by the Americans in 1945 in Salzburg. He was not, however, recognized as a member of the SS and thus was able to escape. For a period he lived under an assumed name. He was merely fined following denazification proceedings. Two former Dachau prisoners had reportedly spoken up for him; this is perfectly believable because the hearings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg also heard almost solely positive statements about him.

In any case, at Heidenheim there were no instances of serious mistreatment, punishment roll calls, punishment reports being sent to Dachau, or the like. Definitely one of the reasons for this was that Ruder as an SS man was responsible to himself and that, likewise, the police students were not expected to act with brutality. In any event, any inhumane treatment of the prisoners would have made the work difficult, since daily work was routinely performed without

difficulties; in addition, the school's close proximity to the townspeople of Heidenheim made the camp's goings-on clearly visible.

Besides Ruder, there was for a short time, in the first week or two, when the detachment was new, another Kommandoführer, Josef Remmele. He was born in 1903, also in Bavaria. He was a farmer's son and joined the Nazi Party in 1929 and the SS in 1932. He was based in Dachau from 1933, later became a work deployment leader and roll-call leader, and was in charge of a number of different subcamps, for example, Freimann and Bad Tölz. From September 1942 to the end of 1944, he was the roll-call leader in Auschwitz III-Monowitz and in command of a number of Auschwitz subcamps (e.g., Jawischowitz). He was then transferred to the Personnel Department of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin and was finally based at the SS-Camp Mysen in Norway, where he was arrested in July 1945 by British troops. Found guilty of several counts of murder committed in Dachau, he was sentenced to death on September 15, 1947, and executed in 1948 in Landesberg.

Viewed superficially, the life of the prisoners in Heidenheim was, of course, no different to life in Dachau. However, its great distance from the main camp, the small size of its detachment, and the supply of food from the Police School brought, indeed, a decided improvement in living standards. The morning roll call, for example, lasted a few minutes. There was none at lunchtime or in the evening. Ruder simply stood at the gate in the fence and counted the prisoners, as if he was counting sheep who were being herded back into a pen. When not working, the prisoners were left to themselves. Ruder had his quarters on the second floor of the barrack opposite the camp. The elevation of the camp was lower than Ruder's barrack so that he could look into the camp. If there was a commotion, he simply yelled to the prisoners that they had to settle down. Otherwise, he did not worry about them. If someone had to go to the doctor or dentist, because the orderly could not assist within his limited capabilities, occasionally Ruder himself drove the person into town.

Basically, the prisoners got the same food as the police students in their canteen. When the chief cook once tried to reduce the bread ration (one piece of bread for three days instead of four, as in Dachau), Ruder intervened by referring to the contract with Rapp & Schüle.

A Slovenian prisoner reported one act of resistance. He stated that during the construction of the shooting gallery, which required extensive earthworks, he unscrewed a retaining screw with the result that a steel rope that secured a small railway goods wagon suddenly gave way. The engine and the wagons raced uncontrollably downhill, where they eventually crashed. The motive, however, had probably more to do with the desire for a break than a specific act of sabotage.

In 1980 a wall tile was discovered in a tiled stove at the Schlosshau settlement that had been hidden by three concentration camp prisoners (stove fitter, painter, and tiler) while working. Under the inscription "Urkunde" it has details about their imprisonment.

The camp was dissolved in two stages even before the shooting gallery was finished. Thirty prisoners were withdrawn on October 29, 1942, and then the remainder on November 25 or 26, 1942.

SOURCES In addition to the scant details in the ITS, there are available in print only a report by Slovenian prisoner Jože Hamersak, "Stiri leta po taboriscih," in *Dachau—zbornik*, ed. Bojan Ajdic et al. (Ljubljana: Zalozba Borec, 1981), pp. 291–299; and the work by Alfred Hoffmann, *Verschwunden, aber nicht vergessen: KZ-Nebenlager in der Polizeischule Heidenheim* (Heidenheim, 1996).

The ASt-HDH holds a few scattered documents that refer to the existence of the subcamp, as do the files of the Police School (HStAS E 151/03 Büschel 294 and 295); more explicit information was obtained from the statements of various prisoners given to the ZdL (BA-L IV 410 AR 1209/69) and especially from interviews that the author was able to conduct in 1995 with former Polish prisoner Jan Namyslak and camp commandant Ruder. Particulars on Ruder and Remmele are held by BA-DH (formerly BDC).

Alfred Hoffmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

INNSBRUCK (SS-SONDERLAGER) [AKA AUFFANGLAGER INNSBRUCK, REICHENAU]

Innsbruck was located in the Reichsgau Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg. For the short period of two days, during the evacuation of the Dachau concentration camp, some prominent prisoners were held here. A number of prisoners also came from other German concentration camps.

The first mention of the Innsbruck SS-Sonderlager (Special Camp) is found for April 24, 1945; the last, for the next day, April 25, 1945 (Albert Knoll gives the dates April 26 to 27 instead). Inmates were taken by trucks (other sources: buses) to the camp, which was on the grounds of the former *Arbeitserziehungslager* (work education camp) Reichenau at the southern edge of Innsbruck. The group consisted of 137 prisoners and their family members, 106 men and 31 women and children from 16 European nations. Apparently, the plan was to keep these prominent personalities as hostages and to take them from Innsbruck to an inaccessible hiding place in the Alps. Among them were French prime minister Leon Blum and his wife; a nephew of Winston Churchill; Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia; German industrialist Fritz Thyssen and his wife, who had left Germany in 1933 and had been arrested after the occupation of France; Italian general Guiseppe Garibaldi and his staff officers; Hungarian minister president Miklós Horthy; and relatives of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg and Friedrich Goerdeler, General Franz Halder (former chief of staff of the German Army), and General Georg Thomas, all of whom had been implicated in the assassination attempt on

Hitler in July 20, 1944. Other inmates were the former military commander in Belgium and northern France, Alexander Freiherr von Wartenhausen, and former Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, with his wife and children.

During the transport and during their stay at the Sonderlager, the prisoners were guarded by SS under Obersturmführer Edgar Stiller. The guards apparently were SS men from Austria or Lithuania. While the majority of the inmates were kept at the Arbeitserziehungslager, some male prisoners apparently were kept at hotel Schillerhof in Innsbruck-Mühlau.

Survivors describe some details about the camp: Food was scarce, so additional delivery of bread was arranged by the Innsbruck bishop. The guards, many of whom had done service in concentration camps before, had the prisoners do punishment exercises in the morning.

The next morning (April 25), the group was taken in buses in a southern direction toward Brenner. On April 29, they arrived at Sommerhotel Prags am Wildsee, but the SS had left by then. On May 5, the inmates were liberated by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) discontinued its investigations in 1973, stating, among other reasons, that the witness statements had not pointed to acts of murder.

SOURCES Albert Knoll gives a description of the SS-Sonderlager in Innsbruck in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 353–355.

The Innsbruck SS-Sonderlager is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

The ZdL investigations are to be found under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 36/73. The file contains a number of witness statements. At AG-D, the unpublished memoirs of former inmate Paul Wauder (DaA 33678) describe the trip of the inmates to Innsbruck. Two books deal with the fate of these prominent prisoners and their travels at the end of the war: Jørgen L.F. Mogensen, *Die grosse Geiselnahme—Letzter Akt 1945* (Copenhagen, 1997); and Captain S. Payne Best, *The Venlo Incident* (London, 1951).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

INNSBRUCK I

The Dachau subcamp Innsbruck I was located in the Reichsgau (Nazi Party province) Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg.

Male prisoners were held here from no later than October 13, 1942 (the first time the camp is mentioned) and were used by the German Highway Construction Office (Reichsstrassenbauamt). For the Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, they worked, among other projects, on the SS-Hochgebirgsschule (Mountain School) Neustift.

The last mention of Innsbruck I was found for April 25, 1945.

SOURCES The subcamp Innsbruck I is found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

Sporadic information about the subcamp Innsbruck I is located in AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KARLSFELD [AKA KARLSFELD OT]

There was a subcamp of Dachau in the Bavarian town of Karlsfeld. It was established on July 11, 1944, when a number of barracks of the München-Allach subcamp were separated by a fence and established as an independent camp under the name "OT-Lager Karlsfeld." Like Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige, Karlsfeld also was subordinate to the München-Allach (BMW) complex, whose commander was in charge of all three camps.

On-site, on July 17, 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Kastner became the camp commander, but he was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Leopold Meyer whom the inmates feared because of his brutality. Meyer later was posted to Mühldorf in February 1945, and it is not clear who was in charge of the subcamp after that date.

According to survivor statements, the camp held approximately 750 prisoners, mostly Jews from Romania and Hungary. For a while, Willi Schulz was the Lagerältester (camp elder), and a list from August 1944 names 22 prisoner-functionaries, some of whom were Jewish. Camp Kapo Christoph Knoll was infamous for his brutality, especially toward Jewish inmates. Prisoner physicians were the inmates Dr. Hermann Kessler, Dr. Imre Wirtmann, Dr. Johann Sándor, and Dr. Vilmos Barszony; the Kapo in the infirmary was Ludwig Mayrhofer.

Under the auspices and control of the Dachau Higher Construction Office of the Organisation Todt (OT), prisoners were put to work in different detachments. The majority of the inmates helped to repair the train tracks at Karslfeld station after they had fallen victim to an air raid. Other inmates were used to build bunkers for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the Sager & Wörner work detachment, named after the company that was in charge of the construction work. Both detachments experienced very severe working conditions, proof of which can be seen in the fact that between mid-September and the end of November 1944, 36 dead inmates from Karslfeld were sent back to Dachau. In fall of 1944, only a few months after the camp was erected, a selection took place, and all inmates who were sick or incapable of working were taken to Auschwitz to be gassed. In February 1945, 120 to 150 inmates fell victim to another selection. As Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm point out, it is impossible to establish how many inmates died in the Karlsfeld camp. Stefan Lason, former inmate and assistant record keeper in the camp, stated after the war that inmates who died in the

camp were only registered as transferred back to Dachau. Therefore, statistics of the Dachau main camp register fewer than 20 deaths in the subcamp itself.

Records show the presence of women in the subcamp. In November 1944, a Dachau strength report lists 1,046 female inmates for Karlsfeld, but they only remained for two days and were then transferred to Ravensbrück. Knoll and Schalm point out that this report might be based upon a confusion with the Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige subcamp. In Karlsfeld, women were only registered again in April 1945, when a transport of 191 women arrived there from the Geislingen subcamp.

During the last days of the war, the already crowded Karlsfeld camp became the target of a number of evacuation marches like that from Geislingen. For instance, on April 20 the male inmates of the Überlingen subcamp arrived in Karlsfeld. On April 25, prisoners were evacuated by train to the south and were liberated on May 1, 1945, in Staltach.

Among the prisoners was a detachment that on or after July 31, 1944, had been transferred from Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige to Karlsfeld.

After the war, a number of former guards were tried, mostly during the Dachau Trials. Meyer was sentenced to life in prison there but was released in 1962. Kastner was sentenced to death but released in 1950. Knoll was sentenced to death and executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) took place in 1973 and 1975. Investigations against former Kapo Josef Zapf were called off in 1977.

SOURCES For a detailed description of the camp, see the essay by Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 355–358.

The Karlsfeld subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:74. Zdenek Zofka's article "Allach-Sklaven für BMW: Zur Geschichte eines Aussenlagers des KZ Dachau," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 68–78, gives a short overview of the multitude of other camps of various categories in the Karlsfeld area but does not provide details about the Karlsfeld subcamp.

The ZdL investigations are to be found in BA-L under the file designator IV 410 AR 705/69. Some archival information on the camp can be found in the following locations: NARA, RG 153 B 205 F 03 (statement by former detachment commander Albert Büchl), RG 338 B 315 F 09 (statement by inmate Ernest Landau), RG 338 B 315 F 13–15 (statement by former inmate Philipp Katz), and RG 338 B 301 F 03 (statement by Max Weinert). Also the AG-D holds some survivor statements and other information, among them DaA A 118 (statement by Simon Hirsch), transfer lists to and from the camp (DaA 35672, 35675–35677), and strength reports (A 82). The investigations of the Staatsanwaltschaft Munich against former Kapo Zepf can be found at Sta. Mü, signature Stanw 34814/1-2.

Max Mannheimer, a survivor of the camp, describes his experiences in *Spätes Tagebuch. Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Warschau—Dachau* (Zürich, 2000).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KARLSFELD-ROTHSCHWAIGE [AKA ROTHSCHWAIGE]

A Dachau subcamp was located in the Bavarian town of Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige. It is mentioned for the first time on June 19, 1944. The camp was closed on July 31, 1944. The inmates were transferred to the Karlsfeld subcamp.

The prisoners worked for the Dachau Higher Construction Office of the Organisation Todt (OT).

Despite its closure, Rothschwaige continued to be mentioned in the Dachau Change Reports up to February 16, 1945.

SOURCES ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 74, mentions the subcamp Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KAUFBEUREN

In the spring of 1944, the spinning wheels in the Mechanische Baumwollspinnerei und Weberei Kaufbeuren (Mechanical Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill, Kaufbeuren) were pushed aside. Instead, lathes and other machines were installed so that BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) could use the factory to manufacture propeller axles, planet wheel mountings (*Planetradträger*), and lead-bronze bearings for fighter aircraft. The majority of the labor force, at times about 600 men, consisted of concentration camp prisoners. The subcamp existed in Kaufbeuren from May 23, 1944, to April 15, 1945.[1]

Not all the prisoners worked for BMW. A group of about 15 to 20 men had to march each day to work in the not-too-distant Altbau Weaving Mill. The company Formholz, housed there, manufactured prefabricated parts out of veneer and paste for Messerschmitt airplanes. In addition to Germans, there were numerous French women and other female foreign workers, as these foreign labor forces were called in those days. The women could move freely in Kaufbeuren and procured many provisions for their concentration camp colleagues, who were dressed in striped uniforms. The prisoners were also used to construct a road in front of the mill to unload goods trains, dig air shelters, pour concrete, and occasionally help out on the farms.[2]

All the prisoners were accommodated in one of the upper levels of the spinning mill premises. It was difficult and dangerous to go up and down. There was a zigzag set of stairs on the exterior wall of the building. In the large rooms, which were the sleeping quarters, there were two-tiered bunk beds (some prisoners have spoken of three-tiered beds). The windows were barred. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts. The camp personnel—the camp elder, the prisoner-functionaries, as well as the men working in the kitchen—had all been chosen by the commandant's office in Dachau.[3]

The 35 to 40 guards were army, naval, and air force soldiers who were no longer able to serve at the front. They

were sent to the SS without any say on their part. The camp commandant was SS-Sturmführer Wilhelm Becker, supposedly a farmer from Westphalia. In an interview in 1969 at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the following was said about him: "He was described by the witnesses that we questioned as very humane and obliging, as someone who had done no harm to any prisoner. The prisoners made no complaints about the subcamp at Kaufbeuren." Because of the consistent statements of the witnesses that the prisoners had been treated humanely and that there were no excesses and wrongful deaths, the judicial authorities ceased further investigations in 1975.[4]

Nevertheless, some prisoners at Kaufbeuren were beaten. There were also men who made life difficult for the prisoners. According to a statement in a letter by a former prisoner from Berlin, Bruno Jacob, "In the first few weeks the camp elder was one from the Foreign Legion. . . . We were successful in getting rid of this despotic man, who tried to exceed the SS in cruelty. . . . He was then replaced by Comrade Kurt Brenner, a former Social Democrat."[5]

Brenner's appointment gave the prisoners respite. The camp elder, who wore a black armband, did not have to work. Each morning and evening he had to report to the SS report leader (Rapportführer) and state how many prisoners formed up. In addition, he had to take care that everything in the camp ran according to plan. He frequently inspected the prisoners at work and took pains that the prisoners of very different nationalities and background worked together well and encouraged prisoners who were bitter or depressed. According to Brenner, there were difficulties with only a few prisoner-functionaries who wanted favors, such as getting an additional cauldron of noodles on Sundays. Brenner would not cooperate. "I wanted all the prisoners to be treated equally." He saved his pink notebook from the SS work camp. Apart from the names of the prisoners, it contains their nationalities: Germans, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Yugoslavs, Slovenes, Italians, French, Dutch, Belgians, Latvians, Spaniards, Russians, Luxemburgers, Greeks, a Swiss, and a stateless man. The most numerous prisoners in Kaufbeuren were Russians, French, and Poles. The individual groups stayed especially close with one another and were prepared to share generously with each other when they occasionally received packages of food. Secretly a Communist group was formed in the Kaufbeuren camp.[6]

On April 9, 1945, there was a successful escape from Kaufbeuren. Six foreigners and a German managed to escape. Apparently some French female foreign workers had procured civilian clothes for the men. One of the escapees was German Kurt Ziergiebel. Later he would become a well-known author in the former German Democratic Republic.[7]

There is an unusual testimony that gives details about life and suffering in the Kaufbeuren camp. A few French prisoners were able to rescue notes about those months. Others recorded later what memories they had of the time spent in the camp. The journalist Fabien Lacombe, one of these prisoners, compiled all these memories and published them in a book. Here he described how former resistance fighters awaiting the end of the war were anxious "to give the appearance that they were working as hard as possible but producing as little as possible." There were also acts of sabotage in Kaufbeuren. The most successful was in the X-ray Laboratory, a windowless room in which the covers of the lead and copper alloys of the manufactured parts of an airplane were checked. This essential and irreplaceable installation finally exploded in a sabotage operation in which Lacombe himself was involved. It was a long time before the x-ray equipment could again resume operation.[8]

There were a number of instances in Kaufbeuren in which prisoners were beaten, but these were the exceptions. The "Crocodile," the camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Becker,[9] stopped the attacks when he became aware of them. However, Lacombe has accused two civilian masters of "inhuman behavior": "No one can forget the fanatical master Meier, who inexorably forced the prisoners to do the most difficult work, who constantly bellowed, who threatened to kill the prisoners, who approached the SS, wrote down the numbers of those who seemed to him to be most recalcitrant, and who hated the French."[10]

In Kaufbeuren, prisoners tried to establish a cultural life despite their hard-pressed situation. Lacombe reports about a Christmas celebration in 1944. Christmas carols were sung, and despite the ban on political songs, issued by the command of the camp, the Russian group loudly sang "The International." French and Belgians followed with the "La Marseillaise" and the song of the partisans. A "Gypsy" played his violin, Ukrainians imitated a jazz band, and a juggler and acrobat from Tiflis danced Cossack and Mongolian dances.[11]

According to Lacombe, a few French threatened to crack up in February 1945. A group called the "Klub der Fusshaken" (Cleats Club) was formed with the goal to entertain the prisoners and to improvise theatrical performances so as to distract the prisoners who were at risk of depression.[12] Time and again the "Gypsy" had to play his violin made from wood taken from boxes, which had strings procured from "outside," and SS men provided the strings for the bow because they wanted to listen to evening concerts in their guard room. Finally, there was in the camp the Italian Mazetti, a tenor from La Scala in Milan. On several evenings he sang Mozart arias. Lacombe stated, "During the day he was locked in with others in the compression chamber where the noise was unbearable—to watch its proper functioning. Gradually he lost his hearing and his reason."[13]

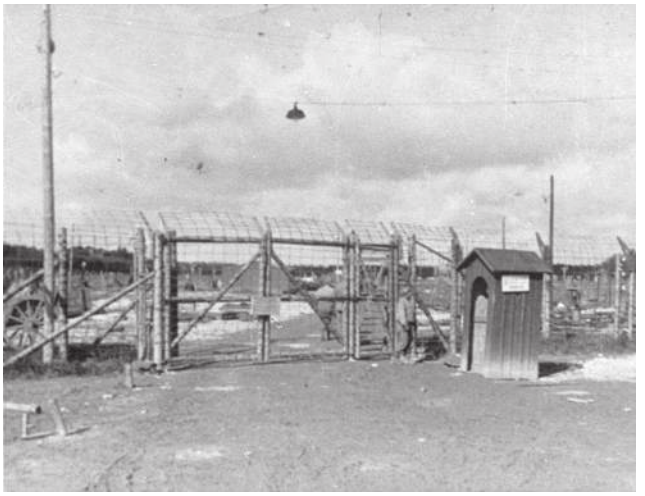
At the end of March 1945, deliveries of chrome-nickel-steel rings, essential for production in Kaufbeuren, came to a halt. The prisoners became redundant. The camp commandant delayed their transport. The prisoners suspected that he and his staff preferred to surrender to the advancing Americans. The masters, however, tried desperately to get trucks so that they could get away. They feared the consequences of their acts of terror after liberation.[14] On April 14, the commandant ordered that all the straw sacks infected with lice

were to be carried to a field. A day later the majority of the prisoners were taken to the railway station and loaded onto cattle trucks. The journey was dramatic and ended in Allach.[15]

SOURCES The camp is described in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 129–135.

Primary sources for this camp begin with the book by Fabien Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, *Aussenlager von Dachau 1944–45: Ein Memorial*, ed. Anton Brenner (Blöcktach: Verlag an der Säge, 1995). The book has at the end a few poems from former Kaufbeuren prisoners. Additional sources include the Schlussvermerk by ZdL (in BA-L), documents in AG-D, and especially the interview with former camp elder Kurt Brenner.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini



The entrance gate at the Kaufering IV, Hurlach, subcamp of Dachau, April 27–30, 1945.
USHMM WS # 00324, COURTESY OF JULIEN SAKS

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
2. Descriptions given in conversations with the author by the camp elder Kurt Brenner in 1984, as well as by a former employee of the firm who does not want to be mentioned by name.
3. Brenner interview.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
5. AG-D, 8826.
6. Brenner interview.
7. Letter to the author by the former prisoner H. Ziergiebel, May 6, 1984.
8. Fabien Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, *Aussenlager von Dachau 1944–45: Ein Memorial*, ed. Anton Brenner (Blöcktach: Verlag an der Säge, 1995), pp. 21, 45.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
10. Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, pp. 39–41.
11. Ibid., pp. 70–74, 78–79; Kurt Brenner has also told the author of cultural activities.
12. Lacombe, p. *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, p. 72.
13. Ibid., p. 61.
14. Letter by Bruno Jacob May 15, 1968, AG-D, 6390.
15. Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, pp. 90–92.

KAUFERING I–XI

Goods wagons with 1,000 Hungarian Jewish men from Auschwitz arrived on June 18, 1944, at the Kaufering railway station. Kaufering is a village about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Landsberg am Lech, in Upper Bavaria. Two prisoners had not survived the transport.[1] The SS guards drove the concentration camp prisoners into the nearby camp Kaufering I (it was later renamed Kaufering III). Already there were 22 prisoner-functionaries from the Dachau main camp in Kaufering. The first of the Dachau Kaufering subcamps was thus opened. Ten additional camps would exist by the end of 1944 in the area around Landsberg am Lech—some for men and some for women. By the end of April 1945, 30,000 people would be held in this complex; the Kaufering subcamp system was the largest of the Dachau subcamps. Monsignore Jules Jost, himself a political prisoner in the Dachau main camp, was the clerk at the Dachau Registry from June 18, 1944, to March 9, 1945. He recorded exactly 28,838 Jewish prisoners in the Kaufering camps. It is probable that even after March 9, 1945, transports were sent to the Kaufering camps. The handwritten notes remained in his private possession.

From the beginning of 1944, Allied bombs had caused heavy damage to the German aircraft industry, which led to a decline in production by up to two-thirds. The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), a group of representatives from the Ministry of Armaments and War Production, the Air Ministry, and the aircraft industry, hoped to win back German air supremacy by maintaining and increasing the production of fighter planes.

For this purpose, fighter-plane production would be placed in bomb-secure production facilities—that is, they would be placed underground. The existing underground facilities, natural caves, mines, and tunnels, were little suited for this purpose, and new concrete bunkers with several hundred thousand square meters offered optimal production facilities. Planned were six concrete bunkers in which the fighter plane and the first jet fighter, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262, would be placed in serial production. In fact, production of only four concrete bunkers was begun, three at Landsberg am Lech and one at Mühldorf am Inn, Upper Bavaria.

The Organisation Todt (OT), which was controlled by the Armaments Ministry, was in charge of the building project. Hitler himself ordered that the project be given the highest priority. The head of the OT Operations Group Six, responsible for four of the bunkers, was Professor Hermann Giesler, an architect and a personal friend of Hitler's. He was also the brother of Munich Gauleiter Paul Giesler. Contracts were entered into with construction companies. In the Landsberg area, there were the firms Leonhard Moll, Philipp Holzmann,

and Karl Stöhr; these, in turn, entered into a number of subcontracts with smaller firms.

Due to the shortage of labor forces, the OT reached for the last labor reserve, what was left of European Jewry. Hitler himself gave permission to bring the Jews back into Germany, which in 1942 had been officially declared to be "clean of Jews." Economic reasons seemed to conquer ideological convictions.

The Jews that were transported to the 11 Kaufering camps to build the bunkers were survivors of the Polish and Lithuanian ghettos, but most were Hungarian and Romanian Jews, with smaller groups of other European Jews from countries such as Holland, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and the Island of Rhodes. In about 10 months, approximately 30,000 prisoners, including 4,200 women and 850 children, went through the Kaufering subcamps. One of the peculiarities of the Kaufering subcamps was the birth of seven babies in the subcamp Kaufering I in the spring of 1945.[2] The mothers, Hungarian Jews, conceived the children shortly before they were deported, and at the time they were selected in Auschwitz, there were no visible signs of pregnancy.

The composition of the camps varied: in the larger camps, between 3,000 and 4,000 people were detained at times; only a few hundred were held in the smaller camps. The camps were located in the vicinity of Landsberg (Kaufering I, II, VII, and XI), near Kaufering (Kaufering III), near Hurlach (Kaufering IV), near Utting am Ammersee (Kaufering V and X), near Türkheim (Kaufering VI), and near Seestall and Obermeitingen (Kaufering VIII and IX). They came into existence between June 1944 and December 1944. No preparations were made to erect the camps. Many times the first prisoner transports had to build primitive earth huts, which were built halfway underground so that only the roof was to be seen, or they built plywood tents. The accommodation was totally unsuitable for the weather conditions, as the earth-covered roofs quickly admitted the rain and the snow. The huts also became the home for vermin.

Responsibility for the construction of the camp—and this was a peculiarity of the Kaufering subcamps—lay not with the SS but with the OT, which took over responsibility for the prisoners' food and medical care. It attempted to achieve the maximum work effort with the minimum of expense. The meager rations were reduced because of theft on the part of the SS guards. Ill prisoners received less food, as they could no longer work. Noon rations were not distributed in the camps but on the building sites. This had the result that a few of the sick prisoners dragged themselves to work so as at least to get something to eat.

The SS personnel in the command positions mostly came from the concentration and death camps such as Auschwitz and Lublin-Majdanek. Notable is that of the 46 SS commanders who served in the period 1933–1945 as concentration camp commandants, 2 would end their careers at the Kaufering subcamp complex: Hans Aumeier and Otto Förschner. Aumeier, who was trained at Dachau, was in 1942–1943 the first "protective custody" camp leader in Auschwitz and commandant of the Vaivara concentration camp in Estland. From December 1944 to the end of January 1945, he was responsible for all of the Kaufering camps. His successor from February 1945 was Otto Förschner, who from January 1942 was commander of the guard battalions at the Buchenwald concentration camp and later commandant at Mittelbau/Nordhausen. The Kaufering camp doctor was SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Max Blancke. In 1940 he worked for the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). He was stationed at the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps between 1941 and 1942. From 1942, he was at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and thereafter was the medical officer in charge at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Lublin. Among the camp leaders (Lagerführer) at Kaufering II was also SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, who in Auschwitz II-Birkenau had been Block -und Kommandoführer. He had also been camp leader at the Auschwitz subcamps Fürstengrube and Gleiwitz. The first commandant of the Kaufering complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Forster, who had already served in the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps as well as in the Kovno (Kauen) concentration camp and the ghetto and camp at Siauliai (Schaulen). In Schaulen, he was responsible for the so-called Children's Action (*Kinderaktion*) where in November 1943, 900 children from the Siauliai ghetto were deported and murdered. Blancke committed suicide at the end of the war; Aumeier was extradited to Poland and executed. In 1955, Forster died in Hessen under the pseudonym of Heinrich Reich, without ever having been prosecuted.[3]

The inadequate living conditions and work conditions resulted in the prisoners becoming physically incapacitated within a very short period of time. As a result, the SS and OT resorted to terror to achieve the work norms. One OT member noted that OT and construction company employees beat the prisoners without reason. The prisoners' main task was to build railway embankments for the supply railways as well as unloading cement sacks and dragging them to the depots or concrete mixers.

The poor health condition of the prisoners aroused attention. Many prisoners scratched open wounds caused by the vermin. An OT staff officer noted in December 1944: "In recent times the prisoners have been so mistreated that of the 17,600 prisoners presently cared for, only 8,319 were capable of work. This figure includes also those only capable of light work."[4] Typhus, spotted fever, and tuberculosis were widespread. The companies complained to OT since they had to pay a fee for the prisoners even though the prisoners were not able to work. OT in turn approached the SS in Dachau and demanded the removal of prisoners who could not work. In September and October 1944, a total of 1,322 prisoners were selected and deported to Auschwitz, where they were gassed.[5] They belonged to the last group gassed in the autumn of 1944 before the gassings ceased in November 1944 and the Auschwitz gas chambers were blown up.

In the middle and end of April 1945, most of the Kaufering camps were evacuated. It is possible that before this action, smaller camps had already been absorbed by the larger camps. Partly by foot, partly by rail, the prisoners arrived at Dachau. A few hundred were killed on the way during Allied air attacks. Some were freed in the Dachau concentration camp on April 28, 1945, but others were forced to go on a death march through Upper Bavaria and were only freed at the beginning of May. The camp Kaufering IV, which held prisoners who were incapable of transport, was set alight by the SS Dr. Blancke.

Approximately 1 in 2 of the 30,000 Kaufering prisoners died from epidemics, hunger, executions, deportation, and gassing in Auschwitz or on the death march. A commission, established in the early aftermath of the war, comprising representatives of survivors, the city and district of Landsberg, and institutions such as the International Red Cross, estimated the number of deaths at 14,500.

The appalling living conditions under which the prisoners had to live did not allow for the development of a cultural life or for any resistance. Nevertheless, survivors from the Lithuanian ghettos were successful in maintaining a certain continuity in the Kaufering camps: the Jewish elder from the ghetto at Kovno (Kauen), Dr. Elkhanan Elkes, was camp elder in one of the Kaufering camps. He died there. The handwritten illegal newspaper *Nitsots* (Spark), which had circulated in the ghettos, was also continued in Kaufering. The leadership in the Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Landsberg am Lech, which from May 1945 came into being in a former military barrack, came from the Lithuanian survivors of the Dachau subcamp Kaufering.

In the Dachau Trial, 40 SS members were tried before a U.S. military court. Many were sentenced to death. Among them were 9 members of the SS leadership of the Kaufering camps including Otto Förschner and Otto Moll. In several succeeding U.S. trials, members of the SS guards were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

The German Judicial Authorities held three trials against individuals, two of whom were prisoner-functionaries and themselves victims of the camps.[6] Investigation by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the middle of the 1970s did not result in any trials.

SOURCES The most comprehensive discussion on the Kaufering subcamp complex is to be found in Edith Raim's *Die Dachauer KZ-Aussenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg, 1992). The end of the Kaufering subcamps is also discussed by Andreas Wagner, *Todesmarsch: Die Räumung und Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau*, *Kaufering und Mühldorf Ende April 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1995); Jörg Wollenberg's *"Letter to Debbie": Die Befreiung des Dachauer KZ-Aussenlagers Landsberg-Kaufering* (Bremen, 2002) also deals with the topic. The illustrated book by Martin Paulus, Gerhard Zelger, and Edith Raim, *Ein Ort wie jeder andere: Bilder aus einer deutschen Kleinstadt; Landsberg 1923–1958* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1995), focuses on Landsberg as the place where Hitler was imprisoned, the war crimes prison in Landsberg, the Kaufering subcamps, and the DP camp Landsberg. See also Gernot Römer, *"Für die Vergessenen"—KZ Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 182, 196, for further information regarding Türkheim.

The most important document on the Kaufering camps is the *Camp Book Kaufering III* (Dachau Ledger) in the Jewish Museum, New York. Important sources are also the U.S. military trials in Dachau, including the Dachau Trial as well as investigations by U.S. JAG, which are held in NARA. Reports by survivors, transport lists, inventories, and several scattered documents are held in AG-D and APMO, as well as YVA. The investigations initiated by ZdL and handed over by the Sta. Augsburg to the StA-Augs survived only partially. Documents from the three German trials regarding offenses at the Kaufering camps are held in the StA-Augs and Sta. Mü. Survivors' reports are too numerous to be mentioned here separately. Mentioned here are only some of the books published in the last few years by former prisoners of the Kaufering camp: David Ben Dor, *The Darkest Chapter* (Edinburgh, 1996); Waldemar Ginsburg, *And Kovno Wept* (Laxton, 1999); Solly Ganor, *Das andere Leben. Kindheit im Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). *DaHe* constantly publishes reports by survivors.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Camp Book Kaufering III (Dachau Ledger) JM 114–73, Jewish Museum, New York.
2. The women are explicity mentioned in a roll-call report dated April 29, 1945, AG-D, Nr. 993.
3. On Förscher and Moll, see Case 000-50-002, *US v. Martin Gottfried Weiss et al.*, NARA, RG 338. On Forster, see Sta. Oldenburg, 2 Js 20/64 and 2 Js 218/63, Best. 140–5 Acc. 38/1997 Nr. 462 and Best. 140–5 Acc. 38/1997 Nr. 459 I-III.
4. Note of the OT-Stabsfrontführer Buchmann dated December 6, 1944, Case 000-50-105 (Cases not tried), NARA, RG 338.
5. Transports List in AG-D, Nr. 1044.
6. Sta. Augsburg, 4 KLs 18/48, StA-Augs; Sta. Augsburg Ks 1/50, Augs; Sta. München, Best. 34431, Sta. Mü.

KEMPTEN (*HELMUTH SACHSE KG*)

A subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp came into existence in Kempten as early as August 1943, when 100 prisoners arrived from the main camp in Kempten, the most important city of the Allgäu. One year earlier the Allgäu Spinnerei und Weberei (Allgäu Spinning and Weaving Mill) at 14 Kesel Strasse had ceased production. In its buildings there was sufficient room for the machines of the company Helmuth Sachse KG, as well as for the prisoners and their guards. A high barbed-wire fence as well as watchtowers surrounded the site.[1]

In April 1944 the camp was transferred to the nearby animal breeding hall. Willi Rühle, one of the prisoners, recalled later, "We lived as if in an arena." Beforehand, a stable

had been converted into a large washing room and equipped with toilets for the men. Their numbers grew finally to about 500 to 600. A sick bay was also arranged for in the animal breeding hall. There the not-so-serious cases were dealt with by a Polish doctor and a Yugoslav medical orderly. Anybody who fell seriously ill was sent back to Dachau.[2]

The animal breeding hall was easy to control. There were two entrances in front of which were sentries. Therefore, the building was not fenced. The approximately 50 guards were former air force soldiers who had been taken on by the SS. According to Rühle: "Though they had new uniforms they remained the same. Eighty percent of them were very okay."

Compared to other camps, the prisoners' food in Kempten appears to have been adequate. Rühle stated: "In Dachau every weekday we got turnips but in Kempten only twice a week. There was occasionally really thick noodle soup and on Sundays there was almost always coffee with milk." This situation seems to have changed after a while. The French prisoner Louis Terrenoire wrote in particular in his book *Sursitaires de la mort lente* that he and his comrades experienced real hunger in Kempten. It was only from the beginning of 1945 that Red Cross packages provided some relief.[3]

The car and airplane engine producer Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) held a share in Sachse KG.[4] Its chief, Helmuth Sachse, was for many years in charge of the development of airplane engines at BMW. The Kempten factory produced predictors (*Kommandogeräte*), especially important parts for the armament of fighters. These early robots controlled many engine functions so that during air combat the pilot did not have to use numerous levers and buttons but only the predictor.

About 20 men of the camp received other tasks. One of them was Rühle. He was a member of a plumbing group that did, among other things, plumbing work and heating work for the foreign workers, both male and female, in the Kempten camp. Most of the time this group consisted of 6 to 8 prisoners. Sometimes it was enlarged to as many as 40 prisoners. In addition, there was, according to this prisoner, from June 1944 an approximately 20-man-strong city detachment. The major task of this detachment was to remove damage incurred by bombs and to work for the city's building department. There can be no doubt that this detachment is mentioned as the Kempten/Oberbürgermeister subcamp in the listing of the International Tracing Service (ITS). According to the listing, the camp existed from June 18, 1944, to December 1, 1944. The time when the camp came into being corresponds with Rühle's statements. There could have been no other Kempten subcamp. These prisoners were also accommodated in the animal breeding hall. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), which in 1973–1974 also investigated this subcamp, ceased its investigations without result: "The absence of any witnesses does not permit [us] to ascertain the conditions in the subcamp Kempten/Oberbürgermeister."[5]

An object of investigations by judicial authorities after World War II was the death of a French prisoner. He died on April 20, 1945, on the site of the barracks in the vicinity of the Kempten East Railway Station. The accused was a factory civil defense leader at the BMW/Sachse factory. He stated that he caught the man looting the food stock and demanded that he leave. The prisoner did not obey. He then fired a warning shot from his hip into the building. The bullet ricocheted from an iron rail and hit the Frenchman in the head, killing him. All the concentration camp prisoners of Kempten were then required to march past the dead person. This was meant to be a deterrent. The U.S. military authorities arrested the shooter in May 1945 on suspicion of murder. He was held for a short time. He was not convicted. Also the Public Prosecution Service Kempten stopped its investigations in 1954. Later, the ZdL once again took up the case. It interviewed four witnesses, all of whom stated unanimously that the Kempten subcamp was a "humane camp in which there were no intentional homicides. The preliminary investigations were not to be continued on the basis of these statements."[6]

During their interrogation, witnesses mentioned the names of five Kempten camp leaders. The judicial authorities also learned the names of numerous guards. In 1969 the investigation's final recommendation stated that the files be archived.

Despite the comparatively mild living conditions in the Kempten camp, there were escape attempts. Once, according to Rühle, Russian prisoners bent the bars of the window grills and escaped. Italians escaped several times. At least some of the escapees were caught and taken to Dachau. Rühle also recalls a Frenchman who was caught when he tried to break a hole in the wall of the animal breeding hall. He was beaten until he was bleeding and was then sent to Dachau.

At that time, there were also air raids on Kempten. Sachse KG was not hit, but on April 20, 1945, according to Rühle, 5 prisoners died and 13 were injured in the barracks at the East Railway Station. At the end of that month the concentration camp was evacuated. Only the sick remained. The men were told that henceforth they had to work in the Alpine Fortress (Alpenfestung) from where supposedly the war would be continued. However, the march to the fortress quickly ended. Rühle stated that in the vicinity of Pfronten a mighty explosion occurred during the night. Prisoners and guards ran in confusion, and the prisoners escaped to freedom.

Among the Kempten concentration camp prisoners there was at that time also a group of French. One of them, Terrenoire, after the war became a minister in the French government. In his book, the French resistance fighter and avowed Catholic gives an account of the time he spent in the Kempten camp. He writes that the group of French prisoners, despite political and religious differences, was unanimous in their will to survive in dignity. They had their own laws, and those who did not obey were severely punished. They kept their pride as Frenchmen, for example, by not picking up cigarette butts. Even from their meager rations the strong gave something to the weak and ill. They also attempted to sabotage as much of the production as they could. Terrenoire said: "To ensure that man is not a wolf to man we had to ensure that the only savages were not among us but with the Kapos or the SS."

Terrenoire states that at Christmas 1944 two of the guards allowed the French concentration camp prisoners to have a violin and an accordion for a few hours. Terrenoire gave a speech in which he compared the couple Mary and Joseph, who searched for shelter, with the homeless prisoners. He said that the Kempten population was appalled when concentration camp prisoners were knocking at their doors and begging for a better accommodation than the camp."

Among the camp leaders, Terrenoire mentioned two. One he called the "SS man of a sad countenance" and compared him with the sick incisor of a tall savage's dentition. This commandant allowed the French to form a separate group in the camp. He thus did not accord with Terrenoire's long-held cliché of an SS man. Terrenoire called his successor "le tigre." It was the Tiger who displayed the body of a French prisoner shot after the bombing raid as a deterrent. Until the very end, the camp commander spoke of final victory and prophesied that the prisoners would not leave the camp alive. Despite this commandant, Terrenoire describes Kempten as a good camp.

SOURCES Kempten is discussed in several chapters of Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 136–146. There is also an unpublished student's paper by Markus Naumann. Its title is "Kempten im Zweiten Weltkrieg—Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Dachau in Kempten und Kottern/Weidach" (n.d.). On BMW's production of aircraft predictors, see Horst Mönnich, *BMW: Eine Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 1, *Vor der Schallmauer, 1916–1945* (Munich: Piper, 2004), p. 266.

Apart from the Schlussvermerk of ZdL in BA-L, this account is based in particular on the statements of the former prisoners Willi Rühle and Otto Kohlhofer. Furthermore, an important source was also Louis Terrenoire's book *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom 10. März 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 137/69, pp. 168–177.
2. Gespräch am 3. 12. 1983 mit Willi Rühle, vom ersten bis letzten Tag des Bestehens Häftling im Aussenlager Kempten. Der ehemalige Häftling Otto Kohlhofer bestätigte alle Angaben Rühles.
3. Louis Terrenoire, *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976), pp. 36–54.
4. Aus einem Brief von Lothar Weiss, Kempten, über das Sachse-Werk vom 27. 6. 1984 im Archiv des Autors.
5. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom 10. März 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 137/69, pp. 168–177.
6. Ibid.

KÖNIGSSEE

The Dachau subcamp Königssee was located in the Berchtesgaden district in the Alps. Male inmates were stationed there to do construction work on the residences of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz and to build a bunker. One survivor claimed that Himmler himself had come to Königssee to check the progress of the work.

Concerning the first mention of the Königssee subcamp, there are different statements in the literature. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists July 21, 1944, as the date of the first reference, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg found September 2, 1944, as the date of first mention—the latter date probably the more accurate one. Also, the number of inmates assigned to the camp is not clear. Gabriele Hammermann states about 20 inmates, while testimonies in the investigation files of the state prosecutor in Ludwigsburg indicate around 130 to 140 prisoners. Most of the inmates apparently were construction workers and artists who had been chosen because of their special qualifications. Older German prisoners were used as prisoner-functionaries in the construction site; the other inmates were French, Yugoslavs, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. The prisoners slept in a barracks or barn next to the construction site and were kept under much better conditions than in the main camp: Their food rations were higher, they were allowed to move relatively freely, and they were taken care of by a physician. According to the witnesses' statements, the prisoners there were not mistreated, and there were no deaths in this camp.

Three inmates were able to escape from the camp; all of them were caught and sent back to Dachau. Apparently, none of them were executed. The camp was closed on September 19, 1944.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 375–376, there is a description of the camp by Gabriele Hammermann.

The Königssee subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933—1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:79.

The ZdL investigations are held under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 133/69. The file contains several witness statements. For further information, see also IV 410 AR 1208/69 (interrogation protocols) AG-D and DaA 35672 (Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavincini

KOTTERN/FISCHEN

Fischen is a spa and winter sports site in Bavaria. After the air raid on the factory at Kottern on July 19, 1944, Messerschmitt established another factory in Fischen. It was located in the building of the Mechanische Weberei (Mechanical Weaving Mill), which had ceased to operate earlier. As in so many armaments industries, concentration camp prisoners also had to work in Fischen for "the final German victory." Their camp existed from November 6, 1944, to April 25, 1945, on land

belonging to the Langenwang village in the vicinity of the Sonthofen-Oberstdorf railway line. Officially it was known as a subordinate command of the Kottern subcamp. Its postal address was SS-Arbeitslager Fischen bei Kempten (Work Camp Fischen Near Kempten).

In a questionnaire, the Sonthofen Council put the number of concentration camp prisoners at 526 men.[1] There were probably fewer prisoners. The camp consisted of three barracks. In the two smaller barracks there was the kitchen and the SS office. The prisoners lived in the larger barrack. They had three-tiered bunk beds with straw sacks. There was no bed linen. The upper levels could not be used because the roof was leaky, and when it rained, water dropped onto these upper bunks. Around the camp were several watchtowers and a high, electrified double fence of barbed wire. Between the two fences were fierce dogs that were trained to attack the prisoners. At night, searchlights lit up the site to prevent attempts of escape. The 18 guards were accommodated in a barrack outside the fence.[2]

Most of the guards had originally been Luftwaffe soldiers. One of them stated after the war how he came to be in an SS uniform. After his stay in a clinic until July 1944, he was part of a Luftwaffe reinforcement unit in Nagold (Black Forest). One day he and several comrades were ordered to report to Munich for light guard duties. The group reported to the Luftwaffe Command Office in the Bavarian capital and was sent to the Dachau concentration camp, from where they were deployed in various subcamps. During an air raid on the external camp Neuaubing, all their belongings were burned, and they were provided with SS uniforms but without the usual badges. "I do not believe that at that time we had joined the SS," he added.[3]

The commandant in the Fischen camp (supposedly from December 1944) was SS-Hauptscharführer Emil Schmidt. He is also said to have been strict in the execution of his orders. Austrian prisoner Franz Hackl said that he did not permit beatings and that he formally addressed the prisoners.[4]

Former Austrian prisoner Friedrich Pillwein later recalled the food as being cooked beets or cooked cabbage at midday and in the evenings. The food was prepared like soup but without any fat. Occasionally in the evening there was, instead of the soup, beet marmalade as spread and every now and then margarine along with a small bread ration. The food was worse than in the Dachau main camp. Countless men suffered from scurvy. The food supply was so inadequate that the prisoners caught and ate cats and dogs. According to Pillwein, "At that time there were hardly any dogs in Fischen. We devoured them all."

Pillwein claimed that when he together with other prisoners collected the bread for the camp from a bakery in Langenwang, he flirted with the sales girl to attract her attention. While he was flirting, his comrades tried to pack away more bread—additional rations for the weakest and the sick of the camp. Occasionally the Red Cross sent vitamin tablets. When once in a while a prisoner got "a food package," it was like a festive day for his companions.

Russians, Poles, Czechs, Italians, Belgians, Austrians, and Germans resided in the Fischen external camp. In the Messerschmitt factory in 12-hour day and night shifts, they manufactured tools and gauges needed for aircraft construction (measuring devices made from hardened steel for the examination of work pieces). A work detachment had the task of constructing additional barracks, but none were finished by the end of the war. In addition, the prisoners occasionally had to work in the village.

In the spring, SS men picked up the Austrian prisoner Franz Storkan from his place of work in Fischen and Gustav Teply from the local infirmary. Teply was suffering from inflammation of the ligaments. The Communist Party had secretly infiltrated both men into Austria as foreign workers. The foreign civilian laborers were in those days in Greater Germany called "foreign workers." Both men were instructed to form resistance groups opposing the Hitler regime. They were discovered and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. To remove these two especially endangered men from the sight of the camp leadership, fellow prisoners arranged for Storkan and Teply to be sent to Fischen. But their stay did not last long. Hackl recalled that Storkan bade farewell, saying, "Now I will go up the chimney."[5] Both men were executed in Dachau.

The camp leader described Fischen's end to the Munich judicial authorities as follows:

> Since we had not heard anything about the state of affairs for some time one day I made enquiries at the end of April or the beginning of May with the Fischen Police and was told by the officer over the telephone: "Gosh, you are still there! Get out. They are on the way." . . . I called the people of the guard platoon, withdrew the sentries on duty and explained [to] them what was happening. I basically said that the camp was dissolved, but that I could not take them with me as there was no food. Everyone had to look after himself. I also said to the prisoners that they were now free. Then I headed in the direction of Oberstdorf and there I also spent the night. The next day I went back to the Fischen camp where I met two German soldiers and with them joined armed forces who were heading in the direction of the Alps. . . . I can therefore say with absolute certainty that the Fischen camp was not evacuated, and there was therefore also no evacuation march and there were no deaths on such a march. Anyone who says the contrary is lying.

Both Hackl and Pillwein agree with this statement.[6] Hackl added that the camp leader after his return from Oberstdorf asked for coffee for him and some of his comrades. He fulfilled his wish and brought a pot of coffee outside.

Pillwein stated that one guard did not survive long after the dissolution of the camp. He, the dog handler, had once beaten and kicked a Czech prisoner when the prisoner could not walk properly because of an injury to his foot. Fellow

Czechs ensured that he was arrested by French troops after they had arrived. He was taken to prison and is said to have died while trying to escape.

The Fischen Registry records the death of Dutch prisoner Jakobus van der Meyden on February 15, 1945. The cause of death was a pulmonary embolism. He was buried in Fischen and after 1945 reinterred in a Dutch war grave at the Forest Cemetery in Frankfurt am Main.

After the end of the Third Reich, judicial authorities also investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Fischen camp. Two Italians reported that their fellow countrymen were killed after escape attempts—one spoke of two and the other of three men. It was also claimed that during another incident a guard hit a prisoner in the nape of his neck with the butt of a rifle. Other former prisoners reported shootings during an evacuation march from Fischen to Kottern. On the other hand, there are numerous statements that there were no escape attempts and that there was also no evacuation march. As a result of these contradictory statements, the judicial authorities doubted whether the main witnesses were in fact referring to the Fischen camp and thought that they had confused this camp with another. The investigations were halted.[7]

SOURCES The author is not aware of any printed reports on the Fischen camp other than the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Schoolboys and schoolgirls from the Sonthofen High School have researched the camp. Their papers, however, have not been published.

In addition to the files of ZdL (today: BA-L), YVA, as well as those of the judicial authorities, the author conducted comprehensive conversations with former prisoners. These conversations offered a great deal of information. The conversations were held independently and supported each other.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Questionnaire for the Historical Commission of the Central Committee in Munich, August 19, 1946, in YVA 350/125.
2. Statement by the former prisoner Friedrich Pillwein, Wien, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
3. Statement by J.W. in investigation proceedings 320/Js 202 223/76, Sta. Mü.
4. The former prisoner Franz Hackl, Wien, in a conversation with the author, 1984.
5. Hackl statement; Friedrich Pillwein has also made a similar statement. The execution of both men is referred to in the AG-D.
6. Hackl statement; Pillwein statement.
7. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 69/76.

KOTTERN-WEIDACH

As with many other textile firms in Bavarian Swabia in 1943, the Spinnerei-Weberei Kottern had to forego part of its operations. From October until the end of the war, it produced aircraft parts for Messerschmitt. The spinning and weaving machines continued to operate in the part of the factory that had not been compulsorily acquired. Kottern later became part of Kempten.

The first prisoners who arrived in Kottern-Weidach were accommodated in a guesthouse. Probably they were an advanced detachment to set up the machines and the accommodation. The men who arrived with the next transport from Dachau lived for a few months in one of the factory's larger halls. At the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, the camp was finally ready to be occupied—it was located a kilometer (0.6 mile) away in Weidach, which was part of the Durach municipality. It consisted of wooden barracks, which in part were also made of brick. The Kottern guards, around 35 to 40 men, lived in a block outside the camp, which was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.[1]

Former French prisoner Louis Terrenoire blames the miserable hygienic conditions in Weidach for causing the outbreak of typhus in the camp. Toilets were installed in the cellar in one of the barracks shortly before the end of the war. Terrenoire is of the opinion that they were installed not "out of humanitarian grounds but to hide the inhumanity from the approaching victorious power."[2] Jean-Pierre Linsen, a prisoner from Luxembourg, reported that in the camp there were unusually large numbers of fleas and lice: "Immediately we killed half a dozen, [but] they were replaced by twenty. When we marched to work the beasts crawled up our coats to the collars. . . . The civilians in the factory did not come close to us, fearing they would get them."[3]

Not all of the more than 1,000 prisoners worked for Messerschmitt. Some worked for the firm Kemper Werkstätte für Panzer- und Kriegsfahrzeugbau (Workshops for Tank and Military Vehicle Construction).[4] The men came from many countries, but by far the largest number were the Russians and Italians. Austrian Ferdinand Hackl stated that it was virtually impossible to commit acts of sabotage in Kottern. The only possibility was for the qualified men to perform a lower standard of work or to work more slowly. A Russian, who was a particularly good lathe operator, once pretended to be sick. A day later the foreman was complaining that the prisoners were doing too little work. Hackl recalled that he and the other prisoners had to run through the *Salzergasse*. The Salzergasse was where the guards beat the prisoners as they ran down the lane.[5]

There can be no reasonable doubt that crimes were committed in the Weidach camp. Several prisoners after the war related the escape attempt of a Viennese prisoner, said to be a singer. It is claimed that the man had made the acquaintance of a woman working in the spinning and weaving mill and with her help was hidden in the factory for a few days. He was recognized trying to leave the factory dressed in blue worker's overalls and carrying a spare part on his shoulder. The witness Boleslaw Cielbala related what happened: "When he was discovered he was beaten until he was unrecognizable. To deter us we were taken to him. He was wearing

a sign on his chest with the inscription 'I am back.' We were forced to step up and watch how he was repeatedly beaten. He was bound to a wall and was forced to count each time he was beaten in the face. This went on until he lost consciousness. He could no longer work and so they wanted to transfer him back to Dachau. On the way back to Dachau he died from his injuries. He was brought back to Kottern and we had to bury him in the prisoner cemetery at Fahls." Other prisoners also remember this Viennese and his suffering. On the other hand, the former camp commandant stated that "I know of the incident. However, the man survived his punishment in the best of health." In the end, what really happened in Kottern remains a matter of dispute: the files contain statements about other homicides but also statements such as, "I know nothing of prisoners being killed."[6] What is indisputable is that the prisoners experienced air raids. The heaviest air raid was on July 19, 1944. The target included the newly constructed Messerschmitt factory. The camp in Weidach was also hit. Houses were destroyed and civilians were killed and wounded, but aircraft parts production was soon up and running again.

The corpses of the prisoners who died in the subcamp were usually taken to Dachau. From the autumn of 1944, it was permissible to bury the prisoners in Weidach. This led to a dispute. Nazi Party (NSDAP) Ortsgruppenleiter and Mayor of Durach Mittermeier demanded that a deceased Dutchman be buried in the garbage area of the Durach Cemetery. However, the local priest, Fischer, ensured that the deceased was properly buried. Mittermeier then insisted that the next deceased should be quickly buried in a field in the vicinity of the alpine dairy in Fahls. According to a newspaper report, "There can be no burial mound, no cross permitted, and the place absolutely cannot be recognized as a cemetery! There is to be no record that prisoners were buried here."[7] It was only after the war, in the autumn of 1945, that a large wooden cross was erected in Fahls. A small cross was placed on the burial mound where prisoners from several countries are buried.

There were several commandants of the Kottern-Weidach camp. Initially, the camp appeared to be commanded by an SS-Hauptscharführer who was often drunk and having orgies with women. Former prisoner Max Wittmann recalls that during such excesses he had the prisoners beaten, yelling, " 'Trousers down! Beating the asses of you unbelievably filthy, stinking animals is no fun at all. Perhaps the ladies enjoy it. . . .' The women squeaked and chirped. Soon after that I heard how the poor prisoners were beaten, their cries of pain could be heard between the barbaric cries and doings of the men and women. 'Give it to him. Harder! And another one! Tan his skin! Go on do it!' So they whipped one another up and outside, I felt that they drove themselves into a rage in their sadistic pleasure, whipping again and again."

According to Wittmann, the camp leader, Wilhelm, and his confidant were punished and transferred because they had shot out of the windows during one of their binges, injuring a few people, including an SS man.[8]

It remains an open question whether Georg Deffner was the direct successor to Wilhelm. In any case, he was transferred from the Kempten camp to the Weidach camp and after a short period to Kaufering I. Born in 1910 in the Swabian village of Violau, Deffner joined an SS unit, Wachtruppe Oberbayern, in the autumn of 1933. In 1942, he was transferred to the Dachau concentration camp command office and was in command of the Sentry Office (Poststelle); in August 1943, he was detachment leader of the Kempten subcamp; in April 1944, the Kottern-Weidach subcamp; and in February 1945, the Kaufering I subcamp. Then he disappeared until he surrendered to the Americans in 1945. He was sentenced on September 22, 1947, to three years' imprisonment and in September of the same year was extradited to France.[9]

At the end of April 1945, the concentration camp prisoners were finally free. Former prisoner Ernst Rauter had to march with other prisoners who could walk in the direction of Hitler's planned "Alpine Fortress." Starving, he scratched resin from trees along the way to see if it was edible. Three days after they left, in Pfronten-Steinach, the guards suddenly disappeared. A day later, an American tank appeared. Rauter recalled that "an American opened the hatch and said: I am a Berliner and you can speak German with me."[10]

Austrian Albert Schremmer was liberated on April 27 in Kottern. During the noon meal, there was a tank alert. The guards fled. A jeep turned up in the afternoon. Something that Schremmer said is still stated today: "This Dachau subcamp was just an everyday occurrence."[11]

Franco Varini, an Italian prisoner from Bologna, Italy, tried to depict the suffering in Kottern in a poem. Titled "Dachau-Kottern März 1945," he says: "Unermessliche Gürtel der Qual umschlingen den Saum der Erde" (An immeasurable belt of torture entangles the borders of the Earth). His work ends with hope, "die Wut der Verzweiflung aber verkündet das nahende Ende." (the fury of despair announces the approaching end).[12]

SOURCES Gernot Römer depicts the camp more extensively than anyone else in his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 146–164, including the difficulties of the judicial authorities in their investigations. Erich Kunter in his work *Weltreise nach Dachau* (Stuttgart-Botnang, 1946), pp. 211–221, describes the experiences of political prisoner Max Wittmann. Wittmann contributed to the foreword, stating that while Kunter's work "lacks photographic accuracy, it never lacks in truth."

The most important source is the Schlussvermerk of the ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 81/76, in BA-L. It ends with reference to the trial files of February 11, 1947, against the Kottern-Weidach commander Georg Deffner by the Department of the Army in Washington. There are a few files in AG-D. The book by former concentration camp prisoner and later French minister Louis Terrenoire should also be mentioned, *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976), pp. 36–54. In his book, he lets the Communist Chantreuil speak. Ernst Schremmel's letter of December 15, 1946, is reproduced in *Rappel* (1981).

Franco Varini's poem may be found in Dorothea Heiser, ed., *"Mein Schatten in Dachau": Gedichte und Biographien der Überlebenden und der Toten des Konzentrationslagers*, foreword by Walter Jens (Munich, 1993).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from a conversation of the author with former prisoners and local inhabitants; dates found in ZdL, Schlussvermerk, May 3, 1976, pp. 1–2, in BA-L.
2. Louis Terrenoire, *Sursitaires de la mort lente* (Paris, 1976).
3. 1967 in *Rappel.*
4. Schlussvermerk, p. 6.
5. Ferdinand Hackl in a conversation with the author.
6. Schlussvermerk, including the Bericht der Bayerischen Landpolizei, Kriminalaussenstelle Kempten.
7. Allgä, November 6, 1946.
8. Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau* (StuttgartBotnang, 1946), pp. 211–221.
9. Statements made by Georg Deffner on October 3, 1946, for the U.S. Military Court in Dachau; Schlussvermerk, p. 8.
10. Ernst Rauter in conversation with the author.
11. Letter Ernst Schremmel, December 15, 1946, reproduced in *Rappel* (1981).
12. From Dorothea Heiser, ed., *"Mein Schatten in Dachau": Gedichte und Biographien der Überlebenden und der Toten des Konzentrationslagers*, foreword by Walter Jens (Munich, 1993), n.p.

LANDSBERG

The Dachau subcamp Landsberg existed from July 14, 1944, to April 24, 1945. Despite its close proximity to the 11 camps in the complex, it was not part of the Dachau Kaufering complex. Its prisoner composition and the tasks they performed were completely different. Likewise, it should not be confused with the Landsberg Dynamit AG (DAG) detachment, which was a subdetachment of the Kaufering complex.

The camp was located at the Penzing Military Aerodrome near Landsberg am Lech. It is also known by the name Penzing or Penzing Fliegerhorst. The prisoners worked for Dornier and Messerschmitt on the production line.

Unlike the Kaufering subcamps for which there are scarcely any original documents available, the admission and discharge books for Landsberg have survived.[1] They hold 647 names including around 400 Frenchmen who were given Dachau prisoner numbers between 72000 and 74000. One of the early prisoners and prisoner recorder in the camp, Professor Albert Fuchs, states they were political prisoners who were deported in the spring of 1944 from France to Dachau. After being quarantined in Dachau, they formed the first prisoners in the Landsberg subcamp. Some 350 people, of whom 330 were of French nationality, were accommodated in a gymnasium at the Penzing Military Aerodrome. Fuchs describes the arrival of around 200 prisoners evacuated from other camps at Penzing on April 8, 1945, mostly Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and 10 Frenchmen. There were a few Jews among these prisoners. The newly arrived prisoners were in a very poor state of health. According to prisoner Fuchs, they found the Penzing camp, to be one of relative luxury compared to other camps, as they had beds and there were no vermin to contend with such as lice. At the end of April 1945, there were 429 prisoners in the camp.[2]

Of the 647 prisoners transferred to Landsberg, 232 were returned to Dachau because of illness or for interrogation. A few were able to escape.

The guards were former members of the Wehrmacht. According to Fuchs, the first camp leader, whose name is not known, was in the camp until October 1944. An ambitious person, he was transferred to one of the Kaufering camps. The second camp commander was dismissed after a few weeks for failing to perform his work properly. The third commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner. Wagner was probably transferred from the Riederloh subcamp to Landsberg at the end of November 1944. He was one of the accused in the U.S. Army's Dachau Trial, but his acts in the Riederloh and Landsberg subcamps received little mention. He was sentenced to death on December 13, 1945, and executed in Landsberg on May 29, 1946.[3]

The living and work conditions for the prisoners deteriorated markedly under Wagner's command: the period of work and roll calls were lengthened; the output was closely monitored; rewards were reduced; and the prisoners were carefully searched when they returned from work to the camp. Nevertheless, the conditions in the subcamp were comparatively good. The prisoners in this camp did not experience murder, mistreatment, or hunger. However, the hard working conditions and the cold led to illnesses among the prisoners. According to Fuchs, at the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945, there were still 250 prisoners in Penzing, of whom 80 were sent back to Dachau because they were ill. Some relief was obtained from Red Cross packets that arrived in the camp at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. It is also said that books from the Dachau library were available for the prisoners' use.

At the end of April 1945, the prisoners were not taken directly back to Dachau but to the collection station in the Kaufering camps, then joined the marches to Allach and Dachau.

As with many other subcamps, there has been little research on Landsberg. Probably the camp has been confused with the many camps in the Kaufering complex as the investigation files refer to malnutrition, lack of hygiene, and medical care that resulted in a typhus epidemic at the end of April 1945. There are also reports of sick prisoners or escaping prisoners being shot on the evacuation marches.[4] Albert Fuchs's report is not mentioned. It is unlikely that he would not have referred to such events. It is possible that newly arrived prisoners brought typhus with them. But to talk of epidemic is incorrect, as is shown by the arrival and discharge books.

SOURCES Primary sources for this camp begin with documents in AG-D. The German translation of the French report by Albert Fuchs, "Un kommando de Dachau, Landsberg am Lech," in *Témoignages Strasbourgeois: De l'université aux camps de Concentration* (Paris, 1947), pp. 157–176, is available in AG-D as "Ein Kommando von Dachau, Landsberg am Lech," Nr. 5479. The U.S. Army trial against Wilhelm Wagner is available at NARA, RG 338, Case 000-50-2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.* Additional legal investigations can be found in StA-Augs.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-D, Nr. 35679.
2. Stärkemeldung Aussenkommandos vom 26.4.1945, AG-D, Nr. 32789, und vom 29.4. 1945, AG-D, Nr. 1341.
3. NARA, RG 338 Case 000-50-2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*
4. StA-Augs, Sta. Augsburg 51 Js 705/76 (Verfahren geführt durch Staatsanwaltschaft München I unter München I 320 u Js 206223/76).

LANDSBERG (*DYNAMIT AG*) (MEN)

There were two small Dachau subcamps (a male camp and a female camp) located in Landsberg, Bavaria, but they were not part of the larger Kaufering camp complex. The prisoners worked for the Dynamit AG, which was based in Landsberg. It is possible that these camps were in fact only work detachments, with the prisoners being transported daily to and from work to Landsberg from Dachau.

The camp for the male prisoners is first referred to in March 1945. There were 10 inmates. As with the female camp, the camp is mentioned for the last time on April 25, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s concentrated exclusively on the male camp. No survivors could be located, so many basic questions remain unanswered. For example, it is unclear whether the prisoners were accommodated in Landsberg or Dachau, whether they were brought daily to Landsberg, and whether the camps were subcamps or work detachments.

SOURCES The subcamps (or work detachments) of Landsberg (Dynamit AG) are listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Volume 2 of *Der Ort des Terrors*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) deals with the Dachau subcamps but does not refer to camps at Dynamit AG or Landsberg. On the other hand, see the entry by Edith Raim, Landsberg, in that publication.

Investigations by ZdL relating to this camp are recorded as file number BA-L, IV 410 AR 80/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LANDSBERG (*DYNAMIT AG*) (WOMEN)

There were two small Dachau subcamps in Landsberg, Bavaria, a male camp and a female camp. The prisoners in these camps worked for Dynamit AG, which was based in Landsberg. It remains unclear whether these camps were truly subcamps or were only work detachments, where the prisoners were transported daily to and from Landsberg.

The Landsberg (Dynamit AG) female subcamp is mentioned for the first time on February 11, 1945, but the number of prisoners is unknown. As with the male camp, it is mentioned for the last time on April 25, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s concentrated on the male camp.

SOURCES The subcamp (or work detachment) at Landsberg (Dynamit AG) is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Volume 2 of *Der Ort des Terrors*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) deals with the Dachau subcamps but makes no reference to camps at Dynamit AG in Landsberg. On the other hand, see the contribution by Edith Raim on Landsberg in that publication.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LANDSHUT

Landshut is located in Lower Bavaria, 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) north-northeast of Munich. According to a witness statement held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), a Dachau subcamp probably was erected here in September 1944 (the first time of a reference to the camp). The camp held male prisoners who worked for the OT-Oberbauleitung B.-G.; the meaning of the abbreviation "B.-G" is uncertain.

The Landshut subcamp consisted of corrugated iron barracks, located between Diesel and Siemens Strassen. It was close to the so-called Little Exercise Plaza (Kleiner Exerzierplatz). There were about 500 prisoners, most of whom were Jews. Under the direction of the Oberleitung Organisation Todt (OT), the prisoners were to establish a supply camp for the Wehrmacht. They leveled the ground, built roads, and relocated a railway connection. Whenever necessary, they were used to clean up after air raids.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. The guards were based in a barracks close to the camp. SS-Hauptscharführer Stoller was in command, and his deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Henschel. He is described by the prisoners as being brutal. In statements made to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg by surviving prisoner Wilhelm W., Henschel mistreated two prisoners with the result that they died.

As a result of the exhausting work and living conditions in the camp and the repeated bombing raids, at least 83 prisoners

died in the Landshut subcamp. They were buried in mass graves in the Achdorf Community Cemetery.

There are different stories regarding the end of the camp. According to the ITS and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (BGBI.), the Landshut subcamp was closed on February 5 or 6, 1945. Georg Spitzlberger states, on the other hand, that the camp was evacuated a few days before American troops arrived on May 1, 1945.

SOURCES The Landshut subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Georg Spitzlberger has described the camp in his essay "Das Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Dachau," VHVNdb (1988–1989): 151–162. He also published the article on Landshut in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 380–381. This essay also refers to another source: Hans Emslander, "Gedenktafeln im Friedhof Achdorf für KZ-Angehörige" (unpub. MSS, 1981).

The Landshut camp is mentioned in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1819.

Investigations by ZdL are filed under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 1371/68.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LAUINGEN (I, II, AND BIRKACKERHOF)

Strictly speaking, the city of Lauingen/Donau was home to three subcamps of the Dachau concentration camp. The first subcamp was erected in March 1944 in the rooms of the agricultural machinery factory Ködel & Böhm. Approximately 400 prisoners, mainly Russian and Polish, were transferred from Dachau to the subcamp. In August 1944, another camp was established in the rooms of the Ludwigsau Feller & Co. cloth factory. It comprised approximately 300 Dachau prisoners. At Ködel & Böhm the prisoners were housed in a large cellar room. The living conditions resulted in many illnesses, especially tuberculosis. In contrast, the housing conditions in the camp at the Feller company were satisfactory. The men slept in one of the factory halls. Two other halls served for production. The SS guard quarters were located directly next to the prisoners' sleeping hall. In this way they could easily keep an eye on the prisoners. A third camp, constructed by a prisoner Kommando, was erected in December 1945 approximately 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the city; its construction was mainly a result of the poor living conditions in the Ködel & Böhm cellar. The prisoners from Lauingen I and II were transferred to the barracks of this camp, named Birkackerhof.[1]

The prisoners manufactured airplane parts for Messerschmitt at Ködel & Böhm as well as in the Ludwisgau Feller & Co. factory's halls. Furthermore, another small "pump station" Kommando performed drainage work in the Lauingen area. Prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and were fed little. Later, the prisoner number 117109, a Pole, commented, "The nutrition was miserable—people contracted dropsy as a result of their hunger. For breakfast there was coffee, which was impossible to drink. The coffee was prepared in kettles that were also used to boil laundry full of lice. For lunch we received a half-liter of soup consisting of cabbage and beets, without fat or meat. Sometimes there was macaroni in the soup. We received approximately one hundred grams [3.5 ounces] of bread once per day, occasionally a piece of margarine or marmalade, and very rarely a few grams of sausage."[2]

In a written report, the Lauingen doctor, Dr. Felix Kircher, documents the miserable state of the prisoners resulting from malnourishment. The Messerschmitt factory manager requested that he treat the prisoners because the prisoner medic had insufficient expertise and equipment. The firm would assume the costs and would not impose any limitations on prescription medications. Dr. Kircher commented that "a high percentage suffered from edema because of fat and vitamin deficiencies. I managed to get fifteen liters [15.9 quarts] of cod-liver oil from the stocks made available to the civilian population, which were then distributed amongst the prisoners. I admitted the seriously ill to the Lauingen hospital, where they were treated the same as civilians. However, after several weeks the SS camp director of Dachau forbade this, and ordered that every seriously ill prisoner be transported to the prisoner's hospital in Dachau. An infirmary was also set up in the subcamp itself."

Using x-rays, Dr. Kircher also diagnosed 10 percent of the prisoners with pulmonary tuberculosis. They were sent back to Dachau. From then on, all new additions to Lauingen were x-rayed to protect the healthy from infection. Dr. Kircher was not allowed to treat mishandled prisoners or men injured by gunfire. These duties were incumbent upon a prisoner appointed as a medical orderly.[3]

After the war, prisoners told of mistreatment in Lauingen. Testimonies exist in the records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) such as the following account: In the spring of 1945, a Kapo is said to have beaten up a Polish prisoner because he wanted to collect a second ration of soup. The man died later in Dachau.

The same or another prisoner-functionary reportedly smashed a Pole's dentures in his upper jaw because he failed to carry out his work as locksmith well enough. "As a result of the injury, S. could no longer eat properly, contracted dropsy, was moved to the infirmary and later into the infirmary of the main camp."

A German block leader is said to have repeatedly mistreated prisoners so that they died as a result of their injuries.[4]

Lauingen prisoners attempted to escape at least two times. In one instance, both prisoners were shot by the SS guards and died a few days later due to their gunshot wounds. A second escape attempt took place in the fall of 1944; both escapees were caught after a short time. One was hanged in Dachau, the other in Lauingen.[5]

The Polish witness Witold Rose-Roszewski stated that an SS-Hauptscharführer and a Kapo brought the victim with them from Dachau for the hanging. The camp leader allowed a platform to be erected, complete with a trap door upon which the victim had to stand. In front of all the prisoners of the camp for whom the execution was intended as a frightening example and after a corresponding speech had been made, the SS-Hauptscharführer then activated the trap door. The noose tightened; however, it was not properly fastened, and the victim was strangled for 15 minutes. Then the Kapo refastened the noose, and an Untersturmführer from the Dachau main camp pulled on the victim's feet until he did not move any longer.[6]

Reportedly, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Wilhelm Ruppert precisely described this execution during cross-examination in a U.S. military court at Dachau after the war. He named the date of the execution as September 1944. Because of his participation in the Dachau camp murders, this SS member was sentenced and put to death in 1946 in Landsberg am Lech.[7]

A report written by the Lauingen police in 1969 addressed the same crime: "As news of the execution spread, the Ködel & Böhm workers protested so fiercely that further executions in Lauingen did not happen."[8]

This was not the first protest to take place in Lauingen. The same report continues: "When shortly after the camp's construction prisoners were being beaten and it was noticed by Ködel & Böhm office workers, in the midst of the war the nearly all-female workers threatened to strike if the beatings did not stop. Thereafter corporal punishment was discontinued, at least outwardly."[9]

Some 62 prisoners were buried in the Lauingen cemetery. A death toll, compiled secretly by Dr. Kircher, reveals 32 names. Causes of death include heart conditions, fatigue, and lung infections. The conclusion of the same list indicates further prisoners' tragedies. In March 1945, Lauingen received a transport from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp including 358 prisoners who had been en route approximately two weeks but who had only been given enough food to last for one week. Dr. Kircher's death list reads: "Twenty-seven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, from the Sachsenhausen-Berger transport (i.e. Bergen-Belsen) died of fatigue on March 4, 1945. Eleven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, died of fatigue on March 6, 1945." Next to the two typewritten sentences, Dr. Kircher added in longhand the cause of death: "starvation."[10] Lauingen was not the last stop of this transport: 500 women were sent on to Burgau, and a small number of men to the Horgau and Pfersee camps.

The doctor got eight days of rest for those prisoners dropped off in Lauingen. He stated that also 50 Jewish boys, between 8 and 10 years old, reportedly came from Budapest to Lauingen with this transport. "What am I supposed to do with this," the camp leader replied, then sent the children on to Dachau.[11]

In the spring of 1945, Dr. Kircher had to stop treating the prisoners. An SS officer, who was executed after the war, discharged him following his preferential treatment of prisoners. This occurred during a typhus fever epidemic in the camp.

The Lauingen camp closed on April 10 or 12, 1945. The prisoners had to march to Augsburg, where they excavated trenches. Approximately two weeks later, they were freed by U.S. soldiers close to Schwabmünchen.

According to Dr. Kircher, he had to deal with three SS camp leaders during his time at the camp; supposedly there were even four. In the spring of 1945, the last one was, according to Kircher's own statements, SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle. In 1945, he was sentenced to death in the first Dachau war crime trial.

SOURCES In his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslager* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 105–112, the author discusses the Lauingen camp. Additionally, Gaby Pfob's brochure *Das Konzentrationslager Lauingen* (Lauingen, 1986) is also available. Additional information may be found in Holger Lessing, *Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46* (Baden-Baden, 1993).

In addition to BA, inquiry files of ZdL (now BA-L), and Sta. Mü, the most important sources for the author were his conversations with Lauinger doctor Dr. Ludwig Kircher. As a result of his medical activities, Kircher was able to provide an eyewitness account.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. Decree of ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 212/76.
2. Ibid., excerpt from Feliks Szymanczak's testimony before the chief commission of the inquiry into NS Crimes in Poland, translation for the central office.
3. Ibid., written report from Dr. Kircher dated Sep. 2, 1945, for OMGUS.
4. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
5. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
6. Ibid., testimony of Witold Rose-Roszewski in the U.S. Military Government Office in Dilligen/Donau on Aug. 29, 1945.
7. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
8. Ibid., Lauingen police report, Notebook Nr. 166/69.
9. Lauingen police report (Notebook Nr.168/69) dated Aug. 15, 1969, to ZdL. This was the list of deceased prisoners compiled by Dr. Kircher.
10. Dr. Kircher's statements and death list in conversation with the author.
11. Holger Lessing, *Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46* (Baden-Baden, 1993).

LOCHAU

The Dachau subcamp in Lochau, near the Bregenz camp, was the only Dachau subcamp located in the administrative district of Vorarlberg (which was part of Austria before 1938). It only existed for about three weeks, from April 7, 1945, until liberation at the end of the month. But at least one survivor

reports to have been in the camp already before that date, in March 1945.

The camp's purpose was to continue the medical research that had taken place in the Dachau main camp, on Block 5, Room 4. A Pektin experimental station had been established there, and their equipment and personnel were now taken to Lochau. Inmates were to transport the equipment, prepare the new location for the beginning of the work, and participate in the production of the styptic pills "Polygal," which were produced from turnip leavings. Inmates were also used to clean the laboratory and the production site, but according to Albert Knoll, they successfully resisted being used as test subjects for the effectiveness of the pills.

The camp held between 8 and 20 inmates: Slovenians, Poles, and Germans. As Knoll states, among them was a professor of medicine, an engineer, and a consul from Argentina. The prisoners were kept in the building of an old brewery and treated decently by detachment leader SS-Sturmbannführer Kurt Friedrich Plötner, who had already been in charge of the Pektin research in Dachau and Schlachters. Plötner was assisted by Austrian inmate Robert Feix. The prisoners were guarded by five elderly SS men, all of whom except one fled before the arrival of the U.S. troops.

The camp was liberated on April 30 or May 1, 1945. Plötner was arrested by French troops in a neighboring village but was soon released. Using the name Schmidt, he disappeared for a number of years in northern Germany. In 1952 he became an assistant at Freiburg University and two years later associate professor of medicine. In 1970 the Munich state prosecutor began investigations that did not lead to a trial. Plötner's assistant Feix had already been arrested by Allied troops in 1946.

SOURCES Albert Knoll gives a detailed description of the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 385–387.

The Lochau subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 81.

Further judicial inquiries are located in the Ermittlungsakte of ZdL under the number BA-L IV 410 AR 82 / 73; testimonies can also be found in IV 410 AR 212/73. The investigations by Staatsanwaltschaft Munich II are in Sta. Mü II, 13 Js 12/68.

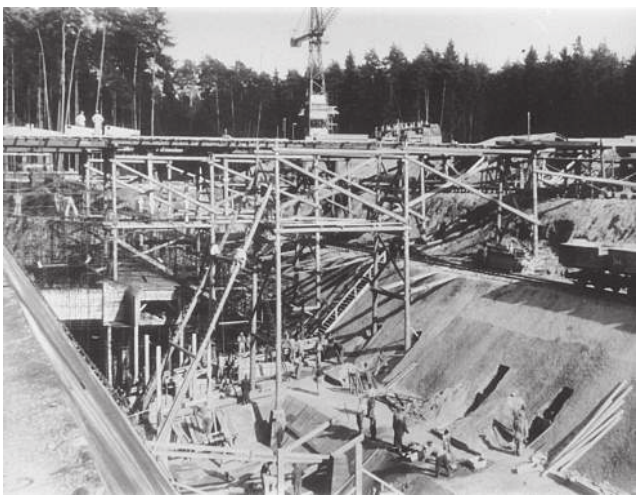
The camp is mentioned in an article by Hermann Brändle and Kurt Greussing, "Fremdarbeiter und Kriegsgefangene," in *Von Herren und Menschen. Verfolgung und Widerstand in Vorarlberg 1933–1945*, ed. Johann-August-Malin-Gesellschaft (Bregenz, 1985), pp. 184–185.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Hilary Menges

MÜHLDORF

The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) was established in March 1944 to maintain and increase, respectively, the production of fighter aircraft. Its members consisted of representatives from the Armaments and Air Ministries and the armaments manufacturers. One of the goals of the Jägerstab was to establish bombproof production sites. For this purpose, Organisation Todt (OT), part of the Armaments Ministry, was instructed to build semiunderground concrete bunkers with production sites of several hundred thousand square meters. Six bunkers were planned, but construction commenced only on four, and of these, only two were finished (and then only up to two-thirds of capacity). One of the four sites was located in Mühldorf am Inn in Upper Bavaria. The other three were at Landsberg am Lech, Upper Bavaria. For reasons of secrecy, the construction sites were given code names. Mühldorf was known as "Weingut I." OT was responsible for the construction, but the actual work was done by the company Polensky & Zöllner. Martin Weiss, the former concentration camp commandant of Dachau, was authorized by Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to establish an SS company. It was known as SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH and headed by Weiss. It was an umbrella organization comprising 42 companies—among others, German General Electric Company (AEG), Siemens & Halske, Siemens & Schuckert, Deutsche Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss, all of which were involved with the production or planned production of parts for the jet fighter Messerschmitt (Me) 262. In March 1945, the OT lost its responsibility, which was assumed by the SS-Stab Kammler (Staff Kammler). At this point, construction on the concrete bunkers had already more or less come to a stop.

The construction plans for the bunker provided for an efficient means of construction: first, tunnels would be constructed from prefabricated concrete parts through which tracks would be laid. Over the tunnels made of concrete would be placed a gravel wall over which concrete would be poured. Concrete reinforcement would then be inserted into the concrete, and this would be followed by another layer of concrete. Since the concrete would thicken within a week, it



Dachau/Mühldorf prisoners erect the underground aircraft factory code-named Weingut I, 1944.
USHMM WS # 86967, COURTESY OF AST-MÜ

allowed the gravel to be removed by sending trains into the tunnels. By opening flaps in the tunnel roof, the railway wagons would be filled with the gravel. This system had the advantage that the gravel could be used again for concrete pours or for building another gravel wall. The bunker could be extended by single segments as required. Once the gravel was completely removed from the concrete, completion of the interior could immediately commence.

The biggest problem was the lack of labor. A large number of the forced laborers made available for the construction of the bunker were Hungarian Jews. From July 1944, there arose in the nearby vicinity of Mühldorf am Inn four camps subordinate to the Dachau concentration camp, two larger camps for about 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners at Mettenheim near Mühldorf and a forest camp at Ampfing, as well as two smaller camps, one at Mittergars and the other at Thalham in the Obertaufkirchen community. A subcamp in the Zangberg monastery near Mühldorf, which held about 100 to 200 concentration camp prisoners probably existed only in March and April 1945. Mettenheim (M 1) was located in the barracks of the former Luftwaffe clothing depot, while Waldlager V and VI (the numbers were based on other OT-operated forest camps near Mühldorf, which were, however, not part of the concentration camp system) were constructed completely anew. In the so-called summer camp, Finnish huts were used. They had also been used by OT during missions in the Soviet Union. After they had proven to be completely unsatisfactory, earth huts, designed by OT, were built again, of which only the tentlike roof was above ground.

Walter Adolf Langleist was the highest SS official responsible for the Mühldorf camps. He had earlier been commander of the guard at the concentration camp Lublin-Majdanek. In the autumn of 1944, he was the highest-ranking camp leader of the camp at Kaufering.[1] Each of the four camps had a camp leader—some were seasoned SS members, but some were Wehrmacht personnel who had been transferred to the SS.

From July 24, 1944, on, there were 8,300 prisoners, with 7,500 males and 800 females, in the camps M 1, Waldlager, Mittergars, and Thalham. The imbalance in the proportion of male and female prisoners reflects, on the one hand, the labor requests issued by the OT for building work and, on the other hand, also the generally worse survival conditions for women during selections at Auschwitz. In the summer of 1944, the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, Hungarian Jews, from Auschwitz arrived at the half-completed camp M 1. Mettenheim (M 1) is mentioned for the first time on July 28, 1944. Soon the numbers were increased to 2,000 men. Also a camp for women existed from September 25, 1944. It held 500 female prisoners. On average, there were 2,000 men and 250 women prisoners in a forest camp. Mittergars, in operation from November 30, 1944, and Thalham, from January 31, 1945, held 350 and 200 male prisoners, respectively. On April 25, 1945, there were almost 5,000 male and almost 300 female concentration camp prisoners in the four Mühldorf camps.[2]

The work of the prisoners was, above all, construction work. They had to unload the cement that was delivered by trucks or rail wagons, transport it to the warehouses near the building sites, and later carry the 50-kilogram (110-pound) heavy sacks to the concrete mixers, where the cement was poured into the machines. They also had to lay tracks at the building site and provide assistance such as the production of prefabricated concrete parts at, for example, the company Wayss & Freytag in Ampfing. Kicks, beatings, and slaps in the face by OT members and company members were the order of the day.

Without exaggeration, the living conditions in the Mühldorf subcamps can be described as catastrophic. The interior of the huts was limited to boards with a layer of straw and a stove. There was a lack of firewood or fuel in winter, and the rain and snow penetrated the roofs of the earth huts. OT food rations were completely inadequate. For the concentration camp prisoners, there were no toilets or washing facilities at the construction sites. It was only when a typhoid fever epidemic raged that the OT construction manager ordered the construction of toilets at the building site "Weingut I." In at least two of the four Mühldorf subcamps, there was no running water. The little water available, which had been brought to the camp in barrels, was to be used only for cooking. Many prisoners were infected with vermin because of the lack of washing facilities. As a consequence, typhus and typhoid fever spread quickly. An SS doctor from the Dachau concentration camp removed the quarantine restrictions imposed on the forest camp so that work could continue on the construction of the bunkers.

The OT was responsible for the medical care at the camps at Mühldorf. In the autumn of 1944, Dr. Erika Flocken was the OT doctor. She enforced the prisoner selections at Mühldorf. On September 25, 1944, 277 male Jewish prisoners and 3 female Jewish prisoners were sent on an "invalid transport" to



Finnish tents at Waldlager V, Ampfing, a subcamp of Dachau/Mühldorf; each hut accommodated from thirty to forty prisoners.
USHMM WS # 80110, COURTESY OF NARA



The semi-underground barracks at Waldlager VI, a subcamp of Dachau/Mühldorf near Ampfing, May 7, 1945.
USHMM WS # 80112, COURTESY OF NARA

Auschwitz, and on October 25, 1944, 554 male prisoners and 1 female prisoner were sent to Auschwitz. They were gassed in Auschwitz.[3]

Due to its numerous building projects, the OT had become an accessory to the SS and assisted in the murder of the people forced to work for Germany. The Mühldorf camps, like the Kaufering camps, were a new type of camp where the SS, other than with respect to guards, had withdrawn from the responsibility for the camps. The type and pace of work, construction of the camp, food, and medical care as well as the selection of the concentration camp prisoners no longer fit for work were the responsibility of the OT.

Toward the end of the war the head of the SS-Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), Kaltenbrunner, devised a plan for the murder of the Jewish prisoners at Kaufering and Mühldorf. It was known by the code name Aktion Wolkenbrand (Action Fire Cloud). Since it could not be implemented, most of the prisoners were evacuated from the Mühldorf camps. One of the evacuation transports was by rail to Poing, county of Ebersberg near Munich. Probably about 200 prisoners were killed or injured, either due to an error by the guards releasing the prisoners too early or perhaps as a result of a low-flying air attack.[4] The remaining prisoners were freed at the end of April 1945 or the beginning of May 1945 in Seeshaupt, Tutzing, and Feldafing am Starnberger See.

In the three death books that deal only with the camps M 1 and Waldlager, there are 2,026 listed dead. A mass grave opened by American soldiers contained the remains of 2,249 people; another grave at Mittergars held 42 corpses. Some 855 people were gassed at Auschwitz. An American fact-finding commission calculated that about 47 percent of the prisoners at the Mühldorf camps (3,934 people) died, whereas 3,556 survived. The fate of another 810 prisoners (10 percent) could not be determined.[5]

The U.S. Mühldorf Trial put culprits of the SS, the OT, and the construction firm Polensky & Zöllner in the dock. Only one death sentence was finally carried out against an SS member—the other death sentences, including OT doctor Dr. Erika Flocken, were commuted into prison sentences. In another U.S. military trial, the roll-call leader at camp M 1, SS-Oberscharführer Georg Schallermair, was sentenced to death and executed in June 1951 at Landsberg am Lech.[6] German investigations by the state prosecutors of Traunstein and München II into the camp leaders, prisoner-functionaries, OT, and company officials did not result in any prosecutions.[7]

SOURCES In the author's thesis *Die Dachauer KZ-Aussenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg, 1992), extensive detail concerning the Mühldorf subcamp complex is covered. Andreas Wagner also deals with the end of the Mühldorf camps in *Todesmarsch: Die Räumung und Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühldorf Ende April 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1995). Gabriele Hammermann's article "Die Dachauer Aussenlager um Mühldorf," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 77–98, focuses on the perpetrators. Christoph Valentien's contribution "KZ-Aussenlager Mühldorf: Entwurfsarbeiten von Landschaftsarchitekturstudenten," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 218–239, describes the ideas for the construction of a Mühldorf memorial (which has yet to be built). Peter Müller has compiled the results of many years of research that had only been published in articles in a book titled *Das Bunkergelände im Mühldorfer Hart: Rüstungswahn und menschliches Leid* (Mühldorf, 1999).

The most important sources are the U.S. trials in Dachau (available at NARA), which also contain a few original documents from the SS registry and which were used as evidentiary documents in the trial. The relevant cases are *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.* (Case 000-50-02), *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.* (Case 000-50-136), *USA v. Michael Vogel, et al.* (Case 000-50-002-112), and *USA v. Georg Schallermair* (Case 000-50-002-121). Memoirs of survivors and a few single documents such as transport and strength lists are in AG-D and APMO as well as YVA. Also, the BA-K holds scattered records such as the death books relating to the Mühldorf camps. Of significance are also the investigations by the Sta. Traunstein and München II. One of the most outstanding of the survivor's recollections is Max Mannheimer's diary *Spätes Tagebuch: Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Warschau—Dachau* (Zurich, 2000). Livia E. Bitton-Jackson has written about recollections by early female prisoners in *Elli. Coming of Age in the Holocaust* (New York, 1980); as has Ebi Gabor, *The Blood Tattoo* (Dallas: Monument Press, 1987).

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. On Langleist, who previously had been deployed in the Dachau subcamps at Kaufering, see Case 000-50-002, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*, NARA, RG 338.

2. See Case 000-50-136, *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.* ("Mühldorf Trial"), NARA, RG 338. Also of significance is Case 000-50-002-112, *USA v. Michael Vogel, et al.* ("Mühldorf Ring Trial"), NARA, RG 338.

3. Transport lists, AG-D, Nr. 1044.

4. Sta. München II 10a Js 8/60, Best. 34580, StA-M.

5. Numbers are taken from the Mühldorf Trial.

6. Case 000-50-002-121, *USA v. Georg Schallermair*, NARA, RG 338.

7. Sta. Traunstein, Best. 20752; Sta. Traunstein, Best. 31503/1–10; Sta. München II, Best. 34744/1–7; and Sta. München II, Best. 34580, all available at StA-M.

MÜNCHEN (*BERGMANNSCHULE*)

From December 1944 to April 1945, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were held in a classroom in the Bergmann School in Munich.[1] The prisoners were trained craftsmen who had been brought to Munich to secure buildings from collapsing after air raids and to do repair work.

Former prisoner Roman S. recalled that he and two or three Poles, four Czechs, two Yugoslavs, and two Germans formed the detachment at 36 Bergmannstrasse.[2] At night, the prisoners were locked in a classroom and guarded by a member of the SS. The leader of the detachment treated the prisoners brutally. He beat and kicked them with his feet. However, he did not use his gun. There were no other guards who accompanied the men to their work.

The Bergmann School had almost been totally destroyed by an incendiary bomb in June 1944. When the prisoners arrived at Bergmannstrasse in December 1944, there were no longer any pupils at the school. There was a soup kitchen and a shower in the school building.

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Bergmann School in 1991, a small volume was published on the school's history. It included photographs of the school building both before and after its destruction.[3] The book made no reference to the school's use as a subcamp for prisoners from Dachau.

In 1973, preliminary investigations were made into the Bergmann School subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The investigations ceased in 1976, as there had been no deaths at the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources for this camp begin with its listing in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87. For the Bergmann School's history, see Franz Igerl, ed., *100 Jahre Bergmannschule* (Munich, 1991).

The source material for this camp is poor. A strength report held in AG-D gives the camp's strength. The ZdL investigation files (now at BA-L) hold a statement by a former prisoner.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Strength Reports, Dachau concentration camp, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.

2. Statement Roman S., January 16, 1975, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 109/73.

3. Franz Igerl, ed., *100 Jahre Bergmannschule* (Munich, 1991), pp. 25, 32.

MÜNCHEN (*BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO*)

It was as early as October 1940 that Adolf Hitler gave the order that concentration camp inmates and other prisoners were, according to availability, to remove bombs and to disarm unexploded ammunition and bombs with delayed fuses.[1] Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were used for doing this in the greater area of Munich mostly during the last two years of the war.

For this reason, in July 1944, a Bomb Disposal Detachment (Bombensuchkommando) of 100 prisoners was quartered in the Stieler School in Bavariaring/6 Stielerstrasse in Munich. The prisoners had been chosen by the Dachau camp administration, and for their trip to Munich, they were equipped with new prisoners' clothes. The prisoners did not know what their role would be when they left Dachau. They had been told they would form a cleaning-up detachment to remove debris and to secure buildings.

When they arrived at the Stieler School, the prisoners were led to the gymnasium where straw sacks were prepared for them. They were promised—if they performed well—an improvement in their prison conditions and an early release. They were also told that they would be executed for theft, escape, or making contact with civilians. Before their first assignment, they were given bread and milk. That very same day, in groups of six, they were driven to Romanstrasse, the site of the Unexploded Bomb Reporting Office. From there, they were brought to all parts of the city, together with bomb specialists of the Wehrmacht. Several times a day the prisoners had to disarm bombs without the slightest knowledge of how to do so.[2] Franz Bückl recalls that he disarmed 246 bombs.[3]

Most of the prisoners died when removing the fuses or when the bombs with delayed fuses exploded after a period of time, despite not being touched. Up to 15 prisoners died each day. They were immediately replaced by new prisoners from Dachau. Because of the high death rate, the prisoners called themselves the Himmelfahrtskommando (Suicide Detachment). It is not possible to tell how many prisoners served as part of the detachment between July 1944 and April 1945 or how many died. The dangers of serving in the Bomb Disposal Detachment were well known to the prisoners at Dachau.[4]

In many instances, only a few human remains could be found of the dead prisoners. These, together with their last possessions, were taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.[5]

Bückl, a former prisoner, kept a photo of the detachment, secretly taken, which showed him and his comrades with a disarmed bomb.[6] The Archives at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial hold other photos of the Bomb Disposal Detachment, but it is not possible to relate the pictures to the people in a particular group in the squad.

A few reports from the Luftschutzabschnittskommando Süd (Air Defense Sector Command South) today still give details about some of the assignments the prisoners worked

on. They were divided into at least 11 squads.[7] These reports show that each squad was led by a bomb specialist from the Wehrmacht and was guarded by one SS sentry. Sometimes policemen were used as guards.

The temptation to escape was particularly strong as the prisoners worked outside the camp. The Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police), Southern Sector holds a report of one escape attempt of a "protective custody" prisoner on September 16, 1944.[8] The escapee could not be found, and his fate is unknown.

There are no precise details on when the Stieler School subcamp was closed. What is certain is that the Dachau prisoners were used right up to the end of the war to disarm bombs in Munich and its surroundings.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1973 and 1974 ended without result.[9]

SOURCES The AG-D holds a few files on the Bombensuchkommando. Franz Bückl's experiences in this subcamp were published by Hans-Günter Richardi in 1989 in *Leben auf Abruf: Das Blindgängerbeseitigungs-Kommando aus dem KL Dachau in München 1944/45* (Dachau, 1989).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Decree Adolf Hitler, October 12, 1940, DZOK, R1 178.
2. "Schokolade für das Todeskommando," *MMer*, November 2, 1989.
3. "Erinnerungen an eine düstere Zeit," *SZ*, January 5–6, 1988.
4. Letter from the prisoner Wilhelm L. to his wife Frau Fanny (secretly written), n.d., AG-D, 34.860/5.
5. Letter of the Bombensuchkommando Stieler School, November 30, 1944, AG-D, 23.771.
6. Hans-Günter Richardi, *Leben auf Abruf: Das Blindgängerbeseitgungs-Kommando aus dem KL Dachau in München 1944/45* (Dachau, 1989), p. 27.
7. Report of notified unexploded bombs in July 1944, August 26, 1944, AG-D, 23.760; List of Concentration Camp Prisoners used after the Raid on September 22, 1944, AG-D, 23.764; Report of the Bomb Disposal Detachment November 27, 1944 (Angr. 27.11.), AG-D, 23.769.
8. Letter of the Schupo Abschnitt Kdo Süd, September 19, 1944, AG-D, 23.763.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 110/73.

MÜNCHEN (*CHEMISCHE WERKE*)

In 1903, Dr. Anselm Kahn and engineer Franz Wittmann acquired the Chemische Werke Otto Bärlocher, which had been established in Augsburg in 1863. In 1924, they abandoned the Augsburg site and relocated the firm to Munich. After World War I, the number of products manufactured was increased. In addition to the manufacture of sulfuric acid and ammonia were added artificial fertilizer, shoe polish, and cleaning products.

Following the Nazi takeover, the Chemische Werke was "aryanized" in 1938 through the forced sale to Franz Wittmann of the business shares of Jewish owners.[1] During the war, the production of coal-fire accelerants, mostly for the Deutsche Reichsbahn, ensured the continued existence of Chemische Werke.

Between 16 and 32 prisoners were held in this subcamp, located at 16 Siemensstrasse, Munich, from November 1, 1944, to April 14, 1945. Siemensstrasse ran in München Moosach from Manteufelstrasse via Gärtnerstrasse to Pellkofenstrasse. There are no reports of survivors of the Chemische Werke subcamp on record. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows no transport or transfer lists. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) initiated investigations of the camp in 1973 but could not find any further sources and ceased the proceedings in 1974.[2]

SOURCES A listing for the Chemische Werke subcamp may be found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 83. Dorle Gibl and Manfred Bauer's *Bärlocher Die Chronik 1823–1998* (Unterschleissheim, 1998) gives some information about the company's history. Additional information on the "aryanization" case may be found in Wolfram Selig, "*Arisierung*" *in München: Die Vernichtung jüdischer Existenzen 1937–1939* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 867–868.

Primary sources are not available for this subcamp. Information on the "aryanization" of the Chemische Werke in 1938 is found in the reparation claim by the Kahn beneficiaries against the Chemische Werke from the year 1948, available at BHStA-(M).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Kahn Beneficiaries Claim for Compensation against the Chemische Werke München, 1948, BHStA-(M), WG I a 645.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 114/73.

MÜNCHEN (*EHRENGUT*)

The company L. Ehrengut was a saw mill and carpentry shop at 270 Thalkirchnerstrasse in Munich. Between April 7, 1942, and September 11, 1942, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp worked there. Half of the detachment consisted of German "protective custody" prisoners; there were also 2 Czech and 3 Polish prisoners in the Ehrengut subcamp.[1]

Initially, the prisoners were taken to work by truck daily from Dachau to Munich. It was only after a few months that a permanent subcamp was established at the company L. Ehrengut. This means that even before April 1942 a prisoner detachment was working at the firm.[2] All the prisoners in the

saw mill worked as carpenters on sawing machines and produced parts for military barracks.

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks on the factory grounds. Food was brought from Dachau and prepared at the factory site. On Sundays, spare time was granted to the prisoners, and they were allowed to prepare additional meals for themselves.[3] Hermann Glinz, a German protective custody prisoner, was the Kapo of the detachment.[4]

The detachment leader of the Ehrengut subcamp was Unterscharführer Theodor Stutz-Zenner. The SS guard consisted of five SS members who came from Romania and Bulgaria. They slept in the same barrack as the prisoners, while the commander was quartered in a house. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides.

In the middle of 1942, a prisoner successfully escaped, and the Ehrengut subcamp was dissolved soon afterward.

During the U.S. Army Dachau Trials, Stutz-Zenner was sentenced to life in 1947 for crimes committed in various Dachau subcamps.[5]

SOURCES Details on this subcamp can be found primarily in the preliminary investigation files of ZdL from the years 1973–1976, available at BA-L. Other important sources are the Dachau Trial files, available at NARA. The AG-D holds a list of names of the Ehrengut subcamp prisoners (AG-D, 35.673).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. List of Names of the Ehrengut Subcamp, May 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
2. Statement M., Boleslaw, January 30, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 114/73.
3. Statement Ehrengut, Maximilian, August 20, 1947, NARA, RG 338, Box 323.
4. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, July 2, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
5. Case 000-50-2-105, *USA v. Theodor Stutz-Zenner*, NARA, RG 338, Box 323.

MÜNCHEN (*GÄRTNEREIBETRIEB NÜTZL*)

Franz Nützl had been in charge of the Nützl Gärtnerei (Nursery) since 1928 and ran a vegetable and fruit wholesale shop on 9 Ludwigsfeld in Munich. He was a member of the SA, and between 1933 and 1938, he took part in SA beer hall brawls in Munich and was one of those who set the Munich Synagogue on fire.[1] He joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in 1937 and was known for his close contact to the SS and SD bigwigs. He was active in the SD, writing monthly reports.

Until 1933 his business was several times on the edge of bankruptcy. With the Nazi takeover, Nützl found new business partners and became one of the most influential wholesale traders in Munich. By the end of the war, he was the only supplier of fruits and vegetables for SS barracks, hospitals, police academies, and rest homes for the police, SS, and SD in Munich and in the surrounding area.[2] He supplied the Dachau concentration camp kitchens and also the kitchens of Mauthausen, Auschwitz, Flossenbürg, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück.

Nützl not only supplied Dachau with goods; he also profited from the workshops there. For example, he had shoes made for him and his family and received construction material to expand his business.[3] In return, he arranged drinking binges at his home for high-ranking SS and party functionaries.

It was well known in the nursery that Nützl was engaged in all sorts of black market deals and racketeering with wine, meat, and even luxury goods. As a result of these activities, he was brought before the Special Court (Sondergericht) at Traunstein in December 1943, accused of trading on the black market. He received a fine and was sentenced to 10 months in prison.[4] However, Nützl never served the sentence—his files mysteriously disappeared.

Nützl profited from his close connections to party and SS decision makers, starting as early as 1940, when prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to work at his nursery. The first concentration camp prisoners started to work at the Ludwigsfeld firm in 1941.[5] Unterscharführer Bruno Jakusch arrived at the Nützl firm in September 1942 with 42 prisoners under his command and together with four or five guards.[6] The nursery was largely destroyed during an air raid on September 22, 1944. Nützl, who was also an expert in assessing wartime damage, was quickly recompensed and received an additional 70 prisoners to clean up the damage at his nursery.

According to a former prisoner who worked in the Dachau concentration camp record office, the Nützl detachment was very unpopular until 1943.[7] No one wanted to be allocated to this detachment. The work was difficult, and Kommandoführer Jakusch and Kapo Rohner were known for brutally beating up prisoners. Nützl and his wife not only tolerated the mistreatment but demanded the guards to drive the prisoners to produce more and more. If the prisoners did not work quickly enough and well enough, Nützl made a report to Rapportführer Böttcher in Dachau and had the prisoners transferred back to the concentration camp.

Jakusch was withdrawn from the Nützl Nursery in December 1944 following an epileptic fit. His successor was the SS member Uelzhöfer. It is reported that he also beat prisoners whom he caught stealing. After Uelzhöfer, there was at least one other camp detachment leader, but details on him are not known.

The prisoners brought their food with them from Dachau. As they had to work very hard, they received additional rations from the Nützl firm. Until January 1943, the prisoners slept at Dachau. A civilian employee recalled that work at the camp was interrupted for two months because of a quarantine at the main camp.[8] Hans Hornung reported that after four years the prisoners were accommodated at the Allach subcamp following efforts made by Nützl.[9] It is no longer possible

to determine when the prisoner detachment was transferred to Allach. In September 1944, 92 prisoners from various European countries formed the Nützl detachment. Until September 1944, the Kapo was a prisoner from Vienna, Rohner. When the cleanup detachment arrived from Dachau at the nursery, Rohner was on leave. Karl Poltschek took over his role.[10] After his return, Rohner remained at the camp only for a short while. His successor was Hans Schneider, who was the Kapo until January 1945.

From January 1943, the German prisoner Hornung kept the accounts of the subcamp. After Nützl had been convicted by the Special Court for trading on the black market, he disappeared for a time, staying at the Wartenburg Sanatorium. Thus he needed a reliable business manager in Munich. He therefore approached the command office of the Dachau concentration camp and asked for the release of prisoner Hornung. He was released on a trial basis on June 7, 1944, on condition that he worked at the nursery. So while Hornung was free, he simultaneously was made dependent on Nützl. Several times Nützl threatened to return Hornung to the concentration camp. Nevertheless, Hornung tried to improve the conditions for the prisoners in the Nützl detachment, requesting several times that prisoners be given bonuses for their work.[11]

There are no known homicides of prisoners at the Nützl Nursery. However, an air raid in September 1944 injured several prisoners and killed seven. The wounded were taken to the infirmary at Dachau.[12]

Nützl fled two days before the Americans marched into Munich. Only Hornung remained at the Nützl Nursery and continued the business under American supervision until Nützl returned after two weeks.

To protect his profits earned from the SS, Nützl transferred a large part of his business to his wife after the war and sold his workshops and vehicles to his nephew Franz Auracher. He remained de facto head of the business.

In 1949, Nützl was found by the Munich Denazification Court to be a Category IV follower and had to pay a fine of 100 Deutsche Mark (DM) and court costs of 59,000 DM.[13] Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg on events at the Nützl subcamp ceased in 1974 as the investigators could find no evidence of a crime committed in the subcamp.[14] Former camp Kommandoführer Jakusch was sentenced to two years and six months' imprisonment during the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials.[15]

SOURCES No secondary sources about the Nützl Nursery subcamp have been published to date.

The most important primary source for the subcamp is the denazification proceedings against Franz Nützl. The files are held today by StA-M and contain statements by the participants. Also, the Dachau Trials, available at NARA, contain some details about the subcamp. Little information is held in the ZdL's files at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Hans Sch., August 6, 1945, StA-M, SpkA Karton 1261 (Franz Nützl); hereafter Nützl file.
2. Letter August B., November 10, 1945, in ibid.
3. Statement Hermann D., October 13, 1948, in ibid.
4. Copy of the Judgment of the Special Court I at the District Court München I, December 7, 1943, in ibid.
5. Statement of Proof, Denazification Proceedings, June 11, 1947, in ibid.
6. Statement Bruno Jakusch, n.d., NARA, RG 153, Box 215.
7. Statement Raimund Sch., March 14, 1946, in Nützl file.
8. Statement Hedwig C., July 17, 1946, in ibid.
9. Statement Hans Hornung, July 17, 1946, in ibid.
10. Statement Karl Poltschek, August 28, 1946, in ibid.
11. Statement Hans Sch., June 19, 1946, in ibid.
12. Letter Bruno Jakusch, n.d., NARA, RG 153, Box 215.
13. Nützl file.
14. BA-L, ZdL, IV AR 125/73.
15. Case 000-50-2-84, *USA v. Michael Greil, et al.*, NARA, RG 338, Box 314.

MÜNCHEN (*GESTAPO WITTELSBACHER PALAIS*)

From June 1942, a concentration camp prisoner, Josef Eberl, was the janitor in the control center of the Gestapo in Munich, which was located in the Wittelsbach Palace at 50 Briennerstrasse. Between 1943 and April 1945, Eberl shared this work with another prisoner, Xaver Scholl.[1] Both were accommodated in the prison cells in the palace's cellar. There were others from Dachau working there as carpenters, electricians, and painters.

The München Gestapo first became a subcamp when 10 Dachau prisoners were transferred to Briennerstrasse on June 13, 1944.[2] By April 1945, the detachment had increased to 50 prisoners from Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Holland, Poland, and Russia.[3] They were accommodated in a large hall in the Wittelsbach Palace, which was locked at night. It was fitted out with several multitiered bunk beds. In the cellar there was a kitchen and bathroom that could be used by the prisoners. The Dachau concentration camp supplied the food, but it was the prisoners who had to cook it. The Gestapo command center was walled in and surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by sentries day and night. Kapo Karl Frey was in charge of the detachment. According to his fellow prisoners, he interceded on behalf of the prisoners.[4]

The prisoner detachment worked on renovations and built an air-raid bunker in the Wittelsbach Palace. They also worked outside the palace, removing bomb damage, fighting fires, or removing bodies after the air raids.[5] The prisoners were taken by truck each morning from the courtyard of the Wittelsbach Palace to their assignments. In the evening the truck returned them to Briennerstrasse.[6] In 1945, smaller groups of prisoners were used to disarm bombs. Several Polish and Russian prisoners were killed in January 1945 trying to defuse a bomb.[7] More prisoners died in this detachment while

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

trying to remove unexploded ordnance. They were replaced by other prisoners from Dachau.[8]

Seven prisoners were hanged in the park at the Wittelsbach Palace on January 7, 1945, for looting.[9] A prisoner served as the hangman, and the rest of the detachment had to watch the hanging.[10] It is known that there were other hangings and that prisoners were shot for stealing food or being absent from their work without permission. The SS guards mistreated the prisoners daily.

The München Gestapo subcamp was under the command of Adolf Höfer.[11] The guards were foreign members of the SS. They guarded the prisoners while they were at work both inside and outside the Wittelsbach Palace.

The Gestapo subcamp in Briennerstrasse was dissolved on April 25–26, 1945, and the prisoners were taken by foot back to Dachau.[12]

There were two proceedings at the State Court München I that were concerned with the events at the Gestapo subcamp. In 1963–1964, former prisoners Eberl and Schroll were investigated for the mistreatment of a prisoner.[13] Later the investigations were stopped. In 1976, proceedings for homicide against Adolf Höfer and other members of the Gestapo command center were concluded for lack of evidence.[14]

SOURCES It is possible to identify the prisoners' names from the transfer lists held in AG-D. The proceedings before the State Court München I, some of which are available at StA-M, contain statements by members of this detachment.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Josef Eberl, August 8, 1963, BHStA-(M), StanW 21819.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
3. Statement Karl Frey, December 16, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
4. Statement Tadeusz K., November 15, 1974; Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975; both Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
5. Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
6. Statement Eduard E., December 28, 1948, BHStA-(M), Sta. 17439/1-12.
7. Statement Robert M., October 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
8. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, AG-D, 35.672, 35.675, 35.676.
9. Statement Eberl, December 8, 1971; Statement Frey, December 16, 1974; both Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
10. Statement Josef A., June 28, 1978; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 120/76.
11. Copy BDCPF Adolf Höfer, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
12. Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
13. BHStA-(M), StanW 21819.
14. Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.

MÜNCHEN (*GROSSSCHLACHTEREI THOMAE*)

The address of the large-scale slaughterhouse (*Grossschlachterei*) of Rudolf Thomae in Munich could not be located. In 1942, inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were forced laborers at the firm. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions a single prisoner on August 21, 1942.[1] However, since two Kapos were known to have been at that subcamp, there must have been more than just one prisoner. Wilhelm Binner was replaced as Kapo by Erwin Hanselmann on November 1, 1942.[2] According to the existing transfer lists and change reports, the prisoners were exclusively Germans who were in "protective custody" and whose professions were listed as either locksmiths or carpenters.

This subcamp is mentioned for the last time in a fluctuation report from Dachau, dated November 12, 1942.[3]

In 1973 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg unsuccessfully investigated the Grossschlachterei Thomae.[4]

SOURCES Some transfer lists and fluctuation reports are in AG-D and give information on the names of the prisoners and the reasons for their imprisonment. For this subcamp, no reports or statements by survivors were handed down.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, January 11, 1942, AG-D, 35.674; Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, October 30, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/37.
3. Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, December 11, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/28.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 141/73.

MÜNCHEN (HÖCHLSTRASSE) [AKA SS-STANDORTVERWALTUNG HÖCHLSTRASSE]

Between October and December 1944, a prisoner work detachment was quartered in a private villa in Höchlstrasse in the city center of Munich. The concentration camp files record this subcamp under the name SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) Höchlstrasse. According to a former prisoner, the subcamp held 18 skilled craftsmen whose job it was to provide emergency assistance and cleanup work after air raids on Munich.[1]

The detachment consisted of political prisoners of different nationalities and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Transfer lists from the Dachau main camp for the months of October and November 1944 show that eventually 20 prisoners were transferred to the Höchlstrasse subcamp. According to the lists, only 5 prisoners were sent back to the main camp during the subcamp's existence.[2] It remains uncertain whether prisoners died in the Höchlstrasse subcamp and replacements were then sent from the main camp or whether the strength of the detachment was simply increased.

A survivor has reported that the detachment was dissolved in December 1944 and that some of the prisoners were taken to the Garmisch-Partenkirchen subcamp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Höchlstrasse subcamp is mentioned for the last time on December 28, 1944.[3]

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg commenced investigations into the Höchlstrasse subcamp. Because violent crimes or homicides could not be proven, the investigations ceased in 1974.[4]

SOURCES The AG-D holds the transfer lists that record the names of the prisoners in this detachment. In 1954 the former prisoner Conrad K. compiled a report on his time in prison in the National Socialist concentration camps. The report has a section on this work detachment. It is held at GAZJ. The ZdL investigation files at BA-L scarcely make any mention of this detachment.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Report Conrad K., February 5, 1954, GAZJ, Selters Doc 05/02/54.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, October–December 1944, AG-D, 35.675, 35.676, 35.677.
3. ITS, *Verzeichins der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 84.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 116/73.

MÜNCHEN (*KATASTROPHENEINSATZ*)

Between February 5 and April 21, 1945, there existed in Munich the Katastropheneinsatz (Disaster Unit) subcamp.[1] It has not been possible to precisely identify the location of this camp. Up to 85 prisoners were housed in the cellar of a bombed-out house and used to defuse unexploded bombs after air raids on the city. The detachment consisted of prisoners of a number of nationalities, mainly Russians, Poles, and Czechs.[2] The German "protective custody" prisoners Werner Ascher and Otto Höringer were Kapo and auxiliary Kapo of the Disaster Unit. The prisoners slept in bunk beds and were guarded by 10 members of the SS and a detachment leader. It is said that the mayor, Karl Fiehler, personally transmitted the work orders to the commander.[3]

A high death rate of the prisoners was known from other detachments for bomb disposal in Munich because they were dispatched without technical training and sufficient safety measures. A former prisoner confirmed that the work of the Disaster Unit was very dangerous.[4]

On April 20, 1945, 38 prisoners of the Disaster Unit subcamp were sent back to Dachau; one day later, 11 more prisoners were sent back, and the subcamp was dissolved.[5] The few details that are known about this subcamp come from preliminary proceedings that the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg instituted in 1973 concerning the Katastropheneinsatz subcamp. The proceedings were terminated in 1976 for lack of concrete evidence.[6]

SOURCES The few details that are known about this subcamp come from the preliminary proceedings that the ZdL instituted in 1973 concerning the Disaster Unit subcamp, available at BA-L. The only primary sources are three lists of transfers from the Dachau concentration camp. A copy is held in the AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 84.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 14, 1945, and April 20, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
3. Statement Wojciech S., December 17, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 118/73.
4. Ibid.
5. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 20, 1945, and April 21, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
6. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 118/73.

MÜNCHEN (KÖNIGINSTRASSE)

According to a statement by the International Tracing Service (ITS), the only reference to the subcamp on Königinstrasse is a Dachau concentration camp change report dated November 8,1943.[1] It follows from a former prisoner's testimony that he was assigned to the subcamp Königinstrasse to work on an underground bunker.[2]

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1975 also did not result in any further knowledge about the subcamp on Königinstrasse.

SOURCES The only references to the outside labor detail are to be found in the investigation files of the ZdL, available at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter ITS, August 17, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.
2. Statement Karl W., November 27, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.

MÜNCHEN (*LEBENSBORN E.V.*)

In the spring of 1942, the Lebensborn e.V. acquired from the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of Jews in Germany) the former Jewish retirement home at 8–9 Mathildenstrasse, Munich. The Lebensborn e.V. relocated its offices to this building. On June 15, 1942, a Dachau concentration camp subcamp was established there that at first held 20 prisoners, mostly Poles, Austrians, Czechs, and Germans.[1] In September 1942, the detachment was increased to 40 prisoners. They were accommodated in a house and slept in bunk beds. The bedroom windows were barred, and the windows were painted over. SS sentries guarded the building.

The building in Mathildenstrasse had been damaged by bombs, and the first task of the prisoners was to repair it. Some of the prisoners worked in different areas in the city on other construction sites. A survivor has reported that he worked with a small detachment on Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse, doing renovation work.[2] At 5 Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse there was a former Jewish hospital that had also been acquired in 1942 by the Lebensborn e.V. and that had been converted into offices. The prisoners also worked at the private residence of the München Lebensborn head, Max Sollmann, renovating his house and constructing a bunker. They worked from Monday to Saturday from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. regardless of the weather. On Sundays they worked to midday. In addition to the concentration camp prisoners, there were 20 Dutch forced laborers who had to work for the Lebensborn e.V.[3]

The SS at the Lebensborn subcamp consisted of a detachment leader and five guards. The first commander was an SS member named Bederlein. His successor was Noll.[4] The last commander, Unterscharführer Sauter, was the most brutal of the commanders. He arrived in Munich no later than autumn 1943.[5] Sollmann gave instructions to the detachment leaders on where the prisoners were to work and was kept informed of all matters pertaining to the detachment. Contact between prisoners and employees of the Lebensborn e.V. was strictly forbidden. Hans Rohr, a German "protective custody" prisoner, was the subcamp's Kapo. He was described by survivors as violent and cruel. Former prisoner Piotr K. stated that Rohr once pushed him out of a window on the first floor and beat him repeatedly.[6] Hermann Rathering, a Red veteran of the Spanish Civil War, became the subcamp Kapo in June 1943. He did not beat his fellow prisoners. Mistreatment of prisoners by the SS members for the slightest infraction was the order of the day. Prisoners weakened or incapacitated by the mistreatment were sent back to the Dachau main camp and were replaced by new prisoners.[7] There are no known cases of prisoner homicides in the Lebensborn subcamp.

The building was destroyed during air raids between July 11 and 13, 1944. The München Lebensborn Office was transferred as a result in the following weeks to Steinhöring.[8] The prisoners were also moved to Steinhöring and were known thenceforth as the "RFSS Persönlicher Stab Amt L" (RFSS [Reichsführer-SS] Personal Staff Office L). The subcamp remained there until just before the end of the war.

Several survivors from the Lebensborn subcamp were interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg between 1973 and 1975. No judicial proceedings resulted from the investigations.[9]

SOURCES Georg Lilienthal's book *Der "Lebensborn e.V.": Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003) provides a good overview of the Lebensborn e.V. For references to Mathildenstrasse and the takeover of the Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse home, see p. 123. Another useful source is Isabel Heinemann, "*Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut": Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 101–109.

A copy of the transfer lists held by AG-D is the only primary source. Reports of people involved in the subcamp are held in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, as are the proceedings against the head of the Lebensborn Office München, Max Sollmann (StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Fall 8).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, June 15, 1942, AG-D, A 35.673.
2. Statement Jan N., November 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
3. Statement Hermann Rathering, August 27, 1947, NO-5237.
4. Statement Paul E., September 4, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 188 Folder 5.
5. Statement Michael B., July 26, 1947, NO-5222; Statement Hermann Rathering, August 27, 1947, NO-5237.
6. Statement Piotr K., November 27, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
7. Statement Jan N., November 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
8. Statement Wolfgang Überschaar, October 13, 1947, ASt-N, KV-Trials, Case 8, Document Sollmann Nr. 42.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.

MÜNCHEN (LEOPOLDSTRASSE)

References to the Dachau subcamp in München (Leopoldstrasse) are to be found only in the International Tracing Service (ITS). According to these details, the camp is mentioned for the first time in the Dachau files in March 1945. Nine male prisoners were put to work in the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) in Leopoldstrasse, Munich.

SOURCES The München (Leopoldstrasse) subcamp is listed in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), p. 407; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85; and "Verzeichnis der

Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN (*LODENFREY*)

The Munich textile factory Lodenfrey had been located since 1842 at 9–10 Osterwaldstrasse. Georg Frey took over production management in 1928. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and was a member of the SS but left the SS in 1937 on religious grounds. In 1933, the company produced the uniforms for a few Stahlhelm units, and in the following years, it manufactured coats for the SA, the Hitler Youth, and Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service).[1] Between 1933 and 1940, the family company was able to increase its staff numbers and profits annually. The result was that in 1934 and again in 1942 the production facilities were expanded.[2] There were negative economic consequences beginning with the second year of war. They were especially severe during 1944–1945 following the total destruction of department stores in 7 Maffeistrasse and 23 Kaufingerstrasse in Munich.[3]

The first records of the existence of a prisoner detachment at the textile factory date from 1942.[4] A work detachment was taken daily from the Dachau concentration camp to Munich. It is not entirely clear how many prisoners were in this detachment and what they actually did. In May 1944, an additional detachment of 30 prisoners arrived at the Lodenfrey factory to clean up the factory site following an air raid.[5] The prisoners were taken to Munich by truck under the guard of six SS men.[6] It was only on June 13, 1944, that a subcamp was established at the Lodenfrey factory. This is confirmed by a Dachau transfer list that, in addition to the prisoners' names and prisoner numbers, also provides details on their nationalities and the existence of a Kapo.[7] The "protective custody" prisoners came from Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, France, and Italy. The only German prisoner was Wilhelm Reissmann, the prisoner detachment's Kapo.

The 30 prisoners were accommodated in a factory garage in which there were beds with bed linen. The hygienic conditions were good, and it was possible to shower in the garage. On the weekends, the prisoners were permitted to swim in the company swimming pool.[8] The prisoners' quarters were not fenced in. The food for the prisoners came from the company's canteen. The prisoners ate it separately from the civilian workers.[9] The garage was damaged during an air raid in 1944–1945, and the prisoners were temporarily accommodated in the factory cellar. There was a radio there, and the prisoners could listen to foreign broadcasts.[10]

At Christmas 1944, the factory's manager organized a small celebration for the prisoners with Christmas food. All the prisoners received a shirt, fruit, and cigarettes. Altogether the food was much better than in the Dachau main camp. A former prisoner has recalled that Frey obtained additional food and cigarettes for the prisoners.[11] The prisoners received so much bread that they could even give some to the French prisoners of war (POWs) working in the factory.

The six SS guards, three of whom were "ethnic Germans" (Volksdeutsche), were also accommodated in the garage, but they were separated from the prisoners by a wall. They guarded the prisoners while they were working. Survivors recall three different detachment leaders, but their names are not known.

There are no reports of deaths or mistreatment at the Lodenfrey subcamp. About a week before American troops entered Munich, the Lodenfrey subcamp was dissolved and the prisoners transferred back to Dachau. According to survivors, Frey refused to make available a company vehicle for the transfer. Instead, he provided all prisoners with civilian clothing, helped 9 prisoners to escape, and hid the rest in his house or in the houses of the company employees.[12] After the SS had withdrawn, there were 19 prisoners who were liberated at the Lodenfrey company.[13]

Frey retired from management in August 1945. In denazification proceedings in 1948, he was categorized as *Mitläufer* (follower) and had to pay a fine of 2,000 Deutsch Mark (DM) and court costs of 75,000 DM.

In 1973, the *Central Office of State Justice Administrations* (ZdL) began investigations into the Lodenfrey subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 as there was no suspicion of any deaths.

SOURCES Under contract from the Lodenfrey company, Gernot Brauer published a report titled *Lodenfrey in der NS-Zeit* (Munich, 2003). The report mentions the prisoner detachment and represents an effort by the company to deal with its past.

The only contemporary sources on the subcamp are the Dachau concentration camp transfer lists, copies of which are held in AG-D. Georg Frey's denazification proceedings (available at BHStA-(M) are a useful source of information, as are the ZdL files at BA-L, which contain statements by former prisoners.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Josef L., July 8, 1947, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
2. Max Megele, *Baugeschichtlicher Atlas der Landeshauptstadt München* (Munich, 1951), Camp Plans, p. 10.
3. Meldebogen Georg Frey, June 20, 1946, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
4. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
5. Statement Hugo Lausterer, October 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338 Box 289.
6. Statement Felix B., August 8, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
8. Statement Anton H., October 24, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.

9. Conversation by Gernot Brauer with Ernst Weber, November 6, 2002; copy of the notes of the conversation in the possession of the author.

10. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).

11. Statement Philipp B., August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).

12. Statement Frantiseck H., February 24, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.

13. Prisoners' Card Index, AG-D, Best., November 18, 2003.

MÜNCHEN (*OBERBÜRGERMEISTER*)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there was a subcamp at the office of Munich Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor) Karl Fiehler between January 1 and April 14, 1945. Between two and nine prisoners were held there.

Investigations carried out by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 ceased because no witnesses could be found.

SOURCES The only reference to the camp is ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 86. The investigation files ZdL at BA-L (file reference IV 410 AR 127/73) contain next to no information.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN (*PARTEIKANZLEI*)

The construction of a new building for the Parteikanzlei (Party Chancellery) of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in Gabelsbergerstrasse in Munich began in 1938. The cellar with attached bunkers was ready before the war began, but the rest was not completed by 1945. The offices of the "Führer's Representative" Rudolf Hess were located in the "Brown House" at 45 Briennerstrasse, inside Munich's political quarter. After Hess's flight to England in May 1941, his successor Martin Bormann, as head of the newly christened Party Chancellery, moved his Munich office into the "Führer Building" at 12 Arcisstrasse. His colleagues were located in different buildings in Briennerstrasse, Arcisstrasse, and Max-Josef-Strasse within the city's political quarter.

In 1942, former prisoner Erich Mahl and 12 to 14 other prisoners arrived at the Party Chancellery in Munich. They were there for a period of around six months, cleaning up the building. Mahl was the Kapo's deputy.[1] The prisoners cleaned up bomb damage after air raids. At one point they discovered wine and schnapps in the rubble and drank the alcohol. After this incident the detachment was dissolved in the summer of 1942.

In the spring of 1944, a new detachment of between 30 and 40 prisoners was brought daily from Dachau to Munich's political quarter, initially by truck and then by train. The detachment consisted of Germans, French, Poles, and Russians. There was a Kapo in charge.[2]

It is only from September 1944 that a Munich Parteikanzlei subcamp existed. The prisoners were accommodated in a rear building of the bombed-out Hotel Continental at Max-Josef-Strasse. The guards were also accommodated in this hotel. Food for the detachment was prepared in the hotel's kitchen. The Hotel Continental was so severely damaged by an air raid in the middle of December 1944 that the detachment was forced to relocate to the cellars of the building at 1 Max-Josef-Strasse.[3] The offices of the Party Chancellery's "Department III—State Legal Matters" were located there.

Each morning some party official gave the detachment the daily work orders. On the site of the party administration near Karolinen Square, the prisoners were mostly involved in cleaning up after air raids and building air-raid shelters. But they were also used to renovate the private residences of party members.[4]

The detachment was guarded by 10 SS members and their detachment leader Scharführer Uwer.

Former prisoners have stated that the conditions were relatively good, that they were not mistreated, and that no one was killed. This is confirmed in a letter written by Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on April 5, 1945, where he complains about the lax conditions in the subcamp and, above all, about the failure by Commander Uwer to do his duty. Moser had determined that the prisoners did not work enough, that the security in their accommodation was inadequate, and that the prisoners had access to books and maps that they had found in the bombed-out houses.[5]

In his memoirs, former prisoner Hans Schwarz writes that the prisoners collected items in short supply and exchanged them for information.[6] It was by this means that items of value such as material or wine from the Dachau stores made their way to employees of the Party Chancellery who paid for these items by allowing the prisoners to see internal party reports, commands, or orders.

Numbers in the detachment were reduced by 11 on April 4, 1945; 15 prisoners remained in Max-Josef-Strasse, plus seven guards and the commander. In the following weeks the numbers were increased, and when the camp was dissolved on April 22, 1945, there were 25 prisoners in the detachment.[7] They were taken back by foot from Munich to the Dachau concentration camp.

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated events at the Parteikanzlei subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1976.[8]

SOURCES On the offices in the party center at Königsplatz in Munich, see the article by Bernhard Schäfer, "Die Dienststellen der Reichsleitung der NSDAP in den Parteibauten am Münchner Königsplatz. Entstehung—Entwicklung—Strukturen—Kompetenzen," in *Bürokratie und Kult: Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München; Geschichte und Rezeption*, ed. Iris Lauterbach (Berlin, 1995), pp. 89–108.

The only primary source is a copy of the transfer list, which is held in AG-D. Useful is a report on the subcamp by its former detachment leader Hans Moser. Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) and the Sta. Mü resulted in survivors making statements. Also held in the AG-D is Hans Schwarz's "Wir haben es nicht gewusst" (unpub. MSS, 1960), which also depicts events in the subcamp.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Emil M., November 4, 1952, BHStA-(M), StanW 34468/1.
2. Statement Michael B., October 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
3. Statement Johann Z., October 1, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
4. Statement Robert L., October 24, 1974, Sta. Mü I 320u Js 202387/76.
5. Letter of the Kommandoführer Hans Moser, April 5, 1945, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
6. Hans Schwarz, "Wir haben es nicht gewusst" (unpub. MSS, 1960); AG-D, A 1960.
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, April 22, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.

MÜNCHEN (*REICHSBAHN*)

The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows that a subcamp called München (Reichsbahn) existed during the period from January 1945 to April 14, 1945. An accident report dated December 22, 1944, however, suggests that the subcamp existed even before the end of 1944, since two days earlier two "protective custody" prisoners were injured while working at the Munich Railroad Station between the Donnersberger and Hacker bridges.[1] Together with a railway policeman, they were warming themselves at a fire near the work site when an explosive device detonated unexpectedly. The French prisoners were taken by ambulance back to the main Dachau camp. One of them, the detachment's Kapo, suffered burns on both arms; the other sustained an injury to his thigh.[2]

The detachment, which—according to a list compiled after the war—consisted of up to 500 prisoners, performed cleanup work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways).[3] The list also names two Kapos: Reinfrank and Quad.

Only one name is known of the SS personnel at the subcamp. Wilhelm Ohnmacht, a Feldwebel in the Wehrmacht, was assigned as a guard from March 5, 1945, to April 25, 1945.[4]

Investigations of this subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 revealed no new findings.[5]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 86.

Primary sources for this subcamp are limited to the two accident reports from December 1944, available at AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Incident Report to the Department III, Dachau Concentration Camp, December 22, 1944, AG-D, 2139.
2. Accident Report to the Deutsche Reichsbahn Directorate, December 22, 1944, AG-D, 2138/1-2.
3. List Dachau Subcamps, June 3, 1948, AG-D, 81.
4. Statement Wilhelm Ohnmacht, November 29, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 214.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 130/73.

MÜNCHEN (*REICHSFÜHRER-SS*)

The offices of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and his colleagues in Munich were located from 1935 in the party's quarter at 10 Karlstrasse. In 1938, they were expanded to include 8 Karlstrasse. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), between November 8, 1943, and April 14, 1945, there was a Reichsführer-SS subcamp for the Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei) located at this site. A Dachau concentration camp change report dated October 23, 1942, confirms that the year before seven prisoners known as the Detachment Reichsführer-SS München were put to work.[1] What remains unclear is whether these prisoners were already part of the Reichsführer-SS subcamp or whether they were a temporary detachment that was used to establish the Reichsführer-SS subcamp. There were two Germans and three Polish "protective custody" prisoners among them as well as two prisoners from a group of prisoners under police security custody (*Polizeisicherheitsverwahren*). The Kapo was German Alfred Mienik.

The strength reports for April 1945 gave the numbers for the Reichsführer-SS subcamp at 13 or 14.[2] A Serbian prisoner was returned to the Dachau concentration camp on April 6, 1945, because of illness, and a Polish prisoner was sent in his place from the main camp on April 9, 1945.[3]

The Central Office of State Justice Investigations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated the Reichsführer-SS subcamp between 1973 and 1975, but the investigations ceased because of lack of witnesses and evidence.[4]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

The strength reports and the transfer lists provide the details for this camp. They can be viewed in AG-D. During its investigations between 1973 and 1975, the ZdL, available at BA-L, could not locate any witnesses who could add to this material.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, October 23, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/31.
2. Strength Report Subcamps Dachau Concentration Camp, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404; List of Items of Clothing of the Subcamps (Letters P–W), n.d., AG-D, 22.554.
3. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 6, 1945, and April 9, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 132/73.

MÜNCHEN (*REICHSFÜHRER-SS ADJUTANTUR*)

On January 7, 1945, after an air raid on Munich, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler personally ordered the special deployment of 50 prisoners from the Dachau main camp to repair the damaged parts of the Führerbau (the Führer's Building) and the administrative building of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) at Arcisstrasse. Himmler's adjutant, Hauptscharführer Schnitzler, informed the SS barracks Freimann about this, since a strengthened protective detail had to be assigned for security reasons by the Reich Leadership for the prisoners' deployment.[1] The guard force was supposed to report on January 9, 1945, to the administrative building of the Nazi Party at Arcisstrasse.

The deployment of the prisoners and their guards was initially supposed to last 1 to 2 days. In a letter of January 11, 1945, Dr. Kaspar Ruoff thanked the Reichsführer-SS profusely for putting the prisoners at his disposal. Without them the temporary construction of the destroyed duty stations would have been impossible.[2] Ruoff asked at the same time to be allowed to engage the prisoners for an additional 14 days not only in cleanup work but also in removal work in damaged areas. The extension of the prisoners' deployment till January 25, 1945, was confirmed on the same day.[3] A record of the Hauptstellenleiter Owander from March 27, 1945, shows that this prisoner detail was used also after January by the Reich Leadership. Owander points out in this record that because of the landing of enemy airborne troops in the vicinity of Munich the prisoners were supposed to have been withdrawn for security reasons from the Reich Leadership and sent back to Dachau.[4] There was a handwritten entry on this record that the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) would still need the prisoners. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the detail Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur was mentioned the last time in concentration camp documents on April 14, 1945.

The preliminary proceedings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were closed without results in 1973 after four months.[5]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, ed., *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

There is an exchange of letters in the BA-B that deals with the transfer of prisoners from the Dachau main camp to this subcamp (NS 1/276 2, NS 1/548).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Letter of the adjutant of the RFSS, January 9, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
2. Letter of Dr. Kaspar Ruoff, January 11, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
3. Confirmation chancellery K/München, January 11, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
4. Record entry of the Hauptstellenleiter Owander, March 27, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/548.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 133/73.

MÜNCHEN (*SCHUHHAUS MEIER*)

The Schuhhaus Eduard Meier advertises that it formerly was the court supplier of the Bavarian king and that today it is the oldest house of shoes in Germany. The Meier family business is known in Munich for its high-quality leather shoes and accessories.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), up to 12 prisoners were deployed to the Schuhhaus Meier subcamp between November 1944 and February 1945. Concentration camp documents that could give more information about this detachment do not exist.

A retail store and the manual production department were located in the 1930s and 1940s in the center of the Brown Party district in Karlstrasse 3–5. The owner at the time was Wilhelm Meier. The house was totally destroyed during an air raid on December 17, 1944, and production had to be stopped. The shoe repair services were supposedly transferred at this time to the Dachau main camp and done by the prisoners. Civilian employees of Schuhhaus Meier seem to have gone on a regular basis to Dachau to deliver the shoes that needed repair and to pick up the repaired shoes. A shoe polish machine from the store was delivered to Dachau.[1]

Investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not find any survivors of this subcamp in 1973. The proceedings were closed with no results in 1974.[2]

The Meier family did not rebuild the house in Karlstrasse after the air raid. However, the property was sold after the war to the Oberfinanzdirektion (Chief Financial Office) of the city of Munich.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85. An Internet site (www.edmeier.de.) and an advertisement DVD—Eduard Meier GmbH, *Von Schuhen: Eduard Meier München* (DVD) (Munich, 2003)—provide information about the business Eduard Meier GmbH.

No contemporary documents about this subcamp are known besides the documents of the ITS. There are no survivors' testimonies among the investigation records of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Discussion the author had with Peter Meier, the manager of the store, on January 15, 2004.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.

MÜNCHEN (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*)

From 1940 concentration camp prisoners were used in the German Reich in bomb squads to defuse duds with delay fuses.[1] The prisoners worked in groups of up to six men at different locations. They were called "bomb searching details" or "explosives ordnance details." This is the reason why it is difficult to establish a precise difference between the individual details. So, for example, the terms *ordnance detail* and *duds removal detail* can be found in a document for the bomb searching detail housed in the Stielerschule (Stiel School).[2]

The International Tracing Service (ITS) indicates that the München Sprengkommando subcamp is mentioned on July 12, 1944. A prisoner of the "Sprengkommando 12.7.1944" is known by name. The prisoner record card of Friedrich Zeilinger from Vienna shows that he died on July 18, 1944, while part of this detail. The question remains open if this was an independent detail that was deployed only on this day, July 12, 1944, in Munich, or if it was a smaller detail within a larger group of prisoners that was deployed to remove duds in Munich. At least 11 explosives ordnance details existed in Munich in November 1944. Prisoners were deployed there in groups of six.[3] In the end, no specific statement can be made about the subcamp Sprengkommando.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

The location of resources on this subcamp is difficult to find because it is almost impossible to make a clear distinction, especially at the end of the war, between it and other explosives ordnance and bomb searching details. A few documents and copies about the explosives ordnance details exist in AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. See also the order by Adolf Hitler October 12, 1940, DZOK, Ulm R1 178.
2. See also the letter of the municipal police section Kommando Süd, September 19, 1944, AG-D, 23.763.
3. See also the letter about the Sprengkommando deployment on November 27, 1944, AG-D, 23.769 and 23.770.

MÜNCHEN (*SS-MANNSCHAFTSHÄUSER*)

The so-called SS-Mannschaftshäuser were created in the summer of 1935 as a type of SS educational foundation. Appropriate houses were first acquired at seven universities and administered through the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA). An average of 30 students living in each house went through a stringent selection process beforehand. All had to become members of the SS, perform SS duties, and take part in the ideological education. Finally, they were supposedly to be part of an SS academic elite. One of the first SS-Mannschaftshäuser was founded in Munich in 1935. According to records from the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) in Berlin, the administration of the Mannschaftshaus at Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15 in Munich was transferred to the SS on April 1, 1942.[1] Seven prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were handed over to the Mannschaftshaus on May 11, 1942. They are known from the names list from Dachau.[2] There were six house painters, who were brought in for renovation work to the SS-Mannschaftshaus, and one cook who belonged to this detail. The prisoners came from the German Reich, Poland, and Luxembourg; one of them belonged to the religious group Jehovah's Witnesses. All of them were housed in the Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15.

The leader of the detail was an Oberscharführer.[3]

This detail lasted two weeks; two prisoners were brought back early to Dachau and replaced with other prisoners.[4] The SS-Mannschaftshäuser subcamp was closed on November 18, 1942, and the seven prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.[5]

SOURCES The book by Isabel Heinemann, *"Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut": Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitsche Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 92–99, offers an introduction to the topic of the SS-Mannschaftshäuser.

Some of the few existing primary resources on this subcamp are the transfer lists. With their help, the names of some of the prisoners of this detail can be identified. A copy of them may be found in AG-D. The statement of a survivor is recorded in the investigation document of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Mannschaftshäuser in München 1935–1943, BA-B, NS 1 / 2425 1.
2. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 5, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
3. Statement Karl G., February 15, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV410 AR 123/73.
4. Reports of changes of the Dachau concentration camp, November 10, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/29, and November 14, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/30.
5. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.

MÜNCHEN (*SS-OBERABSCHNITT SÜD,* MÖHLSTRASSE)

From 1936 on, the administrative offices of the SS-Oberabschnitt Süd (South Region) were located at Maria-Theresia-Strasse 17 in Munich, a street running parallel to the Möhlstrasse. Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were assigned to the SS-Oberabschnitt Süd, but the subcamp was located at Möhlstrasse. This is the reason why one can find two different names for this subcamp in the transfer lists and in the change of status report from Dachau: Möhlstrasse and SS-Oberabschnitt Süd. Both refer to the same subcamp.

The first reference to this subcamp is a report of the death of 2 prisoners during an air raid on June 9, 1944.[1] It becomes clear from this report that a detail of prisoners from Dachau was deployed there before this date, but it is not possible to establish a more precise date. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions 10 prisoners; a report of the workforce from Dachau of April 3, 1945, lists 8 prisoners; and an inventory from the Clothing Office records 4 prisoners at the subcamp SS-Oberabschnitt Süd.[2]

The prisoners, as far as they are known from the transfer lists, came from the German Reich, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Russia. According to the information from ITS, the prisoners were assigned repair work. This subcamp was last mentioned in the record of a transfer of two Yugoslav prisoners back to the Dachau main camp on April 25, 1945.[3]

The main office of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg held preliminary proceedings on this subcamp from 1973 to 1974. Copies of transfer lists from Dachau belonging to the ITS can be found in the ZdL archives, now held at Federal Archives Ludwigsburg (BA-L).[4] The proceedings were closed in 1974 because of a lack of new findings.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:85. In *Die Möhlstrasse: Keine Strasse wie jede andere* (Munich, 1998), Karl Willibald published a chapter on the development of Möhlstrasse during National Socialism, when important party figures such as Heinrich Himmler and party organizations such as the Reichsluftschutzverband and the Münchner Grossveranstaltungen e.V. settled there. Regarding the topic of the camp prisoners in Möhlstrasse, the book mentions that the prisoners built an air-raid bunker.

There are a few documents on this subcamp in AG-D. Some of them were used in the proceedings of the ZdL and can be found there in the form of copies at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, June 11, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.

2. Report of the size of the outside details of the Dachau concentration camp, April 3, 1945, DaA 404; Inventory of the clothing of the outside details (Buchstabe P-W), n.d., AG-D, 22.554.

3. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, April 25, 1945, AG-D, 35.062.

4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 126/73.

MÜNCHEN (*SS-STANDORTKOMMANDANTUR BUNKERBAU*)

Ten concentration camp prisoners were deployed to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) in Munich for the construction of an air-raid bunker, starting July or August 1944. The site of the barracks could not be precisely located. The International Tracing Service (ITS) was able to trace 3 former prisoners from this detail in 1973.[1] One remembered that the prisoners were housed in a room on the barracks' fourth floor.[2] There were bars on the window, and the prisoners were guarded by SS guards from the Dachau concentration camp. The detail leader brutally hit a prisoner from Warsaw on the head with a board. When the injured prisoner fell on the ground the detail leader kicked him further till he died. The corpse of the prisoner was later laid in the barracks' yard. The unknown detail leader once mistreated one of the prisoners so badly that he had to be transferred to the infirmary at Dachau. After his recovery, he returned to the subcamp SS-Standortkommandatur Bunkerbau.

The detail was moved out of the SS barracks, and the prisoners had to walk all the way back to Dachau.

After preliminary investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the public prosecutor's office München II opened preliminary proceedings against the unknown detail leader for murder in 1976. Details about this subcamp as well as the suspect could not be determined. The investigation was therefore closed.

SOURCES The sparse references to this subcamp come from the investigation documents of ZdL at BA-L. A name list of this detail drawn up by the ITS can be found there. The public prosecutor's office Munich could question only one survivor of this detail during its investigation (available at BHStA-(M)).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. See also name list of the München SS-Standortkommandatur Bunkerbau subcamp made by ITS, August 23, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 35/76.

2. See also statement Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.

MÜNCHEN (*SS-STANDORTKOMMANDANTUR KABELBAU*)

In addition to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) subcamp, a detail of prisoners was deployed to manufacture cables at an SS barrack of unidentified location. No lists of tranports or names are available from the International Tracing Service (ITS) in connection with the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau (Garrison Headquarters for Cable Construction) subcamp, although the first mention of such a location is dated January 1945.

A former prisoner of the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau subcamp claimed that when his prisoner work crew arrived in this SS barrack in the summer of 1944, 10 prisoners from another crew were already at the location.[1] This could refer to the Kabelbau workforce. No further points of contact between the two work details are known.

A judicial inquiry at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not contribute new knowledge about the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau subcamp.[2]

SOURCES The only reference to this subcamp is ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:88.

Investigations by ZdL at BA-L yielded no results.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Statement of Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 139/73.

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (*BMW*)

The BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) Assembly and Repair Factory in München-Allach, planned as an alternate production site for the main factory in München-Moosach, commenced production in May 1942. After the main factory was destroyed in March 1943 in a bombing raid, production was transferred to München-Allach. There were many foreign forced laborers among the 17,000-strong BMW workforce.

From 1942, Dachau prisoners had to be used on the construction site in München-Allach, but only as a work detachment. They returned each evening to Dachau. The Dachau main camp files mention the subcamp, which had been established close to the BMW factory, for the first time in February 1943.

The camp consisted of 30 buildings that were secured by an electrified fence and guard towers. The buildings included a building with a kitchen and washing facilities, an arrest bunker, accommodation barracks (some of which were just stables and had no windows), roll-call square, SS accommodations, and the camp office. There were between 3,000 and 5,000 prisoners in the camp. The majority of the prisoners in the BMW München-Allach camp came from the Soviet Union, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Germany.

The BMW München-Allach subcamp was one of the largest Dachau subcamps, and it formed part of the Allach complex, to which the Karlsfeld OT (Organisation Todt) and Rothschwaige subcamps also belonged. In the last months of the war, the actual prisoner numbers exceeded by far the capacity of the camp: on November 29, 1944, there were 4,742 prisoners in the subcamp; in February 1945, mostly as a result of the evacuation of other camps, there were around 10,000 prisoners; and on April 26, 1945, there were 8,970 men and 1,027 women who had arrived at the camp as a result of evacuation marches. Research by Sabine Schalm and Albert Scholl shows that the numbers for a short period reached as high as 20,000.

Initially, the prisoners were used to construct the camp. Later they were used increasingly in production at the factory as lathe operators, drill operators, or locksmiths, above all, on the production line for cylinder heads, gears, and aircraft engines, and in quality assurance. Other prisoners worked on the construction site of the BMW factory, in the "Dyckerhoff Detachment" and in the nearby Lochhausen bunker and cave complex. The prisoners worked for BMW, Dyckerhoff, the construction firm Sager & Wörner, the Kirsch saw mill, and Pumpel & Co. in Lochhausen. Due to the harsh working conditions and poor hygiene, malnutrition, diarrhea, typhus, tuberculosis, and measles were widespread throughout the camp. The conditions in the camp were worsened by a rigid camp regime. SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Jarolin was in charge of the Allach camp complex. He and his deputy SS-Hauptscharführer Sebastian Eberl daily punished the prisoners with beatings and close arrest and, in winter, by forcing them to stand to attention after they had been doused in water. More than 40 prisoners were hanged for attempting to escape or so-called sabotage. The guards consisted not only of German SS men but Hungarians, Romanians, and Croatians. It is impossible to determine the number of prisoner deaths in the BMW München-Allach subcamp because not all the deaths were recorded in the Dachau death register. After the war, 45 corpses were exhumed from the camp grounds; the actual number of deaths is most likely much higher.

The camp was mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945. On April 26, 1945, all German and Soviet prisoners, around 7,000 in number, were evacuated in the direction of Bad Tölz—Mittenwald—Innsbruck. Some 10,000 prisoners remained in the camp when it was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

The former camp commandant, Jarolin, was sentenced to death during the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials on December 13, 1945, and was executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investiga-

tions by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg into the deputy camp leader Eberl ceased in 1976 owing to Eberl's poor health.

SOURCES Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm provided a detailed description of the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 425–430. Ludwig Eiber describes the München-Allach (BMW) subcamp in his essay "KZ-Aussenlager in München," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 58–80. Another description of the camp is to be found in Zdenek Zofka, "Allach - Sklaven für BMW: Zur Geschichte eines Aussenlagers des KZ Dachau," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 68–78. Christin Tege wrote an essay in a history competition held by the city of Munich in 1985–1986 with the title "Allach: Ein Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Dachau," in *Verdunkeltes München*, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (Munich, 1987), pp. 98–107. The München-Allach (BMW) subcamp is referred to in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:83. It is mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Original camp files are to be found in the following archives: Gedenkstätte Dachau (A82-Stärkemeldung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, November 1944, A32789-Stärkemeldungen April 1945 and 24718—a compilation of Entwicklungsbericht über den Arbeitseinsatz 1943–1944 by SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Jarolin, beginning of 1945) in BA-B (FD 4969/45—Speer Collection) as well as Sta. Mü (StanW 34706, 34814/1, 34623, 34817/1—various statements by former prisoners of the subcamp). Investigations by ZdL are found under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 2141/67. Descriptions or references to the subcamp based on the memoirs of former prisoners are to be found in Amicale des Anciens de Dachau, ed., *Allach: "Kommando de Dachau"* (Paris, 1982); Karl A. Gross, *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen* (Munich, ca. 1946); Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau* (Bad Wildbad, 1947); as well as Hermann E. Riemer, *Sturz ins Dunkel* (Munich, 1974). Karl Wagner, the Allach camp elder until he refused to carry out a punishment on a fellow prisoner, the result of which was that he was transferred back to Dachau, describes the camp in *Ich schlage nicht: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstands im KZ-Aussenlager Dachau-Allach* (Karlsruhe, 1981).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (*OT BAU*) [AKA ROTHSCHWAIGE]

The München-Allach subcamp OT Bau (Organisation Todt Construction), was probably, as Sabine Schalm and Albert Knoll show, identical to the Rothschwaige camp and part of the Allach camp complex (München-Allach [BMW], Karlsfeld OT, and Rothschwaige). As with the other Allach camps, the camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Jarolin, who was executed in 1946 in Landsberg.

The camp was probably located on the grounds of the transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Soviet civilian workers (forced laborers) in Dachau at 12 Kufsteiner Strasse. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was mentioned for the first time on May 17, 1944. The July 1944 Dachau *Stärkemeldung* (strength report) states the number of prisoners to be 512, with 12 prisoner-functionaries. On the other hand, Ludwig Eiber gives the number of prisoners at 382. The prisoners were probably all Jewish.

Schalm and Knoll do not agree with the role of the camp as a real subcamp attributed to it by the ITS. It was more likely that the camp was a transit camp for Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz. Male prisoners seemed to have spent between four and six weeks in the OT Bau München-Allach camp. A transport of 1,045 female Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) as well as Hungarian Jewish women on the way from Auschwitz to Ravensbrück passed through the camp in Allach.

During their stay in the OT Bau München-Allach camp, the prisoners were housed in barracks. The living conditions in the camp are described by former prisoners as being generally bearable. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides. The exact date that the camp was closed is not known. It was probably March 31 or April 25, 1945, but it could have been as early as at the end of July 1944. There are no reports in the Dachau files referring to the camp from the end of November 1944. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, the U.S. Army liberated 250 prisoners who probably had been brought to the camp from other camps on evacuation marches.

SOURCES An extensive descripton of the München-Allach (OT Bau) subcamp is to be found in the essay by Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 433–435. For further information on the subcamp, see Ludwig Eiber, "KZ-Aussenlager in München," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 58–80. OT Bau München-Allach is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:86. It is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Original documents on the subcamp are to be found in the collections of the AG-D: Best. 35672 (Stärkemeldungen des OT-Arbeitslagers Karlsfeld, 17 August 1944); A 82 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 29. November 1944); 404 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 3 April 1945); D32789 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 26 April 1945). Witness statements are to be found in the Sta. Mü, Best. 34817/1 34706.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (*PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR*) [AKA MÜNCHEN (*PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR*)]

The Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcelain Manufacturer, PMA) was founded on January 3, 1936, and was under the control of the SS-Reichsführung (Reich Leadership). From 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W I/3 was the sole shareholder in the company.

Prisoners were used in the company's Dachau branch located on the site of the SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungslager). Here ceramics were produced for everyday use. The company had transferred production to this site in 1937 due to a shortage of space. Prisoners were also used in PMA in the production of fine ceramics. Eighteen prisoners had been deployed in PMA since 1940, being brought daily to and from Dachau. The prisoners were of German and Polish nationality. They designed the casts. From June 1941, a group of 13 prisoners experienced in porcelain manufacture were brought to München-Allach, and a subcamp was established. The prisoners came from the Buchenwald camp and had been chosen because of their skills as ceramic artisans, molders, millers, and painters. At the end of 1941, there were 67 civilian employees and 30 prisoners manufacturing porcelain. The camp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945.

SOURCES An extensive description of prisoner use in the manufacture of porcelain in Dachau and Allach it to be found in the essay by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 430–433. The essay is based on earlier research by Albert Knoll published under the title "Die Porzellanmanufaktur München-Allach," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 116–133. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:86, mentions the porcelain manufacturer. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42. Abs 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826, refers to the camp. On the manufacturer, see Hans Landauer, "Nazi-Porzellan als Glücksfall für Häftlinge," in *Kunst und Diktatur: Architektur*, *Bildhauerei*, *Malerei in Österreich*, *Deutschland*, *Italien und Sowjetunion 1922–1956; Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. Jan Tabor (Vienna, 1994); and "Nazi-Porzellan als Glücksfall für die Häftlinge" in *Kunst und Diktatur*, (Baden bei Wien, 1994), 1: 600–609. This work also contains eyewitness accounts by former prisoners. Another study on the history of the manufacture of porcelain in Allach is Gabriele Huber's *Die Porzellanmanufaktur Allach-Munchen GmbH: Eine "Wirtschaftsunternehmung" der SS zum Schutz der "deutschen Seele"* (Marburg, 1992).

Original documents on the production of porcelain at PMA are to be found in the AG-D, Best. 37258 (Report of the witness Wilhelm Zembsch, January 28, 1963) and 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (*SS-ARBEITS- UND KRANKENLAGER*)

There is little information about the SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager (Labor and Hospital Camp) München-Allach. The camp, which held an unknown number of women, is mentioned for the first time in the files of the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 25, 1945, two weeks later.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87, refers to München-Allach (SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager) subcamp. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826, refers to the subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (*BARTOLITH WERKE*)

Bartolith Werke was established in April 1942 in Munich by Christian Seidl—who also managed the business—in order to manufacture patented wooden building slabs made of a mix of wood and cement.[1] Seidl's son Norbert assisted him with the management from 1943. Christian Seidl was not a member of the Nazi Party or of any other National Socialist organization. However, his son joined the party in 1940 and was an Ortsgruppenleiter.[2]

The first large contract for the Bartolith factory was signed by the SS-Bauleitung Süd (Building Administration South) in Dachau. The order was for 10,000 slabs to be used for the construction of barracks. The Bartolith firm had only six employees in München-Freimann, too few to carry out the contract. Christian Seidl therefore approached the Dachau concentration camp with a request to use the prisoners. However, before the prisoners could be brought to the factory site at Mühldorfer Strasse, a barracks with sleeping and living quarters, sanitary facilities, and two watchtowers had to be constructed. The camp also had to be fenced in with barbed wire.[3]

On August 28, 1942, Hauptscharführer August Friedrich Müller, the detachment leader (Kommandoführer), arrived at Freimann with an advance Kommando of 30 prisoners and six guards.[4] These prisoners were at first put to work preparing the production site. On November 12, 1942, a permanent detachment of 30 prisoners with Karl Kirschner as Kapo was dispatched to München-Freimann.[5] In the following weeks, the number of prisoners increased to 70 or 80. Most of the prisoners were Germans, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Czechs.

In the winter of 1942–1943, production began in the Bartolith factory. The prisoners were divided into so-called pro-

duction groups and had to reach daily production quotas of building slabs. They worked under high pressure from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. The only break was a 30-minute noon meal. The prisoners' food was brought to München-Freimann once a week by truck from Dachau. The scarce rations were totally inadequate, as the company management even confiscated some of the rations for the civilian employees. The food supply deteriorated to such an extent that the prisoners dug potatoes during the winter from an adjacent frozen field. A few prisoners fell sick after eating the potatoes and were taken back to Dachau.

The lack of food and the harsh work conditions resulted in a number of prisoners collapsing each day from exhaustion. One of these prisoners was Josef N., who was beaten by Norbert Seidl for this. The management had no reason to look after the prisoners, as it was very easy to get replacement prisoners from Dachau. The turnover rate at the Bartolith factory detachment was high.[6]

Johann Leitameier, a prisoner, became a valued worker at the Bartolith factory because of his qualifications as a foreman. Norbert Seidl therefore tried to have him released from Dachau. He was granted leave from Dachau on October 30, 1943, on the basis that he continue to work at the Bartolith factories. Leitameier then became site engineer of a second Bartolith factory in Erding. For this construction site, no concentration camp prisoners were used, but prisoners of war (POWs) and foreign civilian workers worked there.[7]

Not only Norbert Seidl but also the SS guards mistreated the prisoners when they thought the prisoners were not working quickly enough. Detachment leader August Müller drove the prisoners to ever higher production quotas because his monthly bonus was dependent on the quotas being met. No one was killed in the subcamp, but the number of deaths from malnutrition and the hard physical work remains unknown. According to Norbert Seidl, the prisoner detachment ceased to work after the contract for the SS-Bauleitung Süd was finished in July 1943.[8] Criminals from the Stadelheim prison were used instead.

During the denazification proceedings that took place in 1948, father and son Seidl were not hauled before the court to account for events in the Bartolith factory.[9] In 1967, Leitameier made a report to the Munich state prosecutor accusing Norbert Seidl of mistreating prisoners at the München-Freimann subcamp.[10] Investigations commenced but ceased in 1970 because there was no evidence to support a conviction for homicide. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg made further investigations in 1973 but ceased in compliance with the decision of the Munich District Court in 1974.[11] Kommandoführer Müller was sentenced to 10 years in jail during the Dachau Trials.[12]

SOURCES The fundamental facts on this subcamp are derived from the ZdL investigation files in BA-L and the Sta. Mü. In addition to the survivors' statements, a history of the Bartolith factory issued in 1948 is held here. Also useful are the denazification files of Christian and Norbert Seidl. The files of the Dachau Trials contain a statement by Kommandoführer Müller (Case 000-50-2-72, *USA v. Hans Wülfert, et al.*).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. History of the Bartolith Factory, 1948, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
2. Copy of the BDC-File Norbert Seidl, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491.
3. Camp sketch by Franz P., July 30, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 108/73, and camp plan in the History of the Bartolith Factory, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
4. Statement August Müller, November 30, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 210.
5. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
6. Statement Johann Leitameier, October 9, 1967, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491; Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, to December 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
7. Statement Leitameier, October 9, 1967, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
8. Statement Norbert Seidl, December 2, 1969, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
9. Sta. Mü, SprK Karton 1508 (Christian Seidl) and Karton 1510 (Norbert Seidl).
10. Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
11. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 108/73.
12. Case 000-50-2-72, *USA v. Hans Wülfert, et al.*, NARA RG 338 Boxes 310–311.

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (*DYCKERHOFF UND WIDMANN*)

The company Dyckerhoff und Widmann (D&W) was established in 1865 in Karlsruhe. In 1906, it opened a branch in Munich for the production of concrete. During World War II, D&W was one of the most important suppliers of concrete for the war industry. In 1938, it began the construction of two airplane hangars at München-Riem and in 1940–1941 constructed for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in Allach a 9,000-square-meter (10,764-square-yard) *Schalenshedhalle* (a large shell-shaped building).

In München-Freimann, Dyckerhoff und Widmann expanded the SS barracks located at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse. The barracks was about 500 meters (1,640 feet) away. Beginning on September 19, 1942, 25 Polish, Czech, German, and Yugoslav prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were put to work here.[1] Another 10 prisoners were added to the detachment four weeks later.[2]

The prisoners were accommodated in several rooms in the SS barracks. The windows of the room were barred, and armed SS guards were posted outside. The prisoners could not move freely in the barracks.[3]

The security for the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was provided by a camp commander and a few SS members from the Dachau main camp. While they were working, the prisoners were accompanied by the SS guards. There were three Kapos among the prisoners of the Dykerhoff und Widmann detachment—Karl Kapp, Erwin Görlich, and David Feigl.[4]

The prisoners had to work up to 12 hours a day and were brutally driven by the SS guards to achieve maximum performance. The slightest infringement was brutally dealt with. There was no medical care either for work accidents or mistreatment. The prisoners had to provide basic medical care themselves.[5] On Sundays, the prisoners did not have to work at the building site. However, they were not allowed to rest and had to work inside the barracks. When the construction work ceased, the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was dissolved. On December 10, 1942, 24 prisoners were sent back to Dachau.[6]

SOURCES The history of the firm is contained in a book published by the Dyckerhoff und Widmann AG, *75 Jahre Niederlassung München der Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG; 75 Jahre Bauen in Bayern*, *75 Jahre Partner im Dienste unserer Bauherren* (Munich, n.d.).

In addition to the transfer lists in AG-D, the preliminary investigation files of ZdL at BA-L hold statements by survivors of the D&W München-Freimann subcamp.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, September 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, October 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
3. Statement Tadeus K., November 4, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
4. Statement Ferdinand P., March 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
5. Statement Longin-Marian L., October 29, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
6. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, December 10, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (*SS-STANDORTVERWALTUNG*)

From November 10, 1941, 27 prisoners were based in the SS barracks at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse in München-Freimann—the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) subcamp.[1] The first prisoners were "protective custody" prisoners, the majority of whom came from Poland. There were also a few Germans and Czechs. The composition of the prisoners changed several times in the following years, but their number remained constant.[2]

The prisoners had to do a variety of work in the barracks area including carpentry and roofing work, digging wells, and cleaning up. Four of them worked in the boiler house.[3] A few times the prisoners went to Munich to pick up laundry for the SS or to run errands for them. On weekends, they had to clean the rooms of the SS guards. After 10 to 12 hours of work, the prisoners were locked in rooms on the third floor of a building within the barracks complex.[4] In an air raid in 1944, parts of the SS barracks were destroyed, and the prisoners were then housed in a garage.[5]

Richard Gerlich from Breslau was the Kapo at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp. There were no other prisoner-functionaries.

The first detachment leader (Kommandoführer) was Scharführer Ernst Wicklein.[6] He was replaced in February 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Neuner[7] and in June 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Remmele.[8] Hauptscharführer Johann Reiss[9] was in command from July 1943 to January 1945. The name of the last detachment leader is unknown. There were also 15 SS guards to watch the prisoners while they were working. They were mostly ethnic Germans from Romania.

Survivors have reported that Kommandoführer Reiss mistreated the prisoners.[10] A Russian prisoner was hanged in the summer of 1943 because he had stolen food from the cellar. The whole detachment had to attend the execution, and one of the prisoners was forced to put the noose around the neck of the condemned man and then to pull the chair away. The body was taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.[11]

In the third week of April 1945, the prisoners were led back by foot to Dachau. From there they were sent on the evacuation march in a southward direction.

Former Kommandoführer Neuner was sentenced to death during the Dachau Trials.[12] Reiss received a five-year sentence from the American Military Court.[13] In 1976, the State Prosecutor Munich I began an investigation into Reiss on suspicion of manslaughter at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp.[14] It was not possible to prove the crime, though, and the investigation ceased the following year.

SOURCES The AG-D holds a copy of a list of names of the detachment. From this list it is possible to reconstruct the names and reasons why the prisoners were held. Other important details are to be found in the files of the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials at NARA, RG 153 (Case 000-50-2-78, *USA v. Josef Neuner* and *USA v. Franz Kohn*, *et al.*), and Sta. Mü.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. List of Names München SS-Standortverwaltung Work Detachment, May 18, 1942 (dispatched on November 10, 1941), AG-D, 35.673.
2. Statement Franz O., July 26, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.
3. Statement Ludwig Brunner, September 20, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 191.
4. Statement Ludwig S., October 8, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

5. Statement Tomas A., April 10, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

6. Statement Ernst Wicklein, January 22, 1947, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.

7. Statement Josef Neuner, December 2, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 213.

8. Statement Josef Remmele, August 19, 1947, NARA, RG 153 Box 224.

9. Statement Johann Reiss, December 3, 1946, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.

10. Statement Henryk Gasior, July 23, 1945, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.

11. Statement Ludwig S., October 8, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

12. Case 000-50-2-78, *USA v. Josef Neuner*, NARA, RG 338 Box 312.

13. Case 000-50-2-99, *USA v. Franz Kohn, et al.*, NARA RG 338 Box 319.

14. Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

MÜNCHEN-GIESING (*AGFA KAMERAWERKE*)

The Aktien Gesellschaft für Anilin Fabrikation (Public Corporation for the Production of Anilin), otherwise known as Agfa Kamerawerke (Agfa Camera Factory), relocated its main office to 161 Tegernseer Landstrasse, Munich, in 1927. The company was founded in 1867 in Berlin. In 1921, it was taken over by Bayer AG, Leverkusen, and in 1925 merged with IG Farben, a company associated with Bayer AG. From 1928 on, the camera factory in Munich produced mostly laboratory equipment.

During World War II, optical and fine mechanical production was replaced by production important for the war, and the company manufactured detonators for bombs. For this reason the Agfa Kamerawerke was an important war factory. From 1942, more than 800 foreign forced laborers worked for Agfa.[1] From September 1944, Dachau concentration camp prisoners also worked for Agfa. On September 13, 1944, 500 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp were sent to work at Agfa.[2] The composition of the detachment changed again at the end of October 1944. However, the number of prisoners remained around 500.[3] Most of the workers in the Agfa subcamp were women from Poland and Holland, but there were also women from the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Belgium, and France.[4]

The women were housed in a three-story house still under construction that later became 7-15 Weissenseestrasse, Munich. A survivor recalled that female civilian workers were also housed in this block. The rooms were furnished with two-tiered beds, a few wooden tables, and stools. On the ground floor there was a prisoner infirmary. Next to the block was a barrack with the kitchen and dining room. The camp was surrounded with barbed wire and four watchtowers.

The detachment leader (Kommandoführer) of the Agfa subcamp was Untersturmführer Kurt Konrad Stirnweis. From February 1945, Latvian Alexander Djerin was the deputy Kommandoführer. The name of his predecessor is not known. While the commanders were described as strict, after the war several prisoners wrote thank-you letters to Stirnweis because he had interceded on behalf of the women.[5] In addition to the two commanders, there were 10 female SS wardens and 1 senior SS female warden. One of these women, with the surname Richter, treated the women harshly and often beat them. All the guards were housed in the block of apartments at Weissenseestrasse together with the prisoners.

The hygienic conditions in the camp were inadequate. The women only had access to warm water once a week.[6] In the prisoner infirmary the women could recover for a time when prisoner doctor Ella Lingens wrote them off as sick, excusing them from work.[7] But there were also more serious diseases such as typhus, measles, tuberculosis, and scabies. Women with long-term illnesses were sent back to Dachau. Once 12 to 14 women were selected because the camp administrators considered them as too old and too weak for work.[8]

The women suffered most from the lack of food and the cold. During winter they had no coats and only a few blankets; there was almost no heating. Also, the windows in the block of apartments had been destroyed during air raids, so there was no protection from the wind and the cold. The sleeping bunks were often covered with snow. As a result of the lack of food, potatoes were stolen from the storeroom in the cellar. The food supply worsened after Christmas 1944, with the result that the Dutch women protested about the lack of food, turned off the conveyor belts in the Afga factory, and refused to work. The detachment leader was so furious that he wrote down the names of the strikers and sent a report to Berlin. Nothing happened to the women, however, as the war ended before they could be punished.

Heading the detachment were two Polish Kapos and a female camp elder. The camp elder was a Dutch woman, Winni De Winter. She was later replaced by a younger Dutch woman.

The women were marched to work to the Tegernseer Landstrasse by their SS guards. The march lasted for about 20 minutes. At the factory, they were instructed and supervised by the female civilian workers. The women were put to work on a variety of tasks including manufacturing aircraft parts for the Luftwaffe. They also produced capsules that they had to wash in an acidic fluid.[9] The women's shifts lasted at least 12 hours. When they did not achieve their given goals, they had to work even longer.

The women were not mistreated in the factory. Nevertheless, they suffered because of the working circumstances in the factory. The factory was often the target of air raids. During the air raids, the German "workforce members" went to the air-raid shelters for protection, while the prisoners were locked in the factory halls. They had no protection from breaking windows, falling wooden beams, or metal parts. Many of them were injured during the air raids. At night, the women were often roused in their quarters by

air attacks and then led into the cellars of the block of apartments.

A Ukrainian woman once tried to escape, but she was quickly recaptured. Before she was sent back to Dachau, they kept her confined beside the food distribution area but did not permit her to eat for several days.[10] Following that event, a young Russian woman also escaped but returned only after a few days because she could find neither food nor support outside the camp.[11]

The Agfa subcamp was evacuated on April 27, 1945. Kommandoführer Stirnweis and his deputy Djerin, together with the 10 female SS wardens, led the 500 women in a southerly direction.[12] At Wolfratshausen, the women refused to go any further and sought shelter in a barn. The guards fled during the night, and the next morning, May 1, 1945, the women were liberated by U.S. troops.[13]

Both detachment leaders appeared in the U.S. military court during the Dachau Trials. Djerin was sentenced to four years of jail and Stirnweis to two years in a labor camp.[14] The 1976 investigation files of the state prosecutor München I on the Agfa subcamp are untraceable today. However, the 1973–1976 pre-investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have been preserved.

SOURCES Secondary sources relevant for this camp include Andreas Heusler, *Ausländereinsatz: Zwangsarbeit für die Münchner Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Munich, 1996). For Agfa's history, see http://www.agfa.com/plants/muenchen.

The most important sources are the statements in ZdL made by the surviving women, today located at BA-L. The Dachau Trial files at NARA also contain statements by involved persons. The memories of former prisoner doctor Ella Lingens are an important source, as she has written a detailed chapter on her experiences in the Agfa subcamp. See her *Gefangene der Angst: Ein Leben im Zeichen des Widerstandes*, ed. and foreword by Peter Michael Lingens (Vienna, 2003), pp. 295–316; and her article "Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau," *DaHe* 4 (1988): 22–58.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Andreas Heusler, *Ausländereinsatz: Zwangsarbeit für die Münchner Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Munich, 1996), p. 125.
2. Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, September 13, 1945, AG-D, 34.852.
3. Transport Lists Dachau Concentration Camp (September–October 1944), December 11, 1944, AG-D, 1.012; Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, October 24, 1944, AG-D, 33.272.
4. Statement Jadwiga L., November 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
5. Letter Zofia K., May 3, 1945; Letter Myra G., May 4, 1945; Letter Joke M., May 3, 1945; Letter Winni De Winter, October 27, 1946; all NARA, RG 153 Box 212.
6. Statement Kazimiera S., March 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
7. Ella Lingens, "Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau," *DaHe* 4 (1988): 32.
8. Statement Irena R., January 22, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
9. Statement Kazimiera S., March 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
10. Statement Jadwiga L., November 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 117/73.
11. Lingens, "Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau," p. 29.
12. Statement Kurt Konrad Stirnweis, December 3, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 212.
13. Statement Halina R., November 29, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
14. Alexander Djerin: Case 000-50-2-46, *USA v. Ludwig Philipp Carl, et al.*, NARA, RG 338 Box 303; Kurt Konrad Stirnweis: Case 000-50-2-77, *USA v. Stirnweis*, NARA, RG 338 Box 311.

MÜNCHEN-OBERFÖHRING (*BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS*)

According to records held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), the subcamp at München-Oberföhring is mentioned for the first time on April 11, 1944. A former prisoner recalled that he and six other prisoners were transferred to Oberföhring in the autumn of 1944 from the Sudelfeld subcamp.[1] The official "employers" were the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Building Administration) and the police. The task of the prisoners at the Oberföhring subcamp was to cook and clean for SS members and Wehrmacht officers who were accommodated in a villa.

According to a Dachau concentration camp strength report, the Oberföhring work detachment still consisted of five prisoners on April 3, 1945.[2] They were accommodated in one room in the villa and were guarded by two SS members. The two SS guards' quarters were in the adjacent room.

The extant Dachau concentration camp transfer lists state that between April 11 and November 18, 1944, there was a steady change in the composition of the camp.[3] The work detachment comprised not only Germans but also Poles, Russians, French, and Belgians. There were also at least three Austrians who were held in "protective custody" because of their being Jehovah's Witnesses.

The prisoners' food was supplied from the Dachau main camp. It was prepared by a prisoner, Kurt Ropelius, who was also a Jehovah's Witness.[4] At the end of April 1945, a block leader from the main camp arrived by bicycle at the Oberföhring subcamp. He had come to collect the prisoners and take them back to Dachau by truck. From there they were sent on an evacuation march in a southerly direction.

Between 1973 and 1975, there were investigations into the subcamp at Oberföhring by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The proceedings were stopped, but during the course of the investigations, a few survivors were questioned about the subcamp.[5]

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 83.

The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists and a strength report of the Oberföhring subcamp. The GAZJ holds a report by a former prisoner, written in 1971. The investigations by the ZdL at BA-L hold an interview with another survivor.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Anton O., May 30, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 142/73.
2. Strength Reports of the Dachau Concentration Camp subcamps, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.
3. Transfer Lists of the Dachau Concentration Camp, AG-D, 35.672, 35.374–35.677.
4. Report by Kurt Ropelius, February 1, 1971, GAZJ, LB Ropelius, Kurt.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 142/73.

MÜNCHEN-RIEM (*OT, SS-REIT- UND FAHRSCHULE*)

During the war, the München-Riem airport was a strategic target for Allied air raids. The runways and the workshops were destroyed several times. To keep the aircraft flying, much reconstruction had to be done, bomb craters in the runways had to be filled in, and new landing and takeoff runways had to be built. Organisation Todt (OT) had responsibility for this work, and the labor was supplied by prisoners from the Dachau main camp. The first 600 prisoners arrived as early as February 1943 at München-Riem.[1] About 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the airfield, a subcamp was established in the horse stables of the SS-Reit-und Fahrschule (Riding and Driving School).[2] The stables were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded by SS sentries.

The number of prisoners varied considerably. In February 1943, 600 prisoners were sent in to München-Riem; at the end of 1944, there were merely 300 laborers there,[3] and a survivor stated that around the New Year of 1944–1945 there were only 100 prisoners left.[4] What is certain is that by the end of March or the beginning of April 1945, several hundred prisoners were evacuated from Natzweiler subcamps such as Neckarelz and Neckargerach, and the Dachau subcamp at Kottern near Moosbach, and were transferred to the München-Riem subcamp. A Dachau strength report dated April 26, 1945, lists 1,543 prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp.[5] Hence, it was the largest subcamp in Munich besides the München-Allach subcamp.

The dramatic increase in prisoner numbers considerably worsened the living conditions in the former riding school. At first, the prisoners had slept in three-tiered bunk beds in the stable stalls. As the detachment increased in size, more and more prisoners had to share the stalls. The majority had to sleep on the bare concrete floor. Those who were lucky slept on a thin layer of straw.

The prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp were mostly from Russia, Poland, France, Italy, and Germany. Among them were also about 200 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies)[6] and an unknown number of Jews. The first Kapo in the subcamp was a German, Ludwig Müller. The camp elder was Hans Bonn, and the camp clerk was Fritz Mannel. Both were transferred back to the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945.[7] Several survivors have stated that during the last weeks of the camp there were no prisoner-functionaries in the camp.

Food was supplied from a kitchen based in the camp area. Prisoners have stated that it was completely unsatisfactory. In the morning there was only a thin coffee; at lunch, a watery cabbage or potato soup; and in the evening, again coffee with a piece of bread.[8] Many prisoners were undernourished and weakened because of the heavy work they had to do. Those who were sick or incapable of working were transferred back to Dachau. Those who collapsed on their way to work were beaten up by their guards. There was no infirmary in the München-Riem subcamp.

When the air-raid sirens sounded, the SS guards entered the air-raid shelters. There was no protection for the prisoners. Instead, the camp gate was opened, and the prisoners were ordered to take shelter in the surrounding area. Those who did not immediately come back after the air raid were searched for and shot. The prisoners used this opportunity to look for potatoes in the nearby fields or to get bread from the farmers. If the guards found food on the prisoners, they were shot without hesitation for looting.[9] It happened several times that civilians came to the camp after the air raids to report thefts of food or begging.[10] If this happened, the suspect was almost always shot immediately on the roll-call square. In February or March 1945, 20 Russian prisoners were executed with a shot to the nape of the neck.

Despite the severe punishment, there were some attempts to escape. The majority ended up with the prisoner being shot.

A great danger and the cause of most deaths in the München-Riem subcamp were the Allied air raids. During a raid on April 9, 1945, at least 24 prisoners were killed and 40 wounded.[11] On April 11, 1945, 3 dead prisoners and 94 wounded were transferred back to Dachau.[12] Aerial photographs of the area around the airport at Riem that were taken after the air raids document the extent of the attacks.[13] A former prisoner has reported that the SS shot the wounded after the air raids.[14]

The guards at München-Riem included not only the SS but also members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard) and OT.[15] The names of the guards are only known for those working there in the last few weeks. Hans Hahn arrived as a guard at the end of March 1945 and remained there until the evacuation of the München-Riem subcamp.[16] During this period, Hauptscharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle was the last camp leader. He was known for shooting prisoners on the slightest suspicion of planning to escape or stealing food. During the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials, Trenkle admitted to murdering 4 prisoners. Survivors have stated that the SS—and, in particular, Trenkle—shot at least 50 prisoners. Trenkle was sentenced to death by the U.S. military court in

Dachau in 1945 for various crimes committed at the Dachau, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps and at their subcamps. He was hanged on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.

The München-Riem subcamp was never officially closed. Only the Jewish prisoners were sent back to the Dachau main camp by truck on April 24 and 25, 1945, where they were subsequently freed by the Americans.[17] The majority of the prisoners, about 1,000 in number, were evacuated on April 25, 1945, from München-Riem in a southerly direction. One half of the prisoners marched via Trudering to Bad Tölz, and the other 500 marched via Grosshesselohe, Grünwald, and Deiningen to Dettenhausen. Survivors from both groups reported mistreatment during the marches, and those prisoners who were too weak to continue were shot. A few prisoners used the opportunity to escape and hid in barns or forests until the arrival of the Americans.

A small group of prisoners was left behind in the riding school.[18] According to the prisoner list at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 137 prisoners in München-Riem were freed by American troops.

The International Tracing Service (ITS) lists two different camps at München-Riem. One has the name OT camp and the other SS-Reit-und Fahrschule). There is no evidence to support a camp in Riem other than the SS-Riding and Driving School. It should be assumed that both descriptions relate to the same camp.

The State Prosecutor Munich I ceased investigations into the events at the München-Riem subcamp in 1977 because the main suspect, Trenkle, had been convicted and executed in the first Dachau Trial in 1946.[19]

SOURCES On the Nazi persecution of Sinti and Roma in connection with this camp, see Guenther Lewy, *"Rückkehr nicht erwuenscht": Die Verfolgung der Zigeuner im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 2001); and Ludwig Eiber, *"Ich wusste, es wird schlimm": Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933–1945* (Munich, 1993).

The AG-D holds the transfer lists, strength reports, and a yet unpublished report of a survivor of the München-Riem subcamp. The PRO holds aerial photographs of the attacks on the airport at München-Riem, as reproduced in Eiber. The BHStA-(M) Stadtverteidigung also has details on the air raids. Survivors' statements are to be found in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, the Sta. Mü, and in BHStA-(M). For the Trenkle trial, see NARA, RG 338 Boxes 284–293, Case 000–50–2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Herbert H., May 24, 1974, Sta. Mü I,320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 1.

2. For details on the construction of the SS-Hauptreitschule in München-Riem, see Sta. Mü Handakte Christian Weber, SS-Hauptreitschule München-Riem.

3. Statement Jaroslaw K., March 10, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 4.

4. Statement Hugo R., September 6, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 214/76.

5. Strength Reports of the Subcamps of the Dachau Concentration Camp, April 26, 1945, AG-D, 32.876.

6. Guenther Lewy, *"Rueckkehr nicht erwuenscht": Die Verfolgung der Zigeuner im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 2001), p. 287.

7. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.

8. Statement Jozef J., March 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 and JS 200272/77 Bd. 3.

9. Report by Silvester Lampert, May 8, 1996, AG-D, A 30.290.

10. Ludwig Eiber, *"Ich wusste, es wird schlimm": Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933–1945* (Munich, 1993), p. 92.

11. Final Report on the Air Raids on Muenchen, Local Air Raid Warden, 15. Pol. Rev. München, April 11, 1945, BHStA-(M), Stadtverteidigung 758.

12. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.

13. Air Ministry, Directorate of Intelligence & Other Intelligence Papers (attack on München/Riem, 9.4.1945), PRO, AIR 40 / 840; aerial pictures published in Eiber, "*Ich wusste, es wird schlimm*," pp. 90–91.

14. Statement Marian P., September 19, 1974, BHStA-(M), StanW 31503/5.

15. Statement Boleslaw O., March 17, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol.. 3.

16. Statement Hans Hahn, September 20, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 191.

17. Statement Zwi Sch., December 12, 1974; Bernhard F., March 13, 1975, both Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 2.

18. Statement Marcello B., March 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34817/2.

19. Sta. Mü I, 320 u Js 200272/77, vol. 1–4; Case 000–50–2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*, NARA, RG 338 Boxes 284–293.

MÜNCHEN-SCHWABING [AKA SCHWESTER PIA]

The Dachau subcamp at München-Schwabing was the first subcamp where concentration camp prisoners were permanently used as a labor force outside the main concentration camp. Unlike most of the later subcamps that were constructed, organized, and managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Dachau camp commandant, its construction, administration, and organization were in the hands of Eleonore Baur, alias Schwester Pia (Sister Pia). [This subcamp was also smaller than most others and is included here as a representative case for instances in which prisoners were used by individuals or small organizations. —Ed.]

Schwester Pia was an active and fanatic National Socialist from the very first moment. According to her own statement, she received her title around 1907–1908 from the Munich sisters' order Gelbes Kreuz (Yellow Cross), without ever actually qualifying as a nurse.[1] In 1920, she met Adolf Hitler by

chance on a tram in Munich. Following that meeting, she was involved with the Sterneck Group in founding the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP).[2] She was one of the first party members and had close connections to important party officials. During the Hitler Putsch of 1923, she cared for the wounded and the dead. In 1934, she became the only woman ever to be awarded the *Blutorden* (a Nazi decoration awarded to veterans of the 1923 Putsch).

After the Nazi assumption of power in 1933, she profited a good deal from the close contacts to the Nazi elite. She was invited on numerous excursions and to many festivities. She had a close relationship with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, and it was due to him that she was appointed welfare sister for the Waffen-SS at Dachau in 1933. In 1934, she and others founded a National Socialist Order of Sisters (Schwesternschaft). In 1937, she became the honorary chairwoman. No later than 1934, she obtained permission from the Führer to move freely in the Dachau concentration camp. She was the only woman with this privilege. Allegedly, she had approached the Führer with the request that she wanted to devote herself not only to the SS men but also to the prisoners and their relatives.[3]

The prisoner Erich Essner was occasionally doing gardening work in her private apartment at 6 Voit Strasse, Munich, as early as 1934. Other prisoners followed who had to do household tasks.[4] Between 1937 and 1945, Schwester Pia had her house in Munich-Oberhaching extensively renovated by concentration camp prisoners. The garden was redesigned, and the place was generally cleaned up. A garage was built, together with an enclosed swimming pool and a bunker. The materials for this work came solely from Dachau. It seems she paid for a part of the materials, but she took the biggest part for free. In the workshops of the concentration camp the prisoners had to produce furniture, wood carvings, and children's toys for her.[5]

Schwester Pia never paid the SS for the use of the labor of the prisoners.[6] During her weekly visits in the prisoners' kitchen, she took meat and margarine with her in her official vehicle, for which she also did not pay. The food was supposed to be inferior "dog food," but it was usually good-quality meat. She was known in the camp as someone who requisitioned anything that was not nailed down.[7]

At the beginning, the prisoners were randomly on duty at Schwester Pia's home for one or more days per week. They returned each evening to the concentration camp. From 1940, she had a permanent working detail consisting of 12 to 14 men. At first, these prisoners were also driven to work from the concentration camp every day, but later they were accommodated at Schwester Pia's place and were brought back to Dachau only on the weekends.[8]

Schwester Pia was in charge of the detachment—she arranged the duties and set the working hours. She is even alleged to have been involved in choosing the prisoners. The detachment had to work hard, often on Sundays. Security was provided by SS guards from Dachau. It is said that Schwester Pia was sometimes difficult even with these guards, her *Buam* (boys),[9] and bossed both the prisoners and the guards around.[10]

There are no known cases of mistreatment or deaths at this subcamp. Schwester Pia herself never actually harmed a prisoner, but almost all former prisoners, questioned after the war, have accused her of bullying them. When she was in a bad mood or the prisoners were not working hard enough, she had them, for example, climb down into an outside toilet pit to clean it with a brush. At the same time Schwester Pia was feared by the prisoners because of the considerable influence she had on the camp leadership. If a prisoner fell into disfavor with her, she did not hesitate to request the camp commandant to punish the prisoner by having him held in the bunker. She threatened the prisoner Michael Gollackner, saying that he would not leave the concentration camp alive. He was saved probably because he was transferred to Sachsenhausen.[11] Hans Biederer, also a prisoner, reported similar mistreatment after having been accused by Schwester Pia.[12]

Schwester Pia's behavior was reported to be inconsistent. On the one hand, the prisoners said that better-than-average food was provided at the subcamp. The prisoners ate at one table together with Schwester Pia and her employees, a chauffeur and a kitchen assistant.[13] They were even permitted to smoke, and they had the possibility to smuggle letters out of the camp and make contact with the outside world. On the other hand, Schwester Pia's behavior was unpredictable, and her moods were feared. She could quickly turn from being nice to the prisoners to being the complete opposite.

This contradictory nature was revealed when the prisoners were questioned later. There were many positive reports on her. She often stood up for the priest Huber, who said on his deathbed that she was the "angel of Dachau" because she had done a great deal of good in the concentration camp.[14] Other prisoners have stated that Schwester Pia spoke up for their release or financially supported their despairing relatives.[15] In 1943, Reichsführer Himmler temporarily banned her from Dachau because it had been alleged that she wanted to smuggle prisoners' letters out of the concentration camp.[16] At the same time, the prisoners of her detachment, her employees, and neighbors describe her as a moody, hysterical, and selfish woman who unscrupulously used her contacts with the Nazis in power to get what she wanted. She profited from the kitchen, the workshops, and the Dachau laundry; threatened the neighbors with the concentration camp when she could not get her way; and ceaselessly bullied the prisoners. Some witnesses have even suggested that Schwester Pia took prisoners as lovers.[17]

The discrepancies can only be explained when one considers the prisoner groups favored by Schwester Pia. As a convinced, fanatical National Socialist, she hated Jews and Poles. Her detachment consisted mainly of political prisoners from Germany and Austria. At Christmas, she regularly presented the prisoners with "Pia Packages," filled with food. At the same time, at Christmas 1938, she had several prisoners whipped. Schwester Pia was present at this mistreatment and stated that she would step in to help the political prisoners but that Jews and foreigners "should die."[18]

The date on which the München-Schwabing subcamp ceased cannot be identified exactly. The International Tracing Service (ITS) last mentions it in 1942. This date is probably set too early, as several prisoners were still working for Schwester Pia in 1944.[19]

Baur was categorized as a major criminal in the denazification proceedings in 1949. Her personal property and the villa in Oberhaching were confiscated for restoration, and she was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp. In 1949, the State Prosecutor Munich II began an investigation of her for being involved in the mistreatment and deaths of prisoners in Dachau. The investigations ceased in 1950 because of a lack of evidence.

Baur was released from the Rebdorf labor camp in 1950 on reasons of health. In 1955, her successful application for a pension and compensation enabled her to return to her house in Oberhaching, where she died in 1981. Baur remained a convinced National Socialist until her death. On her tombstone at the Deisenhofen Cemetery near Munich are the words "Ein Leben für Deutschland" (A Life for Germany).

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87. Sabine Schalm published an article on the career of Eleonore Baur and her prisoner commando: "Schwester Pia: Karriere einer Strassenbahnbekanntschaft—Fürsorge der Waffen SS im Konzentrationslager Dachau," in *Frauen als Täterinnen im Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 2, *Protokollband der Fachtagung am 16. und 17. September 2005 in Bernburg*, ed. V. Viola Schubert-Lenhardt (Gerbstedt, 2006) pp. 52–67. Hans Holzhaider published an article on Eleonore Baur's personality titled "Schwester Pia," *DaHe* 10 (1994): 101–114. There is also a contribution by the Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, "Schwester Pia—Ein Leben für Deutschland?" in *Frauenleben in München/Lesebuch zur Geschichte des Muenchner Alltags; Geschichtswettbewerb 1992*, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (Munich, 1993), pp. 125–130. An older contribution is Johann Hess, "Braune Schwester Pia," *Die Geistlichkeit in Dachau*, ed. Eugen Weiler (Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1971).

The relevant archival sources on the München-Schwabing subcamp and Eleonore Baur are the denazification files in BHStA-(M), Spruchkammerakten, Karton 75, Eleonore Baur, vol. 1–5; and the investigation files of the Sta. Mü II, 34448, vol. 1–2. These files contain detailed witnesses' statements both from Baur and the prisoners. Publications by prisoners are sparse, but the following should be mentioned: Rudolf Kalmar, *Zeit ohne Gnade* (Vienna, 1946), pp. 176–179. Other unpublished reports are in the AG-D, for example, "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz," AG-D, Hängeordner SS/Schwester Pia. The most recent contribution is the monograph by Stanislav Zámečník, *Das war Dachau* (Luxembourg, 2002), pp. 180–184.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Interrogation Eleonore Baur, October 10, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34448, vol. 1.

2. Interrogation Baur, April 23, 1948, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.

3. Biographical Details of Eleonore Baur, March 23, 1947, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1., and Interrogation Baur, October 10, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II, 34448, Bd. 1.

4. Statement Lina Neulen, December 8, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II, 34448, Bd. 2.

5. Rudolf Kalmar, *Zeit ohne Gnade* (Vienna, 1946), pp. 176–179.

6. Interrogation Baur, April 14, 1948, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.

7. "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz," AG-D, Hängeordner SS/Schwester Pia.

8. Witness Statement, Willi Grimm, April 14, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.

9. A letter by Eleonore Baur dated June 13, 1935, to Ministerpräsident Streicher uses this nickname several times for the SS members of the Dachau concentration camp; BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.

10. Statement Josef Appel, March 6, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, vol. 2; Specialist Medical Opinion of the Munich Nerve Clinic on Eleonore Baur, March 28, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.

11. Statement Michael Gollackner, December 16, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.

12. Statement Hans Biederer, January 24, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.

13. Statement Friedrich Heiler, August 28, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.

14. Statement Josef Seitz, May 9, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.

15. Statement Ludwig Weber, April 19, 1950, and statement Wendelin Koch, June 7, 1950, both BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.

16. Statement Rudolf Wirth, February 21, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.

17. Statement Andreas Zollner, April 24, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1; "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz."

18. As quoted in Johann Hess, "Braune Schwester Pia," in *Die Geistlichkeit in Dachau*, ed. Eugen Weiler (Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1971), pp. 397–398.

19. Statements Max Bienen, February 21, 1949, and Erich Essner, May 5, 1949, both in BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1; Statement August Gattinger, June 20, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, vol. 2.

MÜNCHEN-SENDLING (*ARCHITEKT BÜCKLERS*)

In 1941, the Munich architect Karl Bücklers of the Reich Air Ministry had been assigned the project planning and construction management of three armaments factories in München-Sendling.[1] The factories were owned by the companies Grunow, Linhof, and Widmaier. The factories were built next to one another east of the München-Tegernsee railway track. The buildings, which still existed in the early

twenty-first century, are located to the west of Koppstrasse.

According to Bücklers, the building project initially went on without any problems. It was only with the construction of the third factory for the Grunow company that labor shortages caused difficulties. The Reich Air Ministry made available a work detachment of 40 Dachau prisoners. The first prisoners, mostly craftsmen, arrived at München-Sendling on March 16, 1942.[2] The detachment consisted predominantly of Polish, Austrian, and German "protective custody" prisoners. Their first task was to construct an accommodation barrack on an open field to the west of the construction site. The wooden barrack had separate sections for the guards and the detachment leader. The prisoners slept on two-tiered wooden bunks. The camp, which formed a rectangle, was surrounded by barbed wire and two guard towers.

Franz Vinzenz accompanied the detachment as Kapo. He was replaced on July 31, 1942, by Hermann Pfeiffer.[3]

The guards consisted of 11 German SS men and their commander. The prisoners were slapped in the face by the detachment leader for such minor infringements as smoking while working or failing to achieve the work norms. Their punishment was to work on Sundays or to be deprived of food. For more serious offenses, the prisoners were taken back to the Dachau main camp.[4] An example is a prisoner from Bavaria who secretly tried to make contact with his family. A Polish prisoner was hanged at the subcamp for "sabotage."[5]

The prisoners were escorted by members of the SS to the construction site at a distance of about 100 meters (328 feet). French and Russian prisoners of war (POWs) were also working there. They were guarded by members of the Wehrmacht. It was strictly forbidden for the prisoners to communicate with each other.[6]

The prisoners were fed with a watery soup, prepared for them in the kitchen of a nearby restaurant.[7]

At least two prisoners tried to escape from the Architect Bücklers subcamp. A German prisoner was recaptured after two months, brought back to the subcamp, and then transferred to Dachau, where he was placed under arrest in the punishment block.[8] However, a Czech successfully escaped from the subcamp at München-Sendling.[9]

When he was questioned, Karl Bücklers stated that he had never entered the camp. Survivors say that he had treated the prisoners well.[10] The München-Sendling subcamp was closed on December 1, 1942, and the prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES The essential facts for this subcamp have been extracted from the investigation files compiled between 1973 and 1979 by the Sta. Mü I (320u Js 201656/76). The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists, which give details of the identity of some prisoners in this detachment. Further details are from survivors' statements made during the investigations by the Sta. Mü.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Karl Bücklers, November 21, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, May 18, 1942 (prisoners' departure date March 16, 1942), AG-D, 35.673.
3. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, July 30, 1942, and July 31, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
4. Statement Kazimierz S., January 15, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
5. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
6. Statement Kazimierz S., January 15, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
7. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
8. Statement Jozef C., February 7, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
9. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
10. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, December 1, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.

NEUBURG AN DER DONAU

The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to an independent subcamp or work detachment at an air base headquarters. According to the details in the catalog, there were between one and six prisoners working there between February and March 1945.[1]

The air base at Neuburg an der Donau was important for the German Luftwaffe during World War II. Between 1943 and 1945, several night-fighter and bomber squadrons were stationed there, as well as a fighter squadron. Toward the end of the war, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 was assembled in the three hangars at this air base and tested.[2] It is also thought that there might have been a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at the air base. There are no indications to suggest that there was a labor camp for concentration camp prisoners.[3] For this reason, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased investigations in 1974.[4]

According to a report by Maximiliana Schubert, there were concentration camp prisoners in the vicinity of the air base in 1945. One of those prisoners was her husband, Max Schubert. He was imprisoned in Mauthausen where he learned one day that the Dachau concentration camp was seeking political prisoners to remove unexploded ordnance. He volunteered and underwent a short training course at the Fire Fighters School in Munich.

According to Mrs. Schubert, the bomb disposal squad consisted of six prisoners and two guards. After the air raid on Ingolstadt on March 1, 1945, the city administration approached the Dachau concentration camp and requested several bomb disposal squads. Her husband was sent to the city on the Danube with one of these squads to defuse unexploded bombs. The bombs were left lying on the streets, ready to be collected—they were marked with little yellow flags.

Mrs. Schubert describes what happened as follows: "In the following days the squad had to retrieve the unexploded bombs from the Danube's soft marshy soil in the area around the Neuburg airport. The bombs were up to five meters [16.4 feet] deep in the soil." The air raids became more and more frequent, so that the disposal squads were eventually quartered in the Flanders Barracks at Ingolstadt. Following air raids, Max Schubert and fellow prisoners defused more than 3,000 unexploded bombs of varying size in the Ingolstadt area.[5]

The Neuburg air base should also be included in the Ingolstadt area. It was attacked by Allied bombers five times between February and April 1945 and was almost totally destroyed. The last attacks included not less than 241 B-24 bombers of the Eighth Air Force. It is possible that the hitherto unconfirmed Dachau subcamp mentioned in the ITS catalog was in fact this bomb disposal squad.

SOURCES The Neuburg an der Donau subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 76.

The ZdL investigation is available at BA-L. An important published testimony for this possible subcamp is Maximiliana Schubert, "Blindgängerbeseitigung durch KZ-Häftlinge," in *Luftangriffe auf Ingoldstadt*, by Hans Fegert, (Kösching, 1989).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Citation from ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.
2. Statements by former Luftwaffe officers and Messerschmitt pilots.
3. Ibid.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.
5. Maximiliana Schubert, "Blindgängerbeseitigung durch KZ-Häftlinge," in *Luftangriffe auf Ingoldstadt*, by Hans Fegert, (Kösching, 1989), pp. 84–85.

NEUFAHRN

The Dachau subcamp at Neufahrn is first mentioned in the Dachau files on April 22, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 26, 1945.

According to statements of witnesses interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, in 1976 there were about 500 male prisoners (some witnesses say about 1,000) in the camp of many nationalities and of a wide variety of prisoner categories. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the prisoners worked in the armaments industry, whereas the ZdL investigations suggest that the prisoners built roads and runways.

Some witnesses were able to provide the ZdL investigations with details about the camp layout and how it was guarded. The prisoners were accommodated in five barracks. Several other barracks were used for support functions. The camp was enclosed by a simple wire fence that was lighted at night. The command of the camp consisted of three SS men; Organisation Todt (OT) men were the guards.

SOURCES: This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88.

The files of the ZdL investigation about Neufahrn are recorded in the files IV 410 AR-Z 38/ 76 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements. There is also some scattered information in the files of AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NEUSTIFT IM STUBAITAL [AKA INNSBRUCK II]

The Neustift im Stubaital subcamp of Dachau, also known as Innsbruck II, was located in the Tyrolian Mountains of present-day Austria, roughly 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of the city of Innsbruck. It was the most southern of all Dachau subcamps. The camp was established in a small SS barracks camp (*Barackenlager*) that had been built in 1940 for the construction of a road between the Stubai Valley (Stubaital) and the Ötz Valley (Ötztal). However, the camp remained empty until October 10, 1942, when it became a subcamp of Dachau and was officially opened and redesignated the SS-Alpine Training Facility and Prisoner Camp (Hochsgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenenlager).[1] In October 1942, 50 male inmates arrived from Dachau. On average, there were about 60 inmates in the camp, but during the winter their number was reduced to about 20 to 30 prisoners. The prisoners were used to construct the SS barracks and to work in the SS training facility where 120 SS personnel received training as alpine guides. In addition, the SS trainees also studied engineering and communications, as these skills pertained to SS alpine work projects.

The inmates were guarded by ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and SS men from Romania and Hungary (Siebenbürgen and the Banat), and in charge of them was the commander of the Alpine Training Facility, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eberhard von Quirsfeld. Albert Knoll provides the names of a number of commandants of the Neustift subcamp: SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Plörer (until the end of 1942), SS-Oberscharführer Arnold (January 1943), SS-Oberscharführer Ernst (or Hermann)[2] Wicklein, and SS-Unterscharführer Otto Dertinger.

After erecting the training facility, prisoners were used to build a parade ground and an ammunition storage facility. They were also slated to work on the construction of an underground bunker complex. This latter project was never

begun, however, and prisoners were instead assigned to local farms to work as field hands.[3]

In general, the working and living conditions in the camp were considered bearable. The subcamp itself was not fenced, and the local population was friendly toward the inmates. Some of them even arranged for visits of relatives of the prisoners. The physician and the dentist of the SS training facility were also in charge of health care for the inmates. Political prisoner Hugo Jakusch, who had been taken to Neustift in April 1943 and who was to become the Neustift chief Kapo, in a letter to his family in June 1943 stated: "I never had it that nice during the last ten years of my imprisonment. Our camp is in the middle of the mountains, three thousand meters [9,843 feet] high, and I had hoped for so long to be attached to a work detachment in the mountains."[4]

The prisoners incarcerated in Neustift came primarily from within the Dachau camp system. Karl Wagner, a German political prisoner who spent nine years in the Dachau system, arrived in Neustift in the autumn of 1942. Because of the time he spent in Dachau, Wagner was familiar with many of the prisoners already in Neustift and participated with these men in creating a resistance cell. The cell was composed largely of "Red Spaniard" Communists and Socialists who had fought for the Left during the Spanish Civil War.[5] Other prisoners in Neustift included Poles, Germans, and Austrians. Most of the internees were political prisoners. Jews do not appear to have been held captive in Neustift, but the evidence for this is inconclusive. Being assigned to work on local farmsteads, the members of the Neustift resistance eventually made contact with locals who opposed the Nazis. Several of these local residents developed a close relationship with the prisoners, and an active assistance group soon sprang into being. This assistance group, including the Kuprian family, Georg Egger, and Luise Kempf, supplied the prisoners with food and secretly posted letters from prisoners to their loved ones back home.[6]

Although they received harsh treatment at the hands of the SS, the killing of prisoners in Neustift by SS guards seems to have been a rare occurrence. In August 1943, a prisoner was discovered and shot in a nearby village after he had missed evening roll call.[7] Two years later, in March 1945, two prisoners escaped and fled into the surrounding mountains. One was found and shot after he had returned to the local village for food and shelter, while the second prisoner, Johann Höbl, a resident of Vienna, was killed in the mountains by an avalanche.[8] A local resident discovered Höbl's body on May 18, 1945, and the corpse was interred in the Neustift camp cemetery.[9]

By May 1945, French and U.S. forces were rapidly approaching the area, and the SS unit guarding Neustift received orders to kill the prisoners. After this, the SS men were to defend the nearby Passtrasse against the French. The prisoners learned of the killing order, however, and fled into the mountains before the SS could carry out the executions. American troops arrived soon thereafter, rescued the prisoners, and liberated the Neustift camp.[10]

SOURCES Few primary sources exist that provide information on the Neustift im Stubaital subcamp. The most significant available source is Karl Wagner, *Erinnerungen an Neustift: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandes 1942 bis 1945 in Neustift/Stubai* (Karlruhe, 1979). Wagner's small book is a sketch of events in Neustift as he witnessed them from the autumn of 1942 until April 1943, when he was transferred back to Dachau. Wagner is also the author of "Ich schlage nicht. Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschisitschen Widerstandes im KZ-Ausenlager Dachau-Allach,"*DaHe* 15 (1999): 59–64. Albert Knoll provided an essay on Neustift in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 452–455. Barbara Distel gives a short description of the camp in "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten: Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Relevant secondary sources include Paul Gleirschner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945" (unpub. MSS, Vienna, n.d.), which is available in AG-D, DaA 15589.

A handful of primary documents on Neustift can also be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984). Other secondary sources that mention Neustift include Zvonmir Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre auf Schloss Itter" (unpub. MSS); Augusta Léon Jouhoux, *Prison pour Hommes d'Etat* (Paris: Donoël/Gonthier, 1973); and Günter Falser, *Die NS-Zeit im Stubaital* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 1996). The subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

Documents regarding Kommandoführer Ernst Wicklein can be found at NARA, RG 338 B 319 f. 04 (statement by Wicklein from Janaury 25, 1947); and RG 153 B 210 f. 01 (statement by Karl Christian Rausch from December 6, 1946). More material on Wicklen is located at BHStA-(M), StanW 21830 and SpkA, Box 1959 (Ernst Wicklein). At AG-D witness testimonies can be found in the Zeitzeugengespräche mit ehemaligen Häftlingen, among others with Hugo Jakusch, DaA 25947, and Transportlisten (transport lists), DaA 35673.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. Paul Gleirschner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945," file available in AG-D, No. 15589.

2. Karl Wagner, *Erinnerungen an Neustift: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandes 1942 bis 1945 in Neustift Stubai* (Karlruhe, 1979), p. 13. Also see NARA, *List of SS-Officers Compiled from Personnel Files in the Berlin Document Center*, vol. 7: T–Z.

3. Gleirschner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945."

4. Zeitzeugen-Gespräche mit ehemaligen Häftlingen des Konzentrationslagers Dachau, here: Hugo Jakusch, AG-D, DaA 25497, p. 33.

5. Wagner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 12.

6. Ibid., p. 13.

7. BA-L, Schlussvermerk, ZdL, IV 410 AR 35/73, December 17, 1973.

8. Wagner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 4.

9. "Excerpt from the records of the Gendarmeriepost Fulpmes, 18.5.1945," in DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung*, 1:595.

10. DÖW, File No. 3759.

NEU-ULM

For years it was a puzzle where the Dachau subcamp of Neu-Ulm, mentioned in documents, was located. It has now been determined that "Dr. Rühmer'schen Satzfischanlagen" (Dr. Rühmer's Fish Breeding Ponds) in the village of Unterfahlheim near Neu-Ulm was the location of the subcamp. Historian Enno Georg refers to the SS-Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Health GmbH). It utilized the medicinal herb gardens in the vicinity of Dachau and also inside the concentration camp. Over time, the SS organization either acquired or leased farm and forest firms, including fish breeding ponds, or worked together with their owners.

One of them was Dr. Ing. Karl Rühmer, who had owned an aquaculture farm since 1939 at Biberhaken in Unterfahlheim. Rühmer was a fish breeder, wrote about fish, and was the owner of the publishing house Germanenverlag, in Ebenhausen near Munich. In addition to his books on fish, he wrote books on the German Volk such as *Wir wollen frei sein—Gedichte rufen zum Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus und Bildung der vereinigten Staaten Europas* (We demand freedom—Poetry for the struggle against Bolshevism and the creation of a United States of Europe). In May 1942, Rühmer, who had until then been a captain in the Luftwaffe Reserve, was given the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer and was named the fish expert in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). He was expressly permitted to continue with his aquaculture in Unterfahlheim as well as his Germanenverlag in Ebenhausen.

The shift to the Waffen-SS also meant that Rühmer became head of Department III (Fish) at the Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung. He had responsibility for his breeding ponds not only in Unterfahlheim but also at the troop training area at Heidelager, as well as at Auschwitz and at sites in occupied Russia. On April 30, 1944, he was promoted to Obersturmbannführer of the Reserve but lost his areas of responsibility "because of a lack of employment opportunities." The ponds in Unterfahlheim remained his.

The fish at his experimental institute were used to feed hospitals and mothers' homes. A letter from Rühmer to the wife of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler allows the conclusion that they were also for the tables of the elite. Rühmer invited Mrs. Himmler to call him any time for his services, especially when she needed fish for a meal for the Reichsführer.[1]

Johann Scheiblhuber from Unterfahlheim closely observed activities at the ponds. The ponds had belonged to his father who sold them because of illness in 1939 to Dr. Rühmer. In 1939, Scheiblhuber became a soldier. In the summer of 1942, when on leave in Unterfahlheim, he noticed that not only foreign laborers from the Ukraine and Poland but also concentration camp prisoners were busy at the Biber Stream. Scheiblhuber also recalled "seven or eight, perhaps more Jehovah's Witnesses." The communal barracks of the concentration camp prisoners and foreigners were not fenced in.[2] The men with violet markings did not have to wear the striped prisoner uniforms but wore gray clothes and flat caps. The Jehovah's Witnesses and the foreign workers were accommodated in barracks on the site of the ponds. The barracks were not fenced in.

The date 1942 mentioned by Scheiblhuber is not confirmed by other sources. The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) first mentions the camp on July 5, 1943. It is certain that in Unterfahlheim, Bibelforscher (Bible researchers)—then, as now, known as Jehovah's Witnesses—were forced to work at the fish ponds. The Nazis persecuted them without mercy because they were unyielding and lived according to the motto "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's." On no account would they agree to conscription, and these men and women were not prepared to accept Hitler as Germany's savior. They also refused to use the then-customary German greeting, Hitler's "salute." They continued to use the traditional greetings such as "Grüss Gott" (hello) or "Guten Tag" (good day). They would rather go to jail or a concentration camp than betray their beliefs.

Scheiblhuber and other villagers were extraordinarily impressed by these gentle people. He recalled that even in this distressful situation they tried to talk to the villagers in Unterfahlheim about their beliefs. There is a letter from a Belgian Jehovah's Witness in Unterfahlheim, Leon Floryn, prisoner number 46522, who wrote to his wife who was also imprisoned in a camp because of her belief. Although he tried to disguise the letter's intention, he made it clear to her that despite his imprisonment he remained true to his belief. Floryn refused in Dachau to work on the production of war material. He was punished several times by being held under arrest in a bunker and being forced to stand barefoot in the snow.[3]

Konrad Klug, another Jehovah's Witness, described Dr. Rühmer as a "very nice man." Klug said the SS detachment leader of the small camp, whose name he fails to mention, not only made life difficult for the prisoners but was also "very nasty" to his boss, that is, Dr. Rühmer.

Klug also described his work at Biberhaken. The Jehovah's Witnesses's History Archive (GAZJ) in Selters has an article about his time in Unterfahlheim. It includes the following statement:

> In winter work at the ponds was very difficult. With long boots we had to mow the reeds in the ponds. The embankments had to be improved, fish in large carts, filled with water, had to be shifted. Then there

> were 500,000 trout eggs, which had been frozen in Denmark, thawed out in a breeding installation and then put in breeding boxes, each containing 200. These were kept under constantly flowing water. Outside the temperature dropped to minus 20 degrees and in the breeding installation, of which there were two, the temperature was minus 10 degrees. Each day the eggs had to be checked with pinsetters and those that had died were immediately removed so that the others would not be affected. After checking only two of the incubators I was frozen stiff. Naturally I had to keep moving to stay warm and do the work. 98% of the eggs became little trout. . . . We then had to sort the trout in the cold months. They had to be fed and when the ponds got cracks so that the little fish could slip out they had to be repaired. Every morning all the ponds' sieves had to be cleaned to let the fresh water through.[4]

After receiving a supplement of oxygen, the Rühmer fish were dispatched live. There is still in existence an urgent dispatch note from "Dr. Rühmer'schen Satzfischzuchtanlagen Unterfahlheim bei Neu Ulm" with the words in large print "Lebende Fische" (Live Fish). The contents were described as follows: "Live Fish—Bred in Approved Oak Barrels—Telephone the Sender."

There was planned in Unterfahlheim a Fish Hatchery School to train those injured during the war. Nothing came of the plan. The numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses fluctuated between 7 and 30 men. Shortly before the collapse of the Third Reich, the Unterfahlheim camp was dissolved. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigations found no evidence of any crimes. Its concluding recommendation is as follows: "Although ITS Arolsen names three witnesses it was no longer possible to clarify the conditions in the NL (subcamp) Neu-Ulm. If there were deaths at the small subcamp then Hedel would have confirmed this when he was questioned on 23.10.1969. No further investigation is recommended."[5] Kurt Hedel, the named witness, was also an imprisoned Jehovah's Witness.

SOURCES This article is based on the chapter in the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). The Neu-Ulm camp in Unterfahlheim is also mentioned by Erhard Klein in his book *Jehovas Zeugen in Dachau—Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld, 2001); as well as Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 61–66.

Other than the Schlussvermerk of ZdL (available at AG-D), there are only a few sources on the Unterfahlheim camp. The most fruitful is the GAZJ, which contains prisoner reports. In Unterfahlheim there is only one resident who has a good recollection of the camp.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. All details on Rühmer come from the collections of the former BDC, now BA-BL.
2. In a conversation with the author, 1984.
3. GAZJ, DOK 09101/44 (1).
4. GAZJ, EB Konrad Klug dated February 5, 1954.
5. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 153/73, in AG-D, Dachau 18.541.

OBERSTDORF-BIRGSAU

Oberstdorf in the Allgäu was a famous health spa and winter sport haven long before the Third Reich. In mid-1943, a camp was erected in the nearby Birgsau valley for training members of the Waffen-SS in alpine combat. To build it, 12 inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were initially sent there in the summer of 1943, but soon this subcamp was enlarged to comprise about 30 men.

In 1936 and 1937, three customs houses had been built in Birgsau, which through Austria's annexation to Germany became superfluous. The basements of these three buildings served as housing for the camp inmates. The upper floors housed the camp administration. At first the men from the subcamp were fed in the nearby inn of the Mayer family. Then a kitchen was built in the camp. The camp was surrounded by a moderately high fence.

From July 1943 until about January 1945, SS-Sturmbannführer Willi Baumgärtel was the commandant of this subcamp.[1] Later, Polish prisoner Wladislaus Krystofiak certified that this commandant had behaved correctly toward the inmates. At the very start, he had made sure that Krystofiak and his companions in suffering each had two clean undershirts, two pairs of underpants, two sets of work clothes, sturdy ski boots, and three woolen blankets. Baumgärtel even contributed a radio for the prisoners' use. Krystofiak stated, "Why should I not say so, if even in the SS there were people who treated us KZ inmates decently?" Krystofiak was the camp cook. He claims that the food was good and occasionally improved with remains of warm meals from the SS kitchen. Once the commandant allowed the inmates, without a guard, to pick up a stag that had died at a feeding station for wildlife. He also had allowed them to buy beer at the Mayer inn.[2]

At that time the owners of this inn were Kaspar and Lina Mayer. Their daughters Fanny and Maria did not judge Baumgärtel in such an unqualified positive way. He allegedly had harassed their parents because they were devout Catholics and threatened to see to it that their ailing father would be sent to Dachau. The sisters also considered it harassment that the camp latrine was built only 30 meters (98 feet) away from a small chapel, "Mayers' prayer barn," as the SS men derisively called it. "Still, we were not afraid. Among the SS men there were very decent people."[3] The sisters also recalled that their parents were sneaking food to the inmates when they, guarded by an SS man, bought beer. On those occasions, these men also tried to exchange toys they had made for food.

A letter from former prisoner Andrzej Burzawa provides information about work and life in Birgsau.[4] About the day of their arrival he stated: "After the morning roll call and report, we first went to the site of a rock avalanche by car. There we had to remove rocks from the road and stabilize the walls to keep them from buckling. At noon the commandant appeared and observed us for about an hour. . . . Since we worked in wooden shoes, we slipped and fell several times. We were in danger of breaking our legs. Next morning we received leather mountain boots. It took us a week to remove the rock slide."

Describing the times that followed, the letter states:

> After that, transports of building materials arrived in Oberstdorf. We had to reload them and bring them to Birgsau. . . . Until winter set in we constructed a warehouse, a weapons depot, an infirmary/hospital, a kitchen, and a barrack. We brought several wagonloads of coal from Oberstdorf. We brought firewood for the winter from the forest by sled. During the winter we built a workshop and toilets. We diverted water from a mountain stream into pipes to supply the kitchen and the community bath with flowing water. All winter long we made sure that the road was passable at all times for sometimes there was snow more than one and a half meters (five feet) deep, which buried the road in snow avalanches. In the spring, when the snow melted, we continued with the construction of the camp.

The Oberstdorf-Birgsau camp even had animals, three mules and five horses. In the spring of 1944, Burzawa was in charge of their care. In Dachau this Polish man had to clean the floor with a toothbrush. He had lost teeth in beatings, and he had been kicked about. Concerning Birgsau he wrote: "Nobody beat us, and we received 200 grams [7 ounces] more bread daily than in KZ Dachau. . . . In Birgsau there were no murderers wearing the Death's Head insignia."

In the winter or spring of 1945, Baumgärtel was replaced. Prisoner/cook Krystofiak suspected that he had been too humane. From then on, the rules became stricter. Only if they had to relieve themselves were prisoners allowed to leave the barracks after 8 P.M., and an SS man now stood guard outside. But even then there were no attacks. As Krystofiak put it, "We really fared well and were in excellent physical condition. . . . I also do want to mention that once the Kommandant even presented us inmates as examples of excellent work performance to his SS men."[5] The Mayer sisters also credited the commandant with correct behavior. They also mentioned that shortly before the end of the war yet another camp leader came to Birgsau. The names of Baumgärtel's successors are not known.

As the end of World War II drew near, the normally quiet Birgsau valley was home not only to the SS men, the camp inmates, and the Mayer family. Now the custom houses and the 16 barracks were home to Hitler Youth leaders, members of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD), female Wehrmacht and Air Force helpers, and many children who had been evacuated from the large cities because of the Allied air attacks. The Mayer sisters estimated the number of all these people at 1,400. The night before French units occupied the Birgsau valley, yet another inhabitant joined the crowd: the wife of the last camp commandant gave birth to a child. Three shots rang out during that last night, taking the life of a hunter. After the occupation of the French, the liberated inmates protected these people from attacks.[6]

In 1964, the state prosecutor's office in Hannover ordered an investigation of Willi Baumgärtel, an SS-Obersturmbannführer who had been the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp. It was imperative to check the extent to which he had committed crimes against humanity. A similar order reached the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. Legal authorities began an investigation and found out that Baumgärtel had been a member of the SS since 1931 and had been promoted to the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer in 1944. But it was soon clear that the accused was never posted to Dachau. From 1933 to the start of the war, he was in Berlin where, among other things, he had been Kompanieführer with Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. "A decent, worthy character," his superior said about him then. After combat duty at the Polish, Russian, and French front, he was commissioned to establish the SS training camp in Birgsau. Posted from there once more to the front in January 1945, he was captured by the Americans. While they were being questioned, two former prisoners of the Dachau subcamp testified that in Birgsau no attacks on prisoners of any kind ever took place. Instead, the accused had taken good care of them.

The summary of the investigators: "In view of the result of this investigation, there is no reason to employ additional measures of prosecution concerning the activities of the accused in Birgsau. Instead, this investigation is closed for lack of reasonable suspicion of criminal behavior."[7]

SOURCES To the author's knowledge, no other publications have studied the camp Oberstdorf-Birgsau except for his *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 164–167.

Information about the investigations of the Oberstdorf-Birgsau subcamp is available in the protocols at the BA-L (formerly ZdL) and the files of the preliminary proceedings of the Sta. Mü. Some records are also available in AG-D.

Gernot Römer
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, April 5, 1967, BA-L, 410 AR 172–73, pp. 80–81.

2. Wladislaus Krystofiak, Testimony in the preliminary proceedings 1Js 2/65, Sta. Mü II.

3. Conversation with the author, April 4, 1984.

4. Letter of October 26, 1999, pp. 5–7, AG-D, 34103.
5. Krystofiak, testimony.
6. Statements by inhabitants of Oberstdorf.
7. Schlussvermerk, pp. 80–81, and files of the SS-Hauptamt in the preliminary hearings 1Js 2/65, Sta. Mü II.

OTTOBRUNN

The Dachau subcamp at Ottobrunn was located in the western part of Ottobrunn (Unterhaching) near Munich between the streets Zaunkönig, Drossel, and Grasmücken, close to blocks of apartments. It was not connected to the Waldlager, which was also located in Ottobrunn and which probably held prisoners of war (POWs).

From January 1944 (or, according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], October 1943), Dachau prisoners were brought to Ottobrunn to commence construction of the camp. The camp itself is mentioned in documents for the first time in May 1944 (ITS: March 1944). The Ottobrunn prisoners were used to construct the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution) in Munich, one of eight such large research institutes planned for the Third Reich. Construction had been constantly delayed due to problems in the supply of materials and a shortage of personnel.

The Ottobrunn subcamp was a medium-sized camp and held between 350 and 600 prisoners. The largest number of prisoners held in the camp was in September 1944—about 900, when 500 *Nacht-und-Nebel* (Night-and-Fog) prisoners were temporarily taken to the camp. The prisoners were mostly political or so-called criminals. There were no Jews in Ottobrunn. Martin Wolf, who has researched the history of the camp, states that the prisoners mostly came from Germany, Poland, Italy, Ukraine, Spain, Norway, and the Netherlands. There were also a few Greeks, Yugoslavs, Belgians, and French.

The camp was secured with an electrified barbed-wire fence. There was a command office, canteen barracks, toilet barracks, two large sleeping and living barracks, an SS barracks, three medical rooms for the SS, accommodation barracks for the German employees, and a separate barracks for POWs. During the last months of the war, security was taken over by Luftwaffe soldiers, who were less hostile to the prisoners. Nevertheless, the prisoners were mistreated by the camp personnel, above all by the deputy camp commander. The subcamp prisoners were submitted to the same punishment regime as in the concentration camps—being confined in so-called bunkers, sustaining whippings, and running the gauntlet.

The prisoners worked 9 to 11 hours daily. They worked in setting up the camp infrastructure, which consisted of an Aerodynamics Institute, an Institute for Jet Propulsion, construction administration buildings, employee barracks, a civilian work camp, temporary workshops, and other technical facilities (a light railway and transformer, etc). Most of these facilities were still being built in 1945. The prisoners removed storm damage in the forest, which surrounded the camp, and in February they were sent to the Technical University in Munich to remove bomb damage. They built a house for the mayor in the nearby town of Hohenbrunn, worked in a gravel pit, shifted electrical wires, and repaired radios in a Munich workshop. Despite the heavy work and harsh living conditions, the camp is described as being bearable—probably because the prisoners' food rations were supplemented by the Luftwaffe and because the prisoners had their own beds. There is one recorded case of a successful escape attempt. It succeeded because a local woman helped the escapee. There is also recorded one death in the camp. This figure can be misleading because in general prisoners who could no longer work were transferred back to the main camp.

The Ottobrunn subcamp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 26, 1945. On May 1, 1945, the Ottobrunn camp command with some of the prisoners set off for Switzerland. The prisoners were left to themselves shortly before the Swiss border and crossed over the border to Switzerland. Other prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Ötztal, where a branch office of the Air Research Institution was in the process of being constructed. However, they were liberated by U.S. troops in Bad Wiessee.

The former deputy camp commander was sentenced by a U.S. military court in 1945 to 15 years' prison in Landsberg. He was released in 1953.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:90, contains details of the Ottobrunn subcamp. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1831, also refers to the camp. A comprehensive description of the Ottobrunn subcamp by Inga Wolf and Martin Wolf is found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 461–464. This essay is based on extensive research by Martin Wolf published in his monograph *Im Zwang für das Reich. Vergessen? Verdrängt? Verarbeitet? Das Aussenlager des KZ Dachau in Ottobrunn* (self-published, 1997).

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the BHStA-(M) (StanW LG München II, I Js 3/65) and the AG-D (above all, Da 12 Js 30/59). The proceedings against the deputy camp commander are documented in NARA, Case 000-50-2-101, *USA v. August Burkhardt, et al.* Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) ceased in the 1960s; see file IV 410 AR 469/69.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ÖTZTAL

The Ötztal subcamp was located in the Austrian state of Tirol, which during the German annexation was called Reichsgau Tirol. Albert Knoll relates the erection of the camp to Nazi plans to build an aerodynamic research institute but also

points out that the late date at which prisoners were sent to Ötztal indicates that they were sent on evacuation marches to that destination.

Already in 1940 the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution) in Munich and the Messerschmitt company had planned to erect a giant wind tunnel near the Ötztal station, a wind tunnel that was planned as the largest in the world and where jet planes could be tested. Ötztal proved to be a perfect location for this project since it needed an enormous amount of energy, which could have been provided by the Ötztaler Ache river. Construction was under way during the war, for instance, for a tunnel with a pressure turbine and a cable railway that led from the valley to the sluiceway. By the end of the war, 2,300 tons of parts had been used, and the completion of the wind tunnel was planned for summer 1945. For that time, the employment of large numbers of Dachau inmates was planned; they would have been housed in a former Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp near the Ötztal station. But due to the advancing war, work on the camp never began.

Nevertheless, Ötztal became the destination of a number of evacuation marches from Dachau. A first transport left Dachau on April 23, 1945, and further groups of inmates followed within the next days from the main camp, the Kaufering and Allach subcamps, from Mühldorf and Ottobrunn. On April 26, about 10,000 inmates left Dachau; their destination again was Ötztal. The inmates, mainly Germans, Jews, Poles, and Russians, marched in groups of 1,500 and unbearable conditions in a southerly direction. Most of them were liberated in the following days by U.S. troops. Another transport of 1,759 Jews from Kaufering was taken by train to Seefeld in Tirol. Their further transport to Ötztal was interrupted by an air raid that destroyed the train tracks. Tyrolean Gauleiter Karl Hofer hindered the continuation of the death march and insisted on the inmates being marched back to Bavaria, but alone during the one stay near Seefeld, 30 inmates died from starvation and exhaustion. By May 4, 1945, at the latest, all transports of inmates—either on the way to Ötztal or in Ötztal itself—had been liberated by U.S. troops.

SOURCES This essay is mainly based on the article by Alfred Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 459–461. Knoll uses, among other sources, an unfinished paper by Ernstfried Thiel, "Von Ötztal nach Modane. Aus der Geschichte des grossen Hochgeschwindigkeits-Windkanals 'Bauvorhaben 101' der Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt München (LFM), später Anlage S1MA der ONERA," which was presented in October 1986 at a meeting of Fachgruppe 12 (history of aviation and space research) of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Luft- und Raumfahrt.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:89, mentions Ötztal. There are also archival records regarding the Ötztal subcamp: In N-Doc. 3452-PS, there is a statement by the Gaustabsamtsleiter of Upper Bavaria that it was planned to execute the Dachau inmates once they had reached the Ötztal area. Two publications mention the Ötztal plans: Thomas Albrich and Stefan Dietrich, "Todesmarsch in die 'Alpenfestung.' Der 'Evakuierungstransport' aus dem KZ Dachau nach Tirol Ende April 1945," GuR 6 (1997): 13–48; and Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 554–560.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLANSEE [AKA BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE] (MEN)

There was a Dachau subcamp in the Tyrolean town of Plansee. The subcamp held both male and female prisoners.

The male prisoners were held in a hotel, the Forelle, and surrounding buildings, in the northeast of Plansee on the road connecting Reutte and Oberammergau. The hotel functioned as an officers' camp (*Oflag*) for senior French military officers from the rank of major and above. At first there were 15 military officers held in Plansee, but by the end of the war, the numbers had increased to about 100. Security for the prisoners of war (POWs) as well as the prisoners was provided for by 20 to 30 guards, mostly Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Hungary. They were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rittmeister Erfurt.

The camp was occupied for the first time on September 2, 1944—at the same time when the first French POW had arrived in Plansee. The 15 to 25 male prisoners in the camp were used by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) to maintain the hotel, to serve the POWs, and probably to work in the forests in the area. The prisoners were mostly Germans or came from East European nations.

There are no known transfers from the Plansee subcamp back to Dachau or other camps. The prisoners described the camp as "humane," with relatively good food and comparatively good working conditions. There were no killings and the prisoners were not mistreated. For this reason, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1970.

There are different accounts about the end of the camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (Federal Law Digest, *BGBl.*), relying on a prisoner's statement, put the end of the camp as May 5, 1945, but historian Albert Knoll states the camp was surrendered to the U.S. Army on April 29, 1945, without a fight.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91, refers to "Plansee Camp (Male and Female Camp)," as does the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2

BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832. Albert Knoll gives an exhaustive description of the Plansee subcamp (both male and female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 466–467.

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the following archives: in AG-D (including collections 37154—Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz) and in NARA (RG 153 Box 188 Folder 05, Statements by the guard Karl-Otto H. and medical orderly Josef Bablick, September 26, 1946; and RG 153 Box 197 Folder 04, Statement by Johann Metzinger, November 29, 1946). Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) were recorded in File IV 410 AR 633/70. The files hold several witness statements.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLANSEE [AKA BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE] (WOMEN)

In the Tyrolean town of Plansee, there was a Dachau subcamp that held both male and female prisoners.

The Plansee camp is referred to as a Dachau subcamp for the first time on September 2, 1944, when a group of male prisoners arrived at the camp. Almost simultaneously with the male prisoners from Dachau, but not later than September 26, 1944, a group of female prisoners began to work in the subcamp. The 15 to 20 women at the camp had originally come from Ravensbrück; in October 1944, they came under the administrative control of Dachau. As with the male prisoners, the women were guarded by 20 to 30 SS men, mostly Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Hungary, who were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rittmeister Erfurt.

The women were accommodated in the Hotel Ammersee and were used mostly for kitchen and cleaning work for the French officer prisoners of war (POWs) who were also interned in Plansee. As with the male internees, the women experienced relatively good working and living conditions. This assessment was confirmed in 1970 by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

There are different accounts on the end of the Plansee camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (*BGBl.*) give May 5, 1945, as the date of liberation, but historian Albert Knoll states that it was on April 29, 1945, that the camp was handed over without a struggle to the U.S. Army.

SOURCES The Plansee women's subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832. Albert Knoll provides an extensive description of the Plansee camp (male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 466–467.

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the following archives: in AG-D (collections 37154—Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz) and in NARA (RG 153 Box 188 Folder 05, Statements by the guard Karl-Otto H. and medical orderly Josef Bablick, September 26, 1946; and RG 153 Box 197 Folder 04, Statement Johann Metzinger, November 2, 1946). Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) are to found in File IV 410 AR 633/70; the files contain several eyewitness accounts.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

RADOLFZELL

On May 19, 1941, a railway transport delivered 113 Dachau concentration camp prisoners to the SS barracks at Radolfzell, where an SS-noncommissioned officers' school had been established in the middle of February 1941. The prisoners were to construct a large-caliber shooting range and to generally work in the barracks area. The commander of this Dachau subcamp reported to the barracks command. The commanders of the Radolfzell subcamp were Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss (1906–1946), from May 1941 to August 1942; after that there was either an Unterscharführer or an Oberscharführer called Schmidt, Schmid, or possibly Schmitt, as well as a Hugo Lausterer. Between December 1943 and January 1945, Oberscharführer Hermann Rostek (1898–1970) was in command.

The prisoners were accommodated in a two-room stable. They slept on two-tiered bunk beds that had been installed in the former horse stalls. The prisoners were locked into the stalls at night. They were mostly Germans, Poles, and Czechs. By category, the prisoners were political "protective custody" prisoners, criminals, professional criminals, and emigrants.

About 90 prisoners were used to construct the shooting range. The other prisoners worked on the exercise square, at the swimming baths Herzen (Troop Swimming Institute/Water Exercises) as well as in the barracks (e.g., cobblers, tailors, barbers, electricians, and workers in the dental laboratory). Leonhard Oesterle, who was talented in drawing, was instructed to cover the walls of the barracks with pictures of heroic SS men. The reason for this was that the Radolfzell Heinrich Koeppen Barracks wanted to win a competition as the most picturesque barracks in Germany. The prisoners also worked on farms in the nearby area.

Some 72 prisoners were returned to Dachau in July–August 1942 after work had ceased on the shooting range. None of the prisoners in the barracks were put to work in Radolfzell industries. However, it did happen that SS members used the prisoners for private work outside official working hours. This

was usually on Sundays and mostly was garden or other household work.

Food and living conditions in the Radolfzell camp are said to have been relatively good. The food was prepared in the barracks' kitchen. Extra food was available for the prisoners who worked in the kitchen. Prisoners who worked on the farms were especially fortunate. Often they had nutritious snacks and sometimes could smuggle food back into the camp.

Despite the relatively good conditions, prisoners did try to escape from Radolfzell. Oesterle remembers a case in 1941–1942 when three Czech prisoners escaped. One was shot and brought back dead; another was brought back alive; and it was said of the third that he was found dead. Oesterle and Ulrich Sedlacek successfully escaped on November 15, 1943, with a boat across Lake Constance to Switzerland. They had found a gap in the security and used it.

The subcamp had brought its own guards to Radolfzell. There were not many. They were mostly to be found in action while the shooting range was being built. The guards of the Noncommissioned Officers' School, which changed daily, also supervised the barracks work detachment. The camp area was not secured with any particular type of fencing.

Between 1967 and 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg conducted preliminary investigations into whether homicides were committed in the camp. It concluded that two or three prisoners died but that it was not possible to identify the victims or the perpetrators. As a result, investigations were stopped in 1978.

A chance discovery in the Radolfzell City Archive in 1997 brought to light proof of a violent death in the Radolfzell camp, however. Prisoner Jakob Dörr was shot on November 11, 1941, on the shooting range, which was then under construction. He was shot "trying to escape." Witnesses have said that a supervisor pulled a cap from a prisoner's head and threw it on the other side of the sentry line. When the prisoner obeyed the order to recover the cap, he was shot. Perhaps Dörr was this prisoner.

The remaining 19 prisoners were returned from Radolfzell to Dachau on January 16, 1945. Their train came under attack by a low-flying aircraft in Allgäu. The transport was rerouted, and the prisoners reached Leonberg by foot. Here there was a camp under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. It is claimed that 3 to 4 prisoners were able to escape from this transport. Among the escapees was the father of a child that the wife of an SS-Oberscharführer, based in the Radolfzell barracks, gave birth to in the middle of March 1945.

SOURCES This entry is based upon detailed witness reports that are to be found in the published biography of Leonhard Oesterle and Sigbert E. Kluwe, *Glücksvogel: Leos Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: Signal-Verl., 1990).

Detailed information about life in the Radolfzell camp is to be found in the files of the ZdL at BA-L (110 AR 505/91); and in the Konstanz Sta. (IV 410 AR 2050/67; IV 410 AR-Z 145/76 [Dr.]; 11 Js 139/76).

Achim Fenner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

RIEDERLOH [AKA RIEDERLOH II]

Riederloh II existed only for four months, from September 1944 until January 8, 1945. It must have been hell. At first 800 to 1,000 inmates lived there. At the time it was dissolved, only 200 to 300 were still alive.[1] About half of the prisoners lost their lives there. Simon Szochet from Łódź, later a U.S. citizen, stated: "I certainly experienced horrible things before then. Still, what I witnessed in Riederloh is part of the most horrible."[2] As Asher Shafran from Israel observed: "What I saw in Łódź would fill ten books. Nevertheless, the worst was still Riederloh."[3]

This Dachau subcamp was located in the rural district of Kaufbeuren near the community of Mauerstetten. It was referred to as Riederloh II to distinguish it from a barrack camp by the same name that had been established earlier to house foreign workers. All these people were needed to build and operate a gunpowder and explosives factory for Dynamit AG, where 130 to 150 million primers for cartridges were to be manufactured. Its 90 bunkers and buildings were camouflaged so expertly that in 1945, after occupying Kaufbeuren, the American troops remained unaware of this nearby factory's existence for several days.[4]

The barracks of Riederloh II were surrounded by an electrically charged barbed-wire fence and guard towers. The concentration camp inmates transported there in early September 1944 were almost without exception Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto. They came from Auschwitz, 14- and 15-year-old boys, among them. Later, Hungarian Jews were also brought there. Physicians, lawyers, pharmacists, artists, and other men unsuitable for heavy physical work were among them and supposedly even several children under the age of 10.[5]

A German woman then employed by Dynamit AG recalls that at their arrival the Hungarians provided a horrific sight. They were covered with filth and excrement and, totally exhausted, literally fell out of the railroad cars. The cook of the Riederloh camp for foreign workers gave each of them a boiled potato. When SS men upbraided him for doing so, he yelled at them: "If you touch me, I'll douse you with boiling water." This cook always tried to augment their food ration with a little extra soup. Some of these pitiable people were so weak that they had to prop each other up.[6]

The list of camps established by the International Tracing Service (ITS) identifies Dynamit AG, the Berlin Construction Co., and Hebel Construction Co. as the employers of the camp inmates who had to build roads, dig ditches for pipes, cut down trees, and remove snow. They also had to work on the site of the powder factory: "We worked in the cold, had no clothes, and were starving," one of these men later testified. Another describes how only those who somehow could get their hands on underwear had anything to wear under their striped suits. They wore wooden shoes. Some would wind rags around their feet. Often they dragged dead inmates when they returned to camp. Allegedly, almost daily, prisoners fell victim to hunger, wretched hygiene facilities, cold, disease—mainly typhus and bacterial dysentery—and mistreatment.

What follows are statements from some former inmates:

> Allegedly in October 1944 a Yugoslav physician who suffered from diarrhea left his place during roll call to relieve himself; he was drowned in the latrine on the order of the camp leader.
>
> In mid-November 1944 three prisoners were brought to the camp and hanged on a specially erected gallows near one of the guard towers. This hanging took place around noon as the inmates were eating.
>
> In another case at the end of November 1944, nine or ten prisoners were beaten to death by the SS guards near the camp's main gate because they had stuffed their jackets with paper from cement bags to protect themselves from the rain.
>
> The camp leader and his deputy were also rumored to have beaten prisoners to death during roll call.[7]

A prisoner who was a member of the burial detail testified that "practically every day I had to take dead people to a big mass grave in the forest. I would say that about 400 perished."[8]

On January 8, 1945, Riederloh II was dissolved. Supposedly the camp had been inspected by a commission from Dachau shortly before. The survivors were taken to Dachau by train. Even there, they apparently attracted attention because of their pitiful condition and were quarantined. For a while they did not have to work and did not even have to get their own food.[9]

After World War II, legal authorities tried to throw light on the crimes committed in Riederloh II. "There were so many deaths in the camp as a result of hunger, cold, diseases, and beatings that I can no longer describe specific cases," and "at that time I was already so worn out that my memory does not function properly," stated the former inmate Blumenfeld from Łódź.[10] In Germany no trial ever took place. The records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) claim that it was not even possible to establish who had been the commandant and who the deputy commandant at Riederloh.

After the end of the war in 1945, U.S. military authorities searched for an SS member by the name of Wilhelm Wagner who had worked on the site of Dynamit AG. They arrested him, assuming that he had been the Riederloh camp commandant. But as it turned out, he was not the right man. Now it is generally assumed that Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner, born in 1904 in Augsburg, had been the Riederloh camp leader, although in the handwritten résumé he prepared for the file of the Dachau war crimes trial in which he was a defendant, he did not mention having been there.[11] Instead, during the cross-examination, he testified having been the camp leader at the Kaufbeuren/Spinnerei camp, where, he claimed, he brought his inmates milk and cream cheese: "It was known that at many work stations the prisoners were very well fed." On December 13, 1945, the U.S. military court sentenced him to death. He was executed at Landsberg am Lech prison in 1946.[12]

Wagner's deputy and possibly camp leader in his own right for some time at Riederloh II was probably Edmund Zdrojewski. In 1947, the Americans extradited this SS-Hauptscharführer to Poland. In Kraków he was sentenced to death for the killings he committed in the Polish Plaszow concentration camp.[13]

Finally, in 1983, Albert Talens, the former senior camp prisoner of Riederloh II, was tried in the Dutch city of Maastricht. Until then he had lived in Austria, but during a visit in Holland he was arrested and charged with having beaten to death dozens of Hungarian and Polish Jews. Survivors who appeared as witnesses referred to him as a libidinal murderer, an angel of death, and a sadist. Israeli Dov Sol, who in 1944 was 16 years old, stated that Talens beat him into unconsciousness. He also had witnessed Talens caning five men to death in the washroom. Other witnesses reported similar incidents. The state prosecutor demanded a 20-year prison sentence; the defense lawyer asked for acquittal. The sentence: Acquittal. In summarizing the court's decision, the president of the court stressed that without doubt the horrible crimes the witnesses had described did occur at Riederloh II. Nevertheless, too many doubts remained to prove without reasonable doubt that it was Talens who was guilty of these deeds.[14]

SOURCES The author deals with Riederloh II most extensively in his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 167–177. Journalist Susanne Rössler also discusses this camp in the book Rössler and Gerhard Stütz, eds., *Neugablonz: Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Schwäbisch Gmund: Die Gesellschaft, 1986); as does Heinz Kleinert on p. 242 of the same work. Dr. Hans Joachim Hübner's book *Die Fabrik Kaufbeuren der Dynamit AG* (Kempten, 1995) contains a chapter titled "Die Zündhütchenfabrik und das Lager Steinholz," pp. 120–129. The KaGb 15:3, deals with the Hebrew inscriptions on the gravestones in the Riederloh II memorial near Mauerstetten.

This article is based on the entry of the ZdL, now the BA-L. The author found additional documents in YVA. He also interviewed Asher Shaffran and Dov Sol, both former inmates. Finally, he researched locally in the area of the former camp and there too spoke with witnesses.

Gernot Römer
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.

2. Simon Szochet, Testimony in the investigation of the Sta. Mü, 320 Js 120–64/76.

3. Asher Shafran, in conversation with the author, 1984.

4. Susanne Rössler and Gerhard Stütz, eds., *Neugablonz: Entstehung and Entwicklung* (Schwäbisch Gmund: Die Gesellschaft, 1986), p. 49.

5. YVA; these descriptions come from the testimonies of several former inmates.

6. Testimony of an anonymous female witness in conversation with the author, 1984.

7. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.

8. Testimony at the Sta. Mü.

9. Asher Shafran, 1984.

10. Testimony at Sta. Mü.

11. Willi Dresen, Prosecutor (ZdL), letter to the author, June 26, 1984.

12. Holger Lessing, "Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46" (1983), AG-D, p. 83.

13. In a letter of December 3, 1982, to journalist Susanne Rössler, the Viennese journalist Jules Huf names Wilhelm Wagner as the commandant in Riederloh and Edmund Zdrojewski as his deputy. Zdrojewski's extradition is documented in the files of ZdL.

14. Albert Talens's arrest and trial were reported in *AugsA*, September 29, 1982, April 29, 1983, and May 11, 1983; and *FR*, June 3, 1983.

ROSENHEIM

The Bavarian district town of Rosenheim is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southeast of Munich. The first reference to a Dachau detachment in Rosenheim is on April 14, 1945. At that time, the camp held 217 male prisoners. It is unclear whether a subcamp was established in Rosenheim or whether the prisoners were brought daily from a camp in Stephanskirchen to Rosenheim for work. The city at this time was the target of air raids, as it was an important railway junction to the south of Munich. Heavy air raids on Rosenheim occurred on April 9 and 13 and from April 18 to April 23, 1945.

The last reference to a subcamp in Rosenheim is on April 25, 1945. On May 2, 1945, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg after the war did not reveal any further information.

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1836. An extensive description of the Rosenheim subcamp by Veronika Diem is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 472–473. This work is based upon Diem's master's thesis "Fremdarbeit in Oberbayern: Studien zur Geschichte der Zwangsarbeit am Beispiel Rosenheim und Kolbermoor 1939 bis 1945" (Ludwig-Maximilian University, 2004).

The AG-D holds documents on the Rosenheim subcamp in the following collections: ITS-Sachdokumenten-Ordner Dachau 8 (206) and 32789 (Stärkemeldung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 26. April 1945). In the StA-M, Signatur SpkA K 81 (Josef Bauer), are witness statements dealing with establishment of the camp in April 1945. Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were conducted in 1973 under file reference IV 410 AR 179/ 73. The files contain a list of the liberated prisoners.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (*AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO*) [AKA SALZBURG (*AUFRÄUMKOMMANDO*); SALZBURG (*AUFRÄUMUNGS- UND ENTSCHÄRFUNGSKOMMANDO*)]

Salzburg is located 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, one of them the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment), also referred to as Aufräumungs- und Entschärfungskommando (Cleanup and Defusing Detachment).

The Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Male inmates were used to clean up after bombing raids on the city. There were, on average, 15 prisoners in the camp.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were unable to identify any survivors. The investigations ceased for this reason in 1973.

The camp was liberated on May 4, 1945, when troops of the U.S. XV Corps, Allied 6th Army Group, under the command of General Jacob L. Devers, captured the city without a fight. Research by historian Albert Knoll has revealed that a few hours before the city fell a prisoner was shot trying to escape.

SOURCES The Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,"*BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. A description of the camp by Albert Knoll is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 473–474.

Some information on the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is in AG-D. For the death of the prisoner referred to by Knoll above, see "Das Ende des KZ-Häftlings 66698," *SalzN*, July 19, 1945.

Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were filed under File IV 410 AR 180/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (*BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO*)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, including

the camp Bombensuchkommando (Bomb Search Detachment) subcamp.

The Salzburg Bombensuchkommando was established at the latest by November 27, 1944. This is confirmed by an entry in the Dachau Death Register, which records on this day the death of one German and two Polish prisoners, following a bombing raid.

As with other Salzburg subcamps, the Bombensuchkommando was liberated when U.S. troops took Salzburg without a fight on May 4, 1945.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg commenced investigation into the subcamp but ceased the investigations when it was unable to ascertain the names of any survivors.

SOURCES The Salzburg Bombensuchkommando subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Bombensuchkommando in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 474.

The entry in the Dachau Register of Deaths is located in AG-D in Signatur 8305. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are to be found in file reference IV 410 AR 181/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (*FIRMA SCHÜRICH*)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps located in Salzburg, one of them being at Firma Schürich.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is mentioned for the first time on December 11, 1942. It was the first subcamp to be established in Salzburg. The male inmates worked for the company Firma E. Schürich in Salzburg. Historian Albert Knoll suggests that the Firma Schürich, as with other construction firms, was involved in the renovation of the archbishop's palace. The camp was dissolved on December 28, 1942, two weeks after its establishment.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began investigations into the camp. The files contain the names of the prisoners and witness statements. However, these alone were insufficient to indicate that any crimes had been committed in this subcamp.

SOURCES The Salzburg Firma Schürich is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:72; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Firma Schürich subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 475.

Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are found under file reference IV 410 AR 184/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (*POLIZEIDIREKTION*) [AKA SALZBURG (HELLBRUNNER ALLEE)]

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city including the Polizeidirektion (Police Headquarters) subcamp.

The Salzburg Polizeidirektion camp opened, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), on December 1, 1944. The approximately 90 male prisoners worked in the Salzburg Police Headquarters. They were accommodated in barracks on the Hellbrunner Allee. All that is known is that accounts were rendered in February 1945 for 112 skilled workers for 2,240 hours of work. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 14, 1945. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg at the beginning of the 1970s could not locate any survivors.

SOURCES The Salzburg Polizeidirektion subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Polizeidirektion subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 474.

Details of the hours worked by the prisoners are to be found in AG-D, Best. 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz).
Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under reference IV 410 AR 183/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the town, including the Sprengkommando (Demolition Detachment) subcamp.

The Sprengkommando subcamp was established on January 12, 1945. The prisoners in the detachment were used for a variety of demolition assignments, which probably was concerned with construction and cleanup work.

Salzburg surrendered to troops of the XV U.S. Corps, which was under the control of General Jacob L. Devers's 6th Army Group, without a fight. Following the surrender of the city, the prisoners were released on May 4, 1945.

During its investigations in the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg was unable to locate any survivors of the Sprengkommando subcamp.

SOURCES The Salzburg Sprengkommando subcamp is listed in *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. A description of the subcamp by Albert Knoll is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 475.

Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) have the file number IV 410 AR 185/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SAULGAU

The Saulgau subcamp, 88 kilometers (55miles) to the southeast of Stuttgart, opened on August 14, 1943, when the first inmate transport arrived at the camp. (The date of September 13, 1943, mentioned by the International Tracing Service [ITS] as the date on which the camp opened, is based on the arrival of a further transport of 100 prisoners. It is not to be understood as the actual date on which the camp was founded. August 14 has been confirmed in witness statements and city council documents as the date the subcamp was established, as historian Georg Metzler makes clear in his work.) There were 40 prisoners in the first transport, many of them construction workers, as well as eight SS men (including two dog handlers). The prisoners began with the construction of four prisoner barracks, a laundry barracks, kitchen barracks, four watchtowers, and a fence. In addition, they converted the former binding machine building (*Binderhalle*) of the L. Bautz Company into a production site for the V-2 rocket.

Saulgau was laid out for a capacity of 600 prisoners, but this number was never reached. On average, there were 350 to a maximum of 440 prisoners in the camp. Of the prisoners, 55 percent were Russian; 24 percent, German; 5 percent, Italian; and 4 percent, Poles. Many of the prisoners were classified as "asocials" and criminals. There is no evidence of Jewish prisoners at Saulgau. The prisoners came either from Dachau or from the Friedrichshafen subcamp, which was closely connected to Saulgau with regard to production and organization. Officially, the "protective custody" camp leader was SS-Obersturmbannführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg, who was also in command of the subcamps at Friedrichshafen and Überlingen.

The actual camp leaders (Lagerführer) on site in Saulgau were Oberscharführer Hans Nikol Sengenberger and, from December 1, 1944, onward, Untersturmführer Ludwig Geiss. Sengenberger was brutal, strict, and radical in performing his duties; Geiss, on the other hand, was referred to by the prisoners as "Papa Geiss." He abolished all camp punishments, forbade the mistreatment of prisoners, improved the prisoners' rations by purchasing additional food, paid for medicine for the prisoners out of his own pocket, and, contrary to the regulations, did not report any prisoner infringements to his superiors in Dachau.

Largely due to Geiss's actions, Saulgau was one of the most bearable of the Dachau subcamps. The prisoner death rate in 1944 was 6.5:1,000, whereas that in Überlingen was 388:1,000. During the entire period of its existence until April 4, 1945, there is evidence of 6 deaths in the camp, while approximately 35 additional deaths occurred in connection with a transport of 214 prisoners from Überlingen that arrived in the camp on April 5, 1945, despite the self-sacrificing efforts of prisoner physician Ivan Matijasic.

There was a maximum of 300 SS guards and at least four dogs. Some 40 percent of the guards were Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. A few of the guards presumably wore Wehrmacht uniforms, having been injured at the front and transferred to the SS for guard duty.

The reason for the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners may also derive in part from the circumstance that the camp, located on the property of the L. Bautz Company, was largely open to public view and that the production of fuselage halves for rockets required unhindered, efficient processing. The Zeppelin Dirigible Company bore the chief responsibility for the production of the rocket parts, while the L. Bautz Company, which had specialized in the manufacture of harvesting machines before the war, was a subcontractor. Prisoners repeatedly confirmed the positive actions of the Bautz Company management, for example, the provision of extra rations and even beer.

Aggregat 4 (A4) was the scientific name of the retaliatory weapon V-2. A group of about 100 prisoners constructed the so-called fuselage halves (aerodynamic cladding for the rocket's fuselage) for the A4 in Saulgau. Measuring 6.17 meters (20.24 feet) in length, the fuselage halves were the rocket's largest single component. Saulgau supplied about 50 percent of the V-2 half-shells. Another 30 to 35 prisoners made the tops and bottoms of the rocket fuel tanks.

There was also a transport detail, which gathered material from 13 storage depots in Saulgau and the surrounding area, and a railway detail responsible for loading and unloading trains at night. From the summer of 1944 onward, due to supply bottlenecks, the prisoners were increasingly leased for work outside the camp. In Saulgau, for example, they built warehouses, an emergency water reservoir, air-raid tunnels, and emergency housing. In isolated cases, prisoners helped clean up rubble after bombing raids and were used to defuse bombs.

On April 4, 1945, 254 prisoners were evacuated from Saulgau. They were to be taken to the rocket production site at Dora-Mittelwerk. Due to enemy air-raid attacks, however, they were rerouted to Dachau. The camp was liberated by French troops on April 22, 1945.

After the war, seven guards were sentenced to jail for periods of one and one-half to three years. Lagerführer Sengenberger was sentenced to jail for five years. Lagerführer Geiss was held by the French as a prisoner of war. Prisoners spoke out in his favor.

SOURCES The Saulgau subcamp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94. An excellent, detailed, and well-founded study on the Saulgau subcamp is to be found in Georg Metzler's "*Geheime Kommandosache*": *Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben; Das Aussenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945)* (Bergatreute, 1997). In addition to detailed listings about technical matters, the fates of the prisoners, and primary sources for research on the camp, the book contains numerous illustrations, including aerial photographs of the town and the camp (cover and p. 46), a plan of the subcamp and the production site (p. 45), photos of former Saulgau prisoners, a simplified construction plan of the Aggregat A4 (p. 193), and a picture of the subcamp victims' graves at the Saulgau cemetery. The camp is also described in detail by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 477–481.

The file designator for the investigations carried out by ZdL (now BA-L) is IV 410 AR-Z 25/ 71. Other archival sources on the Saulgau subcamp are located at AG-D, BA-B, BA-P, BA-MA, BHStA-(M), DMM, and LZF and in numerous other local and regional archives in Bavaria and Württemberg. Detailed references can be obtained in the above-cited study by Georg Metzler.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SCHLACHTERS

For about a year, between April 5, 1944, and April 1945, there was a Dachau subcamp in Schlachters.[1] Schlachters is part of the village of Sigmarszell in the Lindau/Bodensee district. The subcamp was small; there were seven or eight prisoners and four or five SS guards. The prisoners lived in a wooden house near the Hotel Sonne. The hotel proprietress occasionally left potatoes, vegetables, and bread for the men to supplement their diet.

Prepared in August 1974, a memo by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) concluded its investigations into the small subcamp near Lake Constance as follows: "The Dachau main camp established a subcamp in Schlachters near Lindau as an institute for applied scientific research." The office had found no evidence of homicides.[2] Experiments were carried out on the prisoners in connection with a medication designed to clot blood. The tablets were to be used to protect wounded soldiers from losing too much blood.

The most important people in Schlachters were SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Kurt Friedrich Plötner (a medical doctor) and one of his prisoners, the chemist Robert Feix. Following a period as an assistant in the malaria experimentation laboratory at the Dachau main camp, Plötner continued his research on a clotting agent in tablet form called Polygal. Prisoners state that in Schlachters the concern was with an agent called "Pektin." Regardless of what the correct name may be, however, there is no doubt that a medication was to be developed that could stem the flow of human blood.

Plötner's prisoner assistant Feix was extremely well acquainted with pectins. Extracted from apples, apricots, and citrus fruits, these substances can be used as gelling agents. Members of the Feix family state that he invented this method. In his factory in Cologne he produced a substance derived from pectins that he called "Opekta." Both before and after World War II, this product would have been found in just about every German household, used by housewives to make jam in the summer or jellies for autumn and winter. Feix was evidently not "pure Aryan" but rather of partly Jewish heritage. According to his children, the Nazis ultimately accused him of currency violations because he had a Swiss bank account. They confiscated his company and sent him to a concentration camp.[3]

In Schlachters, the pectin was derived from beet shreds. Former prisoner Franz Jauk states that this process was carried out by putting the beets into previously treated water. Vats from the fruit and wine merchant Nikolodi were used for this purpose. The substance was then taken to the Edelweiss dairy plant in Schlachters and dried in an apparatus previously used in the production of powdered milk and confiscated by the SS.[4] According to Michael Rauch, another Schlachters prisoner, the prisoners then had to ingest the pectin. Plötner subsequently drew blood from them and put drops of it onto a microscope slide. The so-called Institute for Applied Scientific Research was not able to conclude its experiments successfully. Rauch suggests that the prisoners played a role in this failure: "We did not want to prolong the war."[5]

Rauch, who was from Kaufbeuren, was imprisoned in the concentration camp due to his membership in the German Communist Party (KPD). He had continued to distribute Communist leaflets and newspapers even after Hitler had assumed power and the KPD had been banned. He paid for this illegal activity with more than 10 years in jail. Rauch was a trained baker. In Schlachters, the final stage of his ordeal, he cooked what was delivered from Dachau and what the prisoners received from farmers.

The Austrian Jauk was also a Communist sent to the Dachau concentration camp. As a clerk in the infirmary, he and another prisoner kept lists of the names of the many who died. He was then assigned to the section of the concentration camp where infamous experiments on human beings took place. His most horrible memories are of hypothermia experiments. People were put in cold water in order to determine what clothing would best protect air crew and sailors from hypothermia while in the sea. Until the end of his life, Jauk was unable to forget the images of the men who were forced to stand in ice-cold water with thermometers in their mouths and anuses. Above all, the deaths of two Soviet officers were etched in his memory. "They stood next to one another in the cooling

vessel and one said to the other: 'They will kill us here. But we will die as the men we were.' They held hands and died, enduring great pain. For their Fatherland."

In Schlachters, Jauk and his fellow inmates had returned to a world without barbed wire. The wooden building in which the handful of prisoners (Germans, Austrians, Slovenians, and a Pole) were housed was not fenced in. On the way to the dairy, they were guarded by SS men, but they were not mistreated. In the evenings, they were even permitted to go into the village. Officially, the villagers were not permitted to speak to the men in the striped uniforms, but nevertheless contact was made. Jauk reported: "Exceptions aside, the villagers were very decent people."

Rauch even received secret visits from his wife—and what is more, he visited her in nearby Kaufbeuren. When the Feix family lost their Innsbruck apartment in a bombing raid, they found refuge with a farmer in Schlachters. The concentration camp prisoners were not isolated in Schlachters as in other camps, as is evidenced in part by the fact that after World War II three of them married women they had met in the Swabian village.

Jauk may have played a role in the fate of his comrades in the final days of the Third Reich. He was charged with collecting the daily mail for the guards. As he was never accompanied by a guard, he occasionally opened a letter. He did this once again shortly before the end of the war and read a command that the prisoners were to be returned to the Dachau main camp to be liquidated. According to Jauk, the letter never reached the SS.[6]

Jauk recalls that, in the end, a few prisoners were given civilian clothes by the villagers and waited in a forest until French troops occupied Schlachters. Before this happened, the SS doctor Plötner and the remaining SS men had handed their weapons over to the prisoners—some willingly and others not, according to Jauk.

The SS-Hauptsturmführer and later Sturmbannführer Dr. Plötner had been involved in medical experiments on prisoners in Dachau. He assisted the camp physician, Professor Schilling, in malaria experiments but also made an effort to carry out independent research. His healing method reportedly consisted of treating prisoners with an artificially induced fever of 40° to 42°C. This was extremely hard on the emaciated prisoners, some of whom suffered from tuberculosis. Within the framework of the experiments, Polish prisoner Wladimir Olesjuk was infected with malaria on June 8, 1943. He quickly deteriorated into a state of agony and died on June 20. Schilling heard of this death and said to Plötner: "My dear colleague, this will naturally not stop us from continuing with our series of experiments."[7] Plötner is nevertheless said to have eventually advised Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler that he would no longer participate in human experiments.[8] He did, however, continue his research on a blood coagulating agent. In 1945, after the war had ended, Plötner lived in northern Germany under the name of Schmidt until 1952. He then gained a position at the Freiburg/Breisgau University Clinic and was appointed associate professor in 1954.

SOURCES The single secondary source for this subcamp is the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). On Schilling's and Plötner's involvement in medical experimentation, see Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt, 1997); and Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, eds., *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit: Dokumente des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978).

The most useful sources were the author's conversations with former prisoners Franz Jauk and Michael Rauch as well as with witnesses from the village of Schlachters. In addition, he used the Schlussvermerk of ZdL (held at BA-L).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR 212/73.
2. Ibid.
3. Statements by relatives of the chemist, who died in 1973.
4. Conversation with the author in the autumn of 1983 in Graz, Austria.
5. Conversation with the author in the autumn of 1983 in Kaufbeuren.
6. Conversation with the author.
7. Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer*, (Frankfurt, 1997), pp. 121–122.
8. Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke eds., *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit: Dokumente des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 284.

SCHLEISSHEIM (*AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO*)

The Schleissheim Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment) in Bavaria was a subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp. It is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Its prisoners—all male—were used to clean up damage after bomb raids.

SOURCES The Schleissheim Aufräumungskommando is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94.

Sporadic information about the subcamp can be found in AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SCHLEISSHEIM (*BERUFSSCHULE*)

The Schleissheim Berufsschule (Trade School) subcamp was located in the Bavarian town of Oberschleissheim, and a subcamp was erected there in October 1941. Like the school, the subcamp was located in an old farm building that served as a training center for invalided or disabled SS men who attended classes in accounting, typewriting, technical drawing, and other subjects to prepare them for service in the offices of the

Waffen-SS. The grounds were fenced in with a wooden fence and hedges. The original four watchtowers were taken down no later than spring 1943. The inmates were accommodated in the basement of one of the buildings, which was warm but very humid; they slept in two-story bunk beds.

Presumably there were between 60 and 150 inmates in the subcamp. In the beginning, the majority of them—according to the tasks they had to fulfill—were specialists from the construction business, mainly from Germany; they worked as masons, roofers, carpenters, and plumbers. Later on, unskilled workers were sent to the camp, many of them from Poland, Austria, the Czech Republic, and the Soviet Union. Those inmates did mainly clearance and cleaning jobs.

The camp was guarded by the 40 to 45 men of the Berufsschule (personnel and students), who also supervised the inmates during their work. Only the detachment leader was from the Dachau main camp. Although the prisoners were allowed to move freely through the grounds during the day, they were locked away at night. Foreign prisoners, especially the Poles, reported after the war that they had been subjected to heavy beatings, but no prisoners were killed in the camp. The detachment leader was, first, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Claussen, followed from March 1943 to the end of July 1944 by SS-Sturmbannführer Hubert Siebert, and thereafter by SS-Hauptsturmführer Joachim Stachel up to the end of the war.

In July 1944, the Berufsschule was transferred to Mittweida, and instead the SS Entlassungsstelle (Demobilization Post) was taken from Mittweida to Schleissheim. The camp remained in the Schleissheim building, which was now called "Entlassungsstelle der Waffen-SS Schleissheim bei München." At the end of the war, the camp was not evacuated, and the inmates were liberated at the end of April 1945.

SOURCES Christoph Bachmann describes the camp in detail in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 482–484. Bachmann also names different detachment leaders for the subcamp, based on research by the Staatsanwaltschaft München (StanW 34810) and records in the AG-D archive (DaA 35673 and S5674).

This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SCHLOSS ITTER

Schloss Itter (Itter Castle) was 1 of 16 Dachau subcamps located on Austrian territory. The castle, built in the nineteenth century, lay above the valley of Brixental, Tirol, to the northeast of Innsbruck.

At the end of 1942, the Gestapo compulsorily seized the castle from its owner, lawyer Franz Grüner, at that time the deputy Landeshauptmann in Tirol. Heinrich Himmler was considering using the site to hold prominent French prisoners held captive by the SS. In any event, the castle was first used on February 6, 1943, to hold French prisoners of war (POWs). Beginning in February 1943, 26 prisoners from Flossenbürg and Dachau were used to convert the building into a prison.[1] The SS established an "SS-Sonderkommando Schloss-Itter," a prison for high-ranking French and Italian military and politicians as well as for their families. In 1943 or 1944 the SS considered relocating the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Gavrilo Dožic (or Serbian Orthodox Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović) to Schloss Itter. These plans were never put into effect.

At the beginning of May 1943, the first of 18 "prominent" prisoners arrived at the camp. When the camp was liberated, there were 14, 15, or 16 internees there.[2]

The Schloss Itter camp was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Sebastian Wimmer, who had previously served in the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Lublin, and Dachau. He was in command of 14 SS men and one SD man as well as a female SS who had been transferred from Ravensbrück. It would seem that from time to time there were other SS members at Schloss Itter. At the end of 1944, the external military security at the castle and the number of guards for the prisoners were increased.

From August 1943, there were seven or eight female German, Austrian, or Czech prisoners from Ravensbrück in Schloss Itter, as well as two male prisoners from Dachau.[3] Yugoslav Zvonimir Cuckovic was the only prisoner of those who converted the castle who remained in Schloss Itter. The prisoners who arrived in August looked after the important inmates and kept the castle facility operational. Czech Andreas Krobot was in charge of the kitchen. Cuckovic was caretaker. Both were given bonuses by the SS.

From May 1943, the prisoners in Schloss Itter included the chairman of the French trade union Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor, CGT), Léon Jouhaux; former French President Édouard Daladier; and former French Supreme Commander General Maurice-Gustave Gamélin. They were followed by others including former French President Paul Reynaud and Jean Borotra, onetime sports minister in the Vichy government. In September, former head of the French government Albert Lebrun and André François-Poncet, the French ambassador in Berlin, were held in the castle. Between September and the end of November, Francesco Saverio Nitti, the former premier of Italy, and one of his staff, banker Georgini, were held in the castle. In December 1943 and January 1944, others arrived at the camp, including General Maxime Weygand, the former French Supreme Commander, and Colonel La Rocque, head of the movement Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire). In March 1945, Alfred Cailleau, a brother-in-law of Charles de Gaulle, and his wife were sent to the castle. Some of the internees had previously been held in the Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen concentration camps.

Compared to the concentration camp prisoners, the French and Italian internees had a clearly privileged position. Conditions were satisfactory. A few had their wives living

with them. There was a tennis court in the camp. The SS had to salute the prisoners. There was a large collection of books as well as local and foreign newspapers for the inmates to read. These were collected for them at Dachau, together with games and sporting equipment. They could receive packages and censored letters. The SS gave them a radio so that they could listen to German stations. In the spring of 1943, Cuckovic illegally converted this device so that the internees could receive foreign radio transmissions. Some of the French women could go to the hairdresser. There were limited opportunities to go shopping. Some internees—Jouhaux, Lebrun, Daladier, and Granger—received medical care and were permitted to go for treatment to a hospital in Innsbruck. In discussions with the local doctors it was possible to get information on what was happening in the outside world, including the course of the war, in addition to the news from the radio and the newspapers.[4] A few prisoners also received permission from time to time to attend Sunday church services in a nearby church.

While the majority of the concentration camp prisoners were forced to do hard labor during the last years of the war, this was not the case for "Prominents" sitting in Schloss Itter. Several of them used their period of forced inactivity to write. Reynaud and Daladier completed notes on their imprisonment. During the few weeks of his stay in Schloss Itter, Nitti wrote about historical, philosophical, and literary matters. Jouhaux wrote parts of a history of the French union movement. Weygand appears to have written several chapters of his memoirs while in the camp.

There were 9 or 10 factotums (*Kalfaktors*) who were treated much more brutally by Wimmer and other members of the guard than were the Prominents: prisoners such as Cuckovic were beaten, and in 1945, Krobot was threatened with being shot.[5] The political conflicts between the prisoners still existed, and these were carried out beneath the surface. On the other hand, La Rocque's inclination to collaborate with the Germans resulted in tensions with the other internees. Between the Prominents and the Kalfaktors there seems to have been friendly contact that the two-class system established by the SS was not able to overcome.

At the end of the war, SS deserters temporarily hid in Schloss Itter. In the middle of March 1945, Wimmer gave a letter to Cuckovic, a denazification certificate (*Persilschein*) giving the SS a clean bill of health, which he had written on behalf of the imprisoned French to be given to the approaching American troops. Most likely on April 30 or May 1, Eduard Weiter, the last Dachau commandant, accompanied by several SS officers, arrived at Schloss Itter. He shot himself a day later while in the castle. On May 2, the SS troops left the castle. Cuckovic was forced to take all of Wimmer's belongings to a nearby farm. Krabot made contact with the nearby U.S. troops. He returned with American soldiers and Wehrmacht soldiers and members of the Austrian resistance who were to protect the castle against attacks by marauding SS men. Two days later Schloss Itter was shut down. Two members of the Wehrmacht lost their lives.

Cuckovic was able to make contact with the U.S. Army on May 3. When he returned to Schloss Itter on May 5 with U.S. soldiers and American journalists, the Americans immediately transported the French prisoners. Cuckovic was repatriated three days later. The freed French were returned home via Innsbruck and Lindau, with the first arriving in Paris on May 8, 1945.

Schloss Itter was a prison for prominent prisoners. This type of camp covered a broad spectrum from the "houses for prominent prisoners" in the Theresienstadt ghetto, the bunker prisons in Dachau or Buchenwald, to the relatively comfortable accommodation in places such as Schloss Itter or Buchenwald's Falkenhof. The improved prison conditions for prominent prisoners or "special prisoners" was connected to the idea of hostage taking (*Geiselhaltung*) as well as demonstrating to the outside world that the prisoners were treated humanely. This type of imprisonment had less to do with the internationally recognized forms of holding officers as prisoners and more to do with the racial ideological premises of the National Socialist concentration camp system.

SOURCES The first detailed history on the Schloss Itter subcamp was the essay by Fritz Kreitmair, "Schloss Itter: Ein pseudogotisches Schloss aus dem Jahre 1880; 'Nobel-KZ' von 1939 bis 1945," *TiHe* 70:4 (1995): 134–138; the passages by Viktor Matejka, "Schloss Itter in Tirol," in *Das Buch Nr. 2: Anregung ist alles*, by Kreitmair (Vienna, 1991), pp. 106–110; as well as the essay by Barbara Distel based on Cuckovic's report on Itter, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65.

Files in the AG-D provide extensive information on the history of the Schloss Itter subcamp. Of particular importance is the report by Zvonimir Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre auf Schloss Itter" (1975). Some details in the AG-D complete the biographical details of the camp's inmates. The BA-L holds details on some of the guards at Schloss Itter. The DÖW holds two reports that, above all, provide information on the liberation of the camp. Of critical importance for the history of the Schloss Itter subcamp are the diary entries by prisoners Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité, 1940–1945* (Paris, 1991); André François-Poncet, *Carnets d'un captive* (Paris, 1952); Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité 1941–1945*, intro. Évelyne Demey (Paris, 1997); as well as the report by Augusta Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison pour hommes d'état* (Paris, 1973). Another eyewitness account is Viktor Matejka, "Schloss Itter in Tirol," in Kreitmair, *Das Buch Nr. 2*, pp. 106–110.

Christian Schölzel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. From April 25, 1943, only seven prisoners, according to Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," pp. 4, 6, AG-D, DA 20134. See also Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité, 1941–1945*, intro. Évelyne Demey (Paris, 1997), p. 281.

2. The number 14 is according to Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," pp. 8, 53, AG-D, DA 20134. See the note by François-Poncet. With the departure of Nitti, his employee, François-Poncet, and Lebrun, there would have only been 14 prominent prisoners in May 1945.

3. Seven or eight women, according to Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," pp. 6, 53, AG-D, DA 20134; eight women, according to Augusta Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison pour hommes d'étal* (Paris, 1973), p. 65; Barbara Distel, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* as (1999): 55; seven women, Stärkemeldungen, April 14 and 26, 1945, AG-D, DA 1034/668 and DA 1667/669; see also AG-D, A 1159.

4. Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison*, pp. 44, 100, 107, 118; Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité*, pp. 277, 291, 293, 297, 299, 306, 334; Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, *1940–1945* (Paris, 1991), pp. 232, 238, 251, 252, 343.

5. Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," p. 40, AG-D, DA 20134; see Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison*, pp. 65, 127. The reason for the uncertainty in the numbers is probably because some Kalfaktors were taken to Dachau when ill: Viktor Matejka, "Schloss Itter in Tiral," in *Das Buch Nr. 2: Anregung ist all as*, by Fritz Kreitmair (Vienna, 1991), p. 109; according to Daladier, *Journal*, p. 289, two of the women were taken back to the concentration camp.

SCHLOSS LIND [AKA ST. MAREIN BEI NEUMARKT (SCHLOSS LIND)]

Schloss Lind (Lind Castle) is located in the village of St. Marein bei Neumarkt in the Steiermark (until 1945: Reichsgau Steiermark). Also located here was the Benedictine monastery's manor St. Lambrecht, which in May 1938, two months after the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria to the Third Reich, had come under the temporary administration of SS-Obersturmbannführer Hubert Erhart. The management of Schloss Lind was now conducted by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and later by the Deutsche Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe (German Reich Association for People's Care and Settler Assistance).

The first mention of a Dachau subcamp in Schloss Lind is dated June 22, 1942, when 20 male prisoners were brought there. Other prisoners followed shortly thereafter. The capacity of the subcamp is thought to have been between 20 and 30 prisoners—the International Tracing Service (ITS) figure of 18 prisoners is probably too low. The prisoners in Schloss Lind were of the following nationalities—5 Germans, 9 Poles, and some Czechs. At the end of 1942, but no later than the beginning of 1943, 8 Spanish prisoners were taken to the camp. Historian Dietmar Seiler states that there were repeated exchanges with the Schloss Lind subcamp and the Dachau main camp.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. During the early stages of the camp, Josef Schmitz and, from September 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Albert Zeitraeg are recorded as the camp detachment leaders. After that time, the commanders appear to have been replaced quite often.

Prisoners and guards were accommodated in two rooms on the first floor in Schloss Lind. The camp inmates were used for heavy farm labor in the fields and forests of the manor, building roads and bridges, and working as cooks, cleaners, and barbers. Witness statements relate that the prisoners had to work from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Sometimes they had to work 16 hours a day. There were civilian workers as well as the concentration camp prisoners. There were also a few French and around 50 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were used as laborers working on the manor.

Despite the heavy labor, the work conditions, accommodation, and food appear to have been better than that of other camps. Perhaps for this reason there are no recorded escape attempts from the early days of the camp. The only known death in the subcamp appears to have been from natural causes.

The administration of the camp was transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp on November 20, 1942, scarcely six months after the establishment of the subcamp. The camp was liberated and then dissolved in the first few days of May 1945 by U.S. troops. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased in 1974 as there were no homicides in the camp.

SOURCES The Schloss Lind subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 95; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1839. Albert Knoll describes this subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 487–488. Further information on the subcamp is provided by Dietmar Seiler in *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz: Andreas Schnider Verlagsatelier, 1994), esp. pp. 27, 31. Barbara Distel refers to the Schloss Lind subcamp in her essay on concentration camp detachments, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 63. A description of the camp is also to be found in KPO Kärnten, ed., *Josef Nischelwitzer (1912–1987). Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit* (Klagenfurt, 1988).

Original documents on the Schloss Lind subcamp are held in the collection at AG-D, Signatur 35673 (Überstellungsliste vom 22. Juni 1942). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are in File IV AR-Z 101/74.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SEEHAUSEN [AKA UFFING]

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp in the Bavarian town of Seehausen, close to Uffing, is mentioned for the first time on May 12, 1944. It was located at the Burg peninsula at Staffelsee near Murnau. At least one inmate claims to have been in the Seehausen camp already from May to June 1943. The date of 1944 seems more likely since at that time the Munich company Feinmechanische Werkstätten Ing. G. Tipecska, which produced gear wheel inspection machinery, was transferred to Seehausen and became involved in the development of a secret weapon,

an electric anti-aircraft gun. Most likely, Seehausen was chosen as the new location because the Tipecska company cooperated with scientist Otto Heinrich Much, a known technician and engineer who lived in nearby Uffing.

The camp was probably erected by inmates of Dachau and later housed 20 to 25 of them but sometimes also up to 65 men. They were of different nationalities, among others, Poles, Czechs, French, Austrians, Luxemburgians, Italians, Soviets, Yugoslavs, and Germans, most of them political prisoners. Their camp was enclosed by an electric fence that was 3 meters (10 feet) high and equipped with watchtowers with searchlights. It was guarded by eight SS men and in the last weeks of the war only by older Wehrmacht soldiers. The guards lived outside the subcamp but also on the peninsula in a separate barracks.

The workplaces of the inmates were also located on the grounds of the camp: the work barracks, the tool storage, the construction office, the administration, and the machine park of the Tipecska company. Also within the camp grounds were the offices of Dr. Jung, which also used prisoners' labor.

The inmates did different kinds of labor. The Tipecska company received 7 to 10 prisoners; the Jung company probably about 18. Two inmates worked at the residence of Muck in the household and the garden. According to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), inmates also worked for the Local Court C and the Military Court Seehausen.

In general, prisoners describe their treatment as bearable; there are no reported cases of violence toward them or of deaths in the camp. The inmates lived in a barracks with three-story bunk beds and were fed sufficiently; records show that they even received milk, cottage cheese, and pasta. Early in 1945 they received, according to Barbara Hutzelmann, care packages from the Red Cross of the Netherlands.

There were a few cases of escapes from the camp; most likely the escapees were successful, since there are no records of them being caught again. On April 22, 1945, French troops came to the camp, guided by an inmate who had escaped. The French left the camp without disarming the guards or liberating the inmates, and after this encounter, the guards around the camp were even increased. The camp was finally liberated on April 25, 1945, by the U.S. Army.

Company owner Geza Tipecska was denazified after the war but was able to keep his company and to continue his business. Investigations against Dr. Karl Jung were conducted in 1946 but quickly dropped. Investigations by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg from 1969 led to no further action.

SOURCES Barbara Hutzelmann gives a detailed description of the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 489–941.

The Seehausen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 95.

There are a few details on the Seehausen subcamp in AG-D. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under IV 410 AR 1217/ 69. The files include witness statements in addition to several investigation reports. Records at AG-D include DaA 35677 (Überstellungslisten—transfer lists) and a report on the sanitary conditions in the camp, dated March 27, 1945 (DaA 32769).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

STEINHÖRING
[AKA LEBENSBORN-HEIM, "HOCHLAND"

A Dachau subcamp was located in the "Lebensborn"-Heim (also known as Heim "Hochland") in the Upper Bavarian town of Steinhöring near Ebersberg. Lebensborn e.V. was an incorporated association under the authority of the Personal Staff of the RFSS, Amt (Office) "L" (Lebensborn). Having been opened on August 15, 1936, the home in Steinhöring was the oldest Lebensborn home and, until the very end, was regarded a model Lebensborn home.

Steinhöring is first mentioned in the files of the concentration camp on September 20, 1944. Already in September 1943, a barracks had been erected next to the SS-Mütterheim (Mothers' Home) in Steinhöring that was to house various offices of the Reich Headquarters in Munich dealing with irreplaceable records. In March 1944, six further barracks were built and meant to serve as evacuation quarters for the Munich offices in case of their destruction in an air raid. Indeed, after the Munich offices were bombed on July 11–13, 1944, they were evacuated to Steinhöring. Dachau inmates who had worked at the Munich Lebensborn as craftsmen and construction workers, and who had repaired damage after air raids, were now transferred to Steinhöring to erect new barracks here. But while there were only 2 Dachau inmates employed at the Munich Lebensborn, in Steinhöring there were up to 7. They held special qualifications such as mason, tailor, or electrician and came from different nations, mainly Poland and France. All of them were political prisoners. The men had different jobs to do on the grounds of the Lebensborn-Heim and in its vicinity. For instance, they built beds for the children and had to unload goods for the Heim at the local railway station. In the last months of the war, more and more children were brought to the Steinhöring Heim, and subsequently the number of inmates in the camp was also increased. A strength report from April 3, 1945, lists 27 male inmates, who were transferred back to Dachau the next day.

According to witness testimonies collected by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), there were also female prisoners employed in Steinhöring, most likely up to 24. The women were Jehovah's Witnesses, a prisoner category that was often sent to work in various Lebensborn homes. Several survivors stated during the ZdL investigations that senior female SS commander Elfi Kraus of Ludwigshafen on the Rhine had behaved decently toward the inmates.



The Lebensborn maternity home at Steinhöring, which was a Dachau subcamp in September 1944.
USHMM WS # 75103, COURTESY OF BPK

The Dachau concentration camp files last refer to Steinhöring on April 14, 1945. According to one witness, the prisoners were evacuated to Dachau on April 28, 1945. The home was occupied by U.S. troops at the end of April 1945. At that time, according to various witness statements, there were between 162 and 300 children in the home.

SOURCES A detailed description of the camp, written by Johnannes Wrobel, can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 500–502. This subcamp is also mentioned in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945: Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich: Der Landeszentrale, 1994), p. 33.

Steinhöring is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 96. Georg Lilienthal gives a detailed analysis of the history of Lebensborn in his book *Der "Lebensborn e.V.": Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985). In the book he refers to the Steinhöring home but not to its significance as a Dachau subcamp. For another overview on Lebensborn, see Marc Hillel and Clarissa Henry, *Lebensborn e.V. im Namen der Rasse* (Vienna, 1975).

Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in DaA 35672 and 35675f (Überstellungslisten, transfer lists). Strength reports regarding the number of inmates in the subcamp can be found in DaA 404. The investigations by ZdL (held at BA-L) are located in the file designated IV 410 AR 36/ 69. The file contains a list of names of former Steinhöring prisoners as well as various witness statements. Reports on the interrogation of leading members of the Lebensborn, including details to the Steinhöring location and camps, can be found at StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Case 8 Nr. P5 and Case 8 Nr. F2 as well as NO-5237.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

STEPHANSKIRCHEN (*BMW*)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp Stephanskirchen (BMW) is mentioned for the first time on December 4, 1944. This is most likely the day that the camp was formally established, as even before this date, prisoners, according to the *Stärkemeldungen* (strength reports) of the Dachau main camp, were held in the Stephanskirchen: on November 29, 1944, there were 190 prisoners in Stephanskirchen. The investigation files by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, which give December 11, 1944, as the date the camp was established, are probably incorrect.

There were on average 250 male prisoners who worked for the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). Historian Robert Sigel states that the prisoners in the Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft (Distribution Company), which was part of BMW, assembled aircraft engines. The establishment of this subcamp probably had something to do with the decentralization of wartime production that intensified in 1944.

There were on average 250 male prisoners in the camp. They were accommodated in barracks located on the production site. Soviet inmates constituted around one-third of the total; there were also prisoners from Poland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Yugoslavia, plus 1 prisoner each from Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Luxembourg. The guards were Luftwaffe soldiers and, toward the end of the war, members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard).

The prisoners worked in the aircraft engine factory, where they not only produced aircraft engines and undertook quality control; they also worked on laying rail tracks and removing rubble in the cities of Stephanskirchen and Rosenheim. Conditions in the camp were hard, and according to statements by former prisoners, at least two Kapos mistreated the prisoners. The prisoners state that they were permanently undernourished.

In December 1944, the prisoners' accommodation was destroyed in a bombing raid. They were temporarily transferred to Rosenheim.

According to ITS and the ZdL investigation files, the last mention of the camp is on March 31, 1945. Strength reports on the Dachau main camp, however, confirm the existence of the camp on April 3, 1945, and April 29, 1945. After that the prisoners were sent on a death march.

SOURCES The Stephanskirchen (BMW) subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 96. "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1842, refers to a subcamp in Stephanskirchen, but it does not specify whether the camp is the BMW and Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft. For an extensive description of the camp, see the essay by Robert Sigel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 502–504. An earlier description of the camp is by Anke Dörrzapf, "Das vergessene KZ," Ga 1 (1992).

H. Conrad Willeke wrote about his time as a prisoner in Stephanskirchen in "Die Hölle von Dachau" (Munich, 1945). The essay is held in AG-D, Signatur A 391, Nr. 36139/4. Other relevant documents at AG-D are to be found in Signatur A 82 (Aussenkommandos—Stärkemeldungen). A Tätigkeitsbericht for the BMW-Werk for Allach 1945 is held in Ordner A391 Stephanskirchen, Nr. 24577, P-9429. Leo van der Tas, a former prisoner in Stephanskirchen, described the camp in *Overleven in Dachau. Ervaringen in duitse Gevangenschap* (Kampen, 1985). Investigations by ZdL on the Stephanskirchen (BMW) subcamp are in File IV 410 AR 1219/ 69 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ST. GILGEN [AKA SACHSENHAUSEN/ WOLFGANGSEE]

The idyllic town of St. Gilgen lies just a few kilometers east of Salzburg, on the northwest tip of Lake Wolfgangsee. Dachau Commandant Hans Loritz acquired a large plot of land there in April 1938.[1] Shortly after the purchase, he had nine Jehovah's Witnesses and one political prisoner chosen from among the Dachau prisoners brought to St. Gilgen. Officially, the SS-Führer disguised the journey as a transport to the new "St. Gilgen outside detail." The prisoners actually began with preparation work for the building of a private villa for Loritz; they had to clear, shovel, move stones, haul, and pour concrete.[2]

The SS guards locked up the slave laborers overnight in the St. Gilgen community jail. The local public was perfectly well aware of the deployment of slave laborers; the comings and goings of the prisoner transports were noticed in the community detention cells, for example, and pedestrians stopping at the construction site received instructions to move along quickly.[3]

Loritz had his reasons for choosing primarily Jehovah's Witnesses for the construction detail. Most of the "serious bible students," as they were called until 1931, viewed their concentration camp imprisonment as a test from God. To be sure, they rejected with remarkable steadfastness any activity that went against their religious principles. But Jehovah's Witnesses fulfilled those tasks that they could reconcile with their consciences with great care. Cynical SS leaders at other camps also repeatedly took advantage of this attitude.

In December 1939, Commandant Loritz took over—at first on a temporary basis—the leadership of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin.[4] Thus, by the spring of 1941 at the latest, prisoners from Sachsenhausen had to resume the work at St. Gilgen. Since the outside detail in the Salzburg area was officially still listed as a Dachau subcamp, Loritz, in cooperation with the new Dachau commandant Alexander Piorkowski, had around 20 to 25 selected Sachsenhausen prisoners transferred to Dachau. These were primarily Jehovah's Witnesses with craftsmen's skills. As these inmates were now considered Dachau prisoners by the SS authorities, they could be transported to the St. Gilgen subcamp just a few days later. With the onset of winter, when the construction work was interrupted, the prisoners were then returned to Dachau and from there handed back over to Sachsenhausen. In 1942, a prisoner transport also reached St. Gilgen via Dachau in the same fashion.[5]

From 1941, Loritz had the slave laborers accommodated directly on his estate. By that point, their work consisted mainly of enlarging the villa with the addition of a washroom and swimming pool, building an additional guardhouse, erecting a cellar set into a hillside some distance from the property, and laying out extensive garden grounds with terraces, ponds, and fountains.[6] The Sachsenhausen commandant called in on the construction site, as in previous years, only during his free time. Three SS men, under the supervision of SS-Führer Franz-Xaver Trenkle, guarded the prisoners.[7]

The surviving prisoners have very different accounts of the working conditions at St. Gilgen. In 1941, the shoemaker Anton Wagner was initially employed at the shoe workshop of the St. Gilgen mayor Josef Kogler, and in 1942 Gerhard Oltmann worked as a cook in the outside detail. The former prisoners explain that the situation there was better in comparison to other concentration camp conditions because the private construction work was actually "illegal." But even if the conditions at St. Gilgen were on the whole more tolerable than at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, lasting injuries among the prisoners did occur: SS-Kommandoführer Trenkle reportedly severely abused several prisoners for not carrying out the strenuous work fast enough. Hans Arthus Bauer remembers Trenkle slave-driving one of his fellow prisoners for a long time until the man disappeared from the construction site.[8]

Loritz was not the only high-ranking SS officer who owned an estate at Wolfgangsee. Several former concentration camp prisoners from St. Gilgen report that from May to July 1942 they had to finish work on a property in the immediate vicinity for Arthur Liebehenschel, director of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) personnel office (Office DI) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[9] The SS leaders saw the reflection of their own blood-and-soil ideology in the idyllic countryside of the Salzburg area. And while cities of Germany increasingly became the targets of Allied bombing attacks in the course of World War II, the families of SS members were relatively safe from air-raid alerts in the idyllic countryside.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

In September 1942, Loritz was due to receive the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz* First Class for the mass murder of at least 12,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) that took place under his supervision at Sachsenhausen. But the planned honor was canceled after the widespread corruption and illegal private constructions became known, leading to disciplinary proceedings against the commandant in the summer of 1942. He was subsequently transferred as a penal demotion to Norway as a Higher-SS and Police Leader (Höherer SS und Polizeiführer, HSSPF) "for the duration of the war."[10] Thus, the use of concentration camp prisoners at St. Gilgen ended. Most of the prisoners were brought back to Sachsenhausen, and a smaller group, which had worked until the summer of 1942 on Loritz's garden grounds, went to Dachau. The spacious estate, where in the meantime the SS officer's wife and two sons lived, remained the property of the family.[11]

The racist National Socialist ideology and the personalized power structures in the Third Reich provided Loritz with something like a justification for his corruption: the SS leader viewed himself a member of an elite and demanded corresponding special rights without any consideration whatsoever for the lives of the prisoners. Apparently, the commandant carried out his construction projects in the belief of "working towards the Führer."[12] Indeed, his behavior does not initially seem to have met with criticism from his superiors. Only when the working capacities (not the lives!) of the prisoners became increasingly important to the armament industry of the Third Reich did Loritz, with his unauthorized employment of prisoners for other slave labor, clash with the guidelines of SS economic politics.

After the war, Loritz, who was using a false name, attempted in vain to evade legal prosecution by the Allied administration. In 1946, he committed suicide at the internment camp Neumünster-Gadeland. Loritz's widow returned to Germany with her children.[13]

SOURCES A detailed account of the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen has appeared in Dirk Riedel, "Der 'Wildpark' im KZ Dachau und das Aussenlager St. Gilgen," *DaHe* 16 (2000). It also contains more detailed references to further literature; but worth mentioning here is the volume from Detlev Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1993).

Essential documents on the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen are the prisoner reports from Heinrich Lutterbach, "Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee/Aussenkommando Dachau" (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D; and from Paul Wauer, "Lebensbericht," n.d., GAZJ. See also Leopold Ziller, "Wie ich die NS-Zeit ertrug und überlebte, durchgesehen und ergänzt von Karl Breuer sen" (unpub. MSS, St. Gilgen, 1997), held in AGe-StG. A whole series of witness statements were also recorded at that time by ZdL (today BA-L), IV 410 AR 209/73. Loritz's judgment is available at NWHStA-(D) ZA-K, and further reports about this camp may be found in BA-L.

Dirk Riedel
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. See Kaufvertrag, April 24, 1938, Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand, Einlagezahl 155, Bezirksgericht St. Gilgen.

2. Heinrich Lutterbach, "Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D.

3. See Gutachten über das Anwesen Gschwand Nr. 98, 99, March 8, 1960 (privately held). See Leopold Ziller, "Wie ich die NS-Zeit ertrug und überlebte, durchgesehen und ergänzt von Karl Breuer sen," (unpub. MSS, St. Gilgen, 1997), held in AGe-StG.

4. See RFSS-SS-Personalamt, December 4, 1939, SSO-Loritz, BA-DH.

5. See Schlussvermerk, January 29, 1975, IV 410 AR 209/73, p. 135, in ZdL (now BA-L).

6. See Gutachten über das Anwesen March 8, 1960, pp. 4–9.

7. See Hans Arthur Bauer, Geilenkirchen, October 22, 1974, IV 410 AR 209/73, ZdL, Bl.114.

8. See ibid., Also see Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, n.d., p. 24, GAZJ.

9. See Kaufvertrag Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand, Einlagezahl 160, Bezirksgericht. See Lebensbericht Wauer, p. 27.

10. Personalverfügung des RFSS—SS-Personalhauptamt, August 31, 1942, SSO-Loritz, BA-BL.

11. See Lebensbericht Wauer, p. 27.

12. Werner Willikens, February 21, 1934, quoted in Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 665.

13. See Handakte zur Strafsache gegen Loritz wegen Mordes, Rep.118 Nr. 253, NWHStA-(D). See Kaufvertrag vom January 22, 1959, im Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand Einlagezahl 155, Bezirksgericht.

ST. JOHANN IN TIROL

St. Johann lies in the Tyrolean district of Kitzbühel at the foot of the Kaisergebirge (until 1945: Reichsgau Tirol).

The beginning of the St. Johann subcamp is uncertain. According to prisoners' statements, the camp was already in existence in April or May 1940. However, the International Tracing Service (ITS), based upon a prisoner statement, puts the beginning of the camp as the end of August 1940. There were 20 prisoners in St. Johann who were to convert a farm into an SS Erholungsheim (convalescence home). The prisoners were at first accommodated in the unfinished Erholungsheim and later in a barn. They were guarded by mostly older SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm, who was later to be camp leader in Haunstetten.

Compared with conditions in the other concentration camps, the living and working conditions in the St. Johann camp appear to have been bearable. The prisoners described as relaxed their relationship with the guards and said the SS even allowed them to listen secretly to radio broadcasts.

Once the construction work was complete, the prisoners from St. Johann and other prisoners are thought to have built an asphalt road to St. Johann. According to Albert Knoll in *Der Ort des Terrors*, there were about 300 prisoners involved.

Egon Zill, then commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, inspected the construction project. He determined that the project was not important for the war effort, and at the end of June 1941, the prisoners were returned to Dachau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1973 as no living witnesses could be located.

SOURCES The St. Johann subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 93; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843. An extensive description of the St. Johann subcamp is provided by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 495–496.

Various documents on the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol have survived and are held in the AG-D in Signatur 20508 (Letter of the former prisoners Anton Pütz, February 2, 1964) and in the NARA in Washington, DC (CIA Box 001, Interrogation of former Dachau prisoner Wilhelm Kick, August 19, 1944, particularly with regard to Lagerführer Fritz Wilhelm). Investigatons by ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded in File IV 410 AR 210/73. Otto Oertel described the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol in *Als Gefangener der SS*, ed. Stephan Apelius (Oldenburg, 1990).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ST. WOLFGANG

The Dachau subcamp St. Wolfgang was located in the Reich District Oberdonau at Salzkammergut. According to statements by Dachau survivors, it was established and closed in the summer of 1938. Ten male prisoners did preparatory work for 23 days for the construction of a house for the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp.

SOURCES The St. Wolfgang camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 94. Another very brief mention is in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945. Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich: Die Landeszentrale, 1994), p. 32.

Scattered information on the St. Wolfgang subcamp is to be found in the files of AG-D.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SUDELFELD (*LUFTWAFFE*)

Sudelfeld is located near Bayrischzell, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Munich, in the Miesbach administrative district in Upper Bavaria. From January 1944 on, a Dachau subcamp existed there, one that was not related in any way to the other Dachau subcamp in Sudelfeld.

Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein report that in 1943, at the latest, a high-frequency research institute opened in Dachau, where especially selected inmates—all of them with relevant professional experience—were used for research purposes. The use of high-frequency waves (10–1,000 kilohertz) was common in radio technology, and plenipotentiary for high-frequency research (Bevollmächtigte für Hochfrequenzforschung) Dr. Ing. H. Plendl repeatedly used concentration camp inmates for his research: The 20 to 25 prisoners selected in Dachau were engineers, physicists, and technicians who had experience in the field of radio technology. This top-secret work detachment, which was also called the "Dr.-Kümmel-Kommando" or "Weber-Kommando" and, later on, "Wetterkommando" (Weather Commando), conducted confidential research in the field of radio technology and, among other things, studied the radio equipment of captured Allied planes. Acording to Alfred Konieczny, the installation was to serve the "successful conduct of the war in the ether (the interception of messages, radio direction finding, jamming enemy signals, and offensive radio propaganda)."[1] Most likely there was a connection between this work detachment and the subcamp in Sudelfeld, which probably was a branch of the Dachau group. Organizationally, the Sudelfeld testing installation was also related to the Construction Office for Luftwaffe Special Tasks (Bauamt für Sonderaufgaben der Luftwaffe) and its "Planning Office Sudelfeld."

In January 1944, about 25 Dachau prisoners were taken to Sudelfeld to begin the construction of a testing station of the plenipotentiary for high-frequency research. One can only assume that the installation at Sudelfeld was to serve purposes of radar research after its completion. No detailed information is available as to what specific purposes the Sudelfeld experimental station would have to serve. Plans to destroy the installation by bombs were not realized, and some buildings survived, among them foundations, a bunker, the remains of most likely a cable train, and an antenna farm. It is unclear how long the prisoners were kept at the Sudelfeld subcamp. The inmates of the Dachau high-frequency research station were later evacuated to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and from there to Mauthausen and then to Sachsenhausen.

SOURCES This essay is based upon information provided by Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein in their article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 507–509. Research results presented there are mainly based upon interviews conducted by historian Alfred Konieczny, which are summarized in Alfred Konieczny, *Das Kommando Wetterstelle im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Wałbrzych, 1994). For a further reference to the high-frequency activities conducted in Dachau and Sudelfeld, see Oswald Pohl, "Häftlingseinsatz für Zwecke der Luftfahrtindustrie, 21.2.1944," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Nürnberger Internationalen Militär-Gerichtshof* (Nürnberg, 1948) 27: 358–359.

Information in AG-D can be found in the following collections: DaA 31186 (letter of the "Bevollmächtigte für Hoch-

frequenzforschung," Plendl, to Himmler, January 7, 1944), DaA 35674 (Überstellungslisten, transport lists).

The Sudelfeld subcamp (without further specification) is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTE

1. Alfred Konieczny, *Das Kommando Wetterstelle im KL Gross-Rosen*," ed. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Wałbrzych, 1994) p. 4.

SUDELFELD (*SS-BERGHAUS AND HOTEL "ALPENROSE"*)

The Dachau subcamp Sudelfeld was located near the Bavarian town of Bayrischzell. It is first mentioned in an official report of June 22, 1940, and last mentioned in the Dachau concentration camp files on April 25, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) and investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the prisoners were used for a variety of tasks.

In 1938, the SS had acquired the Berghouse, a former restaurant, and from 1940 used it as a rest and convalescent home, while the nearby Hotel Alpenrose was turned into a hospital. By early 1938, about 40 Jehovah's Witnesses had already been brought from Dachau to build a swimming pool and garages. Jehovah's Witnesses were a preferred group of inmates for working in subcamps since, due to their religion, they did not attempt to escape. Hubert Mattischek, an Austrian Jehovah's Witness and Dachau inmate, stated:

> A group of halfway able Jehovah's Witnesses were chosen to construct a sport, recreation, and training camp in the Bavarian mountains at Sudelfeld near Bayrischzell. Jehovah's Witnesses were chosen because it was thought that there was little danger of our Brothers taking advantage of the various temptations for escape offered by the surroundings. . . . Thus we also had only one guard with us. It was practical for the SS to do this. It saved the use of personnel. The Brothers who had been chosen for this task were given better food because of the hard work and because the SS wanted the sports facilities constructed quickly. The Brothers told us that they had a good relationship with the guard."[1]

Gradually, the number of inmates in the camp was increased to over 100, peaking at almost 150. The inmates were kept in a barn and guarded by SS. Inmates had to work on erecting the alpine hut at nearby Larcheralm, including a number of stables where lifestock was held. Prisoner labor was used to build the road leading to the hut, to take care of the animals, and to dig a well that went 23 meters (75 feet) down into the rock. This group probably comprised at least 40 to 50 inmates and most likely was also in charge of clearing the roads in winter and preparing the pathways for ski runs during the summer. About 10 inmates belonged to a work detachment that was in charge of buying food and supplies for the Berghaus and the Hotel Alpenrose. Apparently most of the inmates had been chosen by their professions for work at the Sudelfeld subcamp; they were masons, carpenters, farmers, car mechanics, electricians, plumbers, painters, and tailors.

By the end of September 1939, 144 Jehovah's Witnesses were returned from Sudelfeld to Dachau, and the camp remained temporarily empty. In February 1940, 25 Jehovah's Witnesses were brought to Sudelfeld, and that summer 70 more inmates arrived, but this time not only Jehovah's Witnesses. In the following months, smaller groups of inmates continued to be sent to Sudelfeld, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses. The inmates were kept now in a part of the garage building, until accommodation for them was completed: Probably from about 1941 on, the prisoners were held in a wooden barracks of about 90 square meters (108 square yards) with three-story bunk beds. They were guarded by four to eight SS men. Their command leader, Senksis, became known for his special brutality toward the inmates. At least 1 inmate died in the subcamp; opinions of survivors differ whether there were more victims. Investigations by ZdL in the 1970s found no proof for any acts of violence.

According to Johannes Wrobel, the inmates found the support of some Germans with whom they worked. This applies especially to the Jehovah's Witnesses, who were given a Bible by one of the secretaries and were allowed to keep the book and read it in secret.

In January 1945, the majority of the inmates was returned to Dachau. By the end of April, 22 prisoners were still registered in the camp. On May 6, when U.S. troops liberated the camp, they found about 10 prisoners still at Sudelfeld.

SOURCES This entry is mainly based upon the essay on the Sudelfeld subcamp by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 505–507. The camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97, but there is no differentiation between the two different Sudelfeld camps.

The investigation files of ZdL (held at BA-L), file designator IV 410 AR 222/ 73, contain a list of names of 21 former inmates, as well as a number of statements by witnesses. Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35672, 35674) and Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 32789). The AG-D also holds a seven-page MSS with statements by the former inmate Hubert Mattischek (prisoner number 33502), which was drawn up as part of a project revolving around witnesses to the events and in which mention is made of Sudelfeld (AG-D, No. 30.285). The subcamp is also mentioned in Sylvia Schäper-Wimmer, ed., *Das Unbegreifliche berichten: Zeitzeugenberichte ehemaliger Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 1997). Records regarding the construction of the camp can be found at Sta. Mü, collection

BPL. Miesbach, 1937/444. Statements of survivors can also be found at the GAZJ, for instance, by survivors Lehmbecker and Bräuchle.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Sylvia Schäper-Wimmer, ed., *Das Unbegreifliche berichten: Zeitzeugenberichte ehemaliger Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 1997), p. 60.

THANSAU

Thansau is located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Rosenheim in Bavaria and was part of the village of Rohrdorf. The manor in Thansau had been confiscated in 1938 by the Gauleiter of Baden-Württemberg from its Jewish owners, who had fled Germany. In May 1943, it was handed over to the Organisation Todt (OT). OT ran a farm there and employed 15 foreign laborers beside its own workers. In December 1944, the manor and the farm buildings fell victim to an air raid that killed 3 of the foreign workers and destroyed almost all the buildings. To clean up the damage and to bury the lifestock killed during the air raid, about 40 to 50 inmates from Dachau were sent to Thansau early in January 1945. The prisoners stayed at the manor for about 10 days, and survivors report poor food and accommodation, as well as the mistreatment of 1 prisoner for (alleged) theft. The detachment was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler. About two weeks after their arrival, on January 17, the inmates were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES Veronka Diem describes the Thansau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 510–511.

The Thansau camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Some information on the manor can also be found at the AGe-Rd. The letter of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler to the camp commander in Dachau regarding the requisition of Dachau inmates for cleanup work in Thansau can be found at BA, BDC, SSO F. Schmidt.

The ZdL (now BA-L) conducted an investigation in 1969 under File IV 410 AR 132/ 69. This file contains a number of contradictory witness statements.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TRAUNSTEIN

The Traunstein subcamp, 88 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Munich, in Chiemgau/Upper Bavaria, existed from October 8, 1942. That year, the SS established a hospital and convalescent home in the former Traunstein spa hotel. Altogether 20 prisoners, the majority of them German and Austrian, were put to work. Their main tasks were the renovation of the SS convalescent home, the erection of a Finnish sauna, and the renovation of the electrical installations in the kitchen.

All prisoners employed in Traunstein had been selected by the professions they had held before the war; all of them were craftsmen. It is not exactly clear where the inmates were accommodated. Apparently they were not housed in Traunstein but arrived every day on a truck. Not much information is available regarding their working conditions. An investigation by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) came to the conclusion that no mistreatment or killing of inmates took place in the camp.

Witness and survivor statements differ as to when the subcamp was dissolved. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp was dissolved early in December 1942, at least one survivor claims that the Traunstein subcamp existed until February 8, 1943, when the inmates were transferred to the Tyrolean castle Schloss Itter. Apparently, some prisoners were also taken to the Dachau subcamp München-Freimann (Bartolith-Werke).

SOURCES Gerd Evers describes the Traunstein subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 511–512. For more detailed descriptions, see also Friedbert Mühldorfer, *Traunstein. Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1992), and *Verfolgung und Widerstand in der NS-Zeit im Landkreis Traunstein 1933–1945. Dokumentation und Ausstellung des Kreisjugendringes Traunstein*, ed. Kreisjugendring Traunstein (Traunstein, 1994).

The camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Alfred Saller's essay "Als Traunstein eine Kurstadt war," *JHVCT* 9 (1997): 102, refers to the planned conversion of the SS hospital and convalescent home into a Lebensborn home. Gerd Evers refers briefly to the subcamp in his book *Traunstein, 1918–1945: Ein Beitrag zur politischen Geschichte der Stadt und des Landkreises Traunstein* (Grabenstätt Drei-Linden-Verlag, 1991). A picture of the SS hospital and convalescent home is to be found in Friedbert Mühldorfer's book *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933–1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992). Mühldorfer briefly describes the history of the camp and the life of one prisoner, Austrian Leopold Wipp. A map of Traunstein indicating the location of the subcamp is included on pp. 158 and 159.

The records of investigations opened in 1973 by the ZdL, File IV 410 AR 223/ 73 (now held at BA-L) contain lists of prisoners' names and a few witness statements.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TROSTBERG

The camp at Trostberg, located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east of Munich, near Traunstein in Upper Bavaria, is first mentioned in the files of the Dachau concentration camp on October 20, 1944, and last referred to on April 25, 1945. According to witness statements, part of the camp was evacuated

before the end of the war, and the remaining prisoners were freed by U.S. troops on May 4, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg revealed that the camp was situated to the east of the nitrogen factory located on the street formerly called Fabrikstrasse in the vicinity of the Götzing manor. As many as 700 male prisoners worked there for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) and the Stickstoff-und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works, SKW). Most of them were between the ages of 20 and 30. The Dachau camp list, however, also includes the name of a 16-year-old Italian boy.

On this camp's history, historian Friedbert Mühldorfer states: "A proportion of the prisoners worked in an SKW building maintaining and repairing BMW aircraft engines. The majority, however, also worked on engines but in underground tunnels, which had been excavated into the side of a mountain not far from the SKW plant. The prisoners' living quarters were . . . in a barracks camp to the east of the SKW, about a fifteen-minute walk . . . from the underground facility. The barracks were fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by members of the SS."[1]

There are no reports that prisoners were murdered or any evidence pertaining to the return to the Dachau main camp of prisoners who were no longer capable of working. Several deaths did take place in Trostberg, however, presumably as a result of heavy labor, malnutrition, disease, and possible mistreatment. These dead were buried outside the Trostberg cemetery during the war and reinterred in the cemetery after the war.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), Robert Sigel describes the subcamp on pp. 512–514.

Trostberg is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Friedbert Mühldorfer devotes several paragraphs to the camp in his book *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992). His description is based on witness statements that are also to be found in the files of ZdL. On p. 89 of his book, there is a picture of the entrance to the underground tunnels in which the prisoners worked; on p. 91 is a picture of the only remaining barracks against the background of the SKW.

Some records are available in AG-D—some correspondence in DaA 32727 and transport lists (Überstellungslisten) in DaA 35676, 35677, 35678, and 35921. The archive also holds the unpublished memoirs of Miroslav Kriznar, a Dachau inmate who was at the Trostberg camp. The memoirs of another survivor, Mario Tardivo, can be found at www.testimonianzedailager.rai.it/testimoni/test_27.asp (in Italian).

The ZdL opened investigations into the camp in 1969. The records of those investigations are held in the File IV 410 AR 139/69 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements on the working and living conditions in the camp. The investigation was discontinued due to the lack of evidence of homicides.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Friedbert Mühldorfer, *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992), p. 89.

ÜBERLINGEN

The Überlingen subcamp was erected at the beginning of September 1944 on the road between Überlingen and Aufkirch, a community belonging to the municipal corporation of Überlingen. (In some files the subcamp is also described as the Aufkirch Aussenkommando.) In the files of the Dachau main camp, it was first mentioned on September 2, 1944.

The prisoners came in two large transports from Dachau to Überlingen, one in September 1944, the second on October 3, 1944.

"Politicals" (red triangles) were the largest group of prisoners; there were also "asocials" (black triangles), "criminals" (green triangles), and isolated Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) as well as homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses in Überlingen. There were no Jewish prisoners there. The majority of the prisoners were Italians, with smaller groups from Slovenia, Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, and other countries.

The camp was established in the wake of air attacks against four large armament companies: the Zeppelin airship construction plant, a gear factory, the Dornier airplane factory, and the Maybach engine factory in Friedrichshafen. After large parts of the factory in Friedrichshafen were destroyed by bombing on April 28, 1944, the armament planners in Berlin decided to erect underground facilities in which the production of missile parts, vehicle engines, airplanes, and tank engines could be accomplished. Under the direction of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production and Organisation Todt (OT), suitable sites were sought. The area between Überlingen and the western suburb Goldbach (the source of the designation Goldbach Tunnel) provided favorable conditions for building underground tunnels due to an outcropping of a special type of soft rock conglomerate (*Molassefelsen*) at a location advantageous for road and rail transportation. Furthermore, the excavated earth could be deposited in Lake Constance. The building project, bearing the code name MAGNESIT, was contracted out to private construction companies under the supervision of the Siemens Bauunion (Construction Union) of Munich.

For the Siemens Construction Union and on behalf of the German Reich, the prisoners had to create underground factory facilities by drilling blast holes with pneumatic drills, carrying out dynamiting operations, removing the loose soft rock composite from the pits, enlarging the blasted spaces with pneumatic hammers, and creating aeration/deaeration and drainage systems. The underground plant had not yet been completed when work ceased on April 19–20, 1945. Actual armament production had not yet taken place there.

Some 170 prisoners died at the Überlingen subcamp, in the Goldbach Tunnel or during transports. The most common cause of death was "general weakness." Many prisoners

died from infectious diseases of the lungs or the digestive organs, while the work with dynamite, pneumatic drills, hammers, other heavy tools, and machines without the observance of safety precautions led to fatal accidents. Prisoners were also accidentally buried alive by falling rock. There was at least one case in which a Polish prisoner was murdered by other inmates in the tunnel and one in which the SS murdered a prisoner who undertook an escape attempt. Two prisoners are buried at the Überlingen cemetery, 71 bodies of inmates were transported to Constance and burned at the crematorium there, and 97 were buried in a mass grave in Degenhardt Forest but exhumed in April 1946 and reburied in the Birnau concentration camp cemetery established especially for that purpose. Prisoners no longer capable of working were transferred to the Saulgau subcamp. Prisoners also died on the transports to Saulgau and back to Dachau.

Georg Grünberg, born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg on the Elbe, was camp commandant at Überlingen. In 1931 he became a member of the Nazi Party (Party Member Number 690,386), the SA, and immediately afterward, the SS (SS Member Number 23,860). Beginning in 1942, Grünberg served in various concentration camps. He received special training in Oranienburg, Braunschweig, and Dachau, and he served in Auschwitz and as commandant of external details or subcamps of Dachau concentration camp in Haunstetten, Friedrichshafen, and Überlingen. In Überlingen, an average of 25 SS men assisted him in the guarding of the camp and the Goldbach Tunnel.

The Slovenian prisoner Boris Kobe produced a remarkable artistic testimony to life at the Überlingen subcamp and during the construction of the Goldbach Tunnel. An architect and artist, Kobe drew detailed depictions of camp life on 54 playing cards of a tarot deck.

On March 22, 1945, two prisoners achieved a spectacular escape from Goldbach Tunnel. Austrian prisoner Adam Puntschart (number 24313) and Ukrainian prisoner Wassili Sklarenko (number 33639) succeeded in leaving the tunnel unnoticed, concealed beneath excavation residue in a tipper wagon. After a four-day flight on foot, they reached Schaffhausen in Switzerland on March 26, 1945.

The camp was closed during the night of April 19, 1945, five days before the French army arrived in Überlingen. All prisoners were transported by train in the direction of Dachau and made it as far as Allach near Munich, where they were liberated by the U.S. Army. The camp at Überlingen was burned down on April 23, 1945, that is, before the French army reached the town. In the 1950s and 1960s the public prosecutor of Constance initiated several inquiries into the running of the subcamp, none of which led to charges being filed or trials.

SOURCES The organization DGS-KZ-A has published the author's brochure *Der Stollen*, 4th ed. (Eggingen: Edition Isele, 2001), containing all relevant information.

Der Stollen includes information from interviews with escapee Wassili Sklarenko. For more on the escape and on Überlingen, see the testimony of Adam Puntschart, *Die Heimat ist weit . . . Erlebnisse im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg, im KZ, auf der Flucht*, ed. Oswald Burger (Weingarten: Drumlin Verlag, 1983).

Oswald Burger
trans. Eric Schroeder

ULM (*MAGIRUS-DEUTZ AG*)

The cooperation between the administration of the district of Ulm and the management of the Magirus AG was already very close in the early 1930s. Even before the National Socialists seized power, various suborganizations of the Nazi Party in Ulm and its vicinity received support from the Magirus AG.[1] The firm's good contacts to high-ranking members of the SS in Berlin and Munich brought Magirus large-scale party commissions in 1934 and 1935, such as the construction of the Hilfszug Bayern and the Reichsautozug Deutschland. The merger with the Klöckner-Humboldt Deutz-Motoren AG of Cologne in 1935 had a positive impact on the company in Ulm; business began to boom as a result of the economic expansion, and the Deutz vehicle engines enabled Magirus to construct new chassis. In February 1943, production commenced on the Raupenschlepper Ost track-laying tractor in Ulm, leading to the company's reclassification as vital to the war effort. Approximately 2,000 "foreign workers," chiefly from Russia and Holland, had already been working for Magirus-Deutz in Ulm since 1942. They were housed in various quarters outside the company grounds.[2]

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), beginning on January 4, 1945, 30 to 40 prisoners were sent from the Dachau main camp to perform labor at the Magirus-Deutz AG. It can no longer be determined with certainty whether the establishment of this detachment from Dachau came about as a result of the major destruction of Works II (Blaubeurerstrasse 179) and III (Magirusstrasse) during the air raid on Ulm of December 17, 1944. At least 9 prisoners[3]—but most likely half of the prisoners in the detail—were from Italy. Ukrainians, Poles, and Czechs as well as 1 German prisoner also performed forced labor at the Magirus factory.[4] The prisoners wore striped uniforms and could therefore be easily distinguished from the other forced laborers.[5]

In January 1945, Miccio L. of Sorrento, Italy, was transferred from Dachau to Magirus-Deutz in Ulm because of his qualifications. He had been a skilled laborer at the Fiat Company in Naples before his arrest. Along with other prisoners, he was transported to Ulm by mail bus. The prisoners were given living quarters in a wooden barracks on a river dam. The quarters on the company grounds were fenced in. Unlike their fellow inmates at the Dachau main camp, the prisoners in Ulm slept on real beds with straw-bag mattresses and blankets. The wooden barracks also had a small stove that was in operation at night.[6]

The factory in which the prisoners worked was located approximately 100 to 200 meters (328 to 656 feet) from their

living quarters. Parts for the one-man Biber submarine were manufactured in a large production hall. German civilian workers trained the prisoners and assigned them their duties. Other contact with civilians at the company was strictly prohibited.[7]

The guard detail consisted of older members of the Wehrmacht and the navy; only the detachment leader was a member of the SS with the rank of Oberscharführer. The guards were housed in a barracks close to the prisoners' quarters. According to reports by several prisoners, the detachment leader was relatively humane and even spoke Italian with them. He did not abuse the prisoners, and he made an effort to have their food rations from the company canteen improved.[8]

No prisoners were killed during the existence of the subcamp at Magirus-Deutz in Ulm, but there was mistreatment[9] and corporal punishment[10] of prisoners.

A survivor reported that a "strange illness was detected" in this subcamp.[11] Several prisoners suffered from flatulence and were taken back to the Dachau main camp. Some of them later returned to Ulm. Details on this illness remain unknown.

The factory premises were badly damaged during an air raid on February 25, 1945. The prisoners were subsequently used in repairing the telephone cables.[12] The evacuation of the subcamp got under way after the bombardment of the city of Ulm on March 1 and 4, 1945. During those air raids, three Magirus-Deutz AG halls and the timber yard in Neu-Ulm were severely damaged. The prisoners subsequently could not work in the factory, which had been almost completely destroyed. They were taken back to Dachau on the company bus.[13] According to Dachau records, the Ulm subcamp remained in existence until March 11, 1945. Once back in Dachau, the Italian prisoners were transferred to the Fischen subcamp in the Allgäu.

There were no critical investigations after the war into the mistreatment of concentration camp prisoners at Magirus-Deutz.

Aerial views of the area have been preserved in British archives. These views show the factory before and after the destruction brought about by the air raids.[14] The most important evidence pertaining to this Dachau subcamp is found in records of the investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.[15]

SOURCES The Ulm subcamp, including its opening and closing dates, is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:98. Although it has not received scholarly attention, there are several publications on the history of Magirus AG: Klaus Rabe, *Der Zukunft ein Stück voraus: 125 Jahre Magirus* (Düsseldorf, 1989); Rolf J. Ambrosius, *Magirus: Die Geschichte eines Ulmer Unternehmens von 1864 bis 1935* (Biberach, 1997); Ambrosius, *Magirus-Deutz: Die Geschichte eines Ulmer Unternehmens von 1936 bis 1974* (Biberach, 2002). On Magirus's relationship with the Nazi Party, see Christine Arbogast, *Herrschaftsinstanzen der württembergischen NSDAP Funktion, Sozialprofil und Lebenswege einer regionalen NS-Elite 1920–1960* (Munich, 1998), pp. 70–72; and Hildegard Sander, *Ulmer Bilder-Chronik*, 5b (Ulm, 1989), 5b: 773.

The records of the investigation by ZdL (later BA-L) constitute the most important source of information on this subcamp. They contain survivors' statements on various aspects of the detachment. Additional archival material may be found in AG-D and DZOK. The bombardment of Ulm is documented by Allied aerial photographs and reports that can be found at TARA-KU and at PRO.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. *ULA*, August 30, 1933; DZOK, R 1 101.
2. Statement by August S., September 19, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
3. The name lists of ITS Arolsen; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 153/73, and the prisoners' card files at AG-D, update of September 9, 2003, printout in DZOK, R1 101.
4. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
5. Statement by Karl A., August 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
6. Statement by Miccio L., October 9, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
7. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
8. Statement by Giovanni P., September 12, 1975, and statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
9. Statement by Angelo P., October 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
10. Statement by Mario F., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
11. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
12. Statement by Rinaldo M., September 11, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
13. Statement by Karl A., August 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
14. Before the bombardment, aerial photograph of Ulm, TARA-KU, No. 20807, Sortie 60 PR 493; Interpretation Report SA 5281 on attack on Ulm on February 25, 1945; PRO, AIR 40/812; also USSBS, Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG, Ulm, October 17, 1945; PRO, AIR 48/152.
15. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.

VALEPP (*BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS UND POLIZEI*) [AKA SCHLIERSEE]

The subcamp in Valepp, which is a part of Schliersee in Bavaria, existed as a Dachau subcamp for almost three years from November 1, 1942, the date it is first mentioned, to its closure on October 30, 1944. But contrary to most other subcamps, the Valepp camp was not used permanently.

The employment of inmates at Valepp was related to the hunting lodges of Heinrich Himmler. In 1937, these buildings had been erected at Valepp near Schliersee and had been in use

as customs buildings at the border between Germany and Austria. In March 1938, after the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria, the buildings lost that original purpose, and from then on, Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, apparently used them during hunting trips in this area. On November 1, 1942, inmates from Dachau were sent for the first time to Valepp to work in these hunting lodges, mostly doing repairs and upgrades. In the first work detachment, there were, according to Johannes Wrobel, among others, three roofers, two carpenters, one joiner, one painter, one mechanic, and six unskilled workers—the composition of the group clearly indicating the kind of tasks they had to perform. This group worked for about one month in Valepp, with the first prisoners returned to Dachau on November 21 and the last ones on December 1, 1942.

A second group of inmates came to Valepp in summer 1943. From early June until the end of August 1943, 20 political prisoners of different nationalities were taken to Valepp to perform a number of odd jobs. A third group came to Valepp from November 1 to December 1, 1943, and worked on building an access road to the lodges and a sewage system and reroofing the lodges. Two locations were usually used to house the prisoners: either the hayloft on the upper floor of the SS building or a wooden barracks on the grounds of the lodges.

In September 1944, another group of prisoners was sent to Valepp, this time 10 inmates and five SS guards. While it is unknown which tasks the prisoners had to perform, records state that all the inmates were sent back to Dachau and severely punished because one of them had tried to dance with a woman. Another group of inmates arrived in Valepp on October 5, 1944. Among these 10 inmates there were 7 Jehovah's Witnesses and 3 political prisoners, all of them selected again by the professions they held before the war. A last group of inmates was apparently used between the end of April and early May 1945 to clear snow from the access roads to Himmler's hunting lodges.

SOURCES Johannes Wrobel gives a detailed description of the employment of the inmates at Valepp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 524–526.

The only other mention of the subcamp Valepp is in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:98.

Archival documents are located in the collection at AG-D; see especially Überstellungslisten (transport list, DaA 35672–35678). Records of the investigations of ZdL (now BA-L) conducted in the late 1960s can be accessed under File IV 410 AR 1214/69. At the Sta. Mü, there is a collection of statements regarding the Valepp subcamp: Akte Valepp, 1945–1950, StanW 34434. Information on Jehovah's Witnesses as prisoners at Valepp can be found at Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, in GAZJ, and in Erhard Klein, *Jehovas Zeugen im KZ Dachau. Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld, 2001).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WEISSSEE

During the National Socialist era, two hydroelectric power plants were built in the Hohe Tauern at Kaprun and Weisssee. The construction sites in Stubachtal were under the control of the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), but the work was done by an industry association, which was usual in the construction industry. The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke consisted of several firms. It was headed and guided by the Union-Baugesellschaft Universale-Hoch-Tiefbauaktiengesellschaft.

Unlike Kaprun, where there were two "Jewish camps" for the construction of the power plant, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke did not want to rely on Jewish labor. It was only when Viennese Reichskommissar Josef Bürckel made enquiries with Friedrich Gärtner, president of the "Ostmark" branch office of Reich Labor Ministry, as to how the use of unemployed Jews was likely to develop that the Arbeitsgemeinschaft changed its mind. Stubachwerke then declared that it was prepared to experiment with the use of 30 Jews. By the end of May, the number of Jewish prisoners had increased to 61.

At the beginning of the war, there was an increase in the number of prisoners of war (POWs) in the region. The Landrat Zell am See situation report (*Lagebericht*) dated February 2, 1940, states that 50 Slovaks and 75 Polish POWs were engaged in the construction of the Stubachwerke.[1] The numbers were to increase during the course of the war. Accommodation barracks were constructed in Uttendorf as well as in Wirtenbach, Wiesen, Fellern in der Schneiderau, Enzingerboden, Tauernmoos, and Weisssee.[2]

The living conditions for the workers varied according to where they worked. The most difficult place was Weisssee, because it was located high in the Alps at a height of 2,300 meters (7,546 feet).

The first labor camp with accommodation barracks was constructed in the Weisssee area in 1939, and the first forced laborers and POWs were accommodated in these barracks from that time. They were Poles and, from 1941, Soviets. The camp was expanded in the autumn of 1942 with a residence and an office barracks. Additional barracks were to be built by the spring.[3] By the spring of 1943, there was room for around 400 workers living in three barracks. There were mostly civilian foreigners, mostly Ukrainians and Poles but also Soviet POWs, in Weisssee until 1943. From 1943 on, the Weisssee camp was an independent subcamp of Dachau. From there the workers were taken to work at Weisssee.

The Weisssee camp held people of many nationalities but they all had one thing in common: they had to do heavy labor at a high altitude, often under murderous conditions. Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, French, Greeks, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Belgians as well as Germans and Austrians were imprisoned here. Only a few had experience in mining or the construction of power plants. In addition, they were not used to working at high altitudes. Summer temperatures below zero Celsius (32°F) were common; the air at these al-



A view of the Dachau/Weisssee subcamp.
COURTESY OF NICOLE SLUPETZKY

titudes was thinner and made physical work much more difficult.

The usual prisoner clothing for the workers at Weisssee was made of linen or cotton. The prisoners wore thin leather or wooden shoes. Some also were given gloves, pullovers, and coats.[4] Austrian political prisoners were not allowed these items.

Most of the inmates' clothes were marked with targets made out of a red cloth. These were affixed to prominent parts of the shirts. The prisoners were readily visible and easy targets.[5]

Upon arrival in the Weisssee camp, the prisoners were "received" by the camp commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Maier, then assigned to their work. Each work detachment consisted of between 10 and 15 people under the supervision of an Austrian, German, or sometimes a Dutch foreman.[6] The SS was in charge of camp security. They were based in the Rudolfshütte, an alpine hut.

The concentration camp inmates' accommodation was sparse but well secured. There were three barracks in a row, secured by a massive amount of barbed wire to prevent escapes. Each barrack consisted of two large dormitories with three-tiered bunk beds. Each bunk bed was equipped with straw sacks. In the middle of each room there was a small stove, which was inadequate for the task. Regardless of the weather, storm, snow, rain, or sunshine, the prisoners awoke at 5:00 A.M. Half an hour later, after a communal toilet, the prisoners had to attend roll call. Following a short breakfast—bread with a little margarine—the prisoners marched to work. By the time the sun rose, the prisoners were at work. A loud siren signaled lunch. If lunch was eaten in the barracks, the prisoners had to march for about 30 minutes back to their barracks to eat the soup and black bread. If lunch was eaten in the open air, they were exposed to the wind and the cold. To protect themselves, they dug holes in the snow. But this meant they were using their physical strength. After a "break" for about an hour (often there was no break), the work continued without rest until sunset. Work for 12 to 13 hours a day was the norm, day after day, excluding Sundays, when there was no work in the afternoon unless one "volunteered" for work.[7]

From 1943, the majority of the prisoners worked in a quarry and not in the excavating tunnels. Others had to march daily in the direction of Tauernmoos to work on the road. Work was done here regardless of the weather. Sometimes it happened that a few prisoners worked during the day in the valley. In the morning the workers were taken by means of a goods cable car into the valley. They returned the same way in the evening. Four prisoners and two SS men made up each detachment. It often happened that the cable car got stuck, which meant that the workers had to undertake a difficult march by foot, returning to their barracks in the middle of the night. The camp was surrounded by mountains around 3,000 meters high (9,843 feet), all of which had glaciers. The chances of a successful escape were zero. The only possibility was to escape in the direction of the valley, but here the chances of being caught were high. However, for some the despair was so great that they attempted to escape. One morning, there was great excitement because during the night six Frenchmen had escaped. It did not take long, however, before five of them returned. On the evening of the same day the prisoners "freely" returned to the camp. One was never found. The others arrived at the painful realization that there was little chance of escape. The camp commander did not tolerate such behavior, and the prisoners who returned were beaten. They were beaten by hand and foot and with oxtail whips on their whole bodies. As if that were not punishment enough, they had to remain outside, stark naked. Their punishment lasted for two days. When it ended, they had frostbite, wounds, bruises—their faces and bodies were swollen and their shaved heads red from sunburn. Their skinny bodies had been further weakened.[8]

As in many other camps, there were prisoners who worked for the SS and guarded their fellow prisoners. In many cases, it was the camp elder who had this role and was given an ox whip. Many of these henchmen believed that they could buy their freedom by working for their overlords. However, this

was not the case in the Weisssee camp. In the end, they too were taken to Dachau. It was only with the arrival of the Americans in May 1945 that the Weisssee hell ended.[9]

For many, the events at Weisssee and the surrounding areas would haunt them for their whole lives. It was only in the middle of the 1960s that investigations began to determine whether homicides or other crimes had been committed at Weisssee. Eight witnesses were asked about their time at Weisssee. Not one of these witnesses had personally seen a homicide or could recall a homicide. The investigations ended before they had really begun, as most of the crimes were covered by statutes of limitations.[10]

SOURCES This essay on the Weisssee subcamp is based on the author's book *Arbeiter für den Endsieg. Zwangsarbeit im Reichsgau Salzburg 1939–1945* (Vienna, 2004) and a detailed essay, "Das KZ Aussenlager Weisssee. Zwangsarbeit in 2300 m Höhe" (2003).

It is extremely difficult to find source material on the Weisssee subcamp. Much information is held privately. In BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, there is a report about judicial investigations and their conclusion. In SLA, BH—Zell am See, HB-Akte 1943, and Bauakten 1942, there are details about the construction. For the Landrat Zell am See Lagebericht, see DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Salzburg 1934 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991). A few prisoners have recorded their experiences, for example, Max Drouin in his book *Forcené de l'espoir* (Aigues-Vives: HB éditions, 1998), pp. 92–102. Two others are Martin Wolff, *12 Jahre Nacht—Stationen eines Lebensweges* (Siegen: Verlag für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V., 1983); and Heinrich Fritz, *Stationen meines Lebens* (Vienna: Globusverlag, 1990).

Nicole Slupetzky
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Reproduced in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Salzburg 1934 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991), 1: 494.
2. SLA, BH—Zell am See, HB-Akte, 1943, Karton 112, Akte 456–10.
3. SLA, BH-Zell am See, Bauakten 1942, Karton 67, Schreiben vom 19. 10. 1942.
4. Martin Wolff, *12 Jahre Nacht—Stationen eines Lebensweges* (Siegen: Verlag für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V., 1983), pp. 65–66.
5. Heinrich Fritz, *Stantionen meines Lebens* (Vienna: Globusverlag, 1990), p. 144.
6. Hermann Theunis interview, January 2000.
7. Max Drouin, *Forcené de l'espoir* (Aigues-Vives: HB éditions, 1998), pp. 92–102.
8. Ibid., pp. 116–118. On the escape of the French, Theunis interview, January 2000.
9. Gendameriechronik Uttendorf, May 1945.
10. BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, Schlussvermerk.

ZANGBERG

Most likely Zangberg was not a subcamp of Dachau—or of Mühlberg, as the International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions it. As Edith Raim states, Zangberg near Mühldorf was the location of a monastery that during the war had becone the home of the SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH. This "company" was run by Martin Weiss, former commander of the Dachau, Neuengamme, and Lublin-Majdanek concentration camps and plenipotentiary of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). But the name SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH was misleading: No wine was produced in Zangberg; rather, it was the center of cooperation of 42 companies that were involved in the production of the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter. Among these companies were Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), Siemens & Halske (S&H), Siemens & Schuckert, Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss.

Approximately 60 inmates were held at Zangberg, probably from 1944 on. It is unclear what their tasks were. No doubt, they were part of the Mühldorf subcamp complex, but since they were not employed by Organisation Todt (OT) as the inmates in this complex were, but rather by the SS itself, they were listed separately in the official files and reports of the Dachau concentration camp. Still, on March 3, 1945, the Dachau strength report lists 60 male inmates at Zangberg. It is unclear what happened to the Zangberg inmates at the end of the war. Most likely they joined the evacuation transports of the prisoners of the Mühldorf subcamp complex.

ITS lists Zangberg twice, but in either case only for short periods in 1945—which is rather unlikely, considering the history of the Mühldorf subcamp complex. As dates when the Zangberg camps were last mentioned, ITS lists April 15 and April 25, 1945 respectively.

SOURCES Scattered information regarding Zangberg can be found in Edith Raim's article on Mühldorf in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 389–395. For information on the evacuation marches of the inmates of the Mühldorf subcamp complex, see the Mühldorf entry. Zangberg is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88, 92.

Archival documents are held in the collection at AG-D under Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 404 and 32789).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FLOSSENBÜRG



German civilians lead an oxcart carrying bodies for burial through the Flossenbürg gate, May 3, 1945. Note the sign at left that reads, "Work Will Make You Free."
USHMM WS # 77027, COURTESY OF NARA

FLOSSENBÜRG MAIN CAMP

The Flossenbürg concentration camp was founded in the spring of 1938, outside the small town of Flossenbürg, Germany, near Weiden in the Upper Palatinate, along the hilly border with Czechoslovakia, in order to confine "asocial" and "work-shy" elements of German society. Seven years later, it comprised a sprawling collection of subcamps, overflowing with prisoners from all over Europe. It originated with the idea of quarrying granite for civilian building projects; at the end, the work concentrated primarily on military production. It began as a camp for male prisoners; it ended with a population nearly one-third female. But throughout this protracted, fitful metamorphosis, human suffering remained the one horrifying given at Flossenbürg.

On March 24, 1938, a commission led by high-ranking SS officers examined the proposed site and found it suitable, based on its potential for producing granite. The establishment of the camp was part of a new strategy by Heinrich Himmler to exploit prisoner labor for profit by supplying building materials for the Nazi regime's construction projects. It thus coincided closely with the founding by the SS of the German Earth and Stone Works Ltd. (DESt), the siting of the new Mauthausen concentration camp by stone quarries near Linz, and the establishment of brickworks at Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. It also coincided with an expansion of the camp system's population through new arrests, which were calculated to provide the necessary workforce. Regulations encouraging the detention of common criminals and persons deemed "asocial" facilitated the new policy.

The first 100 prisoners arrived at Flossenbürg from Dachau on May 3, 1938. Further transports followed from Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen, bringing the camp population to approximately 1,500 by year's end.[1] These initial inmates were drawn primarily from the ranks of the criminals, as well as asocials and a few homosexuals. The camp held no political prisoners at all for the first 17 months of its existence, during which time the criminals, or "greens" (named for the color of the badge they wore), firmly established themselves in the prisoner administration of the camp. By the outbreak of the war in 1939, the total prisoner population had increased only slightly, to about 1,600.[2]



A section of Flossenbürg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 20098, COURTESY OF JOSEPH KORZENIK

The first political prisoners, about 1,000 in number, arrived at the end of September 1939, when Dachau was temporarily cleared out to train what would become the first unit of the Waffen-SS. Although the survivors returned to Dachau in March 1940, other political prisoners replaced them almost immediately, including a number of Czechs, the camp's first foreign prisoners (apart from Austrians). In the course of 1941, however, the influx of perhaps 1,500 Poles established that nationality as the largest contingent of non-Germans at Flossenbürg. By the end of the year, the camp held approximately 3,150 civilian prisoners of all kinds. In addition, there were approximately 1,750 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) remaining from a group of about 2,000 the Germans had crowded into a separate compound within the camp, under particularly primitive conditions, in October. Thus, by the end of 1941, Flossenbürg had a total prisoner population of approximately 4,900.[3]

Polish prisoners continued to arrive in quantity during 1942, joined by a significant number of Soviet civilian workers who had run afoul of the Nazi authorities after arriving in the Reich to perform forced labor. Soviet political prisoners also began to appear. Nevertheless, with deaths and transfers, the total number of civilian prisoners rose only moderately in 1942, ending the year a little above 3,500.[4] This number includes a few hundred prisoners at Flossenbürg's first subcamps but not the surviving Soviet POWs, whose numbers are not known.

Beginning in 1943 and continuing into 1944, hundreds of prisoners arrived at Flossenbürg from Western Europe, primarily France, under the so-called Night-and-Fog Decree. Since the flow of new prisoners from Eastern Europe also continued unabated, it was probably in 1943 that German prisoners at the camp entered into the minority, despite the arrival of more criminals, now transferred directly from conventional German prisons and penitentiaries by agreement with the Ministry of Justice. By mid-July 1943, the Flossenbürg main camp held some 3,950 prisoners, including 10 women at the newly opened camp brothel, while eight subcamps held more than 800 prisoners.[5]

Over the next 18 months, Flossenbürg underwent staggering growth, above all in the subcamps, whose numbers multiplied to more than 90 in 1944 and whose geographic extent was unusually wide, stretching across Bavaria, Bohemia, and Saxony into Thuringia and Brandenburg-Prussia. On September 1, 1944, Flossenbürg acquired administrative control of 5 Ravensbrück subcamps and their female prisoners (having already controlled their labor deployment before that, in one case since early 1943). A number of new subcamps for women were established in the coming months. By the beginning of 1945, the total number of prisoners in the Flossenbürg system exceeded 40,000, including more than 11,000 women.[6] By early March, as the evacuations of other camps swelled the population further, the total peaked at nearly 53,000, of whom more than 13,000 were women.[7] At this time, the main camp was overflowing with almost 14,500 prisoners.[8]

For most of its history, Flossenbürg had few or no Jewish prisoners. Although a small number of Jews had been present from at least mid-1940 (receiving particularly brutal attention from the guards), the last 12 were deported to Auschwitz on October 19, 1942. Up to that time, some 78 Jewish prisoners had died in the camp.[9] Beginning in August 1944, however, overwhelming numbers of Polish and Hungarian Jews began to arrive. Ultimately, out of a total of 89,964 prisoners recorded entering the Flossenbürg system during its history, some 22,930 were Jewish.[10]

The original site selection in 1938 greatly aggravated several of Flossenbürg's perennial problems, one of which was severe overcrowding. Wedged between steep hillsides at the upper end of a valley, Flossenbürg had almost no room for expansion. Construction of the main camp, intended for 1,500 prisoners, had begun immediately upon the arrival of the first prisoners, with the erection of a barbed-wire perimeter. The prisoners then had to terrace the sharply rising valley floor to accommodate the camp headquarters, barracks for themselves, and housing for the SS guards. With the completion of these initial structures in early 1939, construction continued on guard towers and an internal camp jail, as well as infrastructure projects such as washing facilities, an electrical transformer station, and a sewer system. In 1940, excavations into the hillside began, creating new terraces for the construction of additional prisoner barracks in 1941. None of this work would prove even remotely adequate to house the accelerating influx of human beings. Forcing the prisoners to work (and thus also to sleep) in shifts, an innovation eventually undertaken to increase productivity, only partially alleviated the lack of bunk space.

The camp's unfortunate location posed other difficulties. The high elevation impeded the water supply, while the terrace design complicated the functioning of the sewage system. Both problems were greatly exacerbated by overcrowding. Perhaps the most terrible consequence of the site, however, was the weather, which is unusually cold and wet in that corner of Germany. The prisoners, ill-clad and underfed, suffered grievously. Indeed, the effects of the foul weather were considerable even upon the camp buildings, and in winter the roofs needed to be cleaned almost daily to prevent them from collapsing under the weight of the accumulated snow.

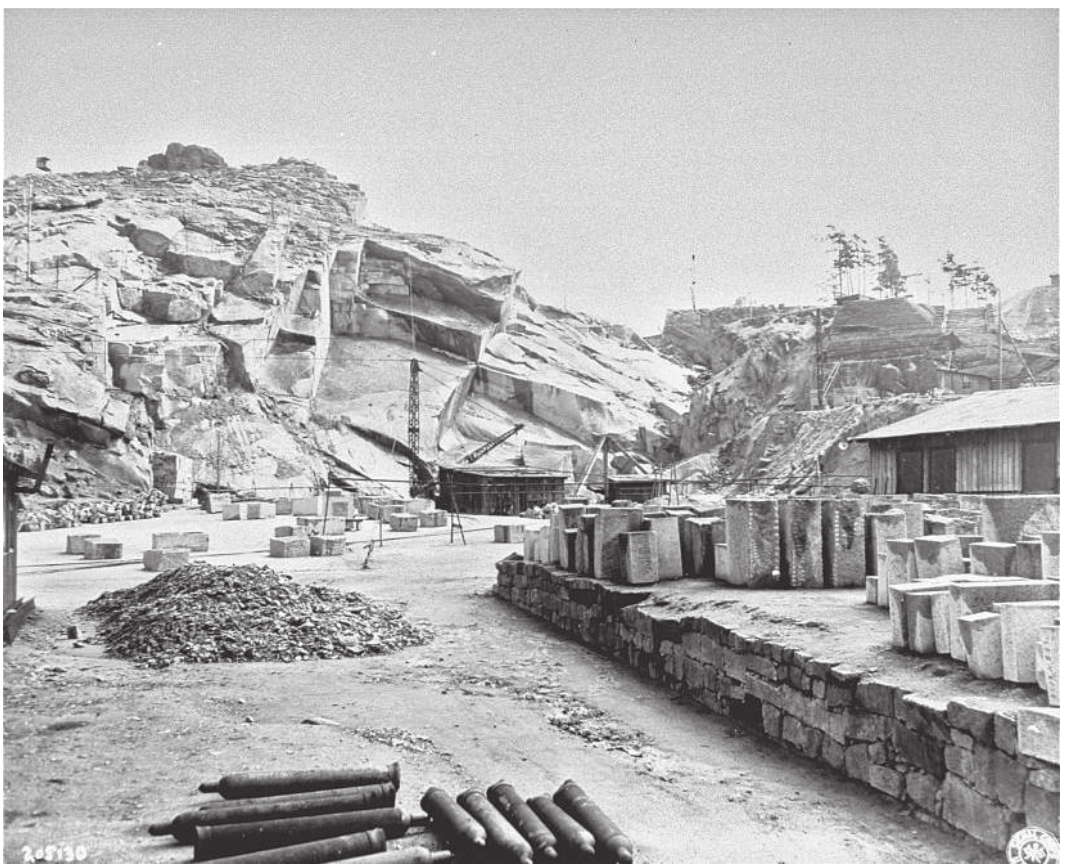
During Flossenbürg's first months, prisoner labor was inevitably applied almost entirely to the construction of the camp, but work for DESt began in the stone quarry soon thereafter. By June 1939, the ratio of prisoners employed in the quarry to those in construction was recorded at 646:863.[11] By November, however, this ratio had shifted to 1,297:945.[12] During 1940, with the initial construction largely completed, labor deployment became somewhat more diversified. The quarry consumed about half of all prisoner man-hours; construction and, in particular, terracing, about a quarter. The remainder was divided among various workshops

and a multiplicity of routine tasks, from keeping the camp clean to peeling potatoes. The total value of the prisoner labor for the year was calculated at nearly 367,000 Reichsmark (RM), or almost $147,000 at the prevailing, fixed rate of exchange.[13]

By mid-1943, the quarry still occupied approximately half the prisoner population of the main camp. About 1 prisoner in 6 worked for the camp administration in one capacity or another, and 1 in 13 at the behest of the camp construction office. The next largest employer was a weaving shop owned by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). One prisoner in 14 worked in a new Messerschmitt detail, code-named "Detachment 2004," begun that February to produce parts for Me 109 fighter planes.[14] Aircraft manufacture, however, soon came to dominate labor deployment at Flossenbürg. In August 1943, Allied bombing seriously damaged Messerschmitt's main factory at Regensburg, prompting the company to move production more heavily into the concentration camps. The number of prisoners working for Messerschmitt at the main camp thus increased steadily from about 230 in July to about 800 in August, 1,900 in January 1944, and 2,200 in March.[15] By late October, armaments production throughout the system occupied over 5,700 prisoners.[16] At the same time, the quarry work for DESt declined both in relative and absolute terms.

The prisoner-functionaries profoundly affected life at Flossenbürg—and rarely for the better. Although ultimately only about 1 Flossenbürg prisoner out of 20 wore the green triangle, the original preponderance of criminals resulted in an especially corrupt and abusive prisoner hierarchy that endured long after the "greens" became a tiny minority within the total population. Willi Rettenmeier, a criminal from Stuttgart, held the position of camp elder from the beginning until June 1941, when it passed to a criminal named Kliefoth, who remained until the end of 1942. The camp command then tried out two German political prisoners in succession, Karl Mayer and Karl Mathoi, both of whom struggled to contain the power of the criminal functionaries beneath them, apparently with little success. In March 1944, the commandant returned the position of camp elder to criminal hands in the person of Anton Uhl, who remained in place until liberation, when the other prisoners lynched him.

A distinguishing feature of the "green" hierarchy in the camp was its sexual exploitation of lower-ranking prisoners.



The abandoned quarry at Flossenbürg, May 5, 1945.
USHMM WS # 37268, COURTESY OF NARA



A Reichsmark coupon issued at Flossenbürg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 25423, COURTESY OF JACK J. SILVERSTEIN

Coerced homosexual relationships and outright rape were thus common. Indeed, the camp command eventually felt compelled to segregate the camp's underage boys in a barracks of their own, in an attempt—as ironic as it was unsuccessful—to protect them from sexual predation.

The SS hierarchy at Flossenbürg was thoroughly corrupt and brutal. After the first camp commandant, Jakob Weiseborn, protégé of the notoriously venal Karl Koch at Buchenwald, was found dead in January 1939, camp rumor leapt to the unsubstantiated conclusion that he had committed suicide to avoid scandal. His successor Karl Künstler was frequently drunk and delegated responsibility heavily to ruthless subordinates until his removal in August 1942. After a two-month interregnum, Künstler was replaced by Egon Zill, a cipher who remained in power only until April 1943. For the last two years of the war, Flossenbürg was run by Max Koegel, a vicious martinet with none of the managerial skill needed to handle the rapid expansion of the camp that occurred during his tenure. All these men had long, if speckled, careers behind them in concentration camp service, but Flossenbürg uniformly terminated their ascent. Weiseborn died; Künstler and Zill became supply officers with SS combat units; and Koegel hanged himself shortly after being taken into custody by the Americans in 1946.

The SS guards assigned to Flossenbürg were similar to those serving elsewhere in the concentration camp system. The original Reich Germans were strongly reinforced in 1942 and 1943 by ethnic German recruits from Eastern Europe, and the guard force soon aged dramatically as the young and fit were increasingly transferred away to combat units and replaced with older, less healthy men. The total number of guards grew as Flossenbürg expanded. At the end of 1943, the camp's headquarters staff and the SS-Death's Head Battalion together numbered some 450 men, including 140 foreign auxiliaries, mostly Ukrainian, who had arrived from the SS-Training Camp Trawniki in early October.[17] This number increased more than sixfold in the course of 1944, in part as hundreds of members of the Wehrmacht were assigned SS ranks and given guard duties. At the beginning of 1945, the number of guards in the Flossenbürg system had thus swollen to over 3,000, including more than 500 women.[18] By March, the total reached approximately 4,500.[19]

The ways in which prisoners at Flossenbürg were tormented and killed were also virtually indistinguishable from the means routinely employed elsewhere in the camp system. Prisoners were beaten, kicked, and stomped upon (particularly by the Kapos, who were issued rubber truncheons), ridiculed and humiliated, forced to perform exhausting exercises, hung up by their wrists with their arms behind their backs, and doused with cold water during freezing weather, to mention only a few of the most common abuses. They were shot "while attempting to escape," shot by firing squads, hanged, beaten to death, drowned, strangled, and given lethal injections. Beginning in 1941, large numbers of extralegal "executions" took place at Flossenbürg, usually by shooting, with Poles and Soviet POWs constituting the chief victims. On March 29, 1945, 13 Allied POWs were hanged, including 1 American, and on April 9, 7 prominent German resistance figures followed, including former Abwehr (military counter intelligence) chief Wilhelm Canaris and pastor Dietrich Bonnhöffer.

Given the appalling conditions and inadequate food at Flossenbürg, the largest numbers of prisoners succumbed to disease and malnutrition. A dysentery epidemic brought the whole camp to a standstill for the entire month of January 1940, and typhus swept through the overcrowded barracks in September 1944 and again in January 1945. Mortality was especially high during the last chaotic months before liberation, as the entire system began to break down. In the month ending on March 15, 1942, 117 civilian prisoners and 27 Soviet POWs died at Flossenbürg; during the 30 days of March 1945 for which statistics are available, 1,367 prisoners died at the main camp alone (excluding executions).[20]

The evacuation of Flossenbürg started on April 15, 1945, and proceeded sporadically until April 20, both by train and on foot, in the direction of Dachau. Of the approximately 9,300 registered prisoners still alive at the main camp (plus another 7,000 just arrived from Buchenwald), only about 1,500, mostly the very sick, were left behind to be liberated by the U.S. Army on April 23.[21] Fewer than 3,000 of the evacuees ever arrived at Dachau, where they joined perhaps another 3,800 evacuated from Flossenbürg subcamps.[22] Many prisoners died on the brutal march or were killed. Others escaped in the confusion, found themselves free when their guards deserted, or were liberated by advancing troops.

After the war, the Americans tabulated over 21,000 deaths among prisoners registered in the Flossenbürg system; the full total (including prisoners brought to the camp specifically to be killed and thus not registered) was probably around

30,000, perhaps three-quarters of which occurred in the last nine months before liberation. The American compilation indicates that 3,515 of the dead were Jews.[23]

SOURCES Unfortunately, the SS was able to destroy many of the camp's important records before liberation. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of archival material is available. The most significant collection is "NS4 Fl" at the BA-BL. Although extremely diverse, the material mostly pertains to the camp construction directorate (Bauleitung). The ITS in Arolsen, Germany, holds extensive documentation concerning the prisoners, while further important information about the prisoners, compiled by the Americans after the war, can be found at NARA in College Park, Maryland, in microfilm collection T-580, Rolls 69–70, Ordner 332. Various original Flossenbürg documents were microfilmed as NARA, T-580, Rolls 68–69, Ordner 329, and T-1021, Roll 1, Frames 350–549. Finally, the Památník Terezín in the Czech Republic has a small collection of documents from Flossenbürg.

Materials from the most important postwar trial, against Friedrich Becker et al., are available on microfilm as NARA, M-1204. In addition to the trial transcript, this collection contains investigative records and trial exhibits. For information regarding the various German trials, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Milde, comps., *Die westdeutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1997* (Amsterdam, 1998).

The only work that even approaches a full-length study of Flossenbürg is Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 2, pt. A, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), pp. 429–493, which has also been published separately in several editions. See also Jörg Skriebeleit, "Flossenbürg—Stammlager," in *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich, 2006); Johannes Tuchel, "Die Kommandanten des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—Eine Studie zur Personalpolitik in der SS," in *Die Normalität des Verbrechens: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Forschung zu den nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen*, ed. Helga Grabitz et al. (Berlin, 1994), pp. 201–219; Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999); Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Widerstand in Flossenbürg: Zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf der deutschen, österreichischen und sowjetischen Kommunisten im Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg 1940–1945* (Oldenburg, 1990); Peter Heigl in collaboration with Bénédicte Omont, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Regensburg, 1989).

For survivor accounts, see Hugo Walleitner, *Zebra: Ein Tatsachenbericht aus dem Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg* (Bad Ischl, n.d.); Władysław Rżewski, *Kaźń flossenbürska* (New York, n.d.); Maurice Mazaleyrat, *Flossenburg: Arbeit macht frei* (Brive, n.d.); Jan Gałaś and Sylwester Newiak, *Flossenbürg: Nieznany obóz zagłady* (Katowice, 1975); Henk Verheyen, *Het sanatorium: Herinneringen aan de nazitijd* (Antwerp, 1994); Léon Calembert, *Flossenbürg: Een vergeten concentratiekamp*, ed. Gie van den Berghe (Brussels, 1999); and *"Ich lege mich hin und sterbe!": Ehemalige Häftlinge des KZ Flossenbürg berichten*, ed. Thomas Muggenthaler (Munich, 2005).

Todd Huebner

NOTES

1. Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 2, pt. A, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), pp. 429–493; here p. 437, citing reports held at ITS, Arolsen.
2. NARA, Record Group 238, Nuremberg Document R-129.
3. BA-BL, NS 4 Fl, Folder 391, "Bericht der Aussenstelle für Arbeitseinsatz," January 16, 1942.
4. Ibid., "Arbeitseinteilung am 31. Dezember 1942," December 31, 1942.
5. Ibid., "Arbeitseinteilung am 17. Juli 1943," July 17, 1943.
6. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d.
7. NARA, microfilm collection T-1021, Roll 1, Frames 376–381.
8. Ibid., Frames 372–375.
9. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 462.
10. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 70, Ordner 332, "General Statistical Chart," n.d.
11. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 351, "Nachweis über wertmässige Erfassung der Häftlingsarbeiten. Monat: Juni 1939," July 1, 1939.
12. Ibid., "Nachweis über wertmässige Erfassung der Häftlingsarbeiten. Monat: November 1939," December 1, 1939.
13. Ibid., "Statistische Erfassung der Häftlings-Arbeitsleistungen im Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg, 1940," n.d.
14. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 391, "Arbeitseinsatz am 17. Juli 1943," July 17, 1943.
15. July 1943: Ibid., August 1943 and March 1944; Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 450; NARA, M890, Roll 9, Frames 705–709, January 1944.
16. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 393, "Übersicht über den Häftlingseinsatz im KL Flossenbürg, Monat Oktober 1944," n.d.
17. Ibid., Folder 354/2, TWL der Waffen-SS Hersbrück, "Einnahme-Bescheinigung Nr. 393," January 1, 1944. CAFSSRF, File K-779, Fond 16, Opis' 312 "e," Delo 410, Fols. 193–195.
18. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d.

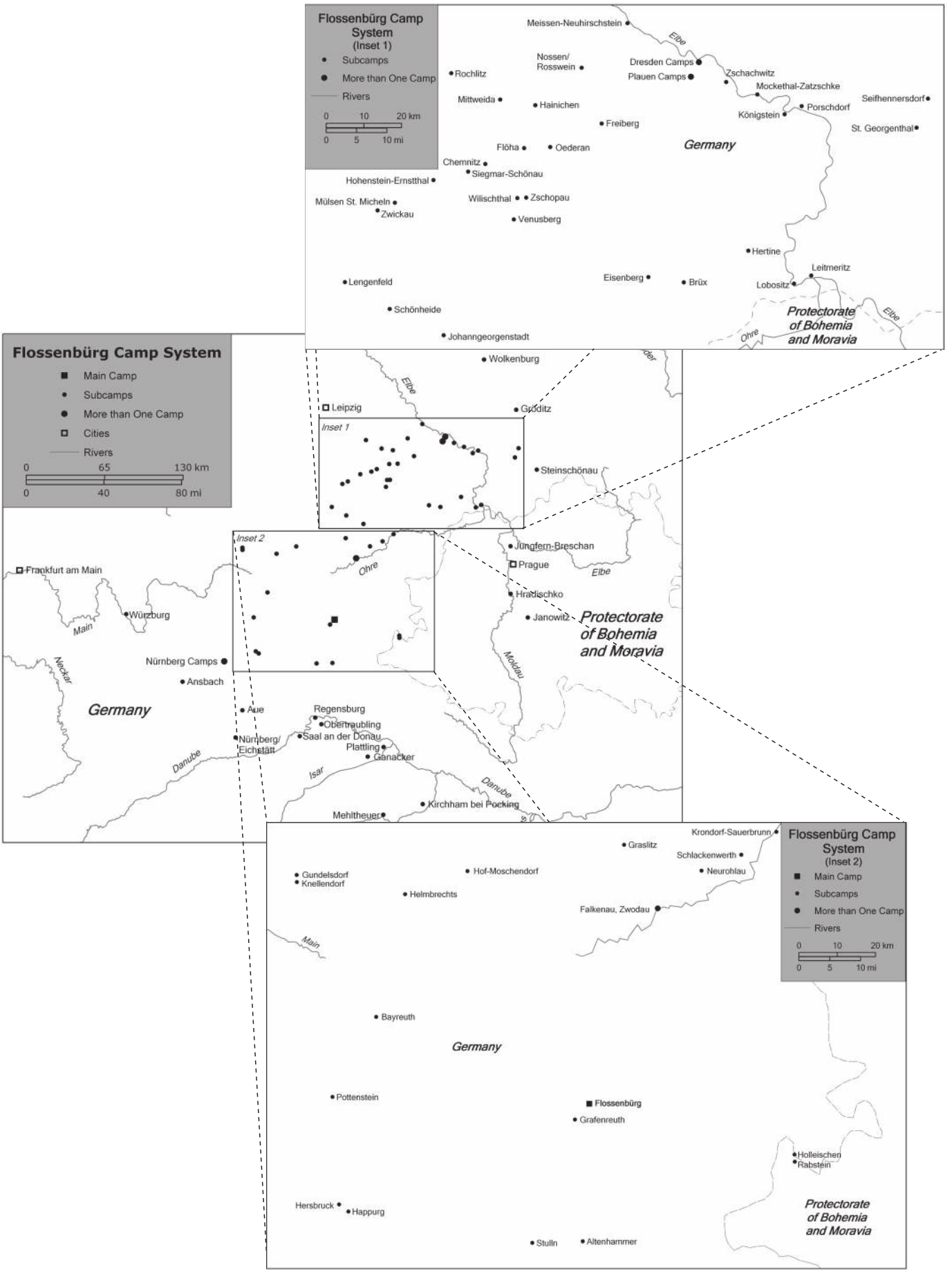
19. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 481.

20. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 388, "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge," March 15, 1942; ibid., "Gesundheitszustand der Russ. Kriegsgefangenen," March 15, 1942; Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 476, citing ITS documents.

21. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 398, "Statistics concerning the Concentration Camp of Flossenbuerg," May 17, 1945.

22. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 485, citing ITS documents.

23. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 70, Ordner 332, "General Statistical Chart," n.d.


Flossenbürg Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 65 130 km
0 40 80 mi
Flossenbürg Camp System (Inset 1)
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 10 20 km
0 5 10 mi
Flossenbürg Camp System (Inset 2)
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 10 20 km
0 5 10 mi
Inset 1
Inset 2
Germany
Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia
Meissen-Neuhirschstein
Elbe
Nossen/ Rosswein
Dresden Camps
Plauen Camps
Zschachwitz
Mockethal-Zatzschke
Seifhennersdorf
Rochlitz
Mittweida
Hainichen
Porschdorf
Königstein
Freiberg
St. Georgenthal
Flöha
Oederan
Chemnitz
Siegmar-Schönau
Hohenstein-Ernstthal
Mülsen St. Micheln
Zwickau
Wilischthal
Zschopau
Venusberg
Hertine
Leitmeritz
Lengenfeld
Eisenberg
Brüx
Lobositz
Schönheide
Johanngeorgenstadt
Ohre
Wolkenburg
Leipzig
Göditz
Steinschönau
Jungfern-Breschan
Prague
Frankfurt am Main
Hradischko
Würzburg
Main
Janowitz
Moldau
Nürnberg Camps
Neckar
Ansbach
Aue
Regensburg
Obertraubling
Saal an der Donau
Nürnberg/ Eichstätt
Plattling
Ganacker
Danube
Isar
Kirchham bei Pocking
Mehltheuer
Krondorf-Sauerbrunn
Graslitz
Schlackenwerth
Neurohlau
Gundelsdorf
Knellendorf
Hof-Moschendorf
Helmbrechts
Falkenau, Zwodau
Bayreuth
Pottenstein
Flossenbürg
Grafenreuth
Holleischen
Rabstein
Hersbruck
Happurg
Stulln
Altenhammer

FLOSSENBÜRG SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The use of prisoners outside the Flossenbürg concentration camp was discussed early on in the development of the camp. From the beginning of the war, small groups of prisoners worked on farms, with skilled tradesmen, and with local authorities in and around Flossenbürg. The daily departure from the camp and evening return, however, came to an almost complete stop in 1942.

In February 1942, shortly after the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was founded, the first Flossenbürg subcamp was established at Stulln. Almost 100 male prisoners worked until October of that year for the Vereinigten Flussspatgruben Stulln GmbH (United Fluorspat Mine Stulln) before being transferred to the SS-Pionierkaserne (Sappers Barracks) in Dresden. There, the prisoners had to work on construction sites for the Dresden Waffen-SS and the Police in Dresden and its surroundings. It remains uncertain, due to lack of source material, whether the Stulln subcamp was conceived as a pilot project between the SS and private industry.

Other subcamps were established by the end of 1943 solely for the SS. In organizations such as the SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungsabteilung (Intelligence Training Unit) in Nürnberg, the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothes Checkout) which had been transferred from Berlin-Lichterfelde to Schlackenwerth near Karlsbad, and in an SS-Bekleidungslager (Clothes Depot) in Grafenreuth (only 20 kilometers [over 12 miles] from Flossenbürg) but also in the SS's own businesses such as the Porcelain Factory Bohemia at Neu-Rohlau and the mineral water producer Sudetenquell, for which prisoners worked in the Bohemian town of Krondorf constructing a well until 1944 there were between 20 and 150 prisoners each. Personal connections also played a role during this period in the establishment of subcamps, as in the SS-Teillazarett (Hospital) in Würzburg, where Dr. Werner Heyde practiced euthanasia, and in the Franconian town of Pottenstein, where concentration camp prisoners were made available for use by speleologist Hans Brand. The majority of these subcamps (by the end of 1943, there were 12 altogether) were small. Often skilled workers were deployed to them, and the percentage of German or German-speaking prisoners was relatively high. Proportionally, the number of prisoners in the subcamps increased during the course of 1943 from 9 percent in February (406 of a total of 4,290 prisoners) to 31 percent in July (1,511 of 4,869).[1] What is noteworthy at this stage is the large number of subcamps located in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia or in the Sudetenland. Shortly after the occupation of Germany's neighbor, the SS targeted and secured selected representative sites. The owners of these sites had lost them because the sites were "aryanized" or for some other reason. Many of the subcamps in this area were located in castles (for example, Schlackenwerth, Beneschau, Jungfern-Breschan, and Eisenberg).

Only later the Flossenbürg prisoners were used in the weapons industry and then in Flossenbürg and not in the subcamps. From the summer of 1943, Messerschmitt produced fighters on the site of a Flossenbürg quarry. In December 1943, a subcamp was established in Johanngeorgenstadt for the Erla-Maschinenfabrik GmbH (Erla Machine Factory), which produced parts for the Me 109. Two other subcamps followed in August 1944 for the same company in Mülsen—St. Micheln and in Flöha. In all three instances, assembly was transferred from the main factory in Leipzig, which was threatened by bombing raids, to unused furniture and textile factories, after the company had already had experience with concentration camp prisoners from its work with two Buchenwald subcamps in the Leipzig area.

After the Armaments Ministry had finally taken responsibility for the allocation of prisoners, the Flossenbürg concentration camp began to establish a fast-growing network of subcamps in the second half of 1944, above all in South Saxony, North Bohemia, and North Bavaria. The main reason for this expansion was the fast increase in available prisoners: partly due to the deportation of Hungarian Jews beginning in the summer of 1944, and partly due to the new subcamp structure for female prisoners. From September 1, 1944, Flossenbürg was initially responsible for six subcamps with at least 2,816 female prisoners. The number of female prisoners increased steadily to November 1944 with large transports arriving from Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Numbers increased to almost 10,000, the majority of whom were from Russia and Poland.

From the middle of 1944, many of the Flossenbürg subcamps were established in military industrial sites in former textile, consumer goods, and food production facilities. Some of these relocations were part of Armaments Ministry programs, the most well known of which was the establishment of the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) to relocate aircraft production underground, a measure that later applied to armaments production generally. The Jägerstab was responsible for the establishment of the largest Flossenbürg subcamps in Hersbruck (B 7) and Leitmeritz (B 5), and other underground sites were planned and in some cases established for Weserflug in Rabstein, for Junkers in Lengenfeld (under the alias of Leng-Werke), and for Messerschmitt in Saal an der Donau. The work conditions on these building sites were extremely bad: there were not enough shelters, and the toilet facilities were completely inadequate for thousands of prisoners. Diseases, brutal treatment by the SS, and complete exploitation even for the simplest tasks resulted in astonishing death rates in these subcamps. In addition, countless foreign civilian forced laborers, German criminal prisoners, and prisoners of war (POWs) worked with the concentration camp prisoners on these gigantic construction projects, which resulted in

the establishment of subcamp complexes in Hersbruck and Leitmeritz.

Other large relocation efforts resulted in the transfer of the Berlin electronics firm C. Lorenz AG to Mittweida, of Osram to Plauen, Opta-Radio to Wolkenburg, Luftfahrtgerätewerk (Aircraft Instrument Factory) Hakenfelde to Zwodau and Graslitz, and Kabel- und Metallwerke (Cable and Metal Works) Neumeyer from Nürnberg to Helmbrechts.[2] In other instances the subcamps were established in existing operations, for example, in Nürnberg (Siemens-Schuckert Werke), in the area of Chemnitz (Astrawerke, Auto-Union), and in Dresden (Zeiss-Ikon, Universelle, MIAG Zschachwitz). The emphasis, concerning the number of prisoners and extension of the war, was on aircraft assembly and the production of ammunition, tank engines, and tanks, as well as on work in electrotechnical firms. In addition, the smaller subcamps, which were less important for the war effort, continued to exist, and new ones were established during 1944, for example, in Bayreuth, where the Institute for Physical Research was vainly trying to design a "seeing bomb," or in Schloss Jungfern Breschan near Prague, where prisoners did house and gardening work for Reinhard Heydrich's widow.

The increasing number of subcamps resulted in wide-ranging structural changes at Flossenbürg. For one thing, the proportion of prisoners based in the main camp and the subcamps was completely turned around: at the end of March 1944, 45 percent of the prisoners were held in the subcamps; by the end of May, it was 72 percent. While the number of prisoners in the main camp doubled, in the same time period the number of prisoners increased sixfold in the subcamps.[3]

During the first half of 1944, 7 Flossenbürg subcamps were established; in the second half, 45. The main camp developed into a transit center for small and large prisoner transports that were directed to the subcamps via the main camp or were sent directly to the subcamps. Sick prisoners, those held under arrest or marked for execution, and prisoners who were considered likely to escape or who were destined for another assignment were mostly transferred back to the main camp at Flossenbürg. Women who became pregnant or ill were often sent to Ravensbrück. (It is not surprising that the responsible head of the Labor Deployment Department [Abteilung Arbeitseinsatz], SS-Hauptstrumführer Friedrich Becker, who signed most of the transport lists, was regarded by the Americans in the Dachau Flossenbürg Trials as the principal accused.)[4]

The requirements for guards were increasingly met by Luftwaffe soldiers, ethnic German (Volksdeutsche) SS guards, or operational staff. Female operational staff was acquired for the women's subcamps, and the staff was sent to training courses either at Ravensbrück or Flossenbürg/Holleischen and then deployed as SS wardresses. The younger women had generally little motivation and often refused to work, were absent without leave, or reacted by treating the prisoners in a brutal manner. In August 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Protectorate, Obergruppenführer Karl-Hermann Frank, inspected the subcamps, punishment camps, and camps for ethnic German SS men in his area of command. His report following his inspections refers to serious problems with security; a lack of weapons for the guards; and even possible contact between the concentration camp prisoners, the POWs, and civilian forced laborers in the area.[5]

For some subcamps, the administrative development of the prisoners' employment is well documented. In the majority of cases, prisoners were probably assigned at the request of the companies, which could inform themselves about proper payment and other issues concerning the prisoners through training sessions at the Holleischen subcamp.[6] The main camp commandant, Obersturmbannführer Koegel, clarifed questions of prisoner accommodation and security in the preliminary negotiations. From 1944, however, one cannot speak of any plan governing the use of prisoners. As soon as the prisoners were available, a company could immediately accept or reject them—this meant initially, and often for the duration, improvised and totally inadequate accommodation in factory buildings and no adequate sanitation. Only in a few cases did the subcamps bring together the skilled tradesmen demanded by the companies. Some companies with influence were able to keep "their" prisoners—for example, the Polish and Czech Jews in the ghetto in Litzmannstadt (Łódź) used by the Deutsche Munitionswerke (German Munitions Works, DMW) were transferred via Auschwtiz and Stutthof to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Dresden (Bernsdorf).

The rapid increase in subcamps, the large prisoner transports, the increasingly fragile transport system, and war damage resulted in an ever more chaotic situation in the camp command from the second half of 1944 on. This is shown by the delayed, erroneous, or nonexisting reports on escape attempts, deaths, and so on, but also by the relief of commanders due to supposedly being too soft in regard to prisoners and in the search for staff who would pursue radical measures energetically.[7] Only a few sources indicate that there were any attempts by the camp command to develop a more efficient subcamp system. Oberscharführer Erich von Berg stated after the war that he was posted in seven camps soon after their establishment for about three months in each to regulate their administrative affairs.[8]

From the end of 1944, the Geilenberg Staff and the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railways) also used Flossenbürg forced laborers. The Geilenberg Staff, which was established to rejuvenate the production of fuel following the devastating air raids on the hydrogenation works in May 1944, exploited the use of hundreds of concentration camp prisoners in the subcamps at Königstein, Porschdorf, and Mockethal-Zatzschke in the Sächsische Schweiz by relocating the factories underground. The Reichsbahn used several hundred prisoners in the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW) Dresden, after the RAW facilities in Regensburg were destroyed, as well as doing cleanup work for the railways in Ansbach. Three subcamps were established in February 1945 in Lower Bavaria at Kirchham, Ganacker, and Plattling, where more than 1,500



German civilians transport the body of a concentration camp prisoner found in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery at Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, July 1, 1945. The victims originated during the evacuation marches either from the Neurohlau or Johanngeorgenstadt subcamps of Flossenbürg.
USHMM WS # 26470, COURTESY OF SHARON PAQUETTE

mostly Jewish prisoners had to do excavation work for airfields. From 1945, many subcamps served solely as reception stations for the increasing number of death marches arriving from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen. In many places, especially Dresden, prisoners—who were typically locked into factory buildings during air raids—became victims of air attacks, but on the other hand, the raids gave prisoners the opportunity to escape. On March 1, 1945, there were 36,995 male and female prisoners registered in the Flossenbürg subcamps. The last strength reports from April 15, 1945, accounted for 9,000 prisoners in the main camp and 36,000 in the subcamps, including 14,600 women. In other words, 80 percent of the Flossenbürg prisoners were in the subcamps.[9]

The Flossenbürg subcamps were dissolved between March and May, and most of the prisoners were evacuated. The prisoners from a few of the southwestern subcamps were driven to Johanngeorgenstadt. From there they set out on a death march over the Erzgebirge to the area around Tachau (Tachov). The Leitmeritz subcamp became the center of the Flossenbürg main camp operations in the final phase of the war. From the end of February, sick prisoners from subcamps in southern Saxony were transferred to Leitmertiz. Leitmeritz continued to function for two weeks as a place of mass death after the liberation of Flossenbürg on April 23 and the destination for death marches for many Flossenbürg subcamps until the Red Army entered the site on May 8. The prisoners were then given discharge papers by the local authorities and released. While some of the death marches have become well known, the death marches in north Bohemia, which are well documented in Czech sources, are relatively unknown. Several thousands of deaths are not documented in the official data of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

There are few sources that confirm the use of prisoners outside the subcamps. Witnesses from Nossen stated that a few French prisoners from the subcamp there sometimes worked in a mechanic's garage in the city.[10] In other cases the files refer to the use of prisoners, but it remains a matter of dispute whether those sites should be regarded as self-standing subcamps. Many of the subcamps existed only on paper and to this day have been treated as being actual camps, for example, the Flossenbürg subcamps for Heinkel in Eger and the SS-Hauptamt at Plassenburg near Kulmbach, Giebelstadt, Teichwolframsdorf, Münchberg, and Stambach. On the other hand, there are prisoner requests for information about places where there has been no research to determine whether or not there were subcamps in those locations.[11] In light of the availability of sources (or lack thereof), it is difficult to determine the exact number of subcamps that were part of the Flossenbürg camp system.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA, Collection former ZSA- P, DOK/K 183/11: Work Allocation on July 28, 1943.

2. BA, R 3/ 250–270 Relocation of the (at first exclusively) Berliner Elektroindustrie with relocation drawings and correspondence.

3. BA, NS 4/FL 391 Bd.1: Overview of Prisoner Deployment at the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp for March, May, and September 1944.

4. *United States vs. Friedrich Becker et al.*, NARA, RG 338; 290/13/22/3; 000-50-46; Box 537.

5. ITS, Historical File 268 a: Reisebericht (Travel Report) SS-Obergruppenführer Frank, August 10/11, 1944.

6. See, for example, SHStA-(D), 11722, Zeiss Ikon AG, Nr. 319 Werksküchen.

7. BA, NS 4/FL: Demand for Wardresses, Guards and Revolvers for the Goehlewerk Dresden Subcamp 20.02.45.

8. ZSL-L, 410 AR-Z 57/68 (Investigation into Schmerse and ors.): Record of Interview February 4, 1977, p. 493f.

9. CEGESOMA, Brüssel, Microfilm 14368.

10. Verbal statement by two Nossen citizens to the writer in January 2002.

11. BA, NS 4/FL: List of Guards who on March 24, 1945, were ordered to the SS Labour Camp Arzberg/Oberfranken.

ALTENHAMMER

Altenhammer is located 2 kilometers (1.4 miles) outside Flossenbürg and is a present-day administrative district of that town. Like Flossenbürg, Altenhammer possessed several granite quarries. In January 1942, the management of one of these, the Ernst Stich Quarry, approached the command office of the Flossenbürg concentration camp both personally and in writing with the request "for a prisoner detachment to construct a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for Soviet prisoners in the spring of 1942" in Altenhammer.[1] The request was denied on the grounds that there were not enough guards.[2]

It was not until two and a half years later that Altenhammer became the site of a Flossenbürg subcamp. In the course of the year 1944, two detachments were established for the manufacture of the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter by means of production-line labor performed by prisoners. Both detachments initially marched to the production site from the main camp daily and returned in the evening. The midday rations were distributed in Altenhammer.

Around the end of 1944 or the beginning of 1945, several hundred prisoners took up quarters in the factory buildings used by Messerschmitt. The Stich detachment, comprising some 60 prisoners, was accommodated in a building of the Stich Quarry that the company had been compelled to lease to Messerschmitt. The Ambos detachment, comprising some 500 prisoners, had its living quarters in an extremely large, flat-roofed building constructed in 1938 from granite blocks (60 meters long, 20 meters wide, and 11 meters high [about 197 by 66 by 36 feet]). The prisoners all worked in the same building, initially only during the day; beginning in February 1945, however, there was also a night shift.

The detachments and the subcamp were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers who had been transferred to the SS. The last labor allocation list of April 13, 1945, refers to 8 guards for the Stich detachment and 20 for the Ambos.[3] The detachment leader was Ewald Reinhold Heerde. A Luftwaffe major was in charge of production. He was reputedly beaten to death by the prisoners at the end of the war.

There are differing accounts as to the prisoners' living conditions in Altenhammer. Altenhammer was one of the few subcamps to be subjected to thorough consideration during several Dachau-Flossenbürg follow-up trials. The non-German witnesses, who made up the majority, not only describe the living quarters, food, and treatment by the guards and the Kapos very precisely but also in a much more negative manner than the German and Austrian witnesses (including a few prisoner-functionaries) interrogated by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg 20 to 30 years later. According to Franz K., for example, who made a statement in 1967, there were—other than the "usual mistreatment"—no intentional prisoner homicides in Altenhammer.[4] Non-German prisoners, on the other hand, state that mistreatment by Kommandoführer Heerde and the Kapo Edmund Wissmann resulted in death in many cases.[5] Heerde and Wissmann, who functioned as the detachment clerk, are alleged to have beaten prisoners for the slightest infraction, using their bare hands or rubber hoses, often as the result of complaints by civilian employees. The seriously injured and dead are said to have been transported back to the Flossenbürg main camp in the trucks that delivered the rations.

According to prisoner statements, the appalling hygienic conditions resulted in an outbreak of typhus in Altenhammer in the spring of 1945. At times, the prisoners had no change of clothing for periods of up to six weeks, and their clothing was accordingly full of lice. In January and February, the prisoners were still taken in groups back to Flossenbürg for showers every Sunday. There, they were also permitted to cash in their bonuses at the canteen. The Luftwaffe major in charge of production put an end to this practice, however, citing the loss of man-hours.[6] Within a few weeks, many prisoners allegedly died of typhus (some statements put the number at 200). The Altenhammer files document only 45 deaths. It is quite certain that not all deaths were recorded in the chaos accompanying the camp's dissolution.[7] The food supply was just as disastrous, though possibly better than in the main camp. According to Henri Margraff, the prisoners received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread in the morning; the midday rations were distributed at work, and in the evening the prisoners were given a piece of bread with a little sausage. The rations were delivered from the main camp. In isolated cases, prisoners have also stated that they received bread from civilian employees.

The daily work quota was supposedly six aircraft, but the witnesses have stated they also produced a variety of parts, including aircraft engines. At any rate, production was limited by the lack of skilled workers among the prisoners. The exchange of prisoners with the large Messerschmitt detachment in the main camp toward the end of the war came about too late to effect any positive results.[8] On account of the close proximity of the two camps as well as the raging typhus epidemic, small groups of prisoners were frequently shunted back and forth between the main camp and the subcamp.

On March 1, 1945, there were 547 prisoners working in the Ambos detachment. Two days later that number reached its peak at 552. At the same time, there were 66 prisoners assigned to the Stich detachment. The last surviving strength report of April 13, 1945, refers to 419 prisoners. The 250 Polish prisoners, including some 100 Jews, made up the majority. The Altenhammer prisoner population further comprised 150 Russians, 100 Czechs, 50 Germans, 40 Italians, and 40 Frenchmen, as well as prisoners from eight other countries.

Toward the end of the war, as the Flossenbürg main camp continued to become overcrowded due to the frequent arrival of evacuation transports from other camps, several groups of between 30 and 40 prisoners were transferred to Altenhammer—virtually a death sentence in light of the conditions there. On April 16, the Altenhammer subcamp was dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, where they were immediately quarantined. The majority of the German prisoners—and perhaps others as well—apparently remained

at the evacuated camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 23, 1945.

There was also a third Altenhammer detachment: More recent research has thrown light on the "scientific detachment" or "Research Institute."[9] At the request of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the General Government, SS-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Koppe, a mathematicians' detachment, a chemists' detachment, and an engineers' and inventors' detachment were formed of Polish Jewish scientists at the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. According to the Polish Jew Henry (Mordko) Orenstein, these research detachments consisted not only of specialists but also of numerous young men who responded to the call for scientists in order to avoid being murdered.[10] They apparently passed the superficial scientific examinations and were allocated to various camps. The chemists' detachment and the engineers' and inventors' detachment were transferred to Flossenbürg in mid-October due to the approach of the Red Army. Part of the inventors' detachment returned to Kraków in mid-November 1944. The chemists—numbering 22 in April 1945—remained in Flossenbürg.

On behalf of the Naval High Command and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Applied Chemistry and Electrochemistry, the chemists in Flossenbürg worked on a device called E O 2,[11] which was presumably a gas-protection filter. The SS-Construction Administration in Flossenbürg planned an enclosed Scientific Experimentation Station on the road from Flossenbürg to Silberhütte. The facility was to comprise a transformer building and, within a walled-in area, a laboratory, living quarters, and a bomb shelter.[12] These construction plans never reached realization. Instead, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) applied for the construction of the buildings in Altenhammer. There, prisoners of the SS-Construction Administration erected barracks and carried out the necessary mason work.[13] The last SS-Construction Administration labor allocation list, dated April 13, 1945, cites the number of prisoners working at the "Altenhammer Institute" at 23.

According to the report by Orenstein, his two brothers Fred and Felek Orenstein, members of the chemists' detachment, were evacuated to Dachau in mid-April 1945. Felek Orenstein was injured during one of several air attacks and—along with 130 prisoners likewise no longer capable of marching—was shot to death by the SS. The remaining prisoners were liberated a few days later by U.S. troops.

It was presumably the existence of the Research Institute that led the American Alsos mission, a delegation of scientists led by physicist Samuel Goudsmit, to search for documents of this research in Flossenbürg.

SOURCES Bernhard Strebel and Jens-Christian Wagner have recently published their research on the Research Institute, *Zwangsarbeit für Forschungseinrichtungen der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft 1939–1945. Ein Überblick*, ed. Carola Sachse (Berlin, 2003), pp. 62–65.

Detailed witness statements on the circumstances in Altenhammer are to be found in the records of the Dachau Flossenbürg follow-up trials (*USA v. Wilhelm Loh, et al.*, 000-50-46-1; *USA v. Heerde, et al.*, 000-50-46-3), which are available in NARA and copies of which are available at AG-F and, to a lesser extent, in the investigation records of the BA-L (ZdL, 410 AR-Z 58/68—Investigations into Unknown Persons at the Altenhammer Subcamp). A transport list from Flossenbürg main camp to Altenberg is available in CEGESOMA. The Flossenbürg collection in the BA holds files on the Research Institute. Henry Orenstein has also published his memoirs, *I Shall Live: Surviving the Holocaust 1939–1945* (Oxford, 1988).

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 345, letter of January 21, 1942.
2. Ibid., letter of April 10, 1942, from commandant's office.
3. BA-B Microfilm S 14430, labor allocation list of April 13, 1945.
4. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 58/68 (Investigations against Persons Unknown at the Altenhammer Subcamp), statement by Franz K., p. 15.
5. For Wissmann, cf. statements by Henri Margraff and Henryk Fischer in *USA v. Wilhelm Loh, et al.*, 000-50-46-1 (copy in AG-F); for Heerde, cf. statements by Leo Bodenstein and Oskar Rosenburg in *USA v. Heerde, et al.*, 000-50-46-3 (copy in AG-F).
6. Ibid., statement by Josef H., p. 14.
7. NARA, RG 338; 290/13/22/3; 000-50-46; Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
8. Cf. CEGESOMA Microfilm 14683 (11 transfers to Altenhammer subcamp on March 31, 1945).
9. For the scientific department, cf. Bernhard Strebel and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Zwangsarbeit für Forschungseinrichtungen der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft 1939–1945. Ein Überblick*, ed. Carola Sachse (Berlin, 2003), pp. 62–65.
10. Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live: Surviving the Holocaust 1939–1945* (Oxford, 1988).
11. BA-B, NS 21/845 (Nürnberg Document NO-4411) Heinrich Pietsch [commissioned by the IDO] Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten der Wissenschaftlichen Häftlingsgruppe im KL Flossenbürg, December 16, 1944.
12. BA-B, NS 4/FL 165, camp map and map details.
13. BA-B, NS 4/FL 391, application by the SS-Construction Administration to retransfer bricklayers from the Altenhammer Research Institute detachment following completion of work, January 6, 1945.

ANSBACH

Between March 13 and April 4, 1945, concentration camp prisoners from Flossenbürg were held in and near the Rezathalle fair pavilion in Ansbach (central Franconia). The subcamp was accordingly located near the stockyards and main railway station. Numbering approximately 700, the prisoners were assigned to repairing bomb damage to the railway lines. More than half of the prisoners were non-Jewish Poles and

Russians, and about one-third were Jews from Poland and Hungary. There were smaller groups from an additional 19 countries.[1] The guards were SS from Flossenbürg, members of the Wehrmacht, and presumably, the Volkssturm (German Home Guard). The camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Fischer.

Forced to perform heavy labor in a continual state of undernourishment, the prisoners in Ansbach were starving and completely exhausted. From the very beginning of the subcamp's existence, between five and eight prisoners died daily. Sometimes there was absolutely nothing to eat, sometimes only thin watery soup from the stockyards. Many prisoner reports state that prisoners ate parts of animal cadavers that they found in a wrecked train on the station grounds. No medicine was distributed to the prisoners. They received only rudimentary medical care from a prisoner doctor who worked in a nearby railway construction brigade (*Eisenbahnbaubrigade*) composed of prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The washing and toilet facilities were completely inadequate for the 700 prisoners.[2]

The death register of the Ansbach subcamp, which has survived, lists the death of 72 prisoners—resulting from the appalling camp conditions—in the three weeks of its existence. Two prisoners succeeded in escaping.[3] On April 4, 1945, 93 of the some 500 prisoners at the Ansbach subcamp were sent to Hersbruck, another Flossenbürg subcamp, and then on to Allach, a Dachau subcamp. The remaining prisoners were sent back to Flossenbürg. From Flossenbürg, the SS distributed some prisoners to other subcamps, including the Dresden subcamp Behelfsheim, established on April 13. The majority of the prisoners, however, were driven in death marches from Flossenbürg in a southerly direction.[4]

The SS had the corpses of 51 victims of the Ansbach subcamp buried hastily in a mass grave in a small forest near the Ansbach forest cemetery (*Waldfriedhof*). They were exhumed after 1945 and reinterred in the Waldfriedhof, the identification of the corpses having proven impossible. In 1945, 5 bodies were found buried in shallow graves near the Rezathalle fair pavilion. They were likewise reinterred in the Waldfriedhof.

SOURCES Diana Fitz has written an accurate history of the Ansbach subcamp, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), pp. 174–176. Her work is based on sources obtained from the ZdL.

Sources on the Ansbach subcamp, for example the death register and a few prisoner transfer lists, are to be found in the original in the ITS. Copies are to be found at the SVG as well as at the CEGESOMA. The ZdL (now BA-L) holds records of proceedings regarding the Ansbach subcamp (IV 410 60/75).

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, collection of the former ZdL, Dok /K 183/11, p. 108.

2. On the conditions in the Ansbach subcamp, cf. prisoner statements in the BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 60/75.

3. SVG, File 2127 (death register of the Ansbach subcamp containing a list of 64 names and eight numbers). In the CEGESOMA, Microfilm Nr. 14368, there are the transfer lists dated March 13 and 25, 1945, with a list of names of 22 dead by March 24.

4. Diana Fitz, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), p. 176.

AUE

On November 9, 1944, a large transport of Hungarian Jews was registered in Flossenbürg.[1] They came from the Yugoslav town of Bor, about 150 kilometers (93 miles) from Belgrade, where, under the guard of members of the Hungarian military, they had been forced to perform labor in the copper mines—either doing construction work in the mines or on the railway line, or actually mining copper. Most of the 5,000 forced laborers were shot on a death march after the camp was dissolved in September 1944. The surviving prisoners were transferred either by ship or on foot to German concentration camps, among them Flossenbürg. After a few weeks, the majority were transferred to large Flossenbürg subcamps or to the Buchenwald or Mittelbau concentration camps.

In view of these circumstances, it appears quite unusual that a Flossenbürg transfer list dated November 24, 1944, indicates that 20 craftsmen were selected from this transport to form a detachment assigned to perform construction work at the Reich Training Camp (Reichsausbildungslager) Elbe IV in Aue.[2] According to a letter from the Kyffhäuser Einsatzgruppe of the Organisation Todt (OT), the prisoners, including a plumber, an electrician, a roofer, a carpenter, and two bricklayers, were assigned the task of "converting a disused HJ [Hitlerjugend] home into an SS leadership training school."[3] According to the letter, the use of SS labor, either soldiers or prisoners, was a precondition for the granting of permission to carry out construction work on the building.

The prisoners were taken by rail to Aue and had their living quarters in the cells of the local prison. The doors of their cells were not locked.[4] In addition to erecting a barracks, they had to chop wood and dig ditches. They were joined in their work at the education camp by Italian military internees (IMIs). Witness statements unanimously agree that the Hitler Youth mistreated the prisoners with beatings and attacks. On the whole, however, particularly in comparison to the conditions at Bor and Flossenbürg, the treatment is described as having been bearable—one witness states that on Christmas 1944 the prisoners were even given a radio. According to other witnesses, they were beaten, but there were "no serious consequences."[5] In addition to the detachment leader, SS-Sturmbannführer Kraus, three additional SS men served as guards.

No prisoners died in Aue. Surviving documents show that there were no changes in the population of the subcamp throughout its existence. According to the claim voucher for

the use of prison labor at Reichsausbildungslager Elbe II, between 17 and 20 prisoners, among them 16 craftsmen, were employed daily in December 1944.[6] The camp strength reports of February 28 and March 31, 1945, record the presence of 20 Hungarian Jews.[7] The last daily lists of the subcamp show that the Kommando Aue consisted of 20 prisoners.[8]

The further fate of the prisoners is alluded to only in a few witness statements. Several claim that the Aue subcamp was dissolved at the end of April, the prisoners and their guards being sent by truck in the direction of Karlsbad. The guards are said to have left the prisoners in Karlsbad and driven off in the truck. The prisoners, for their part, got caught up in one of the death marches from Mauthausen. According to a statement by one witness, they formed the Cemetery Detachment (Friedhofs-Kommando), burying between 50 and 60 corpses daily. The death march was to Theresienstadt, where the Aue prisoners were liberated on May 5, 1945.

SOURCE There is little source material on the Flossenbürg subcamp Aue—this is a reflection of the small number of prisoners assigned to it and its marginal significance. Most of the available information is at ZdL (now BA-L), which investigated this camp within the framework of its routine investigations and questioned several former prisoners, under investigation 410 AR 3019/66.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Prisoner Numbers Books of Flossenbürg concentration camp, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
2. CEGESOMA, File 14368.
3. Letter of December 15, 1944, to the Dresden construction administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, A-Kr-A-Sch.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3019/66; statement by Moshe F.
5. Ibid., statement by Herman W.
6. BA, NS 4 Fl 393, vol. 2.
7. BA, collection of the former ZdL Dok/K 183/11.
8. BA, NS 4 Fl 399.

BAYREUTH

The Bayreuth subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp is mentioned for the first time according to the International Tracing Service (ITS) on July 3, 1944, with a reference to 38 prisoners. The listing in the Flossenbürg camp administration's address book was "Arbeitslager Bayreuth, Institut f[ür] physikalische Forschung in der Neuen Baumwollspinnerei, Karl-Schueller-Str. 54, Zentrale: Forschungs und Verwertungsgesellschaft m.b.H., Berlin W 15, Knesebeckstr. 48/49" (Bayreuth Work Camp, Institute for Physical Research in the New Cotton Mill, 54 Karl Schueller Street, Head Office: Research and Recycling Ltd., Berlin W 15, 48/49 Knesebeck Street).

The establishment of the subcamp in Bayreuth has a long history. In 1944, very diverse developments and motivational ideas going back to the late 1930s and the early 1940s were brought together in this subcamp, and they drew on the available manpower of the concentration camp prisoners ultimately for purely pragmatic reasons. The nature of the research in the New Cotton Mill leads to the origins of television engineering and to the little-known interconnections between the development of modern television and war-related research on remote-controlled glider bombs. The choice of Bayreuth as the location for establishing the institute is closely connected with the family relationships of the institute's founder, Bodo Lafferentz, head of the National Socialist organization Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) and chairman of the Gesellschaft zur Entwicklung des Volkswagens (Association for the Development of the Volkswagen). On December 26, 1943, Lafferentz married Verena Wagner, the granddaughter of composer Richard Wagner, in Bayreuth.

It was probably the conjuncture of a number of practical problems and personal inclinations that led to the idea of founding the Institute for Physical Research and the subcamp in Bayreuth as well. On the technical side, the German armaments industry had a problem in that the control systems for the remote-controlled bombs, the "miracle weapons" that allegedly would change the course of the war, were not yet perfected. Lafferentz, in his capacity as manager of the Volkswagen factory, along with many other managers, was officially tasked with finding a solution for this problem. Lafferentz found in Werner Rambauske an ambitious scientist who since 1939 had been carrying on research on developing aiming devices for remote-controlled bombs. His technical discoveries, however, thus far had not achieved a breakthrough. The new establishment of an Institute for Physical Research with the goal of developing a "iconoscope," based on the previous work of Rambauske, was thus extremely attractive for both men.

Lafferentz had very obvious private interests in locating this institute in Bayreuth. Lafferentz's brother-in-law Wolfgang Wagner, in his autobiography, points to such a private motive. "In addition to a good many other businesses, my brother-in-law also 'managed' this concern, in which various military research projects were under way at that time. I had no specific knowledge of the projects at all, of course. I only knew that there were a variety of secret things being done there which promised to bring final victory, such as the targeted bomb. For my brother such an activity was naturally merely a kind of alibi in the total war situation."[1]

Very soon after assuming management of the Volkswagen factory, Lafferentz was open to the use of concentration camp prisoners for endeavors related to the armaments industry and for his own interests. For Lafferentz, however, the employment of concentration camp prisoners, at Bayreuth as well, was more a pragmatic decision than an ideological one.

On May 24, 1944, a transport with 33 prisoners from different nations was dispatched from the Neuengamme concentration camp near Hamburg to Flossenbürg. All the prisoners had technical professional training. The prisoners already

had been selected in Neuengamme, on the basis of their professional qualifications, for subsequent use in Bayreuth.[2] After a short period of quarantine in Flossenbürg, all 33 prisoners, together with 5 additional Flossenbürg prisoners, were taken to Bayreuth on June 13, 1944. The prisoners included 14 Russians, 9 Poles, 6 Germans, 4 French, 3 Czechs, 1 Austrian, and 1 stateless prisoner born in the Ukraine.[3] The transfer of the 38 prisoners meant that the institute became a Flossenbürg subcamp as of June 13, 1944, not July 3, 1944, as stated by ITS.

The 38 prisoners transferred on June 13 formed the core occupancy of the Bayreuth subcamp. With their arrival, however, the subcamp had not yet reached its planned strength. This was achieved through additional transfers of prisoners with technical qualifications. The following list shows which prisoner transports arrived in Bayreuth up to November 1944, as well as the camps of origin:

- June 13, 1944: 38 prisoners including 33 from Neuengamme and 5 from the Flossenbürg main camp
- August 8, 1944: 2 prisoners from Neuengamme
- August 17, 1944: 3 prisoners from Dachau
- September 12, 1944: 1 prisoner from Gross-Rosen
- November 11, 1944: 1 prisoner from the Flossenbürg main camp
- November 6, 1944: 20 prisoners from Gross-Rosen

In November 1944, there were 63 prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp. Actually, the workforce was intended to include 65 skilled prisoners, but 2 German prisoners had managed to escape on November 2, 1944. At the institute, the prisoners worked as draftsmen, at lathes, and in the production of fine metal mechanical parts. The exact context of the work, however, was not revealed to the prisoners, who were involved with separate work elements. Other than the testimony of witnesses during investigation proceedings, there is no information on the prisoners' concrete work effort and the progress of the work on the iconoscope. All that is known is that the prisoners during their activities quite often had contact with Lafferentz, Rambauske, and apparently also Wieland Wagner (Wolfgang's brother), who had worked in the New Cotton Mill since the fall of 1944.

The infrastructure of the Bayreuth subcamp's institute did not necessarily correspond to today's understanding of a "camp." No hut camp with a camp gate and watchtowers came into being on the grounds of the New Cotton Mill. There was only a small area of the extensive industrial site that was set aside for the purposes of the institute and the housing of prisoners. From the outside, the prisoners' area could not be identified as a prison camp. According to consistent statements by almost all the prisoners, the food in Bayreuth was better and the hygienic conditions more satisfactory than in other subcamps or in the Flossenbürg main camp. Those responsible at the institute had a vested interest in the prisoners' state of health and in the maintenance of their capacity for work. Nevertheless, the conditions for the prisoners could change at any time, and even the skilled concentration camp workers at the Bayreuth Institute were seen as constantly disposable human material. After the escape of a Russian prisoner, 18 prisoners were transferred back to Flossenbürg on December 22, 1942; 1 of them was executed shortly thereafter, and at least 5 others died later. Conditions in the Bayreuth subcamp deteriorated in the last months of the war, the quantity of food was drastically reduced, and work at the institute also slowed. There were still 62 concentration camp prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp on February 28, according to a monthly strength report of the SS-Kommandantur in Flossenbürg. This source, which is subdivided into categories of "Aryans" and "Jews," shows that no Jewish prisoners were used in Bayreuth.[4]

Evacuation of the camp began at 7:00 P.M. on April 11, 1945. SS teams drove the remaining prisoners from the subcamp in a column in the direction of Flossenbürg. The prisoners had to cover the entire distance on foot. Statements by former prisoners and SS men agree that on the three-day march from Bayreuth to Flossenbürg 1 elderly Italian prisoner died and another was able to escape. Finally, on April 14, 1945, 59 completely exhausted prisoners reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The prisoners who returned from Bayreuth remained at Flossenbürg until the dissolution of the Flossenbürg camp, which began on April 16, 1945. From there, they were driven farther southward after a short stay.

Altogether, 85 people of nine nationalities were imprisoned in Bayreuth during the existence of the subcamp at the New Cotton Mill.[5] In Bayreuth itself, there is no proven instance of the death of a prisoner, but there were several deaths that were related directly and indirectly to the Bayreuth subcamp. Of the 85 men who were prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp, at least 11 died in the Nationalist Socialist camp system or of the consequences of their imprisonment in a camp.

SOURCES Recently, a publication dealing extensively with the Bayreuth subcamp has appeared, which illuminates in detail the armament development and engineering background of the research at the Institut für physikalische Forschung and, in particular, the family connections of the Wagner family to this subcamp. See Albrecht Bald and Jörg Skriebeleit, *Das Aussenlager Bayreuth des KZ Flossenbürg: Wieland Wagner und Bodo Lafferentz im "Institut für physikalische Forschung"* (Bayreuth, 2003). Brigitte Hamann, in her biography of Winifred Wagner, *Winifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth* (Munich, 2002), has evaluated and quoted material on the involvement of the Wagner family with this subcamp.

The special character of the Bayreuth subcamp is reflected in an extremely disparate body of sources. The eight handwritten volumes of the Flossenbürg "Nummernbuch," the original of which is in NARA, contain detailed information on the Flossenbürg subcamps, including Bayreuth. The investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) and the investigation

files of the Sta. Würzburg (available at StA-Wü) provide pivotal access to knowledge of the events at the Bayreuth subcamp. Important evidence is also supplied by the remembrances of surviving prisoners. These, together with documents from private, company, and public archives, allow a relatively complete picture of the Bayreuth subcamp to be drawn today. Wieland Wagner's brother Wolfgang also mentions the events at the institute in his autobiography, *Lebens-Akte* (Munich, 1997).

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Wieland Wagner, *Lebens-Akte* (Munich, 1997), p. 117.
2. Testimony of Kordiuk, StA-Wü, Best. Sta. Würzburg Nr. 480, p. 345.
3. See AG-F, Microfilm of "Nummernbuch" 1.
4. AG-F, Hängeordner Stärkemeldungen.
5. Belgians, Germans, French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Dutch, Poles, Russians, Czechs, and stateless persons. According to today's political map and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, there are a few more; Austrians were registered as "Reichsdeutsche" (Reich Germans), AG-F, Stärkemeldung, February 28, 1945.

BRÜX

For various reasons the Brüx subcamp remains something of a mystery: first, because of the short duration of its existence (five weeks, from September 1 to October 7, 1944); second, because of its geographic location, which was long unclear; and third, because of the nature of the forced labor and the firm that benefited from it.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the northern Bohemian town of Brüx (present-day Most) had been a center of the brown coal industry, which significantly influenced the entire region. Following the Nazi takeover of the Sudetenland, the state began to forcibly concentrate the extraction of coal, which until then had been characterized by medium-sized mine operations, including quite a number of Jewish coal mines. This process also resulted in a partial change in the method of production—from underground mining to strip mining with large machinery. One result of these efforts at concentration was the creation of the Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Subag), a subsidiary of the Hermann-Göring-Werke. The mining of brown coal was important above all for the fuel that could be extracted from coal. For this purpose the Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke (Sutag), a subsidiary of Subag, constructed in Maltheuern, near Brüx, a gigantic hydrogenation plant that primarily produced aviation gasoline. From the beginning of the war, thousands of forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) worked not only in the coal mines but also in the hydrogenation plants. A list prepared in September 1943 for the fuel plant in Maltheuern refers to 13,300 workers, including 4,000 male, 380 female foreigner workers, and 2,500 POWs. At this time there were 136 foreign males, 29 women, and 6 POWs at Subag. The total workforce was 236.[1] The demand for workers was also satisfied by a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*), and there were also large POW camps in the area.

It is therefore not surprising that concentration camp prisoners also were enlisted in forced labor in this industrial region. The short period of existence indicates that the construction of the Brüx subcamp, at least in part, was a temporary solution. The subcamp was not based in Brüx itself but in the village of Seestadtl, eight kilometers (about five miles) away, where the largest Czechoslovakian power plant had stood since the 1920s. On September 1, 1944, a transport of 1,000 prisoners from all walks of life and age groups was dispatched from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Seestadtl. This is documented by a transfer list from Sachsenhausen to Seestadtl[2] and also in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books).[3] Two-thirds of the prisoners were Poles, and more than 200 came from the Soviet Union. In addition to 50 French and 40 Germans, prisoners from 10 other countries were transferred to Seestadtl. The requisition document of the Kommandantur at Flossenbürg states that the first day that work commenced was September 3, a Sunday. On that day, 998 unskilled laborers were accounted for, for a half day.[4] By the time the Kommando was dissolved, recorded as occurring on October 7, the number of prisoners fell to 967.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg after the war revealed little information on the living conditions and the forced labor of the prisoners. The few survivors who were questioned evidently also included former POWs who were never in the subcamp. What can be confirmed is merely that the prisoners probably were housed in a former POW camp near Brüx, that there obviously was an infirmary, and that prisoners in Brüx died a violent death. The Nummernbücher record four deaths; the causes of death of the two 40-year-olds and the 2 sixty-year-olds are unknown. Also recorded was an escape attempt by a Soviet on October 2.

The prisoners probably had to work in coal mines, although some also told of assembling tanks. They had to march each day to and from work, and the distance was stated as being between 3 and 12 kilometers (almost 2 to 8 miles). The Kommandoführer was probably SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Göttling (born 1893). He was later utilized in other subcamps, lastly in the Porschdorf subcamp in Sächsische Schweiz. There are said to have been about 25 guards.

After the dissolution of the Brüx subcamp, some of the prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg main camp and some (possibly directly but possibly also via Flossenbürg) to Leitmeritz, where they had to dig tunnels for Project Richard, the underground mining relocation project. A file note from Osram KG dated October 9 refers to the previous work and the future work: "thus far 350 men in Richard II; from October, 10 up to 600 men."[5] The dates mentioned correspond with the end of the Brüx subcamp.

There are indications of another deployment of Flossenbürg prisoners in the area of Brüx, specifically a requisition

document of the Kommandantur in Flossenbürg addressed to the Mineralölbaugesellschaft in Oberleutensdorf for April 1944; up to 490 prisoners were used there as unskilled labor.[6] Admittedly, only this one requisition document has been preserved. The Mineralölgesellschaft, originally the construction arm of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), was in charge of construction at Leitmeritz and was supported there by the Subag. It is, however, unclear whether the frequently intertwined coal extraction and fuel operations in this area used additional prisoners from Flossenbürg for forced labor at other locations and times.

SOURCES To date, there is no exhaustive study on forced labor in the Brüx region. Max Türp's work *Die Entwicklung des Kohlebergbaus im Braunkohlerevier Teplitz—Brüx—Komotau* (Munich, 1975) and especially Wolfgang Birkenfeld's *Der synthetische Treibstoff 1933–1945: Ein Beitrag zur nationalsozialistischen Wirtschafts und Rüstungspolitik* (Göttingen, 1964) provide information on the technical and wartime economic aspects of brown coal extraction and fuel production. Also worthy of mention is an exhibition on the history of the occupation period at the former crematorium in Brüx. The exhibition focuses on forced labor in the region, and numerous construction plans for Subag settlements or facilities are on display. Jörg Skriebeleit's "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 196–217, erroneously lists Seestadtl as "Seestadt 1."

In addition to the abovementioned inquiries by the ZdL (410 AR-Z 66/76, available at BA-L), there are numerous sources on the extraction of coal in the Brüx region in the BgA-Fg (the Oberbergamt Freiberg was also responsible for the mining offices in the occupied Sudetenland). The primary documents for Seestadtl are to be found in the SuA-M.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, R 3/1815, List of operations in the Reichsgau Sudetenland, September 1943.
2. SVG, collection 2120. The original is held by the ITS.
3. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
4. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol. 2: Requisition documents of the Kommandantur to the Subag, Seestadtl, for September and October 1944.
5. LA-B, Best. Osram, ARep. 231 O.656, File Note 41, October 9, 1944.
6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 391.

CHEMNITZ

The Astrawerke AG in Chemnitz was founded in 1921. Since that date, it had, as its name—Spezialfabrik für Addier- und Buchungsmaschinen (Specialized Factory for Adding and Accounting Machines)—shows, made a name for itself through technical innovations such as the 10-key adding machine or accounting machines with a built-in typewriter.

As part of the shift from civilian production to armaments production, Factory II of the Astrawerke had begun as early as 1937 the "manufacture of complicated weapons parts, which . . . keeps about one thousand civilian personnel occupied. It was organized with considerations of the most modern interchangeable mass production in mind."[1] On the other hand, in 1942 only 500 employees, most of them female, worked in the main factory, producing adding and accounting machines. In this factory, punch-card systems commissioned by the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) Amt für maschinelles Berichtswesen (Mechanical Reporting System Office) were developed.

Besides the military significance of the output, the fact that as of May 1, 1944, the Astrawerke was labeled a model National Socialist operation was probably also helpful for the allocation of concentration camp prisoners. Moreover, members of the management occupied leading roles in the self-administration of the armaments industry. For example, the director of Factory II was also the "Ringführer" and chairman of the Sonderausschuss Waffen Untergruppe 5 (Special Committee for Armaments, Subgroup 5). The guarding of the prisoners was already arranged prior to their arrival. The camp commandant in Flossenbürg sent a telegram to 26 female overseers, instructing them to cut their leave short and immediately report for duty at the Astrawerke in Chemnitz. The telegram was sent not only to quite a few addresses in Saxony but also to women in Magdeburg, East Prussia, and Vorarlberg. This suggests that the women were not exclusively former employees of Astrawerke. The abrupt interruption of their leave suggests that, as in many other cases as well, the exact arrival date of the prisoners was not known in advance.[2] After the war, a female SS overseer stated that in mid-August 1944 about 40 female Astrawerke employees were delegated to undergo training as female SS guards in a course at Ravensbrück. From there, after a week, half of them were sent to a subcamp of Buchenwald at Leipzig-Schönau to guard 500 female Jewish prisoners who were working there. The SS overseer reported that in late February 1945 she and other women from the Astrawerke were ordered to Chemnitz and then had to accompany the prisoners to Leitmeritz.[3] Altogether the guard force in Chemnitz consisted of only 8 guards, in addition to the rather high number of more than 30 female SS.[4]

A transport of 510 female prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp reached Chemnitz on October 24, 1944. The Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) show that the transport included some 200 Russians, 150 Poles and Italians (of whom many evidently were Slovenes), 10 Yugoslavs, and 5 Croats. They were above all "political" prisoners and "civilian workers," as well as a few "Gypsies" and "asocials."[5] The requisition certificates from the Flossenbürg Kommandantur addressed to the Astrawerke show, however, that at first only a small proportion of the women were used as forced laborers. By the end of the month, the number of working women had increased from 161 to 448; in November, there were 480 women on average; and as of mid-December,

almost 500 women were forced to work.[6] The women worked a six-day week in two 12-hour shifts in two different plants. About 280 prisoners worked in Factory I, the main factory, and about 220 in the nearby Factory II (Waplerstrasse 1). From November 1944, the concentration camp prisoners in Factory I accounted for two-thirds of all foreigners engaged in forced labor there.

All the women were accommodated in Factory I (Altchemnitzer Strasse 41) in a building with barred windows. They were located on an upper floor and slept on three-tiered bunk beds. They worked on the lower floors. According to various statements, the women made metal parts for airplanes or machine guns. Two female prisoners who were physicians and two orderlies were released from work. The camp elder, Helena D. from Kraków, stated that there were in addition seven barrack room elders.[7]

According to the numerous postwar statements from witnesses, the working conditions, aside from harassment by the female SS overseers, were on the whole bearable. While the sanitary facilities were described as relatively good, the poor food generally was criticized. The plant management was responsible for the food: in the morning there was a bowl of unsweetened "coffee," at midday half a liter of soup, and in the evening a slice of bread with margarine. After the large air raid on Chemnitz on March 4 and 5, 1945, there was only beet soup available for a number of days. Unanimously, the prisoners deny that there were acts of homicide in the Chemnitz subcamp. The Flossenbürg Nummernbücher indicate two deaths in March and April. On February 12, 1945, seven women were transferred from the subcamp to Ravensbrück, including at least one pregnant Pole. On the same day, five prisoners were transferred from the Goehlewerk subcamp in Dresden to Chemnitz, possibly to replenish camp numbers. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that there was a transport of eight women the week before, but there is no proof of this transport. However, five escape attempts by Soviet and Polish prisoners beginning in March 1945, possibly as a consequence of the increased air raids on Chemnitz in the spring of 1945, are documented.[8] As a rule, the women were locked in their quarters during the air raids. Only one witness reports that the Kommandoführer gave way to the pleas of the prisoners and permitted them to go to the air-raid cellar.

The Kommandoführer was SS-Oberscharführer Willing, born in 1894 in Ohrdruf. Called "Grandfather" by the prisoners, he was described as relatively humane, despite some statements to the contrary. He was in charge of the women during the evacuation in April 1945 as well. The prisoners were at first taken by rail to Leitmeritz, where they presumably stayed about one week. From there they probably had to go by foot to nearby Hertine, where a Flossenbürg subcamp had been cleared of its roughly 500 female Jewish prisoners shortly before; because of a typhus outbreak, the women were transferred to Theresienstadt. A few women report shootings of exhausted women and of women who could no longer walk on the march. The women from Chemnitz were kept busy filling munitions with explosives for about two weeks more. This dangerous job included the risk of phosphorous poisoning, among other things. Most of the SS guards disappeared around May 8. Some ethnic German guards who remained advised the women to flee, as one witness reported. Shortly thereafter, the women were freed by the Red Army.

The Astrawerke was speedily nationalized after the war as a "war profiteers' firm" and later became a state-owned enterprise.

SOURCES In addition to the relevant archival holdings at Flossenbürg, there is Best. 31092 (Astrawerke AG) in the StA-Ch. Besides a factory history, however, this contains only a few statistical details on the use of concentration camp prisoners. The investigation files of the ZdL (410 AR 203/73, available at BA-L), which hold numerous, detailed witness statements, above all by Poles, are very comprehensive.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See StA-Ch, Best. 31092 (Astrawerke), Nr. 26: Entwicklungs-geschichtliche und sozialpolitische Übersicht über den Betrieb und seine Kriegsleistungen—Bericht des Betriebsführers [John Greve, November 23, 1942], p. 5.

2. BA-B, NS 4/FL 10, telegram, handwritten, October 17, 1944, and signed by the senior radio operator.

3. StA-Ch, Best. 31092, Nr. 197, Copy of a report by SS warden Elisabeth L., incorrectly dated December 10, 1941.

4. ITS, Hist. Abt. 424 a, Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitskommandos im Dienstbereich des HSSPF des SS-Oberabschnitts Elbe, January 31, 1945 (Siegert Collection in AG-F).

5. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).

6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393 Bd. 2, Monthly requisition certificates of the Kommandantur Flossenbürg to the Astrawerke AG Chemnitz, October to December 1944.

7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 203/73, testimony of Helena D. (born 1900), p. 107.

8. CEGESOMA, microfilm 14683+.

DRESDEN (*BEHELFSHEIM*)

The existence of the subcamp Behelfsheim (Provisonal Quarters) is documented only by a single source, a transfer list from Flossenbürg "to the work camp Dresden Behelfsheim, dated April 13, 1945."[1] The list compiled by the Labor Allocation Department, however, is dated April 12, 1945. The Behelfsheim subcamp thus is the last Flossenbürg subcamp—only a few days after the transfer of the slightly more than 100 prisoners, the Flossenbürg main camp was evacuated, and most of the prisoners were compelled to move southward on death marches.

Although the list, in its heading, mentions 105 transfers, only 103 names are noted. In addition to 6 Reich Germans, of

whom at least some probably acted as Kapos, 43 Poles (civilian workers, protective detainees, as well as 18 Jews), 30 Russians (civilian workers, prisoners of war [POWs], and 1 Jew), 8 French (1 of whom was a Jew), 7 Czechs, 2 Croats, 2 Hungarian Jews, 2 Dutch, 1 Yugoslav, 1 Slovene, and 1 Italian are listed, including a relatively large number of "older" prisoners (23 prisoners were born between 1897 and 1910). In addition to many unskilled laborers, about half the prisoners in this transport were skilled craftsmen, specifically metalworkers, milling cutters, electricians, or cabinetmakers. As is usual in many transport lists, this one also includes a note indicating the general state of health of the prisoners; most of them were given a rating of "2" by the camp doctor in charge; that is, they were certified as capable of work. What is unusual is that the prisoners were listed by prisoner number instead of alphabetically. The list is not signed by the Arbeitseinsatzführer, an SS-Unterscharführer.

In reconciling the list with the entries in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books), it becomes clear that many of the prisoners sent on this transport must have been in an extremely poor physical condition. For some prisoners, the entries apparently do not refer to illnesses or the like: For example, among the transferees were three Jewish Poles who came to Flossenbürg in August 1944 from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. Many of them, however, had returned from subcamps to Flossenbürg only shortly before the transfer to Dresden. Diseases were rife in these subcamps, such as Ansbach and Zwickau, and many prisoners had died. Others, who according to the Nummernbücher were transferred directly from Flossenbürg, are listed with the annotation "K" for "Krankenrevier" (infirmary) and/or with the numbers of infirmary Blocks 22 and 23. For a few prisoners, there are no entries at all for the corresponding prisoner numbers in the main source; the transfer list thus far contains the only known evidence, by name, of their fate.

The purpose of the Behelfsheim subcamp is completely unclear. The sketchy information, specifically the late date of the transport, the probable poor health of the prisoners, and their relatively advanced average age suggest that in this case sick prisoners were being pushed out of the already overcrowded main camp. Thus this late transport fits in with a number of other transfers that, probably for the same reason, were carried out shortly before the dissolution of the Flossenbürg main camp, by moving prisoners to various subcamps, although usually in a southerly direction.

SOURCES The only known source for the Behelfsheim subcamp is CEGESOMA, microfilm 14368 (Transfers from Flossenbürg to subcamps). The original is held by ITS.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. CEGESOMA, microfilm 14368, transfers from Flossenbürg to subcamps.

DRESDEN (*BERNSDORF & CO.*)

On November 26, 1944, a transport of 500 prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig (Gdańsk) arrived in Dresden for a Flossenbürg concentration camp outside detail at the Bernsdorf & Co. munitions factory.[1] They received accommodations on the upper floors of the Reemtsma-Konzern cigarette factory at Schandauer Strasse 68. The transfer of this prisoner group from Stutthof to Dresden took place on orders of the D II office head in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated November 24, 1944.[2] In accordance with this order, 500 male concentration camp prisoners originally were to be transferred to Dresden. A telex from SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, the D II office head, to the commandants of both the Stutthof and Flossenbürg concentration camps read: "K.L. Stutthof transfers on paper to K.L. Flossenbürg concentration camp three hundred male prisoners, who were already employed at the company Bernsdorf and Co., Obersitz, as well as two hundred male prisoners who were rejected by the aptitude tester Czarnulla, and immediately moves them off to the Bernsdorf and Co. labor camp, 68 Schandauer Strasse, Dresden A 21, railroad station: Dresden-Reick unloading station. K.L. Stutthof provides transport accompaniment. Signed Maurer."[3] In fact, the Bernsdorf subcamp was supplied with the following: 273 women and young females, 209 men and young males, and 18 children, among whom were even five- and six-year-old boys and girls.[4] The explanation for this prisoner group composition, which was a departure from orders, can be found in the statement by Abraham S. in 1967 before the Israeli investigating authorities:

> In November 1944, I was brought to the Bernsdorf and Co.-Dresden camp with about five hundred Jews of both sexes and varying ages. Even in the Łódź ghetto, where I lived before my deportation to the camp, the core of this group was the so-called metal group. The metal group consisted of specialists and their family members. The metal group was supposed to remain—by order of the German authorities—a closed organization, and thus when we had to leave Łódź in late August, with the last leaving in early September 1944, and were first brought to Stutthof via Auschwitz, we passed through the gate at Auschwitz without selection. Our production was supposed to continue at Obrzisko, near Posen, but developments at the front affected the original plan. I was one of the fifty men who were taken to Obersitz [Obrzisko] from Stutthof in order to install the machine equipment there. . . . When I returned to Stutthof with the group of fifty men, I discovered serious changes in the metal group. Almost half of the men were no longer alive. . . . Before the group was dispatched to Dresden, our original number was replenished with other prisoners.[5]

As earlier in Łódź, the prisoners in Dresden were used for the production of core projectiles and were under the direction of the former head of the ghetto administration at Łódź, Hans Biebow, and his deputy Czarnulla. The German civil engineers Hermann Braun and Upschat (or Orbschat) managed the actual production. But Jewish prisoners, being experts, actually ran the production organization. The leader and also camp elder was Hermann Ch., who had already directed Metal Division I in the Łódź ghetto. Division directors and foremen were also Jewish prisoners who had already served in similar functions in the ghetto.[6] For the month of December 1944, proofs of debt for a total of 68,842 Reichsmark (RM) were prepared for the Bernsdorf subcamp.[7] This was the price that the company had to pay into the SS account at the Reich bank for the prisoner employment of almost 500 workers in one month. The prisoners received nothing for the daily 12-hour shifts.

The women and girls were registered by Flossenbürg concentration camp with the matriculation numbers 59654 through 59937 and the men with the numbers 38354 through 38569, in addition to several matriculation numbers from other series. All told, the number of male and female Jews in the camp included 567 Poles, 10 Czechs, 8 Germans, 7 Hungarians, 5 Lithuanians, 2 French, and 1 Russian.[8]

The miserable living conditions, which had already claimed many victims among this prisoner group from Łódź at Stutthof, the camp of origin, also quickly led to the first dead in Dresden. One man died on the day of arrival; a woman and a man died on December 4, 1944; 1 man died on December 6, 1944; and another 5 died in the same month. There were 6 dead in January 1945 and 7 dead in February; and in March, there were 15 dead to mourn in the Bernsdorf subcamp, among whom were also victims who burned to death in the infirmary on the top floor during the bombing of Dresden on February 13, 1945.[9] There were also a number of deaths at the Mockethal-Zatzschke overflow camp, to which the greater part of the prisoners were evacuated after bomb hits on the factory.[10]

A strength report from January 31, 1945, lists 279 female and 205 male prisoners at the camp.[11]

An overview of the nationality of the men shows that on February 28, 1945, 197 Polish, 2 German, and 2 Czech Jews, as well as 1 French Jew and 1 Hungarian Jew, were still in the Bernsdorf subcamp. On March 31, 1945, there were 187 Polish Jews in the camp, while the number of Jews of other nationalities had stayed the same.[12]

The last and only identified camp head was SS-Oberscharführer Schmerse, who had already been employed in the same function, also at a munitions factory, for the Holleischen (Holyšov) outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. In addition to the detail commander, two other SS-Unterführer and nine SS members as well as eight SS female guards belonged to the camp guard.[13] Most of the latter came from Dresden and were employed in Dresden factories before assuming the duties of concentration camp female guards. Ida Guhl, a brutal thug, functioned as senior female guard. Before the Israeli investigating authorities, Felicija H. said about her: "I remember the SS senior female guard, who was always dressed in an SS uniform. She was small. . . . The female guards were scared of her. . . . She was really especially cruel and gave merciless beatings at every opportunity; with her the abuse of prisoners was a system—she was a sadist."[14] After the severe damage to the factory building where the camp was housed, the prisoners were transferred by foot to the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp. Only a group of about 50 male prisoners remained to repair the machines and to do clearing-up operations in Dresden. After two weeks those male prisoners who still appeared fit to work were brought back to Dresden from Mockethal-Zatzschke, followed two weeks later by the women. Around April 10, 1945, the SS transported about 150 female prisoners, hardly still considered fit to work, to the Zwodau (Svatava) subcamp, which was also subordinate to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The arrival in Zwodau of 143 women appears in the strength report of April 14, 1945.[15] Because the Zwodau camp was overcrowded, these women then were sent to Neurohlau (Nová Role) subcamp and from there had to join the evacuation march, which, after transportation by train to Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), took them by foot via Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně), Planá, and Tachov to Alt-Zedlitz (Staré Sedliště), where they were liberated by U.S. troops on May 5, 1945.[16]

The Bernsdorf subcamp was closed on April 14, 1945, and the remaining men and women there were evacuated to Theresienstadt (Terezín). Of those who arrived there from the Bernsdorf subcamp, 98 women and 103 men were registered.[17] With the help of the German engineer Hermann Braun, several young men succeeded in escaping. About this, Chanan Werebejczyk reports:

> In the morning we all were gathered on the street next to the factory building. Everyone received a piece of bread and half of a blanket. We stood for several hours. After midday the march south toward Pirna began. . . . I was friends with three young men in the camp: Nataniel Radzyner (Niutek), Josef Majer, and my cousin Benjamin Lasman. We were all members of an illegal youth organization in the ghetto. At the end of March someone told the engineer Braun that an illegal group existed among the prisoners. Braun very carefully got in contact with Niutek. Thus we decided to escape and return to the factory building. We were sure that Braun would help us. It was already dark as we marched through Zschachwitz. At the first opportunity we jumped away from the marching column and hid. Together, around twenty people escaped and returned to the factory. The civilian management of the operation gave us a good reception. They asked us to clean the men's bathroom. The bathroom was completely soiled with blood. We were told that as we waited on the street yesterday, a murder was committed here.

> The Oberscharführer shot an Unterscharführer in the bathroom and presented it as a suicide. We were also told that the senior female guard Guhl prompted the murder. She convinced the Oberscharführer to shoot this Unterscharführer because he had spoken out against the evacuation. . . . We stayed three days in the factory. Then we had to flee again because the SS men came back to search for us. This time we looked for a hiding place in the ruins. With the help of Hermann Braun and the owner of a grocery store on Schandauer Strasse, near the factory, we succeeded in surviving there until the arrival of the Russians on May 8, 1945.[18]

In 1948, charges were filed against one former SS guard and three former SS female guards from the Bernsdorf subcamp for crimes committed against prisoners.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Dresden (Bernsdorf) subcamp: Chanan Werebejczyk, *Wspomniena z okresu Zagłady: Skrócone tłumaczenie autora z hebrajskiego orginalu* (n.p., 1999); Hans Brenner, "KZ-Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit im Dresdner Raum," in *Vorträge und Forschungsberichte, 4. Kolloquium zur dreibändigen Dresdner Stadtgeschichte 2006* (Dresden, 2000), pp. 52–61. See also Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999). On the evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 242–262.

These archives are also useful: ZdL (now the BA-L), IV AR 3024/66; IV 410 AR-Z 57/68; ITS, Hist. Abt., AG-F; AMS; AG-T.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AMS, Sign. I-II C-3, pp. 113–127, Transportliste der Frauen und Männer, November 24, 1944.
2. AMS, Sign. I-II C-4, Fernschreiben des SS-WVHA, Amtsgruppe D (Maurer), an Kommandant Stutthof, November 23, 1944.
3. Ibid.
4. AMS, Sign. I-II C-3, Transportlisten.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 165.
6. Chanan Werebejczyk, report to the author from October 2000.
7. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1272, Übersicht der Kommandantur—Arbeitseinsatz—des KZ Flossenbürg an das Amt D II des SS-WVHA, January 1, 1945
8. NARA, Microfilm T-1021, Roll 9; Microfilm T-580, Rolls 69–70; Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 32–37.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 166, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Abraham S. (matriculation Nr. 38541) before the Israeli investigating authorities.
10. Ibid.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 92.
13. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, p. 52.
14. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 210, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Felicja H. (matriculation Nr. 59661) before the Israeli investigating authorities.
15. AG-T (APT), Kasten 7, Flossenbürg, estate of K. Prochaska.
16. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 40, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Chana G. (matriculation Nr. 59673) before the Israeli investigating authorities.
17. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255.
18. Chanan Werebejczyk, report to the author, October 2000.

DRESDEN (*SS-PIONIER-KASERNE*)

The subcamp in the SS-Field Engineer Barracks (Pionier-Kaserne) was the second Flossenbürg subcamp overall and the first of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Dresden. For almost three years, at 54 Döbelner Strasse, prisoners had to do construction work for the SS-Bauleitung Dresden, primarily building quarters for the SS-Pionier-Ersatzbataillon (Engineer Replacement Battalion). They also worked in places outside Dresden. The Flossenbürg administrative files use the terms *Sonderkommando* (special detail), *Aussenkommando* (outside detail), and *Arbeitslager Dresden* (Dresden labor camp) for this subcamp.

The first 100 prisoners were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp in June 1942. The transfer list, arranged according to trade, shows that the prisoners were almost exclusively skilled construction workers. As part of the dissolution of the Stulln subcamp, an additional 99 prisoners were transferred to Dresden in mid-October 1942. Predominantly German prisoners "in preventive custody" or "asocials" were imprisoned in Dresden, in addition to a few Polish, Russian, and Czech prisoners. For August 1942, there is documentation of an early instance of a transfer from another main camp, Sachsenhausen, to the subcamp of another main camp. The responsible SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) wrote on August 21, 1942, to the commandants of Sachsenhausen and Flossenbürg that "to simplify the transport" the two roofers would be "transferred directly to the labor detail of the SS-Field Engineer Replacement Battalion [Pionierersatzbataillon] Dresden," and with guards from Sachsenhausen. Prisoner files and belongings were to be sent by mail to Flossenbürg.[1]

The approximately 200 prisoners first had to construct a reserve hospital within the SS-Pionier-Kaserne. From October 1943, prisoners from Dresden along with others had to fortify Schloss Neuhirschstein, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) down the Elbe River from Meissen, where the Belgian royal family was later interned. They were utilized for other building projects of the SS-Bauleitung, as in Seifhennersdorf, with the prisoners generally being made available to the private firms performing the work. These external projects, which were invoiced separately with the Dresden Bauleitung, also explain the fluctuations in prisoner numbers in the

Flossenbürg Kommandantur requisition documents, which for the year 1944 have survived intact.[2] As for the rest, the SS-Field Engineer Replacement Battalion was responsible for the feeding of the prisoners and their invoicing,[3] but as of April 1944 it was no longer required to reimburse the labor costs. On the other hand, the external details also had to be supplied from the allocation of foodstuffs, which worsened the already existing shortage. The increased consumption by the detail at Neuhirschsteim "as a result of overtime and night work," for example, was offset at the expense of the delivery to Dresden. The request of the prisoners in Dresden that the money in their blocked accounts be used to buy potatoes was denied.[4]

The makeup of the prisoners in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp reflected the ratios in the concentration camps in general; the initial large share of often longtime German prisoners was countered by a growing percentage of younger foreign prisoners.[5] Along with several invalids, almost 30 prisoners had been returned to Flossenbürg by the beginning of 1943. During 1943, mostly Poles and Russians were transferred to Dresden, usually in transports consisting of 4 to 15 prisoners from a collection center; here, too, they were predominantly skilled construction workers or other skilled tradesmen such as bakers and a dentist. Also verifiable are the retransfers of individual prisoners to the Flossenbürg main camp. Several lists of the prisoners located in Dresden document the sharp change in the prisoner community. For example, on December 23, 1943, there were 198 prisoners in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp: 95 Germans, 37 Russians, 21 Poles, 19 Slovenes, 15 Italians, 9 Czechs, 1 Serb, and 1 Belgian. Of the 198 prisoners, 117 were "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge)*, that is, political prisoners, as opposed to 69 preventive custody prisoners (*Vorbeugungshäftlinge*) and 12 "asocials." In early January 1944, barely 200 prisoners were working at first, but in the second half of the month, there were 160. In late February, only 108 prisoners were charged for in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. On February 15, 1944, however, of 133 charged-for prisoners, only 54 were actually in the "Dresden labor camp." Among the painters, masons, carpenters, and the like, were 33 Germans, 14 Italians, and a few Poles, Russians, and Czechs. Only three weeks later, on March 5, 91 prisoners again are listed as "belonging to the Dresden labor camp"—along with 54 Germans, 9 Slovenes, 8 Czechs, and also a few Poles, Italians, and Belgians. Two days later, on March 7, 1944, 101 prisoners were transferred from Dresden back to the Flossenbürg main camp. In addition to 24 German and Italian skilled workers, as well as 1 Russian, 1 Pole, and 1 Slovene, 77 unskilled workers—mostly Russians, Germans, Poles, and a few Slovenes—were transferred to Flossenbürg. The majority of the unskilled laborers were transported directly to Mauthausen. In March, a total of 59 prisoners were working for the subcamp.

Until mid-September, slightly more than 50 prisoners were in use; then a large transport increased the number of prisoners to 123. At the end of 1944, there was a slight reduction in numbers. On September 12, 1944, 77 prisoners were transferred to Dresden, most of whom, according to the transport list, were unskilled laborers and tradesmen; in addition to 53 Poles, there were a few Czechs, Russians, French, and 1 Slovene in this group.

On February 28, 1945, 121 prisoners are still recorded at the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. In addition to 55 Poles and 29 Germans, there were 10 Czechs, 10 French, 9 Russians, and a few Belgians, Bulgarians, Italians, and Yugoslavs.[6] On March 31, the number of prisoners was almost unchanged. For April 13, 1945, the last camp strength report gives the number of prisoners as 119. In particular, there has been no success thus far in aligning these fluctuations with the performance of certain types of work, owing to a lack of research. According to a statement by a member of the SS, Hans L., who was transferred to the Bauleitung in Dresden after he was wounded, the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Administration supervised, among other things, the building of barracks camps, the conversion of schools to hospitals, and the removal of war damage.[7]

Several large prisoner transports from Flossenbürg to Dresden were carried out again in March and April, possibly to relieve the completely overcrowded main camp. As the transport lists for verifiably different subcamps simply bear the notation "Transport to Dresden labor camp," the SS-Pionier-Kaserne also cannot be ruled out as the destination of one of these transports even in April 1945.

The transfer lists admittedly can give little information about the conditions in the subcamp other than the fact that sick prisoners were transferred back to the main camp and that there were a few documented escape attempts.

A far better overview of the forced labor, the accommodations, the food, and the treatment of the prisoners can be gained from the numerous detailed witness statements given after the war in investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.[8] The prisoners were housed inside the barracks area in three large garages, one of which served as a washroom. At night these buildings were guarded by about five members of the SS-Pionierersatzbataillon, usually men who had been wounded at the front. The food for the prisoners, which probably was better than in the main camp, also was provided by the SS barracks, as was an SS doctor in case of emergencies. While the almost exclusively German witnesses described the conditions, after 30 years, as comparatively paradisical, several witnesses in an earlier trial of the second Kommandoführer, Kurt Markgraf, described repeated mistreatment by means of beatings with a club, failure to render assistance with the result that prisoners died, and the shifting of foodstuffs between the kitchen Kapos in charge and the SS.[9] According to the witness statements, between 3 and 7 prisoners died in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. The suicide of a German prisoner in May 1943 (he took tablets) is also documented, as well as the failure to care for a Slovenian prisoner who had escaped in October 1942. Three days later he was wounded by a hunter in Radebeul and was returned to the barracks, where

he succumbed to his injuries. While the two Kommandoführer responsible for this, Josef Schmatz and his deputy Markgraf (both SS-Hauptscharführer), were described by some as brutal, their successor, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Hartmann, was generally popular. He was Kommandoführer in Dresden until September 1944 and later in Seifhennersdorf, where at times 30 prisoners from Dresden worked on building an SS hospital. Hartmann was held under arrest for three months in Flossenbürg for "facilitating escape" in this subcamp. His successor was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Scheithauer, whom not one witness could remember, however.

The subcamp was dissolved around April 15, 1945. The originally intended route up the Elbe River toward Aussig, on which a combined transport was to be formed with prisoners from other subcamps, was blocked because of the approaching front. Therefore, the prisoners were then driven via Dippoldiswalde in the direction of Schmiedeberg, where the Waffen-SS Bauleitung had set up alternative quarters. Numerous prisoners escaped en route; according to various reports, up to 60 prisoners once escaped simultaneously without any attempt by the guards to intervene. Others say, however, that the commander of the Bauleitung sent out search parties and that 30 prisoners were executed.

SOURCES The Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp appears in numerous postwar judicial proceedings. The aforementioned files of the ZdL (available at BA-L) contain many detailed witness statements about the conditions of imprisonment in Dresden. In addition, Bestand NS 4/FL in the BA-B holds numerous documents on the subcamp, among them the requisition documents for 1944. Transport lists are held at ITS, with some copies at CEGESOMA and AG-F.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, Flossenbürg File 26, p. 109 (copy by Toni Siegert, AG-F).
2. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 393, vol. 1.
3. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 354, vol. 1 (Correspondence between the WVHA and the Kommandantur Flossenbürg, March 23–27, 1943).
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, collected Files 10, p. 15: Letter from the Dresden Kommandoführer Markgraf, February 24, 1945, with handwritten notes by the Kommandantur; copy by Toni Siegert in AG-F.
5. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368 (Transfers from Flossenbürg) and 14368+ (Return Transfers to Flossenbürg).
6. BA-B, Best. ehem. ZSA-P, Doc./K 183/11.
7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 (F) AR-Z 177/75, Interview of Hans L., pp. 223–231.
8. See BA-L, ZdL, 410 (F) AR-Z 177/75 (Investigations into the Dresden subcamp and Rudi Schirner, etc.).
9. Sta. Hamburg, File 14 Js 185/49, Charges against Kurt Markgraf, December 13, 1950; Copies in the investigations of ZdL. Markgraf was sentenced in these proceedings to seven months' imprisonment.

DRESDEN (*UNIVERSELLE*)

The formation of the Dresden Universelle subcamp took place on October 9, 1944, with a transport of 503 women and girls from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. In preparation, female workers were sent in August 1944 from the factory to a training course to become SS female guards at the Holleischen subcamp of Flossenbürg.[1]

Since the firm that employed the women as slave laborers, the Universelle Machine Factory J.C. Müller & Co., Dresden A 24, 46–58 Zwickauer Strasse, had been for several years an ancillary supplier for the Reich-owned Junkers-Flugzeugwerke, the allocation of concentration camp prisoners by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) must be seen in connection with the air armaments programs.[2]

The women and girls were lodged on the fourth and fifth floors of the factory building at 14 Florastrasse, on the lower floors of which the female prisoners were put to work. The number of women increased with another transport of 200 female prisoners from Ravensbrück on January 19, 1945, and with some individual additions. Many of these women had already spent several years in various concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, Riga, Salaspils, and Stutthof, before they were brought to Dresden via Ravensbrück.[3]

Of the prisoners in the Dresden Universelle subcamp, the 296 Germans, most of whom had been taken into custody as "asocials" and "criminals," constituted the majority. In contrast, the 107 Poles, 98 Soviets (who were described as Russians in SS documents), 69 Latvians, 64 Yugoslavians, 17 Slovenes, 12 Czechs, 4 Belgians, 4 Italians, 1 Greek, 1 Croatian, and 1 Romanian were considered almost without exception to be "politicals." Only 2 Jewish women were in the camp. The women were registered at Flossenbürg with the matriculation numbers 57231 through 57735 and 62458 through 62657. The age composition offered the following picture: born before 1900—47; born 1900 to 1909—130; born 1910 to 1919—222; born 1920 to 1924—230; born 1925 to 1930—65; no information—14.[4] Seven German women were officially released.

According to SS documents, only three cases of death are recorded for the Universelle subcamp. The high number of deaths resulting from aerial mine hits on the camp building on February 13, 1945, is denied in SS documents, as is the large number of female prisoners who fled from the burning and collapsing building. The SS was able to recapture only 65 women from the Universelle subcamp and take them to the Mockethal-Zatzschke subcamp of Flossenbürg, near Pirna.[5] A few female prisoners, who posed as "bombed-out persons," hid themselves as workers with farmers in the surrounding villages. A few of them were discovered and brought to Dresden or Mockethal-Zatzschke. Sixteen Slovenes also succeeded in escaping on February 13, 1945, and, after an adventurous journey throughout Germany, returned to their homeland before the war was over.[6] German Rita Sprengel wrote about her escape: "The aerial mines had cleared away all the barriers.

When I went out (together with around 30 Serbian female farmers), nothing hindered us from making it to the street."[7] Despite these deaths on February 13, 1945, and the escape of many female prisoners, the Flossenbürg command reported on April 13, 1945, that there were still 679 women in the camp.[8] SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who before his Universelle assignment had already been employed as camp leader at the Flossenbürg subcamps Neurohlau (Nová Role) and Mülsen St. Micheln, functioned as camp leader in the weeks up to the bombing. After him, the camp, which was virtually closed, was placed under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Schmerse, while von Berg took over the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp. Until the bombing, the senior SS female guard was Charlotte Hanakam, who commanded 20 SS female guards. In internal camp happenings, she had full executive powers and bullied the women, even on the slightest pretexts, with cruel punishments such as standing barefoot in snow for several hours, corporal punishment, and several days of bunker confinement without food. Several German asocials and criminals supported her terror regime. After the bombing of Dresden in February 1945, Hanakam fled from Dresden and left the female prisoners to themselves.[9]

Despite the multinational composition and the interspersion of many criminals and asocials, which did not favor solidarity among the prisoners, they succeeded in obtaining various things from the SS through joint schemes. Thus the women demanded to be brought during air alarms from their lodging under the roof into the basement. The SS was also forced to hand out the underwear that the women had washed secretly and the SS had confiscated.

The women were divided into two work shifts. The day shift worked from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M., and the night shift worked from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. They had to produce parts for airplane engines and equipment. Political prisoners attempted to sabotage the work by deviating from dimensional accuracy when working on the parts. Slovene Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat reports: "They sent me together with Russian women to the heaviest engine lathes. I had to turn big round parts into which the propellers would be installed. I worked together with a Russian from Leningrad—Nina. After a few weeks, we would turn a few parts too much during the night shift when the foreman was not there. When the foreman inspected these parts, Nina and I were shaking. But he only looked at us and nodded. From then on I ventured to ask him for newspapers. He brought us some and bread as well. Other Dresden workers also helped us and supported my Slovenian comrades during the flight from burning Dresden."[10] A Dresden civilian worker provided the female prisoners with socks and organized overnight shoe repairs. She also helped hide escaped women prisoners in a village near Dresden.[11] Even one of the SS female guards hid two Latvian prisoners in her apartment until the end of the war.[12]

Three women who survived the bombing reported on the evacuation to Mockethal-Zatzschke:

> "For us it is still a miracle today that we are alive at all. Many of our comrades were already dead and we had to step over bodies and run through flames just to reach the street. We wandered around the streets of Dresden until we were apprehended by female guards the following morning and brought to the bunker in the main factory of the Universelle company on Zwickauer Strasse, where we had to sleep on the bare floor. We stayed here about 14 days and were then brought to the Zatzschke alternative camp. There were already 400 prisoners (men and women and even children) there. . . . We stayed in Zatzschke a few weeks until 1000 male prisoners arrived here all at once from KZ Flossenbürg. Then we went on foot to Dresden. The Jews went to the firm Jasmatzi and we went to Universelle.[13]

This return march to Dresden must have taken place around mid-March 1945. The female prisoners received lodgings again in the bunker of the main factory. They were employed in clearing-up work. Of the 700 women, only 84 still remained.

On April 14, 1945, the SS evacuated the women toward Leitmeritz. During a low-flying bomber attack near Pirna, several women managed to escape. They were, however, apprehended again by the gendarmerie and once again taken to the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp.[14] Before a jury in the Dresden regional court in 1946, proceedings were conducted against senior SS female guard Hanakam, the person mainly responsible, and one other SS female guard. On November 25, 1946, this court found Hanakam guilty of crimes against humanity under Article II, Clauses 1 c and 2 b, of Law No. 10 of the Allied Control Council for Germany from December 20, 1945, and sentenced her to five years in prison. The other defendant, the female guard M., received a prison sentence of four months.[15]

SOURCES On Flossenbürg's women's camps, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 103.

Primary sources for the Dresden Universelle subcamp begin with the files of ZdL (IV 410 AR-Z 101/76, Band I and Band II), available at BA-L. Files on this subcamp are also found in ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg. Additional information may be found in Ba-VEB-Vmb-D (Mappe Florastrasse).

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 22.
2. BA-P, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 7267, pp. 12–13.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z, p. 154, Aussage der Lettin Cecilia L.; p. 234, Aussage der Deutschen Elisabeth B.

4. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 48, 52.

5. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 6/6 r, Brief der "Universelle"-Werke Dresden an das K.L. Ravensbrück, March 21, 1945.

6. Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat, Flucht aus dem Lager während eines Bombenangriffs, Bericht (n.p., n.d.); author has report (translated from Slovenian.)

7. Rita Sprengel, report to the author from February 7, 1978, p. 7.

8. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264, Arbeitseinteilung (Stärkemeldung), April 13, 1945.

9. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 19.

10. Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat, report to the author from December 18, 1978, pp. 3–4.

11. See Rita Sprengel, report to the author from February 7, 1978, pp. 5, 11.

12. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 101/76 I, p. 154

13. ASt-Pi, Bericht der drei Überlebenden des Aussenkommandos "Universelle" Dresden, Anneliese M., Mathilde G. und Hedwig Ch., September 10, 1945.

14. See ibid.

15. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 17, Brief des Gsta. des Landes Sachsen an den Betriebsrat der "Universelle" Dresden, February 25, 1947, with information on the judgment against Charlotte H. and Magda M.

DRESDEN (*ZEISS-IKON, GOEHLE-WERK*)

The formation of a subcamp in the Goehle-Werk was part of the plan to establish a series of armaments-related subcamps of Flossenbürg in Dresden. Two subcamps with female prisoners were established on October 9, 1944: one at the Zeiss-Ikon AG Goehle-Werk and one at the Universelle company. This was after the establishment of the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW), September 12, 1944, but shortly before the establishment of the Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (MIAG) Werk in Zschachwitz near Dresden, October 13, 1944, each of which had male prisoners. Another subcamp was established two weeks later at Zeiss-Ikon's Werk Reick. The relatively late use of concentration camp prisoners at Dresden was due in part to a diversified industry that was largely incompatible with the needs of armaments production and had largely become inoperative during the course of the war. Thus, areas were kept ready for relocation of firms from cities that were supposedly more likely to be bombed.[1]

The Goehle-Werk in northwestern Dresden (32 Riesaer Strasse) belonged to Zeiss-Ikon AG, which was the result of a 1926 merger of several companies, including the camera factory of Heinrich Ernemann and Ica AG, also Dresden based and under the management of the Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung. Zeiss-Ikon manufactured products in the four Dresden factories as well as in factories in Berlin and Stuttgart. Its products, which ranged from the Contax camera to motion picture equipment, included a wide selection of optical devices and cinematographic accessories. The war caused all the Zeiss-Ikon factories to switch over to making war-related products such as special devices for the German Luftwaffe. However, the Goehle-Werk was planned from the beginning as a war plant for munitions production and was established in 1940–1941. This was reflected not only in its typically late 1930s-style architecture, which was intended to make industrial buildings of steel-reinforced concrete "bombproof," with small windows and reinforced staircases, but above all by the large-scale use of unskilled or semiskilled, mostly female forced laborers. These workers included Dresden Jews and foreign female forced laborers and, in a final step, also female prisoners from Flossenbürg. The Goehle-Werk made time fuses, incendiary fragmentation projectiles (*Brandschrapnelle)* for the 12.8-cm and 8.8-cm anti-aircraft guns, bomb fuses, and other products.[2] The manufacturing was regarded as very high priority and was in part incorporated into the anti-aircraft program of the "Fighter Production Program" (Jägerprogramm)—probably a prerequisite for the allocation of prisoners.

One source not cited in the research thus far gives detailed insight into the organizational preparations undertaken by management for the use of prisoners at Zeiss-Ikon. In a letter from the payroll office to the management of Goehle-Werk and Reick and/or to the relevant departments of the other Zeiss-Ikon factories, reference is made to the results of a meeting that took place on November 14, 1944: "Absorption of Female KL Workers from the KL Flossenbürg at Weiden/Oberpfalz."[3] On October 18, 1944, 200 "female KL workers" were allocated to the Goehle-Werk, a further 300 on October 28, 1944, and yet another 200 were expected. Numbers were reserved for the women in the factory's list of workers, and Hollerith (punched) wage cards were stocked. For want of a name, the cards were stamped with the words "KL-Arbeiterin" (female KL worker), along with the prisoner number.

The firm also regulated other eventualities in advance, such as security during and compensation for hospital stays, as well as reporting of escape attempts. The prescribed "remuneration" for use of the prisoners—4 Reichsmark (RM) each per day—had been investigated, according to the record, by a member of the Goehle-Werk management on the occasion of his visit to Metallwerk Holleischen and the camps there on October 25 and 26.

It is not clear why October 18 is given as the date of the first allocation of prisoners. The book of accounts of the Goehle-Werk factory canteen for October 1944 records, at any rate, the debiting and crediting (the factory's in-house term for posting) of "prisoner meals from 8.-31.XI.44" for "labor camp 453."

This date, like the other figures in the above-mentioned record, is supported by the concentration camp Flossenbürg *Häftlingsnummernbücher* (prisoner number books),[4] which refer to a transport of 200 women from Ravensbrück to "Dresden Zeiss Ikon" on October 9, 1944. With the exception of two French women, they were all Russians and Poles. The criteria by which they were chosen cannot be determined, at least not from their statements after the war.[5] For October 24,

1944, the *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) record a transport of an additional 300 women from Auschwitz. With the exception of a very few German, Italian, and Yugoslav prisoners, they again were Russian and Polish women, mostly political prisoners or "civilian workers." A final transport of 197 women from Ravensbrück is verifiable for December 14, 1944, with not only Russians and Poles listed but also numerous German and French prisoners, as well as a few Luxembourgers, Italians, Czechs, and even an Egyptian.[6]

Information on the conditions in the Dresden Goehle-Werk subcamp can be found in the investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg as well as in press reports on the so-called Goehle-Werk Trial: the trial took place in the Goehle-Werk itself and ended in January 1949 with the sentencing of 10 defendants, including the deputy manager Nitsche as well as several craftsmen and SS female overseers, to between one and eight years of imprisonment.[7] The articles in the newspaper SächsZ, however, do not make it clear whether former prisoners of the Dresden Goehle-Werk subcamp also testified (mostly forced female laborers are named), nor is there any mention of concrete criminal charges. At any rate, the living conditions of the female forced laborers appear here in a totally different light than in numerous statements by former prisoners in the ZdL investigation files. There, the mostly German political prisoners describe the medical care as positive, including medical treatment of a patient with scarlet fever in a Dresden hospital.

That the food was completely inadequate is confirmed by all the statements. Moreover, this assertion is also supported by a comparison of the factory canteen accounts for December 1944 with the relevant labor requisition document. The result is a daily ration of about 0.45 kilograms (1 pound) of bread per prisoner per day, assuming that the rations charged for were in fact handed out to the women.

From other sources, it is possible to draw indirect conclusions about the extremely adverse living conditions of the women at the Goehle-Werk subcamp. For example, the Nummernbücher as well as the reports of the Kommandantur in Flossenbürg confirm continual escape attempts, which at least after the massive attacks in February 1945 had prospects of success.[8] As early as October 24, 1944, two Russian women attempted to escape; at least one, according to the Nummernbuch, was captured and transferred to Ravensbrück on December 6, 1944. Additional sporadic escape attempts, the last on April 5, 1945, illustrate the misery of the women. The transfer of two prison nurses from the Neurohlau subcamp in November 1944 permits the conclusion that the women's state of health also was bad.

The prisoners scarcely mention their forced labor in their witness statements; the extent of the forced labor can be gathered from the labor requisition documents of the labor supply detachment in the Flossenbürg Kommandantur.[9] The department charges for the use of 190 female unskilled workers starting on October 9, 1944, while 492 per diem rates are assessed as of October 30, 1944. The requisition documents for the following two months show a slight decline in the per diem rates charged, to 484 on December 9, 1944, while payments for 679 women are demanded starting on December 11, 1944. Apart from a slight decrease, this number remained almost constant until February 1945. As a consequence of the air raids on February 13 and 14, 1945, the women did not work at all on some days between February 14 and February 20, with 30 to 75 women used in part, before the old numbers were reached again. The last distribution of work on April 13, 1945, shows a total of 684 female prisoners. Individual transfers from the Neurohlau subcamp took place, and some women were sent back to Ravensbrück. In addition, 5 women were transferred to the Chemnitz subcamp at the Astrawerke on February 12, 1945 (according to the Nummernbücher, on February 21, 1945).[10]

According to prisoner statements, the prisoners were guarded by female SS members who were armed with rubber truncheons, which they used. On October 25, 1944, the Flossenbürg Kommandantur sent identity cards for 17 female guards to the senior guard, Gertrud Schäfer. An undated register lists 22 female guards for the Goehle-Werk, all of whom came from a training course in Holleischen.[11] All the women came from Dresden and the surrounding area, which supports claims by some prisoners that the guards had previously worked at Zeiss-Ikon. As proved by the previously cited accounts for the Goehle factory canteen, the feeding of the guards was also undertaken by the factory. Schäfer was detail leader (Kommandoführerin) at the Goehle-Werk until February 1945. She was followed by the SS guard de Hueber, described by most women prisoners as cruel and merciless.

The women were housed on one level of the factory, and they worked two or three levels below. During the bombing raid on February 14, 1945, the women were confined to their quarters. A few used the chaos following the attack to escape. The sister-in-law of a successful escapee was beaten until she became deaf in one ear and was punished with bunker arrest for one week.

Two deaths are recorded for November 1944. A third, because of the "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*) of a Russian female prisoner, took place in the Flossenbürg main camp in January 1945.

The camp evacuation took place in mid-April 1945. The prisoners were evacuated by rail and by foot along the Elbe Valley. The destination was Leitmeritz. The prisoners were freed right before they reached the Czech border, after many already had escaped, however.

SOURCES As far as secondary literature is concerned, Hans Brenner provides an overview in "KZ-Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit im Dresdener Raum," in *4. Colloquium zur dreibändigen Dresdner Stadtgeschichte 2006 vom 18. März 2000* (Dresden, 2000). In September 2001, the PDS in the Dresden City Council published a work by Reinhardt Balzk: "Zwangsarbeiter in Dresden" (www.pds-dresden.de/doku/zwangsarbeiter.pdf)—in broad terms, it deals with the background of compensation for forced laborers, including the Dresden subcamps. Useful background information on industrial

relocation in Saxony late in the war may be found in Alexander Fischer "Ideologie und Sachzwang: Kriegswirtschaft und 'Ausländereinsatz' im südostsächsischen Elbtalgebiet," in *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit in Sachsen 1939–1945*, ed. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern (Halle, 2002), pp. 12–26.

The SHStA-(D) holds the company records of the Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden (Signatur 11722, Nr. 205 Meldung der beschäftigten Ausländer [einschl. Juden] und Kriegsgefangenen). Internal factory statistics provide details on the constantly increasing share of foreign workers (some 1,777 between April 1942 and December 1944) at the Goehle-Werk. The armaments production and the use of the prisoners also are relatively well documented in the aforementioned files. The Flossenbürg-Bestand stored in the BA-B contains labor deployment documents for the Goehle-Werk subcamp. The prisoners' names are fully documented in the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, which are available at NARA and copied at AG-F. Transfers and escape attempts are found in the replacement records of the inaccessible files held by the ITS. The investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) contain extensive witness statements. Victor Klemperer's diaries discussed the forced labor of German Jews at the Goehle-Werk; see *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten* (Berlin, 1995). He depicts the Goehle-Werk until the dissolution of the Jewish sections (*Juden-Abteilungen*) as a site of hard forced labor but also as a place where important intelligence was exchanged by members of the highly threatened Dresden Jewish community. Henny Brenner deals with the same subject in her autobiographical sketch *"Das Lied ist aus"—Ein jüdisches Schicksal in Dresden* (Zurich, 2001).

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For references to primary and secondary sources, see Alexander Fischer, "Ideologie und Sachzwang: Kriegswirtschaft und 'Ausländereinsatz' im südostsächsischen Elbtalgebiet," in *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit in Sachsen 1939–1945*, ed. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern (Halle, 2002), p. 13.

2. SHStA-(D), Sign. 11722, Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden, Nr. 424: Kriegsauftrag Kolben mit Uhrwerk SS 563-1-5115. Only the classification number of the collection is mentioned below.

3. SHStA-(D), Sign. 11722, Nr. 319 Werksküchen. In this book of accounts there are, in addition to the record dated November 28, 1944, numerous lists of foods delivered for prisoners and female guards as well as directions for settlement of accounts with the Flossenbürg Kommandantur.

4. NARA, RG 338 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (a microfilm copy is held by the AG-F).

5. See BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3017/66 (Investigations into the Zeiss-Ikon Goehle subcamp).

6. The Nummernbücher record the whereabouts sometimes as "Dresden Goehle," sometimes as "Dresden Goehl" or "Gohel," and sometimes completely incorrectly as "Rochlitz Goehl."

7. Here was located the gala room of the Sachsenverlag, which after the war had established itself in the former Goehle-Werk. A few of the articles on this subject in the SED newspaper the SächsZ are found in the Zeiss-Ikon Bestand of the HStA-D.

8. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14683+ (Fluchtmeldungen from October 29, 1944, and/or for March 3, 1945, and March 7, 1945).

9. BA-B, NS 4/Fl 393/2: Forderungsnachweis Nr. Flo. 659 for the use of prisoners at Zeiss-Ikon, Goehle Werk, Dresden, for the period from October 1–31, 1944, dated Flossenbürg, Nov. 1, 1944. The charges were made only for those prisoners who actually worked.

10. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368 (Transfers).

11. BA-B, NS 4/Fl 10.

DRESDEN (*ZEISS-IKON, WERK REICK*)

The Werk Reick, located in the eponymous southeastern part of Dresden (Mügelner Strasse 40), was one of four Zeiss-Ikon AG plants in Dresden. Like the Zeiss-Ikon Goehle-Werk, it became the site of a subcamp in October 1944. Unlike the other subcamps with female prisoners in Dresden, the Werk Reick is less well known. This may be because no trial was held, in contrast to the case of the Goehle-Werk, or because the Werk Reick, unlike the Goehle-Werk and Universelle subcamps, had no well-known German political prisoners.

Like the other Zeiss-Ikon sites, the Werk Reick already used many foreigners as forced laborers, as many as 671 between April 1942 and December 1944, even before the Flossenbürg subcamp was established. Male and female forced laborers were in roughly equal proportion.[1]

For the period from October to December 1944, the numbers of prisoners can be tracked by using the labor requisition documents of the Labor Deployment Department (Abteilung Arbeitseinsatz) at Flossenbürg. According to those documents, starting on October 22, payments were requested for 200 women, and this number, with slight downward fluctuations, remained constant. In contrast to the Goehle-Werk, some of the women at the Werk Reick occasionally had to work on Sundays as well. The women's names are noted in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books), according to which the transport on October 24, 1944, from the Auschwitz concentration camp went directly to Dresden. Except for 1 German, 1 Yugoslav, and 1 Italian, Poles and Russians (all female) were transferred to the Werk Reick subcamp.

There are no exact statements about the work of the prisoners. However, the women's living conditions are well documented in the investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.[2] Details of the prisoners' accommodations are contradictory, but the majority of the statements indicate that the women were housed in the factory building. There is no proof of instances of voluntary manslaughter at the Werk Reick. On the other hand, at least one report confirms the murder of a female prisoner: on December 23, 1944, a Russian female "civilian worker" was transferred back to Flossenbürg, whose report by the Flossenbürg camp orderly room bears the notation "SB [*Sonderbehandlung*, Special Treatment] 3.1.45," as well as being

marked with a cross. On the same day, two additional Russian female prisoners from the Universelle subcamp were also the victims of "special treatment" in Dresden. Other than that, there are no indications that the three murders were connected. Also verifiable, among other things, are the transfers of two female prisoners who were medical orderlies from the Neurohlau subcamp to Werk Reick in early February 1945, as well as a few transfers from the Werk Reick subcamp to Flossenbürg and Bergen-Belsen.

There are only a few documents that shed light on the guarding of the women at the Werk Reick. On October 11, 1944, the Flossenbürg Kommandantur sent identity cards for seven female SS to senior female overseer Ida Guhl.[3] The (undated) assignment of several SS men to Werk Reick is also documented.[4] In contrast to the Goehle-Werk, the Kommandoführer at the Werk Reick were men: according to the concluding note of the Ludwigsburg investigations, they were SS-Oberscharführer Olschewski and his replacement SS-Unterscharführer Johann Heinz.

After the air raid on February 14, 1945, the women were enlisted in cleanup work. On February 25, 1945, an additional large transport of 200 women from Bergen-Belsen was transferred to "Dresden Zeiss-Ikon" or "Dresden-Reik" [*sic*]. Most of the women were Hungarian, but there were also a few German, French, Greek, Italian, and Czech Jews, as well as Russian civilian workers, some of whom—according to later witness statements by the women—had been taken to Bergen-Belsen via Auschwitz. Shortly after their arrival, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the camp and claimed many victims. The Nummernbücher record the deaths of 23 prisoners between March 5 and April 8, 1945, and there were 7 on March 21 and March 31 alone. The women affected were exclusively the greatly weakened ones from the second transport, which according to some statements was placed in strict isolation. One female witness speaks of 36 deaths and mentions that an SS-Oberscharführer from Hungary brought with him a Jewish doctor from his hometown to treat the sick in the camp.[5] Other witnesses refer to far higher numbers of typhus victims but cannot give exact numbers.

A few of the women took advantage of what the statements depict as chaotic conditions to make their escape. According to the Nummernbücher, on February 27, 1945, alone, 8 women escaped, with another escape on March 22, 1945. On April 13, 1945, there were 362 female prisoners in the Werk Reick subcamp. The investigation files contain highly contradictory statements on the dissolution of the camp and the subsequent fate of the women. The witnesses are unanimous in stating that the camp was evacuated at the end of April 1945, and the women were forced to go in the direction of the Czech border (some mention the village of Hellendorf), where they were liberated by Soviet troops.

SOURCES For the Werk Reick subcamp, the files from the Best. Zeiss-Ikon AG in the SHStA-(D) (Signatur 11722) are clearly less rich than for other Zeiss-Ikon subcamps at the Goehle-Werk. There are only summary statements about use of prisoners, along with figures on the use of civilian forced laborers. The main source on this subcamp therefore is the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), 11722, Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden, Nr. 205, Meldung der beschäftigten Ausländer (einschl. Juden) und Kriegsgefangenen.
2. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3016/66 (Investigations into the "Zeiss-Ikon Reick" subcamp).
3. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-10.
4. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-428.
5. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3016/66, Statement by Sara N., p. 24.

DRESDEN-FRIEDRICHSTADT (*RAW*) AND DRESDEN (*REICHSBAHN*)

In four of the Flossenbürg subcamps, prisoners had to work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railways). Two of the subcamps were under the responsibility of the Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railways Directorate, RBD) Dresden: in the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW) in Dresden-Friedrichstadt, prisoners had to repair railroad cars, and in the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, prisoners (in some cases, the same ones) had to perform cleanup operations on destroyed railroad tracks, starting in late March 1945. The two subcamps were often confused by judicial authorities in postwar investigations for two reasons: first, the administrative records from the camp period do not distinguish precisely between the two subcamps; second, they did indeed exist in parallel up to the end of the war, though in both cases little is known about the dissolution phase.

The Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp on the bank of the Weisseritz River was established on September 12, 1944. At this time there were already many foreign workers at RAW Dresden and in other RBD Dresden operations, primarily Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter), Belgians, British prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees (IMIs). In addition, in RAW reports on the occupancy level of the camps (Meldungen über Belegstärke der Lager), there is a handwritten note about a "camp for concentration camp prisoners" in which 300 prisoners are listed for September 15; 299 for October 15; and 597 for November 15, 1944.[1]

The RBD Dresden had obviously sought the use of prisoners for quite some time. At any rate, the Werksdirektor of the RAW Dresden explains in a letter to the RBD dated August 14, 1944, that in accordance with a discussion on July 31, 1944, he is supposed to acquire 450 "KZ people," provided that barracks are delivered. On August 1, he said, an SS-Obersturmbannführer and another man—probably Flossenbürg camp commandant Max Koegel—at a meeting called on

short notice gave him an alternative: either assume responsibility immediately for 600 prisoners, or there might well be no allocation of prisoners at all because of the large demand by the armaments industry.[2]

The need for labor obviously outweighed the misgivings expressed in regard to accommodations. According to postwar investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the prisoners had to find accommodation in an unheated locomotive shed—part of Erecting Shop II—where they slept in four-tiered bunk beds; the guards lived in the shop's repair areas, which were fenced in.[3] The first 300 prisoners came from Warsaw—some had participated in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—and after a short period of forced labor in the Heinkel-Werke at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, they were brought to Dresden on September 14, 1944.[4] Apart from 1 German and 1 French prisoner, only Polish "civilian workers" are recorded in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books).[5] A second group of prisoners was transferred to Dresden from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in a transport on October 25, 1944. The majority of these 300 prisoners were Polish and Russian "protective detainees" and civilian workers, in addition to a few Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, French, and Croats. Political prisoners and a few "asocials" and "Gypsies" were a small minority.

The requisition documents of the Flossenbürg Kommandantur expressly identify September 15, 1944, as the "beginning of the Kommando."[6] The first prisoner died as early as September 30. By the time the second transport arrived on October 27, the number of prisoners actually engaged in forced labor, who also had to work half a day on Sunday, had dropped from 300 to 281: an indication of worsening living conditions. By the end of the year, the number of prisoners had dropped from a high of 586 to about 540.

The prisoners had to repair damaged railroad cars in a "Concentration Camp Prisoners' Department of Freight Car Repair" set up expressly for this purpose by RAW.[7] The prisoners from Sachsenhausen and/or Gross-Rosen had to work in two shifts of 12 hours each. According to former prisoner Zbigniew Kołakowski, they met each other for the first time only after their accommodations had been destroyed in the air raids on Dresden.[8] Following other statements, the prisoners were housed in the same hall but worked in different locations. In fact, the entries in the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher indicate striking differences between the two transports. Above all, however, they document the catastrophic conditions in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp. Obviously there was a fear that prisoners in the domain of the Reichsbahn in general were highly likely to attempt escape. At any rate, the responsible department head promptly ordered that the prisoners had to wear an arm band, after the model of the prisoners employed at RAW Jena.[9] Three days before this order, on October 25, 1944, 3 prisoners were shot while "attempting to escape." According to later witness statements, the prisoners had tried to escape from the cordoned-off area of the subcamp beneath the axles of the repaired railroad cars. According to the Nummernbücher for November and December 1944, at least 5 men were shot while attempting to escape. The outcome of other escape attempts is not documented. The reason for these acts of desperation was, besides the extremely poor food, the very serious mistreatment of individual prisoners, which was consistently documented after the war.[10] Altogether, 24 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen transport died in Dresden, and at least 55 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen transport died there.

The person responsible for all this was the Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Becher from Falkenau, who died in 1946 as a POW in the USSR. Undated return lists for weapons and munitions indicate that there were between 25 and 32 SS men of lower ranks, probably including a few Hungarian Germans and Ukrainians, stationed at Dresden-Friedrichstadt.[11] There is nothing in the documents to indicate the relationship between the civilian employees and the prisoners, and the memoirs collected by RAW for the sixtieth anniversary celebration in 1954 provide no information on this subject.[12] Names of the civilian workers with access to the concentration camp are recorded there, including the right of access to the subcamp for the works medic on September 26, 1944.

The prisoners from the transport from Gross-Rosen were obviously affected by the large air raids on Dresden on February 13 and 14, 1945, which supports the conclusion that the two groups of prisoners had different workstations. Under the date February 20, 1945, 32 deaths from this transport are designated in the Nummernbücher with a red cross and enumerated. A comparable identification is not demonstrable for any of the other Dresden subcamps. A further 19 deaths are documented for February 22.

The 514 survivors were transferred by rail as early as February 19 back to the Flossenbürg main camp.[13] During this transport, at least 15 prisoners attempted to escape. According to all the witness statements, they escaped through a hole in one side of a railroad car while the SS guards shot at the car. Many of these prisoners sent to Flossenbürg died shortly after their arrival. The rest were transferred to various subcamps, where in some cases they had to work for the Reichsbahn again, while others went to what definitely were camps for the dying (*Sterbelager*). The survivors of the Sachsenhausen transport were mostly sent to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, the Natzweiler system, and the RAW Regensburg subcamp. The prisoners from the Gross-Rosen transport were mainly transferred to the Leonberg subcamp of Natzweiler, as well as the Ansbach, Kirchham, and Pottenstein subcamps of Flossenbürg.

For the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp, the last verifiable date recorded in the relevant literature, such as the International Tracing Service (ITS), is April 13, 1945, when the last labor distribution of the Flossenbürg main camp still records four prisoners for this subcamp. The concluding comment of the Ludwigsburg investigators states, "The former prisoners who were questioned date the time of the subcamp's

dissolution as late February 1945 or several days after the bombing of Dresden."[14]

Within RAW, there obviously were different opinions regarding the further use of the camp area. According to a note dated February 27, "350 foreigners (civ. workers)" were to be housed "in the concentration camp for emergency aid,"[15] and they were to be "later converted for use in production." According to another handwritten note by the department head, dated March 11, 1945, "on no account" were additional workers to be housed "in the former concentration camp. . . . Concentration camp prisoners must be turned away, at all events."[16]

Nevertheless, only two weeks later a subcamp again was established within the authority of the RBD Dresden. The Kommandoführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Rohloff, who arrived in Dresden on March 23 with a transport of 63 SS men of lower ranks, including two dog handlers.[17] In the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, the prisoners were set to work repairing destroyed railroad tracks. A total of 500 men were transferred to Dresden on March 24, including 180 Poles, 89 Hungarians, 87 Russians, 35 Italians, 28 French, 23 Czechs, and 20 Belgians. Among the Poles, there were 61 Jewish prisoners; among the Hungarians, 82; the Czechs included 7 Jewish prisoners; and the French, 3. The rest included a few Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners from Germany, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Romania, and Slovakia. The numbers remained constant until March 31.[18] Many of them already had been compelled to do forced labor in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp, while others had been transferred only recently from the State Police Offices in Nürnberg-Fürth (French and Belgians) and Regensburg (Poles and Russians) to Flossenbürg.

According to witness statements, the prisoners were housed in a building in the vicinity of a railroad station hall, sleeping in five-tiered bunk beds. Correspondence by Kommandoführer Rohloff, however, bears the address SS-Aussenarbeitslager R.A.W. Dresden-Friedrichstadt (SS Work Subcamp R.A.W. Dresden-Friedrichstadt) throughout. The lack of hygiene and the poor condition of the prisoners were conducive to the outbreak of typhus. The Dresden Health Office's apparent concerns about the transmission of the disease resulted in a dispute with Kommandoführer Rohloff. While a city representative pushed for multiple delousing of the prisoners as well as for isolation of the guards and monitoring of their temperatures, Rohloff referred to a regulation of the Flossenbürg Kommandantur, the effect of which was that only the SS garrison doctor in Flossenbürg could impose a quarantine in the subcamps, which were to be regarded as exterritorial.[19]

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) failed to bring to light any further details on this subcamp. In the concluding comment of the investigations into the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, the contradiction between some prisoners' reports of an evacuation march in the direction of Austria or Theresienstadt and the dissolution date of May 8, 1945, given by the ITS, cannot be resolved.

SOURCES In addition to the relevant sources on Flossenbürg and its subcamps—the "Häftlingsnummernbücher" in NARA, the Flossenbürg-Best. NS 4/FL in the BA-B, and the replacement records of the documents at the ITS, the most important collection for the Dresden-Friedrichstadt and Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamps is in the SHStA-(D) (Best. 11689 A, RAW Dresden). In particular, for the brochure on the sixtieth anniversary of the RAW in 1954, a great deal of source material was gathered on the topics of forced labor and the use of prisoners, as well as memoirs of employees and the like. The investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) provide information, through numerous witness statements, about conditions in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp; the files on the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp are extremely sparse, which is probably attributable to destruction caused by the air raids on Dresden, as well as to the late date of the subcamp's origin.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. 37.
2. Ibid., Letter of the Works Director of RAW to RBD, Dresden, August 8, 1944, Betr. Fernmündlicher Auftrag des Herrn Abteilungspräsidenten Kothe. Einstellung von Kz-Leuten.
3. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3032/66 (Ermittlungen zum Nebenlager Dresden-Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk).
4. Ibid., p. 105, Statement by Karol S.
5. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol. 2: Monatliche Forderungsnachweise der Kommandantur Flossenbürg (Abt. Arbeitseinsatz) an das Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Dresden für Oktober bis Dezember 1944.
7. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 37, p. 51.
8. Oral statement by Zbigniew Kołakowski on July 23, 2004.
9. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166.
10. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 152/76 (Ermittlungen zum Aussenlager Dresden-Reichsbahn), Statement by Teofil Marian K., pp. 173–177, and Eryk N., pp. 178–182.
11. BA-B, NS 4/FL 428.
12. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 37 and A 157 (Firm History).
13. SVG, vorl. Signatur 2121, Camp Strength Report, February 20, 1945. The originals are held at ITS.
14. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3032/66, Conclusion, p. 169.
15. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166, not foliated.
16. Ibid.
17. BA-B, NS 4 FL/428, Transport to SS work camp RAW-Dresden-Friedrichstadt.
18. BA-B, Best. ehem. ZSA-P DOK/K 183/11, Status of Prisoners in Kdo. Dresden (Reichsbahn).
19. SHStA-(D), 11698 A RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166, handwritten note, March 4, 1945, and letter from Kommandoführer Rohloff to the Werksdirektor, March 3, 1945.

EISENBERG

From the summer of 1943 until the end of the war, there was a small special detail (Sonderkommando) of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Castle Eisenberg (Jezeří) in northwestern Bohemia, near the municipality of Ulbersdorf (Albrechtice) at the edge of the Erzgebirge and close to Brüx (Most). Also located in the castle, which previously was property of Czechoslovak ambassador Max von Lobkovic, who emigrated to London in 1938, was a special camp of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) for 100 to 200 mostly senior French officers.

The older Czech research refers also to a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Eisenberg, with an occupancy level of 40 to 50 men. Since April 1943, French POWs who were used for forestry work were housed in wooden barracks close to the castle's forest administration office.[1]

According to SS documents, the Eisenberg subcamp was a Sonderkommando of the RSHA, which was used for the construction and then for the maintenance and repair of the special camp.[2]

The first mention of the Eisenberg subcamp of Flossenbürg is dated June 21, 1943: on this day 30 male prisoners (14 Soviets, 9 Germans, and 7 Poles) were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to Eisenberg. However, there is already a document on the SS-Kommando Eisenberg dated May 6, 1943, in the records of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, transferring three radios and two pictures of Hitler, among other things, to Flossenbürg as supplies for the welfare of the troops.[3]

After the construction work at the Eisenberg camp was completed during the summer, on August 16, 1943, the majority of the Kommando was transferred back to Flossenbürg. According to a statement by K.G., a former prisoner and Kapo at the Eisenberg subcamp, the construction detail (Baukommando) was tasked with surrounding the site with barbed wire and making structural changes in the buildings. During this time, the prisoners slept in the castle's stables.[4]

Polish prisoner Z.G. said in a witness statement that around 200 French officers were interned at the castle as POWs: "Among the Fr. officers there was also a brother of General de Gaulle and a personal physician of Marshal Pétain."[5]

Between January 1944 and the end of the war, three to eight prisoners can be verified as present at the Eisenberg subcamp. A strength report dated February 28, 1945, mentions seven male prisoners—four Germans and three Poles.[6]

Prisoner Z.G. said the following about the conditions in the camp: "There were seven of us prisoners and we were busy doing unskilled labor in the kitchen, the garage, and the castle courtyard. Around the castle walls, which were still intact, high barbed wire had been put up, with about six guard towers, manned day and night. The prisoners were housed in the castle, specifically in an old storeroom on the ground floor. The officers lived on the upper floors, and we were forbidden to go up there. . . . In general, I can say that the guards behaved properly at Eisenberg. That made the treatment at Flossenbürg even worse."[7]

Most of the prisoners had to work in the kitchen of the camp for prominent POWs. On March 2, 1945, a Czech dental technician also was transferred from Flossenbürg to the Eisenberg subcamp.

The special camp and the concentration camp subcamp were guarded by a total of about 50 men. The Kommandoführer was Austrian SS-Hauptsturmführer Kamillo von Knorr-Krehan (born March 25, 1899).[8]

The Eisenberg subcamp was mentioned for the last time in the Flossenbürg strength reports on April 13, 1945, when it held eight prisoners. According to Z.G., the captive officers were taken over by the Swiss Red Cross on April 20, 1945, and transported by rail to Switzerland. The prisoners were able to leave the castle on April 27, 1945, after the guards had disappeared. On foot, the prisoners managed to reach the Americans in Weimar.

SOURCES The secondary literature on the Eisenberg subcamp is very sparse and consists of brief references in older Czech descriptions of a general nature: Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); as well as Jörg Skriebeleit's piece "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

The direct sources consist mostly of investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) as well as the Flossenbürg SS-Verwaltungsakten zu Eisenberg, which are summarized in the BA-B in Best. NS4/FL. In addition, there are the transfer lists in the CEGESOMA, Microfilm No. 14368. Czechoslovak investigation files in Best. KT-OVS of the SÚA and the monthly strength reports from the final phase of the camp in Best. NSM, Sign. 110-4-88, round out the number of sources.

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá: *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), p. 298.
2. CEGESOMA, Microfilm No. 14368.
3. Ibid.
4. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 718/73.
5. Ibid.
6. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/1 and NS4/FL-392.
7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 718/73.
8. Monthly Strength Reports for Guards as well as Prisoners in Work Detachments of the HSSPF for Bohemia and Moravia from late 1944 to February 1945, SÚA, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.

FALKENAU

The first step in discussing the Falkenau subcamp must be to clarify which camp is actually meant, as documents mention the Falkenau women's labor camp (Frauenarbeitslager Falkenau),[1] the Falkenau subcamp (Nebenlager Falkenau), and a subdetachment of the Zwodau labor camp of Flossenbürg

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

(Unterkommando des Arbeitslagers Zwodau des KL Flossenbürg).[2] Relying on a postwar Czech source, Hans Brenner states that the latter for the period November 16, 1944, to May 8, 1945, held 60 female prisoners and was located in the cellar of the city hall in Falkenau (Sokolov).[3] Overall, however, Jörg Skriebeleit is probably correct in suggesting that the Falkenau camp was the forerunner of the later Zwodau subcamp and was provisionally located in a textile factory at the start of the employment of prisoners.[4] Contrary to what Skriebeleit suggests, however, the camp existed for six to seven months, from December 1943 to approximately July 1944.

Owing to the relative sparseness of the sources, it cannot be precisely determined when planning for the use of prisoners began. Nevertheless, there is information about its context: the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) was founded in 1940 as a wholly owned joint subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW). The armaments firm operated at high capacity to produce items for the air war: autopilots, navigation instruments, gyroscopes, flight instruments, aircraft electric equipment, communication equipment, and electric fire systems. In view of the positive results that Siemens already had experienced from the fall of 1942 on at its "Ravensbrück assembly plant,"[5] together with the increasing risks caused by air raids, Siemens director Paul Storch in the spring of 1943 was led to consider transferring production to "more secure areas" and to use "concentration camps for assembly of particularly important parts."[6] It was thus a strategic decision by Siemens to set up prisoner operations on the periphery of the Old Reich, a decision in which the responsible parties linked the enormous increases in the turnover of the armaments industry with the simultaneous shortage of labor: for the expansion of its production, the firm focused on its model project for the use of prisoner labor at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

On September 3, 1943, the Gesellschaft für Luftfahrtgeräte, Spandau, occupied 13,000 square meters (15,548 square yards) in the Kammgarnspinnerei (Worsted Yarn Spinning Mill) Ignaz Schmieger AG Zwodau at Falkenau on the Eger River.[7] The installation of the factory took place quickly because the first approximately 100 prisoners used as laborers were charged for as early as December 1943. In February 1944, 193 prisoners were charged for.[8]

The prisoners were first housed on the factory grounds in a hall above the production rooms. Food was supplied then, as well as later, from the factory canteen in Zwodau. Because the camp was not large at first, food was better than in Zwodau, in terms of both quantity and quality.[9] Additional transports in the following months increased the number of prisoners in the camp to about 750. The Polish, German, French, Czechoslovak, and Yugoslav women worked roughly 12-hour day and night shifts in the factory. As in the "Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück," they worked as unskilled laborers, producing, in strictly separate areas, coils, switches, measuring devices, and other items for aircraft weaponry.[10] As in Ravensbrück, each worker operated on a bonus system for individual performance. For below-standard work, there were penalties such as night shifts and withholding of food. For satisfactory or above-standard work, there was additional food.[11]

In the worst case, the prisoners could be shifted to physically exhausting construction work outdoors, since the prisoners began leveling work for the Zwodau subcamp approximately in March 1944.[12] Together with Italian military internees (IMIs), the women built four prisoner barracks, one infirmary and support barracks, and one lodging barracks for the SS guards. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, which at least was not electrified from the very outset.[13] It was probably in mid-July that the prisoners moved into the newly built, but not quite finished, barracks camp at Zwodau.[14]

The Kommandoführer at Falkenau was at first SS-Hauptscharführer Willibald Richter, who came from the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. All the prisoners speak positively about him, saying that he behaved correctly and decently and when there were no witnesses, he even spoke to the prisoners in Czech. He was in command of 18 Luftwaffe soldiers, Erstaufseherin Elfriede Tribus, and 21 other SS female overseers. Richter and Tribus were transferred at the time of the move to the Graslitz subcamp and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber and Erstaufseherin Anneliese Unger, who are alleged to have mistreated the prisoners, with the result that some died.[15] Camp elder Johanna Baumann née Forthofer was also accused of mistreating the prisoners. However, there are no reported deaths in Falkenau itself.

It is not possible to comment here on the postwar trials of the Zwodau subcamp guards conducted in the Czechoslovak Republic. In West Germany, starting in the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg conducted investigations in relation to homicides, particularly in the last phase of the war, when hundreds of weakened Jewish prisoners came to the Zwodau subcamp on "evacuation marches."[16] In this connection, the predecessor camp Falkenau was also investigated by the ZdL. Zwodau and its predecessor camp Falkenau were also examined as part of the collective preliminary proceedings for the Flossenbürg subcamps (Flossenbürg was responsible for Zwodau as of September 1944).

In 1974, the relevant State Attorney's Office in Munich conducted preliminary proceedings against the defendants Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, and others on suspicion of murder but abandoned them in 1979 because no defendants could be located. Subsequently, in 1991 the ZdL also abandoned its corresponding preliminary proceedings.[17]

SOURCES To date the only comprehensive study on the Flossenbürg subcamps, of which Zwodau also was one starting in September 1944, was produced by Hans Brenner in 1982: "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Dresden,

1982). Like most East German historians, he sought primarily to document the decisive influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. This limitation on the formulation of the question, however, reduces the informative value of this otherwise meritorious and well-documented study, to which access is possible only with difficulty, owing to the poor legibility of most copies. Brenner also has published his findings and theses on the use of prisoners in two essays, in which, however, a small outside detail—attested only on the basis of postwar sources—is listed under the Falkenau subcamp: "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–293 (see table on p. 266); and "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706. Karl Heinz Roth compares a number of prisoner operations for the Siemens firm in "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Roth's structuring typology of the use of forced labor for the firm is valuable. Using the records of the ZdL as well as the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, discovered at NARA, Jörg Skriebeleit provides an up-to-date overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. Skriebeleit assumes incorrectly, however, that the Falkenau subcamp existed for only a few weeks. His analysis of the Nummernbücher, however, provides important new information on the growth of the death rate in female subcamps under investigation. Only with the beginning of the "evacuations" of camps located in the east and the transfer of their inmates to camps farther west, such as Zwodau, did this rate increase at a rapid speed. A monograph by Wilfried Feldenkirchen, the former director of the AS-M, appeared on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). What should be emphasized, however, along with a conspicuous apologetic tendency, is first and foremost the extensive system of annotation, in which AS-M sources also are selectively quoted, sources that otherwise are not publicly accessible, as they are held in the "un-catalogued sources, temporary archives." The aspects of modernization and technical and social streamlining are of extraordinary relevance for the integration of captive, unqualified laborers into a modern, capitalist industrial firm; thus the works below examine the absolutely essential prehistory of all use of forced labor in the production sector of Germany's most important general-purpose company in the electrical industry, with explicit discussion of the importance of female labor. The standard works are by Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas Freiberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Rüdiger Hachtmann, *"Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich": Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Göttingen, 1989); Hachtmann, "Industriearbeiterschaft und Rationalisierung 1900 bis 1945: Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand," *JWg* 1 (1996): 211–258; Hachtmann, "'. . . artgemässer Arbeitseinsatz der jetzigen und zukünftigen Mütter unseres Volkes': Industrielle Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen 1933 bis 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Rassismus, Biologismus und Klasse," in *"Neuordnung Europas": Vorträge vor der Berliner Gesellschaft für Faschismus- und Weltkriegsforschung; 1992–1996*, ed. Werner Röhr and Brigitte Berlekamp (Berlin, 1996), pp. 231–252.

The presumably quite extensive collections of the AS-M are in great part inaccessible for independent research. Research is therefore dependent on state archives. The abovementioned investigation records of the ZdL (at BA-L) are thus one of the most important cohesive collections for the investigation of the Falkenau subcamp (and of the subsequently established Zwodau subcamp). They contain numerous witness statements by surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. Here it must be stressed that the investigating state attorneys worked closely with the ITS. At that time they still were able to see the ITS's collections of contemporary documents and use them in their investigations. Further, years before it aroused the interest of historians in the West, the state attorneys also assessed the extensive collection on KZ Flossenbürg now held as NS4 in the BA-B, the second important closed collection on the Falkenau subcamp. There are probably important documents in the Czech archives on the origins of the use of prison labor and on the plans for use of prisoners, as indicated by the enquiries made at Ludwigsburg for plans by the Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes. The BA-MA holds collections regarding the war economy including contracts and production records of the LGW.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Record of Interview [SS-Erstaufseherin] Ilse Broders née Schmidt, September 13, 1978, in Heide, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 60/67, p. 1621.

2. See Concluding Note on Falkenau Camp, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3013/66, Ludwigsburg, August 6, 1968, p. 9.

3. [File Note] ZdL Referat 410, Ludwigsburg, September 12, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR3013/66, p. l.

4. Jörg Skriebeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 214; as well as Record of Interview [SS-Erstaufseherin] Elisabeth Gross née Best, March 15, 1971, in Wuppertal, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67, p. 1168.

5. See the entry "Siemenslager Ravensbrück" in this volume.

6. Factory Management Meeting on March 4, 1943, "Extracts from Factory Management Meetings," LAB-BPA-SED, FDGB 276, n.p.

7. See file card Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger Akt. Ges. Zwodau b. Falkenau a. Eger /Sud., Reichsbetriebskartei, Wirtschaftsgruppe Textilindustrie, Kriegswirtschaftsmassnahmen (Betriebsstillegungen): Bezirksgruppen: Sudetenland, Ostmark, Südbayern, Nordbayern, Protektorat Böhmen & Mähren, BA-B, R13 XIV/236.

8. See Overview ZdL Prisoner Level for Flossenbürg Subcamp according to NS4, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67,

vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, as well as letter from Waffen-SS Kdtr. Flossenbürg Arbeitseinsatz to SS-WVHA Amt D II Re: Forderungsnachweise, January 1, 1944, ZdL, Ordner IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67 Document Collection, vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, p. 857.

9. See Record of Interview with Irena Tward née Szw. [*08/1913 in Poznan], June 4, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z48/71B, p. 124; see Record of Interview with [Lagerälteste] Johanna Baumann née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z48/71B, p. 12; see Record of Interview with [SS-Erstaufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, December 15, 1970, in Miltenberg, ZdL, Collection Ravensbrück "TUV"; Letter from Arbeitseinsatz KL Flossenbürg to SS-WVHA Amt D II Re.: Verpflegung durch Firmen, March 1, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, p. 843.

10. See Record of Interview with [Lagerälteste] Johanna Baumann née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL, IV410AR-Z48/71B.

11. See Anon., "I Was in a Siemens Concentration Camp, Report of a French Forced Laborer," *V,* October 5, 1946. Owing to identical formulations, the article was probably written by Henriette Seller; see Report by Henriette Seller on the Transport from Compiegne and KZ Zwodau, LA-B-BPA-SED V6/3/6007, Nachlass Baum; Record of Interview with Halina Prei. née Smo., October 23, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, a.a.O.

12. On the following, see also Record of Interview with Irena Tward née Szw., dated June 6, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71 B, p. 116.

13. See Plans of the Siemens Construction Department for the LGW Zwodau, Barracks Camp "KZ-Baracken 2, 3 and 4" 1:100, February 24, 1944, and "Plan 14, LGW-Betrieb Zwodau, Lageplan Barackenlager," 1:1000, March 4, 1944, ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B), p. 422, as well as Travel Report [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August.15, 1944 [Prague], ZdL, a.a.O.

14. See Attestation by Wachführer Reschke, SS-Kdo. Zwodau (Schlüsselübergabe ehemalige Häftlingsunterkunft), July 18, 1944, ZdL a.a.O.; and also Travel Report [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August.15, 1944, o.O. [Prague], ZdL, a.a.O.

15. See Order of Abandonment of the Sta. München I for Proceeding 320 Js 486/74 v Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, August 14, 1979, ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91 p. 8.

16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71B; ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 23/68; ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67; and ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B).

17. Sta. Mü 1 320 Js 486/74; ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91.

FLÖHA

In November 1943, Flöha Tüllfabrik (Flöha Tulle Factory) received from the Armaments Ministry the directive to clear a part of its factory space for the Erla-Maschinenwerk GmbH Leipzig.[1] For the purpose of camouflage, the Ministry of Armaments assigned the Erla subsidiary in Flöha the code name "Fortuna GmbH." In the context of decentralizing its air armament production for better protection against air attacks, the Erla works, which already had erected subcamps for prisoner labor details of the Flossenbürg main camp in late 1943 in Johanngeorgenstadt and in January 1944 in Mülsen St. Micheln, set up another outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Flöha in March 1944 for the manufacturing of fuselages for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter plane.[2]

On March 18, 1944, the first 200 concentration camp prisoners and the SS guard personnel arrived in Flöha. On June 3, 1944, a second transport from Flossenbürg arrived with primarily French prisoners, including many students from Strasbourg University who had evaded the German grasp until 1942 by heading to Clermont-Ferrand. In October 1944, 80 Russian concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp at the Erla works in Leipzig-Thekla were delivered to the Flöha subcamp.[3] The strength of the Flöha subcamp grew to almost 800 prisoners, despite repeated shifting of sick prisoners and those unable to work to the Flossenbürg main camp and to Bergen-Belsen. In January 1945, an additional 24 Jewish prisoners arrived from the Bunzlau I Rauscha subcamp of Gross-Rosen.[4] In the strength report dated January 31, 1945, 598 prisoners were reported for Flöha.[5] A report on February 28, 1945, gives an overview of the nationalities represented in the camp: 309 citizens of the USSR (described by the SS as Russians, although they belonged to several nationalities); 159 French; 79 Poles, among whom were 24 Jews, although 2 were of Hungarian nationality; 15 Germans; 14 Czechs; 4 Italians; 3 Lithuanians; 2 Yugoslavs; and 2 stateless persons.[6] For April 13, 1945, 600 prisoners were reported.[7]

The factory premises were fenced in with barbed wire, and guard towers with machine-gun posts were intended to foil any escape attempt. The prisoners were housed on the fourth floor (attic) of the factory building. The prisoners in the completely overcrowded attic room were exposed to greater risk of destruction during bombing raids.

The employment of the prisoners took place in various groups under the supervision of German master craftsmen and foremen in a 12-hour shift system. The management of Flossenbürg charged the Erla works for most of the employed prisoners a daily rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for "skilled laborers" and for only 15 percent of the prisoners a daily rate of 4 RM for "unskilled laborers." After deducting 0.65 RM for food per day per prisoner, for which the Erla works were responsible, they paid into the SS account at the Reichsbank branch in Weiden, after production start-up in July 1944, increasing monthly amounts: 52,722 RM in July 1944, 90,300 RM in August 1944, 95,348 RM in September 1944, 87,014 RM in October 1944, and 72,412 RM in December 1944.[8]

The inhumane living conditions, completely inadequate nutrition, 12- to 14-hour work shifts, insufficient sleep due to disturbances during shift changes and air-raid warnings, frequent standing for hours at roll calls, and abuses by SS guard personnel and criminal Kapos claimed many victims in the camp. In addition, there were victims of shootings and hangings. The names of 27 prisoners who died in the Flöha camp

are known. Polish prisoners, who had made rings from discarded aluminum to exchange for bread with German civilian workers, were hanged for sabotage of armaments in front of all the prisoners in the factory courtyard. The criminal Kapo Knehr served as hangman. Before Israeli investigating authorities, former Polish Jewish prisoner Wolf S. reported on an execution: "As I remember, two prisoners, Russians, were accused of sabotage in the Flöha camp, sentenced to death by the camp leader, led out of the camp, and shot. I saw the clothes and shoes of the accused, which were later brought back into the camp."[9]

A group of French prisoners, technicians, and engineers carried out a sabotage campaign, which remained hidden from the SS and the inspecting Wehrmacht representatives. Toni Siegert writes about this: "French engineers and technicians, prisoners who were employed in an aircraft manufacturing plant at Flöha/Saxony, conducted demonstrable active sabotage. They knowingly manufactured faulty machine parts whose defects were not immediately recognizable but during great stress in air combat would cause the machines to fail; they also developed a special system of brittle riveting of airplane parts."[10]

Despite all threats of punishment, several Russian and French prisoners attempted to escape, and during one attempt a farmer in a neighboring village shot Frenchman Robert Bonneaud. Those responsible for the crimes committed in the Flöha camp include camp leader SS-Oberscharführer Karl Brendel and the SS guard detail of 10 SS-Unterführer and 57 SS men under his command; in addition, factory manager Max G. and master craftsman Paul K. were brought before a court in 1948. Brendel, who was charged with another atrocious crime, was never apprehended and sentenced.

On April 14, 1945, the Flöha subcamp was evacuated in a march on foot toward Erzgebirgskamm. The destination was most probably the Flossenbürg main camp. During the first night's rest, Brendel killed three prisoners, two Polish Jews and one Russian. From the report of Wolf S., the names of the two Jewish victims are known: "Among those shot were two of my school classmates—Szlamek Fischnitz and Chaim Zylberstajn. Many others were shot during this march."[11] The path of this death march appeared in the report by former French prisoner André L.:

> On the next morning, April 15, 1945, SS-Oberscharführer Brendel (the commandant of the labor camp) told our comrades who were sick with tuberculosis, who like us the day before had taken part in the foot march and were equally exhausted, to get on a horse-drawn wagon. . . . We were to find our comrades again on the way out of the town Marienberg. . . . One of the trucks confiscated by the SS took them from now on. The arriving SS-Oberscharführer spent a short time at the vehicle and called the exhausted among us to get on, under the pretext of wanting to save them the hardship of another foot march. Finally in the afternoon . . . we saw those transported in the truck being shot in a forest. There were fifty-seven who had boarded the truck.[12]

Twenty-three French and 34 Soviet citizens were victims of this cowardly murder.

The prisoner column continued its march through northern Bohemia initially in a southwesterly direction toward Flossenbürg but turned toward the east when the SS had news of Flossenbürg being occupied by U.S. troops. Seven French prisoners whose names are known and countless prisoners of other nationalities died on the continuing march. On May 6, 1945, the remainder of the marching column was brought to the ghetto at Theresienstadt; 97 prisoners were registered there.[13] Among those prisoners from the Flöha camp who were liberated on May 8, 1945, by Soviet troops in Theresienstadt (Terezín) but later still died at Terezín was French writer Robert Desnos, who met his death there on June 8, 1945.[14] Because of their complicity in the crimes against humanity committed in the Flöha camp, the factory manager of Fortuna GmbH Flöha, Max G., was sentenced to 20 years in prison on February 20, 1948, in the Chemnitz regional court, and the former master craftsman at this factory, Paul K., was sentenced to 25 years in prison. The opinion of the court said, among other things:

> The accused did his utmost to carry out systematically the criminal endeavors of the National Socialist rulers in total disregard for any human rights at the cost of the freedom, health, and life of foreign forcefully displaced civilian prisoners and persons of different political opinions. . . . The reference to the orders given by the leadership of Flossenbürg concentration camp and other National Socialist rulers is not suitable for absolving the accused, for it is not about orders based on morality and law, but rather about arbitrary acts that scorn all morality and law. Just as everyone who issues such orders is guilty, those who follow such orders are also guilty. When the accused adopts the orders of the leadership at Flossenbürg concentration camp as his own, he makes himself a henchman of the leadership of Flossenbürg, as whose branch the Fortuna works at Plaue were to be considered.

SOURCES An early survey of Flossenbürg subcamps is Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflikt. Teil A* ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna, 1979), 2:460.

Primary sources for this essay include BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (f) AR-Z 236/75, vols. 1 and 2; IV 410 AR 2472/66; AN, 72 AJ 327; ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg; StA-Lg, Erla-Werke; and Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (present-day Chemnitz), Proceedings against Max G., et al., 1947/48. A published testimony is Pierre Volmer, "Avec Desnos á Flöha," Dé (September 1990): 17–20.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Ts-Fl, Protokoll der Aufsichtsratssitzung AG (Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting) der Tüllfabrik Flöha, November 9, 1943.
2. StA-Lg, Erla-Werke, No. 159, n.p.
3. AG-B; NARA, RG 242, Film 8; Transport List, October 25, 1944.
4. ITS, Photocopy Flossenbürg, No. 209.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 95.
7. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264.
8. BA-B, Film 4053; labor requisition documents for July–October 1944.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 2:234.
10. Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflilct*, ed. Martin Broszaf and Elke Fröhlsch (Vienna, 1979), 2: 460.
11. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 2:234.
12. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 1:17; Translation of a letter from Mr. André L. to Mr. Simon Wiesenthal from November 28, 1967.
13. Pierre Volmer, "Avec Desnos á Flöha," *Dé* (September 1990): 17–20.
14. Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (present-day Chemnitz), April 1947, Anlagen zum Urteil, February 19–20, 1948.

FREIBERG

In Freiberg, preparations for the erection of a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp to house an outside detail at the Arado-Flugzeugwerke GmbH (Arado Aircraft Works, Ltd.) began in December 1943.[1] The planning and construction of the housing camp is a clear example of the collaboration between the armaments industry, the SS, and the Ministry of Armaments. First, Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) approved the application for the allocation of a prisoner work detail that Arado had submitted within the context of the Jägerstab's (Fighter Staff's) measures. In its building application, which was not sent to the local authorities (the Oberbürgermeister of Freiberg) until April 1944, the company was represented by the building commissioner of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK) in Armament Inspection Region IVa (based in Dresden). The camp planning was done by the Reich Industry Group (the lobbying organization of the entrepreneurs), Land Saxony Area, Regional Office Dresden.[2] The bureaucratic hurdles that cropped up caused delays, so that on the arrival of the first transport on August 31, 1944, with 249 primarily Polish Jewish women and girls from Auschwitz, to whom the Flossenbürg Kommandantur assigned prisoner numbers from 53423 through 53671, the barracks camp was not yet completed.[3] The women and girls received provisional lodgings in empty factory halls of a closed-down porcelain factory. The second transport came on September 22, 1944, with 251 women from Auschwitz, again primarily Polish Jews, who were assigned prisoner numbers 53672 through 53922.[4] Some 180 Czechs, 127 Slovaks, 91 Germans, 28 Yugoslavs, 22 Dutch, 15 Hungarians, 6 Poles, 1 Italian, 1 Russian, and 1 U.S. citizen, as well as 21 stateless persons, all female and Jewish, arrived with the third transport from Auschwitz, which was registered on October 12, 1944, by Flossenbürg for the Freiberg subcamp. The nationality of 9 women on this transport has not been determined. The women of this last transport once again received the consecutive prisoner numbers 53923 through 54435.[5] This leads to the conclusion that all three transports were completely coordinated beforehand with the Flossenbürg main camp. With the addition of 3 women, who were given the prisoner numbers 56801 through 56803, the Freiberg subcamp held 1,002 prisoners. A strength report on January 31, 1945, still listed 996 women in the Freiberg camp.[6]

The composition according to birth year offers the following picture: born before 1900, 12; born 1900 to 1909, 140; born 1910 to 1919, 367; born 1920 to 1924, 281; born 1925 to 1930, 186; no information, 16.[7]

According to concurring reports from many women in the transports, Dr. Mengele personally selected them at Auschwitz. He decided which of them could go on the transport, which of the women stayed at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp, and which should be murdered immediately. Czech Hana L. reports:

> They always assembled in groups of five, followed by the high SS marching by in their perfect uniforms. It was Dr. Mengele personally who sorted the people into those capable of work and prisoners destined for gassing. As we were both dressed in a good coat and an anorak, he signaled my cousin Vera and me to the right and my mother to the left, which meant to the gas. My mother said in good German, "Please, these are my children." Mengele now also signaled my mother to the right. We did not suspect that to the right meant work and life and to the left meant gas and death. . . . But the great miracles were still to come. They took all of our things away, shaved our hair, and everyone received a dress and wooden clogs or other shoes. . . . Until I die I will never forget the feeling of the cold on my shaved head. Without hair—that is a complete degradation for a woman. We were so many that the SS did not manage to tattoo all of us. . . . Still in October we were put on a transport toward Germany. That was like a prize. Thus we reached Freiberg in Saxony.[8]

In contrast to the wretched barracks in the women's camp at Birkenau, the lodgings at the factory in Freiberg, which were heated and to some extent dry, appeared considerably better to the women. Anneliese W., at the time 16 years old, said about the lodging: "It appeared to be a good change from Auschwitz. We slept only two to a bed, had pillows and a type of blanket."[9]

Several women reported on the employment, like Slovakian Katarina L: "We worked in two shifts, twelve hours each, as heavy laborers building airplane wings. As we were not skilled workers in aircraft construction, we also made mistakes, which were answered with slaps in the face."[10] In her report, Czech Marie S. goes into the relationship with German civil workers: "My work consisted mostly of riveting the 'small wing' with another female prisoner. There was no foreman around, only an inspector who came by daily to check whether we had worked well. Once I asked him where we were. To be sure he answered me, but only briefly, 'in Freiberg' and added that he was forbidden to speak with Gypsies. When I then said to him that I was a pharmacist and my husband was a doctor, he convinced himself with the help of medications that I had not lied. He then muttered, 'The fascists have deceived me.' After that he always told us what was reported from London."[11] Czech Hana St. also describes a similar dialogue:

> This conversation appears strange, almost like a joke, but I find it very instructive as it is probably something like a reflection of the foggy thinking, brought about by the Nazi propaganda haze, of so many "little people" in Germany at that time. . . . This dialogue with Foreman Rausch took place in the first days: with hand motions and no words he sent me to get some tool, but I didn't bring the right one. Furious, he grabbed me by the dress and beat me against the scaffolding. I was indignant and told him that when he wanted something he would have to explain it to me as I had never before worked in a factory. Rausch was surprised that this creature—resembling a scarecrow—addressed him, and even in German. He asked me where I had worked and what type of work I had actually done. In another conversation we talked about the concentration camp and I explained to him that I was sent there as a Jew. To that Foreman Rausch replied in amazement: "But the Jews are black!" I had blue eyes and despite a shaved head was without doubt a dirty blond with a light complexion. And when I asked him—I was so impudent—if he knew what concentration camps are, he answered me: "Yes, that's where various elements are trained to work." I then informed him that we were brought from Auschwitz to Freiberg. I told him that we all had studied and worked normally and that among us were a number of highly educated women, JDs, Ph.Ds, holders of master's degrees (Magister), doctors, professors, teachers, etc.; that I myself, at that time twenty-three years old, completed my diploma at a classical high school in 1939 and later worked as a qualified infant nurse and child care professional. Ever since that conversation, Foreman Rausch treated me well.[12]

German Jew Herta B. testified completely differently during her witness examination: "Zimmerman was the foreman in an airplane factory at Freiberg. . . . Zimmerman had a group of about twenty prisoners to supervise. He repeatedly abused me physically. He threw shop tools, which I was required to bring him, at my back, or he tore the tool from my hand and beat me with it."[13] It is probable that this sadist is identical with the foreman about whom other female prisoners also report: "'What, you claim to be a teacher?' he screamed. 'You piece of dirt!' and once again the hammer flew."[14]

With the transferring of the prisoner camp to the still incomplete barracks camp in December 1944, the women obtained considerably worse living conditions. Without socks and with almost no underwear, they were forced daily to walk in deep snow to the factory, which was half an hour away by foot, and some also went to the Hildebrand munitions factory. The cold and wet concrete barracks, brutality of the SS female guards, draining work, and extremely bad nourishment soon claimed victims. According to SS documents, only five deaths are recorded, but the actual number of victims may be higher.[15]

Women who came to Freiberg pregnant and whose condition only became apparent there suffered especially. Slovak Priska Löwenbein (Lomová) gave birth to her daughter Hana on April 12, 1945, two days before the evacuation. Other women gave birth during the evacuation transport or shortly after arriving at Mauthausen.

Some 20 (later 28) female SS guards, some of whom were recruited from the Freiberg area and some of whom came with the prisoners from Auschwitz, guarded the women. SS-Unterscharführer Richard Beck was in command at the camp and over 27 SS-Unterführer and SS men from the camp guard.[16]

After work had already been stopped on March 31, 1945, the women were left to their own devices in the barracks camp. The food rations were reduced.

Czech Lisa M. reports on the evacuation:

> On April 14, 1945, there was a sudden departure. We were loaded into open cars at the train station and traveled westward into the protectorate, passing train station signs with familiar city names. The nights were cold and sometimes it snowed or rained. Only sometimes did we receive food. En route we encountered similar transports to ours almost daily. Then we had a long stop in Horní Bríza and were transferred into closed cars. The people of the town brought us something to eat. We were supposed to be brought back to our original camp, Flossenbürg. We owe our thanks to a brave station manager who despite threats held up our train. We traveled back in the direction of Budweis. No one knew what happened in the other car. Once a day the car was opened and someone shouted the command, "Out with the dead." We noticed that the train changed direction. On April 29 we stood in the train station at Mauthausen. Half starved we dragged ourselves

through the town. At a fountain we wanted to at least drink something, but the locals chased us away and threw stones at us. In the camp we found out rather quickly that the gas chambers were already out of action. Hungarian women who had come there a few days earlier than we did died there.

On May 5 we were liberated by the U.S. Army.[17]

SOURCES For the Freiberg subcamp, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999). Andreas Baumgartner also mentions this camp in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997). With the assistance of the city of Freiberg and the Bergakademie Freiberg, students from Freiberg-Kolleg produced *Jüdisches Leben in der Bergstadt Freiberg—eine Spurensuche* (Freiberg, n.d.).

Primary sources on the camp begin with testimonies in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 2473/66 (B); ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg; and ASt-Fg (Baupolizei). *NFWSL*, July 22, 1965, cited the testimony of Priska Lomová.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. ASt-Fg, Baupolizei, Protokoll der Beratung im Stadtbauamt, December 17, 1943.
2. ASt-Fg, Baupolizei, No. 212/2, Bauakte "Freia GmbH."
3. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 78–82.
4. Ibid., pp. 82–86.
5. Ibid., pp. 87–95.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
7. Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg*, p. 95.
8. Hana L. (Prisoner No. 54205), report, April 21, 1996, with author.
9. YVA, Doc. 03/756. Quoted in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), p. 195.
10. Report of Katarina L. (Prisoner No. 54125) with author.
11. Report of Marie S. (Prisoner No. 54342) with author.
12. Report of Hana St. (Prisoner No. 54284) with author.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR 2473/66 (B), p. 44.
14. Report of Priska Lomová, quoted in *NFWSL*, July 22, 1965.
15. A list from August 26, 1945, records 10 cremation urns. (Letter from Gsta.DDR to the author, March 1, 1978.)
16. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
17. Report of Lisa M. (Prisoner No. 54215) with author.

GANACKER

Ganacker is located in Lower Bavaria on the last section of the Inn River before it meets the Danube River in the Landkreis Dingolfing-Landau, in the community (*Gemeinde*) of Pilsting. The subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was initially housed on the compound of Ganacker airfield. Once the Allies had achieved complete air superiority, the subcamp was relocated to a more protected area in a clearing in the forest known as Erlau, which was about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away from the air base, close to Markt Wallersdorf. The grounds, which covered about 1 hectare (2.5 acres), consisted of a field located in front of a small wood. The prisoners of the camp were housed in the field under terrible conditions in the rain and snow, living in improvised earth-tents, the so-called "Finns" or "Finn-hots," which were protected against bad weather only by a roof made of brushwood or leaves. These huts rather resembled large dog huts, were extremely primitive and because of the season usually full of water. One of these huts was the infirmary (*Revier*) for sick inmates, with a Czech, a German, and a Belgian male inmate nurse. Later the huts were replaced by tents. The parade ground was also located there. In the small wood were barracks for the guards and supplies. A ditch filled with water formed the western boundary of the camp and also provided the prisoners' water supply. The living conditions in the camp were horrendous: insufficient food and water supply, as well as inadequate housing, lead to the death of at least 183 inmates. Since this number only comprises the registered deaths, the actual number might have been higher. In March 1945 alone, 34 inmates died from diphtheria, which had been brought into the camp with a prisoner transport from Kaufering.

The workplace for the prisoners was at the nearby Ganacker airfield (also known as Pilsting), where a fighter squadron was based. The squadron did not fly combat missions, as the air base was used only for pilot training. Here the prisoners had to dig trenches, excavate one-man bunkers, and fill in bomb craters after Allied air raids. They were also deployed to work on preparations for the construction of a concrete landing strip, which was intended for the future receipt of jet planes of the Me-262 design. The landing strip was never finished, however. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners were employed by the firm Polensky & Zöllner. Prisoners were also deployed to work in Münchshöfen, north of Wallersdorf. The daily work shift lasted from 5:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a 30-minute lunch break.

The Bundeszentrale indicates that the earliest date for the camp's establishment found in reports is 1941; eyewitnesses and a report by the local authorities in Wallersdorf from 1951 point to the fall of 1944 (September). Already at this time, the first transport of about 300 male concentration camp prisoners is supposed to have arrived at the Ganacker air base. ITS gives the date for the opening of the camp according to official concentration camp files as February 21, 1945. This would correspond with the opening of similar Flossenbürg subcamps in Regensburg-Obertraubling, Kirchham, and Plattling.

The number of prisoners in the camp is also disputed; the figures range from some 400 or 500 up to about 900. A transfer

list dated February 20, 1945—upon the opening of the camp, according to official files—names 321 Jews among the 440 prisoners brought to the subcamp on this day, including 192 Jews from Poland, 46 from Hungary, 18 from France, 17 from Greece, 14 from the Czech lands, 10 from Germany, 7 from Holland, 6 from Belgium, and individual Jews from Lithuania, the Soviet Union, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Serbia, and Turkey. One Jew was stateless. In the view of local historian Nik Söltl, the camp grounds would have been rather small for 900 prisoners—even given their cramped housing together in the Finns. Nonetheless, among the survivors of the subcamp there were actually some prisoners who were not included on the transport list of February 20, 1945, which might confirm the presence of more than 440 prisoners in the camp.

The food supplies given to the prisoners were just as miserable as their housing conditions. Söltl indicates that the starving inmates grabbed through the barbed wire to tear off grass and eat it. According to Söltl, the Schlappinger family, which lived on the Huber property on the eastern edge of Erlau, succeeded on many occasions in supplying the prisoners with food: the head of the Schlappinger family was a Communist, and his wife baked bread twice a week, which the Schlappinger children, who were not so closely watched by the guards, then brought to the camp. In this manner, the Schlappingers were also able repeatedly to bring soup to the prisoners.

Around April 20, 1945, the airfield at Pilsting was subjected to repeated heavy aerial bombardments, such that it was rendered completely useless as an air base. A number of prisoners, driven by the hope that the end of the war was at hand, dared to escape from the camp. Five prisoners—Emil Bettelheim, Alexander Schärfer, Otto Robicsek (all three Jews from Yugoslavia), Alex Michalowicz, and Abraham Zölty—were hidden by the Schlappinger family in the hayloft of their barn. Since the living quarters, the cowshed, and the barn were all under the same roof in the house of the Schlappingers, the Schlappingers risked the lives of their entire family. Two prisoners armed the family with knives, in case they might be forced to defend themselves. With the arrival of U.S. troops on April 29, 1945, these prisoners also achieved their liberty.

The evacuation of the remaining prisoners of the subcamp had already taken place on April 24 or 25, 1945, in the direction of Traunstein. According to an official report, they arrived there on May 2, 1945. Numerous prisoners died on this death march: in Haunersdorf, which lies 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the south, 8 corpses were buried in a mass grave; in Arnstorf, 5; and in Schönau um Rottal, another 10. On the clearing of the subcamp, 45 prisoners who were sick, weak, or unable to walk were shot and superficially buried either in a wood behind the camp or in another wooded area some 350 meters (383 yards) to the west.

Between March 2, and April 23, 1945, 138 prisoners in Ganacker died.

During the course of the Flossenbürg Trial, Eisbusch, who was a prisoner, Kapo, and Revierkapo in the Ganacker subcamp after February 20, 1945, was sentenced to death and executed. Walter Paul Adolf Neye, a prisoner in Flossenbürg and a block leader in the Ganacker subcamp, was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Johann Nowak, the kitchen Kapo, was accused by the Landgericht Landau in 1954 of mistreatment; his sentence is unknown. In 1977, the State Attorneys of Landshut and Munich I investigated events involving the Ganacker subcamp, but investigations ceased due to the statute of limitations.

SOURCES Georg Artmeier examines the Ganacker subcamp in his essay "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg: Ganacker und Plattling," *HiHe* (1990–1991). Hans Brenner mentions the Ganacker subcamp in his article titled"Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 698. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 104; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1805. The subcamp Ganacker is also mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1999), 1: 197. The local historian from Landau, Nik Söltl, has engaged himself with the history of the subcamp in several articles including: "Familie Schlappinger rettete 5 KZ-Insassen—Die Häftlinge bedankten sich auf Packpapier," *LNP*, April 27, 2005; "Eine würdige Begräbnisstätte für KZ-Opfer der Erlau schaffen—Auswertung und Bewertung eines Zeitdokuments durch Heimatforscher Nik Söltl—Josef Schlappinger von Landrat Kübler persönlich beauftragt," *LNP*, May 23, 2005; "Ohne Erinnerung gibt es keine Versöhnung—Söltl: Auschwitz war überall," *LZ*, September 23, 2005; "Als der Krieg vorbei war, Teil 2: Erinnerungen an schreckliche Zeit im Lager—Eine Frau aus dem Moos bricht nach 60 Jahren ihr Schweigen," *DingA*, June 11, 2005; and "Ende April 1945: Die Front ist in Landau—'Zeitgeschichte im Landkreis Dingolfing-Landau' festgemacht an historischen Orten," *DingA*, May 16, 2006.

Information on the subcamp can be found in the AG-F and in the collections held by ITS. The rescue of the prisoners by the Schlappinger family is confirmed by a thank-you letter signed by three prisoners dated April 20, 1945, which is in private hands. An additional thank-you letter of January 26, 1946, contains a sworn declaration by the other two prisoners concerning their rescue by the Schlappingers.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

GRAFENREUTH

The SS-Wirtschaftslager (Business Camp) Grafenreuth was set up in June 1943 as the eighth subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The establishment of a clothing camp was part of the endeavors by the SS to achieve autarky. At

other concentration camp sites, the SS had constructed large textile plants for its own requirements.

In the spring of 1943, the Construction Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) of the Waffen-SS und Polizei Reich-Süd in Dachau planned the construction of a clothing camp at Grafenreuth, just 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Flossenbürg. After SS-Obersturmführer Schöffel had inspected the site, the Bauinspektion at Flossenbürg was tasked with making the necessary preparations for construction of the clothing camp on a roughly 5.5-hectare (13.6-acre) site of vacant land beside the Weiden-Floss-Eslarn railroad line, opposite the Riebel & Cie brickworks. The prisoners' lodgings and guards' block were to be built outside this area on a new road that would be constructed.[1] The planned construction of the clothing camp was delayed because there was a lack of skilled workers (surveyors), guards, and tools. In mid-June the head of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), SS-Brigadeführer Kammler, ordered the building of 20 camp barracks and 2 housing barracks because of the urgent need; and although negotiations with the property owners were not yet concluded, he authorized the 20 barracks to be sent to Grafenreuth.[2] Upon receiving a report from the Bauinspektion Reich-Süd that, on June 21, 32 railroad cars with barracks parts had arrived but could not be unloaded and stored, the WVHA reacted by unceremoniously attaching the parcels of land in question for use by the Waffen-SS.

At this time, about 20 prisoners evidently were already being used—probably only by the day—for unloading the railroad cars, as shown by the corresponding accounting for June 1943. The plan was to use a maximum of 50 prisoners so that costly improvements of the springs were avoided and the water supply was connected to the water supply of the brickworks. With an eye on the material to be warehoused, a water reservoir for use as a firefighting pond was created. Starting in late July, 6—later, as many as 20—prisoners had to carry the required bricks from the brickworks to the camp site opposite. On July 10, SS-Rottenführer Alfred Bütikofer was ordered to Grafenreuth to serve as construction manager. On August 2, 150 prisoners were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to Grafenreuth, three times more than the number envisioned by those who planned the construction. The majority of them had been transferred from Auschwitz to Flossenbürg in a transport of 1,000 prisoners on March 14. At Flossenbürg they had to spend several weeks in quarantine. The prisoners were in extremely poor physical condition. In the construction phase of the camp, this and other matters led to tensions between the local construction manager, Bütikofer, and Kommandoführer Fries. Thus Bütikofer complained in a letter dated September 30, 1943, that of the 140 prisoners as many as 20 could not be used for 10 to 14 days and that Kommandoführer Fries refused to swap the sick prisoners for healthier ones, while the clothing camp had received 60 prisoners, "the worst of whom was equivalent to the best at the construction site."[3] The high sickness figure was probably attributable to the excessive number of prisoners, given the still-unfinished lodgings and unsatisfactory sanitary facilities.

Since the warehousing of clothing began as early as September, further logistical problems resulted from the fact that building of the subcamp was not yet complete. The parallel delivery of building materials and clothing, in combination with inadequate security, increased the risk of injury to prisoners and SS members alike. Admittedly, the Flossenbürg Bauleitung had reported as early as mid-August that the preliminary work was done, but it took another year for all the construction to be completed. When finished, the subcamp consisted of 10 double barracks for warehousing clothing, 1 barracks for the prisoners, and 1 for the SS guards. It was surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers.

In early October 1943, Bütikofer requested that the Bauleitung relieve the head Kapo, Kelchner, who without his knowledge had allocated prisoners to do work for the clothing camp. This had a negative effect on construction, including completion of the railroad trunk line leading into the camp area.

The internal disputes could not have helped the prisoners. At any rate, as early as October 1943, a few prisoners tried to escape. On September 2, 1944, a Soviet prisoner was shot while trying to escape.[4] Otherwise, no deaths in Grafenreuth are recorded in the *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books), presumably because sick prisoners were transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp. There, approximately in early January 1945, two French prisoners died who had been transferred back from Grafenreuth shortly before Christmas. In the investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, many witnesses indeed reported several daily deaths and shootings after failed escape attempts, but the constant number of prisoners recorded in the labor requisition documents points to the likelihood that there were fewer deaths.[5]

At first, food was brought at midday and in the evenings by a food vehicle from Flossenbürg to Grafenreuth. From October 1944 on, the Bauleitung in Grafenreuth evidently provided food for the prisoners on its own.

For the Grafenreuth subcamp, there are two types of labor allocation documents. First, the prisoners for the Grafenreuth construction project were invoiced to the Bauleitung in Flossenbürg. In January and February 1944, 20 skilled and 62 unskilled workers were charged for, and in March, only slightly more than 40 unskilled workers. From mid-May to the end of the year, 6 to 13 skilled workers and between 26 and 62 unskilled workers were used, an average overall of between 33 (May) and 74 (July) prisoners. The labor allocation for the Bauleitung also included the so-called brickworks detail (Ziegeleikommando), in which roughly 14 to 20 men did construction work for the Riebel & Cie brickworks and transported bricks to the construction site for the clothing camp. In 1944, 1 to 2 prisoners were used as skilled laborers, and a constant number of about 60 prisoners were used as unskilled laborers for the clothing factory at Grafenreuth.

The Kommandoführer initially was SS-Hauptscharführer Kübler, who according to one prisoner's testimony mercilessly goaded the prisoners to do hard labor and held back food intended for the prisoners.[6] His successor, SS-Hauptscharführer Voigt, according to several witness statements, made sure the prisoners were better fed.

Owing to the subcamp's proximity to the main camp and the short-term use of prisoners, especially by the Bauleitung, the makeup of the prisoners was subject to constant variation. Initially, mostly German, Polish, Soviet, and French prisoners had to work at the construction site and the clothing plant. On February 28, 1945, there were 80 prisoners in Grafenreuth, including 40 Poles, 15 Czechs, and 11 Yugoslavs, as well as a few Russians, French, Germans, and an Italian. For March 31, there are 60 prisoners recorded but with no details of their nationalities.[7]

For various reasons the surroundings of Grafenreuth were more exposed to the subcamp than was the case at other places. The brickworks owner profited by becoming a user of the prisoners' forced labor. The farmers in the surrounding villages were enlisted in supplying transportation for the subcamp. Two property owners contracted with the SS to allow their land to be used to lay a water line from the Heideck pond to the camp.

The subcamp was evacuated on April 20 or 21. The prisoners and Kommandoführer Voigt joined a march out of the Flossenbürg main camp but formed their own group and were freed by U.S. troops at Cham. Owing to Voigt's considerate behavior, no prisoner died on the march.

After the evacuation, the local population looted the clothing camp.

SOURCE As with all other subcamps that were built relatively early for use by the SS, there is a great deal of source material on Grafenreuth. The Flossenbürg-Best. in the BA-B holds numerous administrative and construction-related files. The investigation files of the former ZdL, now BA-L (410 AR-Z 166/75), hold numerous witness statements. Oliver Muckof from Floss, while writing a paper for the Weiden Fachhochschule, interviewed contemporary witnesses and put together a photodocumentation, which is accessible in the AG-F.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 217, Vorschlag zur Errichtung eines Bekleidungslagers bei Grafenreuth, May 24, 1943.
2. Ibid., 219/2, Letter from the WVHA on June 17, 1943.
3. Ibid., 217, Handwritten letter from Bütikofer to construction manager Seiz in Flossenbürg.
4. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Microfilm copy in AG-F).
5. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 166/75, Statement by Jozef M., pp. 99–102; statement by Antoni B., pp. 128–139.
6. Ibid., Statement by Wladyslaw K., p. 219.
7. BA-B, Bestand ehem. ZSA-P, Dok/K 183/11.

GRASLITZ

One cannot determine the exact date that planning began for the use of prison labor in Graslitz, on the basis of surviving source documents. Nevertheless, there is information about the context: The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) was founded in 1940 as a wholly owned subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW). The armaments firm operated at high capacity in manufacturing auto pilots, navigation instruments, gyroscopes, flight instruments and electronics, communications equipment, and electric fire systems for aircraft. The positive results that Siemens had been able to achieve from the fall of 1942 onward at its "Ravensbrück manufacturing plant," coupled with the increasing risks caused by air raids, led Siemens director Paul Storch in the spring of 1943 to transfer production to "more secure areas" and to "use concentration camps for the assembly of particularly important parts."[1] Thus, using concentration camp prisoners on the periphery of Germany was a strategic decision by Siemens that combined the enormous increase in turnover in the armaments industry[2] with the simultaneous shortage of labor. The company based its plan of expanding production on the model project for use of prisoner labor at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

The use of prisoner labor in the Graslitz subcamp began with 150 female prisoners from Ravensbrück on August 7, 1944,[3] and thus later than in nearby Falkenau and Zwodau. This suggests that the decision was probably influenced by the previous, enormous destruction done to the main factories and the LGW in Berlin.[4] However, Graslitz and Zwodau were already noted as alternate sites in April 1944 on a map for "planned transfers."[5] The high degree of integration between the manufacturing sites at Zwodau and Graslitz is noteworthy—prisoners were transferred to the Zwodau subcamp for training, and both production sites had a common manager.[6]

By November–December, additional transports to the Graslitz subcamp (under Flossenbürg since September) had increased the number of concentration camp prisoners to 470. There were an exceptionally large number of prisoners persecuted as "Gypsies," including a significant number of "Reichsdeutsche" (German nationals)[7] Polish women (13 percent) and Czech women (9 percent) were also represented in large numbers. At first there were no Jews in the camp.[8] The company employees obviously wanted prisoners who, in addition to the known criteria of dexterity, good eyesight, and adequate health, had a sufficient knowledge of German, in order to facilitate training later. Prisoner numbers remained constant until the spring of 1945 when prisoners from other subcamps such as Rochlitz (among them many Jews) and eventually also prisoners from Ravensbrück were transferred to Graslitz, causing a lasting deterioration of living conditions.[9]

The prisoners were housed in one of the upper floors of the factory building and had no way of getting outside. The accommodation was equipped with bunk beds and an infirmary.

Food for the prisoners was prepared in the camp kitchen under the supervision of SS guards. It was delivered from Flossenbürg. Survivors complained about its poor quality and the inadequate supply. It is probable that some of the food did not reach the prisoners and was redirected to the SS and prisoner-functionaries.

The prisoners were supervised by 150 Siemens employees and worked in day and night shifts on fine mechanical assembly work, while some also did office work. Additionally, they were supervised by female SS guards, who, for example, ensured that the "no speaking" rule was observed while they worked.[10] There was a bonus system, as in Zwodau and Ravensbrück, where good work performance meant that prisoners received privileges such as camp money, which in turn was supposed to enable them to obtain extra food in the camp kitchen.[11] Of more significance for the often weak and undernourished prisoners was the threat of punishment for insufficient work, such as additional work or being reported to the SS, which in the end could mean being returned to the main camp, classified as "unfit for work." After Graslitz was bombed in the spring of 1945, the women were also used for cleanup work in the railway station area. That meant heavy physical outside labor for women who were malnourished and did not have proper clothing.

The camp leader was initially a Czech SS-Oberscharführer named Richter. He was in charge of 10 SS men and up to 19 female SS guards. Survivors spoke positively about Richter. He did not mistreat them and restrained his subordinates. After his transfer on March 7, 1945, SS-Rottenführer Dziobaka took command of the camp. Survivors stated that his behavior was rough and violent. At first the head SS female guard was Elfriede Tribus. She was transferred on March 14, 1945, and replaced by Helene Schmidt from the Holleischen subcamp. Both of these women are claimed to have behaved violently and beaten the prisoners. Of the camp elders, only Annemarie Mertens is known. She did not arrive at the subcamp until March 21, 1945, though. She, too, is said to have beaten the prisoners. However, accounts vary as other survivors claim that they were treated decently. This is probably a reflection of the torn and stratified prisoner community.[12] In the camp itself there allegedly were no killings.[13]

On April 15, 1945, a first group of the prisoners in the camp, which held at least 877 prisoners total at that time, were driven by the SS on a march in the direction of Karlsbad-Marienbad. The camp was evacuated five days later on April 20, 1945, and the remaining prisoners also had to march into the Böhmerwald. Prisoners who were incapable of walking were shot; others managed to escape. At the end of April, the survivors were finally freed by U.S. troops.[14]

At this point no comment can be made on the postwar trials of the Graslitz guards in former Czechoslovakia. At first, denazification proceedings were conducted against SS members and female guards interned by the Allies,[15] until in 1962 the Nürnberg-Fürth State Attorney's Office commenced investigations into the former female guards Schmidt and Eggert, who were suspected of murder. However, the proceedings were discontinued.

In 1966, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg launched an investigation into the Graslitz subcamp. It was dropped on November 4, 1975, because no acts of homicide and thus no basis for prosecution could be turned up. Relevant information on the Graslitz subcamp can also be found in the main judicial inquiry into the Flossenbürg concentration camp and its subcamps. Because of prisoner transfers from the Rochlitz subcamp to Graslitz and the joint death marches to Bohemia, these records also hold prisoner reports and other witness statements regarding Graslitz.[16] The Graslitz subcamp was again investigated by the ZdL in 1975 and the State Attorney's Office at Zweibrücken, but again the investigation was soon dropped.[17]

SOURCES The only comprehensive study on the Flossenbürg subcamps, of which Graslitz was one as of September 1944, is by Hans Brenner, "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Dresden, 1982). Like most East German historians, he mostly sought to investigate the influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. This limited frame of research has the result that this otherwise laudable and well-documented study is of limited use, in addition to the fact that most copies are only scarcely legible and thus difficult to examine. However, Brenner has published his research results and theses on the use of prisoners in two essays: "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–293 (see the table on p. 266); and "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706. There are some errors on the numbers. Karl Heinz Roth has compared a number of prisoner deployments by Siemens and developed a valuable, structuring typology of the company's use of forced labor in "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft, 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Using the files of the ZdL as well as the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, which have been rediscovered in NARA, Jörg Skriebeleit has provided a more current overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia in "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. His analysis of the Nummernbücher has provided important new insights into the development of mortality in the researched women's subcamps. In contrast to its "sister camp," Zwodau, where the arrival of thousands of Jewish women from camps to the east quickly increased the death rate, Graslitz showed no such development. Norbert Aas recently presented a study on Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) in Flossenbürg and the two subcamps at Zwodau and Wolkenburg in *Sinti und Roma im KZ Flossenbürg und in seinen Aussenlagern Wolkenburg und Zwodau* (Bayreuth, 2001). His analysis of the Flossenbürg

Nummernbücher has also revealed new information on the composition of the prisoner communities in the Flossenbürg subcamp system. The monograph by the former director of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, was published on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). It should be noted that apart from a glaring apologetic tendency, the work selectively cites several sources from the AS-M that are usually not publicly accessible as part of the "uncatalogued records interim archive." The aspects of modernization, as well as technical and social rationalization, are extremely relevant for the integration of an unfree, unqualified workforce into a modern capitalist industry; thus the works below examine the absolutely essential prehistory of all use of forced labor in Germany's most important general-purpose company in the electrical industry, with explicit discussion of the importance of female labor. The standard works are by Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas Freyberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Rüdiger Hachtmann, "*Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich*": *Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Göttingen, 1989); Hachtmann, "Industriearbeiterschaft und Rationalisierung 1900 bis 1945: Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand," *JWg* 1 (1996): 211–258; Hachtmann, "'. . . artgemässer Arbeitseinsatz der jetzigen und zukünftigen Mütter unseres Volkes': Industrielle Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen 1933 bis 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Rassismus, Biologismus und Klasse," in "*Neuordnung Europas*": *Vorträge vor der Berliner Gesellschaft für Faschismus- und Weltkriegsforschung; 1992–1996*, ed. Werner Röhr and Brigitte Berlekamp (Berlin, 1996), pp. 231–252.

The AS-M presumably contains extensive material, but unfortunately most of it is held in the "un-catalogued records interim archive" and is not accessible to independent researchers. Research is therefore confined to the state archives. The above-mentioned investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) are thus one of the most important sources for researching the Graslitz subcamp. They contain numerous witness statements from surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. It should be noted that during their search for witnesses the investigating state attorneys worked closely with the ITS, whose files containing contemporary documents were then still accessible for the investigations. Furthermore, state attorneys assessed materials held by the BA-B in the collection known today as NS4—extensive holdings on the Flossenbürg concentration camp and the second-most-important holdings on the Graslitz subcamp. This was done decades before Western historians developed an interest. There are probably further documents in the Czech archives on the origins of the use of prisoner labor in Graslitz, as proven by plans that have emerged for the Zwodau subcamp. The BA-MA has holdings of war economy authorities regarding the orders and production situation of the LGW. Other, smaller collections have been referred to in the notes.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Werkleiterbesprechung 4.3.1943, "Auszüge aus den Werkleiterbesprechungen," LAB-BPA-SED, FDGB 276, n.p.

2. See LGW Bestelleingang u. Umsatz bis 1943, BA-MA, RL3/4117 P141.

3. See Forderungsnachweis Flossenbürg Nr. Flo 547, LGW Graslitz, August 1944 from September 1, 1944, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2629/67, vol. 3, KL Flossenbürg, p. 776.

4. See the map "Fliegerschäden seit Kriegsbeginn bei S&H und zugeh. Gesellschaften in Gross-Berlin" from April 1944, BA-MA, RL3/4497, Picture 10, as well as Ktb RüIn III [Berlin] I/44, BA-MA, RW 20-3/7, p. 42.

5. See the map "Geplante Verlegungsstellen von S&H und zugeh. Gesellschaften ohne TB/Stand Anfang April 1944," BA-MA, RL3/4497, p. 3.

6. See the letter from the Zwodau subcamp to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, Re.: Abstellung von Häftlingen January 8, 1945, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 2627/67, n.p. [File Flossenbürg NL]; Vernehmungsniederschrift Julia Nim., November 9, 1967, in Ostrava, ZdL, IV410AR-Z 60/67, p. 551f; Aktenvermerk ü. Besprechung bei Dr. Jessen July 7, 1945 betr. LGW, AS-M, 10166.

7. See Norbert Aas, *Sinti und Roma im KZ Flossenbürg und in Seinen Aussenlagern Wolkenburg und Zwodau* (Bayreuth, 2001), p. 36, in particular table 6.

8. See [Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg] Übersicht zum 28.2.1945 über Nationalitäten der weiblichen Häftlinge des Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg nach dem Stande, February 28, 1945, no place, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2629/67, vol. 1, KL Flossenbürg, p. 385.

9. See letter by ITS to ZdL, Re.: Überprüfung des Nebenlagers Rochliz/Sachsen, July 19, 1967, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, n.p.; as well as Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999):268, 271. There are records for at least 877 prisoners on April 13, 1945, since only those able to work were registered. See [notation] ZdL Referat 410, Re: Graslitz, November 18, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z 2531/66, p. 1.

10. See Vernehmung Teresa S., geb. E., August 26, 1968, in Beit Dagan, Israel, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 3248/66, n.p.

11. Aktenvermerk ü. Besprechung bei Hr. Dr. Jessen, July 2, 1945 betr. LGW, AS-M, 10166; Vernehmungsniederschrift [Siemens Anteilungsleiter] Heino Legel in Berlin, September 4, 1962, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2531/66, p. 125; Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg, an die Kommandoführer und Führerinnen der Arbeitslager des K.L. Flossenbürg, Betr: Prämienzahlung, March 9, 1945, LA-B, ARep.231/0.489, p. 12.

12. See Aussage Ruth Gerda Binn. geb. B., ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2531/66, p. 144; Pol.Vernehmung d. Meta Inge Erna Kr., geb. F., July 13, 1962, in Bremen, ZdL, AR-Z 2531/66, p. 60; Poliz. Vernehmung v. Isolde Zi., geb. E., v. July 14, 1962, in Wiesbaden, ZdL, AR-Z 2531/66, p. 62; Aussage Maria Le., geb. Sch., gesch. B., no place [Trier] n.d. [1962], ZdL, AR-Z 25631/66, p. 78 [from ASt-N-F, Js 993a-6/62]; as well as Maria Husemann, "Mein Widerstandskampf gegen die Verbrechen der Hitlerdiktatur," ed. Stadtdekanat Wuppertal, Katholikenrat Wuppertal, and Wilhelm Bettecken (1964; unpub. MSS, 1983).

13. Vernehmung Giesela P., October 11, 1976, in Germersheim, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67, p. 1558; Poliz. Vernehmung

Meta Inge Erna Kr., ZdL, see above; Vernehmung [SS-Aufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, December 15, 1970, in Miltenberg, ZdL, File Ravensbrück "TUV."

14. See Schlussvermerk zum Ermittlungsverfahren NL Rochlitz (KZ Flossenbürg), November 14, 1975, ZdL, IV 410AR3248/66, p. 141.

15. See Vernehmungsniederschrift [SS-Aufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, May 5, 1947, in Ludwigsburg [denazification proceedings], ZdL, File Ravensbrück "TUV." Today the proceedings are usually kept in the responsible state or city archives.

16. See ASt-N-F, 1bJs993 a-b/62 (Graslitz); ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2531/66 (Graslitz); ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67 (Flossenbürg).

17. ZdL, 410 AR-Z 92/75 (Graslitz); ASt-Zwbr, 7Js759/76 (Graslitz).

GRÖDITZ

The Lauchhammer factory Gröditz of the Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke GmbH, which belonged to the Flick concern and which was already employing thousands of foreign slave laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) at its industrial sites, decided relatively late in the war to use concentration camp prisoners—when other sources for augmenting its workforce were exhausted. To do so, the management even circumvented the central office of its own company organization, the Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association, RV), which as late as August 1944 had indicated that member factories should not get in touch with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) directly but contact the SS only via the branch office central office.[1]

The technical director of the Gröditz factory, Dr. Heger, and the man responsible for mechanical engineering at the factory, Erich Weisser, traveled directly to the WVHA in Oranienburg after informing their corporate headquarters in Berlin. As a result of the meeting, a Wehrmacht Hauptmann came to Gröditz shortly thereafter and, after visiting the future production site and accommodations of the concentration camp prisoners to be employed, discussed with Heger and Weisser the details of surveillance, food, and collaboration between the factory and SS camp leadership.

Toward the end of the summer of 1944, Heger and Weisser traveled to Flossenbürg. Since they did not find enough prisoners there who met their requirements, they traveled on to Dachau and chose suitable prisoners there.[2]

On September 30, 1944, the first transport with 300 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp arrived in Gröditz.[3] More transports reached Gröditz on November 17, 1944, and December 22, 1944.[4] In February 1945, another transport came with 300 Jewish men from Mauthausen and the Gusen subcamp, where an Obermeister from Gröditz had selected them.[5] Arriving with them were SS men and navy soldiers who had already guarded these Jewish prisoners at the Laurahütte subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they had been employed manufacturing guns for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG.[6]

On January 31, 1945, there were 605 prisoners in the Gröditz detail.[7] By February 28, 1945, their number had sunk to 466, due to many deaths and transports of those unable to work to the Flossenbürg main camp and to Bergen-Belsen, but then increased with the addition of more prisoners to 769 by March 31, 1945.[8]

The prisoner detail was composed of members of several nationalities, with the Poles, French, Soviets, and Italians being the biggest groups. But Belgians, Germans, Croatians, Luxembourgers, Dutch, and Czechs were also at the Gröditz camp.

In March 1945, typhus fever, which had been brought in with the Mauthausen transport, claimed many victims. The infirmary was overcrowded with the terminally ill.[9] The dead from this epidemic were thrown naked into massive common graves, located in the immediate vicinity of the gun production plant where the prisoners worked and slept. The clothes of the dead were then handed out to surviving prisoners.[10] The leader of the Gröditz subcamp was of the opinion that "no concentration camp prisoner may enter the infirmary without my approval and if he does not have a fever of more than forty degrees [Celsius; 104 degrees Fahrenheit]."[11] A German assembly manager, to whom concentration camp prisoners were subordinated with regard to work, released several of the sick from work. Contrary to his release, however, these prisoners were assigned to work again after 20 minutes, as they had been driven back to their workstations with beatings.[12] A young French prisoner, who had studied medicine for a few semesters, tried to help the sick. He endeavored, but often in vain, as he did not have any medical aid available.[13] The company doctor did not pay much attention to the sick. He even said "that there is not enough medicine for the soldiers" and "thus no concentration camp prisoner should be treated with this medicine."[14]

Thus between March 15 and April 15, 1945, at least 148 people died, a fourth of all employed prisoners in the Gröditz subcamp, mostly of typhus fever. For April 2, 1945, alone, the strength and death reports of the Flossenbürg concentration camp cite 21 dead at Gröditz.[15] Historian Klaus Drobisch writes that "in view of this fact . . . the claim by the company doctor in his defense testimony that he and the company leadership did everything for the prisoners and thus the level of sickness was 'not unusually bad' is an insolent lie."[16]

The prisoners were housed in the eastern side aisle of the gun production hall on the second floor under the roof. The sleeping room was tubelike, 100 meters (328 feet) long, and at the same time an eating and washroom. A section was partitioned off as an infirmary. The prisoners slept on metal beds with bare springs. At the beginning there was a cover for every two prisoners, but later, not even that. French prisoner Vladimir Rittenberg, who had been accustomed to concentration camp food for years, judged the rations at Gröditz to be even poorer than those at Auschwitz and in Gusen. Belgian Fernand Travers also explained that what was being served to the prisoners at Gröditz was not food but rather pig feed.[17]

All prisoners whose work performance did not meet the expectations of the superiors were recommended for punishment or handed over to the SS by direct demand of those responsible at the gun production facility.[18] The principle of "extermination through work" had drastic effects on the prisoners at Gröditz.

The camp leader was SS-Obersturmführer Köhrmann.[19] Six SS-Unterführer and 57 SS guards (later 60) reported to him.[20] In addition, older navy soldiers under the leadership of an Obermaat belonged to the external camp guard. German prisoner Valentin Kieser was camp elder.

After all POWs and almost all slave laborers had already been transported out of Gröditz, the company manager Weisser asked the deputy camp leader on April 17, 1945, what orders had been received for evacuating the concentration camp prisoners. Evidently Heinrich Himmler's order from April 14, 1945, had not reached the camp at Gröditz, for the SS-Führer answered Weisser "that he didn't know what he should do either, he didn't have contact anymore with the Flossenbürg main camp and what I would then advise him."[21] Weisser made a quick phone call to the Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader, HSSPF) in Dresden and explained the situation to him. Only a few hours later, two SS-Führer from Dresden were in Gröditz and, in the presence of the office of Weisser, gave the deputy camp leader the order to evacuate those fit for transport and shoot the sick. Weisser merely demanded that the shootings not take place on factory premises and made the factory's trucks available. He also spoke with other offices in order to procure more vehicles for transporting prisoners unable to march.[22]

As a result, 135 selected prisoners considered unfit to march, 17 sick prisoners from the "mercy block," and over 30 sick prisoners from the "typhus fever block" were loaded onto the vehicles. On April 17, 1945, the shooting of 184 prisoners was carried out in the sandpits in the Koselitz community not far from the factory. On the evening of April 17, 1945, the Wehrmacht Standortälteste Grossenhain, who had provided vehicles for the transport, reported to Heger that approximately 200 prisoners from the factory had been shot and buried in a gravel pit near Wülknitz. Heger asked Weisser about it, who pretended not to know and had the camp leader come. He confirmed the report with the cynical words: "It is not two hundred, but only 170, and they are also not badly buried." This information evidently calmed Heger, and he closed his file notes with the sentence: "Herewith I expressly establish that neither the management nor one of our employees who had the task of looking after the workforce had any knowledge of the event and that we must reject any responsibility."[23]

The evacuation march of the other prisoners from the Gröditz subcamp ended for some in Leitmeritz (Litoměřice), where 325 prisoners were registered; for the Jewish prisoners the destination was the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto, where the arrival of 46 prisoners was recorded.[24]

The crimes committed against the concentration camp prisoners in the Gröditz outside detail formed part of the trial at Nürnberg against the top people of the Flick concern. Neither Heger nor Weisser was convicted there.

SOURCES Klaus Drobisch writes about this camp in his dissertation "Studien zur Geschichte der faschistischen Konzentrationslager 1933/34" (Ph.D. diss., Akademie der Wissenschaft in der DDR, Berlin [East], 1987).

Records relevant to this camp can be found in NMT, Case V, *USA v. Friedrich Flick, et al.*; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; and BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 2532/66.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Flick-Prozess, Dok. NI-5598, Rundschreiben der Reichsvereinigung Eisen (RV Eisen), Aussenstelle Mitte, August 28, 1944.
2. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, 6853, interrogation of Weisser.
3. AG-D.
4. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 660, Statement from the former Belgian prisoner at Gröditz, Fernand Travers.
5. Sta. Hannover, 11 Ks 3/76, Bd. 9, p. 1660, Statement from the former prisoner Abraham K. from October 9, 1975.
6. Flick-Prozess, protocol of the questioning of the former French prisoner Vladimir Rittenberg, vol. 2, pp. 538–539.
7. ITS, Hist. Abt, Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
8. Ibid., B1 70/71, pp. 86–87.
9. Flick-Prozess, questioning of Rittenberg, p. 556.
10. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 687, statement by Travers.
11. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 556, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
12. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 2389, statement by the assembly manager Brambusch.
13. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 557, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
14. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 556, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
15. BA-B, Film No. 41820, Picture No. 787–791.
16. Klaus Drobisch, "Studien zur Geschichte der faschistischen Konzentrationslager 1933/34" (Ph.D. diss., Akademie der Wissenschaft in der DDR, Berlin [East], 1987), p. 255; Flick-Prozess, Burkart Document No. 855, testimony given under oath by the Gröditz company doctor Dr. Mühling from July 20, 1947.
17. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 558, statement by Rittenberg; pp. 682–683, statement by Travers.
18. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 553, statement by Rittenberg.
19. BA-B, Film No. 14430, p. 1264.
20. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
21. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 6890, statement by Weisser.
22. Ibid. The HSSPFs were given the task by Himmler to evacuate the concentration camps. See IMT, Document 053-L, Befehl des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Polen, July 20, 1944.
23. Flick-Prozess, Document Burkart, No. 828, Aktennotiz Dr. Hegers, April 18, 1945.

24. Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tabor v. Litoměřicích a jeho vězňově Terezín 1994" (Leitmeritz concentration camp and its prisoners. Conference report from the international conference at Terezín, November 15–17, 1994), p. 24.

GUNDELSDORF (WITH KNELLENDORF)

The Gundelsdorf subcamp near Kronach formally came into existence on September 12, 1944. Three days later, 100 Polish Jewish women arrived in Gundelsdorf from a work detachment for women at the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. They had worked at the Air Intelligence Instrument Camp 1 (Luftnachrichtengerätelager) in Military District VIII. After this detail was transferred to Gundelsdorf, the women were first taken to Auschwitz and from there to Gundelsdorf.[1] The detachment leader of the camp both at Plaszow and at Gundelsdorf was a Luftwaffe Hauptmann, Friedrich Fischer. Most of the prisoners were young women and girls; the youngest of them was 15. They were supervised by female SS guards. The first task for the prisoners was to complete the construction of accommodation barracks next to the brickyard "Marie." Later they were engaged in heavy physical labor, loading and unloading trains. The prisoners had to suffer the cold, lack of food, and physical abuse by the camp administration. However, there were no proven deaths while the women were in Gundelsdorf.

In September 1944, a clothing factory was relocated from Erkelenz to Knellendorf. From December 11, 1944, onward, about 20 female prisoners worked in the old school in Knellendorf, an outside detail of the Gundelsdorf subcamp. They sewed uniforms for the Wehrmacht but were still accommodated in the subcamp's barracks about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away in Gundelsdorf.

As of November 4, 1944, there was also a small detachment of male prisoners in Gundelsdorf who were to replace the male prisoners still based in Plaszow working at the Luftnachrichtengerätelager but who had not been taken to Gundelsdorf. However, most of the men had been transported to Gundelsdorf from the Auschwitz concentration camp and were often so weak that they could only remain in Gundelsdorf for a few weeks and were then transferred to the Flossenbürg main camp. At least 21 of the Gundelsdorf male prisoners are recorded in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books). No less than 18 died in the concentration camp, only 2 of them in Gundelsdorf itself, the rest after having been transported back to the main camp.[2]

In January, a prisoner nurse from the Neurohlau subcamp arrived to care for the female prisoners in Gundelsdorf, thus increasing their number to 101. On February 6, 1945, the SS transported 66 women from Gundelsdorf north to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. This meant a six-day rail journey without bread and water, so that the women arrived at Ravensbrück starving and at the end of their physical strength. From Ravensbrück the women were sent on death marches.[3] On February 27, 1945, another 20 women were sent to the Flossenbürg subcamp Zwodau, where together with female prisoners from the Helmbrechts subcamp they were sent on a death march toward the south. The last written reference to the subcamp is dated April 13, 1945, and refers to 15 female prisoners in Gundelsdorf, supervised by a female guard.

The events in the Gundelsdorf subcamp were the subject of proceedings before the Coburg regional court in 1950. The detachment leader of the subcamp and his deputy received minor sentences for inflicting bodily injury on prisoners.[4]

SOURCES Members of the Oberfranken Evangelical Youth have worked on the Flossenbürg subcamps as part of a work group. The Kronach Diocese has published the Evangelical Youth's brochure on Gundelsdorf, Evangelische Jugend im Dekanat Kronach, ed., *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf: Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Kronach, 2000), which provides a good overview of the history of the subcamp.

In the Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern (NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537), the names of the Gundelsdorf prisoners are also listed; in the BA-B, there are a few requests and work allocations that provide evidence for the Gundelsdorf subcamp. The court proceedings of the postwar years with witness accounts are documented in the ZdL (IV 410 AR 3009/66), now BA-L.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/Fl 393/2 (Forderungsnachweis September 1944); BA-B, Film Nr. S 14430 (Arbeitseinteilung 13.4.1945); Evangelische Jugend im Dekanat Kronach, ed., *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf: Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Kronach, 2000), p. 15.
2. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Nummernbüchern—KZ Flossenbürg). The information in *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf*, p. 52, is only partially correct.
3. *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf*, p. 44.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3009/66.

HAINICHEN

The formation of a subcamp outside the Flossenbürg concentration camp at the Framo-Werke GmbH in Hainichen was connected with a plan to expand the manufacturing of parts and equipment at the factory for several armament programs. The company owner himself was the manager of the W8 group and had four select committees of the weapons main committee of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production under his control.[1]

On September 8, 1944, a first transport of prisoners arrived at Hainichen with 155 Polish Jewish women and girls. After the Łódź ghetto had been cleared, these prisoners were brought to Auschwitz, selected for work, and after three weeks were chosen to work in Hainichen.[2] They were assigned the registration numbers 53267 through 53422 by the commander at Flossenbürg. On October 11, 1944, a second

transport arrived at Hainichen with 335 Hungarian, 2 German, 2 Romanian, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Dutch, and 1 stateless Jewish women.[3] They received the registration numbers 52924 through 53264. In May 1944 the SS had deported the Hungarian women to Auschwitz from northern Transylvania and the Carpathian Ukraine. There, the younger women and girls were often separated from their parents and other family members. Hungarian Sara R. stated: "I was deported from the Uzschorod ghetto sometime in May 1944. . . . We arrived on the day before the Shawuoth festival. Immediately after our arrival we passed through a selection that Dr. Mengele, who I later saw repeatedly, directed. During the selection my mother and my two-and-a-half-year-old brother were designated for death by gas. With my sister Hilda . . . and Rosa, who Mengele later selected for death, I went to camp section 'C' at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp."[4]

On April 5, 1945, another addition of seven Czech and Slovakian women to Hainichen transported from Auschwitz is recorded in SS documents.

The age composition of the Hainichen subcamp prisoners was as follows: 1 born before 1900; 69 born between 1900 and 1909; 182 born between 1910 and 1919; 142 born between 1920 and 1924; 103 born between 1925 and 1930; and 3 with no information.

The women at Hainichen were housed in a multistory building. On the first floor there was the sleeping room for the Poles, a doctors' room for the prisoner doctors, an infirmary, and an isolation room. The Hungarians had their sleeping and day rooms on both of the upper floors, and the female SS guards were situated on every floor.[5] Former prisoners who were questioned agreed unanimously that the camp at Hainichen offered substantially better conditions than Auschwitz. It was clean and had washing facilities, which, however, the women could only use at night due to the supervisory SS female guard's ban on daytime washing. Despite the ban, they did it when the SS female guards were not present. Cleanliness was extremely important for them.[6]

Rosalia I. wrote about the medical care: "For work-related injuries the female prisoners were treated at the infirmary of the factory. My finger was also operated on in the factory, and the treatment was correct. I remember two women dying in the infirmary. A fellow sufferer from Poland died from kidney disease; she did not receive any treatment because the supervisory female guard declared her a malingerer."[7] This death infuriated the women, as they had witnessed the abuse of Pole Edzia Feinowa by the supervisory female guard. Sonja P. stated: "When Feinowa was in the factory her foreman noticed her condition and gave her light work which she could perform while sitting. The supervisory female guard who made a habit of coming to the work site saw her working that way and demanded that Feinowa go with her to the camp. When we returned to the camp from the work shift . . . we saw the supervisory female guard hitting and kicking her. The camp doctor, Dr. Rita Smrcka from Bohemia, was not allowed to treat Feinowa. . . . The doctor also did not have any medicine or dressing."[8] Feinowa died a few days later.

SS documents record the deaths of four prisoners. Survivor reports list three other deaths in which the supervisory female guard and an SS guard were implicated. Regarding the work assignment, Sonja P. reported: "We had to work at Framo-Werke—I was trained there to be a master welder. We had to work very intensely—in two work shifts at twelve hours each. We walked to work—it was a two kilometer (one and a quarter mile) journey. . . . Every group was accompanied by an SS female guard, who was always armed with a gun."[9]

The regulations for calculating the work of the prisoners are found in the official directives: "Thus, the total work time per prisoner has to be proven with absolutely no interruptions in an unambiguous manner with evidence and exact information pertaining to control numbers, name, quantity produced, or earned time units, etc."[10] Another reference reads: "The fixed daily rate we have to pay is 4 Reichsmarks (RM),—. If one assumes an average workday of ten hours, an hourly wage of .40 RM results, which applies to every female Jewish prisoner without regard to their age. Every wage hour is to be valued at this rate. The settlement factor, which is to be credited on the wage bill, is fixed for these prisoners at 6.4 RM for every one hundred time units, which will be paid for German women ninteen and older. If this rate does not result in a net payment, this crediting factor is still absolutely justified, for we also pay premiums and have a number of additional costs to cover, for example, the entire camp maintenance."[11]

For the month of December 1944, the Flossenbürg administration claimed from Framo-Werke 10,395 full days worked at the rate of 4 RM per prisoner per day and 474 half days worked at the rate of 2 RM per prisoner per day, which altogether amounted to 42,526 RM. After deducting the cost of prisoner rations that the factory had procured, amounting to 10,479.80 RM, 32,048.20 RM were to be paid into the Flossenbürg account at the Reichsbank branch in Weiden.[12] With these official directives, the factory management admitted its responsibility for the slave driving of the prisoners at work (piecework), as well as their starvation of the women with extremely meager rations.

SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Loh was the camp leader (Lagerführer), about whom several women testified that he did not behave inhumanely toward them. However, he "did not have the situation at the camp under control. He was afraid of the supervisory female guard."[13] Ten SS guards reported to him, among whom were several ethnic Germans that the SS had recruited from the Hungarian and Romanian Banat region.

Supervisory SS female guard Gerda Becker determined the internal running of the camp; she was in charge of 25 female guards, some of whom had come with the women from Auschwitz but most of whom had been recruited in Hainichen and the surrounding area. The survivors were unanimous in their verdict of the supervisory guard. Hungarian Eva G. expressed this as follows: "The female camp leader was the

demon of the camp. . . . She did worse things than her orders allowed. If something bad happened to the prisoners one could be sure that she was behind it. She was also the only one who regularly beat prisoners."[14] Another Hungarian inmate said about the head guard: "She was the terror of the camp. Those of us prisoners who spoke Hungarian called her *Halül* (Hungarian for death). . . . During the winter, without proper shoes and warm underwear, many of us suffered from cystitis and had to urinate frequently. The supervisory female guard issued the order that we could only go to the bathrooms in groups and at specific times. This was in effect for the work site. The women who developed cramps from the irritation relieved themselves on the work site in buckets. . . . As punishment, the entire work unit had their lunch taken away."[15]

In April 1945, the women were at first evacuated on foot in the direction of Freiberg and from there transported on a several days' journey in open freight cars toward Leitmeritz (Litoměřice). At Aussig (Usti n.L.) two women attempted to escape during a bombardment. The SS caught them again but did not shoot them. As no rations were distributed, the guards let the women pull up weeds or gather and cook plant remains from adjacent fields during stops.

About their liberation, Rosalia I. reported: "We then traveled to a city that was about five kilometers (three miles) away from Theresienstadt [Leitmeritz], and went to Theresienstadt on foot. I saw many dead bodies in front of the camp gate at Theresienstadt. I lost consciousness and awoke in the camp. The camp leader had accompanied us to the camp gate. . . . I was liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in Theresienstadt. I stayed in the camp until August 15, 1945, working there as a nurse with those sick with typhus."[16]

Several women from the Hainichen subcamp, of which 41 were not registered upon their arrival at the Theresienstadt ghetto, possibly because they had become victims of the evacuation transport, died of typhus or exhaustion after liberation, while still in Theresienstadt. Historian Marek Poloncarz reported that 484 women registered at Theresienstadt were reported to have come from the Hainichen subcamp.[17] In fact, only 466 of these prisoners belonged to the Hainichen subcamp.

After the war, Lagerführer Loh was investigated and brought before court along with other SS members. In the Flossenbürg Trial, a U.S. military tribunal sentenced him to death but then commuted the sentence to life in prison. Hans-Werner R., manager of Framo-Werke, was imprisoned by Soviet authorities after the war and committed to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) special camp Tost near Gleiwitz (Gliwice) in Poland, where he presumably died from dysentery and hunger in September 1945.[18]

SOURCES On the Hainichen subcamp prisoners admitted to Theresienstadt, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255. The trial of Hainichen's camp leader is briefly discussed in Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflikt*, Teil A, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna, 1979), 2: 488n.139.

Relevant records may be found in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3007/66; IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I and II; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-BH.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-BH, letter of Framo-Werke's company manager to the armaments detachment on February 1, 1944.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 398, statement by Sonja P. (prisoner no. 53302) before Israeli investigating authorities.
3. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 323, statement by Rosalia I. (prisoner no. 53032) before Israeli investigating authorities.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 297, statement by Blanka F. (Sara R.: prisoner no. 52979).
5. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I, pp. 138–140, Sketches of the camp that the former camp leader Loh drew during his questioning.
6. Towa Karny, communication to the author from November 2, 2000.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 324, statement by Rosalia I.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 399, statement by Sonja P.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 398, statement by Sonja P.
10. Ba-VEB-BH, Framo-Werke Directive No. 18 from 1.10.1944, p. 1.
11. Ba-VEB-BH, Framo-Werke Directive No. 19 from 1.10.1944, p. 1.
12. BA-B, Film 4053, Auf.-No. 701, Forderungsnachweis No. 798 des KZ Flossenbürg an die Framo-Werke Hainichen.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 297, statement by Blanka F.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I, p. 123, statement by Eva G. (prisoner no. 52939) before the General Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 298, statement by Blanka F.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 325, statement by Rosalia I.
17. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255.
18. Communication to the author from Sybille Krägel from June 3, 1995.

HAPPURG

Near Happurg, a small town in the vicinity of Hersbuck near Nürnberg, there were plans to dig a system of tunnels into a mountain from mid-1944 so that Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) could produce airplane engines underground, safe from Allied air raids. The project was part of an attempt by the German war command to produce fighter planes that

could defend Germany from Allied bombers. A special Fighter Staff (Jägerstab) was formed that was supposed to work with various ministries of the German Reich to organize fast and effective production of aircraft. As in many other locations, the SS made large numbers of concentration camp prisoners available for the project—in Happurg the prisoners came from the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

At first, a prison camp was established in Happurg itself in May 1944. From August 1944 the prisoners were held in a new subcamp at Hersbruck.

On May 17, 1944, 147 prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp arrived in Happurg by truck and were accommodated in the hall of the Hotel Schwarzer Adler. Until the end of May, the prisoners had to construct a makeshift camp in a barn near the Haberstumpf mill.[1] The SS eventually accommodated some 500 to 700 prisoners there for a few months. The living conditions for the prisoners were very poor. Later witness statements mention nightly screams, torture, deaths, and executions. It is claimed that there were between 10 and 15 deaths in Happurg.[2] There is also a record of at least one successful escape attempt.

The whole town of Happurg was dramatically changed by the massive underground relocation project: civilian workers, forced laborers, SS men, secretaries, engineers, and miners required accommodation in town, and office space had to be created for the organization of the construction project. As a result, just about all the townspeople came in contact with those involved in the construction project, whether directly or indirectly. Friendships were made, and marriages took place, too. The construction project, located on a slope above the town, completely changed the entire valley—there were railway tracks, a building yard, cable cars, and thousands of people in the tunnels and right in front of them. The inhabitants of Happurg (and later of Hersbruck) could see the prisoners every day as they marched to work and later returned to the camp.

Construction of the tunnels was performed not only by concentration camp prisoners but also by forced laborers, by detainees held by the SS and police units, and by civilian workers. The initial accommodation of the concentration camp prisoners in Happurg, the Hotel Schwarzer Adler, was used as a forced labor camp after the prisoners were transferred to the barn at Haberstumpf. From August 1944, all concentration camp prisoners were no longer held in Happurg but in the newly erected subcamp at Hersbruck. The mill at Haberstumpf where the prisoners had previously been housed was now used as a temporary accommodation for detainees held by the SS and police while they had to construct their own penal camp with stone barracks between Happurg and Förrenbach, a neighboring town.

The Happurg subcamp was the beginning of a construction project that in the few months between May 1944 and April 1945 cost about 4,000 concentration camp prisoners their lives. Gradually, the project at Happurg turned into a camp landscape with various kinds of prisoners and civilian workers. However, the project was mainly carried out by concentration camp prisoners who, in contrast to the forced laborers and SS and police detainees, had to live and work under such murderous conditions that nearly half the concentration camp prisoners in Happurg and Hersbruck did not survive those few months in 1944–1945.

SOURCES Gerhard Faul's *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003) is the first account to provide a detailed description of the camp landscape around Happurg and its subcamp, the precursor to the Hersbruck subcamp, but regretfully without any reference to sources or a scientific apparatus. Sociologist Elmer Luchterhand published a number of interesting witness statements that he obtained as an American officer in 1945 when he was present at the Hersbruck subcamp's liberation: "Das KZ in der Kleinstadt: Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 435–454. The Happurg subcamp is also included in two essays by Alexander Schmidt: "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck und seine Wahrnehmung in der Region Nürnberg nach 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus: Gedenkstättenarbeit in Bayern*, ed. BLZ-PBA (Munich, 2000), pp. 150–162; and"Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck: Zur Geschichte des grössten Aussenlagers des KZ Flossenbürg in Bayern," *DaHe* 20 (2004).

The most important archival sources on the Happurg subcamp (and above all the Hersbruck subcamp) are the files from the U.S. Army's second Dachau Trial—case 000-50-46, original files in NARA; filmed copies in BHStA-(M)—and the trial files from the Nuremberg Hersbruck trial in 1950—StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2367. Elmer Luchterhand's estate (BCL, Elmer Gustav Luchterhand Papers) contains research material and interviews with contemporary witnesses for both subcamps, Happurg and Hersbruck.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See BA-B, NS 4, 393/1, p. 845; StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 Ia, pp. 29r–30 (witness statement by prisoner Felix Marszalek); Elmer Luchterhand, "KZ in der Kleinstadt": Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 437–439 (interview with Elli E. regarding accommodation at the Hotel Schwarzer Adler).

2. See StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 (investigations by German judicial authorities with numerous witness accounts).

HELMBRECHTS

On July 19, 1944, 179 female prisoners and a few female guards from the Ravensbrück concentration camp arrived in Helmrechts, where they established a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women. The male guards

came from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. SS-Unterscharführer Alois Dörr was detachment leader. In June 1944, the Nürnberg armaments manufacturer Kabel und Metallwerke (Cable and Metal Works) Neumeyer had approached the Flossenbürg concentration camp with a request for prisoners since it had relocated part of its production facilities, which had been heavily hit in the air war, from Nürnberg to a factory building in Helmbrechts owned by the textile enterprise Witt (Weiden).[1]

From September 1, 1944, the women's subcamp at Helmbrechts was administered by the Flossenbürg concentration camp.[2] Helmbrechts thus became one of 25 Flossenbürg subcamps for women. The camp on the southwest side of Kulmbacher Strasse was ready for occupancy in August 1944 and consisted of 11 wooden barracks, 4 of which were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. Initially, 3 wooden barracks were filled with prisoners, and another served as an infirmary where untrained prisoners worked as nurses and a Russian female doctor, a prisoner herself, provisionally took care of the sick. The roll-call square was located between the prisoners' barracks and the infirmary.

By April 19, 1945, four other transports with about 500 female non-Jewish prisoners had arrived in Helmbrechts from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The prisoners had been given nothing to eat on their three-day journey and were poorly clothed. Many of them fell ill during the transport. The living conditions for these prisoners, mostly from Poland, the Soviet Union, and the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, were extreme to catastrophic. The lack of food, poor hygienic conditions, 12-hour work shifts with only one longer break, and beatings and humiliation at work were all part of everyday life in the Helmbrechts subcamp and the branch factory of Kabel-und Metallwerke Neumeyer. Admittedly, the company's administration protested against the mistreatment of prisoners since, after all, they wanted to achieve their production targets.

However, this did not alter the camp terror of the female guards and camp leader Dörr. Beatings with rubber tubes were common; the prisoners were not allowed to wash their clothes and could only wash themselves once every two months with a piece of poor-quality soap. Two prisoners who had escaped from the factory premises were caught one day later and hanged in the Flossenbürg main camp. Until they were caught, all prisoners were forced to stand in the roll-call square without food.[3] This episode repeated itself on February 25, 1945, when there was another escape attempt that included the Russian female doctor. After two of the three escapees had been caught, they were beaten in front of the eyes of their fellow prisoners until they lay lifeless in the roll-call square. The doctor died that same night. These events were also observed by a neighboring site outside the camp. In addition, by March 1945, between 10 and 20 non-Jewish prisoners had died in Helmbrechts.

The conditions in the Helmbrechts subcamp abruptly changed on March 6, 1945, with the arrival of 621 Jewish women and girls from the Silesian subcamp Grünberg of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. They had had to cover the distance to Helmbrechts on foot, beginning at the end of January 1945. After their deportation to Auschwitz, the Jewish women from Hungary had already marched from there to Schlesiersee, excavated tank ditches, and been driven on foot to the Grünberg subcamp. Here they remained for only one night and eventually arrived in Helmbrechts utterly weakened, undernourished, and in an extremely critical state of health. Originally, the trek had consisted of about 1,000 women and girls; with the prisoners from Grünberg, the numbers rose to 1,300. Some 200 women who could no longer walk were transported by the SS to the Zwodau subcamp. Of the others, only 621 arrived in Helmbrechts. The remainder had either collapsed or been beaten or shot to death on the way.[4]

In Helmbrechts the camp administration put the Jewish prisoners in the two rear barracks. There were no places to sleep, only some straw on the ground. Seriously ill prisoners were placed in one corner of the barracks where there were bunk beds, but there was practically no medical care even though the SS designated this area as the "Jewish sickbay." Medicine and new prisoner clothes that were available were not handed out to the Jewish women. Empty barracks were not used despite the catastrophic overcrowding. The Jewish women were given "Jewish soup," a particularly poor form of food; were not put to work in the Neumeyer armaments factory; and remained locked up in the camp. Until the camp was evacuated on April 13, 1944, between 40 and 50 of the Jewish women died during their one-month stay in Helmbrechts—a death rate that fundamentally contrasted that of the non-Jewish prisoners.

The murderous living conditions that affected above all the Jewish women and girls continued on the death march from Helmbrechts along the border of the German Reich and the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The non-Jewish prisoners were given new clothes, shoes, and a little food before the march and were thus able to increase their chances of survival. The Jewish women were excluded from these privileges, had to march at the rear of the trek, and slimmed down to skeletons within a short period of time. From the Zwodau subcamp—the initial goal of the march—the prisoners had to continue marching south. Many Jewish women from the Zwodau camp were taken along; some non-Jewish prisoners were left behind there. Now the march consisted of about 700 Jewish women, a little more than 20 non-Jews, and the guards. All in all, at least 129 women died from exhaustion, illness, and the cold during the last stage of the death march to its final destination Prachatitz. At least 49 were murdered by the guards.[5] Around 100 women who were sick and could no longer walk were left behind in Volary (Wallern), the second-to-last stop on the death march; 20 of them died before they were liberated by the Americans.

Until 1947, American judicial authorities investigated events in Helmbrechts without prosecuting anyone. It was only in 1969 that the Hof District Court sentenced camp leader Alois Dörr to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Helmbrechts Münchberg high school student Klaus Rauh wrote a detailed article on the Helmbrechts subcamp in the mid-1990s. The article was published much later as "Helmbrechts—Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg 1944–1945," *MC* 4 (2003): 117–149, and remained, for a long time, the only research work on the subject. Rauh thoroughly analyzed the LG Hof files. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen used the same sources, focusing primarily on the death march, in *Hitlers willige Vollstrecker: Ganz gewöhnliche Deutsche und der Holocaust* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 388–416. On the transfer of this subcamp from Ravensbrück to Flossenbürg, see Ino Arndt, "Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg (Stuttgart, 1970).

The most important source on the Helmbrechts subcamp and the death march along the Bavarian-Bohemian border are the files of the trial against Alois Dörr at LG Hof (Js 1325/62). They include numerous witness statements and photographs.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Klaus Rauh, "Helmbrechts—Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg 1944–1945," MC 4 (2003): 117, citing Sta. Hof, Supplementary File A, p. 55.
2. Ino Arndt, "Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 117.
3. Rauh, "Helmbrechts," p. 121.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. Ibid., p. 148.

HERSBRUCK

In 1944–1945, the Hersbruck subcamp held several thousand prisoners who were used to dig a system of tunnels into a mountain close to the nearby town of Happurg. There, the Bayerischen Motoren Werke (BMW) intended to manufacture airplane engines for fighter aircraft under the code name "Dogger." However, the tunnels were only partially completed, and nothing was actually produced. Only the Osram Company transferred machines from the Leitmeritz subcamp (Litoměřice) to Happurg in 1945.

The first 147 prisoners, who arrived in Happurg by truck on May 17, 1944, were accommodated in the hall of a hotel at first and later in a temporary camp near a barn in Happurg.[1] Probably by July 26, 1944, all the concentration camp prisoners were no longer held in Happurg but in the newly constructed Hersbruck subcamp.[2] The SS had the subcamp constructed next to the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) barracks, which later became the city of Hersbruck's tax and revenue office.[3] The concentration camp site thus lay on the outskirts of Hersbruck. The camp towers could be seen from the local open-air swimming pool, the Strudelbad. According to priest Hans-Friedrich Lenz, who as a member of the Luftwaffe had been assigned to the SS to be a guard at the camp, it consisted of "fifteen overcrowded accommodation barracks and the four overcrowded barracks of the infirmary and the 'mercy block.' "[4] In addition, there were the camp office, kitchen buildings, toilets, the mortuary, and roll-call square. An aerial photo from 1945 shows a few additional barracks.[5]

The Dogger construction project used not only concentration camp prisoners but also forced laborers, SS and police detainees, and civilian workers. For all of these people, accommodations and camps were set up in Happurg and the surrounding area. In mid-August 1944 there were about 1,900 prisoners in the Hersbruck subcamp, the center of the camp landscape surrounding the Dogger construction project. The number of concentration camp prisoners rose steadily in the eight months of the Hersbruck subcamp's existence, as its strength reports show. On December 28, 1944, there were 2,754 prisoners in the camp;[6] on February 1, 1945, 4,028 prisoners; on February 28, 1945, 5,863; on March 31, 1945, 4,970; and finally, on April 13, 1945, there were 4,767 registered prisoners. Thus, there were times when there were almost 6,000 prisoners in the Hersbruck subcamp at once.[7] However, with up to 30 people dying each day from the conditions in the camp, from execution, hunger, or brutal violence of the SS guards or camp Kapos, the total number of prisoners at approximately 9,000 to 9,500 people was considerably higher.[8] Transports with prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Auschwitz, and other camps.

The detachment leaders at the Hersbruck subcamp were, in succession, SS-Hauptsturmführer Emil Fügner, Heinrich Forster (who disappeared after 1945), and Ludwig Schwarz. Because the project, in part, served air force armament, some of the guards were transferred from the Luftwaffe to the SS.

The camp elder was Martin Humm, considered a criminal prisoner. He was sentenced to death by a U.S. military court; later he was pardoned and released from prison in 1957.[9] There were prisoners from 21 nations in the Hersbruck subcamp, including many Hungarian Jews. The camp on Amberger Strasse was overcrowded and had a completely inadequate, improvised infrastructure. Morass and the poor disposal of feces promoted illnesses of all types. Inside the tunnels, the work detachments were constantly affected by accidents because of inadequate safety measures. Outside the tunnels, the prisoners suffered because of weather conditions and the heavy physical labor involved in building railways and transporting building materials. Thus, the extreme conditions in the camp and at work inside and outside the tunnels cost the lives of about 4,000 to 4,500 concentration camp prisoners in the few months of the Hersbruck subcamp's existence between May 1944 and April 1945. This means nearly every other prisoner in the camp did not survive the winter of 1944–1945. According to entries in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books), which are incomplete, 39 prisoners successfully escaped. Only 4 releases are documented. Because of the many dead, the SS established its own crematorium. Corpses of prisoners were also burned in the open air at the end of 1944.

The Hersbruck subcamp was evacuated in April 1945. A transport train with sick prisoners left Hersbruck in the direction of Dachau, and five columns set out on foot on a death march. Some of the prisoners were freed by the U.S. Army on the way to Dachau; others were forced to march from Dachau in the direction of the Alps before they were liberated. About 500 prisoners were able to escape during the marches, and 300 died or were killed.

There are a number of Hersbruck survivors who became prominent after 1945. Some of them wrote about their time in the camp. They include author Bernt Engelmann; the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) politician from North Rhine Westphalia, Werner Jakobi; sculptor and professor of literature Vittore Bocchetta; author Janusz Krasiński; Italian resistance fighter Teresio Olivelli; artist Georg Hans Trapp; and Hungarian-born Bernhard Teitelbaum.

In the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial of 1946–1947, SS men and prisoner-functionaries were put on trial. In the Nürnberg Hersbruck Trial of 1950, other perpetrators as well as miners and members of the construction administration were tried. Most received light sentences or were pardoned or acquitted. Only the last detachment leader, Ludwig Schwarz, was executed.

SOURCES Gerhard Faul's book *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003) is the first to depict the camp landscape around Happurg and the Happurg subcamp as the precursor to the Hersbruck subcamp, but unfortunately it is without source references or a scientific apparatus. Two essays that also deal with the Happurg subcamp are Alexander Schmidt, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck und seine Wahrnehmung in der Region Nürnberg nach 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus: Gedenkstättenarbeit in Bayern*, ed. BLZ-BPA (Munich, 2000), pp. 150–162; and Schmidt, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck. Zur Geschichte des grössten Aussenlagers des KZ Flossenbürg in Bayern," *DaHe* 20 (2004).

The most important sources on the Happurg subcamp (above all the Hersbruck subcamp) are the files of the U.S. Army's Dachau Trial (cases 000-50-46 and 000-50-46-1). The original documents are located in the NARA; film copies are held at the BHStA-(M). Also important are the trial files from the Nürnberg Hersbruck Trials in 1950 (StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2367). The estate of Elmer Luchterhand (BCL, Elmer Gustav Luchterhand Papers) contains research material and eyewitness accounts on the Happurg and Hersbruck subcamps. An important source on life inside the camp is Hans-Friedrich Lenz's book *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer, wie kommen Sie zur SS?—Bericht eines Pfarrers der Bekennenden Kirche über seine Erlebnisse im Kirchenkampf und als SS-Oberscharführer im Konzentrationslager Hersbruck* (Giessen, 1982). Vittore Bocchetta, a former prisoner, has published a graphic memoir, *Jene fünf verdammten Jahre: Aus Verona in die Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg und Hersbruck* (Lage, 2003). Sociologist Elmer Luchterhand, who as an American officer in 1945 experienced the liberation of the Hersbruck subcamp, has published interesting eyewitness statements in "Das KZ in der Kleinstadt. Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 435–454.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See BA-B, NS 4, 393/1, S. 845; StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 Ia, pp. 29r–30 (record of interview of the prisoner Felix Marszalek).

2. BA-B, NS 4/Fl 393/2, FZW 925 (overview labor demand, July 1944).

3. See the collection in the ASt-Her, File NS 2 (Hersbruck subcamp).

4. Hans-Friedrich Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer, wie kommen Sie zur SS?—Bericht eines Pfarrers der Bekennenden Kirche über seine Erlebnisse im Kirchenkampf und als SS-Oberscharführer im Konzentrationslager Hersbruck* (Giessen, 1982), p. 97.

5. See plans by Vanselow, *KZ Hersbruck*, p. 28; Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer*, p. 160; and Gerhard Faul, *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003), pp. 68–71 (aerial photo on p. 71).

6. According to a statement by Hans-Friedrich Lenz, in StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2637 XXVI, p. 148.

7. See BA-B, II collection, former ZSA-P, Doc/K 183/11, pp. 61, 114; Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg. Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2:452.

8. The death rate is quoted by Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer*, p.131.

9. See StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2637 I a, pp. 241–253r (interrogation of Martin Humm); Faul, *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg*, p. 78.

HERTINE

The Flossenbürg subcamp Hertine was located close to a munitions factory in the village of Hertine (Rtyně), which was about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the southeast of Teplitz (Teplice) in Bohemia.

A transport of 599 Hungarian Jewish women arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp at the newly erected Hertine camp on October 10, 1944.[1] The prisoners were forced to work at the Welboth (Velvěty) Fabrik zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse Hertine GmbH (Factory for the Processing of Chemical Substances Hertine, Ltd.), a subsidiary of the explosives company Dynamit Nobel AG.

According to a statement by former prisoner K.F., the camp was located in a forest close to the factory. It consisted of five barracks in each of which slept approximately 120 women. Each barracks was divided into rooms that were shared by between 15 and 20 women. The women slept on three-tiered bunk beds. The square site was surrounded with barbed wire, and at each corner, there was a watchtower.[2]

The detachment leader of the Hertine camp, SS-Oberscharführer Christian Mohr, had been block leader between 1938 and 1942 in the Flossenbürg main camp. He was

sentenced to death at the main Flossenbürg Trial in Dachau and hanged on October 13, 1948. The SS guards comprised 41 men who were quartered outside the camp. As in all concentration camps for women, female overseers were deployed at Hertine. The 19 female overseers at Hertine were quartered in the nearby city of Teplitz. Their political environment can be seen from the application for leave by Franziska Galfe whose fiancé was an SS-Scharführer of the SS-Viking Division.[3]

Between January and March 1945, there were around 550 to 600 female prisoners in the camp. On January 6, 1945, 27 women from the Flossenbürg subcamp in Oederan were transferred to Hertine, and 27 women from Hertine were transferred to Oederan. According to S.H., who was held in Oederan, this transport comprised younger Hertine prisoners being exchanged for older Oederan prisoners; in Hertine the shell casings that had been produced in Oederan were filled with explosives, and this work could only be done by women who were over the age of 18.[4] Entries in the *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books) confirm this: the women transferred from Hertine to Oederan were mostly born in 1927 and 1928, while the women transferred to Hertine were born between 1907 and 1922. Nevertheless, there were still many young women who remained at Hertine.

A small prisoner detachment did agricultural work. However, the majority of the prisoners worked three shifts a day at the Welboth munitions factory. They filled bombs, grenades, and mines with explosives and phosphorous.

Prisoner mistreatment was prevalent. The prisoners' warm clothing was taken from them, and they had to work in winter wearing thin workers' clothes. Many fell ill. One girl is said to have been driven insane by the inhuman conditions in the camp and was shot. An explosion in the middle of December 1944 is said to have mortally injured a female overseer and a number of prisoners. The SS suspected sabotage and killed a number of other female prisoners.[5]

It is known for certain that 626 prisoners entered the Hertine camp. The Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern record 4 deaths in the period from the end of November 1944 to the end of January 1945. On January 16, 1945, 2 women were transferred to Ravensbrück. Five women's names have been crossed out and replaced by other names; this was probably to correct an error in the entries. The last surviving strength report from April 13, 1945, refers to 394 prisoners—there is no plausible explanation for the large discrepancy between the documented deaths and the small strength numbers. Apparently, dead prisoners were cremated in the nearby crematorium of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmertiz. On April 16, 1945, 16 Jewish prisoners from Hertine were buried at the local cemetery.[6]

The camp was evacuated in the middle of April 1945 to Theresienstadt. The prisoners covered most of the way by rail, and they were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

According to prisoner K.G., after the Hertine camp was evacuated, women from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Chemnitz who had already been evacuated to Leitmertiz were forced to work in the Hertine munitions factory until liberation on May 8, 1945.[7]

SOURCES There are two key essays that deal with the history of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Hertine: Jörg Skriebeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217; and Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–295.

The investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L, collections 410 AR 721/73 and 410 AR 2959/66, and files of the BA-B, NS 4/FL, are the main source on the Hertine camp. They have been complemented by an exhaustive report on exhumations done at the end of the war in the Teplitz area (collection OVS, Inv. č. 83, Carton 162) and the monthly strength reports from the last months of the war (collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88) in SÚA. There are also prisoner memoirs that deal with the prisoners' time in Hertine in Michael Düsing, ed., *Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt. Lódz—Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Freiberg—Oederan—Mauthausen* (Leipzig, 2002).

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393–2.
2. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, S. 258.
3. BA-B, NS 4/FL 10: Application for Leave to the Flossenbürg concentration camp command office, October 28, 1944.
4. Michael Düsing, ed., *Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt. Lódz—Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Freiberg—Oederan—Mauthausen* (Leipzig, 2002), p. 106.
5. ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, S. 64, p. 176.
6. Letter, Hertine Mayoral Office, April 15, 2005, re the Burial of sixteen Jewish prisoners at the local cemetery, SÚA, OVS, Inv. č. 83, Carton 162.
7. Statement of the former prisoner K.G., ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, p. 200; see also investigation on Chemnitz (ZdL, 410 AR 203/73); as well as Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): p. 269.

HOF-MOSCHENDORF

The Hof-Moschendorf subcamp was established on September 3, 1944. It was established as a Dachau subcamp when the SS-Hauptzeugamt (Main Material Office) was transferred to Hof. From September 30, 1944, to its dissolution on April 4, 1945, it was administered by the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

The subcamp was located in the Hof suburb of Moschendorf in the disused Reincke pottery factory between Oberkotzau Strasse and the railway line Selb-Hof-Eger. About 100 prisoners who repaired weapons seized in the war were held there. The prisoners and guards all came from Dachau.[1]

The work, living, and food conditions in the Moschendorf subcamp were much better than at the Flossenbürg main camp or in subcamps such as Ansbach, Hersbruck, or Helmbrechts. Among the 102 prisoners in March 1945, there were 33 Germans, 20 Poles, and 14 Russians, as well as smaller prisoner groups from another 10 nations.[2] There was only 1 Jew among

the prisoners. Most of the prisoners wore the red triangle. The Kapo was Heinrich Witt from Munich. His deputy was Alois Pelka. The camp commander was SS-Sturmbannführer Ludwig Bauer from Neustadt near Coburg.

Four deaths can be verified at the camp: two Polish prisoners who were buried in the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery are recorded in the prisoner lists compiled after 1945 as having died from tuberculosis; another prisoner died in a work accident. He is buried at the Hof city cemetery. [3]

Yugoslav prisoner Simeon Sarnawski was caught by the SS when he tried to make soles for his shoes from disused driving belts. He was reported and taken back to Flossenbürg, condemned to death, and publicly executed on December 27, 1944, on the factory site in front of the other prisoners. It is alleged that SS-Oberscharführer Otto Haupt was in charge of the execution. Sarnawski's body was cremated in the Hof crematorium.

A large number of prisoners were able to escape during the dissolution of the camp, with the result that only about 60 prisoners were taken by car and bicycle in the direction of the Dachau concentration camp. Only 42 reached their goal. There are contradictory statements on the deaths and murders that occurred on the route to Dachau. There is no evidence to support a claim that about 20 prisoners were murdered in Rehau and Oberkotzau.[4]

On April 15, 1945, after the liberation of the camp, 35 prisoners who had escaped before the evacuation march gathered together in Hof. One of them, the Polish prisoner Alois Pelka, died, and he was buried at the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery. In 1960, the 3 who were buried in the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery were reinterred, with 10 others buried in the city cemetery at Plauener Strasse in the memorial cemetery at the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Of these, only 4 can be said to have certainly been at the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp.

SOURCES Rudolf Macht has provided a detailed report on the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp in *Niederlage: Geschichte der Hofer Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 3/2, *1924–1945* (Hof, 1996), pp. 424–426.

The BA-B holds a few strength reports and transfer documents relating to the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp. The *Nummerbüchern* of the Flossenbürg concentration camp (NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46) list the names of the prisoners from Hof. Judicial proceedings relating to Hof-Moschendorf are documented in the ZdL (410-AR-Z 115/68) at BA-L. The report by eyewitness Hans Ballmann, originally a speech given on June 8, 1946, at a public meeting, contains a few errors. It was published as *Im Konzentrationslager: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Calw, 1946).

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Rudolf Macht, "Dokumentation KZ-Aussenlager Hof Moschendorf," (unpub. MSS, n.d.), copy in AG-F (AGFl), Hängeregister, Mappe Moschendorf.

2. BA-B, Collection of the former ZSA-P, Dok/K 183/11, S. 116. The Flossenbürg prisoner numbers 4120, 4420, 28320–28399, 32371–32389, and 37235 relate to prisoners in the Moschendorf subcamp.

3. ASt-Hof, BE 751, amp Moschendorf.

4. For the unproven murders, see Hans Ballmann, *Im Konzentrationslager: Ein Tatsacherbenicht* (Calw, 1946), p. 15.

HOHENSTEIN-ERNSTTHAL

During the large air raid on Chemnitz on September 11, 1944, the Wanderer-werke of the Auto Union AG in Siegmar-Schönau was also hit. The accommodations for the outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp burned down. The prisoners were employed for weeks doing clearing-up work and had to sleep outside for a long time.[1] The Auto Union planned to transfer part of its production. This was discussed in a board meeting. The minutes read: "The HL-230 manufacturing should be housed in branch plants. The factory rooms of the company Laurenz und Wilde, Hohenstein-Ernstthal, are suggested."[2] The transferring of the tank motor HL-230 manufacturing to the disused cloth-weaving mill Laurenz und Wilde at Hohenstein-Ernstthal was completed before the end of the year.

In January 1945, the SS forced the prisoners of the Siegmar outside detail to march to their new deployment location. The prisoners were housed in a barracks camp on the rifle house grounds in Hohenstein-Ernstthal, which were secured by high barbed-wire fences and guard towers.

Around 400 of the original 420 prisoners were transferred to Hohenstein-Ernstthal. Left behind were at least 6 dead and some prisoners injured during a bombing raid on Siegmar. A transport of 50 Hungarian Jews replenished the Hohenstein-Ernstthal outside detail. The detail primarily consisted of Polish Jewish men who had been brought to Auschwitz after the Łódź ghetto had been cleared. Former Polish prisoner Pinkus B. stated: "From the outbreak of the war until approximately August/September 1944 I was housed in the Łódź ghetto. Only in 1944 were we resettled in several transports. Most of the people from this ghetto went to Auschwitz. After only about six weeks we went to Siegmar-Schönau, where we stayed a couple of months. After Siegmar-Schönau was bombed, we were transferred to Hohenstein-Ernstthal."[3]

In Siegmar the prisoners had already received the Flossenbürg concentration camp matriculation numbers 26411 through 26810.[4] The command at Flossenbürg gave the Hungarian prisoners the matriculation numbers of the series 40000. On February 28, 1945, the Hohenstein-Ernstthal prisoners were of the following nationalities: 379 Poles, all Jewish; 49 Hungarians, all Jewish; 4 Russians, all Jewish; 4 Germans, 3 of whom were Jewish; 2 French, 1 of whom was Jewish; 1 Chinese, who was Jewish; and 1 Czech, who was Jewish. According to this list the camp at this point had a strength of 441 prisoners.[5] Until March 31, 1945, this number was changed only by the death of a Polish prisoner.[6]

The prisoners were employed in 12-hour shifts manufacturing parts for the "Tiger" tank engines HL-230 as well as

truck gearbox parts. Under heavy pressure after the long-term stoppage of the factory at Siegmar, but primarily due to the delayed start of production in the subterranean tank motor factory "Elsabe" of the Auto Union in Leitmeritz, factory management attempted to use the prisoners as effectively as possible. It thus came to a very typical incident in this respect, about which Jewish historian Adolf Diamant reports: "Several of the Jewish prisoners, from whom their eyeglasses had been taken at Auschwitz, complained to the German foremen in the factory that they could not see well without glasses. As a result the work management sent these 'concentration camp skilled workers,' under SS guard, to an eye doctor who prescribed them glasses that the prisoners also received."[7] As the food was completely insufficient in light of the heavy work, the physical strength of the prisoners drained, and their resistance to sickness dwindled. At least six prisoners died at Hohenstein-Ernstthal. Szaja B. wrote about the death of his brother: "My brother and I worked at Hohenstein-Ernstthal in the factory, until my brother got sick and went to the sickbay. An SS-Oberscharführer . . . allowed me to sleep the last night in the sickbay next to my brother until he died. With the help of a fellow prisoner I buried him the next day in the graveyard at Hohenstein-Ernstthal."[8] Two SS-Unterführer and 29 guards served under the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Franz Reber. In October 1944, Reber had already taken over the command at Siegmar-Schönau in place of the former leader, who had been injured in a bombing raid. He relied on Max Garfinkel, acting as the camp elder, who did not receive any positive testimonies from survivors. He more or less worked against the prisoners.[9]

After production had ceased in April 1945, owing to an interruption in material delivery, the SS evacuated the prisoners by foot in April 1945 toward Erzgebirgskamm with the goal of reaching the Bohemian side of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. During the march, a number of prisoners died from exhaustion. Several could escape as the SS increasingly wandered off from the column. Pinkus B. stated: "The camp was evacuated—it was around the middle of April as we started out marching. I remember that we were on the road for several weeks toward Eger. . . . Our small guard unit carried out the evacuation, but at liberation there were only a few left as the others had themselves fled. . . . I also tried to escape but was caught. I do not know of any killing actions due to escape attempts, only beatings. . . . Many also died at night, which surely resulted from the evacuation strain and hunger."[10]

On May 7, 1945, the Soviet army liberated the prisoners near Luditz (Zlutice).[11] The completely exhausted men were brought to hospitals and sanatoriums, some also to Upper Franconia, where several of them died even weeks after liberation.[12]

SOURCES An unpublished study that deals with this subcamp is Adolf Diamant, "Chronologie der Orte des Widerstandes, der Zwangsarbeiter, der Kriegsgefangen und der KZ-Häftlinge. Hohenstein-Ernstthal" (unpub. MSS, Frankfurt am Main, n.d.).

Relevant records may be found in the BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; HStA-D (Auto Union AG); and APCK.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Szaja Baczynski, report to the author from February 15, 2001.
2. HStA-D, Auto Union AG, No. 205, notes from the board meeting, September 25, 1944, p. 4.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. I, p. 84, statement by Pinkus B. (matriculation no. 26446).
4. APCK, Nr. 3358, a list of names of the Polish prisoners at Flossenbürg.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 105.
6. Ibid.
7. Adolf Diamant, "Chronologie der Orte des Widerstandes, der Zwangsarbeiten, der Kriegsgefangen und der KZ-Häftlinge. Hohenstein-Ernastthal" (unpub. MSS, Frankfurt am Main, n.d.), sig. B/76.
8. Baczynski report.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. I, p. 84a, statement by Pinkus B.
10. Ibid., pp. 85–85b.
11. Baczynski, report.
12. APCK, Nr. 3358.

HOLLEISCHEN

One of the largest subcamps in what is the present-day Czech Republic was located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the southwest of Plzeň in the west Bohemian village of Holleischen (Holyšov) near the German-Czech border. On average, 600 women were forced to work in Factory II of Metallwerke Holleischen GmbH (Metal Works Holleischen Ltd.) from April 1944 to the end of the war. The women from the Holleischen subcamp worked in the munitions factory. There was also a men's camp where 200 prisoners worked as a construction detachment in building a shooting range. During the last months of the war, Holleischen was also a holding camp for evacuees from other subcamps, and the numbers of female prisoners increased by the end of the war to over 1,000.

Both Flossenbürg subcamps were part of a larger armaments and camp complex in Holleischen. The Berlin Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG (Weapons and Munitions Factories, Inc.) took over the site of an empty glass works in Holleischen in October 1938, soon after Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland, and built it into a munitions factory (Factory I) for the Luftwaffe. The armaments company was renamed Metallwerke Holleischen GmbH in 1941. Factory II was located in a forest outside the village, which included a work settlement for German workers and employees. By the time of its completion, there were to be homes built in Holleischen for 1,000 families. In 1941, a subcamp for mostly Czech forced laborers was established. They were to construct the settlement. In the same year, another subcamp for

700 female Czechs was constructed. These women were to be forced laborers in the munitions factory. On June 31, 1941, the first 360 French prisoners of war (POWs) were transferred from Stalag XIII B in Weiden to Holleischen. In addition, mostly Russian POWs, being held in a special camp, were employed in forced labor in the armaments industry. The total number of workers in both factories is estimated to have been about 8,000 by the end of the war.[1]

In the surviving labor request confirmations from the headquarters of the Flossenbürg concentration camp to Metallwerke, the Holleischen subcamp, with 195 female prisoners, is first documented on April 15, 1944. The male camp, consisting of 200 prisoners, is mentioned for the first time on August 11, 1944, in a trip report by the Higher-SS and Police Leader for Bohemia and Moravia, SS-Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank, who was on an inspection tour of subcamps in the Sudeten district.

The Holleischen women's subcamp was originally administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, because the first women transferred to the subcamp in April 1944 were from Ravensbrück. Although the camp was subordinate to Flossenbürg as far as work assignments were concerned from the beginning, it was administered by Ravensbrück until August 31, 1944.

The female prisoners were accommodated in the farm buildings of a nearby manor on the edge of the village, between Factory I and Factory II. The manor had an infirmary. The barns, haylofts, and stables of the manor were turned into quarters for the prisoners. All the windows, the gate, and roofs were covered with electrified barbed wire.[2]

By August 1944, the number of women in Holleischen had climbed to 600. Thereafter, it remained relatively constant until the spring of 1945. The largest group of prisoners was French—more than 50 percent of the women were French. The number of Poles and Russians followed, with approximately 25 percent each.[3] There were hardly any other nationalities or Jewish prisoners in Holleischen. This changed on March 6, 1945, with the arrival of 145 Jewish women by rail from the Flossenbürg subcamp at the Siemens-Schuckert works in Nürnberg. As a result, the prisoner numbers increased to 836. On March 9, 1945, another 259 prisoners arrived in Holleischen from the same dissolved subcamp, which had been bombed in mid-February and evacuated to Holleischen, together with its guard force.[4] The prisoners, almost exclusively Hungarian Jews, had been deported in the autumn of 1944 from Auschwitz to Nürnberg.

The commander of Holleischen was SS-Hauptsturmführer Emil Fügner. At the time of Karl Hermann Franks's visit on August 11, 1944, the Holleischen camp was guarded by 64 Luftwaffe soldiers and 27 female guards.[5] The female SS guards came mostly from German Bohemia, and with one exception, they had all been stationed in Ravensbrück.

Five additional female wardens from Ravensbrück arrived at Holleischen on October 25, 1944, and in the spring of 1945, there were 48 SS women at Holleischen. From October 1944 at the latest, Holleischen served as a training camp for the subcamps' female guard personnel. In addition, it was a place where company representatives could learn about security, wages, and care for prisoners at subcamps.[6] The companies often had to detail their own female employees to the SS as guards; they were trained for several weeks at Holleischen and then transferred to the SS, after which they had to swear allegiance to the SS and wear the SS uniform. Some of the guards, at their trials before the Extraordinary People's Court (mimořádný lidový soud) in postwar Czechoslovakia, were able to prove that their service in the SS was forced upon them. Such proceedings ended with a prison term of between 1 and 10 years. The female SS guard Anni Graf was sentenced on August 3, 1948, by a French military court in Rastatt to 15 years for crimes against humanity.[7]

The Holleischen prisoners were driven every morning to work in Factory II, which lay in a forest. They worked in 12-hour shifts. Toward the end of the war, the prisoners had to construct fortifications such as antitank ditches. The food consisted of 0.5 liter (2 cups) of black coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread in the morning, soup at lunch, and in the evening again, coffee and a piece of bread.

The prisoners were beaten with bowls by the camp personnel for the slightest infraction of the camp rules, or the dogs were set on them. Three French women, Noemi Suchet, Helene Lignier, and Simone Michel-Levy, each received 25 blows with a stick for supposed sabotage and were transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp, where they were hanged on April 13, 1945, shortly before its evacuation.[8] Eleven prisoners were buried at the local cemetery in Holleischen.

On September 13, 1945, three Polish prisoners, Stanislawa Świergoła, Anna Fabicki, and Irena Cholewa, succeeded in escaping from Holleischen. Their fate is not known.[9]

Little is known about the men's camp at Holleischen. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) Arolsen, it was mentioned for the last time on January 31, 1945. The last mention of the women's camp is a work allocation list from the main camp on April 13, 1945; this gives the number of prisoners for the Holleischen camp as 1,091.[10] In the last weeks before the end of the war, it was scarcely possible to use the women's labor, as the destruction of the rail network meant that supplies could no longer be delivered to the factory.

Polish partisans liberated the Holleischen subcamp on May 3, 1945. Two days later, American troops arrived. The prisoners remained there until they were repatriated to their home countries, about five weeks later.

SOURCES Despite the size of the Holleischen camp and its function as a training ground for SS female wardens, it has not been intensively researched. The Czechoslovak research is largely in an older general overview titled *Tábory utrpení a smrti*, by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá (Prague, 1969) or in the strongly political work *Hrdinové protifašistického odboje*, by Vojtěch Laštovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský (Plzeň, 1985). As for newer research, Jörg Skriebeleit's essay "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217, and Václav Jiřík's investigation into the People's Courts in postwar Czechoslovakia

Nedaleko od Norimberku. Z dějin mimořádného lidového soudu v Chebu v letech 1946 až 1948 (Cheb, 2000) are noteworthy.

The most important archival sources are the investigation files in BA-BL, AR Z-175/75 and AR Z-39/59. Other witness statements are held in NARA, in RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537. In the SÚA in Prague are the monthly strength reports in Collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88, and the report on Karl Herrmann Frank's trip to the Bohemian subcamps in Collection KT-OVS 110-9-12. The trial records of the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger and Pilsen against the camp guards are located in the SOA, Plzeň, Collection MLS.

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Vojtěch Laštovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský, *Hrdinové protifašistického odboje* (Plzeň, 1985), p. 161.
2. Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), p. 109. Also Record of Interview of the Former SS Female Warden Martha Pimmer by the Dillingen Police on May 17, 1969, ZSL-L, AR-Z 175/75, Band II, S. 305.
3. SÚA, Prag, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.
4. CEGESOMA, Brüssel, Microfilm Nr. 14368.
5. SÚA, KT-OVS 110-9-12.
6. SHStA-(D), 11722 (Zeiss-Ikon AG), Nr. 319 Factory Kitchen. According to a note on 11.28.44, a member of the Goehle factory management informed Dresden shortly after the establishment of the subcamp "on the occasion of a visit to the Holleischen metal factory and the camp located there on 25 and 26.10."
7. BA-BL, AR Z-175/75, vol. 3, S. 544.
8. Record of Interview of B.F., August 3, 1948, to the Military Court in the French Occupied Zone Germany, Rastatt in proceedings against Anni Graf, BA-BL, AR Z-39/59, S. 351f.
9. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
10. BA-BL, AR Z-175/75, vol. 3, S. 524.

HRADISCHKO [AKA BENESCHAU]

The Flossenbürg subcamp in Hradischko (Hradištko) is known by a number of names. The SS administration files refer to it as the "Beneschau labor camp," and in fact this Flossenbürg subcamp was located in Hradischko, a small community about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southwest of Prague. The history of this subcamp is directly related to the construction of a large SS troop training ground in occupied Bohemia.

In November 1941, the SS-Troop Training Ground Beneschau (Truppenübungsplatz Beneschau) was opened. It was located close to Beneschau. A large expansion was planned for the following year. On July 13, 1942, public notices in two languages were distributed in the area around the city of Neweklau (Neveklov), ordering the evacuation of all inhabitants in an area of about 44,000 hectares (108,726 acres). Initially about 17,600 people from 62 communities had to leave by September 1943 so that the area would be available for a central SS-Troop Training Ground Bohemia. Numerous SS units were stationed on the large site, which was constantly expanded in the following years. The SS command for the SS-Troop Training Ground was based in Beneschau, a small community on the eastern boundary of the restricted military area. An SS-Assault Gun School (Sturmgeschützschule) was established in Janowitz-Markt (Vrchotovy Janovice) on the southern edge of the training area. There was also a Flossenbürg subcamp at Janowitz. An SS training camp, consisting of an SS-Junker- und Unterführer-Schule (Cadet and Noncommissioned Officer School), an SS training regiment, and various SS pioneer battalions, was located in Hradischko, on the northwest corner of the site.

Prisoners were used for various purposes on the site, once the military training ground had been established. In 1942, a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) was established near Hradischko. The prisoners had to work at the training ground. After this camp was dissolved, the barracks were occupied in November 1943 with prisoners from Flossenbürg. Additional barracks, guard towers, and a small roll-call square were constructed so as to make the camp more suitable for the increased security required for concentration camp prisoners. It is not exactly clear which SS unit based at the troop training ground requested prisoners from Flossenbürg. It was probably the central command in Beneschau, as is suggested by a list of the first prisoner transport. On November 17, 1943, 70 male German prisoners were transferred "at the request of the SS Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] on 11.11.43 to the Truppenübungsplatz Beneschau near Prague" and sent to the barracks camp at the village of Hradischko.[1] The leader of the subcamp, Alfred Kus, was the only Flossenbürg guard to be transferred to Hradischko.

As Kus stated when questioned in 1947, he had arrived in the Bohemian village only a few days before the prisoners from Flossenbürg, to "take over the preparations for part of the Flossenbürg camp that was to be transferred there."[2] The camp organization, command, and security structure were multilayered. This made judicial investigations after 1945 into the crimes committed there all the more difficult. The commander of the SS-Troop Training Ground, SS-Brigadeführer Karrasch, had primary responsibility for the use of the concentration camp prisoners. Kus, as camp leader, had direct responsibility. Security was not provided by the SS from Flossenbürg but by the various SS units who were stationed at the Truppenübungsplatz—initially, a training unit, SS-Lehrregiment Hradischko; later, the SS-Pioneer Battalions "Germania" and "Das Reich"; and for a short time, the 2nd SS-Wachbattalion from Prague.

The first prisoner transport of 70 prisoners reached Hradischko on November 17, 1943. The camp strength of 500 prisoners was made up from these 70 prisoners, 66 German prisoners who arrived from Buchenwald on November 26, 55 German prisoners from Flossenbürg who arrived at the camp on Christmas Eve 1943, and 325 prisoners who arrived in Hradischko on March 3, 1944. This last group was mostly

French, but there were also Spaniards, Italians, Russians, and Poles. There were no Jews. The concentration camp prisoners were put in detachments of various sizes and set to work on just about every part of the Truppenübungsplatz.

The prisoners had to excavate ditches for the shooting range, lay water and sewerage pipes, build roads, and prepare buildings for military purposes; and from April 1945, they were almost exclusively engaged in building trenches and tank ditches. By this point, at least 20 prisoners had died because of the murderous working conditions. The Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) record for the period March 20 to March 26, 1944, 19 deaths in Hradischko.[3] Details of the transport lists are incomplete, and entries in the Numbers Books are not always clear. There is also an almost complete lack of information for the period November 1943 to March 1944. For these reasons, it is likely that the 20 recorded deaths for the period from March 1944 to April 1945 are too low. The prisoners died as a result of exposure to extreme working conditions, systematic food deprivation, and totally inadequate hygienic conditions. Their corpses were transported by truck to Prague, where they were cremated and the ashes disbursed.

In April 1945, there began a systematic execution of the prisoners. At this point, the Truppenübungsplatz had prepared its defenses in the face of the advancing Red Army. SS-Sturmbannführer Erwin Lange, commander of the SS-Pioneer Battalion "Germania" and local military commander at Hradischko, ordered the camp leader, Kus, to evacuate the concentration camp prisoners. However, there was no transport, and it was decided to liquidate the prisoners. Planted weapons were discovered during a search of the camp. The discovery provided the justification for the decision to murder the prisoners, who had supposedly planned an uprising.

The prisoners were ordered on April 9, contrary to the usual practice, to form groups of 100, with the non-German prisoners to the rear of the groups. Members of the SS-Pioneer Battalion "Germania" fired into the rear of the groups as they were on their way to work. In this way, at least 9 prisoners on April 9, 12 on April 10, and 27 prisoners on April 11 were murdered. It has not been explained why the shooting suddenly stopped on this date. The murders were noticed by the Czech civilian workers at the Truppenübungsplatz. It is probable that the commander of the Truppenübungsplatz became concerned about discipline at the site and its surroundings. On April 12, 1945, the guards at the camp were replaced by the SS-Lehrregiment.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 26, 1945, and the remaining prisoners, together with the prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamp Janowitz in Mieschenitz (Měchenice), were loaded into cattle wagons and transported, initially, in the direction of Prague. Additional wagons with prisoners from other dissolved camps were added to the evacuation train in the Prague suburb of Vrschowitz (Vršovice). The train was then sent back to the Truppenübungsplatz. The prisoners were forced out of the train near a forest to the south of Janowitz. The SS then opened fire on them.

Descriptions of the liberation of the prisoners vary. What is clear is that in the days before May 8 numerous prisoners of the Hradischko subcamp were murdered in the area around Janowitz. Investigating Czech and German state prosecutors, based on the number of corpses found, estimate that between 100 and 150 prisoners from Hradischko were murdered between April and May 1945.[4]

SOURCES The Hradischko subcamp is briefly mentioned in a few Czech publications, most of which appeared during the period of the Czechoslovak Socialist People's Republic. See, for example, Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); Antonín Robek, *Lidé bez domova* (Prague, 1980). On the sixtieth anniversary of the forced expulsion of the Czech population from the Truppenübungsplatz, the community of Hradištko published, in four languages, a small volume of the history of the subcamp, *Hradištko—Koncentrační tábor* (Hradištko, 2002).

Czech and German authorities after the war investigated in detail the mass executions that occurred between April 9 and 11, 1945. The four volumes of documents collected by the ZdL (now BA-L) also hold the investigation results of the Czech authorities. What is remarkable is that the witness statements by Czech civilian workers and forced laborers differ markedly from the statement of German civilians. In particular, the Czechs, unlike the Germans, provide details about the murders (ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/67). In Czech communities, local and district archives are widely held sources that primarily deal with the local events and have a catalog of single and mass graves. See, for example, the collections in SpkA-B.

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport lists, November 17, 1943, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
2. Kus witness statement, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/1967.
3. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.
4. See ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/1967.

JANOWITZ

Viennese publicist and social critic Karl Kraus could never have imagined when he wrote his monumental antiwar drama *The Last Days of Humanity* between 1915 and 1918 in the Bohemian town of Janowitz that the inferno he created would only a few years later take place in the vicinity of the gardens of the Janowitz Castle, the inspiration for his work. Before the Czechoslovak Republic was occupied by the National Socialists, Janowitz (Vrchotovy Janovice) was a small but not insignificant market town. It lies about 65 kilometers (40 miles) to the south of Prague. During the period of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Janowitz Castle was the home of the family of Baroness Sidonie Nádherný. With its expansive gardens and its milieu, the castle was a refuge for Austrian and Czech intellectuals such as Rainer Maria Rilke,

Karel Čapek, and Karl Kraus, who for many years was the partner of Nádherný.

Many castles were seized after the occupation of the Czechoslovak Republic by German troops. Camps, places of detention, and SS bases (for example, the Flossenbürg subcamps Eisenberg and Schlackenwerth) were established in the seized castles. The occupiers' eyes likewise fell on the idyllic Janowitz Castle. The distinctive buildings and facilities were not to be the residence for National Socialist officials such as in Jungfern-Breschan. They were required for the expansion of the SS-Troop Training Ground Bohemia (Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen), which was opened in 1941. The village of Janowitz and its castle were located within a restricted area. Beginning in June 1942, 30,000 inhabitants were forced to relocate. Baroness von Borutin had to evacuate the castle, which was then made available for the SS, in 1944. Numerous SS units and bases were established on the 44,000-hectare (108,726-acre) military area. The command for the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen was based in Beneschau, a village on the eastern border of the restricted area. In Hradischko, on the northwest corner of the area, there was an SS-Cadet and Non-Commissioned Officer School (Junker- und Unterführer-Schule), an SS-Training Regiment (Lehrregiment), and a number of SS-Pioneer Battalions (Pionierbataillonen). Janowitz, on the southern edge of the training ground, was the base for an SS-Assault Gun School (Sturmgeschützschule). In 1944, after the confiscation of Baroness von Borutin's property, the command of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule was accommodated in the castle. The stables and administrative buildings served as tank garages and workshops.

In 1943, a Flossenbürg subcamp was established on the troop training ground in Hradischko. The use of the prisoners was obviously beneficial for the SS because, as part of the expansion of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule, additional labor was needed, and the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen administration resorted to the use of the "resource" of concentration camp prisoners. On July 24, 1944, a transport of 100 prisoners, the majority of whom were French and Polish, left Flossenbürg in the direction of Janowitz. They arrived there on July 26. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks near the village pond not far from Janowitz Castle. They were distributed to different work detachments: they had to work in the quarry at Schebanowitz (Šebáňovice) and at the numerous SS "settlements" (*Höfe*) on the training grounds in Mrwitz (Mrvice), where on weekends they did the harvest as well as expanding the tank and truck garages on the grounds of the castle. They were also required to build a sauna in one of the castle's administrative buildings for the SS members stationed there.

There were several commanders in charge of the prisoners. The senior commander of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule was Obersturmbannführer Friedrich Graun. Graun, a young but highly decorated veteran of the Eastern Front, had been severely wounded in Russia. Following the amputation of a leg, he was named as the head of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule in Janowitz. The actual leaders of the subcamp were SS-Oberscharführer Richter and SS-Hauptscharführer Christel. The guards were members of the Sturmgeschützschule. The feared Kapo Helmut Lindner was also sent to Janowitz so as to maintain strict camp discipline.[1]

A second transport of 102 prisoners from Flossenbürg arrived at Janowitz on October 28. The transport consisted mostly of Soviet Russians and Poles. With this transport the Janowitz subcamp reached its maximum number, 202 prisoners.[2] A few days after the arrival of this transport, the first death was registered. On November 9, 1944, 36-year-old Ukrainian Andrej Tarakanow died. His death marked the beginning of many more deaths. By March 1945, at least 60 others had died. They died from the heavy work on the Truppenübungsplatz, the lack of food, and the completely inadequate accommodation, which at the end of November 1944 resulted in the first case of typhus. By January 1945 the disease had broken out into an epidemic and infected just about all the prisoners. From February 1945 prisoners were dying daily from it. The death rate in Janowitz was so high that the camp administration did not report all the deaths to Flossenbürg, noting the deaths only in its prisoner book.[3] The corpses were taken to the Prague crematorium in Straschnitz (Strašnice) for cremation.[4]

Despite the epidemic, the prisoners had to continue working for the SS-Sturmgeschützschule. Indeed, the pace of work was increased, as the front was getting ever closer, and tank traps and slit trenches had to be excavated. The Truppenübungsplatz was going to be a defensive position. By the middle of March, even the SS had to admit that the seriously ill prisoners could no longer work. The Janowitz camp was dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred to an SS Höfe at the western part of the Truppenübungsplatz Krschepenitz (Křepenice). A provisional camp was established in great haste in agricultural buildings there. Many lists state this was also a Flossenbürg subcamp. However, it was not a new camp or an existing camp but the alternative quarters for the prisoners of the Janowitz subcamp. In Krschepenitz, the mass dying of the prisoners continued.

By the end of April 1945, the Flossenbürg main camp had been liberated by U.S. troops. At this time the dissolution of the camp at Krschepenitz began, which was to be a terrible odyssey for the prisoners. About 120 prisoners were loaded onto trucks and taken to the nearest railway station at Mieschenitz (Měchenice). In Mieschenitz, the Janowitz prisoners and the prisoners from the subcamp at Hradischko, who likewise had been taken to this railway station, were crammed into goods wagons. The train headed in the direction of Prague. In a southeastern suburb, Wirschowitz (Vršovice), the wagons were coupled onto an evacuation train from other camps, probably from Buchenwald and a few Gross-Rosen subcamps, and together they headed in a southerly direction. On May 1, the train stopped at the tiny village of Olbramowitz (Olbramovice) and was shunted onto a branch line in the direction of Selcan (Sedlčany). The prisoners were close to Janowitz, from where they had been evacuated at the end of March. What is noteworthy is that the Czech prisoners who were in this transport were released on May 3.

A bloodbath took place among the thousands of other prisoners squeezed into the wagons. On the command of the Janowitz commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Graun, many of the prisoners were shot near the village of Kreschitz (Křešice). The estimate of prisoners murdered before Germany's unconditional surrender varies between 100 and several hundred. Karl Kraus's last days of humanity, conceived 30 years before in the nearby castle park at Janowitz, had become a terrible reality in 1944 and 1945. Part of the transport remained close to the district town of Wotitz (Votice) and was liberated there on May 8 after the SS units had fled. A few wagons were taken on May 7 in the direction of southern Bohemia, where the survivors were liberated by Czech partisans in the vicinity of Weleschin (Velešín), near Krumau (Český Krumlov).

SOURCES Early Czech publications deal with the Janowitz subcamp. Noteworthy is the book by Antonín Robek, *Lidé bez domova* (Prague, 1980), which primarily focuses on the establishment of the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen. On the sixtieth anniversary of the forced resettlement of the Czech population from the Truppenübungsplatz, the community of Hradištko published, in four languages, a small volume on the history of the subcamp, *Hradištko—Koncentrační tabor* (Hradištko, 2002). It is only recently that the connections between the Flossenbürg subcamp at Janowitz Castle and the family history of Sidonie Nádherny have been the subject of public attention. The most detailed work is the book by Alena Wagnerová, *Das Leben der Sidonie von Nádherný* (Hamburg, 2003), which focuses in detail on the Janowitz subcamp.

The files that deal with the establishment of the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen are held in the SÚA in Prague. From these files it is possible to get a general overview of the resumptions that took place so that a military training ground could be formed. There are few details here on the Flossenbürg subcamp. More useful are the files of the ZdL at BA-L (IV 410 AR-Z 62/67), which contain a few witness statements from Czech prisoners and Czech civilian workers at the training ground. The handwritten list of prisoners of the Janowitz subcamp is a vital source, as it contains detailed biographical material on the prisoners. It also provides a record of the deaths up to May 3, 1945 (AN, CHP, F/9/5567).

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Preliminary investigation Janowitz, BA-L, ZdL, IV-410 AR-Z 62/67.

2. Janowitz detachment transfer lists, July 24, 1944, and October 28, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.

3. Personal details of the prisoners of the Janowitz work detachment b. Beneschau, AN, CHP, F/9/5567.

4. List of Cremations, Crematorium Strašnice, Funeral Service of Prague (Pohřební služby hlavniho města Prahy).

JOHANNGEORGENSTADT

The Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp was formed on December 1, 1943, within the framework of the plans to decentralize the aerial armament operations.[1] The prisoners were put to work for the Erla Maschinenwerk GmbH (Erla Flugzeugwerk) Leipzig, in the buildings of the Gotthold Heinz office furniture factory in Johanngeorgenstadt, which had been confiscated for these purposes. The first prisoners, a transport from Buchenwald concentration camp with 450 men, were registered on December 8, 1943.[2] The subcamp grew with additional transports in December 1943, January 1944, and others through 1944.[3]

Because of a continual exchange of those unfit for work with new prisoners, the number of prisoners to pass through this camp might have been many more than 1,000. On January 31, 1945, there were 988 prisoners in the camp; on February 28, 1945, there were 855 prisoners; on March 31, 1945, the number went down to 845; and on April 13, 1945, 842 prisoners were identified.[4] Although the subcamp had existed since December 1943, the deaths were only regularly reported at the camp beginning on October 10, 1944. In fact, there were deaths at the camp before this date. For example, recaptured escapee Konstantin Fedorenko was executed on August 26, 1944.[5] The list of dead that was kept in Johanngeorgenstadt is, however, just as incomplete as the entries in the Flossenbürg registration book. In both, entries are missing for prisoners whose deaths are known.

During his questioning, witness Heinrich W. testified about the killing in the Johanngeorgenstadt camp: "It often happened that one of the prisoners would be beaten to death with a truncheon or shot for a trivial reason, like not working fast enough, for example, or for no reason at all. This usually happened at the end of the camp in a type of quarry. The prisoner had to run there and would be beaten to death or shot. The SS guards often did this, but Kapos were also often called to do this quickly under the threat of being shot themselves."[6]

The names of 73 dead have been established for the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp. Those who were unable to work and were transferred to Flossenbürg or other concentration camps, where they often soon died, are not included in this record. Infirmary clerk Jakob Wennel describes how the prisoners, physically totally ruined, were brought back to the main camp:

> Tuberculosis rages in the camp! The hunger turns the faces into ghosts! Death grins at everyone. Lord, have mercy on us! Daily the dead are crammed into boxes and brought out of the camp on a cart. . . . The camp is constantly replenished. It's always a thousand—a thousand dead souls. . . . We know that it's more, that they're also there, those that death has marked, the "chosen" who are brought to the Flossenbürg main camp and exchanged. . . . When the "chosen" go away every month, we say, "They're going through the chimney!" The SS says it as well. . . . Today they chose again. Many hid. They stand barefoot on the cement with thick rubbery legs. Some cry, others beg for mercy. They're kicked

> and defiled—people whom a mother bore with pain. It is unbearable! Day follows every night, and every day becomes night. It is night over Germany.[7]

The enormous number of victims during the evacuation transports has not been precisely determined. According to a strength report from February 28, 1945, prisoners from 13 nationalities were in the camp. Soviet citizens, all described as Russians, formed the largest group with 394 prisoners, followed by 192 Poles, and 131 French. In addition, there were 60 Germans, 23 Czechs, 22 Lithuanians, 12 "Red Spaniards" (members of the Spanish republican forces who fell into German hands after the occupation in 1942 of the previously unoccupied part of France), 7 Luxembourgers, 7 Italians, 3 stateless persons, and 1 Belgian, Greek, Croat, and Slovak each in the Johanngeorgenstadt camp at this time.[8] A large portion of the Germans and Czechs were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). According to SS documents, there were no Jews in the camp.

Among the prisoners, there were more than 100 youths and children, who were labeled "trainees" at work and for whom the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) charged the lower daily rate of 1.5 Reichsmark (RM) in the accounting of the Flossenbürg management with the Erla Works. The Flossenbürg concentration camp charged for adult prisoners at the daily rate of 6 RM for "skilled workers" and 4 RM for "auxiliary workers." The monthly sums on the request for payments increased from 26,446 RM in December 1943 to 108,368 RM and 6,634 RM for "trainees" in December 1944.[9] In Johanngeorgenstadt, the 72-hour workweek was in effect with rotating day and night shifts of 12 hours each. The prisoners had to manufacture fuselage paneling, fore flaps, and vertical and horizontal tail assemblies for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter.

The top floor above the factory room and the basement served as housing for the prisoners. On three-story platforms, two prisoners slept per platform with awful, thin mattresses made from rotten, bug-infested, and lice-ridden straw. In stuffy, stale air the prisoners eked out a miserable existence between the work shifts and overcrowded rooms. On the top floor, gallows were put up on which prisoners would be hanged for hours with their hands tied to their backs for the smallest of offenses, like smoking cigarettes, speaking without permission at work, or, in the judgment of the SS men, not displaying an adequate greeting. Their agonizing groaning was supposed to psychically cudgel the physically exhausted prisoners.

The factory courtyard served as a roll-call square, where counting-offs, selections, punishments, and executions took place. The entire factory grounds were fenced in with electrified barbed-wire fence. Guards stood on two watchtowers equipped with machine guns. The guard unit initially consisted of 30 guards and later of 10 SS-Unterführer and 46 SS guards.[10] The camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Kornelius Schwannder, who at the beginning of 1945 was transferred to be camp leader at Obertraubling.

At the Flossenbürg Trial, Schwannder was sentenced to death; he was executed in 1948.[11] SS-Oberscharführer Gottfried Kolacevic was his successor, beginning on January 24, 1945. The preliminary proceedings initiated against him for killing through neglect were closed by the Frankfurt am Main District Court in 1976, as the case by then fell under the statute of limitations.[12] SS-Scharführer Wenzel Fink, who received the characteristic nickname "the killer" from the prisoners, played a substantial role in killings. In 1945, he died in custody in Prague.[13] Infamous Kapo Hermann Denninger, who with other Kapos often behaved more brutally than the SS guards toward the prisoners in order to offer their services to the SS and thereby procure favors, was not caught. The responsible operation manager of the Erla Works Johanngeorgenstadt, Kamprath, was imprisoned in 1945.

In order to avoid the hated slave labor for the Fascist armaments, Russian prisoners in particular repeatedly tried to escape. German and Czech political prisoners established contacts with German civilian workers, who won their trust while they helped them. In this way, milk and medicine could be procured for the sick. Packets with food were received at cover addresses in town and smuggled into the camp. The father of a Czech prisoner, disguised as a bricklayer, was assisted in meeting his son at the camp. Before the evacuation, the prisoners made out a written testimony to the German boilerman's willingness to help because he had made possible an illegal meeting in his boiler house.[14] In the electric workstation, the foreman allowed the prisoners to listen to foreign broadcasts. French prisoner Roger Boulanger emphasizes that these connections made survival easier.[15] He also pointed out that the "trainees" were surprisingly pulled out of production and combined into a type of training unit.[16] Was this similar to the example in Buchenwald, where political prisoners organized measures to rescue the children that were declared by the SS as the "training of skilled labor for the post-war period"? It is possible, as many political prisoners who came to Johanngeorgenstadt from Buchenwald were familiar with the Buchenwald example of the children's bricklaying training.

With other prisoners from the Zwickau and Lengenfeld subcamps who had been marched to Johanngeorgenstadt, the subcamp was evacuated on April 16, 1945.[17] A total of 1,123 prisoners, 822 of whom were from the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp, were evacuated to Theresienstadt (Terezín), initially by rail transport, then from Neurohlau (Nová Role) by foot. Grave sites located where mass killings had taken place during the evacuation were found along its path, with the help of 2 former Czech prisoners from Johanngeorgenstadt who were on the march. In the summer of 1945, a Czech investigating committee exhumed 935 bodies, 96 of whom had bullet holes indicating they were shot from behind, 13 of whom showed bullet holes in the thorax, and 109 showing head injuries from beatings, possibly from rifle butts.[18] The protocol read, among other things: "On numerous corpses . . . an unusual decay was ascertained. Upon opening the abdominal cavity and the stomach the bowels were without exception

completely clear, so that it is certain starvation was the cause of death for all of these people."[19]

SOURCES Information on this camp is available in Jakob Wennel, *Tausend tote Seelen hinter Stacheldraht* (Frankfurt am Main, n.d.). Some information may also be found in Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2:429–493.

Archival sources can be found in the ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68; AN, F 9 5566, 31 Flo 12, Hommel report; and StA-Lg, Erla-Werke.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-P, Film WF-01/4015, Bild 792, Forderungsnachweis No. 298, December 1–31, 1943.
2. AG-B, Transportmeldung, December 4, 1943.
3. AG-B, Transportliste von Leipzig Thekla nach Johanngeorgenstadt, August 4, 1944.
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 96.; BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, p. 984.
6. Ibid., p. 985.
7. Jakob Wennel, *Tausend tote Seelen hinter Stacheldraht* (Frankfurt am Main, n.d.).
8. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 96.
9. BA-B, Film 14430, B1. 1270.
10. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
11. NARA, Complete List of War Crimes Case Trials. Quoted in Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2: 488.
12. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, p. 982.
13. Ibid., pp. 991–992.
14. Photocopy in the possession of the author.
15. Letter to the author, August 22, 1989.
16. Letter to the author, June 21, 1989.
17. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, pp. 978–979.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AZ-Z 18/68, B1. 348, Protokoll über die Exhumierung von Häftlingen des Konzentrationslagers Johanngeorgenstadt. Übersetzung aus der tschechischen Sprache ins Deutsche in dem Verfahren IV 410 AR-Z 18/68, March 17, 1971.
19. Ibid.

JUNGFERN-BRESCHAN

On the way from Prague to Theresienstadt, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the town of Odolenswasser (Odolena Voda), is a large property, the Jungfern-Breschan estate (Paneské Břežaný), consisting of two castles, agricultural buildings, and large parks. The site, part baroque and part historicized, was owned by Jewish industrialist Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer. The estate was "aryanized" following the occupation by German troops of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Because of its excellent conditions and favorable location, it was chosen to serve as the official residence for the highest SS commanders. At Easter 1942, just six months after Reinhard Heydrich took office as the Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, he moved his family from the Prague Castle to the country castle. Countless studies on Heydrich show that Heydrich maintained Jungfern-Breschan both for official occasions and for his private life and recreation. His wife Lina permanently resided there. He used the 7-hectare (over 17-acre) park for sports, and his wife used the over 30 rooms for social occasions.

The daily trip to work from Jungfern-Breschan to Prague presented itself as a favorable opportunity for assassinating him. The history of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Jungfern-Breschan is an indirect result of the successful assassination attempt on Heydrich. On May 27, Czech agents Jan Kubiš and Jozef Gabčík, who had earlier parachuted into the northern Prague suburb of Libeň, injured Heydrich in a bomb attack just as he was coming out of Jungfern-Breschan. On June 4, 1942, he died as a result of wounds received. At the state funeral for Heydrich at the Prague Castle, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler promised Lina Heydrich special attention and care: "To his wife and children goes our total sympathy and loving care. They will be well cared for in the great SS family."[1] In the early summer of 1942, Heydrich's widow was permitted by Himmler to continue to use the Jungfern-Breschan estate without charge, and preparations were made to transfer to her the title to the estate. On Himmler's initiative, Lina Heydrich was given prisoners to work the estate. From July 1942, a 30-man Jewish work detail from the Theresienstadt ghetto was deployed on the estate, doing gardening and repair work.[2] The prisoners were accommodated in stables and guarded by an SS unit stationed at Breschan.

The detachment was to be withdrawn from Jungfern-Breschan on September 1, 1943, as part of the deportations from Theresienstadt to the death camps in the East. However, in view of the incomplete gardening work and the fruit harvest in the castle gardens, Himmler expressly permitted the postponement of the deportation by a few weeks. From October 1, no more Jews from Theresienstadt were to work for Lina Heydrich. However, they remained there until January 1944 when Himmler directed: "Der Reichsführer-SS requests that the Jewish work detachment at Jungfern-Breschan be replaced as quickly as possible by six female and four male Jehovah's Witnesses."[3] On February 10, 1944, six months later than planned, 15 male Jehovah's Witnesses—10 Germans, 3 Dutch, 1 Pole, and 1 Czech prisoner—from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were sent in the direction of Prague to replace the Jewish ghetto prisoners.[4] They arrived at Jungfern-Breschan on February 14, and on February 15, they were put to work on a variety of agricultural and forestry tasks. From this point on, the estate Jungfern-Breschan was a subcamp of the nearest concentration camp, Flossenbürg.

The transfer of the Jehovah's Witness prisoners to small subcamps and work detachments marked a change in SS policy. The SS leadership had learned that the Jehovah's Witnesses—to the extent there was no conflict with their religious convictions in the concentration camps—complied with the camp rules and exactly performed the work allocated to them. They made no attempts to escape, as they saw their imprisonment as a divine intervention against which they could not rebel. For these reasons the Bible Researcher prisoners (Bibelforscher-Häftlingen) in the eyes of the SS were destined for work at Jungfern-Breschan.

The subcamp at Lina Heydrich's estate is a good example of how SS propaganda was deliberately used to mislead the international press about conditions in the concentration camps and how this group of prisoners was manipulated. Himmler personally wrote to Pohl and the head of the SD in Berlin on January 14, 1945, and ordered that security be removed from these prisoners: "As part of the process of allowing Bible Researchers to be held as groups on individual estates with unconditional freedom and obtaining the best political effects in other countries I wish that the Bible Researchers who are at Mrs. Heydrich's estate, Jungfern-Breschan, to be released from prison. They are confined to the local area. The two Czech Bible Researchers will not be released. They must be removed."[5] That this was purely a propaganda move is shown by the fact that even following their release the prisoners still appeared in the monthly strength reports of the Flossenbürg concentration camp until May 8, 1945, when the estate was liberated.

A serious dispute arose between Lina Heydrich, the Flossenbürg administration, and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) after the concentration camp office assumed responsibility for the use of the prisoners. The dispute had nothing to do with the treatment of the prisoners but with the usual practice of paying a monthly fee for the prisoners' use to the responsible concentration camp. After tough (and from Himmler's and Pohl's perspective, embarrassing) negotiations, Lina Heydrich was permitted, after the intervention of the Reichsführer-SS, to use the prisoners without charge. The monthly demand for prisoners for the Jungfern-Breschan estate was sent directly by the Flossenbürg work office to the Reichsführer-SS, Persönlicher Stab, Berlin SW 11.

The 15 Jehovah's Witnesses in the Flossenbürg subcamp at Jungfern-Breschan had to work in the orchards and vegetable gardens of the castle as well as in the expansive forest. Unlike the Jewish work details at Theresienstadt, where a prisoner was killed by a falling tree while working in a forest, there are no records of such incidents or mistreatment of the Flossenbürg prisoners. One prisoner's testimony states that the food supply was completely inadequate but that the nature of the work allowed plenty of opportunity to obtain additional food. All 15 prisoners who were transferred in February 1944 from Sachsenhausen to Jungfern-Breschan survived the work at Jungfern-Breschan and were freed by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Flossenbürg subcamp Jungfern-Breschan is closely connected with the family of Reinhard Heydrich and his role as Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. However, while there are numerous essays and studies on Heydrich of varying quality, Jungfern-Breschan receives almost no attention. The only publication that deals in detail with the concentration camp and ghetto prisoners in Jungfern-Breschan is the speculative essay by Anna Maria Sigmund on Lina Heydrich, which suffers from a lack of source references, *Die Frauen der Nazis II* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 45–84.

Lina Heydrich's refusal to pay a fee for the use of the Flossenbürg prisoners to the WVHA resulted in a compendious correspondence, which is held by the BA-B (collection NS19). The ZdL (now BA-L) investigated Lina Heydrich on suspicion of the murder of a Theresienstadt ghetto prisoner. From these investigations it is possible to obtain some details about the use of the prisoners in Jungfern-Breschan (BA-L, ZdL, AR 419/63). The personnel files in the AG-F allow the chronology and identity of the use of the prisoners to be traced in detail.

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Die Gedenkrede des Reichsführers SS," in Erich Schneider *Reinhard Heydrich: Ein Leben der Tat* (Prague, 1944), p. 69.
2. Der HSSPF Böhmen und Mähren Karl Hermann Frank an den RFSS, August 28, 1943, BA-B, NS19/18.
3. RFSS Feldkommandostelle to Pohl SS-WVHA, January 12, 1944, BA-B, NS19/18.
4. BA-B, NS4/Fl 274.
5. BA-B, NS19/18. Himmler's naming of the nationalities of the prisoners is erroneous. There was only one Czech Jehovah's Witness from Prague who was held in Jungfern-Breschan. Himmler mistook a Polish prisoner for a Czech.

KIRCHHAM BEI POCKING [AKA POCKING, WALDSTADT, POCKING-WALDSTADT]

Kirchham is located close to Pocking, not far from the Lower Bavarian spa town of Bad Füssing in the Rottaler spa triangle (currently incorporated within the town of Waldstadt). According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was established there on March 6, 1945. About 400 prisoners, almost three-quarters of them Jews from Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as individual prisoners from other countries, according to other sources, many of them political prisoners, were brought to Pocking on this day, probably on foot. The prisoners found themselves housed in the workers' barracks of Flying School (Flugschule) No. 3 on the nearby Pocking airfield (known as the Alter Horst). The construction of this military air base was started at the end of 1936, and emergency landing fields were also located in the neighboring communities of Mittich and Kirchham.

All 400 prisoners were probably housed in a single barrack, which was only intended for 40 people. Since there was no possibility to wash, dirt, lice and other parasites, as well as the inadequate hygienic conditions, caused diseases to spread rapidly. Officially, the prisoners were supplied from the kitchen of the flight school; however, survivors report that the SS and corrupt prisoner-functionaries enriched themselves from the food rations, such that hardly anything remained for the prisoners: in the mornings, there was some bread and a hot broth; in the evenings, a further portion of hot broth. Within the few weeks that the camp existed, most of the prisoners fell seriously ill as a result of malnutrition. At least 200 died due to the conditions in the camp but also because of daily physical mistreatment. Many of the survivors who were interviewed described the conditions in Pocking as worse than in Auschwitz or other camps, in which they were in before.

The prisoners were guarded by six SS guards, probably Hungarian Arrow Cross men. Author Anna Rosmus indicates, however, that the guards also consisted of Luftwaffe soldiers who were unfit for service at the front and who were less brutal to the prisoners than the SS. The prisoners were escorted to work every morning through Pocking, and from there it was a long route march through the forest. Survivors report that they were deployed in order to prepare the airfield for the arrival of dive bombers (Stukas) and to construct defense works. Fighter Squadron 101 of the Hungarian Air Force was stationed at the Pocking air base, which conducted combat missions on the ever-approaching Eastern Front. Toward the end of March, the entire Hungarian Defense Ministry was relocated to the area around Pocking, with the High Command of the Hungarian Air Force located in Pocking itself. The last Hungarian troops, schools, and staff offices were to be concentrated west of the Inn River in preparation for a desperate counterattack. During work there were frequent attacks by low-flying Allied aircraft. How many, if any, prisoners were killed in these attacks is not known. It is not certain whether some 200 to 400 prisoners from the subcamp were deployed to the nearby airfield at Kirchham for the construction of a planned V-2 launch pad, as indicated by Rosmus.

Romek Reibeisen, one of the survivors of the camp, recounts that he arrived in the camp on April 1, 1945, with a transport of 400 prisoners. That this really could have been a second transport—of precisely the same numerical strength as the first—is doubtful. Yet the testimonies of other survivors, such as Abraham Eiboszyc, confirm that additional prisoners were brought to Kirchham in April 1945.

At this time, the living conditions in the camp had already reached rock bottom. Each day up to three inmates died of malnutrition and mistreatment. According to the recollection of Kirchhamer prisoner Abraham Rosmarin, in the last weeks of the camp's existence, Magnus Huber, a parish priest from Austria who had emigrated to Kirchham on political grounds, came almost daily into the camp. He prayed with the Christian prisoners and smuggled pickled cabbage into the camp, distributing it as a source of vitamins among the prisoners infected with typhus—regardless of their confession. After he became infected with typhus himself, Huber died in May 1945. Several prisoners mention that food was repeatedly prepared for them by the local farmers—especially after the local priest in Kirchham publicly preached to those attending religious services that they should help the prisoners. By bribing the guards with food, the farmers were able to supply the prisoners. Eyewitnesses from the community also remember, however, the brutal conduct of the guards, who swore at and beat the prisoners when they made the least attempt to gather up the bread that had been thrown to them.

Men of the 761st Tank Battalion, of the U.S. Third Army—one of the first armored units of the U.S. Army comprised solely of African Americans—liberated the surviving prisoners of the camp on May 2, 1945.

Up to the liberation of the camp on May 2, according to newspaper reports from the immediate postwar years cited by Rosmus, about 200 inmates of the camp had died from the terrible detention conditions to which they had been subjected. Immediately after the liberation, about 100 further prisoners reportedly died.

In a trial, Kirchham Kapo Ernst Friebe, a gardener by profession, was sentenced to four years in a labor camp for the physical abuse of the prisoners. Friebe, who came to Kirchham from Flossenbürg, was even beaten up once by the other Kapos in the camp for his brutality to the prisoners. During the liberation of the camp, he initially managed to escape in civilian clothes. However, he was arrested in June 1945 and interned in Moosbach before being tried in 1947.

SOURCES Anna E. Rosmus addresses the history of the subcamp Kirchham (according to her: Pocking-Waldstadt) in the book *Wintergrün: Verdrängte Morde* (Konstanz: Labhard-Verlag, 1993), pp. 123–163 (published in English as *Wintergreen: Suppressed Murders*, trans. Imogen von Tannenberg [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004]). A brief history of the camp and also a description of the memorial erected there after the war can be found in BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1995), 1:155. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:111. It is also mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

Rosmus has published a collection of sources and testimonies regarding the end of the war and the reconstruction period in Pocking (on both the subcamp and the subsequent DP camp), titled *Pocking: Ende und Anfang; Jüdische Zeitzeugen über Besiegte und Befreite* (Konstanz: Labhard-Verlag GmbH, 1995).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

KÖNIGSTEIN

The Königstein subcamp was formed out of a prisoner transport from the Böhlen subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp. On November 15, 1944, 200 men arrived in

Königstein. The Flossenbürg main camp assigned them the registration numbers 38771 through 38970. Initially they were housed in the inn of the neighboring city Struppen and had to erect a provisional camp out of pressed cardboard, the so-called round Finnish tents, within the Königstein Fortress.[1] With another transport of 768 men from the Buchenwald subcamp of Böhlen on November 28, 1944, and with the addition of the occasional new prisoner, the subcamp grew to almost 1,000 prisoners.[2] With the expansion of the subcamp, the Finnish tent camp became completely overcrowded, and the prisoners were thus moved further into the forest to a barracks camp, which was fenced in with barbed wire, equipped with watchtowers, and consisted of 10 prisoner barracks, a kitchen, and an infirmary. The second transport received the registration numbers 38971 through 39738; the individual prisoners received the numbers 43880 through 43888.

The prisoners were employed on a project of the Geilenberg-Staff, cover name "Schwalbe II," to move fuel-manufacturing facilities underground.[3] The expansion of the project was overseen by the special building management in the Organisation Todt (OT), the office of professor/doctor of engineering Rimpf from the Mineralölbau GmbH.[4] The construction, disguised with the marking "Orion," was carried out on the Elbe River side of Königstein in the sandstone wall on Niederen Kirchleithe, where several tunnels were driven into the mountain parallel to the foot of the wall. As a communication from November 3, 1944, by board member of the Braunkohlen-Benzin (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) SS-Oberführer Fritz Kranefuss, who worked as the executive secretary of the "Circle of Friends of Reichsführer-SS Himmler" (Freundeskreis Himmler), shows, Himmler had already ordered the moving of underground facilities for fuel manufacturing in 1943: "Reichsführer, after the visit of the Circle of Friends at the field commando office in December of last year [1943] by the Circle of Friends, you spoke with me about the possibility, due to the increasing danger from bombing raids, of moving the fuel works underground or to sites where a large degree of natural protection exists. In this context you mentioned above all the Elbe Sandstone Mountains [Elbsandsteingebirge] and gave me the task of conveying your ideas to Professor [Carl] Krauch, head of the responsible authority."[5] After Kranefuss had initially spoken about Krauch's negative stance toward Himmler's suggestions, he informed Himmler about both underground moving projects of the Brabag: "It concerns here an underground move into the so-called Kirchleithe, a large wall located immediately on the Elbe, i.e., in the Elbsandsteingebirge. . . . The second project is being implemented at a river bend near Gera, and in fact with the active help of the SS, i.e., the employed construction units of SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl and SS-Gruppenführer Kammler."[6]

The 977 prisoners whose names have been determined were of the following nationalities: 559 Soviets (described as Russians in SS documents), 167 Poles, 61 French, 57 Italians, 53 Czechs, 25 Germans, 14 Dutch, 12 Yugoslavs, 11 Belgians, 9 Croats, 3 Lithuanians, 3 stateless, 1 Albanian, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Turk. The Turk was the only prisoner in the camp identified as Jewish.[7]

Prisoners unfit for work were deported to the Flossenbürg and Bergen-Belsen main camps in several transports, the last on March 8, 1945, with 227 prisoners. After it became clear that the property could not be completed in time for applicable production in the course of the war, the SS transferred prisoners still fit for work to the S III/Ohrdruf subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp; Ansbach, Dresden Deutsche Reichsbahn, and Leitmeritz subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp; and 9 prisoners to a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp.

Some 68 prisoners died at Königstein, 41 died after the evacuation to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz/Litoměřice, and 38 prisoners died shortly after being transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp.[8] Several prisoners report on the danger of working in the mountains and the killings by the SS guard personnel. For example, Czech Oldrich K. states:

> The prisoners worked in sand stonecliffs, where earth and tunnel work were carried out. We were constructing an underground factory installation. . . . We had to work in dangerous areas where, as a result of thawing, stones fell from the cliffs. I know that prisoners were wounded, in fact even killed from these stones. . . . Sometime in January 1945 it came to a shooting of a political prisoner of German nationality. This prisoner escaped from the camp but was caught again and then had to stand barefoot for three days on the roll call square; he suddenly ran toward the door and was shot with a rifle by a member of the SS. . . . Also in the winter of 1945 it happened that one of the prisoners hid himself in a locomotive on the work site and then fled. He was not caught, but reprisals were taken against the other prisoners. We had to stand in frost through the entire night on the roll call square and we went to work without food.[9]

As the work site was complex and a few kilometers away from the accommodation camp, some prisoners attempted to escape, of which six prisoners succeeded. German prisoner Josef K. said during his questioning in Gelsenkirchen after the war: "I myself saw in Königstein how the SS-Oberscharführer Becker . . . shot two Russian prisoners. We were in the process of putting up a new camp fence. Doing this, both of the Russian prisoners tried to escape. They were already outside of the fence as Oberscharführer Becker shot them with a submachine gun."[10]

Employed guarding the prisoners were Wehrmacht soldiers and SS personnel, whose large total number of 40 Unterführer and 123 guards can be explained by the relatively long distance between the accommodation camp in the forest and the very expansive and complex work site.[11]

Whether the camp leader is identical with SS-Oberscharführer Becker, whom a prisoner named, could not be determined. Camp elder (Lagerältester) Heinrich S. described an SS-Hauptscharführer as camp leader (Lagerführer) without, however, mentioning his name. A Dutch prisoner worked as a prisoner orderly.[12]

After construction had been stopped, the camp was closed. On March 17, 1945, the remaining 642 prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz and further driven to strength-sapping work there on the expansion of an underground property "Richard" for a tank motor factory, which claimed more victims.[13] Regarding this, the camp elder made the following statement:

> The evacuation of the camp took place on March 17, 1945. . . . We prisoners were led to the Königstein train station and loaded into open cars there. We were then taken to Leitmeritz, Czechoslovakia, by train, where we went to camp. During the evacuation the guard personnel consisted of Wehrmacht and SS members. . . . No sick prisoners stayed behind in the camp. The sick in the camp all came along, as they also were all able to walk. There were no seriously ill in the camp. There were no shootings of prisoners during the evacuation. There were also no prisoner escapes. Also as far as I know no prisoner died from the strain of evacuation, as we were in Leitmeritz within one day.[14]

On May 8, 1945, as the Soviet troops approached, the prisoners in Leitmeritz were provided with release papers by the SS camp leadership and officially set free.[15]

SOURCES Information on this subcamp can be found in Hans Brenner, "Eiserne 'Schwalben' für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ-Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des zweiten Weltkrieges," *SäHe* 45:1 (1999): 9–16.

Archival records are available in ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-3032/66, 3249/66; IV 410 AR-Z 177/75, 234/76, Bd. 1 und 2; NARA; and in the ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, pp. 45, 46, statement by the former Czech prisoner Rudolf K. (prisoner no. 38865) before the district court in Jicín/C.R., pp. 262, 263; statement by the former Czech prisoner Oldrich K. (prisoner no. 38851) before the magistrate court in Prague.
2. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, p. 224, statement by Heinrich S. (prisoner no. 39575).
3. BA-P, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk, October 25, 1944, betr. Ausweichanlagen im Geilenberg-Programm.
4. BA-B, Film 1204, Roll 11, Forderungsnachweis Flo No. 677.
5. BA-B, Film 3351, 1fd. No. 6223/6224.
6. Ibid.
7. NARA, T-580, Reels 69–70; NARA, T-1021, Reel 9; see also Hans Brenner, Archiv, Akte Königstein.
8. Ibid.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76. Bd 2, pp. 263, 264, statement by Oldrich K.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, pp. 96–97, statement by Josef K. (prisoner no. 39242).
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, pp. 224–225, statement by Heinrich S.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 1, p. 47, statement by Rudolf K.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, statement by Heinrich S.
15. A copy of the release certificate is in the possession of the author. (Release certificate of the former Polish prisoner Witold Wilga, prisoner no. 37836, October 28, 1944, from Auschwitz to Leitmeritz.)

KRONDORF-SAUERBRUNN

The first Flossenbürg subcamp in the present-day Czech Republic was located at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn (Korunní) to the east of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) in northwest Bohemia. The construction detachment located there from August 1942 to July 1944 consisted of between 50 and 120 prisoners. Its task was to tap a mineral spring.

The work was done for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Arbeitsgruppe W (Economic Activities), Amt W III (Nutrition). Amt W III/3 operated the SS-owned Sudetenquell GmbH, the producer of drinks in Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, Heinrich Mattoni AG. Construction was done under the auspices of Amt W III of WVHA, which was also responsible for payment of all accounts. Heinrich Mattoni AG was responsible for the care of the prisoners.[1] A government building officer, SS-Unterstürmführer Horst Köhler, was in charge of construction.

The construction was to be done within four months. However, a first extension for six months was sought at the end of November 1942. Technical problems and arguments as to responsibility among various SS authorities lengthened the period of construction to two years. During the winter months, construction ceased, and the prisoners were used to maintain the railway under the control of Heinrich Mattoni AG.[2]

An advance detachment of 50 men from the Flossenbürg main camp began preparatory work on August 19, 1942. As of September 7, 1942, there were 100 prisoners at the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp. By the end of 1943, the number had dropped to 50 but would increase to 80 by June 1944.[3] The prisoners were accommodated in a villa or castle, which had been acquired by Heinrich Mattoni AG and was close to the building site. Witnesses state that the building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by SS men. There were delays in acquiring this building, so the prisoners initially were housed in mobile barracks owned by Sudetenquell GmbH.[4] The majority of concentration camp

prisoners in Krondorf-Sauerbrunn were Germans, Austrians, and Czechs. There were three prisoner transports during 1943—April 30, May 1, and June 15—whereby a total of 47 prisoners were transported from the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp to the nearby Flossenbürg subcamp at Neurohlau.[5]

There is no evidence to suggest that prisoners were killed at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, but they were mistreated. A former prisoner, A.K., stated during investigations into conditions at the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp: "Within the camp area there was a stream. During the winter prisoners who were not liked by [SS-Scharführer Johann Baptist Kübler und Hartung] were forced to strip even on the coldest days, break open the ice, and bathe in the pond. I had to do that a few times."[6] According to former prisoners J.W. and K.L., a small group of prisoners was able to escape from the camp in the autumn of 1943. Two of them were caught and brought back to the camp at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn; then they were transferred back to Flossenbürg main camp. It is thought that they were publicly hanged in Flossenbürg.[7]

The commander of the camp between August and December 1942 was SS-Scharführer Johann Baptist Kübler (born January 17, 1914, in Klingsmoos-Pöttmess). From April 1943 to October 1943 he was the commander of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Pottenstein. At a trial by jury in Weiden on July 8, 1957, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for murder and accessory to murder. He also forfeited his civil rights for five years.[8]

Kübler was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Zippe. According to witnesses, the head of the construction site, government building officer SS-Untersturmführer Horst Köhler, unlike the camp administrators, lived outside the castle and protected the prisoners from mistreatment. In addition to the commander and his deputy, the SS personnel consisted of 20 men.[9]

Once the spring had been tapped and a springhouse and storage tank completed in the summer of 1944, the number of prisoners was reduced on July 1, 1944, from 77 to 20. The Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp was finally dissolved on July 15, 1944. The prisoners were taken by rail back to the Flossenbürg main camp.[10]

SOURCES Although Krondorf-Sauerbrunn was the first Flossenbürg subcamp on Czechoslovak territory, it is hardly referred to in the research. Only two studies deal with the camp: the dated Czech overview by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, eds., *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); and Jörg Skriebeleit's essay "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

The main source on the subcamp are the investigation files of the ZdL in BA-L, collection IV 410 AR 3031/66, as well as the building files and accounts contained in the BA-B collection NS4/FL. The transfer lists between Flossenbürg and Neurohlau are located in the CEGESOMA, Microfilm Nr. 14368.

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL-393/1: Letter from the KZ Flossenbürg concentration camp Kommandantur, March 1, 1944, to SS-WVHA-D II.

2. BA-B, NS4/FL-186/1, 72W 848: Letter Bauleitung Waffen-SS und Police Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf. to Krondorf Bauleitung, November 30, 1942. BA-B, NS4/FL-272/1: Letter Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg—Bauwerk Krondorf an die Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf., May 22, 1943.

3. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/1: Stärkemeldung der Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Krondorf für den Monat September 1942, September 30, 1942; BA-B, NS4/FL-186/1: Monatliche Übersicht über abgestellte Häftlinge durch den Lagerkommandanten in Flossenbürg, December 31, 1943, to July 1 1944.

4. BA-B, NS4/FL-272/1: Funkspruch, WVHA-Berlin an die Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf., August 7, 1942.

5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3031/66 Bd. 1, p. 3.

6. ZdL, AR 3031/66.

7. Ibid.

8. ZdL, AR 3031/66 Bd. 1, p. 9.

9. BA-B, NS4/FL-392/4: Aufstellung der Arbeitseinteilung des Arbeitsdienstführers, ca. June 30, 1943.

10. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/: Übersicht über die im Monat Juli 1944 abgestellten Häftlinge durch den Lagerkommandanten in Flossenbürg, August 1, 1944.

LEITMERITZ

In the spring of 1944, the first steps were taken to create a subcamp at Leitmeritz. It would quickly become the largest Flossenbürg subcamp, and its prisoners would call it the "death factory." The reason for the establishment of the Leitmeritz camp was the construction of underground production facilities for the German armaments industry. In two



The entrance to the underground factory "Richard I," erected in occupied Czechoslovakia by prisoners at the Flossenbürg subcamp, Leitmeritz, May 5 to June 1, 1945.
USHMM WS # 70693, COURTESY OF AG-T

connected but competing construction sites, gigantic subterranean production and assembly facilities, several kilometers long, were to be built in Radobyl Mountain near Leitmeritz. The facilities were constructed for the Auto Union AG from Siegmar near Chemnitz, which was to manufacture tank engines, and for the Osram Company from Berlin, which would produce wolfram and molybdenum cables for the aircraft industry. Thus, two construction sites were established at Radobyl Mountain—Project "Richard I" to assemble tank engines for Auto Union and Project "Richard II," the future production site for Osram.

From the beginning of the spring of 1944, several thousand concentration camp prisoners in countless work detachments were deployed in the construction sites for Richard I and Richard II. Their task was to excavate the underground tunnels. Even though construction of Richard I was not complete in November 1944, a prisoner detachment, with selected skilled workers, known as "Elsabe AG," commenced the assembly of tank engines for Auto Union. The first tank shells from Elsabe AG were delivered on November 14, 1944. However, subsequent production remained well behind the expectations of the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) and the company. The continuing inability to get fresh air into the caverns resulted not only in corrosion of the production machines and production falling behind target but also in a rapid deterioration in the health of the prisoners and the civilian workers.

From May 1944, preparations were made to relocate part of the Berlin Osram Company to Leitmeritz. The company was to be known under the cover name "Kalkspat K.G." However, the construction project Richard II never got beyond the planning stage. Construction work for Richard II was constantly delayed because Osram's demands that civilian workers and concentration camp workers be transferred from Richard I to Richard II were rejected by the SS-Führungsstab. By the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, it had become clear to the responsible people within Osram that Germany's defeat was inevitable. Internal considerations for a relocation of production facilities to Bohemia were considered less and less. Officially, however, various Osram employees still tried to obtain healthy and strong concentration camp prisoners for the planned production facility, which was intended to commence operations on April 1, 1945. Even though Osram senior management had decided at the beginning of March 1945 to relocate the majority of its production facilities to subterranean facilities within the "Old Reich," with at least 40 percent of cable production to be relocated to the "Dogger" tunnels near Hersbruck, another Flossenbürg subcamp, Osram still demanded that the SS-Führungsstab accelerate production and increase the number of prisoners and their output.

The size of the Leitmeritz camp and the number of prisoners there constantly grew due to the demands of the SS-Führungsstab, the Armaments Ministry, the companies, and the German war situation. Leitmeritz developed into a gigantic Flossenbürg subsystem, which had its own subcamps, such as in nearby Lobositz. With the implosion of the concentration camp system and the dissolution of the camps, Leitmeritz from 1945 was the collecting point for countless prisoners from the Saxon and north Bohemia subcamps of the Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen, and Flossenbürg concentration camps. The Leitmeritz subcamp continued to exist after the liberation of the Flossenbürg main camp on April 23, 1945. It continued to operate as an independent camp system until the end of Nazi rule in Europe. It was not liberated; it was officially dissolved after the unconditional capitulation of the German Reich on May 8, 1945.

The first transport connected with the construction projects reached Theresienstadt from the Dachau concentration camp on March 24, 1944. It consisted of 500 male prisoners. At this time, part of the Kleine Festung (Small Fortress) in Theresienstadt functioned as a Flossenbürg subcamp. Due to a lack of other detention facilities, the prisoners were initially accommodated in the Gestapo prison in the Kleine Festung. This first prisoner detachment, together with other Gestapo prisoners in the Kleine Festung, was to convert the former Artillery Barracks in Leitmertiz into a camp for concentration camp prisoners. It was planned that this camp would hold 4,000 prisoners. The camp command, together with the SS guards and part of the construction project team, established itself in the former Czechoslovak barracks. After the site had been provisionally fenced in and seven guard towers had been constructed, larger transports of more than 1,000 prisoners began to arrive in Leitmeritz at the end of May. The Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt, which accommodated Flossenbürg prisoners, was likewise overcrowded. In August 1944, there were more than 2,800 prisoners in Leitmeritz. On November 16, 1944, the prisoner population had reached nearly 5,000; and on February 15, 1945, almost 6,660; by the end of April 1945, the prisoner population had reached around 9,000—almost the same number of prisoners that were in the Flossenbürg main camp itself.[1]

The prisoners represented the complete spectrum of prisoners in the National Socialist concentration camps. There were men from all European countries, in just about all prisoner categories, including a relatively large number of Jewish prisoners. In Leitmeritz, they were used as slave laborers. Some 770 women and girls were imprisoned in Leitmeritz between February and April 1945. The prisoner conditions in Leitmertiz were a disaster from the beginning. The capacity to accommodate the masses of prisoners who were transported to Leitmertiz did not grow, sustenance was completely inadequate, and the hygienic conditions and conditions of the air in the camp and caverns were catastrophic. Illness and epidemics soon broke out among the prisoners.

Above all, the conditions on the construction sites, where until the commencement of the production of tank engines in November 1944 most of the prisoners were deployed, were murderous. There were repeated accidents in the underground passages because the construction project team and the SS-Führungsstab, as a result of time pressures imposed by the companies and the Reichs Armaments Ministry,

neglected the most elementary safety precautions. There were almost daily collapses of the roof within the extensive branch-like tunnel system. In May 1944, 60 prisoners in the morning shift were crushed to death when a roof, which had not been secured, collapsed. Conditions scarcely changed when the first assembly lines for the production of tank engines began operation. The Auto Union had to intervene repeatedly with the SS camp command and complain about the condition of the prisoners. "As a result the Gestapo ordered that all camp inmates be X-rayed. This took place between Christmas and New Year's 1944/45 in the Leitmeritz civilian sanatorium." The results were shattering: "forty-five percent had tuberculosis," recalled Svetozar Guček, a Slovenian survivor.[2]

At the end of 1944, the separation of the prisoners into construction and production units was complete. This resulted in a gradual functional gradation of the work detachments, which in turn influenced the survival chances of the prisoners. In the initial stages of production, there was scarcely any difference in the misery for a skilled prisoner worker from a construction prisoner—they were quickly "Richard-ized" (*richardisiert*). It was only from February 1945 that the camp command began to accommodate the production prisoners in their own blocks, to improve the catastrophic hygienic conditions for these prisoners, and to reduce camp rituals to a minimum, such as roll call. For thousands of prisoners the improvements in living conditions, which ultimately were motivated by the considerations of wartime economic rationality, came too late. Only 4,500 of the almost 18,000 concentration camp prisoners who were held in Leitmertiz during the three and one-half months of its existence survived; most of them were construction prisoners. Countless died as a result of working in the camp or at other camps. In the final stage of the National Socialist regime, Leitmertiz operated as a transit camp. Countless death marches from other camps were combined in Leitmertiz. From there they were put on almost 100 goods wagons and "evacuated" in a southerly direction. The number of dead from these last transports from Leitmeritz is unknown.

SOURCES Leitmeritz is one of the most infamous and best-researched Flossenbürg subcamps. Above all, the Theresienstadt Memorial, which looks after part of the construction remains of the Leitmertiz subcamp, has fostered numerous research projects on the Leitmeritz subcamp. As an example, these works by Miroslava Benešová-Langhamerová should be mentioned: "Das Konzentrationslager in Leitmeritz und seine Häftlinge," *TSD* (1995): 217–240; and "První transport vězňů pro stavbu Richard v Litoměřicích," *TL* 22 (1994): 102–107. In 1994, the Theresienstadt Memorial held an international conference on the Leitmeritz subcamp. Some of the presentations at the conference have been published in a collection of essays: Památník Terezín, *Koncentrační tábor Litoměřice 1944–1945* (Terezín, 1995). In German, Miroslav Kárný has published a key essay, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit' in Leitmeritz: Die SS-Führungsstäbe in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft," *1999* 4 (1993): 37–61.

The history of the Leitmeritz subcamp is extensively documented in several collections of source material, which to date have not been exhaustively commented upon. An almost complete documentary collection on the prisoners in the Leitmeritz subcamp is to be found in the archives AG-T and AG-F. Both archives hold documents on the use of the prisoners as well as the SS guards. The SHStA-(C) holds documents relating to the relocation of the Auto Union AG to Leitmeritz. The relocation files of Osram are held in the LA-B. The SÚA has a number of disparate collections on the Leitmeritz complex. In addition, there are extensive investigation and judicial files held in the BA-L (formerly ZdL).

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Lagerstärke 1944–1945, SÚA, OVS, Karton 27, Nr. 34.
2. Erinnerungsbericht des slowenischen Häftlings Svetozar Guček, AG-F, Erinnerungsberichte.

LENGENFELD

On October 9, 1944, the Magdeburg pump construction factory of the Reich-owned Junkers group, which had received the code name "Leng-Werke" from the Armaments Ministry and in 1943 had been moved to Lengenfeld in Vogtland, was allocated prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The allotted 500 prisoners were transported by train from Flossenbürg to Lengenfeld, where they arrived on October 12, 1944.[1] This first prisoner transport had Flossenbürg registration numbers between 5000 and 27000. The exchange of prisoners unable to work, the replacement of the dead with new prisoners, and periodic transports of new prisoners kept the number of prisoners in the subcamp constant at around 800. In November 1944, a transport of Hungarian Jews arrived at the camp and received registration numbers between 33000 and 34000. The last transport was the prisoner group from the closed Plauen (Horn GmbH) subcamp, which arrived in Lengenfeld on March 31, 1945.[2]

The strength report from January 31, 1945, shows 859 prisoners for the Lengenfeld camp, while the one from March 31, 1945, reports 755 prisoners.[3] The decline in the number of prisoners by 100 within two months indicates the high rate of mortality during this time period at the camp. In February and March of 1945 alone, the SS reported 98 dead.[4] In the strength report from April 2, 1945, 20 deaths are cited for the Lengenfeld camp.[5] Some 162 of the dead were cremated in the Reichenbach V crematorium. An additional 27 dead prisoners were buried at Reichenbach and 57 at Lengenfeld.

The strength report from February 28, 1945, conveys a picture of the national composition of the Lengenfeld subcamp at the time: 413 Poles, including 6 Jews; 191 Russians; 78 Hungarians, all Jews; 29 Czechs; 24 French, including 1 Jew; 23 Italians, including 1 Jew; 19 Germans; 7 Croats, including 4 Jews; 5 Yugoslavs, including 1 Jew; 3 each of Bulgarians, Greeks, and Dutch; 2 Belgians; 2 Lithuanians;

1 Albanian; and 1 stateless individual.[6] The prisoners were housed in large double barracks near the work site. The camp was fenced in with electrified wire and secured with four watchtowers, one at each corner. Prisoners reported:

> The prisoners, closely watched, were led to work and back daily. They had to march arm-in-arm in rows of five, flanked right and left by armed SS men in field gray uniforms. In addition, six large German shepherds, trained for attacking humans, ran ahead, behind, and on the side. If one of the emaciated men, who were nothing but skin and bones, wanted to knock off the snow clumps that had stuck to the wooden shoes, he received a kick or a thrust in the back with a rifle butt that caused him to stagger several steps forward. If he fell, the guards with animals would beat him until he stood up. The prisoners wore the usual blue-and-white striped suits. The Kapos were recognizable by a round blue cap and red stripes on the pants. These Kapos were also prisoners, who, however, enjoyed considerable advantages, did not have to work, were assigned as supervisors, and competed with the guard units in brutality.[7]

The prisoners' work sites were in a lower room in a cotton-spinning mill cleared out for air armaments production and in tunnels that had been expanded into underground workrooms. They were "primarily employed in twelve-hour shifts on machine tools such as lathes, milling cutters, grinding machines, etc."[8] A number of the prisoners had to perform the heaviest work of ongoing tunneling, through which the area of the underground production rooms was to be expanded. Former Ukrainian prisoner Vladimir K. reported about this work: "I went to Flossenbürg concentration camp and received there the camp number 27799. Then I went to Lengenfeld, a Flossenbürg work camp. Here I worked in tunnel construction. That was deathly difficult work. Hard rock, no food. Prisoners died in masses."[9] German foremen, engineers, and master craftsmen, some of whom behaved in an extremely hostile manner toward the prisoners, supervised the prisoners during the manufacturing process. Pole Adam Z. said in his statement: "In the light metal group, department 'Rühmann,' master craftsman Beyer distinguished himself as a sadist. In the department of automatic and revolver lathes, the German Cebulinski, also from Magdeburg, was a dogged Prussian."[10]

By contrast, a few German workers and some of the residents, before whose eyes SS brutality took place every day, attempted to slip the prisoners something at work. At garden fences and wall corners on the march path, they left bread or cooked potatoes in transport crates and hid cigarettes or apples.

SS-Oberscharführer Albert Roller functioned as camp leader (Lagerführer), under whom were 5 SS-Unterführer and 48 SS guards.[11] In addition, several German "greens," career criminals kept in concentration camps, served him as denouncers and henchmen. Former Czech prisoner Josef Jokl wrote: "As camp Kapo, a career criminal by the name of Rudolf Schulmeister is his most important denouncer. Once while at work I sharpened a spoon a little, in order to slice bread, and upon return was immediately beaten to exhaustion with truncheons."[12]

On April 10, 1945, a bombardment hit the "Leng-Werke," wounding many prisoners. During the bombardment, prisoners tried to escape. They were, however, cornered by dogs and brought back to camp. One of those escaping was shot, and Roller let him hang for days on the camp gate as a deterrent.[13] A few days later, on April 13, 1945, the evacuation of the camp began with the onset of darkness at around 8:00 P.M. On this day the strength report for Flossenbürg reported that there were still 744 prisoners at the Lengenfeld camp.[14] Already on the first night the SS mercilessly began to murder exhausted prisoners; 21 of them were shot shortly before reaching Rodewisch. More were killed near Wernesgrün. By Johanngeorgenstadt there were 92 dead.[15] During this night, however, several prisoners were able to escape, such as a group of 10 Polish prisoners who were, however, caught again and remained in the Klingenthal prison until their liberation on May 7, 1945.[16] The SS shot 4 other escaped prisoners near Werda.

On April 15, 1945, a rail transport with 1,123 concentration camp prisoners, 188 of whom were sick prisoners from the Lengenfeld subcamp, set out from Johanngeorgenstadt. On this, the investigative report on the Lengenfeld camp states: "It is to be assumed that the evacuation of the subcamps Johanngeorgenstadt, Lengenfeld, and Zwickau were carried out together from Johanngeorgenstadt to Karlsbad. Near Karlsbad various march columns were formed from the collective transport. The various details or parts of them separated again and continued the evacuation by foot in different directions. The Lengenfeld subcamp, with the exception of 188 prisoners who were apparently joined up with the column destined for Theresienstadt, set off toward Flossenbürg, but only made it to Tachau."[17]

The larger part of the Lengenfeld subcamp, namely, the more than 400 remaining prisoners, were driven by the SS, together with part of the Zwickau subcamp with whom they had already met on April 14, 1945, at the sports field in Schönheide, by foot through Karlsbad—Talsperre—Petschau (Bečov)—Marienbad (Mar. Lázně)—Planá—Tachov—Pisařovy Vesce. Here, the SS must have received the news that U.S. troops were approaching Flossenbürg. After a massacre, apparently out of fury about the failure of their plan to bring the prisoners to Flossenbürg, the SS changed the direction of the column. On April 22, 1945, they marched the prisoners through Tachov—Staré Sedliště—Doly—Stráz, ultimately in order to carry out another massacre among the last prisoners of this column in the area around Přimda. On April 21, 1945, as the column came to the country road between Martinov and Holubin near Marienbad, low-flying planes attacked them early in the morning. Instead of giving them aid, the SS mercilessly killed all the wounded. In the

evening, the German population brought the dead by cart to Pistov and buried them in a pit in the forest, 100 meters (328 feet) away from a graveyard.[18] As the death march arrived in the town of Doly near Bor on April 24, 1945, only around 200 prisoners were still living from the Lengenfeld subcamp. After an air raid, the 17 Czechs in the column, as they had planned, played dead. The SS did not take any more time to count and drove the rest of the prisoners on.[19]

SS camp leader Albert Roller, one of those responsible for the crimes committed at the Lengenfeld camp, was sentenced to death in the Flossenbürg Trial and executed in 1947.[20]

SOURCES Peter Schmoll mentions the camp in *Die Messerschmitt-Werke im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Regensburg: Mittelbayrische Druck- & Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), p. 189. Archival records may be found at BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3040/66, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68; and ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AK-IPN, I-8187, Protokoll der Aussage des ehemaligen polnischen Häftlings Adam Z. (Häftl.-Nr. 27 575), March 30, 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, and Nr. 4, p. 98.
4. NARA, Film T 580, Rolls 69–70; Film T 1021, Roll No. 9; see also Hans Brenner, Archiv, Akte Lengenfeld.
5. BA-B, Film Nr. 41820, Aufnahme-Nr. 787–791.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, B1. 98.
7. Hermann Gerisch, report to the author from July 2, 1980.
8. Reports from the former Polish prisoners Józef Müller (prisoner no. 27548) and Jan Szopa (prisoner no. 27747); quoted in Peter Schmoll, *Die Messerschmitt-Werke im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Regensburg: Mittelbayrische Druck- & Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), p. 189.
9. Wladimir Kryshanowski (in Gestapo interrogation he called himself Wladimir Ponomarenko, prisoner no. 27799), letter to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemaliges KZ Flossenbürg, Regensburg, from June 28, 1995. Copy in possession of the author.
10. AK-IPN, statement by Adam. Z.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
12. Josef Jokl (prisoner no. 27341), report to the author from July 23, 1978.
13. Hermann Gerisch, report to the author from July 2, 1980.
14. BA-B, Film 14430, B1. 1264.
15. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 1, B1. 93, Bericht des ehemaligen luxemburgischen Häftlings Albert Hommel v. 09.05.1946—"Marches de la Mort."
16. AK-IPN, statement by Adam. Z.
17. BA-L, Zdl, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, pp. 977–979.
18. Josef Jokl, report to the author; see also Gedenkstätte Pistov, Tschechischer Bericht (Vytišteno péčí Oku; text HDK-CSBS Tachov); see also Richard Švanderlik, "Pístovské memento," *Hamelika* (Ročnik XIII/1985/, Čislo 138, Mariánské Lázně, April 8, 1985), pp. 21–23.
19. Josef Jokl, report to the author.
20. NARA, Complete List of War Crimes Case Trials. Quoted in Sieger, Das Konzentrationslager, p. 488. Cited in Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979) 2: 488.

LOBOSITZ

In 1939, the National Socialists established several prisons, ghettos, and camps at the picturesque junction of the Eger and Elbe rivers, at Leitmertiz (Litoměřice), a north Bohemian district town and bishop's residence. The camps in this region are exemplary for showing the complete dimension of Nazi Germany's racial and political persecution. Except for their close proximity, these camps had little in common with each other. The prisoners were victims of a variety of different measures. The establishment of the camps in turn was based on a variety of different "racial political" or war economic motives. The prison conditions varied between the camps. Shortly after the rest of the first Czechoslovakian Republic was occupied in 1939, a Gestapo prison was established in the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt, a southern suburb of the former Habsburg garrison city. It was a Gestapo prison for Czech resistance fighters. The Kleine Festung continued to be a place of internment and execution of political opponents until the end of the war.

In November 1941, the remainder of the city area of Theresienstadt was declared to be a Jewish ghetto. Jewish families from Bohemia, Germany, and other West European states were crammed into the Theresienstadt ghetto and from October 1942 deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. In nearby Leitmeritz, what was to become the largest Flossenbürg subcamp was established in the early summer of 1944. More than 15,000 concentration camp prisoners from all over Europe were used on a gigantic construction project to relocate underground the armaments firms Auto Union and Osram. One-third of the prisoners, including many Jews who had been determined in Auschwitz as capable of working and had escaped the gas chambers, were not to survive the Leitmeritz camp. There was another camp only a few kilometers from the camp complexes in Theresienstadt and Leitmeritz. Here the prisoners' survival chances in the Lobositz (Lovosice) subcamp were much higher.

The establishment of a subcamp in Lobositz had nothing to do with the camps established in Theresienstadt and Leitmeritz. It had more to do with the relocation of the SS-Hauptamt C-I, the SS office for troop care, from Berlin-Lichterfelde to a region less threatened by bombing raids. In 1943, after several bombing raids on Berlin, numerous SS offices that were based in the "SS District Lichterfelde" were relocated. One of these was the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothing Sales Store), which was relocated to Schlackenwerth (see Flossenbürg/

Schlackenwerth); another was the Amt für Truppenbetreuung (Hauptamt C-I) [Office for Troops Care (Main Office C-I)], which was relocated to Lobositz. Both SS offices had Flossenbürg subcamps attached to them.

The SS-Hauptamt für Truppenbetreuung was responsible for the ideological, moral, and social well-being of SS units. Its task was to provide and distribute a variety of military and civilian items. They were distributed by the Amt C-I to SS units in the front line and to SS bases, to SS hospitals, and to SS family members. The Amt für Truppenbetreuung administered military goods such as naval armaments, a variety of infantry equipment, parachute silk, and such civilian items as musical instruments, stationary, tobacco, wine, liquors, cameras, and even radios. The small industrial city of Lobositz, close to Theresienstadt and Leitmertiz, offered itself as the place to store all these items, which the Amt C-I had collected all over the Reich and the occupied territories. Lobositz was an agro-industrial town with a large sugar refinery. It was a central rail junction in northern Bohemia and had many warehouses and other possibilities for storage.

As such a camp required a large number of personnel, the SS-Hauptamt began from 1943 to use many Czech civilian workers in Lobositz, together with Gestapo prisoners who were brought from the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt for work at Lobositz. However, the SS resorted to another source of labor to look after and maintain the technical equipment in the Department for the Maintenance of Radio Receivers (Abteilung für die Instandsetzung von Rundfunkempfängern). Beginning in the spring of 1944, the SS-Hauptamt C-I used a few specialists from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. On May 20, 1944, 10 prisoners—3 Germans, 2 Poles, a Belgian, an Italian, a Frenchman, a Czech, and a Russian, each with the title of radio technician—were transferred from Flossenbürg to the new Lobositz subcamp.[1]

On May 22, the prisoners had to commence work in Lobositz.[2] This first work detachment, as with the construction detachment in Leitmeritz, was at first accommodated in the Gestapo prison in the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt. From there they were taken to work at Lobositz, barely eight kilometers (five miles) away. The reason for this is that, as with Leitmertiz, there were only workplaces in Lobositz. There was no camp, at least not in the traditional sense. On August 28, 1944, the number of prisoners in the Lobositz detachment was increased by 14 to 24. The additional prisoners came from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Almost all of the prisoners were French. With 24 prisoners, the Lobositz subcamp had reached the maximum number of prisoners that it would have.[3]

Although the Lobositz detachment had been specifically established by the Amt C-I as a radio workshop, there were always to be competing demands from the "important war" subcamp at Leitmeritz. Detachments from Lobositz were repeatedly summoned to Leitmertiz to construct tunnels or to install electrical equipment. It was only in the autumn of 1944 that Dr. Wolf, who was in charge of Amt C-I, was able to have the whole of his detachment based in Lobositz. The detachment was accommodated in rooms of the police prison, which was located in the court building. It was there that the prisoners, as originally planned, worked on repairing radio receivers for SS soldiers on the front lines. For the concentration camp prisoners, this was privileged work. As in other SS office detachments, it was possible for the prisoners to regularly obtain additional food and sometimes even cigarettes. The regular contact with the Czech civilian workers also increased the prisoners' survival chances.

On the other hand, the prisoners were constantly under the threat of being transferred to another camp. There were constant transfers to Flossenbürg or to Leitmeritz. As early as August 31, the first Lobositz prisoner was transferred back, probably because he suffered from dysentery.[4] Three prisoners were transported back to Flossenbürg on September 22. Another followed on November 3, 1944, with the result that at the end of November 1944 there were only 19 men in the camp.

These men continued to work in Lobositz repairing radios almost until the end of the war. However, because the SS-Hauptamt C-I had a demand for additional prisoner labor, prisoner detachments from the nearby Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz were repeatedly sent to Lobositz to help with the work. After a short period of time, most were returned to the murderous work in constructing tunnels, as that work was regarded as more important for the war effort. Notwithstanding the rather privileged position of the prisoners in the Lobositz subcamp, there is one recorded death in the camp. The 46-year-old Belgian prisoner Vinzenz Schlepmann died a few weeks before liberation, on March 16, 1945. The SS prisoner list, however, gives the place of death as Leitmeritz and not Lobositz.[5] Units of the Red Army liberated the remaining 18 prisoners in Lobositz on May 7, 1945.

SOURCES The small Flossenbürg subcamp at Lobositz has only been more closely examined in publications of the Theresienstadt Memorial. In a short essay, Miroslavá Langhamerová-Benešová tries to document completely the names of the prisoners: "Práce vězňů pro SS Hauptamt C I v Lovosicich," *TL* 29 (2001): 53–59.

There are only a few source documents for this subcamp. It is possible to accurately reconstruct the number of prisoners in the Lobositz subcamp. This information is based on the relevant sources such as the *Häftlingsnummernbuch* and transport list, which are held in the CEGESOMA; and in NARA, with copies in the AG-F. Less revealing, on the other hand, are the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L (ZdL, 410 AR 3041/66).

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport lists, May 20, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.

2. Forderungsnachweis für die Zeit vom 22. Mai bis 31. Mai 1944, June 1, 1944, BA-B, NS4/Fl 393/1.

3. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.

4. Rücküberstellung, August 31, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.

5. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.

MEHLTHEUER

On September 29, 1944, the Army High Command, in agreement with the armored car main committee, ordered the moving of a subsidiary of the Vomag AG at Plauen/Vogtland to the net and curtain factory at Mehltheuer.[1] This company, on the basis of its request for additional workers, was allocated a prisoner group of 200 women and girls from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on December 2. They were primarily Polish Jews, most of whom had been sent from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and from there, after about two weeks, to Bergen-Belsen. Several German Jews, such as the camp elder (Lagerältester) from Mehltheuer, Eugenia L., were also recorded as Poles on the transport list.[2] The women and girls received the registration numbers 59454 through 59653 from the Flossenbürg main camp. The prisoners had the following composition, broken down by age: 14 born between 1900 and 1909, 65 born between 1910 and 1919, 80 born between 1920 and 1924, 38 born between 1925 and 1929, 1 born in 1930, and 2 with no information.

The female prisoners were housed in the company's warehouse, a shed, and on the top floor of the factory, in whose lower rooms they were brought in to work on machine tools. Sara K. reported:

> We worked in a factory which belonged to the "Vomag" company. . . . Earlier they possibly produced curtains and net curtains there, but as we arrived machines were being fit in on which we were employed producing parts: long bolts, screws, and various other parts. Back then I was not even 18 years old and was already working on a large revolving machine and for a while also on inspection. The German foremen in the factory did not harm us. They demanded work but did not torment us. My foreman was an old man—quiet and gentle. There was a foreman there, not old, around 40—it appeared to me he was a resident of Mehltheuer. He helped us a tremendous amount. He brought bread and sometimes he caused defects in the machines so that we could rest a bit.[3]

An expansion of the Mehltheuer subcamp took place on March 9, 1945, with the arrival of a group of 146 female prisoners from the closed-down subcamp at the Siemens-Schuckert Werke (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) in Nürnberg. It was these female Hungarian Jews who, after the deportation to Auschwitz, had been brought to Nürnberg, specifically to the Flossenbürg subcamp Nürnberg (Siemens-Schuckert Werke). They already wore the Flossenbürg registration numbers from the series 55573 through 56290. They received their accommodation in a barracks on the factory grounds, although some of them were also employed in production outside the Vomag factory.

The factory grounds were fenced in and equipped with guard towers. Chaja-Hela G. testified about the guards: "The SS camp personnel consisted of SS members, who guarded the camp from the outside, and SS women [Aufseherinnen], who guarded us in the camp and at work. I remember the camp leader. Only after the camp had been liberated, when the Americans interrogated him, did I learn that his name was Fischer."[4] This was the SS-Unterscharführer Fischer, to whom 2 SS-Unterführer, 19 SS guards, and 18 SS-Aufseherinnen were subordinate.[5] The female prisoners all agree in their assessments of the SS-Aufseherinnen. Sara K. testified: "I remember Marianne. She had a limp in one foot. Was young—around 20 or so. It seemed to me that she was a nurse. She was a sadist. She broke my nose. Marianne and also the 'Zwiklinska' tormented especially older women. 'Russian gems,' that was the speaking style of 'Zwiklinska,' which is how she was called by the older women K. and I., who really were victims of these two SS women. They were beaten and tormented by Marianne and the 'Zwiklinska.' "[6]

Chaja-Hela G. also expressed herself similarly during her witness questioning: "There were rather a lot of SS Aufseherinnen in the camp, but they changed often—only a few were stable from the beginning to the end. There were the SS women 'Marianka,' 'Zwiklinska,' and 'Hohe Genändel'—those were nicknames. Among the SS women were those that beat us for every little thing and also without any reason, and there were also good ones, that means those that did not do anything bad toward us. . . . I've seen how Marianne beat other female prisoners. The other two also beat."[7]

The German camp elder, Eugenia (Jenny) Lerner, played a special role in the camp, about whom Sara K. testified:

> Concerning conditions in the camp, I must say that due to the Jewish camp elder, Frau Lerner, things were orderly with us in the Polish camp—the rations were equally distributed and, although it was very little, it was nevertheless better than in other camps. Only as the end approached did the hunger come—that was really a difficult time. . . . After the liberation Frau Lerner told us that she had personally seen a document at the commandant's—an order—that he showed only to her. According to this order he was supposed to lead us all to the forest nearby and there we would be shot. He said to Frau Lerner that he would not carry out this order. Two days before liberation he opened the camp and allowed us to take food from the stockrooms, which were near the train tracks. . . . He stayed in the camp and the Americans took him into custody.[8]

The SS camp leader (Lagerführer) Fischer also prevented a staff of Hungarian Arrow Cross Fascists, which appeared on

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

the scene shortly before the occupation by U.S. troops, from carrying out the shooting of Jewish prisoners.[9]

During the entire life of the camp, despite the inadequate food supply, there was only one fatality. After the liberation of the women by the U.S. troops on April 16, 1945, they were brought, on May 1, 1945, to another camp, the Rentzschmühle on the Elster River, which the Americans had set up as a hospita1.

SOURCES Some information on the Mehltheuer camp is available in Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemlaiges KZ Flossenbürg, 1999).

Archival sources may be found in ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3069/66; and ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-PG, Schreiben des OKH, BdE, September 26, 1944, an die Fa. Vomag AG Plauen.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 66.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 1, p. 203, testimony by Sara K. (prisoner no. 59628).
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 1, p. 100, testimony by Chaja-Hela G. (prisoner no. 59596); see also BA-B, Film Nr. 14430, p. 1266.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
6. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/77, Bd. 2, p. 204, testimony by Sara K.
7. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3060/66, Bd. 1, p.101, testimony by Chaja-Hela G.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 2, pp. 203, 204, testimony by Sara K.
9. Gunter Zeidler, Mehltheuer, report to the author from April 21, 1981.

MEISSEN-NEUHIRSCHSTEIN

The Neuhirschstein Castle, which was built in the thirteenth century and lies along the Elbe River approximtively 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Riesa and 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Meissen, had been owned by the Busse family since 1892. In a letter dated October 7, 1943, the head of the administration in the Meissen district confiscated "the entire castle Neuhirschstein . . . including the park and garden for a high-ranking prisoner of the state and his entourage."[1] The owner, Louise Busse, was allegedly given a house in the "Weisser Hirsch" villa district in Dresden in return.[2] The above-mentioned high-ranking prisoner of the state was Belgian King Leopold, who had been confined in the Laeken Castle near Brussels since the occupation of Belgium.

Before the royal family was brought to the castle, which was now called "Haus Elbe," it had to be secured. Also on October 7, 1943, the special unit for this task, headed by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in charge of this project, received about 150 prisoners who were transferred from the Dachau concentration camp to Neuhirschstein and had to do construction and reinforcement work under the command of the SS-Construction Department in Dresden. The prisoners were almost exclusively Italians.[3] There is evidence that 23 prisoners were also transferred from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on October 31 and December 26. Prisoners were also transferred to Neuhirschstein from the subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Dresden (SS-Pionier-Kaserne), where especially skilled workers were interned. The Neuhirschstein subcamp is noted only a few times in the Flossenbürg prisoner register because the prisoners were transferred afterward either to Dresden, to Flossenbürg, or to other camps. Some transfers from and to Neuhirschstein are verifiable, such as the transfer of 16 prisoners from Neuhirschstein to Sachsenhausen, on December 4 and 5, 1943, as ordered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[4] Out of the 16 prisoners—5 Germans, 5 Slovenes, 3 Poles, 2 Russians, and 1 Frenchman—5 were locksmiths, 3 were construction workers, 1 was a farmer, and 7 were unskilled workers. It is possible that they were transferred in exchange for 14 prisoners who had been transported in November from Sachsenhausen to Neuhirschstein.[5]

As reported by local chronicler Walter Kuntze, the prisoners had to set up reinforcement work and wire enclosures. They also had to build, within a short period of time, a guardhouse for the SS, with stones delivered over the Elbe River. An indirect proof of the strain caused by this project is provided in a letter sent from the SS-Pionier-Kaserne subcamp in Dresden to the commandant in Flossenbürg: "The labor detail which has been assigned to the Neu-Hirschstein Haus Elbe has used more potatoes than allocated in the budget because of additional work and night work."[6] As witnesses from that time report, some prisoners were also lent short term to local businesses. For example, two prisoners, one of them an American, supposedly worked in a carpenter's workshop in nearby Bahra.

The prisoners were housed in stables and barns around the castle and had to suffer under the most brutal conditions. At least four shootings of prisoners are known to have taken place between November 10 and 20, 1943, for apparent escape attempts. Two Italian prisoners, who missed the evening roll call, were found and shot the next day by canine officer SS-Rottenführer Helmut Fritzsche. A Russian and a Polish prisoner were also shot dead, as attested to by the morgue certificate issued by the garrison physician from the SS-Pioneer Replacement Battalion in Dresden.[7] The brutality of the guard force was investigated after the war in various court proceedings: Fritzsche was sentenced by an American military court to 15 years in prison.[8] SS-Oberscharführer Artur Abe, who worked as a guard from July 1939 at Flossenbürg, then later in the first Flossenbürg subcamp in Stulln as well as in Neuhirschstein, was sentenced in 1949 by the jury in Amberg to 14 years in prison. Among other things, he was sentenced for proven participation in the killing of an Italian. The dead prisoners were supposedly wrapped in sheets and transported in trucks to the

Meissen crematorium. However, their actual cremation cannot be proven. There are no documents available about the makeup and strength of the guard force except for a transport list with 12 SS-Schützen and SS-Rottenführer Kiehl from December 12, 1944.[9]

Some labor allocation receipts of the command headquarters in Flossenbürg show the extent of prisoner deployment.[10] The construction department of the Waffen-SS and police in Dresden was charged for 220 prisoners for the "construction project Haus Elbe" in December 1943, about half of which were skilled and half unskilled workers. From the middle of the month until December 25, 24 unskilled workers and 74 skilled workers were assigned. After the middle of February 1944—in the meantime, work was possibly stopped—the SS-Special Building Detachment "Haus Elbe" was charged first for 20, then for 50, prisoners. The remaining 30 prisoners were pulled out on March 4, 1943; the labor allocation receipt to the construction inspectorate "Haus Elbe" notes the "ending of the detachment." However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners had to have worked in Neuhirschstein until May 23, 1944. Fees for prisoners were charged to the Dresden construction department until September 1944.[11] Strong fluctuation in prisoner numbers, prisoner heterogeneity, the time limitation of prisoner deployment, and the strict secrecy of the SS all constitute reasons why there is relatively little known about actual prisoner deployment.

On June 6, 1944, immediately after the Allied invasion of Normandy, King Leopold was transported via Erfurt and Weimar to Neuhirschstein. His wife, Princess Liliane, as well as his children, Josephine-Charlotte, Baudoin, Albert, and Alexander, left the following day. They arrived there on June 11, 1944, and had to remain, together with their personnel, in the castle, which was secured by barbed wire and under the guard of SS men.

The reports concerning the strength of the guards and prisoners of the work camps in the area of responsibility of the HSSPF Elbe received after January 1945 point to 50 SS guards doing guard duty but no prisoners.

The Belgian royal family was taken south on March 5, 1945, and finally liberated by U.S. troops close to Salzburg. The castle, which had, for example, an impressive porcelain collection, was looted by the local population after the departure of the royal family.

SOURCES The AG-F has at its disposal the Flossenbürg main sources and excerpts from a writing by local historian Walter Kuntze. Two proceedings of the central authority of the ZdL at BA-L (410 AR 3038/66 and 410 AR 2629/67 as well as collective papers 501) contain mainly copies from the process papers of the Amberg jury court. They are available in print form as Lfd. No. 181 of the *Justiz u. NS-Verbrechen*. The investigation reports of the prosecuting attorney's office in Weiden of the Neuhirschstein subcamp can be found in the ASt-Amg.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. See also Herbert Küttner, "Auf höhere Weise beschlagnahmt," newspaper article, n.d., AG-F.
2. As reported by the contemporary witness Mrs. Lieselotte Nauck to the writer of the report, January 19, 2002. At the time the subcamp operated, Mrs. Nauck worked as housekeeper at the neighboring manor Rissel.
3. See also Toni Siegert, "Zusammenfassender Bericht für das Schloss Neuhirschstein," in AG-F. Siegert could rely on sources at ITS. The prisoner's list of the Dachau concentration camp shows 144 prisoners were transferred on October 13, 1943, to Flossenbürg (source: AG-D).
4. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14787 (the WVHA letter from November 29, 1943, and undated transfer list).
5. BA-B, NS 4/FL 390, telex of the Flossenbürg Kommandant Kögel from November 3, 1943.
6. ITS, Hist. Archiv, Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10, Blatt 15: Letter of the Dresden Kommandoführer Marggraf from February 24, 1944; copy of Toni Siegert in AG-F.
7. Postmortem certificates for Aleco Fiaravanti, Waclaw Stepien, and Jarosowski, copies in AG-F.
8. *United States vs. Helmut Fritzsche*, Case No. 000-Flossenburg-4.
9. BA-B, NS 4/FL 428.
10. Ibid., 393, vol. 1: Reports of requirement for the months of December 1943, February and March 1944.
11. ITS, Hist. Archiv, Hängeordner Meissen Schloss Neuhirschstein; copy of Toni Siegert in AG-F.

MITTWEIDA

The Mittweida subcamp was formed on October 9, 1944, with a transport of 503 women and girls from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp.[1] Of these prisoners 286 came from the Soviet Union (all recorded as Russians in SS documents), 177 from Poland, 22 from Italy, 8 from Yugoslavia, 2 from Croatia, and 1 from Germany. There is no information on 7 of these women. Among the Poles were also a group of about 50 women who had taken part in the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 and had been incorporated into the transport at Auschwitz.[2]

The women were employed on the presses for making synthetic and iron parts in the radio equipment works of C. Lorenz AG, which had been moved from Berlin to Mittweida. In addition, this company, which was almost 100 percent owned by the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), deployed concentration camp prisoner labor for its radio equipment production in two subcamps of Gross-Rosen, one in Guben with 1,000 women and another in Ober-Hohenelbe (Horejsi Vrchlaby) with 450 women. In contrast to Mittweida, where there were officially no Jews in the camp, in both of these other subcamps for C. Lorenz the prisoners were primarily Jews.[3]

As of the fall of 1944, the decision for distributing the concentration camp prisoner labor force had been passed on to Albert Speer's Armaments Ministry and the "personal responsibility of the industry" with their groups and committees.

Anton Freiheit von Massenbach, acting as representative of C. Lorenz and as leader of the Aircraft Radio Equipment Committee, may have influenced the allocation of concentration camp prisoners to Mittweida.[4] Furthermore, the fact that Emil Helfferich and Kurt Freiheit von Schröder, as members of the Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer-SS Himmler (Freundeskreis Himmler), were on the board of C. Lorenz, and met with the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, at the Freundeskreis gatherings, also could have influenced the transport of concentration camp prisoner labor units to C. Lorenz.

The women had to make their way from the accommodation camp to the factory rooms in the cleaned-out spinning mill on a path fenced in by barbed wire, a type of "lion's path," like in the circus. They worked in two alternating shifts. The day shift was from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.; the night shift was from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The work was very demanding and dangerous due to the high temperatures around the presses and the resulting steam. Workers often got burned.[5]

The management of the Flossenbürg concentration camp claimed a "slave lending fee" of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner worker. The value of the products that the female prisoners produced was many times more than the price the workers were paid. For the month of December, the Flossenbürg claims resulted in 41,940.85 RM after deductions for provision costs, which the company covered.[6]

The daily 12-hours of work increasingly exhausted the physical strength of the women and girls, especially as all the questioned female prisoners agreed that the food ration was completely inadequate. The clothing often consisted only of thin, worn clothes, on which, in order to prevent escape attempts, a piece of material of a noticeably different color was put on the back of the clothes. The women owned hardly any underwear so that they themselves made primitive substitutes. They wore wooden shoes, with the upper part made out of cloth.[7]

In the factory section where the female prisoners worked, there was an explosion at the beginning of 1945, and a fire followed on the floor. It can be assumed that it might have been an act of sabotage by the prisoners.[8]

The only prisoner who attempted to escape was a Pole.[9] Yugoslav Danica B. reported on the accommodation: "The camp consisted of a total of five or six barracks. We prisoners were housed in two barracks, the outpatient department with the washroom and showers was located in one, the third was empty. A barrack inside the camp served as housing for the SS personnel, the camp guards."[10] The possibility to shower and wash clothes was viewed by the women as one of the few advantages of Mittweida in comparison to other camps such as Auschwitz and Krakau-Plaszow.

Initially, SS-Oberscharführer Teichmann was the camp leader, who was relieved by camp leader (Lagerführer) Wiss. Hana U.F. testified about them: "The first detail leader was an older person. He was a decent man. He did not say much. The second detail leader was in his forties. The guard personnel consisted of SS men from Yugoslavia and Croatia; they were not Germans, maybe ethnic Germans. The SS Aufseherinnen [female guards] were from Germany. The camp doctor was a Russian named Vera, and her orderly was also Russian, both prisoners."[11] In addition to the camp leader, 10 SS guards and 27 Aufseherinnen belonged to the guard personnel.[12]

Pole Irena Jeruszka reported on the conditions at the camp: "On Sundays and holidays we stood for hours at roll call because the SS Aufseherinnen thoroughly inspected our barracks. If they had found anything a punishment was imposed in addition to beatings—which a young blonde, who we called 'Katze' [cat], especially enjoyed. As punishment our hands were tied or we were sent to the cellar, where one had to stand in water."[13] Yugoslavian Darinca B. testified:

> As far as the abuses are concerned, the SS members used the tested punishment method—all for one, one for all. Thus for everyone's mistake, we had to spend several hours at roll call kneeling in file after we had had twelve hours in the factory behind us. One time we had to stand the whole night through because a Pole had written a letter to Poland and had given it to the post office via the foreman of the factory. The address could not be found and the letter was returned to the factory. So that this would not happen again we were punished in advance and the Pole disappeared from the camp. We thought she had been killed, but after a few weeks she showed herself again, pale, emaciated, and sheared to the skin. In confidence she told us that she was in a cellar where she had to stand for three weeks and as soon as she moved, drops of water fell from the room onto her shaved skin. In addition she was beaten a lot and tormented with hunger. In the same way, kneeling in file, we were punished because three female prisoners—Jehovah's Witnesses—did not want to work on Saturdays for religious reasons.[14]

Several women testified about the camp evacuation, which began on April 13, 1945: "One morning Dora came in and told us that the Americans are very close and that we would be liberated. We should just behave calmly. We were brought back to the camp and locked up. There was no food left. In the evening we were counted. A fellow prisoner had a nervous breakdown. The detail leader took her to a remote corner of the camp and shot her. We looked at him and heard the shot. The one [prisoner] shot was from Warsaw."[15] "Not only our camp was being moved; during the march they put us together with another women's camp. We marched day and night. Those who could not go any further stayed behind. I do not know what happened to them. At a train station we waited for the train. Like everyday there was another air raid there. When the train came, coal was taken off and we were loaded on. We made it to southern Germany without rations."[16] The transport went to Leitmeritz. There the Jewish

prisoners were taken out and sent by foot to Theresienstadt. The SS joined up the women of the Mittweida camp with a transport of male prisoners, which traveled to Prague via Kralupy. "We arrived in Prague on May 1, where many people were expecting us at the train station. Red Cross ambulances came immediately and took the sick away. Trucks brought bread, soup, coffee, and cooked potatoes. We were allowed to get out of the cars and receive food. Then we could, for the first time, in the truest sense of the word, fill ourselves up, but we could not hold the food down in our stomach and intestines and we had to regurgitate everything again and the hunger did not end. Those who wanted to could move freely about the train station."[17]

From the testimony of Irena J., we can gather how confused the SS must have been: "As the commandant went to the telephone the Czechs said to the Aufseherinnen that he ran away because the Russians and allies were approaching. The Aufseherinnen opened the cars and let us out. They took their uniforms off. Underneath they had on normal clothes. As the commandant came back he threatened to kill us and had us driven back in the cars. With the help of Czechs I was still able to escape."[18]

At Prague-Bubenec, many of the prisoners of this transport were freed and hidden in hospitals and apartments by members of the Czech Red Cross and groups of the Czech resistance, who openly rose up against the German occupation a few days later. The transport continued on, and only after passing Budweis (Ceske Budjovice) did the prisoners experience liberation on May 9, 1945, near Velemin.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Katharina Losikowa, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg—Kommando Mittweida," in *Kasematten des Todes* (Moscow, 1996). The following archival collections are also important: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3037/66; IV 410 AR-Z 106/68; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1: 117, refers to the Mittweida subcamp.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstatten unter dem Reichsfuhrer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch-besetzten Gebieten 1939–1945* (Aro1sen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 117.
2. Irena Jeruszka, Warsaw (prisoner no. 55241), report to the author from August 25, 1995.
3. Hana U.F., who used a fake name, was the only Jew in the camp. Her prisoner name is not known. See also ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 1, B 1. 121.
4. Ba-VEB-Bm-KMS, Akten Astra-Werke, Nr. 105, p. 000129, Zusarnmenstellung der Fertigungen der Astra-Werke fur bestirnmte Rüstungsproduktionen.
5. Kurt Ast, report to the author from a former German civil worker at C. Lorenz AG from July 13, 1977.
6. BA-B, Film Nr. 4053, Forderungsnachweis Flo Nr. 802.
7. Kurt Ast, report.
8. Ibid.
9. It was the Pole Maria S. (prisoner no. 55632).
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, p. 272, testimony by Darinca B. (prisoner no. 55251).
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 1, p. 121, testimony by Hana U.F.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
13. Irena Jeruszka, report.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, pp. 273–274, testimony by Darinca B.
15. Pole Poroska Fedasiuk was shot (prisoner no. 55310).
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z, 106/68, Bd. 1, p. 122, testimony by Hana U.F.
17. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, p. 278, testimony by Darinca B.
18. Irena Jeruszka, report.

MOCKETHAL-ZATZSCHKE

The destruction of the German fuel production facilities by Allied air force raids in the early summer of 1944 forced the managers of the German armament and war industries to take desperate countermeasures. In connection with the oil safe-guarding plan, underground fuel production facilities were also planned from August 1, 1944, in the Herrenleite and in the Alte Poste, valley walls in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains near Pima. On September 21, 1944, the planned object was named for the first time: "Dachs VIII," a large refinery for producing lubricating oil.[1] In addition, construction of four small distillation plants, which were planned in the Alte Poste under the code name "Ofen," was begun.[2]

For their expansion, General Commissioner for Immediate Measures Edmund Geilenberg requested from the SS to employ concentration camp prisoners as labor, in addition to the units from the Organisation Todt (OT). Construction management and construction execution would be transferred to the OT, which had requested concentration camp prisoner labor from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The location was designated concretely in a report from October 18, 1944: "Pima—Alte Poste." It would be a production factory of the Deutsche Gasolin AG, from which the planning had also come. The time schedule was: October 19, 1944, begin construction; December 1, 1944, begin the mining work in the rock; February 15, 1945, begin the installation of the tunnels; June 1, 1945, facility ready.[3] Prisoner employment at this and similar properties did not result in any finished facilities, but many concentration camp prisoners were senselessly sacrificed for the fanatical survival politics of the Fascist leadership.

On January 10, 1945, the first group of prisoners arrived from the original Flossenbürg camp in Mockethal near Pima. Former prisoner Paul K. testified: "I came with a vanguard of about sixty prisoners to Pima. We had to build a barracks camp for about two thousand prisoners. When we arrived, a makeshift barrack already existed for us. As we began with

the work there was still snow on the ground. The prisoners designated for the camp were to work in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains. Tunnels were there in which factories were housed. The factories needed more people; for this reason the accommodation was expanded."[4] Among this first group of prisoners, about 100 strong, were 32 Italians, 30 Russians, 13 Poles, 8 Germans, 7 French, 2 Belgians, 2 Bulgarians, 2 Croats, 1 Yugoslav, 1 Czech, and 1 Hungarian.[5]

After the bombing of Dresden, prisoners from the Dresden (Bernsdorf & Co.) subcamp were transferred to Mockethal-Zatzschke on February 14, 1945, followed a few days later by prisoners from the Dresden (Universelle) subcamp.[6] Former Polish Jewish prisoner Baruch R. testified: "After the large air raid on Dresden, which took place during the night from 12 to 13 February, 1945, the camp inmates were transferred to Pima, and the SS members from Bernsdorf came with us as well. The first group of camp inmates were brought back after about two weeks, the rest were brought to Bernsdorf after approximately ten to fourteen days, but a few weak prisoners stayed in Pima, including my brother Feiusch, who was shot at Pima in an extremely debilitated condition."[7]

In March 1945, several Yugoslavian prisoners arrived from the Flossenbürg/Porschdorf subcamp, as the property there was given up in view of the war situation. On April 13, 1945, 131 prisoners were still recorded as being in the camp, following the strength report. The barracks camp, which contained 8 to 10 barracks and was located in a disused sandpit, had a fence around it and guard towers. Until the end, it remained incomplete. Three women of the Dresden (Universelle) subcamp, who were transferred to Mockethal-Zatzschke, reported:

> We were brought to the Zatzschke reserve camp. There were already four hundred prisoners there (men and women, even children). In our barrack rooms there were neither beds nor washing facilities or toilets. Here we also had to sleep on the floor, provided with only a thin blanket. There was also no regard for the ill, they were not even provided with either straw or a bed. The Jewish prisoners did not even have a blanket. In our room an old wagon was just set up, without cover, in which we had to relieve ourselves. In this foul air we had to sleep, as the windows were not allowed to be opened. Even water was allocated to us; we each received a cup of water from which we also had to drink. We also did not receive clothes to change. We were forced to remain in our clothes constantly. It was a picture of horror, to see the emaciated and sick people lying on the floor.[8]

As a result of the unhygienic conditions, the hunger, and the difficult working conditions at the tunnel construction, there is one count of the dead in the camp, primarily from the prisoners who were transferred from Dresden. At least 7 dead from the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp were buried in the Pirnaer graveyards, and 47 were buried in the graveyard in Lohmen. (The determination of the dead is difficult because Pima was an intermediate stop for several evacuation marches and transports of various concentration camps, from which a number of dead, not precisely known, were buried in the Pirnaer graveyard.)[9] Several prisoners reported on the fatalities: "Prisoners were always dying in the camp. Several really folded, they became more and more emaciated. Once a German prisoner died, he was buried in the Pima graveyard. All who died there were buried in the graveyard at Pima. Even a priest was there."[10] "As a result of the poor nourishment and lack of medicine many prisoners fell ill and several died every day. They were simply stripped of all their clothes, laid before the barrack windows, and remained lying there for days until several more were added again. Then they were brought to Lohmen for burial, body laid upon body. In the end they did not even bother, but rather simply laid them behind the provisionally constructed lavatory, where, after days, they were burned in the open or buried in neighboring bushes."[11]

The camp leader responsible until March 1945 was SS-Oberscharführer Plager, afterward, SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who had already left his mark in the Flossenbürg subcamps at Neurohlau, at Mülsen St. Micheln, and at Dresden (Universelle). In his youth, he belonged to the militaristic Kyffhäuser Jugend, and he joined the SS in 1933. In Mockethal-Zatzschke, 2 SS-Unterführer and 12 SS guards, as well as, temporarily, several female guards (SS-Aufseherinnen), were subordinate to him.[12] For his reign of terror in the camp he used brutal camp elder (Lagersältester) Karl Popowski and the Kapos. Former Italian prisoner Sergio P. testified: "I know that a prisoner, I don't know whether he was German or Austrian, actively worked with the Germans and abused the prisoners. It is highly possible that he killed other prisoners."[13] Former Polish Jewish prisoner Samuel L. also testified: "The 'camp leader' (camp elder) was an Austrian prisoner. He was terrible. I saw twice how he beat prisoners to death. One prisoner he simply beat under the heart so that he fell over dead. This beaten prisoner was called Rosenblum. We had to work very hard and were hungry." Samuel L. continued, "If prisoners were admitted into the infirmary, an empty room in a barrack, we carried them out dead the next morning. I estimate that twenty-five to thirty men and women died in this way. I can still remember the names of the prisoners Glicksman and Korn. They were both from Łódz´."[14] There are several testimonies about another crime committed, however, not against a camp inmate from Mockethal but rather against women on an evacuation march in the Mockethal camp: "I remember that on the morning of April 15, 1945, a barrack, which was occupied by imprisoned female Poles, was cleared. Immediately after the clearing I continued a job that I had started myself in the barrack. Shortly thereafter four imprisoned female Poles came into the barrack who said to me that they were not able to go by foot due to their physical condition. Two soldiers came in; they spoke to each other and went out. Immediately

thereafter one of the two came back into the barrack and with his machine gun killed the four women, one after the other, before my eyes. A young Frenchman and I continued working, full of terror."[15] Another former prisoner testified: "On the morning before the evacuation from the camp around six to seven women were killed. These women belonged to a group of about one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty, primarily Jewish, who arrived in the camp on the night before and already had hundreds of kilometers behind them. The women spent the night in the camp and on the following morning those who could not go any further were brought to the latrines and killed by the guards, i.e., the old guards (who were older than sixty), who had recently been fetched for this auxiliary service. I saw myself how the women were killed with shots that were fired into the abdomen at the closest distance."[16]

On April 16, 1945, the camp was cleared of most of its prisoners. On May 8, 1945, Soviet troops liberated 45 prisoners in the camp—men and women, those ill who remained behind, and prisoners who had tried to escape but were again apprehended and brought into the camp after the evacuation.

Some of the evacuated prisoners were driven on a foot march to Leitmeritz, whereas the feeble were killed. "I remember," testified Mario T.,

> that during our march due to the transfer to Leitmeritz, a man from Friaul could not go any further as he was at the end of his strength; he went to the side of the street and an SS soldier killed him on the order of the Austrian sergeant.
>
> Later a young man from Valvolciana (close to Görz), threw himself to the side of the street because he was finished, and he was also killed by an SS soldier on the order of the Austrian sergeant, who commanded our column."[17]

The Leitmeritz camp leadership sent the Jewish prisoners to the Theresienstadt ghetto by foot.

Another group of prisoners who had been evacuated from the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp and were not able to march were brought to boats on the Elbe River, on which were already prisoners who had been evacuated from subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The number of victims on these boats must have been especially high. Samuel L. testified about this:

> I myself could hardly still go at this time, I was totally swollen. I still belonged, however, to the "healthy." We were brought to the Elbe boats. There, we "healthy" had to care for the sick. The conditions there were indescribable. I remember that Mr. Reingold from Łódz´ died there. He was literally eaten by the lice. I heard that the Elbe boats were subordinate to a special SS detail that had the task of drowning the sick. It did not come to that, however. . . . The transport consisted of three or four boats. The sick from many camps were gathered on the boats. In front, as well as in back, was a ship with SS. There were also SS guards on every boat. The journey went into the Sudetenland, to the Czech border. There, the SS officer on the boat up front saw that the war was over. In any case he turned around and disappeared. The other SS members also left us. I went down off the boat and fled into Czechoslovakia. The Russians were already there.[18]

SOURCES Information on the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp may be found in Hans Brenner, "Eiserne 'Schwalben' für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges," *SäHe* 45 (1999): No. 1, 9–16.

The following archival collections are also important: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68; IV 410 AR-Z 8/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; ASt-Pi, Akten Mockethal-Zatzschke.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk v. October 25, 1944, p. 4; see also BA-K, R 3/1907, p. 249.
2. BA-B, Film 5768, Vortragsnotiz für Chef Abt. Min 01 v. October 23, 1944, p. 2.
3. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 356.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 354, testimony by Paul K. (unknown prisoner; K. was born in Zurich).
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 99.
6. Chamin Werebejczyk, report to the author from October 2000.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, p. 159, Testimony by Baruch R. (prisoner no. 38502). The murdered was Feiwus R. (prisoner no. 38503).
8. ASt-Pi, Bericht v. Anneliese M., Mathilde G., and Hedwig K. v. September 18, 1945, p. 1.
9. See also Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation. ed. BpB, Bonn 1999, Bd. 2, pp. 729–730.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 356, testimony by Paul K.
11. ASt-Pi, Bericht. v. September 18, 1945, p. 1.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 382, testimony by Sergio R. (prisoner no. 40301).
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, Bd. 2, p. 301, testimony by Samuel L. (prisoner no. 38471).
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 365, testimony by Mario T. (prisoner no. 40325).
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 383, testimony by Sergio R. The differences between the two representations lead to the conclusion that they could concern two different killing actions.
17. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 365, testimony by Mario T.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, Bd. 2, p. 302, testimony by Samuel L.

MÜLSEN ST. MICHELN

As with the formation of the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp in December 1943, the Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH Leipzig (Erla Airplane Works) sought, with the establishment of the Mülsen St. Micheln subcamp in January 1944, to continue the decentralization of its aircraft production in the Leipzig area, which was in danger of air raids.[1]

The first group of prisoners arrived at Mülsen from the Buchenwald subcamp Leipzig-Thekla on January 27, 1944.[2] Erla Maschinenwerke pushed the Flossenbürg command to finish setting up the camp as soon as possible. On March 5, 1944, the detail leader from Mülsen reported to the camp commandant in Flossenbürg about the work and remarked: "On Saturday Mr. Wend from Leipzig was here and visited the common room, which is to be used to accommodate an additional five hundred prisoners who should be transferred here as soon as possible."[3]

With transports arriving from the Buchenwald camps throughout March and April 1944, the number of prisoners in the Mülsen subcamp had grown to 472 by the end of April.[4] The prisoners were housed in the basement of the C.H. Gross textile factory, which had been seized for airplane production.

On the night of Apri1 30–May 1, 1944, a fire broke out in this prisoner housing, claiming 198 prisoners as victims. The former camp Kapo, the infamous "green" Georg Weilbach, testified in court that the fire "broke out because of a rebellion by the Russian prisoners, who lit straw sacks on fire." And the rebellion was aimed "against the Polish, Czech, and French fellow prisoners." In addition, he remarked "that during the fire the fliers (Luftwaffe guards) shot into the camp."[5] The former factory boiler man, however, gave another perspective of the fire in his report:

> I was a boiler man for the C.H. Gross company, in which the Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH were set up during the war. Thus I had access to the camp as the boiler room was located in the factory building within the camp area. I could observe a lot and I also knew the SS members and Erla people. . . . Before the fire there had already been an escape of two prisoners. A few days before the fire several new prisoners arrived, maybe thirty or more, among whom were Soviet officers. They supposedly organized the uprising. After the fire, an SS detail came from Flossenbürg. The Soviet prisoners were loaded into trucks, bound together with wire around the neck as they were considered escape risks, and brought to Flossenbürg. Weilbach, the beast, was especially active in the process. Also, a Polish officer, "Staczek," who was manager of the skilled workers' barrack (tailors), was brought to Flossenbürg after the fire due to sabotage. After the fire new prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg.[6]

The reports of the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab) meetings show how shocked the leading powers of the German air armaments were about the uprising in Mülsen. The conclusion that SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler came to was especially murderous: "It is because the people have noticed that they are no longer treated hard enough. I let thirty people hang in special treatment. Since they've been hanged, things are somewhat in order again."[7] Two days later, another Jägerstab meeting concerned itself once again with the Mülsen case. Generalfeldmarschall Erhard Milch asked the question whether what was really wrong at Erla had been clarified. The remark by Albert Speer's representative Karl Otto Saur—"This has to be closely scrutinized. A clarification about the weak leadership at Erla must come from the main or special committee"—shows what particular roles the committees of the "personal responsibility of the industry" played in influencing the armament industry, including the employment of the concentration camp prisoners.[8]

Residents of Mülsen reported on the fire and the victims among the prisoners:

> As the doors were opened, a mountain of bodies and unconscious people laid behind them. Many could have been saved, but the gendarmerie and the military had blocked off the entire factory premises, only a few were allowed in. . . . The prisoners, lying on the ground, some unconscious from the smoke, died in the water, which was quickly half a meter [almost 20 inches] high. After around three hours of conflagration a large section of the roof collapsed, burying fire and people underneath. From around 600 prisoners, 189 dead were counted the next day, and another 9 died on the following days from their injuries and fire wounds. . . . The selfless rescue work of several firemen and local residents, who despite all dangers broke off the window bars at two places and thus saved over thirty prisoners, is especially to be emphasized. A Polish doctor entered the basement and carried the unconscious to the window, where a fireman from Mülsen St. Niclas took over in order to bring them out. Unfortunately, out of fear of the prisoners the guard units prevented the firemen and the Polish doctor from continuing their work.[9]

Prisoners selected by a commission of SS officers were transported to the original Flossenbürg camp and killed there. "About sixty men of those who started the fire were brought back to Flossenbürg. As these sixty arrived in Flossenbürg, I was still there and saw myself how every one of these people had to carry a heavy stone while being beaten by several fellow prisoners with cables and water hoses. That was shortly before I was transferred to Mülsen. That was in May 1944."[10] Toni Siegert writes that the suspected ringleaders from Mülsen, at least 40, were executed in the detention building at Flossenbürg between June and September 1944. In order to compensate for lost labor, 712 prisoners from the Flossenbürg camp and the Buchenwald subcamp

Leipzig-Thekla were brought to Mülsen in five transports by the end of 1944.[11] In a strength report from January 31, 1945, 800 prisoners were reported in the camp; on February 28, 775 prisoners; on March 31, 809 prisoners; and on April 13, 1945, 787 prisoners.[12]

A table of the transports to and from Mülsen reveals that 1,424 prisoners were brought to the camp and 462 were transferred out again.[13] But instead of having the number of prisoners resulting in 962, only around 700 started the evacuation march on April 14, 1945. The SS killed 51 prisoners before the beginning of the death march and had them buried in a plot of forest near Mülsen.

Due to the constant change in composition, the breakdown by nationality of the Mülsen subcamp can only be precisely determined at two points in time:[14]

Nationality	*February 28, 1945*	*March 31, 1945*
Russian	331	325
Polish	256	281
Italian	67	67
French	57	54
German	21	22
Czech	20	19
Hungarian	—	12
Slovak	1	11
Belgian	7	7
Norwegian	4	—
Yugoslav, Croat, Lithuanian, each	3	3
Arab, Argentinean, each	1	1

Jewish prisoners only arrived in the camp with two evacuation groups on March 15 and 16, 1945.

The employment of the prisoners took place on the orders of the Jägerstab, with a 72-hour week of rotating 12-hour day and night shifts. In the framework of decentralization, in which the manufacturing of the Messerschmitt fighter plane Me 109, which was built under license by Erla Maschinenwerke, was distributed among several moving factories, only the wings were produced by the prisoners at Mülsen. This specialization meant a rationalization of the manufacturing process and thus higher productivity, which went together with a brutal slave-driving system. Not only the SS guards and Kapos but also some of the Erla personnel constantly drove the prisoners at work. Erla production engineer Pallitza, who personally beat prisoners to the ground with iron bars, especially distinguished himself by abusing prisoners.[15]

In contrast, several Germans helped the prisoners, like the foreman of the electric workshop, Paul Lamer, and boiler man Fritz Pietsch, about whom the former Czech prisoner Dr. Jan Vařeka reported: "The company boiler man Max [*sic*] Pietsch was very willing to help us prisoners. He let us bathe in the boiler room, gave us food, and supplied us with news."[16]

According to claim proofs of the Flossenbürg command, Erla paid 398,945.60 Reichsmark (RM) between February and September 1944 for prisoners working in Mülsen.[17] This represented only a minor fraction of the production costs. The prisoners, who like slaves had to perform this production work—the penalty for refusing to work was death—with completely inadequate food, miserable hygienic conditions, and without any rights, received nothing for their work. The Erla Maschinenwerke could thus pocket millions.

The SS camp leaders (Lagerführer) were primarily responsible for the crimes committed against the prisoners in the camp. From the establishment of the camp, it was SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Baptist Kübler, who was replaced after the fire in May 1944. He had already been employed in the Flossenbürg Krondorf and Pottenstein subcamps and also served temporarily as roll-call leader in the Flossenbürg main camp, then as detail leader at the Flossenbürg Zschachwitz subcamp until it was closed in April 1945. Among the prisoners, Kübler was considered a brutal thug lacking self-control. In 1957, he was sentenced to five years in prison. Another criminal worked concurrently with him in Mülsen: the head Kapo of the stone-breaking detail, Georg Weilbach, who was known as a serial murderer in Flossenbürg. After him, the SS brought another criminal "green" prisoner as camp elder (Lagerältester) from the main camp to Mülsen, Walter Schroff, infamous for his brutality when he was Kapo of the canal building detail. Kübler's successor was SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who was relieved by SS-Untersturmführer Georg Wilhelm Degner in the fall of 1944. Degner carries partial responsibility for the deaths in the Mülsen subcamp from the fall of 1944 through its closure in April 1945. He did not have to atone for his guilt of the murder of over 100 prisoners during the evacuation march to Leitmeritz. He passed responsibility onto his subordinates. The court acquitted him.[18]

In addition to several SS-Unterführer and SS guards, the guarding of the camp was carried out primarily by Luftwaffe soldiers and noncommissioned officers who had been detailed to the SS. Five Unterführer and 40 guards were subordinate to Degner.[19]

The evacuation of the prisoners by foot toward Erzgebirgskamm began on April 14, 1945. This information and details about the murder of 83 prisoners on a sports field in Schlema comes from the testimony of former Slovakian Jewish prisoner Josef W.: "I was evacuated from the Auschwitz camp on January 18, 1945. As a driver always under SS watch, I traveled for about six weeks through various towns and cities until I was delivered into the Mülsen camp. . . . The Mülsen camp was evacuated approximately in the middle of April 1945. On a Sunday, in the morning, we all left—guard unit, camp leader, prisoners—the Mülsen camp." Josef W. testified further about the events in Schlema:

> At midday we came to a soccer field in a town, of which I did not know the name. I saw in the town, however, a sign, which showed the direction to Aue. After about a one-hour rest on the soccer field the

camp leader asked those prisoners who were already not able to march further to step out. He said that they would be given over to the Allies. I would estimate the number of prisoners, who stepped out of the column because they could not march, at about one hundred. I saw that afterward the camp leader discussed something with the Scharführer, his deputy, something I could not hear. The Scharführer then came to me and ordered me to step out of the column. He also ordered another three prisoners to step out of the column. The other three prisoners were: Otto P., Jakob S., and Zoltan Z. The Scharführer told us that we—the four prisoners—would give those prisoners unable to march over to the Americans. Under the direction of the camp leader the column left the soccer field. After the column had marched away, the Scharführer, who had stayed behind with three other Luftwaffe soldiers, went into town. After about an hour the Scharführer came back with four or five civilians who brought with them platforms pulled by tractors. During the time that the Scharführer was in town the three Luftwaffe soldiers guarded us. The civilians—armed with weapons across their shoulders—encircled the group of around one hundred prisoners. The Scharführer then ordered that these prisoners should lie on their stomachs and cover themselves with their blankets. On the order of the Scharführer the three Luftwaffe soldiers went among the rows of the prisoners lying on their stomachs and shot them with their automatic weapons [*Schmeiser*]. The Scharführer also went through the rows and when he saw a prisoner still living he shot him with his revolver.[20]

Dr. Vařeka also reported on the evacuation:

It took place on April 14, 1945, around 10 a.m. as a foot march toward Ortmannsdorf. The "Muselmanen" [ill prisoners] were deceived with the fictitious comment "You will be brought to the train station with vehicles and from there transported on." They were then shot, as I later learned. On our evacuation march until a town in the mountains there were many shootings. From a train station we were transported by train to Aussig, where the transport remained stopped during a bombardment. The SS guards fled, we prisoners stayed in the cars. The train transport could not continue, however. We marched to Leitmeritz [Litoměřice]. After three days in "Richard" we were again loaded into cars and transported to Prague-Bubenec via Kralupy and Rostocky, in a long train with many cars containing male and female prisoners. We were guarded by Vlassov soldiers. At Prague-Bubenec we were partially freed by Czechs, could flee, and were hidden and cared for with the help of doctors.[21]

The other prisoners in this transport were not freed until May 9, 1945, in southern Bohemia near Velemin.

SOURCES Information on the Mülsen St. Micheln camp may be found in Hans Brenner, "Der Mord auf dem Sportplatz in Schlema," *ErzHei* 19:2 (1998): 4–7; see also Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrations1ager F1ossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asozia1e und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, Tei1 A, Bd. 2, ed. Martin Broszat and E1ke Fröhlich (Vienna: Oldenbourg-Verl., 1979). Information is also available in Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996), 3:169.

The following archival collections are important: Zdl at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3174/66; IV 410 AR-Z 2/70; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. See Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996), 3:169.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables of transports to and from Mülsen.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt.., F1ossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 17–18.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
5. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 133 (12).
6. Fritz Pietzsch, report to the author from April 3, 1978.
7. IMT, Nürnberger Prozess, Dok. Nr. NOKW-389, Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Jagerstab-Besprechung im Reichs1uftfahrtministerium am May 2, 1944.
8. BA-B, Film 390/538, Fall II, Milch-Prozess, Aufn.-Nr. 88.
9. M. Reinhold, "Niederschrift über die Brandkatastrophe in Mülsen St. Micheln am 1. May 1944." Copy in possession of the author.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 137, statement by the former Ukrainian prisoner Josef. W. Actually 131 prisoners were brought to Flossenbürg from Mülsen on May 13, 1944, 53 of whom were shot in the bunker at F1ossenbürg.
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, B1. 70/71; BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., F1ossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 100.
15. See Reinhold, "Niederschrift," p. 4.
16. Dr. Jan Vařeka, report to the author from August 1, 1978.
17. BA-P, Film W. 30.18/1.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AR-z 2170, Bd. 1.
19. ITS, Hist. Abt., F1ossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
20. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2170, Bd.2, pp. 207–208.
21. Dr. Jan Vařeka, report to the author from August 1, 1978.

NEUROHLAU

Neurohlau (Nová Role), one of the earliest Flossenbürg subcamps, was established close to the west Bohemian town of

Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) in what is today the Czech Republic. From the end of 1942 until the end of the war, over 1,000 women and, on average, 60 men were forced to work in Neurohlau in a porcelain factory, knitting mill, construction detachment, and an armaments firm.

The porcelain firm Bohemia—Keramische Werke AG in Neurohlau had fallen into economic difficulties. Following the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany, the firm was taken over by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe W: Commercial Undertakings (Wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen), Amt W I: Stone and Soil (Steine und Erden) (Reich). Once it was taken over by the SS, it produced mostly canteen cutlery for the Wehrmacht. The monthly report for March 1942 complained that "the Bohemia factory . . . is at the limits of its production capacity due to the shortage of workers and coal."[1]

The order to establish a subcamp at Neurohlau for men and women followed on October 27, 1942.[2] The first indication of the male camp is to be found in a strength report dated December 7, 1942, with a reference to 40 prisoners. The report is held in the archives of the International Tracing Service (ITS).[3] The detachment was reinforced in December 1942 with 18 prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Krondorf and again in April 1943 when its numbers increased to 110. The numbers then began to wane, reaching 30 prisoners in the autumn of 1943. The male detachment was used largely in the construction of the camp.

The first strength report from the Neurohlau female camp is from January 6, 1943, and refers to 50 female prisoners. The prisoners came from the female camp at Ravensbrück, which administered Neurohlau until August 31, 1944, even though, in terms of the work, it was already responsible to Flossenbürg.[4]

The real expansion of the prison camp began in the summer of 1943. It was located to the northwest of the Bohemia factory grounds. The camp comprised a guards' barracks, a female block leaders' barracks, five accommodation barracks, two auxiliary barracks, a wash barracks, two toilet barracks, an oil tower, a purification plant, an electric fence, four watchtowers, and a water supply and drainage system. The accommodation barracks had neither electricity nor water supply. The prison camp was handed over in the autumn of 1943 to the Bohemia factory, which was to complete construction and take over the costs.

As the production of armaments increased, Bohemia was given the order to make available empty rooms and unused facilities for armaments purposes. So Bohemia began its life as an armaments producer. The Messerschmitt factory granted it a large contract to produce switchgears for the Me 109 and Me 262. Bohemia set aside 200 workers for this purpose.

The first commander at Neurohlau was SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber. His successors were, from the beginning of 1943, SS-Master Sergeant Willibald Richter and, from the middle of 1943, Erich von Berg.[5] Von Berg was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Düren. The last commander was SS-Sturmscharführer Bock.[6]

The Neurohlau subcamp was visited by Minister for Bohemia and Moravia Karl Hermann Frank on August 11, 1944. At this point there were 575 female and 59 male prisoners in Neurohlau, who were guarded by 26 SS men and 8 female wardens. Close to the subcamp was a camp with Russian prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was within sight and calling range of the women in Neurohlau. This was the subject of criticism in Frank's report, and a strengthening of the SS guard was ordered.[7]

The number of female wardens increased to 20 in October; 9 of them came from Ravensbrück and 2 from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Holleischen, where a further 9 completed a training course.

The director of Bohemia was Heinrich Hechtfischer, who was arrested on October 3, 1945, in Karlsbad and sentenced to death by the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger (Cheb) on February 15, 1947.

While the number of prisoners in the male camp remained relatively low with an average of 60, the numbers increased quickly in the female camp to about 600 prisoners. Following the evacuation of Ravensbrück and its subcamps shortly before the end of the war, the numbers of female prisoners at Neurohlau increased to over 1,000. The composition of the various nationalities is revealed in a summary of February 28, 1945.[8] The male prisoners included 24 Germans, 1 Albanian, 1 Belgian, 1 Bulgarian, 3 French, 1 Italian, 23 Poles, 5 Russians, and 5 Czechs (for a total of 64 prisoners). The female prisoners included 109 Germans, 1 French, 2 Italians, 34 Yugoslavs, 194 Poles, 204 Russians, 1 Swiss, 10 Czechs, and 1 stateless woman (for a total of 556 prisoners).

According to several witness statements, female prisoners were whipped mercilessly for the slightest infringement. The last camp commander, Bock, is said to have excelled in gruesome excesses: "Bock was not a refined person and personally beat the female prisoners, especially the Russians. He often ordered roll call and in winter when there was a strong frost he left us standing for a long time. During the strong frost he ordered the cleaning of the latrines and the pottery shards that had been thrown into the latrines had to be cleaned in cold water."[9]

There were other punishments—for example, isolation in windowless bunkers. The commander Düren is said to have sexually molested the prisoners. Since there was no work in Bohemia on Saturday afternoon and Sunday, on these days the prisoners were forced to do useless tasks.

Food was very poor, consisting only of cabbage-turnip soup and bread. The prisoners were sporadically able to receive food packages from home, which helped them to survive. A kiosk was established in the factory where so-called premium slips could be exchanged by the prisoners to buy fruit, sour gherkins, and toiletries. There was no infirmary in the Neurohlau camp, and the sick prisoners were sent back to Flossenbürg. Deceased prisoners were buried at the camp's nearby cemetery. The corpses were exhumed in 1945, and 48 were reburied at the local Neurohlau cemetery. There are no definitive figures on the total number of prisoners who died in Neurohlau.[10]

The last Flossenbürg strength report dated April 13, 1945, refers to 61 males and 1,047 females in the camp.

On Tuesday, April 17, 1945, an evacuation transport from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Johanngeorgenstadt arrived at the railway station in Neurohlau with 800 male prisoners. The train could not travel any further because the rail lines had been bombed. The commander of Neurohlau, Bock, refused to accept the prisoners, who had to remain on the train during the night of April 19–20, 1945. They were then marched in the direction of Karlsbad. During this time, 60 prisoners died on the railway premises. They were buried by Neurohlau prisoners at the camp cemetery. Seven of the burial party compiled a report on May 10, 1945, in which they accused SS-Rottenführer Riess of shooting 3 prisoners from the Johanngeorgenstadt transport pursuant to an order by Bock. They were shot in the head and left lying on the ground. The report also states that 3 women from a transport from the Flossenbürg subcamp Zwodau were buried in the camp cemetery. They died the day after they arrived in Neurohlau.[11]

The Neurohlau camp was evacuated on April 20, 1945, and the prisoners were sent in two groups on a death march. Many exhausted women collapsed during the march and were shot and buried on the spot. A number managed to escape. The remaining prisoners were released shortly before the arrival of the Americans.[12]

SOURCES There is little reference in the research literature to the Neurohlau subcamp despite its size and long period of existence. The most extensive details are to be found in the essays by Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (1999), ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper 1999 (Prague: Academia Verlag, 1999), pp. 263–295; and by Jörg Skriebeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. Václav Jiřík has published extracts from the Extraordinary People's Court trial of those responsible in Neurohlau in *Nedaleko od Norimberku: Z dějin Mimořádnćho lidovćho soudu v Chebu v letech 1946 až 1948* (Cheb: Svet kridel, 2000). Walter Naasner has written about the Bohemia Porcelain Factory under SS administration in *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 45a) (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The main sources for information on the Neurohlau subcamp are the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L in Ludwigsburg Collection IV 410 AR 721/73 and AR 174/76 and those in the BA Collection NS4/FL of the Administrative Files of the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp. The files of the SS-owned Bohemia—Keramische Werke AG are held in the BA Collection NS3/1347. Transfer lists between Flossenbürg and Neurohlau are located in the CEGESOMA, Ministere des Affaires Sociales, de la Santé Publique et de lÉnvironement, Brüssels, Microfilm Nr. 14368. The SÚA in Prague holds important SS documents from the last stages of the Neurohlau camp in Collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88. Postwar Czechoslovak documents are in the same archive, Collection OVS, Inv. c. 83, Carton 163. In SOA in Plzeň are the trial files of the Extraordinary People's Court and Eger Collection MLS.

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA, NS3/1347, p. 199.
2. BA, Construction Command of Office CV, Central Building Inspectorate, to Building Inspectorate Waffen-SS and Police Flossenbürg, October 27, 1942, Collection former ZdL, KZ Hafta. Flossenbürg, Nr. 1.
3. ITS, Collected Files Flossenbürg, copy from Toni Siegert Collection in the AG-F.
4. ZdL in BA-L, AR 721/73.
5. ZdL, NS 4/FL-392, Labor Allocation of the Work Leader Flossenbürg Concentration Camp, December 9, 1942, February 17, 1943, and June 25, 1943.
6. ZdL, AR 174/76.
7. SÚA, KT OVS-110/9/12.
8. "Summary of Nationalities and Races of Male Prisoners in the Subcamps of the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp as of 28 February 1945," SÚA, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.
9. ZdL, AR 174/76, statement of the former prisoner A.K.
10. SÚA, OVS, Inv. c. 83, Carton 163, report of the Státní národní bezpečnosti Chodov from May 15, 1946.
11. SOA Plzeň, trial files of the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger, MLS 3/47, Karton 92, Hechtfischer, Jindřich.
12. ZdL, AR 174/76, record of interview of the former prisoner W.K.

NOSSEN-ROSSWEIN

The Nossen subcamp was established on November 5, 1944. The SS-Führungsstab B 5 emerged as the first employing institution, whose actual task, as part of the SS special construction organization of SS-General Hans Kammler, consisted of expanding the underground production sites for the tank motor works of the Auto Union AG in Leitmeritz.[1] The connection with the company Nowa-Gesellschaft Nossen, which later emerged as a firm employing prisoners, and Ebro Works Rosswein possibly lies in the fact that the manufacturing of casting parts by prisoners in the foundry E. Broer in Rosswein needed to be established in the underground production sites of the Elsabe AG (the code name for the underground tank motor factory of Auto Union in Leitmeritz), starting in October 1944, and that this was also to take place under the direction of the SS-Führungsstab B 5.[2]

The Ebro Works—the code name for the E. Broer foundry—was, after the successful transference of the company back from Amsterdam in 1944, installed in a closed-down steel foundry in Rosswein, where it produced aluminum castings and other cast-metal products. A former prisoner testified: "From the camp [Nossen] we traveled every day by train—about an hour and a half—to a factory, where we had to cast various forms from lead. SS members escorted us to this factory, where ethnic Germans were our foremen."[3]

The Nowa-Gesellschaft, which had been founded by former aircraft captain and Oberstleutnant Warsitz, established its manufacturing sites in the former mill of the historic Altzella monastery near Nossen. The type of production that was planned is not exactly known. The personnel manager was the SS leader Hellmuth Woelke, who came from Zinnowitz near Peenemünde. Whether this company was brought into the V-2 production operation before its transfer from Antwerp, and was then to continue this in Nossen, has not been clarified.[4]

The prisoners arrived initially in several small transports from the Flossenbürg main camp. After the arrival of a transport of 142 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen subcamp of Lieberose on January 27, 1945, the number of prisoners had increased to 482, among them 90 Jews.[5] Due to many fatalities, the number of prisoners continually declined. On February 28, 1945, there were still 471 prisoners; on March 31, 1945, 445; and the strength report of April 13, 1945, recorded only 419.[6] The strength report for Nossen from April 2, 1945, alone provides evidence of 6 deaths.[7] The names are known of 86 dead prisoners from the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp who were buried in a mass grave at the Nossen cemetery.[8] An additional 20 to 25 prisoners were cremated in the Meissen crematorium. The realization that actually 1 in 5 prisoners of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp lost their lives in the camp's relatively short existence leads to the conclusion that conditions in this camp must have been inhumane to an extreme degree. On the one hand, the brutal actions of the SS guard personnel and the Kapos against the prisoners must be mentioned, which in many cases led to their deaths. On this Abram I. testified: "I cannot remember individual cases. But I know that the SS beat many prisoners in the camp so severely that many of them died. The prisoners were mainly beaten at roll call in the morning or the evening. I myself dragged prisoners who had been beaten to death out of the camp where they were buried. We were permitted to leave the camp to bury the dead prisoners, but always under the supervision of the SS."[9] Eyewitnesses from Nossen also reported on the abuse of the prisoners, like the truck driver Herfurth, who entered the camp as a driver of one of the trucks used by the Nowa-Gesellschaft and could observe the events taking place there: "One prisoner, who took three potatoes because he was hungry, was beaten with them by the Kapo Münch, who had wrapped them up in a towel. Afterwards the Kapo gave the prisoner a kick in the stomach. The abused person died."[10]

The prisoner population at the Nossen subcamp was composed of the following nationalities:[11]

Nationality	*February 28, 1945*	*March 31, 1945*
Poles	207	198
Russians (Soviet citizens)	138	135
Germans	30	29
Croats	27	3
Hungarians	16	13
Czechs	14	10
Italians	11	9
Frenchmen	9	8
Greeks	8	—
Yugoslavs	4	4
Bulgarians	2	2
Belgians, Lithuanians, Romanians	1 each	1 each
Slovaks, Dutchmen	1 each	—

On the other hand, undernourishment and illnesses resulting from the initial completely inadequate accommodations also led to the death of prisoners. At the beginning, some of the prisoners were housed in the basement of the monastery mill, some 200 prisoners in an area only 8×12 meters (26×39 feet). There was water in this basement, and the prisoners had to sleep on soaking-wet straw. Another 60 prisoners had only pitched tents in the gardens of the monastery as sleeping quarters into November 1944. Only following an inspection conducted by the then-SS camp doctor, Dr. Schmitz, was there a change at Nossen. A camp composed of five barracks was built on a valley slope, surrounded with the customary barbed-wire fence and guard towers.

The SS leaders in charge at the Nossen subcamp were SS noncommissioned officers (Unterführer) Bosch and, later, Wetterau.[12] A witness reported about Bosch: "The absolute ruler in the camp was certainly Bosch, about twenty-five years old, whose accessory was the riding whip. His principle was that 'every day twelve must die!' He tormented the prisoners by exercising them with the orders 'cap on!' and 'cap off!' Those who did not obey immediately, he beat in the face with his riding whip. The dead were thrown into the meat wagon and brought to the graveyard."[13]

On February 28, 1945, the guard unit of the camp consisted of 7 SS-Unterführer and 46 SS guards.[14] Several "greens," who had come from the Flossenbürg main camp, were installed as Kapos at Nossen and served as henchmen for the SS camp leadership, such as the head Kapo, Fritz Nass, and the Kapos Lorenz Bohnenfeld, Rudolf Gehring, and another named Münch. Gehring was sentenced to four years and six months in prison by the district court in Bayreuth for murdering Jewish prisoners.[15] On the evacuation march that began on April 13, 1945, and headed toward Erzgebirgskamm through the eastern Erzgebirge Mountains, at least 50 to 60 prisoners died before reaching the Saxon border. A few succeeded in escaping. On the arrival of the column at the Flossenbürg Leitmeritz subcamp on April 25, 1945, only 39 prisoners of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp were registered.[16] The Jewish prisoners were sent on to the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto, where, however, only 10 names from the Nossen detail appear on the list of admitted prisoners.[17] The actual number of victims would be difficult to determine now, as a postwar missing persons report demonstrates.[18]

SOURCES There are no publications specifically devoted to the history of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp. Relevant

documentation can be found in the following archives: ZdL at BA-L (IV 410 AR 3176/66; IV 410 AR-Z 105/68); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); and ASt-Ns (Akten KZ-Kommando).

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1270: demand for payment (Forderungsnachweis) Flo Nr. 763 for December 1944.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 39: demand for payment (Forderungsnachweis) Flo Nr. 918 for February 1945.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68, p. 149: testimony of the former Polish Jewish political prisoner Abram I. (no. 45161).
4. Stadtarchiv Nossen, Akte 7, Nachlass Berger. See also extracts from the notes of the former mayor of Nossen, D. Karl Schwarze, in the possession of Gerhard Steinecke in Meissen.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 23: letter of the Kommandantur Flossenbürg to the work camp Nossen, March 27, 1945; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53: strength report, January 31, 1945.
6. Ibid., Nr. 10, pp. 70–71, 86–87; BA-B, Film 41820, p. 1264: strength report, April 13, 1945.
7. BA-B, Film 41820, Frame Nos. 787–791.
8. Stadtarchiv Nossen, death list of the concentration camp prisoner detail from January 25 to April 14, 1945. The priest from Nossen is to be thanked, as he recorded the names despite the threats of the SS camp commander. The list is not complete, however.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68, p. 149: testimony of Abram I.
10. Stadtarchiv Nossen, Akte 7, Nachlass Berger.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 101.
12. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
13. Gottfried Nolting, report to Gerhard Steinecke, former director of the Heimatmuseum Nossen. A copy is in the possession of the author.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68.
16. Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tábor v Litoměřicích a jeho vězňove," in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní conference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (Terezín, 1995), appendix, table 1, p. 24.
17. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–May 1945)," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (1999), ed. Miroslav Kárny and Raimund Kempner (Prague: Academia, 1999), p. 255.
18. DOW, Nr. 2468: death certificate issued by the LG-ZRS Vienna for Johann Graf, November 13, 1955. Graf was prisoner no. 32281 in the Nossen subcamp. His death is not recorded in available SS documents.

NÜRNBERG (*SIEMENS-SCHUCKERT WERKE*)

The subcamp in the Siemens-Schuckert Werke (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) was the only subcamp in a Nürnberg industrial facility, existing from October 18, 1944, to March 6, 1945.[1] It was the only Nürnberg subcamp that held Jewish women as forced laborers. The 550 women and girls, aged between 14 and 40, originated from Hungary. They had been chosen in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp by representatives of the company and transported to Nürnberg in railway cattle trucks, with completely inadequate food and packed together like sardines.[2] There are two Auschwitz transport lists that include the functions of 580 Jewish women as well as 13 female prisoner-functionaries, but in the Flossenbürg Numbers Books (*Nummernbücher*), there are only 550 prisoners registered in Nürnberg.[3] The missing 43 women and girls were either not accepted by Nürnberg or died during the transport. In the middle of January 1945, the SS transported a prisoner nurse from the Flossenbürg Neurohlau subcamp to Nürnberg.[4]

Siemens-Schuckert was established in Katzwanger Strasse opposite the main entrance of the southern cemetery. It was a barracks camp fenced in with barbed wire. Some of the women worked there. A small group of the women worked in the company's Trafo- und Zählerwerk and were taken there part of the way in a special tram car and marched on foot the rest of the way. These factories were located in the south of Nürnberg. More than 200 of the prisoners did not work and remained in the barracks. The women who were ill, poorly nourished, and untrained had to shift heavy iron pieces or remove rust from metal. After a period of training, many worked on the production lines. However, the lack of protective clothing resulted in burns and work accidents. The women wore old clothes and coats with prisoner numbers. Mostly, they had no underwear and often no shoes. They had to survive the winter of 1944–1945 in their barracks with only a blanket.[5] In the camp, the usual punishments were to beat the prisoners, to have them kneel for hours on the floor, and to cut their hair. Roll calls were used as a punitive measure, and the prisoners were subject to the arbitrary acts of the wardresses. The commander of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Theodor St. Mont, who was in charge of 10 armed SS men. The female guards were supposed to be provided by Siemens Schuckert. The company management recruited women who after a four-week training course were deployed as guards in the Holleischen subcamp.[6]

From the company's side, Dr. Knott, the director of the Nürnberg factory, and Dr. Georg Grieshammer, the company's official negotiator, were in charge. After 1945, both denied any responsibility for the poor conditions in the camp and the factory.[7] However, Dr. Grieshammer had negotiated with the camp commander in Nürnberg, Koegel, and it was probably Dr. Grieshammer who, with other members of the company, chose the prisoners in Auschwitz. The use of foreign labor was within the area of responsibility of Dr. Grieshammer, as was their accommodation and care.[8]

Investigations during the Nuremberg Trials and later by the Germans in the 1970s did not reveal any deaths in the camp or other prosecutable offenses. It is known, however, that three prisoners died in the subcamp, as the Flossenbürg Numbers Books list the deaths of Rosa Kuhan, Bertha Katz, and Helen Klein.[9] Klein's ashes, together with those of six other female concentration camp dead, were buried in the Nürnberg Western Cemetery. Five of them are listed in the cemetery files as "unknown Hungarian Jewesses" ("unbek. Ung. Jüdin"), and one of them has probably been given the incorrect name of "Koschi Kochau."[10]

The causes of death remain unclear—it is possible that there is a connection with shots fired on female prisoners trying to steal potatoes, and it is also possible that the deaths had to do with bombing raids on Nürnberg.

The Nürnberg camp in Katzwanger Strasse was destroyed during a bombing raid at the end of February 1945, and the prisoners were transferred to the Zeltner Strasse School, close to the main railway station and the Siemens head office. The women and the girls were used there to remove rubble—two of the three dead in the Numbers Books died during this period.

The Nürnberg 13a Zeltner School Subcamp (Aussenarbeitslager Nürnberg 13a Zeltnerschule)[11] was for a fortnight a Flossenbürg subcamp, a transit station for prisoners. On March 3, in chaotic conditions during an air raid, 146 prisoners were taken to the Flossenbürg Holleischen (Holyšov) subcamp and 144 to the Flossenbürg Mehltheuer subcamp. Another transport followed on March 5, with 259 prisoners being sent to Holleischen. The transport in open rail coal cars was sheer torture and resulted in some cases of frostbite. The two subcamps were liberated in the middle of April/beginning of May without the planned death marches taking place.

Despite the preparatory investigations during the Nuremberg Trials and at the beginning of the 1960s, the history of the Siemens-Schuckert Werke subcamp had no noteworthy consequences for those responsible, and the firm's history gives a harmless picture of the camp. As a result of negotiations by the Jewish Claims Conference and several German firms, a few of the women received financial compensation from Siemens at the beginning of the 1960s.

Forced labor and the Siemens-Schuckert Werke subcamp in Nürnberg were only focused on in the 1980s. The site of the subcamp on Katzwanger Strasse is presently the site of houses. There is no memorial. The graves of the seven dead were relocated in 1960 to the Cemetery of Honor at the Flossenbürg Memorial.

SOURCES The following published works contain information on the Nürnberg Siemens-Schuckert Werke camp: Alexander Schmidt, "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 166–169; Margaret Marketa Novak, "*One Left . . . Just One.*" *A Child's Point of View of the Holocaust* (Los Angeles: Margaret Marketa Novak, 2002), pp. 70–82.

Records pertaining to this camp may be found in BA-L, AG-F, BA-B, CEGESOMA, StA-N, and NARA.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 94/1970; BA-B, NS 4/FL-393/2 (Forderungsnachweis für Oktober 1944); BA-B, NS 4/FL-349 (Mitteilung der Auflösung vom 9.3.1945).

2. AG-F, interviews with two prisoner eyewitnesses, Suzanna Perl and Eva Keszler.

3. NARA, Microfilm FC 6280 (Transportliste Auschwitz II-Birkenau-Nürnberg von 550 Jüdinnen [with 580 names] and Transportliste Auschwitz II-Birkenau-Nürnberg with the names of 13 prisoner-functionaries); Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg Nr. 55741-56290, NARA, Washington, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Microfilmkopie im AG-F).

4. CEGESOMA, Brüssels, Film 14368 (Übersand Stoffnummer nach Nürnberg, January 1, 1945), Häftlingsnummer 59953.

5. For the camp conditions, see the numerous statements by prisoners and medical orderlies in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/1970; Eidesstattliche Versicherung von Malvine Schwarz und Eva Kellerman (AGFl, Hängeregistratur, Sammlung Siegert); StA-N, Staatsanwaltschaft b.d. Oberlandesgericht Nürnberg Nr. 778; StA-N, KV-Anklage Interrogations Nr. F-81, H-138; StA-N, F 14 Nr. 26.

6. ZdL, 410 AR-Z 94/1970, S. 16–16a. NARA, U.S. v Friedrich Becker et al., 000-50-46, Microfilm FC 6280 (Aussagen von Aufseherinnen, Mikrofilmkopie im Archiv der Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg).

7. StA-N, KV-Anlage Interrogations Nr. G-81 und R-88.

8. StA-N, KV-Anklage Interrogations Nr. F-81 und H-138.

9. NARA, Washington, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Mikrofilmkopie im AG-F), Häftlingsnummern 56000, 56034, und 56044.

10. Städtisches Bestattungsamt Nürnberg, Ordner KZ-Gräber (Kopie im AGFl).

11. CEGESOMA, Film 14368 (Transportliste Zeltnerschule-Holleischen 28.2.1945).

NÜRNBERG (*SS-KASERNE*)

On May 12, 1941, 58 prisoners from Dachau were taken to the Nürnberg SS-Kaserne (Barracks) at 204 Frankenstrasse. This was the first subcamp in Nürnberg, city of Reich Party Congresses, and was established to fulfill the needs of the SS. It existed until 1945, originally as a Dachau subcamp. Commencing in February 1943, however, individual prisoners from Flossenbürg were transferred to the SS-Kaserne subcamp, and from June 16, 1943, the camp operated under the administration of Flossenbürg.[1] The prisoners were held in the cellar of an auxiliary building in the SS barracks, which—due to its shape as the letter *H*—was known as the H-Bau (H-Building).

The SS barracks were built between 1936 and 1939 on the edge of the Reich Party Congress grounds, according to a design by architect Franz Rauff. It was to be quarters for the men at the National Party Congresses as well as a neighboring structure to accommodate the higher SS ranks. During the war, there were no National Party Congresses, and the barracks were used as training barracks for SS intelligence units.

From the beginning, the administration of the subcamp in the SS barracks was split: most of the prisoners worked for the Arbeitsgemeinschaft SS-Unterkunft (Work Association SS-Accommodation) or the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Nürnberg (Waffen-SS and Police Nürnberg Building Administration), with the remainder of the prisoners working

for the SS-Nachrichten-Ersatz-Abteilung (Intelligence Auxiliary Unit), a unit of the Waffen-SS responsible for intelligence training.

The prisoner numbers recorded in the admittedly fragmentary transfer lists vary between 41 and 175. Prisoners later put the numbers as between 100 and 300.[2] The main task of the concentration camp prisoners was at first to complete construction work in the SS barracks, which were not yet complete. One of the prisoners of the subcamp, Kapo Hugo Jakusch from Munich, recalls that young men, especially tradesmen, were chosen for the subcamp. They constructed garages, laid electrical cables, and built roofs in the barracks area. On their arrival in Nürnberg, the population is said to have thrown stones at the prisoners so that the SS had to protect the prisoner column. In the first prisoner detachment from Dachau were 28 Germans, 16 Poles, 10 Czechs, a PSV (Polizeiliche Sicherheitsverwahrung, Police Protection) prisoner, and an AZR (Arbeitszwang Reich, Forced Labor Reich) prisoner.[3] Several extant transfer lists show that prisoners who were assigned to the SS-Intelligence Auxiliary Unit were primarily cobblers, tailors, and barbers.

With the beginning of the air raids on Nürnberg, the prisoners were used outside the SS barracks in removing rubble and reconstructing armaments industries. Hugo Jakusch and Jan Prędki, both from the first prisoner transport from Dachau, recalled that in August 1942 the detachment was deployed at the heavily damaged Nürnberg Truck Company Faun in Wachterstrasse. Armaments Minister Albert Speer had promised when visiting Nürnberg that because the site was rebuilt within four weeks, the prisoners would be set free. Despite the quick reconstruction, the prisoners did not get their freedom. In August 1943 the Faun factory was destroyed a second time. It was not rebuilt.

Prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamps at Pottenstein and Hersbruck were transferred to Nürnberg in 1944–1945 to assist in the work. After the large air raid on Nürnberg on January 2, 1945, Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Benno Martin secured for himself a detachment of around 20 prisoners for his official Nürnberg villa at 19 Virchowstrasse, which had been hit in a bombing raid for the first time in 1942.[4]

In general, prisoners questioned after 1945 have described the conditions in the SS-Kaserne subcamp and the work detachments as comparatively good. They had a roof over their heads, they were halfway decently fed, and the work was not beyond their capacity. No murders by the SS in the subcamp could be proved after 1945. However, in cleaning up after the bombing raids and during the bombing raids, a few prisoners lost their lives.

Of the 10 leaders at the SS-Kaserne subcamp, only SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber is remembered by the prisoners as being brutal.[5]

The SS-Kaserne subcamp was evacuated in April 1945. At least nine prisoners were able to escape. On April 26, 1945, the majority of the prisoners arrived at the Dachau concentration camp. Another group was evacuated to the Flossenbürg Hersbruck subcamp and then were driven south in the direction of Dachau. From there the prisoners marched further in a southerly direction.

SOURCES The SS-Kaserne subcamp is mentioned in the ITS List of Prisons; in Martin Weinmann's *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and in Gudrun Schwarz's *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1996) under the titles "Nürnberg Bauleitung Waffen-SS" and "Nürnberg SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungs-Abteilung." The basis for this article is the author's essay "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 153–173. Bernd Windsheimer and a history of the buildings of the SS-Kaserne, in Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge, ed., *SS-Kaserne—Merrill-Barracks* (Nürnberg: Bundesamt, 2000); a summary of the history of the subcamp. Karin Graf has published the memoirs of prisoner Stanislaw Hantz, which refers to the subcamp: *Zitronen aus Kanada: Das Leben mit Auschwitz des Stanislaw Hantz*, *Biografische Erzählungen* (Oswiecim: Verlag Staatliches Museum Auschwitz II-Birkenau, 1997), pp. 231–235.

The SS-Kaserne prisoners are listed in the Flossenbürg Numbers Book (*Nummernbücher*) (originals in NARA, Washington). Details on the subcamp are to be found in the materials of the ZdL at BA-L and in the AG-F. These consist of transfer lists and witness statements collected during investigations.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4 341/1, Film 1391.
2. AG-F, Film 14362 (transfers Flossenbürg-Nürnberg); and ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 96/75 (various statements by former prisoners).
3. AG-D, File ITS 139 (lists of prisoners transferred to Nürnberg on May 12, 1941).
4. BA-B, NS 19 14, p. 150 (report Benno Martin on the air raid August 28–29, 1942); ZdL, IV 410 96/75, p. 37, 50r (witness statements by prisoners of the detachment HSSPF).
5. ZdL, IV 410 96/75, p. 181; ZdL, IV 723/73, p. 53.

NÜRNBERG/EICHSTÄTT

The Eichstätt subcamp was a very small subcamp and existed for only a few months at the end of 1944. The prisoners were transferred from the Nürnberg subcamp in the SS-Kaserne (Barracks). A section of the Nürnberg SS-Nachrichten-Ersatzbataillon (Intelligence Reserve Battalion) was quartered on the Willibaldsburg in Eichstätt. In November 1944, 10 prisoners had to work here; on January 1, 1945, there were 22 prisoners.[1] The International Tracing Service (ITS) lists the Eichstätt subcamp as a work detachment of the Nürnberg SS-Kaserne subcamp. As a list of labor details from the Flossenbürg concentration camp suggests, it was administered and accounted for by Nürnberg SS-Kaserne.

Cases of death for this subcamp, the first mention of whose existence in the sources is October 1944 and the last January 1945, cannot be confirmed. The prisoners came from Holland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

SOURCES The Eichstätt subcamp is listed in the ITS List of Prisoners and briefly in the author's essay "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 162. A group of students at the Catholic University in Eichstätt made a video on the subcamp in 1993, which is held in the archives of the AG-F.

The Eichstätt subcamp is documented by the files of the ITS (Hanging File Eichstätt), as well as the labor demands from December and January 1945 that are held in the BA-B (Collection NS 4).

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. BA-B, Eh-DDR-ZSA, Doc IK 183/11 (labor demand November 1944).

OBERTRAUBLING [AKA REGENSBURG-OBERTRAUBLING]

On February 20, 1945, a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was established at Obertraubling (present-day Neutraubling, Landkreis Regensburg, Regierungsbezirk Oberpfalz).

The airfield constructed in 1935 (according to other sources, between 1936 and 1938) to the east of Regensburg at Obertraubling was closely linked to the Messerschmitt factory in Regensburg. Here, at times, the final assembly of planes was carried out but also the flight testing of new Messerschmitt aircraft—especially of types Bf 109 and Me 321 Gigant—and from September 1944 also the final assembly and flight testing of the Me 262. For this purpose, thousands of forced laborers and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs, exclusively officers) were deployed, housed in two camps.

The airfield at Obertraubling itself was only inadequately equipped for the flight testing of aircraft. Especially problematic were the insufficient number of hangers and the grass landing strip. Under the weather conditions prevailing during the winter of 1944–1945, the aircraft were frequently unable to take off from the airstrip, as it became too soft due to snow and rain; dozens of newly assembled Me 262s stood around unprotected on the air base and could not have their testing completed. Since the airfield was under constant observation by Allied reconnaissance aircraft, the growing number of planes visible on the ground did not go unnoticed. On February 16, 1945, a raid from the 15th U.S. Air Force, comprising 263 B-24 bombers flying from Italy, attacked the airfield at Obertraubling, dropping 515 tons of bombs. The raid completely destroyed 25 aircraft (20 of them Me 262s); 30 others were severely damaged (including 20 more Me 262s).

The deployment of the prisoner detail from Flossenbürg, which arrived in Obertraubling on February 20, 1945, must be seen in conjunction with the inadequate equipping of the airfield and its bombardment. The subcamp consisted of about 600 men of various nationalities, mostly Jews, and was deployed under the authority of the Organisation Todt's (OT) construction management (OT-Bauleitung). The prisoners were housed in the bomb-damaged shell of the mess building on the air base. Sources differ regarding the composition of the prisoner guard detail; probably men of the SS, the German Home Guard (Volkssturm), and the Luftwaffe were all involved, and individual testimonies note that the latter two groups were less brutal than the SS. SS-Hauptscharführer Cornelius Schwanner was in charge of the subcamp. At first he had 50 SS men at his disposal; early in March 1945, 11 more were added. According to some inmate testimonies, Schwanner apparently tried to improve the situation of the inmates by providing additional food. But other inmates state that Schwanner and his SS men killed inmates for no reason.

By the end of February 1945, the camp held 600 inmates. More than half of them were Jews from different nations. By the end of March, the number was reduced to 484, mainly due to the harsh living conditions. In mid-April 1945, 426 inmates were registered.

Some details about the working and living conditions of the prisoners can be found in the records of the trial conducted in 1953 in Bremen of the camp elder (Lagerältester) Josef Kierspel. Kierspel, who had previously been the Lagerältester in the Golleschau camp and committed numerous crimes there, had been transferred from Golleschau via Loslau, the Heinkel factory near Berlin, on to Sachsenhausen, and then to Flossenbürg, where he was assigned to the Obertraubling subcamp, arriving on February 20, 1945. The camp was only set up in an improvised manner. Kierspel obtained wood, in order to construct beds, stools, and tables, as well as some straw for bedding material. He was responsible for conducting the morning roll calls, as well as assigning the prisoners to the various work details.

Like the forced laborers and POWs already present, the concentration camp prisoners were also deployed on the construction of a new landing strip. As historian Peter Schmoll reports, to this end initially in March 1945 a road passing by the east side of the airfield hangars was extended by 100 meters (328 feet) into the airfield, thereby creating a provisional takeoff and landing strip about 10 meters (33 feet) wide and some 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) long. From March, the prisoners were engaged in preparatory work for the construction of a new landing strip in the southeastern sector of the air base. Prisoners also dug ditches for laying cables and were used for clearing debris in Regensburg after air raids, as well as for improvements at the nearby Messerschmitt factory.

Kierspel behaved less brutally than had been the case in his previous camp assignments, but his hatred of the Jews remained unbridled. He addressed prisoners as "filthy Jews" (*Saujuden*) and beat them brutally. At least one Jewish prisoner, Bienenfeld, died from this ill-treatment. Kierspel, who

enjoyed special privileges within the camp such as his own "cabin" and radio, repeatedly ordered that the prisoners be searched for forbidden items and mercilessly punished all infractions. These brutal camp conditions, together with the insufficient supply of food and clothing, caused numerous inmates to die of hunger and cold. In March and April 1945, between 20 and 35 prisoners died on some days. At least 170 prisoners who died in the Obertraubling subcamp were buried just to the north of the mess building. It is likely that some of these were victims of the aerial bombardments. From the records of the Kierspel trial, however, it is also clear that at least one Luftwaffe officer helped the prisoners by providing them with food and not tolerating any beatings by the camp elder, the prisoners' work supervisors, or the SS guards.

On April 11, 1945, the Eighth U.S. Air Force conducted a further attack in which 79 B-24 bombers dropped a total of 160 tons of explosives. As a result of the attack, all the buildings of the air base were destroyed or bomb damaged. Over the following days, the inmates of the subcamp were engaged primarily in repairing the damage and filling in bomb craters.

On April 15 (according to other sources, on April 21–22, 1945), the prisoners were evacuated on foot toward Dachau. Apparently Schwanner organized a number of trucks to take 180 inmates who were incapable to walk to Dachau; all others had to walk. About 30 to 40 prisoners succeeded in escaping during the death march. Once again, camp elder Kierspel behaved in accordance with the expectations of the SS: he beat the prisoners or denounced them to the guards. On April 27, out of fear that the prisoners might take revenge, he escaped before the transport arrived in Dachau or could be liberated. On April 27–28, 1945, 155 (according to other sources: 97) prisoners arrived in Dachau. In the verdict issued by the Bremen court in 1953, there is, however, a reference indicating that some or all of the remaining prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army before their arrival in Dachau.

In the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial, Schwanner was sentenced to death; he was executed on October 15, 1948, in Landsberg. Until the end, he maintained his inability to influence the conditions at the subcamp and emphasized his attempts to improve the inmates' situation. In 1953 and 1955, Kierspel was tried for his crimes as Lageräl tester, including the murder of three prisoners (two in the Golleschau and one in Obertraubling subcamp). He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Bremen Landgericht (regional court) in 1953; in 1955, after the intervention of the West German Federal Court (BGH), the punishment was commuted to 15 years in prison. The verdict granting him a reduced sentence recognized that Kierspel in his function as camp elder occupied a position for which he was ill-suited, because of his character and temperament, and that granted him suddenly an almost unlimited position of power over many of his fellow prisoners. On the other hand, the court evaluated Kierspel's cruel treatment of his Jewish fellow prisoners over long periods for no reason as an aggravating factor, although he committed these deeds with only limited personal intent and also treated some fellow prisoners humanely and tried to help them. SS-Hauptscharführer Cornelius Schwanner, who served both as a recruit leader (Rekrutenführer) and leader of the entire prison detachment (Kommandoführer), among other positions in the Obertraubling subcamp, was sentenced to death and hanged in 1946.

SOURCES A description of the camp within the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg region can be found in the West German Federal President's history competition "Youths Conduct Local Research" (Jugendliche forschen vor Ort), which was held in 1983 under the motto: "Everyday Life under National Socialism, II (the War Years)." Class 11a of the Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft in Regensburg received second prize under their teacher Hans Simon-Pelanda. The essay prepared by the teenagers can be found in the AKö in Hamburg under file reference GW 1983-0436, Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Einwohner. Ulrich Fritz describes the Obertraubling subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 216–219. In his book *Messerschmitt-Giganten und der Fliegerhorst Regensburg-Obertraubling 1936–1945* (Regensburg: MZ Buchverlag GmbH, 2002), Peter Schmoll describes primarily the airfield's economic and military significance, but he also deals repeatedly with the deployment of forced laborers, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners there. Further mentions of the subcamp can be found in the publications by Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994); Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, eds., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 178; and Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann, eds., *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 682–707 (in the article by Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," p. 698). Information on the fate of the Jewish prisoners in the subcamp can be found in the article by Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg," in *Stadt und Mutter in Israel: Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg*, ed. Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg: Stadt Regensburg, 1990), p. 113; and Ehm, "Auch im Landkreis starben in KZ-Häftlinge," *Mittel Z*, November 23–24, 1991. For more information on Regensburg and the Messerschmitt-Werke, see Helmut Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz. Kommunalpolitik in Regensburg während der NS-Zeit* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1994), esp. pp. 301–9. In ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), the camp is mentioned on 1: 116; in the *BGBl.* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," on 1: 1830.

The court records from the trials against Kierspel can be found under the file references 3 Ks 2/53 (LG Bremen,

November 27, 1953) and 2 StR 367/54 (BGH, November 15, 1954). Results of the investigations by the ZdL can be found at BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 93/75. Court trials of the U.S. Army against guards at Flossenbürg and its subcamps were conducted immediately after the war. For events at Obertraubling, see especially the case of *United States vs. Friedrich Becker et al*., NARA, Case No. 000-50-46, and here the statements of Schwanner (pp. 7081–7112) and Patron (pp. 7021–7028).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

OEDERAN

The subsidiary of the Auto Union AG Chemnitz, the Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (DKK) GmbH Scharfenstein, had been in negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office D II, under SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, since the early summer of 1944 about employing, in addition to its prisoner details for its factories in Scharfenstein and Wilischthal, a prisoner detail of 500 female prisoners for the expansion of its munitions manufacturing at the Oederan factory. A communication from the management of DKK Scharfenstein to Maurer reads: "Through our Mr. Illgner, we have already informed you by telephone from Berlin that we could employ around five hundred concentration camp women for our Oederan branch, which is engaged exclusively in the manufacturing of the 2 cm L.Sprgr [rifle grenades]. We ask that you view this request as part of the overall request of the Auto Union AG Chemnitz, as we belong to its concern."[1]

This request was supported by the Special Committee Munition II, one of the organs of the "Industrial Self-Responsibility." A communication from the DKK company to the SS leadership further states: "We have communicated our goal of covering the current outstanding labor needs with concentration camp women to the responsible special committee in the enclosed copy."[2]

The DKK wanted to employ the female prisoners for manufacturing 2 cm explosive rounds for aircraft cannon in the Karis cotton thread factory in Oederan, which had been revamped for this purpose. Following authorization by the Special Committee Munition II, the DKK received the go-ahead from the responsible main department D II/1 of the WVHA, whose leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Sommer, was directly responsible for the employment of concentration camp prisoners.

On August 8–9, 1944, a representative from DKK negotiated with the commandant of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, during which the conditions were established for the hiring and training of women who had been recruited as SS-Aufseherinnen (female guards). The first batch would still be trained at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp; the other employees would be trained at the Flossenbürg subcamp Holleischen, near Pilsen. Although the SS commandant from Flossenbürg, SS-Obersturmbannführer Koegel, was reluctant to split the detail for Oederan, which numbered 500 prisoners, the DKK pushed through varying times for the "delivery dates":[3] The installments requested were for 100 prisoners on September 4, 1944; 200 prisoners on October 15, 1944; and 300 prisoners on December 1, 1944.

The dyeing building in the Kabis factory was designated for the accommodation of the prisoners, where sleeping rooms for the prisoners and the SS female guards were set up on the first and second floors.

On October 9, 1944, the first transport arrived at Oederan with 200 Jewish women and girls from Auschwitz. The Flossenbürg command assigned them the registration numbers 54436 through 54635. In this transport there were 167 Poles, the majority of whom were from the Łódź ghetto and a small part of whom were from Kraków. In addition, 19 from this transport were registered as Slovakians, although several of them were also Poles, as well as 12 Yugoslavs and 1 Austrian.[4]

On October 3, 1944, Armaments Inspection IVa of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production, located in Dresden, made it a condition on DKK that they use the code name "Agricola GmbH," which the DKK itself had suggested, for the newly founded company for the expansion of its munitions manufacturing. Thus, the name of the famous Saxon mining scientist of the Renaissance had to suffer for this dubious purpose.[5]

On October 30, 1944, a second transport with 300 women and children arrived at the Oederan camp from Auschwitz. They received the registration numbers 59153 through 59453 from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Women of 10 nationalities were on the transport: 145 Czechs; 70 Hungarians; 31 Poles; 27 Dutch; 22 Germans, several of whom considered themselves Austrians; 1 Italian; 1 Yugoslav; 1 Russian; 1 Swiss; and 1 Slovakian.

Grete Salus, who was also part of this transport, wrote about her prison time at Oederan in an extensive report:

> From our transport two hundred surviving women remained at Auschwitz, in contrast to only forty-five men. Altogether eighteen hundred of us came to Auschwitz. Two hundred forty-five were designated, temporarily, to be used, to live; the others were liquidated. . . . Yes, we had only our lives and did not harbor any great expectations after all the experiences in Auschwitz. . . . As we arrived, there were already three hundred women present, mostly Poles and Hungarians. They had been in Oederan for three weeks already and only a small number of them worked. They worked in a weapons factory, manufacturing cartridges, a few steps away from our camp. We were of course locked in behind barred windows; looking outside was strictly forbidden, so that after a short time we wished we could work at least to get out. In addition we were scared about being sent back to Auschwitz if there were no use for us here.[6]

Regine St., who was originally from Kraków and had already suffered through the Plaszow concentration camp and went to Auschwitz in August 1944, was also among the women who were brought to Oederan. In an interview contrasting Oederan and Auschwitz, she said: "In comparison to Auschwitz it was a paradise, with clean straw mattresses and showers."[7]

Of the 501 women at Oederan, 58 were born between 1900 and 1909, 173 between 1910 and 1919, 156 between 1920 and 1924, and 110 between 1925 and 1930. Birth dates are lacking for 4 of the women.

In many survivor reports, it becomes clear that the internal camp conditions very much depended on the attitude of the respective camp leader or the Oberaufseherin (head female guard). Miriam Werebejczyk and Sara Honigmann express in their report a powerful recollection of the first head female supervisor in Oederan, who ran the detail until being relieved by another in December 1944. They only remember her first name, Dora, and say that "although she screamed a lot, she was human and was not to be compared with her successor Irma, a sister of the infamous Grese."[8] Sara Honigmann emphasizes the differences in attitude between the two head female supervisors in her report:

> The early days in Oederan was similar to a prison stay; once or twice during the week we received warm water to wash. We ate at tables. Later, under the second Oberaufseherin, we had to clean the eating room with ice-cold water. We laughed and did the work. The supervisor was very mad about that, but we on the other hand were satisfied. Once I received from her such a slap that a friend, who stood next to me, fell to the ground. We sewed ourselves clothing from torn material we had from Auschwitz. During a personal inspection she asked me where I got the dress and when I answered truthfully, "from Auschwitz," she cried "you're lying!" Then came the slap. The supervisor even knocked the tooth out of another woman.[9]

On the changing of the supervisor, Salus wrote:

> We were assigned a supervisor who, for us, had a frightening history. She was first a supervisor at Auschwitz and she came to us from a concentration camp in Holland. From there she had to flee the approaching Allies. She had a stripe on her sleeve—she received the second one while with us—therefore was an SS officer and well schooled. Now everything had a different feel. Everything was reorganized from the ground up. Above all we had to work. If there was no work, she would conjure something up out of nothing. In addition the factory was already working to capacity—of course hogwash—if there was no material available, the workers had to stand. Even if there was nothing to do they had to stand, sitting was strictly forbidden. At the beginning there was still some material, but as the machines were constantly defective, very little was produced. . . . With the arrival of the supervisor a despondent prisoner—classified as a block elder at Auschwitz—was finally promoted to camp elder due to an old acquaintance from their mutual Auschwitz past. . . . From day to day a forcible personality emerged from that tear-stained face.[10]

There were two female doctors at the camp, a Russian and a Hungarian. The Russian had the courage not to keep quiet about everything and fought for what sanitary measures were possible for the prisoners. She was transferred to another camp, however.

According to SS documents, there were three fatalities in the camp. Helga Kinsky wrote: "I don't know how many women died in Oederan. Once I lay in the infirmary with a high fever and some women were there in very bad condition and I only wanted to get away from this infirmary and left it after two days."[11]

Prisoner groups were also deployed for work outside of the camp and factory such as described by Salus:

> I belonged to such a group. First, until deep in the winter, we dug a trench for a water main. Then I was assigned with three comrades to a group for construction work. A linen mill was transformed into a weapons factory. The difficult work, like loading bricks and cement sacks, we performed together with several Italians. We four women were helpers for the conversion of a camp for new prisoners. The prisoners never came. . . . It was real men's work and our hands were sore from the constant handling of bricks and cement. Nevertheless we had it better than the machine workers, as we had more freedom of movement. We brought political news into the camp, including newspapers and leaflets, and were always passionately awaited there. . . . I'll never forget one leaflet—I learned it by heart in order to recite it exactly. It was headed with "The End is Coming" and the end read "Stay Alive." The content was the decisive crossing of the lower Rhine. The leaflet was read by every one on external duty, then torn up and thrown away as back then there were constant physical inspections. As I came into the camp I was cheered and had to recite it so often until I was out of breath.[12]

In contrast to the guard, the first SS detail leader was colorless. Miriam Werebejczyk describes him in what was a telling situation for his position: "An elderly Obersturmführer [first lieutenant] gave out cold soup and said in justification that the soup was unfortunately cold as it arrived late."[13]

After his discharge, the guard personnel consisted of SS-Unterführer Eggers and originally 27, later 33, female guards,

most of whom had before been workers in Oederan and environs.[14] Salus wrote about the relationship to the German civil population:

> We Oederan prisoners cannot say anything bad about most of the workers—they often saved us from collapse with a piece of bread from their hands. I don't want to belittle their helpfulness, for some individuals it was surely sincere compassion and willingness to help. For most, however, it was the beginning of a guilty conscience, but only under the pressure of events. . . . I myself, however, experienced the miracle of real helpfulness. A small, poor female worker, Else Schrötter, took me in and selflessly helped me when I was barely surviving. She herself certainly did not have much to eat and still shared that little with me. . . . The operations manager, when I was alone with him for a second, expressed his regret about our situation, but if somebody was around he gave his orders brusquely and abruptly. Jakob, the head engineer, a Nazi of the worst sort, gave me the most demeaning assignments with enthusiasm, was the creator of our various work punishments, and was also close friends with the head female guard.[15]

A group of women was transferred from Oederan to the Flossenbürg Hertine subcamp and employed there in the Welboth munitions factory.[16]

On April 14, 1945, the women were evacuated in open train cars. Miriam Werebejczyk reports: "For six days we were under way to Theresienstadt [Terezín]. During our trip we went through Aussig [Usti n. Laben] twice. Once we saw an air battle over Aussig. The guards fled."[17]

From Leitmeritz (Litoměřice), where the women were unloaded, they had to march to Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 21, 1945. Some 442 women were registered there as being from the Oederan camp command.[18] Actually, the number of surviving evacuees from Oederan was larger, as a large number of Czechs left the transport without registering before or in Theresienstadt.

SOURCES Published sources on the Oederan subcamp include Michael Düsin, ed., "*Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt . . .*" *Erinnerungen an KZ und Zwangsarbeit in Freiberg und Oederan* (Freiberg: Libri Books on Demand, 2001); Grete Salus, *Niemand, nichts—ein Jude: Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Oederan* (Darmstadt: Verl. Darmstädter Blätter Schwarz & Co., 1981); and Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt," APZ-P Nr. B 42/57, 42 pp 677–703. See also Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehem. KZ Flossenbürg e.V., 1999), pp. 238–241.

The following archival collections are relevant: BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3215/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Akten "Agricola GmbH."

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AHM-O, Schreiben der Direktion der DKK Scharfenstein an SS-Standartenführer Maurer, June 24, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters der DKK Scharfenstein, Noack, über den Besuch im K.L. Flossenbürg/=berpf, August 8–9, 1944.
4. Ibid.
5. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030.
6. Grete Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt," APZ-P Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen. Beilage zur Wochenzeitung "Das Parlament," Sonderdruck für die Deutsche Studentzeitung. Hrsg. v.d. Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, Bonn, Nr. B XXXXII/57, pp. 677–703.
7. Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindlers Liste. Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe, 1995), p. 285.
8. Miriam Werebejczyk and Sara Honigmann, report.
9. Ibid.
10. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt."
11. Helga Kinsky, letter from July 4, 2000.
12. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt." Salus died in Israel in 1998.
13. Werebejczyk and Honigmann, report.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
15. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt."
16. Helga Kinsky, letter from July 4, 2000.
17. Werebejczyk and Honigmann, report.
18. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255.

PLATTLING

Plattling is located close to Deggendorf on the Isar River. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was opened there on February 2, 1945, with the arrival of 500 male prisoners. It had taken the prisoner transport 24 hours to cover the journey of 195 kilometers (121 miles) by rail from Flossenbürg; by the time they arrived in Plattling, there were already 20 dead. However, this was not the first group of prisoners to arrive in Plattling: concentration camp prisoners had been used since March 1944 by the Organisation Todt (OT) Bauleitung (Construction Management) and the Klug company on the nearby airfield, mostly in the construction of roads.

Like the camps in Ganacker and Kirchham, Plattling was only established during the last phase of the war and was closely connected to an airfield of the German Luftwaffe. The prisoners who had come from Flossenbürg were used on a military airfield, which had been established at the end of the 1930s in Michaelsbucher Flur, between the town of Michaelsbuch and the Plattling suburb Höhenrain. At the end of 1943, there were plans to expand the airfield by 33 hectares to 183 hectares (by 82 acres to 452 acres). At the end of 1944, Luftwaffe squadrons were based there that were to be equipped with the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter. Increasing air attacks meant that steel bunkers buried into the ground were

necessary for the aircraft. The subcamp's prisoners were used primarily in constructing the bunkers. At the same time, they were used to remove bomb damage in the surrounding towns, and sometimes they worked on farms. Historian Michael Westerholz also states that the prisoners were used to build an aircraft base at Hettenkofen, construction of which had begun in March 1944.

Initially, the subcamp was based in the middle of the town, in the old Knabenschulhaus [Boys' School] behind the church of St. Magdalena (later St.-Erhard-Schule). An OT camp had previously been located there. The open mistreatment of the prisoners, whose screams were heard by the local population when they attended church, soon led to protests. For this reason, and also probably because the school was too small to accommodate the prisoners, the group was divided after a few weeks (some sources: after 24 days in March–April), and 220 prisoners (some sources: all the prisoners) were relocated to the edge of the town, in farmer Frohnauer's brickworks at Höhenrain.

The composition of the prisoners was very mixed: Among the first 500 to arrive, there were 350 who had come from Auschwitz via Sachsenhausen. More then 300 of the inmates were Jews, among them 200 Polish Jews and about 50 Jews from Hungary. Other large groups were about 100 Czechs (80 political prisoners and 12 Jews) and about 20 Russians. There were also French and German inmates, as well as prisoners from seven other nations. The youngest was only 16.

In the school the prisoners slept on straw mattresses. There was a kitchen (erected after the camp was established), an office, and an infirmary in the attic. Two prisoner doctors worked there but had no medication or tools available to treat the inmates. Ill prisoners are said to have committed suicide by jumping from the windows in the attic roof.

There were 55 (other sources: 52) SS guards who were accommodated with the prisoners. They were under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Erich Sürensen (also: Sörensen). Sürensen is described by survivors as being humane, whereas his deputy Rudolf Braun was said to be a radical oppressor. One-half of the SS were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) or foreigners in German service, including members of the ethnic German special service (volksdeutsche Sonderdienst), who had murdered up to 500,000 Jews in Galizien. Prisoners have described the brothers Josef and Martin Dewald (born in 1921 and 1920), two Volksdeutsche from Temesvar, who joined the Totenkopf (Death's Head) SS at the end of 1944, as being particularly brutal.

The prisoners had a long way to go to work, and the number of SS guards was insufficient. The head of police in Plattling, Stephan Scheuregger, offered his police to the SS as auxiliary guards; in addition, local inhabitants, including 14-year-old members of the Hitler Youth, also had to supervise the prisoners on their way to work.

The prisoners' workday began at 5:00 A.M. and usually did not end before 10:00 P.M. The prisoners leveled the ground with hoes and dug paths on the airfield and on the approaches to the airfield, relocated drainage pipes, and carried the cement that was necessary to widen the runways. On April 16, 1945, the Plattling railway station and many houses were destroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners had to recover at least 2,000 corpses, including dead from refugee, Red Cross, and concentration camp trains; had to rescue more than 100 people under the rubble; and had to work their way through more than 500,000 cubic meters (654,000 cubic yards) of rubble and 20 kilometers (12 miles) of destroyed railway line, 1,400 railway wagons reduced to scrap, and 45 locomotives, some of which were still red-hot.

Food was scarce in the camp: inmates only received cold food such as bread in the camp—never soup or coffee. The inhabitants of Plattling repeatedly interceded on behalf of the prisoners: policeman Eiblmeier lodged complaints and summonses against the SS and the National Socialists. Stanglmeier, the owner of a meat factory, protested against the prisoners' treatment and distributed to them a meat soup and meatballs from his own plant.

The prisoners' conditions worsened when they were shifted to the Höhenrain brickworks. The camp was fenced in with a 3.5-meter-high (11.5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence. The brickworks and the barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated were drafty and cold. Many prisoners died from their mistreatment or were deliberately killed. It is said that prisoners who could no longer walk were shot at roll call. Brutal Kapos, both criminal and political prisoners, made the prisoners' life hell. One prisoner was beaten to death because he had taken a beet from a field, a second because he had been too long on the toilet, a third because he had "organized" (stolen) meat. The dying were pushed into the latrines and left to their fate. Survivors claim that Plattling was even worse than Auschwitz. Four attempts to escape from the Plattling camp are recorded in the records of the Flossenbürg main camp; there is no information on their success or failure.

The assistance given by individual local inhabitants continued after the camp was relocated to Höhenrain. Farmers cooked food, bribed the guards with alcohol and money, and put food by the edge of the roads. Some employees of the Klug company, for whom the prisoners were working, including an engineer named Becker, tried to help the prisoners and look after them.

On April 13, 1945, 459 of the 500 prisoners who arrived at the camp on February 20, 1945, were still capable of working. A few days later, on April 18, 200 evacuated prisoners from Buchenwald arrived. At this time the camp was already in the process of being dissolved, and there was no longer a water supply. The Buchenwald prisoners were evacuated on foot on April 23, and the Plattling prisoners left the camp on April 25, 1945. According to Westerholz, 25 (Fritz: 60) prisoners who could not march remained in the camp, while 40 prisoners used the evacuation to escape and found refuge with local

families, 18 with the family Hunsrücker alone. Ten Belgians were hidden by their compatriots (forced laborers) in the Deggendorf quarry. According to Westerholz, 187 of the prisoners were already dead at that time.

The Plattling evacuation march was strewn with dead: a victim in Enchendorf, 1 in Otzing, 3 in Haunersdorf, 2 in Lailing, 1 in Simbach bei Landau, 5 in Arnstorf, 2 in Haunersberg, 10 in Peterskirchen/Schönau, 1 in Unterölt, 1 in Unterhausbach, 1 in Eggenfelden, 5 in Hirschhorn, 1 in Mitterkirchen, 1 in Reischach, and 2 in Winhöring. Eyewitnesses say this number is too low; Bundeszentrale also gives the number of dead higher, as 44.

In Winhöring (according to other sources: Haunersdorf), the Plattling column joined evacuated prisoners from Regensburg and Ganacker. Shortly thereafter, Sürensen and several SS men deserted the march. All three columns then marched together via Arnstorf, Eggenfelden, and Trostberg, where they joined a death march from Buchenwald. They were liberated on May 2, 1945, by the U.S. Army, close to Traunstein. Many prisoners were able to escape along the way; to these must be counted the 60 prisoners of whom there is no trace. In total, it is estimated that about half of the Plattling inmate population died or were killed in the course of the existence of the camp.

The prisoners who were left behind when the camp was evacuated were transferred to the district hospital after they were liberated, but many died from exhaustion and typhus. Oskar Schindler, who lived in Regensburg, had an important role in repatriating the liberated prisoners to their homes. He organized passports for Jews who wanted to emigrate and convinced U.S. soldiers to make available vehicles to transport food and the sick.

After the subcamp was dissolved, there were isolated cases of self-justice: the liberated prisoners beat a Kapo to death and severely injured a second. Josef Dewald was beaten to death by the prisoners on May 1, 1945; his brother Martin could flee but was shot at by U.S. guards and interned for two years. Another, probably a Ukrainian SS man, was shot by U.S. soldiers on May 4, 1945, in Haslach/Traunstein while trying to escape.

SS-Wachmann Josef Oskar Brauner was sentenced to death in 1947 by a U.S. War Crimes Court in Dachau for crimes committed in Plattling and hanged in Landsberg on May 21, 1949. SS-Oberscharführer August Fahrnbauer (also: Fahrbauer), chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) and deputy camp leader in Plattling, was sentenced after the war to 15 years' imprisonment. Sürensen was never found; neither was his adjutant Schönberg.

SOURCES In the immediate postwar period, local newspapers published a number of articles on the Plattling subcamp, for example, the PH-Ib of October 8 and 15, 1946; the *Mittel Z* (Regensburg) of October 17, 1946; and the Don-K-Ing of October 15, 1946. The Deg-Z published a series of articles on the National Socialist era and the Plattling subcamp between 1985 and 1987.

A detailed description of the subcamp based on numerous sources is by Michael Westerholz, *Kranke krepierten natürlich wie das Vieh: Erinnerungen an das KZ Plattling. Eine Reportage* (Deggendorf: Eigenverlag, [1995]). Ulrich Fritz describes the Plattling camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Münich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 223–226. Another description of the subcamp, by Georg Artmeier, can be found in "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg: Ganacker und Plattling," *HiHe* (1990–1991). Anna Rosmus describes the Plattling subcamp in *Wintergrün—verdrängte Morde* (Konstanz: Labhahrd-Verlag, 1993). Norbert Elmar Schmidt, under the title "Fabriken des Todes—Ganacker und Plattling: KZ-Aussenkommandos und Todesmärsche," wrote an article in the Deg-G. The camp is also mentioned in S. Michael Westerholz, *Da wurden die Juden erschlagen. Judengeschichte im Landkreis Deggendorf, Straubing* (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, 1986); as well as in Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994). The camp is also mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des NS, Band I* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), p. 184; as well as in an essay by Hans Brenner, "Der Arbeitseinsatz der KZHäftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialstischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2:682–707.

In 1952, the Deggendorf Sta. investigated the death of SS man Josef Dewald. The files are held in the StA-Lh under File Number Rep. 167/1 St. Nr. 205. According to Westerholz, there are also in the StA-Lh scattered files on the subcamp, for example, the second infirmary erected in 1944–1945 for foreign workers (Rep. 164/2), the concentration camp cemetery in Plattling (Rep. 5059), and files on the securing of grain for the production of bread in Plattling-Michaelsbuch between 1937 and 1955 (Rep. 6150). In private ownership is a letter from May 28, 1945, in which 18 prisoners confirm their rescue by the Hunsrücker family. Events in Plattling were investigated as part of the Flossenbürg concentration camp trials. The filmed files are held in NARA, RG 338, Records of the United States Army Commands 1942; and NARA, RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Case # 000-50-141.

In an USHMMA collection under RG-09.005*40 is a report from Colonel (Ret.) Richard R. McTaggant of the 13th Armored Division, one of the camp's liberators. Even in 1981, McTaggant described the event as "an experience I still am unable to describe dispassionately."

The Sta-Mü files carry File Number 115 Js. 4910/76. They include numerous survivors' statements. No charges were laid. At BA-L, see ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 226/75, for information on the Plattling camp.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), lists the camp at 1:116; the *BGBl.* (1977), I, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," on p. 1832.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLAUEN (*BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI UND INDUSTRIEWERKE*)

In the last year of World War II, a part of German armaments production took place in textile factories, as civilian production of textiles had been reduced in favor of producing armaments. The Osram KG company, controlled by Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) and Siemens, transferred its armaments production to the supposedly more secure areas of Saxony, Thuringia, and the Sudetenland. Except for the production of molybdenum and wolfram, which were required for the production of tubes important to the war effort, Osram management at the end of 1943 relocated its production of various lightbulbs for armaments to Plauen in Vogtland. Osram hoped by this means to gain access to a new source of labor and thereby to expand production. It rented part of a factory belonging to Plauener Baumwollspinnerei AG (cotton mill) in Hans-Sachs Strasse and part of a factory belonging to the Industriewerke AG (I-Werke) in Roon Strasse.

The relocated parts of the Osram enterprise were administratively taken over by the Plauener Baumwollspinnerei AG and I-Werke AG, which also provided a labor force. Osram retained "technical control" of the lightbulb factories "GU 896" (Baumwollspinnerei) and "GU 897" (I-Werke).[1] Work was quickly begun on extensive construction and installation. However, there was still a shortage of labor. It was probably during planning for the use of prisoners at Osram that it was decided in the spring of 1944 to use "five hundred criminal prisoners" in both factories. Negotiations began with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe D.[2] At first, the SS insisted that all the prisoners be held in one camp. Osram was successful in resisting this demand. Rooms that were originally destined for production became the prisoners' quarters: the second floor of the cotton spinning mill, with a guard room for the female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) on the top floor of the I-Werke.[3] The prisoners had three-tiered bunk beds with straw sacks and one blanket each.

An Osram employee applied at Auschwitz for 250 prisoners. Survivors state that young, healthy women with "dry hands" were chosen. The women, who probably arrived in Plauen on September 16 or 17, 1944, were separated—100 were sent to the cotton spinning mill and 150 to the I-Werke.[4] The prisoners were put to work on September 18, 1944. However, a typhus outbreak on September 19, 1944, in Auschwitz resulted in the prisoners being confined to their quarters as a quarantine measure for three weeks. The SS female guards were inoculated. No other measures were implemented.[5] A second group of prisoners arrived on October 14; 150 women were sent to I-Werke and 100 to the cotton spinning mill. These women were Russians, former members of the Soviet Army, and Poles, together with a few Yugoslavs, Italians, and French. There were probably no Jews in this group.[6]

An unknown SS-Oberscharführer was initially in charge of both camps. He was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Dziobaka. He was in charge of the supervisory female guards (Oberaufseherinnen) Hildegard Naujokat at I-Werke, and Else Tomaske was in charge at the cotton spinning mill; they, in turn, were in command of 18 and 12 SS female guards, respectively.[7] The overseers are described as strict and brutal. However, there were no deaths reported in the camp.[8] A Russian prisoner who unsuccessfully tried to escape by tying sheets together and scaling down the wall from the second floor of the cotton spinning mill was punished by having her hair cut off. The prisoners were also collectively punished, as their food was withheld. After the attempt, the windows of the dormitory were welded shut. Food is described as poor but better than in Auschwitz. It was cooked by the prisoners in their own kitchen, which was located in the cellar of I-Werke and the ground floor of the cotton spinning mill.[9]

The prisoners had to work day and night in 12-hour shifts. The production of various light lamps was semi-automated and highly segmented. Prisoners were entitled to a premium for good work, but there is no recollection by the prisoners that a premium was ever paid. The firm paid the usual fee of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner. Cost minimization was a high priority as is shown by the rules dealing with payment for prisoners who could not work either because of illness or accident.[10] The company administration was satisfied with the output. Other than for the German craftsmen Fortberg and Reimann, who secretly gave food and newspapers to the women in the cotton spinning mill, the Osram employees were unfriendly, strict, and rude.[11] Shortages of material and energy increasingly hindered production. Finally, an air raid on Plauen on April 10–11, 1945, cut off the energy supply and destroyed the cotton spinning mill.[12] During the air raid, the prisoners were held in cut-down packing crates in the air-raid shelters. There were no casualties. This remained their makeshift quarters, and all the prisoners were set to work cleaning up the damage in Plauen. The camp was evacuated on April 14, 1945, with the prisoners marching via Georgenstadt in the direction of Karlsbad. They were liberated in Tachau.

In the 1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Flossenbürg Baumwollspinnerei and I-Werke subcamps. In 1966, investigations into both subcamps were separated from the main investigations.[13]

SOURCES The most important source for research on the relocation of the Osram company is located in the LA-B. The Soviet authorities seized numerous Osram files, and it was only by chance that they were later returned to the DDR. It is for this reason only that the files are accessible for research. Details about those responsible and negotiations with the SS and Reich authorities can be obtained from the files. Today a wholly owned subsidiary of Siemens, Osram states that it no longer has any archival documents. On the other hand, the files of the Flossenbürg camp administration are relatively intact and provide details of prisoner numbers, death rates, and SS transactions. The files are held today in the AG-F and the BA-BL, together with selected copies of the documents

relating to investigations by the ZdL at BA-L into both subcamps. The collective proceedings into the Flossenbürg subcamps also contain information about both Plauen subcamps.

Once they were handed over to the DDR, East German historians began relatively early to research the Osram documents and the use by Osram of prisoners. However, the value of their research was limited by its scope. It was confined to the supposed influence that large corporations had on state institutions and the war economy. Hans Brenner in the collected volumes *Nationalistische Konzentrationslager* incorrectly states that Jewish women were exclusively selected for the Osram camps in Plauen.

For further information, see Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion, dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Phil. diss., Berlin [East], 1970); Demps, "Die Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 [Dokumentation]" *ZfG* 26 (1978): 416–437; Hans Brenner, "Zur Frage der Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 [Dokumentation]," *ZfG* 27 (1979): 952–965; Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' in den Aussenlagern des KZs Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2:682–706.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See the contract between Osram KG and Vogtländischen Spitzenweberei AG. Plauen i.V., August 15, 1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.489, p. 18; for details that the contract was concluded on January 3, 1944, see itemization by the VEB Glühlampenwerk Plauen o.D., LA-B, ARep. 231/0.489, p. 1. Both operations were owned by the company Carl Ramig, mech. Baumwollwebereien. See extracts from the *Chronik und Geschichte des Werkes Plauener Baumwollspinnerei KG*, ed. Curt Röder (Plauen, 1945); *The Difficult Post War Years* (Plauen, 1998) p. 251; as well as the letter from Carl Ramig, Mech. Baumwollwebereien, Treuen to Fa Osram Drahtwerk, Berlin, Re: Lieferung von Stahlflaschen für Treuen und Plauen [Flaschenmangel GU 896 and 897], November 14, 1944, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.492, p. 83.

2. See the following on Osram's core business [Schneider, Wtorczyk] Record Re: Besprechung mit SS-Hauptsturmführer Sommer vom SS-WVHA Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, 31.7.44 über den Einsatz von Häftlingen in den Verlegungsbetrieben der OK [Osram-Konzern] (on the Use of Prisoners in Osram Relocated Sites) [August 11, 1944], LA-B, ARep.231/0.502, p. 18.

3. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum Re.: Besuch in Plauen am 14. und 15.8.1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.488, Bl. 328.

4. Telegramme Osram KG [Sittel] [Re.: Transport 250 Häftlinge aus Auschwitz in Plauen], LA-B, ARep.231 0.489. See also the interviews with Liliana Drzewicka, Stafania Tomyslak, Dr. Celina Wojnarowiecz, July 23, 2000, in Flossenbürg. Recording in the possession of the writer.

5. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum 27/44 Re.: Visit to Plauen, September 15–19, 1944, September 22, 1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.488 Bl. 322; as well as Flossenbürg, Forderungsnachweis Flo.655 1.-30.9.1944, BA-L, ZdL, Ordner IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Document Collection Vol. III KL Flossenbürg, p. 749.

6. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum 29/44 Betr.: Besuch in Plauen September 28–30, 1944, and October 9, 1944, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.488, p. 320; List Arolsen, Transport Auschwitz-Plauen, Baumwollspinnerei, October 14, 1944, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B) Bl. 5; Interviews Drzewicka, Tomyslak, and Wojnarowiecz; Witness Statement Miroslava Zg., geb. Va. [*06.1921], August 1, 1969, in Bistrica, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B), p. 106.

7. Letter of the SS-Sonderkdo. I-Werken Plauen, Roonstr. 6, Re: Liste Stand der SS-Aufs (List and Status SS Wardens), October 5, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2627/67, Bl. 225; Letter SS-Sonderkdo. Plauen [Baumwollspinnerei], Hans-Sachsstrasse, Re: Liste ü. Stand der hiesiegen Aufseherinnen, October 5, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, p. 224, as well as ZdL, 410AR3216/66(B), p. 220, and Arbeitseinteilung Flossenbürg v. March 3, 1945, ZdL, IV 410 AR 2629/67, File Dokuments I, p. 1.

8. See Record of Interview Ida Ph. [*12.1924], November 23, 1970, in Courcelles, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B), p. 274; as well as Conclusion Investigation Proceedings Baumwollspinnerei, ZdL, ebenda, p. 478, and Conclusion Investigation Proceedings Industriewerke, ZdL, 410 AR 3217/66 (B), p. 303.

9. See interview with Dr. Celina Wojnarowiecz, July 22, 2000, in Flossenbürg. Recording in the possession of the author. Also see interviews with Drzewicka, Tomyslak, and Wojnarowiecz.

10. See GU 896 [Baumwollspinnerei] Arbeitszeitregelung from January 2, 1945, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.489, p. 5; Betriebsanweisung GU 896 [Baumwollspinnerei], Re.: Verrechnung der Häftlingstätigkeit 4.1.1945 in Plauen, LA-B, ARep 231/0.489, p. 6.

11. Interview Celina Wojnarowiecz.

12. See the photos in Röder, *Chronik*, p. 248.

13. Collective Proceedings, ZdL, 410 AR 2627/67; Investigations Baumwollspinnerei, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B); Investigations Industriewerke, ZdL, 410 AR 3217/66 (B).

PLAUEN (*HORN GMBH*)

Three Flossenbürg subcamps were established at the end of 1944 in Plauen in the Vogtland. Two of them were located in partly nonoperating textile factories, cotton and wool plants, where women had to manufacture lightbulbs for Osram KG. A subcamp for male prisoners was located at the company Dr. Th. Horn, which had been active in aircraft technology from the 1920s. The company's office was based on the outskirts of Plauen at 284 Pausaer Strasse.

On November 9, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred to the Plauen Dr. Th. Horn company. Numbers gradually declined so that in December 1944 there were only 35 men there. They were accounted for as skilled workers.[1] Two Russian prisoners tried to escape on December 6, 1944. The next

day a Pole and a Frenchmen died, and the death of another Frenchman is recorded on December 28. In light of the small size of the subcamp and the use of skilled workers, this is an extraordinarily high death rate. Obviously, the prison conditions were poor, which also explains the escape attempts. City documents record two deaths at the Plauen Horn subcamp. A list prepared by the city's main cemetery includes the grave of a German who died in January 1945 and was cremated in Plauen; another record refers to the death of an Austrian who died of typhus on February 2, 1945, and was buried without a coffin in the main cemetery.[2]

There are few precise details about the conditions in the Horn subcamp. This is in part because the investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg to a certain extent confused the three Plauen subcamps, with the result that the relevant information is seldom ascribed to a particular subcamp. Only one witness from the Horn subcamp was questioned. This witness came from the Fünfteichen subcamp with the dissolution of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp via Flossenbürg to Plauen. According to him, the conditions in Plauen were "incomparably easier than in other camps."[3] He was the only Jew in the subcamp and was transferred there because of his skills in the manufacture of optical devices. The camp was dissolved following its bombing. The leader of all three subcamps in Plauen was SS-Oberscharführer Dziobaka. A personnel report dated January 31, 1945, lists 13 guards at the subcamp.[4]

At the end of February 1945, there were still 50 prisoners in the subcamp. There were 15 Russians, 12 French, 9 Poles, and 8 Czechs as well as 2 Germans, 2 Belgians, 1 Italian, and 1 Yugoslav. This picture was practically unchanged by the end of March.[5]

The dissolution of the camp must have happened at the end of March 1945 because a list prepared by the Flossenbürg department of labor deployment dated April 10, 1945, and sent to the Flossenbürg camp administration office refers to "forty-two transfers from the Plauen subcamp (Dr. Th. Horn) to the Lengenfeld labor camp on March 27, 1945." This list also includes details of the professions of the Plauen prisoners—for the most part, they were mechanics. Missing from the list are the names of six prisoners who are registered in the Numbers Books (*Nummernbücher*) for Lengenfeld. A prisoner from Plauen died at Lengenfeld five days after the prisoners were transferred there. Most likely the Plauen prisoners had to march with the Lengenfeld prisoners in a southward direction. This death march, which was via Johanngeorgenstadt to North Bohemia and ended in Pistov, resulted in the death of a large number of prisoners.

The trustees of the company responded to a request by the mayor, following a query from the Saxon state administration "Victims of Fascism," by simply stating that "between October 1944 and March 1945" there was a "forced labor camp" that consisted "on average of fifty to sixty concentration camp prisoners." A handwritten note states that "Dr. Horn is presently in the American Sector. The firm's manager Senior Engineer Srudzinski is currently under arrest."[6]

SOURCES Other than the few details in the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L (ZdL, 410 AR 3214/66), the files in the ASt-Pl (Collection KZ-Gräber), and the Labour Demands in the Flossenbürg-Collection of the BA-B (NS 4/FL), there are no other sources of significance for the Dr. Th. Horn subcamp.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol 2: Labor Demand Flossenbürg Section Labor Deployment to Dr. Th. Horn in Plauen i.Sa., November and December 1944.
2. ASt-Pl, VA 8718 Ü 6/81—KZ-Gräber: Schreiben des Rates des Stadt Plauen, Hauptfriedhof, an die Betreuungsstelle für die Opfer des Faschismus, December 1, 1948, (p. 140); Extract from a Report to the Office of Social Welfare in a Letter from the Plauen Business Office, Burials to the Secretariat of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, December 5, 1950 (p. 120).
3. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3214/66, Statement by Edmund M., p. 16.
4. ITS, Archive, Flossenbürg, Collected File 10 (copy from Toni Siegert's collection held in the AG-F): Strength report on guards and prisoners in the work detachments under the control of the HSSPF ELBE. Position as at January 31, 1945.
5. BA-B, Collection former ZdL, Dok/K 183/11.
6. ASt-Pl, A 334, p. 125.

PORSCHDORF

With the transport of 250 prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp, who were handed over to Porschdorf near Bad Schandau in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains on February 3, 1945, the SS created an outside detail there, far from the Flossenbürg main camp in the Bavarian Oberpfalz.[1]

The 179 Italian prisoners comprised the majority in the Porschdorf detail. They were followed by the Russians, with 22 prisoners, and in approximately equal numbers, 11 Belgians, 11 Poles, and 10 Germans, with the latter functioning primarily as Kapos. In addition, 7 French, 4 Yugoslavs, 1 Dutch, and 1 Croat belonged to the detail.[2] The prisoners had the matriculation numbers of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, with the series 38000 through 43000.

A closed-down fire-lighter factory located across the Porschdorf train station served as the accommodation facility and was named "Gluto," used as a code name for the Porschdorf Kommando. According to prisoners' reports, other prisoners were also kept in a mountain shelter.

The Organisation Todt (OT) was in charge of the management of the prisioners' work through the office of Professor Dr. Rimpf of the Mineralölbau GmbH, which was located in Königstein and where he ran a similar project. In the

context of the "Geilenberg Program" for the underground transfer of fuel production facilities, the OT employed the prisoners for building and expanding under- and aboveground facilities for the processing of brown coal tar. The building project received the cover name "Schwalbe III." It was built in the narrow valley of the small Polenz River, which flows into the Elbe River near Bad Schandau, and was to absorb the facilities that had been transferred there from the Hydrierwerk Brüx (Most). The completion of the first construction phase was planned for July 15, 1945; the second, for months later.[3]

This completely unrealistic time frame shows, on one hand, that the use of prisoners—in breaking up rocks for the expansion of underground manufacturing facilities, the construction of factory narrow-gauge railways, and the construction of concrete foundations—carried out with brutal slave-driving methods, served the desperate efforts of the Fascist leadership to extend the end of its rule for a period as long as possible. On the other hand, it served the principle that "extermination through work" could be carried out in Porschdorf. Although the number of dead in Porschdorf remained relatively low, this is only due to the short existence of the subcamp: 11 Italians and 1 Polish prisoner are buried in the Porschdorf cemetery.

Former Italian prisoner Mario S. testified on killing actions:

> There were no real reasons for the killings. The slightest pretext was enough. The victims were prisoners, the executors either SS members or the internal camp supervisors. I remember the following incident: three or four prisoners, who were assigned to load rails onto Elba barges, were killed as they let a rail fall on a slope and slip into the gravel floor of the river. Two Italians, one of them from Genoa or perhaps Liguria, were killed with punches for no reason whatsoever. The prisoner from Genoa was killed with the excuse that he was Jewish, which, in my opinion, was not true.[4]

SS-Unterführer Göttling was the responsible camp leader. In addition, 7 SS-Unterführer and 21 SS guards reported to him.[5] In the Porschdorf subcamp, the SS also relied on several "green" criminals who, as henchmen, did not hesitate in carrying out the beating punishments of prisoners or even their murder. The head Kapo was German prisoner Nikolaus Bintz, and German professional criminal (BV) prisoners Johann Schultze and Werner Lehmann also acted as Kapos.

As even the Fascist leadership recognized that there was no chance of finishing the project in time to be effective for the war effort, the prisoners still considered capable of working were transferred to "Dachs VII" at Mockethal-Zatzschke, while 21 considered unfit to work were sent to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz on March 9, 1945.[6] Several of these died a short time later in Leitmeritz.

The number of prisoners had declined by March 31, 1945, to 211 prisoners, and on April 13, 1945, there remained 209 prisoners.[7]

At the beginning of April, the prisoners who stayed behind in Porschdorf had to begin an evacuation march that led to the Osterzgebirge, where they were stationed in the town of Oelsen and where they worked for a few weeks building roadblocks and defenses.

Mario S. testified about the evacuation:

> The transfer took place on foot with an uninterrupted march, day and night, of about two days. In an "elimination march" ("disposal march"), as I was told later, those that fell down were left to die. I personally took part in digging a grave to bury a dead prisoner. The goal was supposed to be the Flossenbürg camp. After arriving at a certain point, it was no longer possible to go further due to the advancing Soviet troops. The survivors were assembled on a type of farm property (more exactly: in a barn) around Oelsen, where we stayed until the Soviets arrived. Around eighty survived. The Germans fled on the morning of May 8, 1945. The Soviets came a day or two after.[8]

Seven prisoners died at Oelsen, either shot or due to complete debilitation from hunger. From those buried in the mass grave, only the name of Italian Adrianao Ansaldi is known.

SOURCES Published sources include Hans Brenner, "Eiserne 'Schwalben' für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ-Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des zweiten Weltkrieges," *SäHe* 45: (1999): 9–16.

Further information may be found in these archival collections: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bde. I and II; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, p. 144, testimony by the former Italian prisoner Mario S. (Number 43795).
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 103, Übersicht über die Nationalität der im Kommando befindlichen Häftlinge.
3. BA-B, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk v. October 25, 1944, betr. Ausweichanlagen im Geilenberg-Programm.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, p. 145, testimony by Mario S.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
6. Miroslava Benesová, "Koncentrační tábor v Litmoěřicích a jeho vězňové. (Dasa Konzentrationslager in Leitmeritz und seine Häftlinge)," in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (The Leitmeritz KL: Contributions to the International Conference in Theresienstadt 15–17 November 1994) (Terezín, 1995), Anhang, Tabelle 1, p. 23.

7. BA-B, Film 14 430, Bl. 1264.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, Bl. 146, testimony by Mario S.

POTTENSTEIN

In the hilly landscape of the Fränkische Schweiz in the village of Pottenstein about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the north of Nürnberg there existed a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp from October 12, 1942, to April 16, 1945. At first, the prisoners were held in the youth hostel at Mariental. Then, from the spring of 1943, they were held in the barn of brewery owner Georg Mager in Pottenstein.[1]

The prisoners initially had to do construction work for the Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei) and for the SS-Karstwehr, a specialist unit for war in areas with caves and ravines. Later the prisoners had to work for the SS-Military Fortifications branch (Fortifikationsstelle) and for the SS-Intelligence Replacement Battalion (Nachrichten-Ersatzabteilung), which had its headquarters in the SS barracks in Nürnberg. Pottenstein, in the years 1942–1943, was one of the largest of the Flossenbürg subcamps. Later, in 1944–1945, it was insignificant when compared to the large armaments camps in Leitmeritz and Hersbruck.

The forced labor of the concentration camp prisoners resulted in the construction of a barracks camp for the SS-Karstwehr on the Bernitz, a mountain to the south of Pottenstein. The prisoners had to build or relocate roads and construct a small dam for training purposes. In the nearby caves, called Teufelshöhle, the concentration prisoners worked at opening them up.

At the beginning of October 1942, there were 40 prisoners in the Pottenstein subcamp; in December 1942, around 80; in June 1943, 180; and in March 1945, 359 prisoners.[2] The camp was established in this geographically remote area on the initiative of high school teacher and speleologist SS-Standartenführer Dr. Hans Brand, who had very good personal contacts with Heinrich Himmler. He was able to turn his own scientific interests, passion for the local area, and a project to promote tourism to Pottenstein into an SS project. Dr. Brand was also the impetus for the SS-Karstwehr. The infrastructure for training the specialist troops was such that it could be used for tourism in peacetime.

The heavy physical labor, the poor food, and inadequate winter clothing badly affected the prisoners. Sick and weak prisoners were constantly being sent back to Flossenbürg. Prisoners were also temporarily withdrawn from Pottenstein for other reasons such as cleaning up rubble after a bombing raid in Nürnberg.

The lists of the 40 prisoner transports to Pottenstein and the entries in the Numbers Book (*Nummernbücher*) of the Flossenbürg concentration camp show that there were 649 prisoners in the Pottenstein subcamp between October 1942 and April 1945. Some 340 of them were transferred back to Flossenbürg in 43 different transports. At least 9 prisoners died in Pottenstein or were shot "while trying to escape."[3] Of the 340 prisoners transferred from Pottenstein back to Flossenbürg, 102 died, 37 of them within a month of their return. It can be assumed that their deaths had something to do with conditions in the Pottenstein subcamp. One must, therefore, assume that the Pottenstein subcamp caused at least 50 deaths.[4]

Wilhelm Geusendamm, a political prisoner, who shortly before the end of the war was able to have the Oberkapo in the Pottenstein subcamp, a "green" triangle, replaced, was able, with some maneuvering and a bit of luck, to prevent a long death march or the murder of a larger number of prisoners. The prisoners were liberated on April 16 close to Pottenstein, the day after they had left the camp.[5]

Two of the Pottenstein subcamp leaders, Wenzel Wodak and Johann Baptist Kübler, were tried after 1945 but not for their acts in Pottenstein. Wodak was sentenced to death in the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial by an American military court for numerous murders committed in Flossenbürg and executed in Landsberg. Kübler was sentenced by the Weiden District Court in Weiden in 1957 to five years' jail as an accessory to murder in Flossenbürg. An investigation that began in 1966 ceased in 1976, as perpetrators other than Wodak could not be identified.[6] So the other SS men were able to avoid criminal trial, even though those SS-Karstwehr men who were trained in 1943 and 1944 in Pottenstein (some of them under the leadership of Dr. Hans Brandt, who remains highly regarded in Pottenstein) participated in several massacres in Slovenia.[7]

SOURCES Archival material on the camp is available at NARA, BA-B, CEGESOMA, and *ƷuNS-V.* The following works contain information on this camp: Peter Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und KZ-Grauen: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Pottenstein* (Bayreuth: Rabenstein, 1997); Wilhelm Geusendamm, *Herausforderungen. KƷVD—UdSSR—KZ—SPD* (Kiel, 1985).

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Peter Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und KZ-Grauen: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Pottenstein* (Bayreuth: Rabenstein, 1997), pp. 13–79.
2. The first transport to Pottenstein in October 1942, CEGESOMA, Film 14368; Arbeitseinteilungen Dezember 1942 und Juni 1943, BA-B, NS 4/Flo 393/2; Stärkemeldung 31. März 1945, BA-B, Bestand ehem. ZstA, Dok/K 183/11, S. 121.
3. Transfer to the Pottenstein subcamp, CEGESOMA, Film 14368; Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
4. Transfers back from the Pottenstein subcamp to Flossenbürg, CEGESOMA, Film 14368+; Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537. This contradicts Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und*

KZ-Grauen, p. 59, who assumes that all the returned prisoners died.

5. Wilhelm Geusendamm, Herausforderungen. *KJVD—UdSSR—KZ—SPD* (Kiel, 1985), pp. 51–89.

6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 14 (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1976), Nr. 449; BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 105/75.

7. Peter Engelbrecht, "Die Massaker der Pottensteiner SS-Karstwehr 1943–1944 in Slowenien," in *Entrechtung, Vertreibung, Mord: NS-Unrecht in Slowenien und seine Spuren in Bayern 1941–1945*, ed. Gerhard Jochem and Georg Seiderer (Berlin, 2005), pp. 223–236.

RABSTEIN

Rabstein near Böhmische-Kamnitz in the Sudetenland (present-day Česká Kamenice) originally had three large spinning mills that were owned by the Franz Preidl firm. They were located in a narrow rocky valley. On October 1, 1942, the factories were chosen as the place for the relocation of the Bremen firm Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weserflug). Weserflug was to be relocated so that it could continue production in safety from air raids. Weserflug relocated to Rabstein its cutting process for aircraft parts, and toward the end of the war, the final assembly of propellers took place there. As part of the Fighter Program (*Jägerprogramm*), which commenced on January 3, 1944, the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab) decided to build a gigantic air-raid safe, underground production facility in Rabstein. The project had the code name "Zechstein." In order to carry out the program, hundreds of forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were drafted into action to work for several construction firms. The operation was coordinated by the Organisation Todt (OT).

In the summer of 1944, the first concentration camp prisoners were also put to work on the project. Most probably the Jägerstab directly ordered the establishment of a concentration camp in Rabstein. The camp became a Flossenbürg subcamp. The camp was built between June and August 1944 close to the existing barracks camp for civilian and forced laborers. It consisted of two, two-story and one ground-level barracks. They were to hold about 480 prisoners. There were also a kitchen barrack and an infirmary. The camp grounds were surrounded with a double row of electrified barbed wire. There were three guard towers. Outside were SS barracks and a guards' room.

The camp commander was SS-Hauptsturmführer Oskar Jung (born 1888 in Schehesten and shot dead in 1945 in Böhmische-Kamnitz); his deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Richard Artur Junge (born 1901 in Eilenberg/Sachsen; died 1946 in Bad Mergentheim in a POW camp. The guards consisted of 67 SS members. A large number of them were not Germans. According to the prisoners, about one-third were Romanians, Ukrainians, Croats, Lithuanians, and perhaps also other nationalities.

The first transport, 400 men from Dachau, arrived on August 28, 1944, at the Rabstein subcamp that had been built by forced laborers; an additional 250 prisoners were transferred on September 3, 1944. Until the end of the war, there were further transfers of individuals or small groups between Rabstein and the Flossenbürg main camp. This resulted only in slight variations in overall prisoner numbers (between 630 and 690). Most of the Flossenbürg transfers were sent to Rabstein as replacement for prisoners who had died or were murdered.

Most of the Rabstein prisoners were in "protective custody" and had been arrested by the Gestapo for minor political matters or were being held in spite of not having been convicted or even found not guilty. The second largest group of prisoners were the so-called professional criminals, most of whom had been convicted several times before the war. In Rabstein there was also a small group of homosexuals and a few Soviet POWs.

An overview of the different nationalities, put together after the war on February 28, 1945, reveals the following: German, 173; Russian, 193; Polish, 71; Yugoslav, 65; French, 54; Czech, 32; Dutch, 16; Italian, 10 plus 1 Jew; Belgian, 10; Croat, 4; Lithuanian, 1; Swiss, 1; and stateless, 3—for a total of 634 prisoners.[1] As far as can be determined, this composition, other than for slight fluctuations, remained constant.

The majority of the German prisoners had been convicted for indictable crimes (and wore green criminal triangles), acted as Kapos, and were trusted by the SS guards. They even were sent shopping to the nearby city of Böhmische-Kamnitz. Some of them had told their fellow prisoners that during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising they had fought side by side with the SS and murdered Jews with their own hands.

The only purpose of the camp was forced labor. The prisoners were divided each day into groups and allocated according to the requirements of the companies who were building the aircraft factory. Most of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts, excavating underground caverns, digging trenches, unloading material, or assembling a small works railway. A small group of the prisoners was directly involved in aircraft production (chip removal workshops).

Food was not sufficient for the labor demands. The prisoners received black coffee in the morning; at lunch, a bowl of thin beet soup; and the same again in the evening or 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread. Once a week there was a small piece of sausage. For a limited time the prisoners who were working underground were given extra rations for the heavy work.

Clothing was also inadequate. The prisoners had only basic underwear and striped concentration camp clothing, which was never washed since there was no laundry in the camp. Instead of shoes, they wore wooden clogs. The heavy work destroyed the clothes and clogs of many prisoners with the result that during the winter of 1944–1945 many partially covered themselves with cement bags. [2]

The combination of heavy labor, inadequate food, and poor hygiene was a death sentence for many. Several died through total exhaustion and some as a result of work accidents (cave-ins). The SS did not implement planned killings

because the prisoners were seen as a necessary labor force. Some prisoners were mistreated by the guards for minor infringements, and in some cases, these prisoners died. The camp deputy, Junge, was especially brutal. He is responsible for the death of Czech farmer Josef Tichý, who fell asleep at work because of exhaustion and did not turn up at roll call. He was beaten to death. Some prisoners were shot trying to escape. Several deaths can be attributed directly to the prisoner-functionaries who beat their fellow prisoners to death either out of greed or bloodlust.

Some 56 Rabstein concentration camp corpses were cremated in the crematorium at Aussig-Schreckenstein. The total number of victims is estimated to be between 80 and 100.[3]

A typhus epidemic broke out in the camp at the beginning of February 1945. There were about 40 cases. The doctor from Böhmische-Kamnitz in charge of the camp, Dr. Vater, was able to arrange quarantine measures, despite the protests of the camp leader Jung.[4] The 9 most seriously ill prisoners were transferred to the Tetschen hospital; 3 of them died, and 4 managed to escape from the hospital. At the time of the outbreak, supplies were critically low, and the camp administration asked for medicine from the prisoners' relatives. Food packages and clothing items were allowed into the camp. It was only during the epidemic that the administration of the company decided to improve the catastrophic hygienic condition and to establish delousing facilities in the camp. Until then the prisoners had to boil their clothes in tin drums in order to get rid of the lice in the camp.

There was no organized resistance in the camp. This was in part because the prisoners were of different nationalities and had difficulty in communicating and in part because they were spied on by the Kapos. Since the work sites were often far from the camp and on difficult ground, only a few prisoners were able to escape. Letters could be smuggled out of the camp because there was close contact between the forced laborers and some German craftsmen who were kind to the prisoners. Occasionally, a few courageous fellow workers gave the prisoners food.

The aircraft factory at Rabstein operated at full capacity until May 7, 1945. Early in the morning on May 8, a day before the arrival of the Polish Army, the order to evacuate the camp was given. The prisoners were to be handed over to the Americans. Only the seriously ill remained in the camp. The remainder, guarded by SS men and armed Kapos, broke out in the direction of Wernstadt (present-day Verneřice), where they spent the night in a barn. The guards fled during the night, and the prisoners separated into groups and went in all directions.[5]

Beginning in 1945, Czech offices began a search for the Rabstein perpetrators. However, due to inadequate and contradictory prisoner statements, no one could be charged. The state prosecutors in Ludwigsburg, Germany, came to a similar result in 1976.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources include R. Bubeníčková, I. Malá, and L. Kubátová, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); Miroslav Grisa, "Hroby válečných zajatců a vězňů koncentračních táborů z let 1942–1945 na území města Ústí n. L.," in *Ústecký sborník historický*, s. 537 (Ústí nad Labem, 1985); Petr Joza, *Rabštejnské údolí* (Děčín, 2002); Jan Marek, "Koncentrační tábor Rabštejn, pracovní a zajatecké tábory na Děčínsku v době druhé světové války, in *Z minulosti Děčínska I*, s. 217 (Děčín, 1965); Marek, *Koncentrační tábor Rabštejn. Památník odboje proti fašismu* (Děčín, 1977); Jörg Skriebeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

Primary sources include AMvP, Archivbestände Nr. Z -840, 325-20-3, 325-20-2 (Investigation Files Rabstein); AG-T, i. č. A 44/86, A 295/83, A 2087, A 3710, A 2899, A 2900 a A 3710 (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp); SDA-L, Archival Collection, Government President Aussig; SOkA-D, Archive Collection Bequest—Jan Marek (Document Collection concentration camp Rabstein). In Germany, ITS, Transfer Lists from Dachau to Rabstein (Unknown signature); BA-L, ZdL, Collection. IV410 AR-Z217/76 (Investigation Files Rabstein).

Petr Joza
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, Transfer Lists from Dachau to Rabstein (Unknown signature).
2. SOkA-D, Archivbestand Nachlass—Jan Marek (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp); AG-T, i. č. A 44/86, A 295/83, A 2087, A 3710, A 2899, A 2900, A 3710 (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp).
3. Miroslav Grisa, "Hroby válečných zajatců a vězňů koncentračních táborů z let 1942–1945 na území města Ústí n. L.," in *Ústecký sborník historický*, s. 537 (Ústí nad Labem, 1985).
4. SDA-L, Archive Collection, Office of the Government President, Aussig.
5. SOkA-D, Archivbestand Nachlass—Jan Marek (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp).
6. AMvP, Archivbestände Nr. Z -840, 325–20–3, 325–20–2 (Investigation Files Rabstein); BA-L, ZdL, Collection. IV410 AR-Z217/76 (Investigation Files Rabstein).

REGENSBURG [AKA COLOSSEUM]

Regensburg lies to the east of the Bavarian forest and the confluence of the Danube and Regen rivers. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was located there from March 19, 1945. The prisoners were accommodated in the Colosseum in the Stadtamhof, a former hotel, which later became the city's Bauerntheater. But according to eyewitnesses, concentration camp prisoners had already been working in the city for Messerschmitt for at least a year. Confirmation of the camp's existence can be found from at least March 1945 through the Flossenbürg transport lists, the International Tracing Service (ITS), and an incomplete burial list from the city's administration, which contains details of 43 prisoners who died in the Regensburg Colosseum subcamp between March 23 and April 25, 1945. This means that within five weeks more than 10



German medical personnel and survivors at the Flossenbürg subcamp at Regensburg, May 1945.
USHMM WS #07777, COURTESY OF NATHAN ROBBINS

percent of the camp's inmates had died. Probably, the dead were taken from the Colosseum subcamp by truck to the Saal subcamp where there was a crematorium.

There were approximately 400 male prisoners in the subcamp. One-third of them (128) were Jews, mainly from Poland and Hungary. Among the non-Jews, Poles constituted the largest group—84 prisoners—followed by Russians, Belgians, French, Germans, and members of 10 other European nations. Many of the inmates had already experienced other camps; some of them as "civilian workers" had been handed over to the concentration camp authorities by Gestapo offices in southern Germany. By profession, many of them were mechanics, carpenters, locksmiths, farmers, miners, bakers, electricians, laborers, and teachers.

The prisoners were accommodated in the Colosseum's so-called dance hall. They slept on straw-covered stretcher beds perched together in one room in totally unacceptable hygienic conditions. In the dance hall (*Tanzsaal*) was the so-called *Schlagschemel*, where the prisoners were physically punished by the SS either by beatings or whippings. The guards were accommodated on the ground floor, in the so-called small hall in the Colosseum. The owners of the Colosseum also still lived and slept in the building. The camp was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Plagge and his deputy SS-Obersturmführer Erich Liedtke. Survivors report that both mistreated the inmates on a regular basis and that Plagge was an alcoholic.

About 50 SS men guarded the inmates. They were German or Volksdeutsche (ethnic German) members of the SS but also members of the Organisation Todt (OT) who—as a punishment for minor offenses—had been transferred to guard duty. The high number of SS men in the camp can be explained by the fact that the prisoners worked on a number of locations, and therefore there was a high demand for guards.

According to statements by the local inhabitants, the prisoners' day began each morning at 5:00 A.M. with roll call. Soon after that the prisoners marched to work. On their way to work the prisoners had to cross daily through the city of Regensburg, across the Steinerne Brücke completed in 1146, one of the world's oldest stone bridges. The sound of their wooden shoes, according to witnesses, could be heard across the city. The prisoners' food was miserable. It consisted in the morning and at midday of soup (survivors describe it as water with cabbage leaves), which was supplied by the local pub, the Goldener Löwe, and delivered to them at the sauerkraut factory. In the evenings the malt factory Herrmann Suppe supplied soup with fish bones, a pot for 20 people.

There are different accounts of where the prisoners worked. It is thought that they mostly worked for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), where they repaired railway tracks, laying a railway line between the Regensburg central railway station and Prüfening. Furthermore, they worked at the Güterbahnhof (freight station) West. As a rule, the

prisoners' workday ended between 5:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. Other prisoners worked for Messerschmitt, returning to the camp around 9:00 P.M. The reason for this was the long route of almost 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) to the Messerschmitt factory. Additionally, the prisoners had to clean up after bombing raids, work in the sauerkraut factory, and clean away snow in the Stadtamhof.

Although witnesses speak of many dead, the city administration's burial list for April 2, 1945, lists four dead, the highest number of dead within one day. The people of Regensburg knew that the prisoners suffered under a brutal SS regime: after work the SS is said to have had the prisoners attend roll call on the windy Steinerene Brücke, and groans, whimpers, and screams of pain were to be heard from the Colosseum and caused the inhabitants to avoid the area. While the majority of Regensburg citizens were indifferent, a few tried to help by providing food. In one instance, as revealed in a work produced in a history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany, the persons giving help were put into a concentration camp.

The Regensburg subcamp was evacuated in a hurry on April 22, 1945, four days before the arrival of the U.S. Army in Regensburg. The prisoners marched to Laufen via Neuötting, Altötting, Burghausen, and Tittmoning. Some of the prisoners arrived there on April 1, 1945, and another group arrived at Berg probably on the same date. There were many that died on the evacuation march.

When the camp was evacuated, 27 prisoners who were either dead or could not work were left behind. Prisoner Hersch Solnik stated that he and a few of his comrades dared to venture out on the street and to ask the citizens of Regensburg for food, which was given to them. In the following days, 10 more prisoners died in Klerikalseminar, an auxiliary hospital that had been set up in the Schottenkloster, from the inhuman working and living conditions. According to the Bundeszentrale, 67 prisoners died in the Colosseum subcamp in total.

SOURCES In the ASt-R, Bestattungsamt Regensburg, are the burial lists that list the Regensburg subcamp prisoners who died in the subcamp between March 23 and April 25, 1945. Ulrich Fritz describes the Regensburg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, Vol.4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 240–243. Tadeusz Soboloewicz, a concentration camp survivor, describes his stay at the Regensburg subcamp in *But I Survived* (Oşwięcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 1998).

Another description of the camp in the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg region is to be found as part of the history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany, "Jugendliche forschen vor Ort," 1983, "Alltag im Nationalsozialismus II (Die Kriegsjahre)." Under the direction of tutor Hans Simon-Pelanda, class 11a of Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft der Stadt Regensburg won second place. The students' essay is held in the AKö under Signatur GW 1983-0436: "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Einwohner." A revised version of this work was published in Dieter Galinski and Wolf Schmidt, eds., *Die Kriegsjahre in Deutschland 1939 bis 1945: Ergebnisse und Anregungen aus dem Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten 1982/83* (Hamburg: Verlag Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 1985). Hans Simon-Pelanda, the students' tutor, has written several essays on the history of the Regensburg Jews, including the Regensburg Colosseum subcamp: "'Wir mussten dann wieder anfangen . . .': Erlebnisse der ersten Mitglieder der jüdischen Gemeinde Regensburg," in *Regensburg 1945–1949* (Regensburg: Volkshochschule, 1987), pp. 75–82; Simon-Pelanda, *Die Wiedergründung der jüdischen Gemeinde Regensburg nach 1945* (Regensburg, 1985); and Simon-Pelanda and Peter Heigl, *Regensburg 1933 bis 1945: Eine andere Stadtführung* (Kallmünz: Verlag Kartenhaus Kollektiv, 1983). There is also a description of the camp by Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), 1:184–188; Wilhelm Kick, *Sag es unseren Kindern: Widerstand 1933–1945. Beispiel Regensburg* (Berlin: Tesdorpf, 1985), pp. 47–49; Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994); Peter Schmid, ed., *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2000) (Siegfried Wittmer, "Juden in Regensburg in der Neuzeit," pp. 650–673); Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg" in "*Stadt und Mutter in Israel . . .*" *Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1990); Dieter Albrecht, *Regensburg im Wandel: Studien zur Geschichte der Stadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Verlag Mittelbayerische Zeitung, 1984); Toni Siegert, "Das KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Lager für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, Bd. II, ed. Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich, and Falk Wiesemann (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979); Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 682–707; and Siegfried Wittmer, *Regensburger Juden: Jüdisches Leben von 1515 bis 1990* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996). The *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, published by ITS Arolsen, lists the camp at 1:118; the *BGBl.* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," on 1:1835. Results of the investigation by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg can be found at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 54/76.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ROCHLITZ

In the course of the underground transfer of a large part of the German air weapons industry, the Mechanik GmbH, Rochlitz, a subsidiary of the Leipzig Pittler-Werkzeugmaschinenbau

Company and at the same time one of the most important hydraulic manufacturing facilities for the construction of aircraft, had to move, as ordered by the aircraft weapons main committee, 70 to 80 percent of its manufacturing capacity to the Salzbergwerk Wansleben near Halle. In connection with this, the management of Mechanik informed the chairman of the board of the Pittler AG, director of the Deutsche Bank Hermann J. Abs, on August 12, 1944, about the problems resulting for the company. Abs was also chairman of Mechanik and was asked by that company's management to use his influence to gain the forced laborers. From the communication, it follows that Mechanik already counted on a planned but not yet realized project of employment of concentration camp prisoners: "At that time numerous projects were pending, among which a project in Lothringen came into consideration. At that time we had the imposition, as the company in overall charge, to move into a large, closed-down Minette mine with four other companies and work there with concentration camp prisoners, whom we had to retrain."[1]

From the additional remarks, it is to be inferred that the Rochlitz company should have only been assigned female concentration camp prisoners, who were not allowed to work with male prisoners in underground deployments. On this it read: "[A]lthough the male prisoners are available to the Mansfeld company, we should only receive female prisoners. The SS does not allow the working together of men and women in one shaft."[2]

On September 14, 1944, the first transport of 201 women and girls for work at the Mechanik GmbH arrived at Rochlitz from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp.[3] They received prisoner numbers from the Flossenbürg concentration camp from 57941 through 58141.[4] Before Auschwitz, several of them had already suffered through the Plaszow concentration camp. The places of origin of the women and girls of this transport, all Jewish, were Poland, Hungary, and north Siebenbürgen (Transylvania).[5] Former Hungarian prisoner Christea H. testified about this transport: "The majority were from Hungary and from northern Siebenbürgen, which at that time was occupied by fascist Hungary. . . . Twenty-four women were Polish Jews who guarded us. They had been in the camp for a long time and showed no sympathy toward us, the new arrivals [in 1944]."[6]

On October 27, 1944, 125 men from the Buchenwald concentration camp arrived. At Rochlitz they were kept in a separate male camp. After training on tool machines, they were transferred to Mechanik's underground installation, the potassium shaft Georgi, cover name "Biber," at Wansleben am See.[7]

The female camp at Rochlitz also used the Dresden Zeiss-Ikon-Betrieb Goehle-Werk as accommodations for a training group of 59 women, who had been brought from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on December 14, 1944. Flossenbürg assigned them numbers from 60392 through 60450.[8]

After two transports arrived at Rochlitz from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp with 200 women and girls each, the first on December 19, 1944, the second on February 1, 1945, the number of prisoners that had been at the Rochlitz subcamp increased to 786. The women and girls of these two transports received the Flossenbürg numbers from 59955 through 60154 and from 61358 through 61557.[9] Former female prisoner Helena F. testified during her witness questioning before the Israeli board of inquiry:

> I come from the city of Slatinske Doly in Carpathian Russia. . . . In the spring 1944 a ghetto was constructed there and after about six weeks we were deported to Auschwitz. We went to Auschwitz—mother, father, three sisters and three brothers. Immediately after leaving the wagons, a selection took place. My parents and two brothers died in Auschwitz. My two sisters and I . . . were in Birkenau and from there we were transported out to Bergen-Belsen. After about three months we were sent to the Rochlitz camp. . . . I was fifteen years old then, small, and worked on a large "revolver machine"—one could not see me when I stood behind the machine. I had to work, however, on the night shift. The work was heavy, especially for me. A civilian foreman was in charge of the work.[10]

On February 13, 1945, the airplane weaponry main committee transferred the group of Hungarian and Polish Jews, which had come to Rochlitz in September 1944, to Calw in Württemberg, where they formed a new subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp at the Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH (Lufag).[11]

In the meantime, since the male prisoners had also been transferred to Wansleben and the group of 59 women from the Zeiss-Ikon detail Goehlwerk had been transported to Dresden, there were only 201 female prisoners in the Rochlitz subcamp detail on January 31, 1945.[12] The counting of February 28, 1945, again shows 402 female prisoners in Rochlitz.[13] Hungarian inmate Lea F. testified before the Israeli investigating authorities on the selection of the workers in Bergen-Belsen and the treatment in Rochlitz:

> At the beginning of the fall 1944 a foreman from a factory came to Bergen-Belsen and selected female employees for his factory. He chose young, attractive women, although he also paid attention to the intelligence of the chosen ones. He took into consideration family members—he didn't separate them. My sister Hedwa was about fifteen years old, small and weak. He set her aside, but as we explained that she was our sister, he took her along. There were also five sisters there from Marmarosz Siget—one of them was sick. He took four and promised that he would pick up the fifth later. He kept his promise. I emphasize this because of the humane treatment he gave and continued to give us.[14]

The women and girls at Rochlitz were assigned to crews on the lathes, milling cutters, drills, and grinding machines, as well as familiarizing themselves with the precision measurement of the parts. The instructions were in the German language. The unusual work with the machines was very demanding for the women, especially for the girls between 12 and 15 years. Several of the younger ones had disguised their real age at Auschwitz in order to escape the selection for the gas chambers. All of them were physically as well as spiritually very exhausted from the loss of relatives at Auschwitz and the constant fear. Furthermore, they suffered in the winter cold in the poorly heated barracks and from the near-daily air-raid sirens, which deprived them of the necessary sleep.

The women of the December transport were initially kept in the Döhlen barrack camp, where the machine instruction also took place, and afterward in the camp at the riding arena in Rochlitz, which had been cleared by the Graslitz transport. For this reason, the February transport went to Döhlen.

The responsible camp leader was the SS-Hauptscharführer Pomorin, to whom another SS-Unterführer and 16 SS and Wehrmacht soldiers were subordinate. Functioning as female guard leader (Oberaufseherin) was Marianne Essmann, who was assigned 17 SS female guards (Aufseherinnen), almost all of whom had previously worked in Rochlitz.[15]

Survivors are all in agreement that they were more or less treated correctly at Rochlitz. Former female prisoner Teresa S. reported: "The SS women did not beat us and behaved correctly. There were no prisoner killings in the Rochlitz camp. There were German foremen there. One was from Bavaria. He was an opponent of the Hitler regime. He taught us sabotage. In the office of the factory there was a German civilian. . . . He had selected us at Bergen-Belsen. He had a leading position. He was strict but fair. There was also an engineer in the factory who was from Prussia. He was helpful to the prisoners. Regarding the prisoners' functions, there was a half-Jew from Vienna in the infirmary—supposedly a medical doctor—she was a very bad woman."[16] The closing of the subcamp took place with the removal of 402 women and girls to the Graslitz (Kraslice) subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp on March 28, 1945. From there they had to join the evacuation march in the middle of April 1945.

SOURCES Information on this camp can be found in Josef Seubert, *Von Auschwitz nach Calw: Jüdische Frauen im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung* (Eggingen: Edition Isee, 1989.) In ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer–SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzen Gebieten* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), see: 117.

Archival sources include BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-HR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 48 555, Aufn.-Nr. 17512, pp. 256–258; Brief der Mechanik GmbH. Rochlitz an Hermann J. Abs v. August 12, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer–SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzen Gebieten* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 117.
4. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 268–271.
5. List of names with places of origin, recorded 1944–1945 by the then-14-year-old Hajnal H. (number. 58008). Copy in possession of the author.
6. Christea Hainalca, letter to the author from December 8, 1997.
7. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, Aufstellung der Transporte nach Rochlitz.
8. Brenner, *Frauen*, pp. 260–263, 264–267.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 66, Schreiben des KZ Flossenbürg—Arbeitseinsatz—an die Kommandantur des Aufenthaltslagers Bergen-Belsen bei Celle, February 3, 1945; Brenner, *Frauen*, pp. 263–264.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 72, testimony by Helena F. (number 59989).
11. Communication from the head of ZdL, OSta. Streim, to Mr. Norbert Weiss, Calw., from October 18, 1983. Copy in possession of the author.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
13. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 26, testimony from Lea F. (number 59990).
15. ZdL, IV 410 3248/66.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 31, testimony from Terezia S. (number 59976).

SAAL AN DER DONAU [AKA RING ME]

Saal an der Donau is located in the Bavarian district of Kelheim, west of Regensburg. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, it was located in Untersaal on the road to Teugn at the southern exit from the village. The camp began to operate on November 30, 1944, with the arrival of 200 prisoners—one-third of them were Russians, one-third were Poles, and the others were French, Germans, Czechs, and some Dutch and Italians.

Saal had been chosen to become the site for the underground production of the Messerschmitt (Me) 262, the world's first operational fighter jet. Organisation Todt (OT) had begun to prepare the site on Ringberg Mountain in the summer of 1944—here is the origin of the code name for the project "Ring[berg] Me[sserschmitt]." Messerschmitt, based in Regensburg and Augsburg, was the most important armaments producer in southern Germany and, as the producer of the Me 109 and Me 262, one of the most important manufacturers of fighter aircraft. For OT, the prisoners had to excavate underground caverns, build roads, and work on preparing

an airfield not far from Ringberg Mountain, on the other bank of the Donau at Herrnsall/Karpfelberg. A document signed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Koegel, the last Flossenbürg commandant, and in evidence at the Nuremberg Trials, reveals that the SS paid 20,398 Reichsmark (RM) to the OT Bauleitung for services rendered in December 1944.

The prisoners worked in 10-hour shifts, and their living conditions were miserable. The first inmates lived in holes dug into the ground; later a barracks camp was erected for them, at a distance of about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the site. The camp consisted of 4 to 7 (other statements: 10) barracks. The Saal camp was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence and wooden guard towers. At the camp's entrance was the inscription "Through Work, Be Free" (*Durch Arbeit Frei*). The administration and guards were also accommodated in barracks. In the beginning, there were 31 SS men in the camp, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Konrad Maier. Some of them were Ukrainians, and Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Yugoslavia and Hungary. Later, the number of guards increased to 73.

With the arrival of another transport from Flossenbürg, there were 671 prisoners in the camp on March 1, 1945. Many of them were Jews who had already suffered in Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and other camps. On March 13, there were 549 prisoners in the camp. It is unknown whether, in this period of time, prisoners went to other camps or whether more than 120 prisoners had died. Among the inmates, Poles (including Polish Jews) constituted the largest national group, followed by Italians, French, Belgians, Germans, and Hungarians (the latter ones almost exclusively Jews). About half of the inmates were categorized as "civilian workers" and *Schutzhäftlinge* ("protective custody" prisoners); about 100 inmates were Jews.

Numerous inmates fell victim to the insufficient food supply and the harsh working and living conditions. Starting in February 1945, the number of deaths in the camp increased rapidly, mainly due to epidemics: In February, 33 inmates died; in March, 82; in April, 97 (including 66 who died on one day, April 15). There was a *Revier* (infirmary) at the subcamp, with a Hungarian inmate as the camp physician, but there was no medication available. Numerous inmates were killed by the guards—for attempts to escape or to steal food, for instance. To deal with the corpses, a primitive crematorium was erected in the camp in which there were two ovens (or one oven with two chambers). The prisoners who died in the camp were either cremated or hastily buried not far from the camp. Possibly also prisoners who died in other camps, for example, perhaps Regensburg Colosseum or Hersbruck, were cremated in Saal.

From February 24, 1945, the camp leader was Willi Wagner.

The prisoners' food was poor and insufficient. Each prisoner received a quarter loaf of bread a day. At times the prisoners received no food, as was the case between March 3 and 5, 1945. On March 5, when freshly baked bread was distributed to the prisoners, 10 prisoners died within 12 days as a result of difficulties in digesting the hot bread in their emaciated bodies. On March 15, 1945, a Landshut bakery was given a contract to send every 10 days a wagon of bread to the camp. But witnesses also state that farmers secretly gave food to the prisoners.

Despite the murderous use of the prisoners on this construction site, the caverns and tunnel could not have been completed before the end of 1945. By the time the camp was dissolved, the excavation of six holes had only begun, each of them 5 meters wide, 3 meters high, and 7 meters deep (16 by 10 by 23 feet). Also, the airfield at Herrnsall/Karpfelberg was never completed.

According to some sources, the prisoners at the Saal subcamp worked also in the Saal quarry and a nearby potassium factory. The quarry was considered one of the most infamous in Germany; the prisoners worked solely with primitive tools. There were no machines. The stone blocks were levered out from the walls with wedges, reduced in size by hand, loaded on to carts, and pulled to the factory. The guards were brutal; prisoners were beaten to death or shot with a "mercy shot" (*Gnadenschuss*). The death rate among the prisoners was high.

Toward the end of the war, Saal functioned as a transit camp for evacuations from Flossenbürg and other camps toward the south. Around April 20, 1945 (other sources suggest the middle of April), the inmates were shifted in the direction of Dachau, probably in a death march with prisoners from Hersbruck. Prisoners were murdered along the way, for example, in the vicinity of Abensberg.

The number of prisoners who died in the subcamp cannot be accurately determined. After the war, 20 corpses and the ashes of 360 murdered prisoners were found on the camp grounds. The corpses and ashes were initially buried close to the Saal railway station. In 1957, they were reinterred in a new cemetery between Ober and Untersaal. Estimates say that about one-third of the inmates of the Saal subcamp died during the short time the camp existed.

Camp commander Maier stood trial after the war during the Rastatt Tribunal in 1947 but was released due to lack of evidence. The Regensburg district attorney started an investigation in 1955, but there were no results leading to a trial. The same happened with investigations by the district attorney of Nürnberg-Fürth and the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1970s.

SOURCES Events in the Saal an der Donau subcamp were investigated as part of the Flossenbürg concentration camp trials. The files were microfilmed, and the filmed copies are held in NARA, RG 338, Records of the United States Army Commands, 1942, and NARA, RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Signatur 000-50-103. The document mentioned above on the use of prisoner labor in December 1944 has the Nuremberg evidentiary number NO-395. In *Der Ort des Terrors*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, Ulrich Fritz describes the subcamp in Vol.4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 247–250.

A description of the camp in the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg area is part of the history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of

Germany "Jugendliche forschen vor Ort," 1983, under the title of "Alltag im Nationalsozialismus II (Die Kriegsjahre)." Class 11a of the Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft der Stadt Regensburg under its teacher came in second. The students' essay is held in the AKö under Signatur GW 1983-0436: "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Einwohner." See also Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski in *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1, ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Bonn, 1995), pp. 112, 190.

The camp is mentioned in Hans Brenner, "Der Arbeitseinsatz in den Aussenlagern des KZs Flossenbürg," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 698; Toni Siegert, *30.000 Tote mahnen: Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg und seiner 100 Aussenlager von 1938 bis 1945* (Weiden: Verlag der Taubald'schen Buchhandlung GmbH, 1987), pp. 42–47; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des NS, Band I* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), pp. 112, 190; Peter Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten und der Fliegerhorst Regensburg-Obertraubling 1936–1945* (Regensburg: MZ Buchverlag GmbH, 2002), p. 143; Sebastian Kiendl, *Saaler Heimatbuch* (Saal an der Donau: Selbstverlag der Gemeinde, 1984); Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg," in *Stadt und Mutter in Israel . . . : Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg* (Regensburg: Stadt Regensburg, 1990); and Rudibert Ettelt, *Kelheim 1939–1945* (Kelheim, 1975), pp. 122–125. Other sources on the camp are Rainer Ehm, "Die letzten Kriegswochen 1945 im Raum Keilheim-Regensburg: Vortrag am 13.11.1992 bei der "Gruppe Geschichte der Weltenburger Akademie" (MSS, Regensburg, 1992); and Sabine Mayrhofer, *Saal: Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers in Flossenbürg* (Kelheim: Kollegstufen-Facharbeit am Donau-Gymnasium, 1989). The *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, published by the ITS), lists the camp at 1:119; the *BGBl.* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," at 1:1837. For investigations by ZdL, see BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 223/75.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SCHLACKENWERTH

The Schlackenwerth (Ostrov) subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was near Karlsbad (Karlový Vary). As with the Flossenbürg subcamps in Jungfern-Breschan, Neuhirschstein, and Eisenberg, it had a particularly characteristic building style. In these locations prisoners were put to work in castles. Their quarters were also in the castles. All these distinctive buildings had been confiscated by the SS for a variety of uses. They either were homes for the highest SS leaders, such as Jungfern-Breschan for the Heydrich family; prisons for prominent prisoners such as Castle Schloss Neuhirschstein near Meissen for the Belgian royal family; or favored sites for SS offices such as Schlackenwerth. The concentration camp prisoners in these castle Kommandos were mostly required for construction or auxiliary labor. These idyllic sites did not mean that there were better working conditions or that the survival chances of the prisoners were higher. The example of Schlackenwerth shows quite clearly that the prisoners were subject at any time to torture, mistreatment, and murder by the SS guards.

Schlackenwerth Castle was built between 1693 and 1696. It had once belonged to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and was later owned by the Princes von Bismarck. Between 1899 and 1918, it was administered as a feudal estate. After the establishment of the first Czechoslovakian Republic, ownership of the castle fell into the hands of the Czechoslovak state. It was confiscated by the SS when German troops marched into the Sudetenland. It was then used for a variety of purposes. Immediately after Czechoslovakia was annexed in March 1939, the Gestapo in Karlsbad established the first camp in the castle. Jews in the area were held there, as were members of the Czech opposition. This camp lasted for just six months and served to establish the SS position for the persecution of political and "race" opponents in the occupied Bohemian territory. A number of Jewish prisoners were murdered between March and the early summer of 1939. However, many Czech publications erroneously state that the camp had a connection at this time with the concentration camp at Flossenbürg.[1] Between the summer of 1939 and 1943, resettled Germans from Wolhynia were quartered in Schlackenwerth Castle, and a variety of SS units and offices used parts of the expanded castle grounds. It was only from May 1943 that prisoners were accommodated there and a Flossenbürg subcamp was established on the site.

The reasons for the opening of a subcamp are found in the relocation of a Berlin SS office, which used prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, as a result of the war. On June 23, 1942, a Sachsenhausen subcamp was formed in the Berlin suburb of Lichterfelde, regarded as an SS suburb. Numerous SS troops and offices were stationed there. The prisoners were mainly used as work detachments in a variety of SS building projects but also in administrative offices such as the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothing Checkout) in Kaiserallee attached to the Amt BII/3 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Work in the Kleiderkasse was regarded by the prisoners as comparatively privileged work. Because of the regular contact with civilians, there was no requirement to wear prisoner uniforms. This status was to change dramatically when the office was transferred to Schlackenwerth.

After a heavy bombing raid in which part of the office building in the Kaiserallee was damaged, the SS-Kleiderkasse, with some of the prisoners, was relocated on May 17, 1943, to Schlackenwerth. On May 31, it was merged with a Flossenbürg work detachment.[2] There was a second transport of prisoners on June 9, 1943, and the numbers reached 100; this would remain the average number of prisoners in the camp.[3] Prisoner numbers fluctuated largely in Schlackenwerth as is

shown by the transport reports. While in December 1944 there were temporarily only 69 prisoners in the camp,[4] at the end of February 1945, there were 121 prisoners from 11 nations, including 25 Germans, a Belgian, 8 French, 6 Italians, 5 Yugoslavs, a Dutchman, a Croat, 29 Poles, 23 Russians, 20 Czechs, 1 Hungarian, and a stateless person. There were no Jewish prisoners.[5] The prisoners were chiefly used in rebuilding the castle, in tailoring, and in shoe repair, as well as in loading and transport activities. Although Schlackenwerth was a small subcamp, the conditions are described by surviving prisoners as being particularly horrible when compared with the camp in Berlin-Lichterfelde. The usual Sunday break in many camps almost completely disappeared from Schlackenwerth from September 1944.[6] The prisoners had to work 12 hours a day under rapidly deteriorating supplies and provisions. Particularly when new clothing transports arrived for the SS, the prisoners had to work late into the night without a break.

SS-Oberscharführer Edmund Fieger was responsible for the tighter working and living conditions and for the reduced survival chances of the prisoners. He was born in 1885 near Erfurt. He acted (from no later than June 30, 1943) as the commander of the SS-Kleiderkasse and was known as a brutal sadist. Witness statements by former prisoners unanimously confirm that Fieger constantly terrorized the prisoners with uncontrollable outbursts of rage. His favorite victims to harass were Russians and Poles, whom he arbitrarily beat and mishandled. Fieger was personally accused of several killings in Schlackenwerth. The prisoners who were recaptured following an unsuccessful escape attempt on October 19, 1944, two German prisoner-functionaries, were hung in the castle yard on October 27, 1944.[7] He is said to have murdered a Russian prisoner by pushing him from scaffolding on the fourth floor of the castle. However, this murder could not be proven. What was proven is that in Schlackenwerth, in addition to those two executions, a Pole was executed on July 17, 1944, a Frenchman on March 16, 1945, and another Pole on March 24, 1945. The corpses were most likely taken to the crematorium in the nearby spa town of Karlsbad, where they were cremated. Fieger was never prosecuted for his crimes. He died before the state prosecutors began investigations.[8]

Except for 10 remaining prisoners, the camp was transferred in the middle of April 1945 to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz. Once again the prisoners were put to work under atrocious conditions. The remaining prisoners experienced May 8, the day that Germany capitulated, as the final day of their captivity. Allied troops did not liberate the camp. It was only two weeks later that Czech partisans occupied Schlackenwerth Castle and released the remaining prisoners.

SOURCES The first depictions in Socialist Czechoslovakia of National Socialist camps in Czechoslovakia appeared in the 1960s. The compilation by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), incorrectly describes the Gestapo prison from 1939 as "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg, SS-Kommandostelle Karlsbad, KZ Stelle Schlackenwerth" and fails to mention the real subcamp, SS-Kleiderkasse. There have been no further studies, either in German or in Czech, regarding the Schlackenwerth subcamp. In 2001, a small pamphlet was published on the Sachsenhausen subcamp Berlin-Lichterfelde, part of which was transferred to Schlackenwerth and formed the departure port for the Flossenbürg subcamp: Klaus Leutner, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Lichterfelde* (Berlin, 2001).

There are numerous prisoner files such as transport lists, entries in the Flossenbürg Numbers Book (*Nummernbuch*) as well as accounts for work done all relating to Schlackenwerth. Most of these files are held in the BA-B, Collection NS4/F1, as well as the archives of the AG-F. The files of the preliminary investigations done by the ZdL at BA-L, in particular, the comprehensive witness statements by former prisoners and inhabitants of Schlackenwerth, are a core source collection (ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68). However, these sources do not provide more exact details on the names of the camp victims.

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.
2. CEGESOMA, Transport list 31 May 1943, Microfilm 14368.
3. Transport list, June 9, 1943, ebenda.
4. BA-B, NS4/Fl-393/2, Labour Demand, January 1, 1945.
5. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11, Prisoner List based on Race and Country, February 28, 1945.
6. Statement by Marian Krzyminski, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.
7. Prisoner Numbers Books, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.
8. Conclusion, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.

SCHÖNHEIDE

In 1944, the R. Fuess company's manufacturing site for producing measuring instruments used in aircraft weaponry was transferred from Berlin-Steglitz to Schönheide in the western Erzgebirge. The company was relocated to the factory rooms of the closed-down Arlt textile printing works.[1] Due to the lack of workers, the R. Fuess company received from the aircraft weaponry main committee a group of 50 concentration camp male prisoners, in addition to prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian slave laborers. On February 21, 1945, this transport from the Flossenbürg concentration camp arrived at Schönheide.

The prisoners were settled in a space of the Schuricht brush factory. Belonging to the group were 17 Czechs; 12 Poles, including 10 Jews; and 9 Germans, besides head Kapo Georg Weilbach who had become famous as the second camp elder (Lagerältester) at Flossenbürg and in the Mülsen St. Micheln subcamp. There were also in this group 3 Italians, 2 Belgians, 2 French, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Russian, 1 Greek, 1 Yugoslav, and 1 Hungarian, the last 3 being Jews.[2]

On March 31, 1945, the group still counted 48 prisoners. Up to that time, 1 prisoner had died, and 1 (a Czech) had escaped.[3] The counting of April 13, 1945, still showed 46 prisoners, although to that point in time it is possible that at least 6 prisoners died, as written down by the Luxembourg prisoner Albert Hommel on April 14, 1945, in Johanngeorgenstadt.[4] In SS documents, only 2 fatalities are recorded for the Schönheide subcamp.

An eyewitness account describes the treatment of a prisoner by German manager Walter Arlt, the head of the closed-down textile printing works: "A prisoner sat on the lavatory steps in the courtyard. Mr. Arlt went to him and argued with him that he should work. Because he refused he kicked him in the stomach. When Gustav Seidel [a German worker] called out 'he shouldn't do that again,' he let him go. The next day the man was no longer alive. Around 6:00 in the evening he was taken to the graveyard in a handcart (2 SS guards, 4 prisoners). The handcart was turned over into a large hole (mass grave)."[5]

The prisoners were employed in building barracks on the company grounds and for the transport of material between the various warehouses and manufacturing sites. Several Germans took advantage of the possibilities of contact between the prisoners and the German workers, slipping food to the prisoners. They were reported and, in accordance with the rules, threatened by officers employed by the Nazis, like the head of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront German Labor Front, DAF), with being sent to a concentration camp, should it happen again.[6]

The responsible camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Unterscharführer Carl Freitag, to whom 2 SS-Unterführer and 14 SS guards were subordinate.[7]

The evacuation of the prisoners began on April 13, 1945. On foot they reached the Johanngeorgenstadt camp on the same day. Albert Hommel reported: "Camp Schönheide (43 prisoners) Carl Freitag, SS-Unterscharführer, arrived without losses via Eibenstock on 13.4.45, went back toward Schönheide on 14.4.45, from where they were evacuated on the next day on orders from the local commanding officer. The Kapo Weilbach, known for his cruelty, was shot underway by a prisoner, who afterward was able to save himself with several others. I was able to again draw up the list of the prisoners from Schönheide—a copy is enclosed. . . . Signed, Albert Hommel." (Hommel was wrong, however, when he reported about Weilbach being shot by prisoners during the evacuation. Weilbach was sentenced to life in prison at the Flossenbürg Trial at Dachau, later pardoned, and released early from prison. In 1957, he was once again tried before the Weiden District Court. After serving a sentence, he was once again free.)[8] During the resumed evacuation, there was an escape, or a liberation attempt by several of the prisoners, on the road between Schönheide and Eibenstock during which some prisoners were shot.

SOURCES Schönheide is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 120. Some background information useful for this essay is found in Peter Heigl with Benedicte Omont, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Regensburg: Mittelbays. Druckerei- u.Verlags-GmbH, 1989). On the shootings during the death march, see BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999), p. 748.

Primary sources for this subcamp may be found in ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR.Z 18/68, Bd. III; and the former Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ehem. Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD, Berichte ehemaliger Mitarbeiter der Fa. R. Fuess, np.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 104, Übersicht über Nationalitäten, February 28, 1945.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
4. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR.Z 18/68, Bd. III, p. 512, "Liste des prisonniérs de Schoenheide/Vogtland qui sont arrivés le 13 avril 1945—au camp de Johanngeorgenstadt."
5. Ehem. Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD, Berichte ehemaliger Mitarbeiter der Fa. R. Fuess, np.
6. Ibid.
7. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
8. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 1, p. 93, Albert Hommel: "Marches de la Mort."

SEIFHENNERSDORF

The Seifhennersdorf subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was administered by the Waffen-SS Bauleitung (Building Administration) in Dresden. From the subcamp at the SS-Pionierkaserne, approximately 30 prisoners were used from the middle of January 1944 to build an SS hospital at Seifhennersdorf in the district of Zittau near Rumbuk on the Saxon-Bohemian border.

According to the labor requests issued by the Flossenbürg command office to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) Dresden, building work was planned for Seifhennersdorf for the whole year of 1944. From January 17, 1944, there were on average 30 prisoners working at Seifhennersdorf, the majority of whom were skilled workers, not simple laborers.[1] This number remained relatively constant with some variations downward. A letter from the Flossenbürg camp office to Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Bohemia and Moravia SS-Obergruppenführer Frank provides details of the prisoners' nationalities for July 1944 as follows: 17 Germans, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Poles, 2 Soviets, and 1 Czech.[2] Most of them were skilled building workers and had already done building work at the SS-Pioneerkaserne in Dresden. Many had been in concentration camps for years; this fact, plus the large number of

Germans, supports the assumption that the conditions at Seifhennersdorf were relatively good. The prisoners were accommodated in a hunter's lodge, which was also the subcamp's postal address. The only witness has stated that there were no mistreatments or killings in the camp.[3] The prisoners were guarded by at least 14 guards, belonging to the Stettin SS-Lazarett.[4]

The HSSPF for Bohemia and Moravia and Minister of State SS-Obergruppenführer Frank visited the Seifhennersdorf subcamp on August 10, 1944, as part of an official trip. The participants visited a number of subcamps and other SS camps. They were more interested in camp security and arrived by accident at the Seifhennersdorf subcamp, which the Flossenbürg camp office erroneously ordered under the area administered by the SS section Bohemia and Moravia (in fact, it was a part of the SS sector Elbe).[5] The report's summary is less surprising: "There are too many SS guards in relation to the number of prisoners."

The first detachment leader was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Hartmann, who was much liked by the prisoners. Until September 1944, he was the detachment leader at the SS-Pionierkaserne in Dresden. He was suspended in Seifhennersdorf for "facilitating escapes" and held under arrest in Flossenbürg for three months. There are no documents regarding the escape attempts, and given the number of guards, it is difficult to assess how an escape could be possible. Hartmann was replaced by 25-year-old SS-Sturmmann Sieber.

The camp was dissolved on March 16, 1945. A list prepared four days later mentions this date as the date of the transfer of 29 prisoners from the camp to the Flossenbürg Rabstein subcamp. Included among the 29 men were 10 Germans, 8 Poles, 6 Russians, 2 Yugoslavs, 1 Czech, 1 Slovene, and 1 Croat. A comparison with the Flossenbürg registration books shows that the great majority were the same men who, in the summer of 1944, had been stationed in Seifhennersdorf. (A Yugoslav listed in the Numbers Books [*Nummernbüchern*] is described as a Croat in the transport list of March 16 1945.)[6] Josef L., a witness, has reported that the prisoners were marched in a close group 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the camp at Rabstein and that none had died on the way. A few German prisoners, such as the witness Josef L., were transferred a few days later to Flossenbürg, others to Dresden. The Rabstein subcamp was the last Flossenbürg subcamp to be dissolved on May 9, when it was liberated by Soviet troops.

SOURCES Investigations by the ZdL at BA-L (410 AR 3246/66) documented the duration, type, and conditions of the forced labor of the Seifhennersdorf prisoners, on the basis of the files in the Flossenbürg collection in the BA-B. The Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern are available at NARA and copied at AG-F. Journalist and historian Toni Siegert has copies of documents held by the ITS, Hist. Abt., including prisoner numbers and data on the number of prisoners and guards in Seifhennersdorf, which are available at AG-F.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol 1: Forderungsnachweis der Kommandantur in Flossenbürg, March 1, 1944.
2. BA-L, ZdL, Sammlung Verschiedenes, Heft IV, Bd. 48, Picture Nr. 369: Schreiben des Kommandanten Koegel an Frank, July 11, 1944.
3. ZdL, 410 AR 3246/66, Statement by Josef L., p. 41.
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10, p. 70: Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und ihrer Bewaffnung sowie der Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des Höheren SS- und Polizeiführers Elbe, February 28, 1945 (Sammlung Siegert).
5. ZdL, Sammlung Verschiedenes, Heft IV, Bd. 48, Bild Nr. 370–390: Reisebericht von SS-Ogruf. Frank, SS-Staf. Dr. Weinmann und SS-Hstf. und Hauptmann der Polizei Hoffmann über die am 10./11. August 1944 durchgeführte Dienstreise (Sammlung Siegert).
6. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000–50–46, Box 537 (Microfilm copy in AG-F).

SIEGMAR-SCHÖNAU

Since the spring of 1944, the Auto Union AG group had been negotiating with the authorities responsible for the allocation of labor, primarily the main committees for tanks, weapons, and trucks of the so-called personal responsibility of the industry, in order to receive more employees for the Siegmar factory, because the company depended on this labor for fulfilling the weapons orders it had received. In a factory management meeting of April 1944, it was established that "the carrying out of the planned program is not possible because 1) the necessary machines, 2) the necessary workers, 3) the absolutely necessary first run, yielding perfect material and with normal reject quotas could not be guaranteed to date. . . . The maximum factory production of this motor [the Maybach tank motor HL 230 for the tank VII "Tiger," built under license] is thus not more than 250 units per month. A delivery of more than this can only be promised after these difficulties are overcome."[1]

In the competition of the weapons manufacturers for labor, the Auto Union had already received thousands of concentration camp prisoners for the expansion of the underground tank motor factory at the property "Richard" in Leitmeritz. Despite this, the group also sought to secure prisoners for the Siegmar factory.

The minutes of the company management meeting of July 14, 1944, read: "To cover these requirements negotiations are presently under way regarding the transfer of concentration camp prisoners. . . . Since the fulfilling of the especially important program now under way at the Siegmar factory must be absolutely assured, every effort for obtaining labor must be continued with extreme strength. The board wishes to be continually informed about the success of these efforts, especially about the employment of concentration camp prisoners."[2]

After the Auto Union representatives had received the allocation from the main committees and finally discussed the

selection of prisoners with the responsible Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a memo about the meeting of the company management on August 18, 1944, read: "Since 400 prisoners are expected to take up work in Siegmar by the end of this month, this number may be reduced to 284 workers at the end of the month without regard to fluctuation in work requirements."[3]

On September 10, 1944, the first prisoners, Polish Jews, arrived at Siegmar from Auschwitz. Most of these men were taken to Auschwitz after the Łódź ghetto had been liquidated. Former prisoner Szaja Baczyński writes: "My brother Mosche and I were together at Auschwitz. From there we went to the camp at Siegmar-Schönau. We were there a few weeks and worked in the Wanderer Works of the Auto Union."[4]

The prisoners were registered with numbers from 26411 through 26810 by the Flossenbürg main camp, the administrative headquarters of the Siegmar-Schönau subcamp.[5]

In order to ensure more prisoner laborers, the Auto Union concern offered to accommodate around 400 concentration camp prisoners and to use them for work "after the concluded extension of the 3rd upper floor, expected for the middle of December."[6]

On September 11, 1944, one day after the subcamp was formed in Siegmar, the factory was heavily bombed by an air raid. The prisoner accommodations burned down. Szaja B. wrote: "After the factory and a part of the camp were bombed, we slept in an open field and had to help with the clearing-up work after the bombardment. After a few weeks we went from there to Hohenstein-Ernstthal."[7] Several prisoners suffered wounds due to the air raid. SS camp leader (Lagerführer) Blacke was also wounded and had to be replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Franz Reber.[8] Whether the reduction of the SS guard unit from the original 36 guards to 29 is also due to wounds from the air raid is not known.[9]

On October 23, 1944, a factory memo speaks of 398 concentration camp prisoners at the Siegmar camp. According to SS documents, however, at this time 3 prisoners had already died, and 3 further fatalities were mentioned by the time the prisoners were transferred in January 1945.[10]

After the bombing of September 11, 1944, the operation of the factory was also interrupted several times due to air-raid alarms, as shown by the Flossenbürg claims against the Auto Union factory. In the claims document No. 767, regarding December 1944, the SS demands from the Auto Union the amount of 57,464.00 Reichsmarks (RM) from which, however, was to be deducted 9,611.35 RM for prisoners' maintenance and 1,022.60 RM for the loss of working hours due to air raids during October and November 1944.[11]

In January 1945, the transfer of the Siegmar subcamp took place on foot to the tank motor factory at Hohenstein-Ernstthal, which in the meantime had been evacuated. The prisoners stayed there until the evacuation in the middle of April 1945.

SOURCES The Siegmar-Schönau subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 120.

The following archival sources are relevant: BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. 1 and 2; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SHStA-(D), Auto Union AG; and APCK.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), Auto Union AG, Nr. 205, Produktionsprogramme Auto Union, Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, April 24, 1944, p. 13.
2. Ibid., Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, July 14, 1944, p. 22.
3. Ibid., Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, August 18, 1944, p. 20.
4. Szaja Baczynski, report to the author, February 15, 2001, p. 1.
5. APCK, Nr. 3358.
6. StA-D, Auto Union AG, Nr. 205; Produktionsprogramme, Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung v. 22. 11. 1944, p. 27.
7. Baczynski report, p. 1.
8. ZdL. IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd.I.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, BI. 52/53; BI. 70/71.
10. APCK, Nr. 3358.

STEINSCHÖNAU

There was a Flossenbürg subcamp in Steinschönau (Kamenicky-Šenov), an old glass city in the north Bohemian Lausitz town of Bergen (Lužické Hory) not far from the city of Böhmische Kamnitz (Česká Kamenice). It existed from September 1944 to January 1945. While the two subcamps in the little town of St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín) were only a few kilometers away and are today relatively well documented, the background to the use of concentration camp prisoners in Steinschönau has remained mostly unexamined.

The subcamp in Steinschönau is first mentioned on September 30, 1944, in the monthly *Stärkemeldungen der Arbeitslager im Zuständigkeitsbereich des Höheren-SS und Polizeiführers für Böhmen und Mähren* (Monthly Strength Reports of Labor Camps under the Jurisdiction of the Higher-SS and Police Leader [HSSPF] for Bohemia and Moravia) where there is a reference to 48 male prisoners. The entry has the following notation: "Wache stellt Gendarmerie Aussig a.d. Elbe" (Guards are Gendarmerie Aussig on the Elbe).[1] Based on a transport list, it is possible to state that the camp was opened on September 22, 1944. On this day, 48 prisoners from Flossenbürg were transferred to the Hotel Glasstuben at Steinschönau where they were to work. There were 25 Poles, 10 Soviet citizens, 7 French, 3 Czechs, 2 Italians, and a German. There were no Jews among the prisoners.[2] All the prisoners were qualified tradesmen such as bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and painters, and just about all wore the red triangle of the political prisoners. Only the German prisoner was categorized as a preventive custody prisoner (*Vorbeugehäftling*) and transferred to Steinschönau as a Kapo.

The subcamp in Steinschönau had the classic structure of the small Flossenbürg work detachments—the transfer of 1 German Vorbeugehäftling was aimed to ensure that internal prisoner discipline was established by prisoners with the green triangle.

One can assume from the relevant professional qualifications of the prisoners that the detachment was a building detachment. The monthly Labor Demands (*Forderungsnachweise*) from the "Kommandantur-Arbeitseinsatz K.L. Flossenbürg" (Flossenbürg Command Office—Labor Deployment) for payment were addressed to the Hotel Glasstuben.[3] In the late summer of 1944, this north Bohemian region lay far from the front and was relatively secure from Allied air raids. It became the area where numerous armaments industries, important war units, headquarters, and military hospitals were located. On many of these projects the labor of the Flossenbürg concentration camp prisoners was used, for example, in Steinschönau. In this small town were built a military hospital as well as a department of the armaments company "Weser Flugzeugbau," which had its own Flossenbürg subcamp in nearby Rabstein. However, neither information on the guards, which were not the SS but Gendarmerie from Aussig, nor the address of the Forderungsnachweise, the Hotel Glasstuben, provides concrete details on what the prisoners worked on. No statements have been made on where they were accommodated, their treatment, or the conditions in which they were held. The Hotel Glasstuben may have been where they worked or where they were held.

There are documents that show the change in the prisoner numbers in Steinschönau. One month after the formation of the camp, the prisoner numbers had been reduced by 1. Prisoner numbers remained constant at 47 until the end of January 1945;[4] 5 prisoners, including 4 Soviets and a Pole, were able to escape Steinschönau on January 21, 1945. Following this successful escape, the camp was dissolved, and the remaining 42 prisoners were transferred to the giant Leitmeritz subcamp system on January 27, 1945.[5] Two recaptured Soviets were also transferred to Leitmeritz. The prisoners were immediately put into the work detachments that were excavating underground caverns. The conditions were terrible. While there are no known reports of deaths in Steinschönau, 6 of the 44 prisoners who were originally in Steinschönau had died in Leitmeritz by April 12, including the German Kapo Willi Zatzke.[6] It is likely that the death rate was much higher, as the Leitmeritz subcamp continued for a whole month, until May 8, after the dissolution of the Flossenbürg camp and the end of entries in the central prisoner registers.

SOURCES The Steinschönau subcamp is not referred to at all in any available German or Czech historical writings.

The only reliable sources on this subcamp are the prisoners' transport lists that are held in the BA-B (Bestand NS4-Fl), in Brussels (CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368), and the ITS, Hist. Abt., collection on Flossenbürg (available at AG-F). A preliminary investigation by the ZdL (at BA-L) revealed no useful historical or judicial material (V-410 AR 3286/66).

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des HSSPF für Böhmen und Mähren nach dem Stand vom 30. September 1944, BA-L, ZdL, Steinschönau, IV 410 AR 3286/66.
2. Transportliste, September 22, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
3. Forderungsnachweise für den Häftlingseinsatz für die Monate Oktober bis Dezember 1944, BA-B, NS4/Fl-393/2.
4. Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des HSSPF für Böhmen und Mähren nach dem Stand vom 30. November 1944, ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10.
5. Tägliche Stärkemeldung, January 28, 1945, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
6. Tägliche Stärkemeldungen, January 29 to April 12, 1945, in ibid.

ST. GEORGENTHAL

The small village of St. Georgenthal, in the north of the Reichsgau (Nazi Party Province) Sudetenland, Warnsdorf district (present-day Jiřetín pod Jedlovou), had a special role in the concentration camp system, a role that is shared by very few other subcamps. In St. Georgenthal, there were almost simultaneously two subcamps of two different concentration camps. This led to confusion in understanding the structure of the camps, both in the literature and in the investigations that were carried out after 1945. In November 1944, 50 female Jewish prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp were allocated to the company Sicht- und Zerlegewerk GmbH in St. Georgenthal. From this point on, St. Georgenthal was a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The female prisoners were accommodated in St. Georgenthal. They worked in the neighboring district town of Warnsdorf in the dismantling of shot-down aircraft and burned-out trucks and also in building work.

In addition, from October 1, 1944, there was a subcamp of Flossenbürg at the firm of A. Schultze Jr. This camp is referred to in a list of guards and prisoners of Flossenbürg of October 1944 in the area of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Bohemia.[1] As much as is known, both camps were not connected in any way other than by geographic location. The interesting question as to why there was a crossover of organizational responsibilities between the Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg concentration camps cannot be answered because of the absence of source information. However, it is possible to sketch a broad outline of the history of the Flossenbürg subcamp in St. Georgenthal.

The relocation of the firm A. Schultze Jr. Blankschrauben-Fabrik und Fassondreherei Berlin from the German capital to St. Georgenthal was anticipated in a letter sent by the firm's owner to the mayor of St. Georgenthal in October 1943.[2] The firm A. Schultze Jr. produced precision metal parts for air weaponry as part of the German Air Ministry's Fighter Program (Jägerprogramm). The relocated enterprise was to be seated in the factory buildings of the no-longer-operating Julius Richter spinning mill. The Schultze firm had an enormous demand for room in St. Georgenthal since its whole Berlin workforce was to be relocated to northern Bohemia. As a result, in October 1943 the A. Schultze Jr. firm rented and rebuilt the former hunter's lodge in the small village. The delivery of the first machines and the arrival of the first civilian skilled workers did not occur until March 18, 1944. The sources available indicate that no application for concentration camp prisoners had been made at this point in time. However, during the course of 1944, the firm A. Schultze Jr. actively sought the use of concentration camp prisoners to compensate for the general labor shortage. A decision by the Sudeten Gauleiter of September 1944 about the allocation of further space for the important war production of the firm A. Schultze Jr. expressly mentions the allocation of concentration camp prisoners.[3] The sparse sources, however, do not reveal the nature of the work envisaged for the concentration camp prisoners.

The decision to allocate forced laborers from a concentration camp must have been taken very quickly because by October 1, 1944, the firm A. Schultz Jr. was a Flossenbürg subcamp. SS-Oberscharführer Müller had been appointed as detachment leader in St. Georgenthal even before the arrival of the first prisoner transport.

The first concentration camp prisoners were transferred from Flossenbürg to St. Georgenthal shortly after October 10. The 18 men started to work on October 15, 1944, according to a labor report for the month of October 1944.[4] On the following day, 30 prisoners were put to forced labor in St. Georgenthal. Between October 1944 and the end of February 1945, the subcamp constantly had around 30 prisoners, mostly Poles and Soviets but also some French, Italians, Czechs, and a German political prisoner, who was the Kapo. In contrast to the Gross-Rosen subcamp, there is no record of any Jewish prisoners in the Flossenbürg subcamp of St. Georgenthal.

The prisoners were probably used in building detachments to expand the work area and not in armaments production, as is indicated by their small number. The composition of the camp changed little in its five months of existence. However, the successful escape of a Pole and a Soviet prisoner in November 1944 is documented. The Soviet prisoner was recaptured three days later and handed over to the responsible State Police Office.[5] Other than the unexplained fate of this prisoner, there is no indication of any deaths in the St. Georgenthal subcamp.

The St. Georgenthal subcamp was completely dissolved on February 28, 1945, and the 31 prisoners were sent back to Flossenbürg. Some of these prisoners were then immediately transferred to other Flossenbürg subcamps such as Regensburg, Kirchham, and Janowitz, as well as to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen. The death of 3 of these prisoners on the return transport from St. Georgenthal to Flossenbürg is documented.[6]

SOURCES The Flossenbürg St. Georgenthal subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 119. It appears only in a few Czech studies, the majority of which were published during the period of the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic. Little information is to be gained from these studies other than the mention of the camp. What makes this situation more difficult is the fact that the Flossenbürg camp is often confused with the women's Gross-Rosen subcamp, which was also located in St. Georgenthal. A local historical magazine in the Czech district of Děčin published an essay in 2001 about both subcamps in St. Georgenthal. The author is mostly concerned with the history of the buildings, since there were no other sources available to him (Jan Štika, "Příspěvek k historii koncentračních táborů v Jiřetíne pod Jedlovou").

The literature reflects the poor archival sources. The files of the St. Georgenthal city archive and the Council of Warnsdorf have only been partially preserved in SpkA-D. The main sources on this subcamp are the register books of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at AG-F, since the German investigation files of ZdL (held at BA-L), which often provide a rich source of material, have little to offer about crimes in the subcamps.

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, Preliminary Investigations, St. Georgenthal, IV 410 AR 3286/66.
2. SpkA-D, Archiv města Jiřetín pod Jedlovou, nepracované dodatky, Brief des Firmeninhabers A. Schultze Jr. an den Bürgermeister von St. Georgenthal, September 25, 1943.
3. SpkA-D, Archiv města Jiřetín pod Jedlovou, nepracované dodatky, Brief des Gauleiters und Reichsstatthalters im Sudetengau an die Firma A. Schultze Jr., September 20, 1944.
4. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-393/2.
5. AG-F, Häftlingsnummernbuch, Film Roll FC 1804.
6. Ibid.; and Film Roll 91378.

STULLN

The subcamp in Stulln, part of the present-day Bavarian district of Schwandorf in the southern Oberpfalz (Upper Palatinate), about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) south of Weiden, was probably established at the beginning of 1942 and existed for only six months. It is first mentioned in February–March 1942. Stulln was the first subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp system, founded shortly after attempts within the SS to reorganize the employment of inmates. The camp

was founded shortly after the creation of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

The prisoners were used in the construction of a fluorite mine, which was vital for the war effort. In 1941, the firm of Riedel & Co. had been commissioned with the erection of a plant to mine fluorite, the Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke Flussspatchemie. The plant was constructed close to the Flick mines at Haidhof and Maximilianshütte. Since the project was considered important for the war effort, Soviet and French prisoners of war (POWs), Czech forced laborers, and Soviet civilian prisoners were employed. They were kept in the Waldfrieden-Lager, a camp made of wooden barracks. In February 1942, about 200 Flossenbürg inmates were taken to the Waldfrieden camp in Stulln and kept in a separately fenced area. Most of the inmates were *Vorbeugungshäftlinge* ("preventive custody" prisoners), while some were "asocials" and homosexuals; most of them were German, with only a few Polish, Soviet, or Czech. The camp was guarded by the SS.

Survivors report that the conditions in the camp were bearable. There was no mistreatment or killing of inmates, and the food was sufficient—especially since the prisoners received *Schwerstarbeiterzulage* (supplements for those performing the heaviest labor).

But apparently the camp was no economic success, and in October 1942, the 204 Stulln prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamp in Dresden N 23, Döbelner Strasse 54, which was under the administration of the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration). Here they constructed accommodations for an SS-Pionierbataillon. The Stulln camp is referred to for the last time on October 17, 1942.

SOURCES Ulrich Fritz describes the Stulln subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 261–263. Toni Siegert mentions the Stulln camp in *Landkreis Schwandorf: Das grosse Heimatbuch* (Regensburg: Buchverlag der Mittelbayerischen Zeitung Regensburg, 1984), p. 111; as well as in Siegert, *30.000 Tote mahnen: Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg und seiner 100 Aussenlager von 1938 bis 1945* (Weiden: Verlag der Taubald'schen Buchhandlung GmbH, 1987), p. 44. It is also referred to in Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 687. Rita Scharl wrote a history of the village of Stulln where she refers to the Nazi era: *Stulln. Geschichte der Gemeinde von der Landwirtschaft und dem Bergbau zum modernen Wohn- und Industrieort*, ed. Gemeinde Stulln (1999). Elli Graf, a student of the Max-Reger-Gymnasium Amberg, wrote an unpublished work on the Stulln camp in 2005: "Zwangsarbeit im Dritten Reich am Beispiel des ersten Aussenlagers des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in Stulln."

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 121, refers to the camp but does not refer to its composition or the companies that used the prisoners. The subcamp is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843. Results of investigations of the ZdL can be accessed at BA-L, call number ZStL B 162/18261.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VENUSBERG

In 1943, the Reich-owned Junkers airplane production company transferred parts of the airplane motor manufacturing from Kassel to Venusberg/Erzgebirge, where it again set up the motor manufacturing in the cleared-out factory buildings of a large cotton spinning mill.[1] Because there was still a labor shortage in this factory despite the employment of foreign civilian workers, the Junkers branch in Venusberg, which carried the cover name "Venuswerke," received a concentration camp prisoner work detail. On January 15, 1945, 500 women and girls were transferred to Venusberg from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[2] They received the Flossenbürg concentration camp registration numbers 61758 through 62257. In this transport were exclusively Jewish females from Hungary, many of whom were from the Budapest ghetto that was constructed after the occupation of Hungary by German troops. Former prisoner Magda W. testified in front of the Israeli investigating authorities: "I come from Budapest. . . . A ghetto was constructed in Budapest. I found myself in the Budapest ghetto until December 5, 1944. I was transported to Ravensbrück on that day. I was there for about six weeks and was afterwards transported to the Venusberg camp. Our transport . . . was the first transport to Venusberg. There were not yet any prisoners at the camp. Somewhat later—about six weeks later—another female transport came from Bergen-Belsen."[3]

This second transport, also containing 500 women and girls, left from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which had been declared a "holding camp," on February 26, 1945, and arrived at Venusberg on February 28, 1945.[4] These women received Flossenbürg numbers from 62859 through 63357. In the second transport, in addition to Hungarians, there were also Jewish women from Poland, Greece, France, and Italy. The women and girls in the Venusberg camp, who now numbered 1,000, had the following composition, broken down by nationality: 680 Hungarians, 143 Poles, 103 Greeks, 19 French, 18 Dutch, 14 Italians, 7 Czechs, 7 Slovakians, 5 Germans, 2 Turks, and 1 Yugoslav; the nationality of 1 woman is unknown.

The composition of the prisoners broken down by year of birth was as follows: 19 born before 1900, 152 born between 1900 and 1909, 304 born between 1910 and 1919, 322 born between 1920 and 1924, 200 born between 1925 and 1930, and 3 with no information on their birth year.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

The women were kept in two large double barracks located in their own camp, which had been set up approximately 800 meters (875 yards) away from the factory, closed off with electrified barbed wire and watched over from guard towers.

Katharina S., also from Budapest and who had been deported to Ravensbrück in December 1944 and from there brought to Venusberg, testified about the changed conditions in the camp with the arrival of the second transport:

> In Venusberg we arrived at a work camp. Here a clean, heated, and very attractive barrack awaited us. We worked in an airplane parts factory under comparatively good conditions. . . . The good life lasted for four weeks, until a transport. . . . from Bergen-Belsen arrived. . . . In the new transport there were also Jews deported from Hungary, primarily from upper Hungary. After their arrival our situation changed radically. The food became less and was very bad. The newly arrived SS personnel brought with them the camp rules from Bergen-Belsen. The barracks were overcrowded; there were lice and typhus fever. We stood at the machines from 6 o'clock in the mornings until 7 o'clock in the evenings, before and after roll call. The beatings and the torture also continued here. . . . The infirmary was originally housed in a block with twenty beds. After the typhus fever had spread more and more sick beds were needed. The bodies were put on the roll call square to be taken away.[5]

The second transport brought into the Venusberg camp the typhus epidemic from Bergen-Belsen, which at that time was raging there. This is also shown in the mortality rate proportions. While only 3 women died from the first transport before the second arrived, at least 43 women died at Venusberg camp from February 28 until April 14, 1945. After an early fatality was buried in the graveyard of the neighboring town of Herold, the priest's offices of other towns refused to allow dead prisoners to be buried in their graveyards. Thus, the SS camp leadership allowed the dead to be buried in an anti-aircraft slit trench, located in a plot of forest nearby.[6] Not all of these fatalities were victims of typhus. Abuses by the SS guard personnel and several of the SS-Aufseherinnen (women guard auxiliaries), who possibly came with the prisoners from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen and from there to Venusberg, resulted in death for the abused prisoners. Magda W. testified:

> I remember a young SS man, who I saw every day in the factory. He was always with our shift. . . . There he inspected our work; he was possibly responsible for our work. He was always in SS uniform. . . . He was especially cruel. If our work did not please him he beat in such a way that there were cases of his victims dying after a few days as a result of his abuse. . . . Even more trouble than the SS men were the SS Aufseherinnen. They were always with us and thus their cruelty was much more difficult to take. I remember well the commandant of the women—the Oberaufseherin. . . . She was terribly cruel, beat without mercy, especially during roll call. I saw cases where a woman who had been beaten by her fell on to the roll call square and remained lying on the ground without movement or sound. After roll call we went back into the barracks, but we did not see the abused women again. We were told that they died.[7]

The female prisoners gave some of these SS-Aufseherinnen descriptive nicknames for their brutal behavior: "The Red War"—due to the red hair color of the Aufseherin Margarete H.; or "Riding Whip Leni" to the Aufseherin Leni St. Even German workers of the Venus factory stated in their questionings: "I saw how H. [an Aufseherin] beat with her hand prisoners who sat a little from exhaustion at work." This H., under the name "The Red War," was especially feared among the prisoners. When Aufseherin O. punished a prisoner, she went into the lavatory with the subject.

The Aufseherin C. once said that if it came to a putsch, another 10 must die before her, and in addition she had already sought out well-fitting prisoners' clothes that she then wanted to slip into.[8]

The female prisoners, who were exhausted from undernourishment, often had sudden feelings of weakness during the 12-hour shifts. Accidents happened. Katharina S. reported on one: "In the factory, the woman who worked next to me fell against the drill machine, her hair got caught, and a tuft, including hair, was ripped out. In addition, she was severely injured on her arm and other parts. The drill machine was also broken. The Aufseherin called her to account, how could she dare to break the drill machine, and gave the poor woman another slap on the face."[9]

Camp leader (Lagerführer) SS-Oberscharführer Dücker, SS-Oberaufseherin Anny Herzog, and SS-Scharführer Diecke (who put pressure on another Aufseherin who did not behave toward the prisoners as inhumanely as those with the second transport, described as thugs by the prisoners) carried responsibility for the crimes that took place at the Venusberg camp; 2 SS-Unterführer and 18 SS guards, among whom, according to testimony by Hungarian female prisoners, were several German SS men from Hungary, were subordinate to Dücker.

Some 20 SS-Aufseherinnen were subordinate to the SS-Oberaufseherin.[10] Part of the responsibility for the abuse of the prisoners also rests with the director of the Junkers factory branch, Dr. Düwell, who had to provide food for the prisoners and who was conscious of the fact that the rations were completely insufficient in light of the difficult work the women had to perform. In order to hush up the crimes, he had the barracks burned down immediately after the women had marched away. On April 14, 1945, the women were evacuated. The transport in overcrowded train cars initially led

through the Erzgebirge Mountains to Blatno, where it was joined up with the evacuation transport of the Freiberg subcamp detail, then was sent via Pilsen—Planá to Tachov. As the Flossenbürg main camp had already been evacuated by this time, the travel direction was changed, and the transport was rerouted via Klatovy—Strakonice—Ceské Budejovice to Mauthausen, where it arrived on April 29, 1945. The two-week journey claimed many victims. This comes from the reports of the survivors:

> The evacuation of the Venusberg camp was somewhat atrocious. As the Russians approached, we were loaded into cattle cars and taken away. It was the middle of April 1945. We were under way approximately two weeks, in closed cars without air, food, and water. The SS crew who guarded us was totally wild—we were beaten and whipped. The women died like flies; we rode together with the bodies. Half died on the way. At Venusberg around one hundred women were from Budapest. No more than twenty to twenty-five returned home. Who didn't die on the way arrived at Mauthausen sick with typhus. Many died from it at Mauthausen.[11]

Former prisoner Marta S. also testified about the evacuation:

> In the middle of April 1945, we were transported in cars from the Venusberg camp to Mauthausen. In the car in which I found myself there were 120 of us. We didn't receive anything to eat or drink. The train stopped twice en route in order to throw the bodies of those who died in the cars out onto the embankment. As I remember, twenty-eight in our car stayed alive; all of the others died. In the other cars, the proportion of those who died or stayed alive was also similar. I emphasize that our car was a long one; there were also shorter cars in the train. The Mauthausen camp was liberated by American troops on May 5, 1945. In the summer of 1945 I returned to Hungary.[12]

How many women from the Venusberg subcamp arrived at Mauthausen alive and survived has not been determined. In contrast to other female camps, Venusberg belongs to those camps in which a very large percentage of the inmates perished.

SOURCES There are no published studies on the Venusberg camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers, age range, and the estimate of deaths, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 274–290. Whether all the fatalities are recorded in the SS documents must be viewed very critically. On the monument plaque, erected near the mass grave, 65 dead female prisoners are mentioned. See Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 190, 193. The survivor estimate that Baumgartner cites (p. 193) is based upon unverified information.

Relevant records may be found in ZdL at BA-L; ASt-ZP, Akte KZ-Kommando Venusberg; and as cited by Baumgartner, YVA.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AKr-MAB, Schreiben des Bürgermeisters von Venusberg an den Landrat in Marienberg betr. Werkverlagerung von Junkers aus Kassel nach Venusberg.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 61, Schreiben der Kommandantur—Arbeitseinsatz—des KZ Flossenbürg an das Lager Venusberg, February 19, 1945.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV AR-Z 76/68, Bd.1, p. 163, testimony by Magda W. (number 61813).
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, Schreiben des KZ Flossenbürg an das Lager Venusberg, March 8, 1945.
5. YVA, Doc. 03/1040, Aussage Katharina S., cited in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), p.190.
6. Ehem. Ba-VEB-FV, Abschrift der Meldung des Gendameriepostens Venusberg an den Kreisführer der Gendamerie Marienberg, August 30, 1945.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, Bd. 1, p. 164, testimony by Magda W.
8. ASt-ZP, Akte KZ-Kommando Venusberg; Aussage der Arbeiterin der Zahnradabteilung der Venuswerke, Johanna M. bei ihrer Zeugenvernehmung im August 1945.
9. YVA, Doc. 03/1040, testimony by Katharina S.
10. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10 pp. 52–53, 86–87.
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, Bd. 1, p. 165, testimony by Magda W.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, p. 293a, testimony by Marta S. (number 62169).

WILISCHTHAL

The Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen GmbH (DKK) Scharfenstein, a subsidiary of the vehicle production company Auto Union AG Chemnitz, decided in December 1943 to spin off its munitions and weapons production and develop them into production branches with several times the production capacity. In addition to building a factory in Oederan for the production of 2cm shells for the air force, and subsequently another factory in Brand-Erbisdorf, a manufacturing plant for the (MG) 151 machine gun in Wilischthal was also expanded and outfitted.[1]

After a previous failure, a new company was founded on October 4, 1944, with the goal of unifying the management and financing of these independent munitions and weapons manufacturing operations.[2] As early as October 3, 1944, the Armaments Inspectorate IVa of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production had stipulated that the DKK Scharfenstein use a code name for the yet-to-be-founded company, whose new production branches were taking over

the munitions and weapons production. The memo reads: "In agreement with the Secret State Police, from a defense point of view, there exist no objections against the code name Agricola GmbH, which you suggested for this purpose."[3]

In light of the precarious labor situation, to secure the allocation of concentration camp prisoners for labor, and with a view to expanding production, already in the early summer of 1944 DKK had made contact with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). This is evident from a letter dated June 24, 1944, to SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, who, as head of Department D II, was responsible for work assignments of concentration camp prisoners. Later, on August 8–9, 1944, negotiations took place in Flossenbürg between the DKK representative and the camp commandant. The following is mentioned in the travel report about the request for prisoners for Wilischthal: "At the command headquarters Flossenbürg there are two additional orders: 500 prisoners Wilischthal, 500 prisoners Scharfenstein. Wilischthal could be discussed with Herr Sturmbahnführer Koegel, while Scharfenstein was unknown."[4]

After extending a factory building to serve as prisoner housing, which DKK had purchased from the formerly Jewish-owned textile factory Mafrasa, and after an inspection by an SS leader of the Flossenbürg command had taken place, 100 women and girls from Auschwitz initially arrived at Wilischthal on October 30, 1944. Former Austrian female prisoner Susi K. testified, at her questioning in front of German consular officers in Canada: "On October 27 I was brought from Auschwitz to the Wilischthal subcamp. . . . We were housed in a large wooden barrack, which . . . was divided into two subdivisions. In each of these subdivisions approximately 150 prisoners were housed. During the week it was not allowed for one group to make contact with the other group. The factory was about 100 meters [328 feet] away from the housing."[5]

These women received the Flossenbürg registration numbers from 58752 through 58853.

On November 22, 1944, the second transport of 200 women and girls from Auschwitz was registered for the Wilischthal subcamp by the Flossenbürg concentration camp. These women received the subsequent registration numbers 58854 through 59052.[6]

Polish Jew Anna Z. belonged to this second transport. She testified about her long, dreadful journey to Wilischthal:

> I was in the SS slave labor camp at Przemysl from 1942 until 1944. There I was the witness of several killing crimes. The camp leader's name was Schwammberger, and he, like other SS members, shot prisoners before my eyes. . . . Around January 1944 I was . . . brought to the Płaszów concentration camp. The camp leader was an SS person named Göth. I saw how he several times shot prisoners for no apparent reason. . . . In July or August 1944 I was brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp and from there to the Birkenau subcamp. I was a witness to selections there, which Dr. Mengele carried out. . . . I think that I was brought to the Wilischthal subcamp in November or at the beginning of December 1944.[7]

The 134 Polish women comprised most of the subcamp prisoners, followed by 74 Hungarians; 37 Italians, among whom were many from the island of Rhodes; 19 Belgians; 12 French; 11 Czechs; 7 Germans; 7 Dutch; and 1 Yugoslavian. Broken down by year of birth: 5 born before 1900, 40 born between 1900 and 1909, 93 born between 1910 and 1919, 110 born between 1920 and 1924, 53 born between 1925 and 1930, and 1 born after 1930.

Anna Z. testified about her work assignment in the Agricola GmbH armaments factory: "Approximately twenty of the three hundred female prisoners worked in the kitchen, among them a Hungarian prisoner doctor. The rest of the staff worked in two shifts, twelve hours each, in the factory. Most of the prisoners had to work on a melting furnace; a smaller number—about twenty women, respectively, including myself, worked on a workbench, where we had to put together individual parts of submachine guns. Working with us were Italian and French foreign workers, and as well as German employees, for whom contact with us was forbidden."[8] Susi K. included in her testimony: "I myself was originally put to work on an annealing furnace. Later I was instructed to train the female workers on the various machines for processing iron parts, and to make those essential contacts with the German master craftsmen that were necessary for work. . . . We were twenty-five prisoners on the annealing furnace; the rest of the shift worked in a factory hall located behind the furnace."[9]

The command in the camp was held by SS-Oberaufseherin Helene Klofik from Berlin, who used to work at the Osram factory. Even a former female guard (Aufseherin) from the Wilischthaler camp testified that the SS-Oberaufseherin was an evil thug who punished the smallest offense. She also demanded from the Aufseherinnen strict action against the female prisoners. She herself was punished with 48 days' detention in a cell because in the opinion of Klofik she was too loyal to the women. Other "soft" Aufseherinnen were transferred by the SS-Oberaufseherin to the Zschopau subcamp. When Klofik was absent, the other Aufseherinnen allowed the women to sit together and sing.[10] This was also confirmed by a former female prisoner: "Among the prisoners was an Italian singer, a former partner of Benjamino Gigli. On Christmas Eve she sang 'Ave Maria' with a fantastic voice; the barracks reverberated, and we all cried. The SS-Oberaufseherin heard this, came in, and knocked out all of her teeth so that she could not sing anymore."[11]

The selfless commitment of the Hungarian doctor, who also acted against the SS-Oberaufseherin, was unanimously praised by all the female prisoners. Susi K. testified: "The Oberaufseherin made it a game for herself to torment prisoners. I saw myself that she particularly raged against the Hungarian doctor, who cared for us in the infirmary."[12] A German

resident, who could see into the factory courtyard from her apartment, also reported that the doctor, in a dispute with Klofik, brought to her attention that abusing the women prisoners led to a deterioration in their ability to work and thus to a reduction in production. Klofik was scared of that. After that the punishments on the beating block were stopped.[13]

The guarding external to the camp was carried out by older SS guards, whose leader was an SS-Scharführer from Hungary by the name of Kooss.

On April 15, 1945, the Wilischthal subcamp was closed down, and the women were evacuated in railroad transport cars. About this Susi K. added to her testimony: "We were packed into a freight car, about ninety prisoners each, and traveled around for about a week, without food being distributed to us and without having the opportunity to get out. I don't know if all of the inhabitants of the freight car, in which I was kept, came through the journey alive. We only heard that on the way prisoners, who succeeded in escaping from other, open freight cars, were shot at. At Theresienstadt the Oberaufseherin handed us over to the local camp administration."[14]

The transport's final station was Leitmeritz. The women from the Mittweida camp, who were also in the transport, remained there. The Jewish women from the Hainichen, Oederan, Wilischthal, and Zschopau camps had to go all the way by foot to Theresienstadt.

Since on April 13, 1945, the camp strength was reported at 299, while on April 21, at the arrival of the columns in the Theresienstadt ghetto, only 290 women were registered who declared to be from the Wilischthal detail, it may be that 9 women were victims of the evacuation transport.[15] There exists unclear information about a fatality that supposedly happened at the Wilischthal camp. Some of the women from the Wilischthal camp died at Theresienstadt shortly after liberation on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Wilischthal camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers and age range, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 294–299. On the Theresienstadt evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 122.

Relevant records may be found in SHStA-(D), Auto Union; NARA, Microfilm T-580; BA-L, ZdL, IV AR 3291/66, IV Ar-Z 204/75. Published witness testimony may be found in DÖW, ed., *Jüdische Schicksale: Berichte von Verfolgten* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992).

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 3896, Studie über Ausgliederung der Munitionsfertigung von DKK und ihre Grundung als selbständige Gesellschaft.

2. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Aktenvermerk über die Gründung der Agricola GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 5, 1944.

3. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Schreiben Rü In IV a des RmfRuK an DKK GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 3, 1944.

4. AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters von DKK Scharfenstein über den Beusch im K.L. Flossenbürg, August 8–9, 1944.

5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K. (number 58808).

6. NARA, Microfilm T-580, Rolls 69–70.

7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 165, testimony by Anna Z. (number 58790).

8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 163, testimony by Anna Z.

9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K.

10. Report by the former Aufseherin Stenzel to the author from April 4, 1975.

11. Report of "Tamara Rainer" (pseudonym), in DÖW, ed., *Jüdische Schicksale: Berichte von Verfolgten* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992), p. 125.

12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 196, testimony by Susi. K.

13. Martha Weber, report to the author, from April 9, 1975.

14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1. p. 196, testimony by Susi K.

15. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1266.

WOLKENBURG

Due to the constant danger of air raids, in 1943 the company Opta Radio AG Leipzig transferred its production sites into less-threatened areas. One of these factories was transferred to a weaving mill at Wolkenburg, which had been cleared out for this purpose. Due to a backlog of 109.1 million Reichsmark (RM) for radio equipment that existed on December 31, 1943, a need for expansion in production, and a severe lack of labor, the Opta company endeavored to receive workers from the ground radio equipment special committee. The company report to the board for the second half of 1944 read: "The personnel questions of the factory transferring have especially stood in the way of gaining additional capacity. It can, however, be fortunately reported that all of these problems can in the meantime be solved so that enough labor is available."[1]

Concentration camp prisoners were made available. On August 19, 1944, the first transport with 150 Sinti and Roma, recorded as "Gypsies" in SS documents, arrived at Wolkenburg.[2] These women came by September 1, 1944, from the Ravensbrück concentration camp administration to that of Flossenbürg and received from the command of Flossenbürg the registration numbers from 50000 through 50149. The majority of these women (116) were German, in addition to whom there were 34 from seven different countries at the camp.[3] On October 10, 1944, an additional 151 women were

brought from Auschwitz; they were allocated the registration numbers from 58142 through 58291. The number of prisoners at the subcamp increased on November 30, 1944, with a transport of 100 women from Bergen-Belsen. In this transport was Pole Genowefa K., who reported:

> On 12.8.1944 my colleagues and I arrived at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. It was a mass transport with civilians after an armed uprising in Warsaw. . . . So began the terror, the fear, and the hunger. My long braids were cut off and I was shaved to the skin. It was terrible for us young girls. We slept on planks, where there were lice and bugs. The roll calls, which lasted several hours, were very strenuous. Then on 13.9.1944 the transport to Bergen-Belsen took place in overcrowded freight cars. At Bergen-Belsen the conditions were even worse, as we slept on the floor of the barracks, which had been scattered with shavings. For pillows we had our shoes. We lied so close that we could only turn around on an order. The rations were horrible. There were turnips, root vegetables, and fully-grown spinach with worms. There was very little bread. We were constantly hungry. We were brought to Wolkenburg in freight cars.[4]

The women on the transport from Bergen-Belsen received the Flossenbürg registration numbers from 59053 through 59152. Thus, the composition of the Wolkenburg subcamp was as follows: 206 Poles, 116 Germans, 43 Soviets, 7 Dutch, 5 Italians, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Czechs, 2 Belgians, 2 French, 9 stateless people, and 5 without information. The women were accommodated on the top floor of the factory and in surrounding buildings. The grounds were fenced in. Although the escape possibilities were extremely limited, 3 women fled from the top floor by sliding down the rain gutter. They were apprehended again after a few days and received an awful beating.

The slave labor took place partly in the production of radio equipment, partly in transporting material. Pole Seweryna K. testified: "We worked in a factory on a floor, ten women. It was warmer there. Supervisors were women in uniform. My sister and other women (prisoners) worked on the transport. I don't know what they did, but it was supposedly very difficult. One died from pneumonia. My friend and I worked on the inspection of radio apparatuses [radio equipment], others on assembly. The soldering was a dangerous work and bad for your health."[5]

The strength reports from Flossenbürg show that on January 31, 1945, 376 women were at Wolkenburg camp.[6] On February 28, 1945, there were 348.[7] If 10 women were sent back to the Ravensbrück concentration camp because they were pregnant, then 18 of the prisoners must have died by the end of February 1945. German civilian workers reported as eyewitnesses: "Many of them died. The bodies were removed in the night and substitutes were brought in for them. The last five of these martyrs, whose bodies could not be removed, are buried at the Wolkenburg cemetery; two at the graveyard wall and three near the chapel wall. Coffins were not available. Cement sacks had to serve as substitutes."[8]

The strength report from March 31, 1945, still records 372 women at the camp.[9] The same number was also reported for April 13, 1945, the day on which the evacuation began.[10] A Sudeten German from Eger, Wilhelm Brusch, functioned as the camp leader (Lagerführer). Subordinate to him were 5 SS guards.[11] The name of the SS-Oberaufseherin, who is depicted as a cruel thug by the subcamp survivors and as an "inhumane monster" by the German civilian workers, is unknown.[12] Subordinate to her were 20 SS female guards (Aufseherinnen), some of whom were selected at the factory and engaged by the employment office, others who had come with the prisoners on the transports.[13]

On April 13, 1945, the women had to begin the evacuation march on foot. Genowefa K. reported:

> On the first day we were led over fields. In the evening we went into freight cars and traveled the whole night. Early in the morning we continued by foot. Lying on the street were many dead men from groups who had gone before us. My sick sister could not go any further, but she was not beaten to death. At night we slept out in the open and we couldn't wash ourselves. Once we slept in a barn, then again in the forest in a barrack. There we separated from my sister. My sister begged; I did not want to leave her alone. But it didn't help. I also asked those who drove us, but to no avail. She was transported on by horse and car with other prisoners. I was sure that she would be shot. One always thinks the worst. That was, however, not the case.

Suddenly there was such a terrible bombardment that the earth quaked.[14]

The evacuation column was hit by an air raid of Allied forces at the train station in Weiden on April 17, 1945. During this bombardment many women succeeded in escaping, so that by the end of the raid, only 201 women were still counted. Attacked again from the air and driven out of the cars on the continuation of their journey, the women then camped in a plot of forest near the town of Irrenlohe in Kreis Schwandorf. As hardly any food was given during the evacuation of the march, they searched for something edible in the fields and gardens in the area around the camp. Those who were arrested due to the denunciation of the local German residents were sentenced to death as "plunderers" by a court martial under SS-Obersturmführer Schippel and immediately shot. Their grave has not been found.[15]

With only 128 women left—following the escape of others and sorting out of the sick—the column continued its march to Dachau, where it arrived on April 27, 1945.[16]

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Wolkenburg camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers, see Hans

Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 302–309. See also Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit: Herrschaft and Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, Teil A, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1979), 2: 486.

The following archival sources are useful: BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3290/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SStA-L, VEB-RFT-Wg (formerly Opta Radio AG).

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 252, p. 54.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 3290/66, Ermittlungsakten zum Aussenkommando Wolkenburg.
3. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), p. 304.
4. Genowefa K., report to the author, September 23, 1995.
5. Seweryna K, report to the author, September 23, 1995.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53
7. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
8. Gottfried Graumüller, report to the author, July 20, 1977.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
10. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1266.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. Gottfried Graumüller, report to the author, September 23, 1995.
13. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
14. Genowefa K., report. Her sister Wanda K. had the Flossenbürg registration number 59091. She died on May 20, 1945, in the Cham hospital.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3290/66.
16. Genowefa K., report.

WÜRZBURG

The institutional roots of the Würzberg subcamp are in the development by the SS of its own medical service. Beginning in 1936, the SS, parallel to the Wehrmacht, began to develop its own system of hospitals, hospital sections, and convalescent homes. As a general rule, they were sections of already existing hospitals and clinics that were partly used and supported by the SS. After the beginning of the war in 1939, a multitude of additional hospitals and sections were opened that in each case were headed by SS leaders who were specialist physicians in their respective fields. A neuropsychiatric observation station of the Waffen-SS was established in 1941 in Giessen for the head and brain injured and traumatized members of the SS, which in August 1941 was complemented by a department at the Würzburg University neurological clinic. Patients who required further treatment were transferred there. The address of the SS hospital section for the neurologically impaired at the Würzburg University Clinic was 15 Füchslein Strasse. That address is given as the site of the Würzburg subcamp by the register of detention sites of the International Tracing Service (ITS). The infamous euthanasia doctor Werner Heyde, SS-Sturmbannführer and professor for neurology and psychiatry at the University of Würzburg, became the head of this Waffen-SS Neurological-Psychiatric Observation Station in Würzburg. The date when the expansion of the SS hospital section in Würzburg began cannot be fixed definitely. On April 9, 1943, an order by the section of SS-Medical Operations in Department D of the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) was issued to all SS hospitals to expand the SS hospital sections. However, it can be asssumed that the decision to expand the Würzburg section had been taken before this order because by April 17, 1943, the first concentration camp prisoners had already been transferred to Würzburg as a construction detachment.

On the basis of his activity in the SS-Death's Head Units and his earlier favors to his friend Theodor Eicke, since 1934 the Inspector of the Concentration Camps, Heyde enjoyed the best possible connections in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which had to give permission for, and coordinate, the labor deployment of concentration camp prisoners. The SS-Hospital Administration and Heyde desperately needed labor. The replacement of urgently needed workers by concentration camp prisoners, in the view of the leaders of the SS hospital section and especially Heyde, was a logical consequence that also could be implemented quickly. After a formal review by the WHVA of the necessity of the use of the labor deployment, a contingent of prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp, in the district of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of Main, was assigned to Heyde or, respectively, the hospital section in Würzburg.

In May 1943, there were 28 male prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp in the Würzburg "labor camp."[1] Although the deployment of concentration camp prisoners at Füchslein Strasse was foreseen in April 1943, no facilities to accommodate concentration camp prisoners had been arranged. Therefore, a barracks in the so-called emergency jail at Fries Strasse was occupied by the 28 prisoners. The number of prisoners was increased to 58 by a transport that arrived between July 16 and 27.[2] The Würzburg detachment had thus reached its maximum strength and was part of one of the smaller subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. A list of prisoners according to nationality and race from February 28, 1945, shows that there were 50 non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners in Würzburg, among them 2 Germans, a Yugoslav, a Greek, a Frenchman, 4 Czechs, 15 Soviets, and 26 Poles.

From a monthly roster of the "labor camp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp," the observation is to be taken that "the SS Hospital section stands guard."[3] An Unterscharführer Marggraf signed a list of signatures of the Flossenbürg concentration camp's detachment leaders from the year 1944 also as responsible for the Würzburg subcamp.[4] However, he could not be identified by the investigating authorities after 1945.

The Würzburg prisoners partly were assigned outside the clinic to extend a wall and for excavation work. In several witness

statements, former prisoners also mention the construction of a large hospital barracks in the courtyard of the clinic and the digging of shelters for protection against air raids. Testimony of former prisoners in the investigative proceedings provides an insight into the subjectively felt living and prison conditions, which differ from those in other camps. According to the common judgment of almost all former prisoners, the food in Würzburg was better and the sanitary conditions not quite as inadequate as in other subcamps or at the Flossenbürg main camp. The set of reasons of ideology, careers, and patronage that had led to the formation of the subcamp also left its mark on the living conditions and the chances of survival of the prisoners. For Heyde, as the originator of the Würzburg subcamp and the organizer of mass murders of the disabled and of prisoners in other concentration camps, the realization of the construction projects at his clinic had precedence. The concentration camp prisoners were thus considered a source of labor strength that represented a certain practical value. Personal ambition and solely pragmatic considerations of usefulness predominated over Heyde's ideological views. For this reason, the survival chances of the prisoners in Würzburg were better than in many other camps. This pragmatic evaluation, considering the prevailing labor shortage everywhere, the small size of the detachment, the varying work assignments in Würzburg, and the possibility time and again of contacts with civilians made the Würzburg subcamp in retrospect more bearable in the prisoners' remembrances. However, the prisoners were at all times aware that they were within the concentration camp system. They could face the return to Flossenbürg or another camp any day.

At least one prisoner tried to evade this always threatening danger by fleeing. This attempt ended with his murder. This is the only verifiable case of death of a prisoner in the Würzburg subcamp. However, in a report by an examiner of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) of March 1, 1947, the death of a second prisoner in Würzburg is mentioned, who is said to have died in the Julius Hospital in Würzburg.[5] Existing documents cannot confirm or disprove this death. Nevertheless, the connection of at least one other death with the Würzburg subcamp is evident. On March 12, 1945, a 35-year-old Slovenian prisoner died in Flossenbürg who had been transferred back from Würzburg shortly before.

Parts of the Neurological Clinic and with them also the concentration camp prisoners' accommodations were heavily damaged during the air raid on Würzburg on March 16, 1945. Now the prisoners were no longer employed for construction work in the area of the SS hospital administration but, in small labor detachments, for removing bombs and recovering dead bodies in the Würzburg city area. The subcamp in Würzburg was dissolved on March 22, 1945, and the 50 prisoners still living in the camp were moved back by rail to Flossenbürg. From a roster of March 27, 1945, it can be seen that all 50 prisoners from Würzburg reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp alive. This does not mean, however, that all these prisoners of the Würzburg subcamp survived. They were in the Flossenbürg concentration camp until the evacuation of the Flossenbürg camp began on April 16, 1945. The mention of different locations in the testimonies of the investigative proceedings allows the conclusion that most of these prisoners were driven south on the dissolution of the Flossenbürg concentration camp on April 20, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Würzburg camp has remained surprisingly unnoticed despite the comprehensively documented history of the air raids on Würzburg by Hans Oppelt, *Würzburger Chronik vom denkwürdigen Jahre 1945* (Würzburg, 1947); and by Max Domarus, *Der Untergang des alten Würzburg im Luftkrieg gegen die deutschen Grossstädte* (Würzburg, 1985); and of the many aspects of National Socialist rule in the diocesan city, such as the work by Herbert Schultheis and Isaac E. Wahler, *Bilder und Akten der Gestapo Würzburg über die Judendeportation 1941–1943* (Bad Neustadt a.d. Saale, 1988). Also in the numerous investigations into the history of medicine during the Third Reich, the use of concentration camp prisoners in the construction detachments of SS hospital sections and the involvement of the euthanasia doctor Werner Heyde in the exploitation of prisoner labor for his personal benefit have not been explored. For these investigations, see Ernst Klee, *Was sie taten—Was sie wurden. Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986); Michael H. Kater, *Ärzte als Hitlers Helfer* (Hamburg, 2000); and Hubert Fischer, *Der deutsche Sanitätsdienst 1921–1945: Organisation, Dokumente und persönliche Erfahrungen*, 5 vols. (Osnabrück, 1984), 3: 2157–2235. A detailed study of this subcamp is printed in a publication of local history, *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch*, written by this author in 2004 on the occasion of the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of the city of Würzburg.

In April 1967, an investigative procedure was begun relative to the Flossenbürg subcamp in Würzburg. As part of the criminal investigations, it was attempted to identify former prisoners and guards of the subcamp and to interrogate them as witnesses (ZdL, IV 410AR3285/66, available at BA-L). The files of these investigative proceedings provide the richest source about the Würzburg subcamp, which, however, cannot clarify its basic history without the consideration of other documents. On the basis of additional sources from the StA-Wü, the results of the investigative proceedings can be supplemented, even refuted, concerning the crime of homicide that was excluded by the examiners (StA-Wü, Gestapostelle Würzburg 5814 and 15825). There are also scattered documents on the subcamp in Würzburg in the AG-F, here, above all, on the camp prisoners. Altogether, though, the archival records are unsatisfactory so that many questions—precisely those that refer to details of local history, the exact location of the prisoner accommodations, and labor deployment—must remain open.

Jörg Skriebeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11.
2. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11, Strength Reports, July 28, 1943; the first is from July 16 and mentions 28 prisoners in Würzburg.

3. BA-B, ZM 1443/4.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410AR3285/66.
5. AG-F, Collection Siegert, Hanging File Würzburg.

ZSCHACHWITZ

With the transferring of portions of the armaments production of the Braunschweig main factory, the Zschachwitz factory of the Mühlenbau und Industrieaktiengesallschaft (MIAG) Braunschweig was converted in 1943 into a manufacturing site for armored vehicles. At the instigation of the Army High Command (OKH) and the armor main committee of the Speer Armament Ministry, a considerable part of the armored program should have been realized at the Zschachwitz factory by 1944. In a construction application by the firm, it was emphasized: "According to instructions by the Army High Command, Main Committee Armor, the production of 150 tanks, 50 repair tanks, 200 Panther steering gears, and 400 Panther parts must be begun at the Zschachwitz MIAG factory in 1944."[1]

As the necessary labor was not available from the local population due to the continuous calling up of German workers to the Wehrmacht, concentration camp prisoners, in addition to foreign workers from West European countries, were requested. In order to isolate them as much as possible from the other employees, their workspaces were walled off by a 1-meter-high (3.3-feet-high) wooden wall. All four of the work halls, including the loading hall, were fenced off by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) wire fence with barbed-wire hindrances. Guard towers, equipped with spotlights and machine guns, were erected on the corners.

The fact that MIAG director Dr.-Ing. Blaicher had himself been the head of the armor main committee at the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfR) since 1943 might have speeded up the allocation of concentration camp prisoners.

On October 13, 1944, a transport brought 404 concentration camp prisoners from the evacuated Plaszow concentration camp near Kraków, who received the Flossenbürg concentration camp registration numbers 21902 through 22304.[2] They were Polish Jewish men, among whom were several who during their prison time at Plaszow had worked in the Emaille factory of Oskar Schindler—but not those who became famous because of the movie and book *Schindler's List*. Among the prisoners were Joel and Julius Eisenstein. A biographical sketch reports on their prisoner time at the Zschachwitz:

> The brothers did not go to Brünnlitz. Packed together with eighty men in a cattle car, they did not know where they were being taken. After three days and two nights without food and water they were unloaded at the Flossenbürg concentration camp, "although many dead remained behind," remembers Julius.
>
> "From there we went one day to Zschachwitz, where there was a tank factory. We lived in a barrack directly in front of the factory. There were two Kapos who beat everybody. They were worse than the Nazis. . . . They were German murderers who had been picked out of prison so that they would guard Jews. They were hanged by the Russians after the war."[3]

Joel Eisenstein remarked about the German civil workers who supervised the prisoner workers:

> Among them . . . there was a certain friendliness. There was, for example, a German head supervisor in the factory. He was a good guy. I got sick with typhus. As soon as one was sick it meant death. My brother brought me food. Then this man came in and said I should come and sit behind the electric furnace. He took a chair and sat me down. There I sat for several days. He did not want to send me back to work. He came by regularly and threw me a cigarette, which I gave to my brother who then exchanged it for food. He told me: "the war will pass, and if you remain healthy you can survive."[4]

On October 22, 1944, additional prisoners came from the Flossenbürg main camp, who were followed on November 7, 1944, by a larger transport with over 300 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp, who received the registration numbers of the series 35000 through 36000. Frenchman Paul P. was among these prisoners. He was imprisoned in February 1941 as a member of the French resistance movement, delivered to Mauthausen, and employed at the Passau II subcamp as an auto metalworker. At the end of October 1944, the SS closed this subcamp and transported the prisoners to Zschachwitz. He writes: "At MIAG I then worked in production, at first on tool construction. There I did an apprenticeship with sharp band saws and circular saws, and I also worked on the emery machines." Later he went to the electric furnace. "After an attempted escape I, although I was not involved, was taken hostage in order to be shot. After the SS had again apprehended the escapees they shot them and put the coffins, from which blood flowed, on the soup vat and ordered [the prisoners] to eat the soup."[5]

With smaller prisoner transports from the Flossenbürg main camp on December 6, 1944, and from Auschwitz on December 8, 1944, the number of prisoners grew to nearly 1,000 by the end of the year 1944. On January 31, 1945, there were 985 prisoners at the camp, and by February 28, this number had sunk to 949 due to the increasing number of fatalities. By March 31, 1945, the number was reduced to 805 due to many fatalities and also to a massive escape of 20 Russian prisoners. According to the strength report from April 13, 1945, there were 794 prisoners on that day.[6]

Altogether, according to a list found in the company archive of the former nationally owned enterprise (Volkseigener

Betrieb, VEB) Mühlenbau Dresden-Zschachwitz, 1,097 prisoners passed through the Zschachwitz subcamp, of whom 150 lost their lives there. Prisoners unable to work who were deported to Bergen-Belsen and to the Flossenbürg main camp usually died there after a short time.

About the conditions at Zschachwitz camp that produced these victims, there are also, in addition to reports of surviving prisoners, eyewitness accounts of German workers, like the juvenile employee who was then employed at MIAG:

> A picture of horror offered itself to our eyes. Emaciated, usually sick people, dressed in striped overalls, cap, and wooden clogs, stood there intimidated by the SS guards. . . . It was January, outside it was ice cold. The workrooms were also very cold. There was no winter clothing for the prisoners. The thin suit was the day and night clothing for every season. One prisoner got it bad when he tried to put empty cement bags underneath his clothing as heat protection. A Kapo who saw this ripped the clothes from his body and wrote him up. "Oh, that [is] not good," said another prisoner to me. "When written up, then two days without food!" Whoever wanted a second helping from what food remained had to take into account a beating by an SS guard armed with a truncheon. Even if some of the colleagues, who had nothing in common with the fascists, once hid pieces of bread or apples at certain places, for the prisoners this was only a drop in the bucket.[7]

Paul P. also discussed the conditions at Zschachwitz camp: "Food was a soup at midday and a piece of bread and a small slab of margarine in the evening. For clothes I had a vest, striped pants and a shirt; that was it, no socks, no sweater on the body. I froze and was hungry, but I cannot continue to describe all of this to you."[8]

During the bombing of Dresden, the MIAG factory also received hits. The accommodation of the prisoners on the top floor of the loading hall, particularly near the important train line to Prague, thus proved to be a deadly plan. Paul P. said: "The stairwell was not so spacious that all prisoners could get down fast enough during an air raid. There was also a bombardment. Two firebombs hit approximately 25 meters [82 feet] away from me. The fire from the bombs had caught the outside of the factory on the Dresden side. Panic resulted, in which we also had victims, because all the prisoners wanted to go down."[9] Julius Eisenstein also discusses these life-endangering accommodations and its effects. He said that a direct hit on the factory during an air raid at the beginning of 1945 led people to run and search for cover. One of the Eisenstein brothers was trampled in the crowd. "We saw him the next morning dead on the floor. I forced my way on to a pile of people and lost my shoes. My feet were stuck in clay and people were lying on me. We ran out on the street, but two hours later we went back. Why didn't we continue? It was dark and we were in Germany."[10]

The crimes committed at the Zschachwitz camp were primarily the responsibility of the camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Marks, as well as 2 other SS-Unterführer and 38 SS guards who were subordinate to him.[11] Former Polish prisoner Aron St. testified before investigating authorities in the United States: "The awful camp commandant . . . often beat us. He forced us, for example, to stand half the night without food after the difficult workday and even to do calisthenics. No reason was given. . . . At Zschachwitz many prisoners died. They died from hunger and from the whippings. . . . Prisoners were often beaten, and in fact from this SS-Scharführer, the camp commandant."[12] Johann Kübler, who before his Zschachwitz function was infamous as the Rapportführer at the Flossenbürg main camp, was Marks's successor until the camp was closed and is responsible for the victims at the end of the camp's existence and on the evacuation march. He was tried after the war and sentenced for the crimes for which he was responsible.

Even in the last months of the war, the manufacturing of V-2 (vengeance weapon) missile parts was begun at the MIAG factory, which ran under the code name "Salamander Production."

As material deliveries stagnated due to the destruction of the railway network and thus limited production, 200 prisoners were transported to Leitmeritz on April 14, 1945.[13] On April 26, the SS permanently closed the Zschachwitz subcamp. Barbed-wire fencing and guard towers were torn down, and incriminating files were burned in the factory courtyard. The still remaining prisoners had to join the evacuation march, which claimed numerous victims. Eisenstein said: "During the confusion of the last war months the tank factories were closed. We were all brought out and had to begin marching. . . . We marched for three nights and four days and slept in holes. We only had wooden clogs with no socks. Our feet were bloody. Who couldn't go any further was shot."[14]

For most of the prisoners the march ended at the Leitmeritz subcamp. The arrival of the transport with 200 prisoners was registered there on April 14, 1945. The Jewish men on the evacuation march from Zschachwitz were passed on from Leitmeritz to the Theresienstadt ghetto, where they finally reached freedom on May 5, 1945, as the SS fled from the approaching Soviet Army.

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Zschachwitz camp. Some information on the arrival of the Zschachwitz survivors at Leitmeritz may be found in Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tábor v Litmoěřicích a jeho vězňové," in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (Terezín, 1995), appendix, table 1, p. 24. Marek Poloncarz's article, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255, claims that only 2 prisoners from the Zschachwitz subcamp were registered on their arrival at the Theresienstadt ghetto; this claim does not correspond to the facts. Around 300 to 320 prisoners of the Zschachwitz subcamp were evacuated to Theresienstadt via Leitmeritz. An extensive report on Zschachwitz survivor Julius Eisenstein is

found in Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste: Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Bastei-Lübbe, 1995).

Relevant records may be found in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3289/66, IV 410 AR-Z 152/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ (Current location unknown); AG-T; and AK-IPN.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ, Schreiben der MIAG Zschachwitz an den Baubevollmächtigten des Landkreises Pirna, March 6, 1944.
2. AG-T, Kasten 7, Flossenbürg, np, Schreiben des Kommandoführers Zschachwitz an die Verwaltung des K.L. Flossenbürg, October 25, 1944.
3. Quotation in Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste: Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Bastei-Lübbe, 1995), p. 156.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 419 AR 1610/69, pp. 169–170, Schriftliche Erklärung von Paul P. (number 35524), March 20, 1971.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, 70–71; Nr. 4, p. 106; BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264.
7. Herbert Zschorn, report to the author, February 7, 1978.
8. Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ, Betriebsgeschichte, typewritten MSS (n.p., n.d., 1962?), p. 32, rept. of Paul P.
9. Ibid., p. 31.
10. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste*, p. 157.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 152/76, p. 75, testimony by Aron St. (registration number 22235).
13. AK-IPN, KL Flossenbürg, Sign. 10, pp. 34–37, Transportliste, April 14, 1945.
14. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste*, p. 157.

ZSCHOPAU

The Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke Taucha (MIMO), a subsidiary of Auto Union AG, had relocated part of its aircraft engine production to the Dampf Kraft Wagen (Steam-driven car, DKW) motorcycle plant in Zschopau. Like many other factories of Auto Union, MIMO also received a detachment of prisoner workers. Since the technical director of Auto Union, William Werner, who as head of the Main Committee on Aircraft Engine Production Sites, first in the Fighter Staff Office and then also in the Armaments Staff Office, was the man responsible for planning the means of production, worked closely together with the SS leaders Hans Kammler and Gerhard Maurer, the deployment of concentration camp prisoners to the Auto Union factories can certainly be ascribed to this relationship.

On November 18, 1944, 50 women, and on November 22, 1944, 450 women and girls, were sent on a march from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Zschopau.[1] On their arrival in Zschopau, they were assigned Flossenbürg registration numbers between 60857 and 61356. The breakdown according to nationalities in the detachment was as follows: 294 Hungarians, 137 Poles, 22 French, 11 Slovaks, 8 Italians, 7 Greeks, 7 Dutch, 5 Belgians, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Germans, and 2 Czechs.

Regarding the transport to Zschopau, former Hungarian female inmate Dora J. gave the following testimony to the Israeli investigative authorities:

> On May 3, 1944, I was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau on the first transport from Mármaros Sziget. We were selected immediately on arrival—I lost my parents at that time. I was brought into the Birkenau camp, section A, and after several weeks the number A-7728 was tattooed onto my forearm. I was deployed on an outside work detail and worked on road construction and on a stretch of railroad. In about October 1944, I smuggled myself into a specially selected group destined for a subcamp and I was taken to Zschopau with this group, which numbered about five hundred souls. At the beginning we were quartered in a school building, and then we moved into the factory building in which we were working, and we lived on the first floor. Initially, when we were sleeping outside the factory, we went into the factory on foot. . . . The company was called Auto Union; I was making small metal parts.[2]

Concerning the accommodation and living conditions in the camp, the testimony of the Polish woman Ester S. gives a rough picture:

> In Zschopau we arrived in a large factory, where initially we had to sleep on straw on the floor. Here there was for the first time something to eat again, that is, coffee, some bread, and for lunch, a cereal soup. . . . When we moved into the factory building it was empty. After a few days, bunk-beds were erected in the building for us, on which we then slept. The roughly five hundred exclusively female prisoners were divided into a day shift and a night shift. . . . I was assigned to service in the quarters, doling out the food and cleaning both the large room where the prisoners slept and also the smaller rooms, in which the uniformed female guards were accommodated. . . . We were not permitted to leave the factory building. Therefore, I cannot say precisely whether the building was located in a larger fenced-in camp. But I believe that I recall that the camp consisted only of the factory building itself. On account of a serious tooth infection, I was taken by an SS guard through Zschopau to another factory, where women were also being held prisoner. . . . There the three teeth were pulled out using a simple pair of pliers, by an inmate who was in charge of the sick quarters there.[3]

The work of the women was organized in 12-hour shifts for the production of aircraft engine parts. Master craftsmen and foremen, made available from the DKW motorcycle factory belonging to MIMO, trained the women on the machines. On this, Dora J. comments in her testimony: "In the factory we were divided into many groups. I remember the groups Hartwig and Mai, which were named after the respective foremen. I belonged to craftsman Hartwig's group. During the work hours, the SS-female guards [Aufseherinnen] were in the factory workshops."[4] Hungarian woman Berta B. gave testimony regarding the working conditions, which indicate that the female prisoners did not receive any protective clothing or goggles: "As I already said, I mainly had to produce screws and due to the bright light and the oil, which spurted into my eyes, I got a serious eye infection. I was in great pain for a week and could hardly see, but I didn't dare to say anything. Then a miracle occurred. Another woman complained on my behalf and instead of something happening to me, I was taken under escort by a female guard to an eye doctor in Leipzig and had to lie down for three months with my eyes bandaged. I never returned to the machines."[5]

On the relationship of the German workers and employees with the Jewish women and girls, Hungarian Ilona Ormos said the following, "When I once asked a German colleague for a needle and thread in order to make necessary repairs to my ragged clothes, he replied: 'You get nothing from me on principle!' Acting on just such a principle, the then works' doctor refused to treat a female workmate [prisoner] who had an accident on a milling machine."[6] But Ormos also described that at Easter in 1945 the women prisoners found little packages with cookies hidden at their workstations, which had pleased her workmates very much at that time: "It was a black dough with a little bit of sugar on top, but for us it was a sign of humanity amidst the darkness of imprisonment."[7]

Unanimously, all survivors testify to the hunger, which tortured them constantly. Thanks to the completely insufficient diet, the bodily strength of the women and girls was increasingly drained away. That was also the reason for the five deaths that took place in the Zschopau camp. "The only deaths which I experienced in Zschopau were caused by hunger and exhaustion. We then had to bury these prisoners, after they had been wrapped in paper towels. Whether there were any deportations from Zschopau, I don't know, apart from one case, in which two young women from Zschopau were sent to Auschwitz."[8] SS documents do not contain information on this. However, one Polish woman was sent to Ravensbrück because she was pregnant.

As a result, the numerical strength of the work details only declined a little. On January 31, 1945, 497 women were reported in the camp,[9] and on March 31, there were still 495.[10] On the day before its evacuation, the concentration camp in Flossenbürg registered 494 women for the subcamp in Zschopau.[11]

On the camp commandants, the camp guards, and the female SS guards, there are the following accounts by survivors: "The senior commandant was an older Oberscharführer of medium height, who was friendly toward us. The difference to Auschwitz can scarcely be described. This man was replaced later by a younger, tall SS man, who often beat us and directed terrible swear words at us."[12] The female prisoners gave him the nickname "Hitler." Irene G., who went to the United States after her liberation, testified:

> I saw the camp commandant every day. I cannot say anything negative about him. I can recall the following names of female SS guards: Hilda. Hilda was mean; she beat up prisoners with her hands and her feet. Erika was the name of the senior guard. . . . There was also a woman there, whom we called "Madame Appell"; she was not malevolent, but a stickler for discipline. She often called us out on parade and made us stand in rows for a long time. This is what earned her the nickname, which we gave her. . . . I would especially like to mention, however, another guard named Frieda H. . . . She had clearly taken me into her heart and did me favors wherever she could. For example, she secretly gave me socks and food. . . . I know that other female SS guards also did things for the prisoners, as did some of the factory workers too.[13]

The camp commandant was initially SS-Oberscharführer Happel; the senior SS guard was Traude Stein.[14] Ten SS guards and 20 female SS guards guarded the women prisoners.[15] "Two Ukrainian SS guards were also in the camp. They wore black SS uniforms and were nasty sadists. They were brutal and primitive people."[16]

On April 14, 1945, the subcamp was dissolved and the women evacuated by train. During the train journey, seven women managed to escape from the transport. Frenchwoman Odette Spingarn said of this escape:

> At 6 o'clock we had to gather in the courtyard. Everyone had a blanket and a piece of bread. It was a strange farewell accompanied by screams and blows. The French prisoners of war, who work on the lower floor of the factory, push themselves together into one corner of the courtyard. They have to watch everything—powerless and confused. . . . We are crammed together into the last wagon of the train, we—that is, 120 women. Somebody succeeded in unscrewing the plate in front of the window, so that we could get some air. And then there was suddenly the thought, which took root among our little band of Belgian and French women, to which the Italian, Bianca, also belonged: Escape! I have to move through the whole length of the wagon, during which I climb over the squashed and cowering bodies of my fellow prisoners, who don't understand why I am seeking another spot. They are squatting there in their misery and I am disturbing them! I make slow progress. At the time I am thinking that with each turn of the train's wheels I am getting further away. Soon I want to jump.

> Finally I get to grab the window opening—through, I jump. The Seventh! Before I jumped, I shouted to my workmates: "Good-bye, my dears!" They had formed a ladder, in order to help me to squeeze through the small window opening in the cattle car. The train rolled on slowly through the night.[17]

Spingarn, like Italian Bianca R. and Hungarian Alice, went back to Zschopau. French prisoners of war, whose help they could rely upon, assisted them in finding a place where they remained hidden until May 8, 1945.

The evacuation transport arrived in the Theresienstadt ghetto on April 21, 1945. On their arrival in the ghetto, 457 women who had belonged to the Zschopau subcamp were registered.

SOURCES There is a short article by Ulrich Fritz, "Zschopau," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck-Verlag), 4: 279–281. Information on the deployment of Auschwitz prisoners to Zschopau may be found in Danuta Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *HvA* 8 (1964): 87–88. For background on Wilhelm Werner, see Wolfgang Schuman et al., *Deutschland im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, vol. 6, *Die Zerschlagung des Hitlerfaschismus und die Befreiung des deutschen Volkes (Juni 1944 bis zum Mai 1945)* (Berlin: Akademie, 1985), p. 359; and Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 3: 51.

Archival materials on the camp can be found at BA-L in ZdL (IV 410 AR 3288/66 and IV AR-Z 94/76); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); SHStA-(D) (Auto Union AG); and SStA-L (MIMO). An interview with survivor Ilona Ormos appeared in *BVEBMZ*, September 1, 1964.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Danuta Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *HvA* 8(1964): 87–88.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 222, testimony of Dora J. (number 61008).
3. Ibid., p. 153, testimony of Ester S. (number 61293). The removal of her teeth took place in the Wilischthal subcamp.
4. Ibid., p. 233, testimony of Dora J.
5. Ibid., p. 138, testimony of Berta B. (number 61010).
6. Herbert Lehmann, "Beitrag über den Besuch der ehemaligen ungarischen Häftlingsfrau Ilona Ormos in Zschopau," *BVEBMZ*, September 1, 1964.
7. Ibid.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 154, testimony of Ester S.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
10. Ibid., pp. 86–87.
11. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1266, Strength report of April 13, 1945.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 153, testimony of Ester S.
13. Ibid., Bd. 1, p. 269, testimony of Irene W. (number 61020).
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, Letter from the commandant's office of KZ-Flossenbürg to the head of the Kommando in Zschopau, December 28, 1944, re.: appointment of senior female SS guard.
15. Ibid., Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 1, p. 270, testimony of Irene W.
17. Odette Spingarn (number 61276), Report on her escape (translation from French by Gisela Dulon), pp. 1–2. Report in the possession of the author.

ZWICKAU

On September 13, 1944, the subcamp in the Horch factory, Zwickau, was established with the transport of 210 prisoners there from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Due to the successive arrival of additional prisoner transports, the prison population of the subcamp had expanded by the end of 1944 to 898.[1] Escapes, deaths, and the return to the Flossenbürg main camp of prisoners who were sick or incapable of work reduced the number of prisoners to 861 by January 31, 1945.[2] The addition of prisoners to the subcamp, in spite of many deaths in February, had brought the camp strength to 966 prisoners by February 28, 1945.[3] The return to Flossenbürg of a transport of nearly 200 prisoners suffering from tuberculosis and further deaths at the Zwickau camp reduced its numerical strength to 727 by March 31, 1945.[4] Increasing numbers of deaths saw the camp strength decline further to 688 prisoners by April 13, 1945.[5] Therefore, well over 1,000 prisoners passed through this camp in total.

According to their nationality, the prisoners in the Zwickau subcamp broke down in the following way on February 28, 1945; the national composition had accordingly changed by March 31, 1945:[6]

Nationality	*February 28, 1945*	*March 31, 1945*
Poles	374 (including 29 Jews)	263 (15 Jews)
Russians	285	195
Italians	78	70
French	66	54
Hungarians	61 (58 Jews)	47 (47 Jews)
Czechs	54	52
Germans	23	20
Belgians	9	9
Bulgarians	3	3
Croats	3	3
Yugoslavs	2	2
Lithuanians	2	1
Spaniards	2	2
Dutch	1	2 (1 Jew)
Greeks	1	1
Slovaks	1	1

The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp about 100 meters (328 feet) from the factory, which appeared to be secured against escape attempts by an electrified fence and towers containing guards armed with machine guns. Nevertheless, a few escapes were attempted in the autumn of 1944. This can be presumed from a report by the factory management to those engaged at the works: "In response to the escape attempt made by individual prisoners during the night shift, it must be observed how immediately a large number of workers gathered in order to satisfy their curiosity by watching these events. . . . We therefore bring it forcefully to the attention of our workers, that the guards have strict instructions to shoot immediately at the prisoners in the event of escape attempts or similar occurrences."[7]

An attempt by Soviet prisoners to escape from the camp, using a tunnel dug from an empty barrack building, was foiled on the planned day of escape, as they were betrayed by other prisoners. The camp commandant had 23 prisoners shot immediately, who were discovered during the escape attempt or arrested as co-conspirators due to denunciations. In the protocol of the trial against camp commandant SS-Unterscharführer Müsch and others, the following can also be found on these events:

> At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, a group of prisoners planned an escape attempt from the camp. For this purpose the prisoners had made a hole, fifty centimeters by fifty centimeters [about 20 by 20 inches] in the floorboards of their living barracks and from there dug a tunnel. . . . On the night before, the accused was informed by other prisoners of the intended breakout. During the night he entered the dark barracks armed with a pistol and accompanied by armed SS men. The prisoners were in the subterranean tunnel when he and the guards disturbed them. . . . The accused shone his flashlight into the tunnel and demanded that the prisoners come out, assuring them that nothing would happen to them. When they did not obey his request he threatened that if they didn't comply he would use his weapon. Then the prisoners did come forward. At this moment, the accused gave the SS man Welantschütz the order to fire into the tunnel with his machine pistol. Welantschütz obeyed this order and killed all the prisoners who participated in the escape.[8]

Another SS-Unterscharführer, Schragner, also took part alternately with Welantschütz in this cowardly murder. Müsch was sentenced to four years and six months in prison.[9]

The completely inadequate food rations given to the prisoners and the exhaustion of their bodily strength contributed to the outbreak of diseases, such as tuberculosis, and were the main causes of many deaths. On April 2, 1945, alone the strength report of the Flossenbürg concentration camp reports 28 deaths for the Zwickau subcamp.[10]

Indicative of the way hunger and the search for something edible dominated the thoughts of the prisoners is one passage in the testimony of a Polish Jew:

> On arrival back in the camp quarters in the evening I went straight to my friend Salzmann and said to him: "Salzmann, today God smiled on me and I have something for you." I took out a few turnip peelings and gave them to him. "Breitowicz," he said, "for your good heart, that you have, I will ask God that you survive the war. God will certainly listen to me."
>
> That was the first happy night in Zwickau. . . . Several more terrible days went by. It was said, they need people to go for cinders. I reported with several other colleagues and we went to get cinders with little carts. For this work we were supposed to receive an extra half-liter [two cups] of soup. In the factory, from which we picked up the cinders, there were many foreign workers. They saw that we were weakened by hunger.[11]

Since the inhuman treatment of the concentration camp prisoners was not concealed from the German workers, above all non-Nazi-leaning Horch workers made efforts to help the prisoners: "Paul Unger made contact with the Dutch forced laborers. His wife obtained food, which the work-mates distributed to the concentration camp prisoners via the Dutchmen. These people worked in the high building, which was surrounded by barbed wire and strictly guarded by armed SS. One could only enter with a special pass, which only a few people received. The contact person for the Dutch was the resistance fighter van Groth. When the Gestapo succeeded in infiltrating a snitch into the group, it was revealed."[12]

The bill of demand issued by the Flossenbürg concentration camp to the Horch factory Zwickau charging them 115,038 Reichsmark (RM) for the "rental of the prisoners" also includes a deduction of 19,194 RM in favor of the Auto Union company for prisoner food supplied. This deduction for the "hunger rations" supplied by the factory is evidence of the shared responsibility of the company for the murderous living conditions that prevailed in the Zwickau subcamp.[13]

The miserable condition in which the prisoners found themselves, had to be conceded even by the factory management, as it was brought to their attention by the workers:

> [O]n the part of the company's employees an increasing number of complaints have been received about the dirtiness of the prisoners being so bad that one can already speak of a smell that is simply unbearable for a longer period of time. . . . [A]ccording to our view the main cause for this complaint is firstly the lack of washing soap and on the other hand also to a great extent the lack of underwear and clothes to change into. . . . Daily body washing must

> have only a limited effect when very dirty clothing is still being worn, because the dirt of the work clothes goes straight back onto the body. Equally unacceptable in the long term is also the fact that underwear can only be changed at best every three weeks due to insufficient quantity.
>
> Both of these factors doubtless contribute to the simplest skin wounds in almost all cases developing into dangerous running sores and that rashes often spread over the whole body.[14]

Among the various measures to help the prisoners taken by the anti-Fascist forces in the Horch factory was an attempt to get the factory doctor, Dr. Fröhlich, to intervene by bringing to his attention instances in which prisoners were beaten. On the other hand, the complete support of the factory management for the SS camp leadership is clear in the document.[15]

The responsible camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Müsch, who had joined the Nazi Party in 1931. He served in an SS construction battalion in Lublin in 1942, and after completing an SS administrative training course in Munich in 1943, he arrived at Flossenbürg in 1944, for "practical training," as he put it himself in court. From October 4, 1944, he served as camp commandant in Zwickau. At his side served the two Austrian SS-Unterscharführer, Schragner and Welantschütz. Schragner, who was a member of the illegal Nazi Party and SS even before the annexation of Austria, was with the Waffen-SS in Kraków in 1939 and after that served in the SS guard detail at the Lublin concentration camp.

Welantschütz belonged to a "Freikorps" unit that operated against Czechoslovakia in 1938 and also joined the Waffen-SS in Kraków in 1939. In 1942, he was assigned to the guard detail of the concentration camp in Lublin and arrived in the Zwickau subcamp after serving as a guard at the Wieliczka subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.[16]

The investigation against the two men for the shooting of the prisoners during the escape attempt in the tunnel was classified only as manslaughter by the court and closed, as the statute of limitations had expired. Both men remained unpunished.

As henchman, especially for punishment beatings, the SS used Alfred Keller, the senior prisoner (Kapo), a professional criminal who wore the green triangle.

On April 14, 1945, the 688 prisoners still in the Zwickau subcamp were marched out on foot in the direction of the Erzgebirge Mountains. Close to Schönheide they met up with the column from the Lengenfeld subcamp. On the evening of April 15, they reached the subcamp Johanngeorgenstädt.[17] Leaving behind 106 sick prisoners, the column comprising the subcamp prisoners from Lengenfeld and Zwickau set off again to the south in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary). Pole Jan H. subsequently testified: "The sick were summarily shot on the way, as were all those who could no longer walk."[18]

The prisoners were driven on the route via Marienbad (Mariánské Lázne)—Planá—Tachau (Tachov)—Bor—and Doly, until after a massacre of the Jewish and Soviet prisoners near Primda they were abandoned by the SS. German Kapo Dietze made the following statement about the murder of these prisoners in the Müsch trial. In the protocol it states: "The witness D. also made known, that the accused had the remaining twenty or so Jewish and Russian prisoners shot, after he learned that the Flossenbürg camp was already in the hands of the Americans."[19]

Just on the march route between Karlsbad-Tepla and Planá, 296 corpses of prisoners from this column were uncovered during exhumations in 1946.[20]

From among the prisoners of the Zwickau subcamp, which together with the column from Johanngeorgenstädt made it to Leitmeritz, six men were registered on their arrival in the Theresienstadt ghetto, to which the Jewish prisoners from Leitmeritz were sent.

SOURCES A recent secondary source on the Zwickau subcamp is Ulrich Fritz and Steven Simmon, "Zwickau," in *Der Ort des Terrors*, *vol.4*, *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 282–286. On the evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255. Zwickau is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 123.

Primary sources on the camp include the following: BA-L, ZdL (IV 410 AR 3173/66 and IV 410 AR 1382/67); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); and SHStA-(D) (Auto Union AG, Werk Horch). The Müsch case is listed as 7Ks 1/54. The current location of the former company archive of the Ba-VEB-S-Z is not known. A Zwickau prisoner, Gianfranco Mariconti, published a testimony, *Memoria di vita e di inferno: Percorso autobiografico dalla spenieratezza alla responsibilitá* (Sesto S. Giovanni: il Papiro Editrice "Altrastoria," 1995). Additional testimony may be found in Tenner, et. al., *Automobilbauer einst und jetzt* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1976). There is an interview with prisoner Mariánské Lázne in Richard Švandrlik, "Pístovské memento," *Ham*, 13:138 (April 8, 1985): 4.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 14, p. 7.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
3. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
4. Ibid., pp. 86–87.
5. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 107.
7. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 17, information sheet issued by the factory management (poster), December 18, 1944.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 150.
9. Lfd. Nr. 431, Adelheid Rüter-Ehlermann and Christian Frederick Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen:. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966* (Amsterdam, 1971), Bd. XIII.

10. BA-B, Film 41820, pp. 787–791.

11. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 199, testimony of Jakob B. (number 14289).

12. Tenner, et. al., *Automobilbauer einst und jetzt* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1976), p. 65.

13. BA-B, Film 4053, Forderungsnachweis, Flo. Nr. 771, January 1, 1945.

14. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 184, pp. 1–2, letter of the factory management Horch Zwickau to the commandant's office Flossenbürg concentration camp, December 19, 1944.

15. Ibid.

16. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, pp. 165–170.

17. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 1, p. 93, report of the former prisoner Hommel (from Luxembourg) about the evacuation from Lengenfeld, Schönheide, and Zwickau.

18. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch, No. 14, testimony of the Polish former prisoner Jan H. (number 3909), October 25, 1945.

19. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 167, testimony of Rudolf D. (number 2167).

20. Mariánské Lázne in Richard Švanderlik, "Pístovské memento," *Ham*, 13: 138 (April 8, 1985): 4.

ZWODAU

The origin of the planning for the employment of prisoners in Zwodau cannot be determined precisely; nevertheless, there exists information about its context: The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) had been founded in 1940 as a 100 percent joint subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert -Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW). At high rates of production, the ordnance company manufactured autopilots, gyroscopes, and navigation instruments; aircraft instruments and electronics; communications equipment; and electric firing systems. In view of the positive results that Siemens had been able to produce since the autumn of 1942 at its Ravensbrück assembly plant (*Fertigungsstelle*), in connection with the increasing danger from air raids, Siemens director Paul Storch suggested in the spring of 1943 to carry out the transfer of the assembly to better-protected areas and to enlist concentration camp prisoners for the production of particularly important components.[1] It was, therefore, a strategic decision of Siemens to establish the use of prisoners at the periphery of the Old Reich, a decision by which the responsible parties combined the enormous turnover increase in the armaments business with the concurrent shortage of labor. For the increase in its production, the company was guided by its model project for use of prisoner labor in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[2]

On September 3, 1943, 13,000 square meters (about 15,550 square yards) in the Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger AG Zwodau near Falkenau on the Eger River were occupied by the Gesellschaft für Luftfahrtgeräte, Spandau.[3] The Falkenau camp was established provisionally on the factory site as early as December 1943; the occupancy grew from about 100 in the beginning to approximately 745 female prisoners by July 1944.[4] As of March 1944, the female concentration camp prisoners who originated from Poland, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were brought to Zwodau mostly from Ravensbrück. In addition to their work in the factory, they built the Zwodau camp. Together with Italian military internees (IMIs), the women leveled a triangular parcel of land located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the city and put up four barracks for prisoners—one as a hospital and one as a canteen—as well as quarters for the SS guards. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire, which at least initially was not electrified.[5] Around the end of June or the beginning of July the prisoners moved from the factory to the not-quite-finished barracks. Later, four watchtowers and an electrified fence were erected, which also enclosed the prisoners' way to work, the so-called Lion's Path, to the factory and reduced the guard requirements.[6]

The women came above all from Germany, France, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia; in addition, there were about 100 Hungarian Jews in the camp.[7] The women worked in day and night shifts of about 12 hours and, in a similar manner to that in the Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück, produced coils, switches, measuring equipment, and the like, for aviation armament as unskilled workers in operations sharply demarcated by the division of labor. The output of the prisoners was recorded individually as in Ravensbrück and linked to a bonus system.[8] For substandard performance there were punishments such as makeup work and withdrawal of food; for adequate or increased performance, additional rations.[9] The women in their spare time also had to take on additional work such as hauling coal from Zwodau into the camp.[10]

Until the middle of February 1945, the detachment leader at Zwodau was SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Erich Schreiber and, later, SS-Oberscharführer Willi Jordan; they commanded a guard force of about 25 SS men. Schneider was assigned as the supervisory female SS guard and was later replaced by Unger. They commanded around 20 female SS guards, who also supervised the prisoners at their workplaces. All those named were accused of mistreatment, also with deadly consequences. Since September 1944, the camp had been under the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The relocation had resulted in a worsening of the daily food in the camp even though the factory kitchen continued to supply the camp, a clear sign of corruption and embezzlement in the camp. Survivors especially accused camp elder (Lagerältester) Johanna Baumann née Forthofer of currying favor with the SS and of mistreatment.

The available data, however, show only small variations in the number of prisoners until the arrival of the first evacuation transports during the winter of 1944–1945; this, in combination with a rather low death rate in the camp itself, points to the practice of transfering sick prisoners back to the main camp.[11] With the arrival of a large number of women, mostly Jewish who had been weakened by long marches on foot from camps in Freiburg, Dresden, and Helmbrechts, the number of camp inmates swelled in April 1945 to between 2,500 and

3,000. Because of the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic among these women, who were held in quarantine, aggravated by the totally insufficient supply of water and food, the death rate then increased to several prisoners per day.[12]

Around April 20, 1945, the remaining prisoners of the Zwodau camp were driven away in the direction of Tachau near Karlsberg. After three days, the column had to turn back and found on their return a camp that was already destroyed to a large degree in order to remove its traces; there they remained until being liberated by the Americans.[13]

No statement can be made here about the postwar trials conducted in the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic against members of the Zwodau concentration camp guards. In West Germany, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, beginning in the mid-1960s, investigated killings, especially those that took place in the last phase of the war when hundreds of weakened Jewish prisoners came to the Zwodau subcamp in evacuation marches.[14] In this connection, the predecessor camp Falkenau was also investigated by the ZdL. Zwodau was also examined in collective investigative proceedings covering the subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

In 1974, the Munich State Prosecutor's Office began investigative proceedings of murder against the accused Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, and others, which it closed in 1979, as the accused could not be located. Subsequently, the ZdL also ceased its corresponding investigative proceedings in 1991.[15]

SOURCES The only comprehensive study of the Flossenbürg subcamps, to which Zwodau belonged from September 1944, was presented by Hans Brenner, "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Dresden, 1982). Like most historians of the DDR, he tried to document above all the decisive influence of the large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. However, this limited formulation of the inquiry reduces the value of the finding of this otherwise commendable study, which is rich in material, but the study unfortunately is only accessible with great difficulty because of the poor legibility of most copies. Brenner, however, has also published his research results and theories on the assignment of labor in two articles; but his data on occupancy rates are partly inaccurate (with reference only to postwar sources). See Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–293; and "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998): 1:682–706. Karl Heinz Roth, in "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, *1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996); pp. 149–168, compares a number of prisoner deployments for the Siemens concern. His typology of the structure of assignments of forced prison labor for the company is valuable. On the basis of files of the ZdL (held at BA-L) as well as the Flossenbürg concentration camp registers, found in the interim at NARA, Jörg Skriebeleit, in "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217, provides a recent overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia. He assumes incorrectly that the Falkenau subcamp existed for only a few weeks. His analysis of the registers provides important new knowledge about the development of death rates in the investigated women's subcamps, which only increased dramatically with the beginning of the evacuations of the camps located in the east and the deportation of its inmates to camps located westward, as was Zwodau. For background on Siemens armament manufacturing, see the apologetic work by the director of AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens*, *1918–1945* (Munich, 1995), pp. 381–382.

The presumably quite wide-ranging contents of the AS-M unfortunately are not made accessible to independent research as so-called uncataloged intermediate archival sources. Research is therefore dependent on state archives. The abovementioned files of the investigative proceedings of the ZdL are therefore one of the most important correlated collections of sources for the investigation of the Zwodau subcamp. They contain numerous witness statements of surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. In this connection, it must be emphasized that the investigating state prosecutors in the search for witnesses worked closely with the ITS, whose collections of contemporary documents they could still examine and draw on for the investigations. Further, the state prosecutors also assessed the extensive material on the Flossenbürg concentration camp held by the BA-B under NS4, the second important unified collection on the Falkenau subcamp, decades before it aroused the interest of Western historians. There are presumably important contemporary documents in the Czech archives on the history of the origin of the use of prison labor as the planning papers prove that reached Ludwigsburg through the assistance of the Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes. The BA-MA holds collections of the war authorities for the economy about the procurement situation and production of the LGH. Other smaller collections are quoted in the text.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Werkleiterbesprechung, March 4, 1943, "Auszüge aus den Werkleiterbesprechungen," LA-B, BPA, FDGB, 276 pages, n.p.

2. LGW, Bestelleingang u. Umsatz bis 1943, BA-MA, RL3/4117 P141.

3. Karteikarte Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger Akt. Ges. Zwodau b. Falkenau a. Eger/Sud., Reichsbetriebskartei, Wirtschaftsgruppe Textilindustrie, Kriegswirtschaftsmassnahmen (Betriebsstillegungen): Bezirksgruppen: Sudetenland, Ostmark, Südbayern, Nordbayern, Protektorat Böhmen & Mähren, BA-B, R13 XIV/236.

4. Übersicht ZStL Häftlingsstand Aussenlager Flossenbürg nach NS4, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 3, KZ Flossenbürg.

5. Die Pläne der Bauabteilung der Siemenswerke für das LGW Zwodau, Barackenlager, "KZ-Baracken 2, 3 u. 4,"

1:100 24.2.1944 and "Plan 14, LGW-Betrieb Zwodau, Lageplan Barackenlager," 1:1000, March 4, 1944, ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B), p. 422; Reisebericht [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August 15, 1944 [Prague], ZdL.

6. Statement Wachführer Reschke, SS-Kdo. Zwodau [Re. Schlüsselübergabe ehemalige Häftlingsunterkunft], July 18, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 2, KZ Flossenbürg, p. 30; record of interview Anna Pauline Luise Se., née Lö., December 16, 1970, in Kitzingen, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, n.p., Bd. 1, "Mehrausfertigung."

7. [Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg] Übersicht zum 28.2.1945 über Nationalitäten der weiblichen Häftlinge des Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg nach dem Stande, February 29, 1945, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 1, KZ Flossenbürg, p. 385.

8. Record of interview [camp elder] Johanna Baumann, née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL.

9. Anon., "Ich war in einem Siemens-KZ; Bericht einer französischen Zwangsarbeiterin," October 5, 1946. The anonymous author is probably Henriette Seller, due to similar wording in Seller's report on the transport from Compiégne and the Zwodau concentration camp, LA-B, BPA, V6/3/6007, Nachlass Baum; Record of interview Halina Prei., née. Smo. 23.10.1971 in Poznan, ZdL.

10. Record of interview of Ludmila Nov., née. Smr., October 5, 1967, in Budweis, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 558.

11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk betr. [Ermittlungsverfahren Zwodau] gegen 1) Lagerführer SS-Unterscharführer Jordan, 2) SS-Oberaufseherin Unger und 3) SS-Oberaufseherin Ilse Schmidt wg. Tötungshandlungen an weiblichen Häftlingen im Nebenlager Zwodau im April/Mai 1945], ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z60/67, p. 40.

12. For Freiburg (AEG), see, for example, record of interview Olga Torn., née Friedm., December 10, 1973, in Budapest, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 1497; for Dresden record of interview Felicja Helfg., née Zal., September 13, 1967, in Beit Dagon, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 483.

13. Record of interview Genofewa Roj., née Mark., November 15, 1971, in Plock, ZdL, IV410AR-Z48/71B, p. 113.

14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71B; ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 23/68; ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67; and ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B).

15. StA-M, 1 320 Js 486/74; ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91.

GROSS-ROSEN



The main gate at Gross-Rosen, taken shortly after liberation.
USHMM WS # 73197, COURTESY OF IPN

GROSS-ROSEN MAIN CAMP

The history of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp began on May 11, 1940, when the SS concern Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) bought the quarry near the village of Gross-Rosen (present-day Rogoźnica) in lower Silesia from Margareta Hay for 500,000 Reichsmark (RM). To provide the cheap manpower needed to work the quarry, a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was set up nearby in the summer of 1940, under the name "Labor Camp Gross-Rosen." The first transport of 100 prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on August 2, 1940; another 100 probably arrived before the end of September. There is no accurate information on subsequent transports. These early prisoners had been registered and assigned numbers in Sachsenhausen. Initially, they worked in two detachments, Steinbruch and Barackenbau, stone quarrying and barracks construction.

Gross-Rosen became an independent concentration camp on May 1, 1941, according to a May 10 decree from the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).[1] The former subcamp prisoners automatically became the first prisoners of the new camp. There were 722 of them initially, including 255 German "professional criminals," 271 Poles, 110 German and Czech political prisoners, and 73 so-called asocial prisoners, among others.[2] We do not know exactly why the subcamp was converted into an independent concentration camp, although the plans to expand DESt probably played a major part in the decision. The DESt representatives were not satisfied with the progress in starting up the quarry their company had purchased, and they attributed the delays primarily to the small number of prisoners in the camp. Separating the subcamp from the distant Sachsenhausen main camp would make prisoner procurement and further expansion easier.

The first camp commander, from May 1, 1941, to September 15, 1942, was SS-Obersturmbannführer Arthur Rödl. SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Gideon became his successor, from September 16, 1942, to October 10, 1943. After him, from October 11, 1943, until the camp's evacuation in February 1945, SS-Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebroek commanded.

Just as was the case at other camps, the Gross-Rosen headquarters staff consisted of five branches (with their heads as of October 1941): I, the aide-de-camp's office (SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Tillig); II, the political office (Kriminalsekretär Richard Treske); III, the protective detention camp (SS-Untersturmführer Anton Thumann); IV, administration (SS-Oberscharführer Willi Blume); and V, health services (SS-Untersturmführer Friedrich Entress). In addition, a sixth—the training division—was run by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Ziegler.

Branch III, which oversaw the camp itself, played the most important part in the prisoners' lives. Thumann, who had held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader) of the Gross-Rosen labor camp, was the Schutzhaftlagerführer (leader of the protective detention camp) until February 1943, when SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger took over. The Schutzhaftlagerführer supervised a camp staff consisting of a Rapportführer (SS-Rottenführer Walter Schwarze until 1942, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Helmut Eschner), an Arbeitseinsatzführer (work assignment supervisor) who directed the prisoners' employment, and several Blockführer (barracks block supervisors).

Because of the camp's expansion and the accompanying need for increased administrative effort, the Schutzhaftlagerführer and Rapportführer gained more and more power and thus greater license to act. This trend reached its peak under Commandant Hassebroek, who inspected the subcamps frequently; when he was absent, his subordinates had almost unlimited power over the prisoners.

The political branch played a special role. It took its orders directly from the RSHA but also worked with the Breslau (Wrocław) Gestapo office; it was under the camp command only on an administrative level. The branch chief, Treske, interrogated prisoners, was responsible for maintaining prisoner files, and oversaw the various jobs of the political department, which included registering, discharging, and executing prisoners.

It is difficult to estimate the prisoner population, since we have no original camp records. Studies done at many institutions, based mainly on prisoner numeration, have shown that from May 1941 to the end of that year the population almost doubled to 1,487 prisoners. By July 15, 1942, there were 1,890 prisoners. Beyond that point, there are no accurate counts. We know that 5,293 more prisoners were registered in 1942; 25,167 more in 1943; 73,367 more in 1944; and 5,180 more from January 1945 until the evacuation—for a total of more than 110,000. However, some categories of prisoners, such as Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and transferees from Auschwitz, were not included in the Gross-Rosen records at all; when we include those, the consensus is that the total number of prisoners who passed through the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was approximately 120,000. Still, that figure does not tell us how many were present in the main camp at any one time, since many of the prisoners, including all of the 25,000 women who were sent to Gross-Rosen, were sent from there on to the subcamps.

When Gross-Rosen was being set up, the policy for sending prisoners there was different than at other camps. National police units could not send prisoners to the camp directly; until the end of 1941, only prisoners from other concentration camps were to be sent to Gross-Rosen. In the following years, however, the number of prisoners sent to Gross-Rosen from Gestapo or Sipo (Security Police) units constituted approximately half of the entire population. About

one-third or more of the prisoners had come from other concentration camps. Of that number, the majority were from Auschwitz (about 20,000), Plaszow (about 2,500), and Flossenbürg (about 1,400), while smaller transports came from other concentration camps.

The prisoner population was quite varied in its makeup. German prisoners made up the largest nationality group at Gross-Rosen in 1940–1941. Starting in 1942, those proportions changed, and German prisoners gradually became a minority; Poles and Soviet citizens became the most numerous, followed by French, Dutch, Hungarians, Austrians, and many others. Most of the Poles were arrested as suspected partisans, while most Soviet prisoners had been forced laborers who had somehow violated regulations. All the non-German prisoners were classified as political opponents and were labeled with a red triangle; they were the largest prisoner category because of the large numbers of prisoners from every corner of Europe. Germans continued to dominate the prisoner hierarchy; but not all the prisoner-functionaries were German. Most of the Germans were classified as "professional criminals," "asocials," or political prisoners.

Starting in 1941, Soviet POWs from various stalags were transported to Gross-Rosen. The largest such transport, consisting of 2,500 to 3,000 prisoners, arrived in October 1941. Most of the POWs were killed by the camp medical personnel within a few weeks, using lethal injections; later, the same technique was used to kill other prisoners who were unable to work. The SS personnel who took part in executions received awards and extra pay for their roles. Other Soviet POWs died as a result of neglect and abuse. They were given no bedding and barely half the normal rations.

Jews were the most badly treated group of prisoners at Gross-Rosen. Up until October 12, 1942, at least 285 Jews passed through the camp. They were often kept at work after the other prisoners had been dismissed. They received none of the privileges that other prisoners did, and the others were forbidden to aid them in any way. They received the most beatings, were given the hardest work, and were often denied medical care. Under these circumstances, the Jews succumbed quickly, committed suicide, or were selected for killing as part of the 14f13 program. On October 12, 1942, the last 37 living Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz. From then until the camp's evacuation, there were no Jews at the Gross-Rosen main camp.

A new category of prisoners appeared in the camp, beginning in 1944: prisoners from the *Nacht-und-Nebel* operation. The "Night-and-Fog" Decree issued by the chief of the Armed Forces High Command, Wilhelm Keitel, was designed to use arrests to stop the growth of the resistance movement in Western Europe, especially in France. In the autumn of 1944, approximately 1,575 French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners arrested in the Night-and-Fog operation were sent to Gross-Rosen. More people arrested in the operation wound up in the camp in January 1945; the total was at least 1,730 people.

Teenage prisoners were also put in the Gross-Rosen camp. In the early years they were a small group, but starting in 1943, many young Poles and Russians and, later, young prisoners of other nationalities wound up in the camp. They were all put in one barrack and used for lighter labor.

Starting on December 1, 1943, a separate unit, a so-called *Arbeitserziehungslager*, or work education camp, was formed within Gross-Rosen. The prisoners of that unit were a totally different group; they lived in a separate barracks (Barracks 22) and received numbers beginning with 0, with no indication of nationality. The Breslau Gestapo was in charge of sending prisoners to the education camp, as well as releasing them. Although the term spent in the camp was short—in theory it could last up to 56 days—it was a very hard time for the prisoners. At least 163 of them did not survive their terms. Additionally, prisoners frequently had to stay in the concentration camp after their terms were up in the education camp. During the camp's existence, at least 275 prisoners suffered that fate.

The living and working conditions at Gross-Rosen were horrible. The rations consisted of a couple of small slices of bread per day, plus a little margarine or horse sausage and watery soup. Prisoners slept on straw sacks that teemed



The stone quarry at Gross-Rosen.
USHMM WS # 55760, COURTESY OF AG-D

with lice and other vermin, as did their clothing. Bathing facilities were limited or nonexistent. Almost all the labor was in the quarry; it was exhausting, dangerous work that broke the prisoners down in short order. The camp personnel, though officially forbidden to abuse prisoners, frequently tortured and humiliated them in any number of ways: beating them, throwing them from the quarry walls, making them carry large rocks at a run, or dousing them with water and making them stand in the cold. Conditions improved somewhat from 1943 on, as the need for the prisoners' labor increased, but the difference was marginal, and the working hours and tempo actually increased. There are indications that Gross-Rosen was the only camp aside from Mauthausen that the Germans ran as a Category III camp, the most severe classification. All told, conditions in the camp killed at least 7,500 prisoners and possibly as many as double that number.

Aside from the Jews and Soviet POWs, and in addition to those prisoners who died from exhaustion, neglect, and abuse, other prisoners fell victim to killing programs, as Gross-Rosen became a "special treatment" site for people accused of sabotage, refusal to work, attempted escape, sexual relations with Germans, or other such offenses. The local SS brought the prisoners in, at which point most of them were killed immediately: shot, hanged, or given lethal injections. Roughly 375 prisoners died that way. Another 127 fell victim to the 14f13 program.

The brutal conditions at Gross-Rosen led to a prisoner culture that emphasized personal survival above all else. There was little the prisoners, especially the Jews and Eastern Europeans, could do to improve their lot. The Kapos took care of themselves and their friends and brutalized everyone else. Without connections, the most one could do was to try to avoid drawing attention to oneself.

In its initial months, the Gross-Rosen camp did not have its own infirmary. Only in the autumn of 1940 was half of one barracks designated as a makeshift infirmary. Doctor Herum became the first camp doctor in October 1940. Several doctors succeeded him, including the notorious Josef Mengele, who came to Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz in January 1945. The infirmary was moved to a separate barracks in late 1941, due to the growing number of injured and sick. A second barracks was allocated to it in early 1942, and a third in December 1942. Medical care was minimal, in any case; for the most part, the patients were left to live or die on their own.

Initially, the Gross-Rosen camp did not have its own crematorium. In 1941–1942 the bodies of dead prisoners were taken to the crematorium at the cemetery in Liegnitz (now Legnica). In late autumn of 1942, construction began on a brick crematorium, which was planned for completion by mid-December 1942. A makeshift one, called a field crematorium, operated in the camp in the interim. It was a portable oven run on oil. Two prisoners did the burning, supervised by SS staff members. Up to 10 bodies per day could be cremated in that crematorium.



A Soviet officer, a pile of shoes seen behind him, stands in front of the wreckage of what is assumed to be the Gross-Rosen crematorium, destroyed by the Soviets February 28 to April 1945.
USHMM WS # 06656, COURTESYM OF IPN

Conditions in the camp deteriorated even further in the winter of 1944–1945, as evacuation transports from camps farther to the east swelled the population to the bursting point. The rations became wholly inadequate. New arrivals were forced into uncompleted barracks, where they slept on the stone floors without bedding. Barracks were filled with double, triple, or even quadruple their intended numbers. There were no sanitary facilities for the new arrivals, and in any case, the barracks were so crowded and the prisoners so weak that many of them simply relieved themselves where they lay. The work routine broke down; as an alternative, the prisoners were forced to stand in ranks all day, every day. The death rate skyrocketed, and bodies piled up outside the barracks, since the crematorium could not handle the increase.

At the end of January 1945, as the Red Army drew nearer, the camp staff began preparing to evacuate. The evacuation began on February 8 or 9, in stages. The first transport left by train, bound for Mauthausen. The prisoners were packed so tightly into the open freight cars that they could barely move; many of them died on the way from exposure and exhaustion, and the living stood on the bodies of the dead. Some prisoners jumped from the cars and attempted to flee, only to be shot down by the guards. Other transports soon followed the first, and several hundred prisoners also marched out from the main camp on foot. On February 13, 1945, the Red Army liberated Gross-Rosen.

There was never a single trial of Gross-Rosen staff, but several perpetrators were caught up in other trials. The last commandant, Hassebroek, was sentenced to death by a British military court in 1948 for the shootings of British officers in Gross-Rosen, but in 1949 his sentence was reduced to life in prison, then in 1950 to 15 years. He was released in September 1954. Thumann and several other staff members were tried and executed; still others received prison terms of varying lengths.

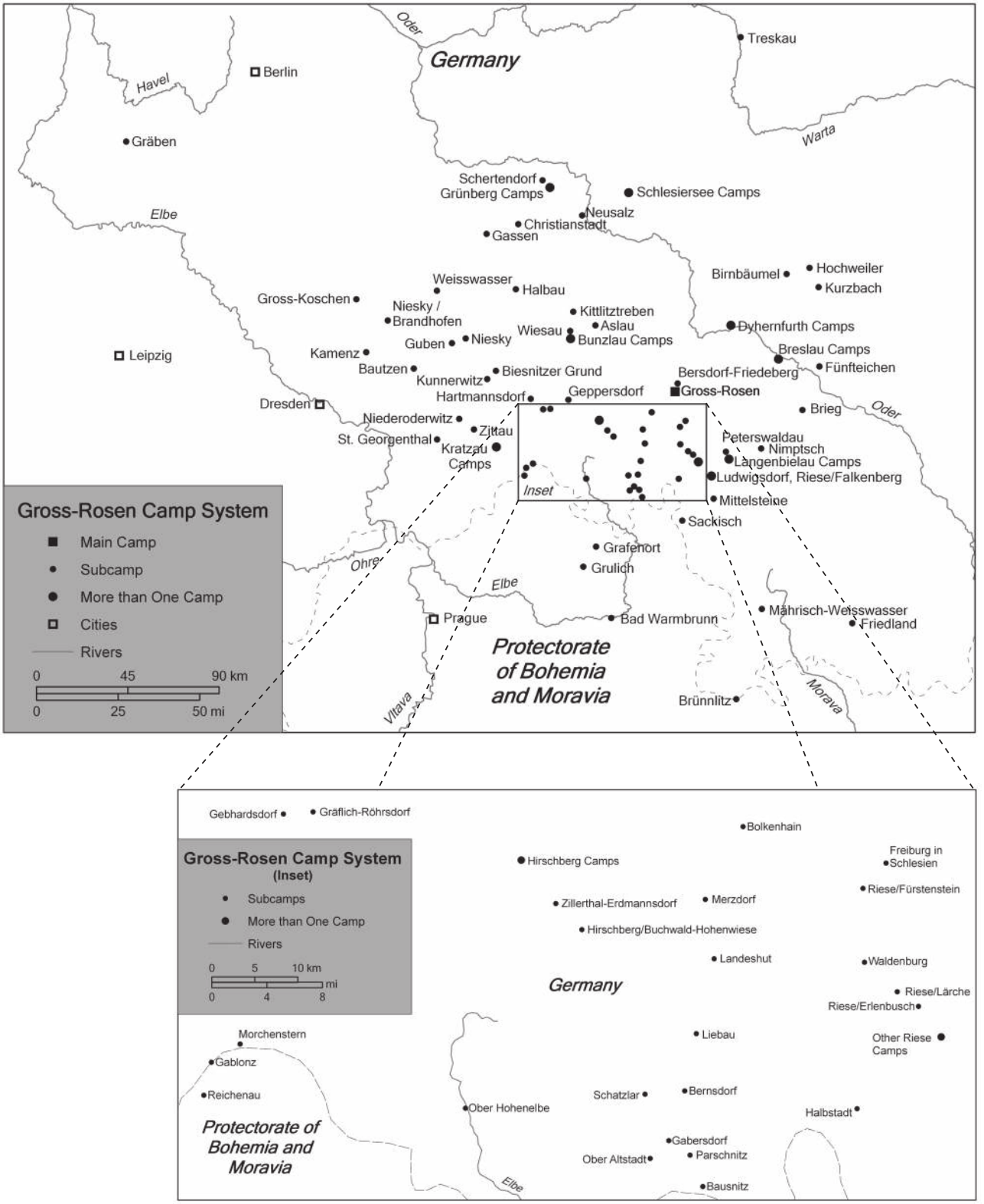
SOURCES A comprehensive scholarly work on Gross-Rosen is Isabell Sprenger's *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996). One should also note the works by Alfred Konieczny: *Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945. SFiZH* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1975); "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187; *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994); and *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995). The bibliography of Sprenger's work contains many additional references.

Extensive archives exist at the AMGR in Wałbrzych, Poland. Additional records can be found at the LA-B, BA-B, BA-K, BA-L, AG-S, the GARF in Moscow, and the StA-N, among others. Sprenger's work contains an exhaustive list of relevant record groups.

Leslaw Braiter
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. BA-L, Ordner Arolsen 311 c, p. 213.
2. AG-S, R 214 M 55, pp. 21–35.


Gross-Rosen Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamp
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 45 90 km
0 25 50 mi
Germany
Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia
Inset
Oder
Havel
Elbe
Warta
Ohre
Vltava
Morava
Berlin
Prague
Leipzig
Dresden
Treskau
Gräben
Schertendorf
Grünberg Camps
Schlesiersee Camps
Neusalz
Christianstadt
Gassen
Weisswasser
Halbau
Gross-Koschen
Niesky / Brandhofen
Kittlitztreben
Aslau
Wiesau
Bunzlau Camps
Guben
Niesky
Kamenz
Bautzen
Kunnerwitz
Biesnitzer Grund
Hartmannsdorf
Geppersdorf
Niederoderwitz
Zittau
St. Georgenthal
Kratzau Camps
Birnbäumel
Hochweiler
Kurzbach
Dyhernfurth Camps
Breslau Camps
Fünfteichen
Bersdorf-Friedeberg
Gross-Rosen
Brieg
Peterswaldau
Nimptsch
Langenbielau Camps
Ludwigsdorf, Riese/Falkenberg
Mittelsteine
Sackisch
Grafenort
Grulich
Mährisch-Weisswasser
Friedland
Bad Warmbrunn
Brünnlitz
Gross-Rosen Camp System (Inset)
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 5 10 km
0 4 8 mi
Gebhardsdorf
Gräflich-Röhrsdorf
Bolkenhain
Hirschberg Camps
Freiburg in Schlesien
Riese/Fürstenstein
Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf
Merzdorf
Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese
Landeshut
Waldenburg
Riese/Lärche
Riese/Erlenbusch
Other Riese Camps
Liebau
Morchenstern
Gablonz
Reichenau
Schatzlar
Bernsdorf
Ober Hohenelbe
Halbstadt
Gabersdorf
Ober Altstadt
Parschnitz
Bausnitz

GROSS-ROSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Gross-Rosen subcamp system began to develop in October 1943. In 1942, a Gross-Rosen subcamp had been established at the SS-Ersatzbataillon in Breslau-Lissa. In 1943, another 4 subcamps were established in Hirschberg, Treskau, Dyhernfurth, and Fünfteichen. However, the massive expansion in the subcamp network did not occur until 1944, when 60 subcamps were established, quickly spilling over the borders of Lower Silesia. As a rule, the subcamps were established in armaments industries based in Lower Silesia or the Sudetengau or were based in areas that were under air attack or the threat of air attack and so were relocated to Silesia and the Sudetengau. In November 1944, probably as part of the evacuation from Auschwitz II-Birkenau, another 6 subcamps were opened. In the same year, 28 Organisation Schmelt camps were taken over by the Gross-Rosen camp system.

SS-Oberscharführer Albrecht Schmelt, from the autumn of 1940, was the Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsführers-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien (Special Plenipotentiary of the Reichführer-SS and Chief of the German Police for the Use of Foreign Labor in Upper Silesia) responsible for the central registration of all Jews in Lower Silesia and Sudetengau, with the view to use the "Jewish labor force" for German armaments production. The headquarters of the organization were initially located in Sosnowiec. Later, they were moved to St. Annaberg (Polish: Góra Św. Anny). Altogether, there were 162 Organisation Schmelt subcamps located in or close to industry. Initially described as "Judenlager" (Jewish camps) or "Arbeitslager" (work camps), from the end of 1942, they were labeled as "Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden" (forced labor camps for Jews). From the summer of 1942, following the personal initiative of Schmelt, there were not only Polish Jews in the camps but 10,000 West European Jews from the camps at Drancy, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and Koźle. It is no longer possible to determine how many prisoners were in these camps.



A .50 Reichsmark premium note from the Gross-Rosen subcamp of Peterswaldau, 1944.
USHMM WS # 16602, COURTESY OF HANKA GRANEK EHRLICH

The dissolution of the Organisation Schmelt and its subcamps was considered as early as 1943 in connection with the realization of the "Endlösung der Judenfrage" (Final Solution of the Jewish Question). Only the most important camps were to be preserved, and they were to be put under the control of the Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps. From this collection originate 28 Gross-Rosen subcamps (23 in Lower Silesia and 5 in the Sudetengau). They were handed over to Gross-Rosen between January and October 1944. There were 7 camps for male prisoners (Bunzlau, Dyhernfurth, Hirschberg, Kittlitztreben, Waldenburg, Dörnhau, Wolfsberg), around 13 for female prisoners (Bernsdorf, Gabersdorf, Gräben, Gräflich-Röhrsdorf, Grünberg, Merzdorf, Neusalz, Ober-Altstadt, Parschnitz, Peterswaldau, Schatzlar, Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf, Gebhardsdorf), and the mixed camps such as Langenbielau and Ludwigsdorf.[1] The 6 remaining Organisation Schmelt camps were liquidated, and their 7,110 inmates, mostly women, were taken to the Gross-Rosen main camp. What must be emphasized is that transfer to a new administration was one of continuity and not the creation of new entities: not all Schmelt camps became in fact concentration subcamps, and not all Gross-Rosen subcamps originate from the Organisation Schmelt.

Gross-Rosen in January 1945 held around 77,000 prisoners. It was the second largest camp still in existence after Buchenwald.[2] At this time, 10.9 percent of all prisoners were in Gross-Rosen and its subcamps, guarded by 12 companies of the SS-Wachmannschaft. Gross-Rosen controlled more than 100 subcamps in Lower Silesia, the Sudetenland, and the present-day Czech Republic, as well as in south Saxony (Lausitz). Around 50 percent of the Gross-Rosen subcamps held either exclusively or a majority of Jewish prisoners. Most of these came from the Auschwitz and Plaszow concentration camps or camps taken over from the Organisation Schmelt.

The almost autonomous group of 12 camps near Wałbrzych im Eulengebirge (Polish: Góry Sowie), known as the "Arbeitslager Riese," was a special case. Around 13,300 prisoners of different nationalities were involved in one of the largest construction projects of the Third Reich. Here was to be built Hitler's new headquarters and a new production site for the V-2. The camps in the Arbeitslager Riese included Tannhausen, Wüstegiersdorf, Schotterwerk, Dörnhau, Märzbachtal, Lärche, Kaltwasser, Säuferwasser, Wolfsberg, Erlenbusch, Falkenberg, and Fürstenstein. Among these were included 3 camps for women.

Forty-five Gross-Rosen subcamps were planned for female prisoners. The transition from civilian guarded Organisation Schmelt camps to women's concentration camp (*Frauenarbeitslager*), which largely occurred in the first half of 1944, was accompanied not only by an intensive deterioration in the work and living conditions but also with the selection of the inmates. One of the female prisoners described the takeover by the Gross-Rosen administration of the Peterswaldau camp as follows: "Work in the factory suddenly ceased and all the women were chased into the camp. We suspected the worst. We were crammed into one room in the camp. You had to go in one at a time, being beaten by the SS women. In the room there were a few SS men. A circle had been drawn on the floor, you had to undress and step naked into the circle and turn around. The SS men then decided—the oven or work."[3]

Six or seven women's camps, taken over from the Organisation Schmelt and located in the Sudetengau, formed a special camp complex within the group of Frauenarbeitslager. They were directly under the supervision of the SS-Kommando Trautenau commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Ritterbuch. Some 4,000 Jewish women were concentrated in the camps at Bernsdorf, Gabersdorf, Liebau, Ober-Altstadt, Ober-Hohenelbe, Parschnitz (and Schatzlar).[4] Seven additional camps were to be added by the middle of 1944, and another two were planned. The number of prisoners would be increased to 11,500.[5] It is not possible to determine the real purpose of this group of camps. Another four Frauenarbeitslager (Birnbäumel, Hochweiler, Kurzbach, and Schlesiersee) in Lower Silesia, each with 1,000 prisoners, was known as "Unternehmen Bartod": they were involved with the construction of fortifications, probably for the Organisation Todt (OT).[6]

There were no women in the Gross-Rosen camp complex before 1944. By the beginning of 1945, Gross-Rosen, with its 7 subcamps for women, had the fourth largest number of female prisoners (after the Ravensbrück, Stutthof, and Buchenwald camps). At this time, there were 26,000 female prisoners, around a third of the prison population, guarded by a contingent of 900 SS wardresses, who in turn accounted for more than 20 percent of the guards and administrative personnel at Gross-Rosen.[7] Female prisoners stayed for only a short time in the main camp. They were mostly held in the subcamps of which, in 1944, 38 had been taken over from the Organisation Schmelt. Another 3 were taken over in 1945. The new camps established in 1944 included Biesnitzer Grund, Birnbäumel, Breslau-Hundsfeld, Brünnlitz, Christianstadt, Freiburg, Gablonz, Grafenort, Guben, Halbstadt, Hochweiler, Kratzau I and II, Kurzbach, Langenbielau II, Liebau, Mittelsteine, Morchenstern, Ober-Hohenelbe, Sackisch, Schlesiersee, St. Georgenthal, Weisswasser (present-day Bilá Voda, Czech Republic), Weisswasser (present-day Czech Republic), Weisswasser (present-day Federal Republic of Germany), Wiesau, Wüstegiersdorf, and Zittau.

The female prisoners in the Gross-Rosen subcamps came mostly from Poland and Hungary but also from France, Belgium, and Holland. There were also smaller groups of female Czechs, Slovenians, Russians, Germans, and Austrians. Just about all the women were Jewish. As with the male prisoners, the female prisoners manufactured armaments. They also worked in the textile industry. In the last weeks of the war, they were primarily involved in fortification works, building tank traps and digging defense lines on the Eastern Front.

The evacuation of the Gross-Rosen subcamps occurred in several stages:[8] in the last third of January 1945, all subcamps east of the Oder were closed. The men were sent on death marches to the Gross-Rosen main camp, while the female prisoners were sent to the interior of the Reich. The evacuation of the main camp began in the first 10 days of February, and 25 subcamps were closed. Around 27,000 prisoners were sent to the camps at Mittelbau, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, and Mauthausen. The subcamps to the west of the Neisse remained and were administered by the camp command, which had relocated to Reichenau (present-day Rychnov). In the final phase, between the middle of February and the middle of April 1945, the prisoners in the Arbeitslager Riese complex were evacuated, and the last remaining camps in Saxony and Brandenburg were evacuated. Around 30 subcamps were liberated by the Red Army by May 9, 1945. Shortly before May 9, the Gross-Rosen concentration camp administration was liquidated, and the majority of the camp files were destroyed.

Around 44,000 prisoners survived the 26 evacuation marches from the Gross-Rosen subcamps. The number who died on the death marches cannot be determined; however, based on prisoner numbers in January 1945, it could have been around 36,000.[9] There were around 10,000 women evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamps. The fate of 6,500 of these prisoners is unknown.

SOURCES For details on individual Gross-Rosen subcamps, see the essay and sources for each camp. Zygmunt Łukasiewicz, in "Gross-Rosen," *BGKBZHwP* 8 (1965), was the first to write about the state of research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps.

Further details are contained in the subsequent investigations by the *GKBZHwP*, as well as in its 1979 encyclopedia on concentration camps in Polish territory: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979). The Gross-Rosen subcamps are discussed on pp. 428–444.

For details on the Organisation Schmelt camps, see above all Alfred Konieczny, "Die Zwangsarbeit der Juden in Schlesien im Rahmen der 'Organisation Schmelt,'" in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* ed. Götz Aly and Susanne Heim (Berlin: Rotbuch-Verlag, 1987). For the "Arbeitslager Riese" complex, see Piotr Kruszyński, "Die Ausbeutung der Häftlingsarbeit im Komplex Riese im Eulengebirege durch die Organisation Todt und mitarbeitende Firmen," in *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2004), pp. 40–54.

Alfred Konieczny's studies on Gross-Rosen and its subcamps cover numerous aspects such as his essay "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 15–27; his monograph *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994); and his monograph *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in*

den Jahren 1944–1945 (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994). The monograph edited by Alfred Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1995), includes interesting essays by Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," pp. 31–36; Bella Gutterman, "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," pp. 37–58; Aneta Małek, "Die Bürger der ehemaligen Sowjetunion im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 59–70; Alfred Konieczny, "Die Häftlinge der Nacht- und Nebel-Aktion im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 71–84; Hans de Vries, "Holländische Staatsbürger im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 85–90; Karl-Heinz Gräfe, "Die Nebenlager des KL Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," pp. 91–132; and Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," pp. 149–156. In Alfred Konieczny, ed., *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2004), Hans Brenner discusses, in "Zum Stand der Forschung zu den auf dem Territorium der heutigen BRD. stationiert gewesenenen Aussenlager[n] des KZ Gross-Rosen," pp. 8–24), pertinent research issues on the Gross-Rosen subcamp complex, especially the female camps and camps on the territory of the former German Democratic Republic.

Details on the Gross-Rosen subcamp complex are also found in Mieczysław Mołdawa, *Gross-Rosen. Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Warsaw: Polonia-Verlag, 1967); Bogdan Cybulski, "Eksploataga robotników przymusowych, jeńców wojennych i więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego w byłym powiecie zgorzeleckim w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," in *Studia nad faszyzmeni i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi*, vol. 4 (Wrocław, 1979); Cybulski, *Obóz podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (stan badań) (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1996). Sprenger (on pp. 227–285) concentrates on the development of the subcamp network, the origins and administration of the female camps, and research into the prisoners and the SS wardresses.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details on the number and categories of the camps differ in the works on Gross-Rosen; see, for example, Alfred Konieczny, "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 22; and Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1995), p. 33. See also Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1996), p. 227.

2. On January 1, 1945, there were 76,728 prisoners in the camp (51,204 males and 25,524 females); on January 15, 1945, 77,904 prisoners (51,977 males and 25,927 females). Numbers from BA, NS 3-439, Stärkemeldungen unbekannter Herkunft, u.a., in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 24.

3. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994), p. 12; cited in Ryszard Olszyna, "Beitrag zum SS-Verbrechen," *F-S* Nr. 28. (1979).

4. Alfred Konieczny, *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994), p. 15. Isabell Sprenger, in addition to Konieczny's six camps, adds a seventh at Schatzlar, in Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager*, p. 263.

5. Konieczny, "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," p. 23.

6. Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager*, p. 264.

7. Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945*, p. 6.

8. Ibid., p. 19.

9. Konieczny, *KL Gross-Rosen*, p. 21.

ASLAU

The Aslau subcamp was formed in July 1944 next to a military airfield located southeast of the town of Aslau (now Osła) in Lower Silesia. It was formed pursuant to a decision by the Armaments minister and the Luftwaffe command to make the airfield available to the Weserflug aircraft company of Bremen, which was going to move parts of its Focke Wulf (Fw) 190 fighter-plane production there; the planes were going to be assembled in the production halls by the airfield and then tested on the premises. Negotiations began in August 1944 to hand over Weserflug's operations to Concordia Spinnerei und Weberei GmbH of Bolesławiec, which happened two months later.

Approximately 500 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp were sent to the Aslau subcamp in transports on July 14 and August 1, 1944. Only smaller groups arrived in later months, mainly to make up for losses caused by death or transfer to other camps (for instance, at least 76 prisoners were transferred to the Bunzlau II subcamp in November 1944). A total of approximately 680 to 700 prisoners passed through the subcamp (the names of 617 are known). Most of the people within this group were born between 1921 and 1925 (29.7 percent). As much as 89.1 percent of the prisoners were Polish, and 7.5 percent were Russian; the rest were of other nationalities (7 Frenchmen, 6 Germans, 3 Italians, 1 Czech, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Yugoslavian).

SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Gustav Fisch was in charge of the subcamp throughout its operations. The camp guards were 33 SS men from the 12th Company of the Gross-Rosen SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon (Death's Head Guard Battalion), among whom SS men Hess and Walter Flos earned a bad reputation. The prisoner "self-administration" was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Stanisław Wójcik, and the block elder (Blockältester) positions were given to the Russian Borys Pietrenko (Polish spellings throughout) and the Poles Władysław Skiba and Władysław Porzeczkowski.

The subcamp consisted of five wooden barracks; three of them were for the prisoners' accommodation, the fourth was for the infirmary and workshops, and the fifth was for the kitchen and office. It was all surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. The assembly ground occupied the central place.

The SS men escorted the prisoners to work in the production halls at the airfield; the work was done on one shift and lasted 12 hours under the supervision of German foremen. Depending on the nature of the work being done, labor Kommandos were formed, such as the Kommando that made parts and put together subassemblies (Arbeitsvorrichtung); the detachment that did the final assembly of parts brought in from the outside as well as those made on the premises (Endmontage); the group that built the shooting range for the assembled machines (Schiessstand); the Kommando that built access roads and expanded the camp (Kiesel-Chaussee); the transport detachment (Transportkommando); and the group that built the water-supply lines (Wasserleitung). Kapos supervised the prisoners' work and were headed by Oberkapo Czesław Marszałkiewicz.

The daily marches of the prisoners from the camp to work through wooded terrain induced several of them to make escape attempts; they ended in failure. The first fugitive was caught, then hanged at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp; others were sent back to the main camp and assigned to a penal detachment there.

In the final phase of the subcamp's existence, a Luftwaffe formation was stationed at the airfield, and a repair Kommando (Leichtmetall) and a group for bomb transport, stockpiling, and installation on planes (Bombenkommando) were formed to support it.

On February 9, 1945, the camp leader (Lagerführer) announced that the subcamp would be evacuated on foot the next day. The march occurred after midnight; approximately 550 prisoners left the camp, while about 50 sick prisoners and those unable to march were left in the infirmary (*Revier*). The march route led through Bunzlau-Görlitz-Bautzen, Kamenz, avoiding Dresden and continuing on via Königsbrück, Grossenhain, Riesa, Oschatz, Wurzen, avoiding Leipzig, then continuing through Eilenburg, Delitzsch, Brehna, Eisleben, Sangerhausen, and Berga, reaching the Mittelbau subcamp at Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*) on March 16, 1945. Some 487 prisoners reached the destination; the rest died on the way from exhaustion, starvation, and cold; others escaped. Because of repeated escapes, the camp leader held at least two executions in which 10 people were shot; 20 people died during the stay at Nordhausen. After a few days, the Aslau prisoners were transferred to Mittelbau concentration camp and sent to work in the local mines. Soon there was another evacuation to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where prisoners were liberated on April 15.

After World War II ended, Aslau guard SS-Unterscharführer Walter Flos was handed over to Poland; on May 31, 1948, the Warsaw District Court sentenced him to death on such counts as killing four prisoners during the evacuation. Aslau block elders Władysław Skiba and Władysław Porzeczkowski were also tried by Polish courts and were acquitted. The trial of Kapo Erich Assmann before a Munich court (Landgericht II) finally ended in acquittal on December 16, 1974. The inquiry against Lagerführer Fisch was suspended due to his death in 1970.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Aslau subcamp in his *Arbeitslager Aslau—podobóz KL Gross-Rosen/1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2001). Primary and other relevant secondary sources are listed in that publication.

Most of the significant primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

BAD WARMBRUNN

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Bad Warmbrunn (present-day Cieplice Zdrój, a section of Jelenia Góra) was established in 1944. It is very difficult to pinpoint the exact date, but the fol-

lowing statements based on known sources can be used to determine the approximate date when the camp was established:

1. A letter dated June 9, 1944, from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to concentration camp commanders mentioned that the Dorries-Füllner plant at Bad Warmbrunn employed Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners.[1]
2. In November 1944, some prisoners, including a group of prisoner-functionaries—several Kapos (prisoner foremen), several barrack chiefs, a dentist, a cook, and two male nurses—were sent to Bad Warmbrunn from the Hirschberg subcamp, approximately 4 to 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) away. This is the earliest information on assignments to the Bad Warmbrunn camp. From what was practiced at other camps, we know that the prisoner-functionaries were usually in the first transport.[2]

Also, when the Bad Warmbrunn prisoner numbers are reviewed, it seems more likely that the camp started operating in the autumn. As was the case with other camps, Bad Warmbrunn was created in order to concentrate necessary cheap manpower in one spot. The prisoners were put to work in the Dorries-Füllner papermaking machine plant, which had been converted over to arms manufacturing. The plant made either ammunition or artillery or both. The camp barracks were located directly by the production halls. There were 600 to 800 prisoners living in the camp, all Jewish males. They were nationals of several European countries, primarily Poland and Hungary but also Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, and Czechoslovakia.[3]

It is not known how many transports were sent to Bad Warmbrunn or when they were sent. Accounts of former prisoners mention transports sent in late autumn 1944, November, and December. It is noteworthy that the known camp prisoners were identified by numbers from several different series and had previously been at other Gross-Rosen subcamps. This means that no prisoner transports were sent to Bad Warmbrunn from outside the Gross-Rosen concentration camp system.

The sanitary conditions at Bad Warmbrunn were wretched. A typhus epidemic broke out in late 1944 and early 1945. For that reason, the death rate was very high: several to over a dozen people died daily. The bodies of the dead were trucked away to the neighboring Hirschberg camp for cremation. In late January 1945, two more doctors were sent from Hirschberg to Bad Warmbrunn: Arnold Mostowicz from Łódź and Emil Vogel from Prague. Both doctors had reported to SS headquarters at the Hirschberg subcamp, requesting to be sent to work at typhus-ridden Bad Warmbrunn—a decision infrequently encountered under camp conditions.

As Mostowicz estimates, in early February 1945, of the approximately 800 prisoners living at the camp, only 300 went off to work. The others were either sick or in such a state of weakness after suffering from typhus that the Nazis could not force them to work. The sick, with the doctors and one orderly, were put into a separate barracks, which was cordoned off with barbed wire. They were put under quarantine. Any contact with the rest of the camp was restricted to a narrow passage left in the barbed wire: portions of soup and bread were brought from camp, while it was primarily the dead who were brought out of the infirmary. A report was also provided every day on the number of prisoners still alive. The patients were in a disastrous situation: the terrible filth and lice infestation, along with the almost total lack of medication, gave the prisoners little chance of survival. In addition, the total isolation also meant that there were no opportunities to get extra food, while the small rations assigned pursuant to the daily reports were also stolen. Under those circumstances, to get at least a few extra portions, the doctors would lower the actual number of dead and would "keep" their friends' bodies under their own bunks in the hospital for a day or two. That was only possible because the SS men were terrified of infection and did not enter the quarantined area at all. Mostowicz also got sick in late February, so only Doctor Vogel remained active at the hospital.

The hospital was deloused with cyclon in late February and early March 1945. The patients had to be moved from room to room. The operation did not provide the results anticipated, since it had not been done in the rest of the camp at the same time.

In early March 1945, an SS committee from Gross-Rosen headquarters came to Bad Warmbrunn, headed by Dr. Josef Mengele (who was known to some prisoners from their time at the Auschwitz concentration camp). The reason for the visit was the raging epidemic. The committee inspected the quarantined camp hospital, talked with the local SS men, issued a few significant commands, and left. At the same time, another doctor, Otto Lohr (prisoner number 73811), from Olomouc (Olmütz), and medical student Wilhelm Weiselewicz (Weislowits) (prisoner number 73927) were transported from the Friedland labor camp (also a Gross-Rosen subcamp) to the quarantined hospital. Perhaps that was the only effect of Mengele's committee. Doctor Mostowicz survived the typhus. When he recovered, he satisfied his hunger by eating powdered dextrin, which the hospital had in large supply (the Germans used dextrin as glue when they sealed the hospital building with strips of paper during the delousing). The epidemic began to subside even before the evacuation. Mostowicz stated that no more than 400 out of the 800 prisoners in the camp survived. These prisoners kept going off to work. They also helped cart away the factory machines. Only about 80 patients were still left in the quarantine.

In the first quarter of 1945, most of the prisoners were evacuated in two groups to the Dörnhau camp at the Riese complex (which was part of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp). The first group was prodded along on foot; the second—including the sick people from the hospital—was transported by rail in coal cars. The patients from the quarantine were still isolated from the rest of the prisoners and

were evacuated in three separate railway cars. Mostowicz and Vogel rode with the hospital group. The floors in the railroad cars were strewn with a thick layer of straw, which gave the prisoners hope that they were not going off to die. When all the quarantined prisoners were in the coal cars, some workers they did not know made something like roofs out of boards. The roofs were attached to the edges of the coal cars, which made closed boxes out of the cars. The train loaded with prisoners stood at the station for about 5 hours. It then traveled for several hours, after which it stopped, and pieces of bread were thrown into the cars. The transport reached Dörnhau the next morning, having traveled 12 or so hours.

The evacuation claimed many victims, primarily in the group that was on foot. The exact number is unknown. The surviving records only provide information that on April 14 and April 15, 1945, the Dörnhau camp admitted approximately 200 prisoners from Bad Warmbrunn.[4] The sick prisoners were left at Dörnhau. Two days later, the others were moved to the Schotterwerk camp (in the town of Oberwüstegiersdorf, later Głuszyca Górna), then to the Erlenbusch camp. On about May 4 or 5, 1945, they were transported to the Dörnhau camp again, where they were liberated by the Red Army.

Probably not all Bad Warmbrunn prisoners were evacuated. Mostowicz states that a dozen or so of the most ill were left in camp. According to Doctor Lohr, who also stayed behind, the prisoners were evacuated on foot, but they were denied admittance to the new camp because of their exposure to typhus and were sent back to Bad Warmbrunn. Many of them could not endure the hardships of the march and, unable to walk, were shot by the SS men escorting them. Only a few returned to Bad Warmbrunn.[5] No records exist of what happened to them after that.

The camp commander's name is unknown. The following names of staff exist in court records: Herman Schöps, born on August 2, 1901, was tried after the war and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on September 29, 1947, by the Jelenia Góra District Court; Erich Müller, born on August 30, 1896, was tried after the war and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on October 15, 1947, by the Jelenia Góra District Court.[6]

SOURCES Unfortunately, there is no account entirely devoted to this camp. Information concerned with Bad Warmbrunn was found in Alfred Konieczny, "Więźniowie żydowscy w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," SKhS 1 (1989); as well as in memoirs of former prisoner of the camp Arnold Mostowicz, *Zótta gwiazda i czerwony krzyz* (Warsaw: PIW, 1988). In addition, an article written about another former prisoner of this camp, Doctor Emil Vogel, is partly concerned with Bad Warmbrunn: see Józef Witkowski, "Dr. Emil Vogel," *PL* 1 (1968).

Information concerning members of the SS can be found in Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warszawa: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu-Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992).

The most important archive materials concerning Bad Warmbrunn are memoirs and reports of former prisoners. Most of the documents can be found in the AMGR, including catalog No. 5919/DP (account of Arnold Mostowicz), catalog No. DP/5919, DP-A/999 (Daniel Wulkan's questionnaires), catalog No. 108/2/MF (Lechenbuch Dörnhau); and catalog No. 2330/DP (patient roster for 5/9/45, hospital for former concentration camp prisoners at Gieszcze Puste). Collections of memoirs are also available in the following archives: YVA, AŻIH, and AK-IPN.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Nuremberg Trial records, NO-597.
2. AMGR, catalog No. 5919/DP (account by Arnold Mostowicz); Józef Witkowski, "Dr. Emil Vogel," *PL* 1 (1968); 179.
3. AMGR, catalog No. DP/5919, DP-A/999 (Daniel Wulkan's questionnaires and personal findings based on a study of known names of Bad Warmbrunn prisoners).
4. AMGR, catalog No. 108/2/MF (Lechenbuch Dörnhau); catalog No. 2330/DP (patient roster for May 9, 1945, hospital for former concentration camp prisoners at Gieszcze Puste).
5. AMGR, report of examination of Otto Lohr, dated January 14, 1970.
6. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu-Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992), Items 1075, 1372.

BAUSNITZ

Originally, there was one forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, ZAL) for Jews in Bausnitz (Bohuslavice nad Úpou, Czech Republic). It was a women's camp under the authority of the Office of the Special Plenipotentiary of the RFSS and Chief of the German Police for the Use of Foreign Labor in Upper Silesia (Amt des Sonderbeauftragten des RFSS and Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien), also known as Organisation Schmelt. On March 23, 1944, the camp, in which mostly young Jewish women and girls were imprisoned, was taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.[1] The subcamp in question was very small, and the number of prisoners remained relatively constant. Initially, in April 1944, there were 60; in July, 70; by October 17, there were 67 prisoners.[2]

The age distribution shows complete dominance by women and girls between 15 and 30 years of age; 53 of the women were from Poland and 16 from Hungary. They had to work in the textile factories of Ignatz Etrich. According to some sporadic sources, the subcamp was put under the immediate administrative auspices of Gross-Rosen's largest subcamp, Parschnitz.[3] More detailed information on the life within the camp and its end is not available. Despite the lack of informa-

tion, one can assume that the majority of the Jewish women were rescued.

SOURCES The basis for this entry is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). I have also relied on Miroslav Kryl's article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it was Hans Brenner who completed earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek devoted his attention to a singular event, a theatrical play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T. The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (criminal trials against the former wardresses). Finally, there is the firm's archive at Texlen Trutnov; in the 1970s, its former head, Vladimír Wolf, made accessible to Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area contained in the files of the German textile firm for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981), p. 19.

2. Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), p. 275; Kryl and Chládková, *Pobočky*, p. 50.

3. Kryl and Chládková, *Pobočky*, pp. 39–40, 49–50.

BAUTZEN

In the first months of 1944, on the initiative of factory director Dr. Johann Reichert, who had previously "aryanized" the Jewish-owned company after *Kristallnacht*, the Bautzen-based plant of the Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG Busch (WUMAG) opened negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in order to obtain concentration camp prisoners to strengthen its labor force. The WUMAG factory in Bautzen, which belonged to the Flick corporation and was producing railway cars for German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn), faced a labor crisis due to the increased call-up of German workers to the Wehrmacht at that time. It was clear that the number of prisoners of war (POWs) deployed in the factory was no longer sufficient, and the company had to seek new labor sources in order to fulfill its production requirements.

Following the deployment of the required prisoners, the WUMAG factory leadership also aggressively tried to obtain a certificate of urgency from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, which was supplying the prisoners, to help them get the necessary materials for the construction of the prison camp, such as wood, barbed wire, fencing mesh, and nails.[1]

Construction of the barracks camp began on September 29, 1944, by the factory's own employees. Then, on October 17, a transport of 100 prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, which was deployed initially on completing the camp and fencing in the workshops intended for them.[2]

In December 1944, two further transports each of 200 concentration camp prisoners arrived in Bautzen, which brought the total strength of the Bautzen subcamp to 500 prisoners. However, the WUMAG leadership still viewed this number as insufficient and attempted to obtain more prisoners from Gross-Rosen. Apparently, they were unsuccessful; camp records indicate that on February 10, 1945, there were 498 prisoners in the Bautzen subcamp.[3]

The hard 12- to 14-hour shifts in the workshops and carrying materials, the insufficient and scarcely edible food, and the clothing that was totally inadequate during winter all led to malnourishment, physical exhaustion, and diseases such as tuberculosis. Almost every day, the number of prisoners capable of work declined, and the number of deaths increased. In the Death Books I and II of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp for 1945, 28 prisoner deaths are recorded for the Bautzen subcamp just for the period between February 6 and April 10, 1945.[4] The actual number of prisoners who died during this period was much higher, as according to an instruction issued by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the deaths of Poles, Russians and other Soviet citizens, Jews, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were no longer to be recorded. A list of victims of the Bautzen subcamp now held at the Gross-Rosen memorial site indicates 127 deaths.[5] This list is also incomplete, as it is based only on information supplied sporadically by survivors.

Until January 1945, the corpses of the dead were taken several times per week in a factory truck to the crematorium in Görlitz to be burned. Then commandant SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Jannasch announced his intention to have the corpses burned in the factory furnace, since the approaching front prevented their being taken to Görlitz, but protests from the factory workers prevented him from following through with his plan. In consequence, the SS camp leadership from then on had the corpses driven in a truck to the sand pits close to the Jewish cemetery in Muskauer Strasse,

where they were buried. During an exhumation in 1950, 202 bodies were found there. They were reburied at the Jewish cemetery.[6]

The prisoners were guarded by a force of about 60 or 70 men, which included about 30 or 40 Ukrainian auxiliaries (Hiwis). SS-Unterscharführer Edmund Kersten and SS-Rottenführer Gusa assisted commandant Jannasch as block leaders. Wilhelm Bahr served in a medical rank.[7]

The SS relied upon several Kapos, who were as effective as the SS men in terrorizing the prisoners. Many survivors reported on the bestial treatment of the prisoners by the camp staff.[8] A report by German worker Martin Krause confirms this penetratingly:

> A column of prisoners returned from digging trenches. The Kapos demanded that the prisoners enter the camp marching in goose-step, although they could scarcely walk. Once they arrived on the parade ground, they had to form up in several lines. An SS-officer emerged from one of the barracks and called two prisoners . . . by their numbers, to step forward. Two Kapos and two SS-men, each armed with a cable almost as thick as your arm, beat up the two prisoners. Even when they were already lying unconscious on the ground, they continued beating them. While the other prisoners retired to the barracks, the thugs grabbed the two prisoners by the feet and dragged them to the door of one of the barracks and then threw them inside.[9]

From February 15, 1945, the prisoners were no longer deployed in the WUMAG workshops but in digging trenches and constructing fortifications and tank traps.

Evacuation transports from other subcamps arrived in Bautzen, including from the Gross-Rosen subcamps of Niesky/Brandhofen and Kamenz. The Jewish concentration camp prisoner Roman König arrived at the Bautzen subcamp during the last weeks of its existence, together with an evacuation column from the Buchenwald subcamp Schlieben. He was arrested as a 14-year-old in 1940 and had been through the Kraków ghetto, then on to Radom, and finally sent to Schlieben. For him and 200 fellow prisoners, the march, whose course had been deadly for many of his comrades, ended in Bautzen. While an unknown number of sick prisoners remained behind in Bautzen, he had to set out on the evacuation march on April 19, together with the other prisoners who seemed capable of marching. He wrote:

> In great haste we had to load up the equipment of the camp and the possessions of the commandant onto large horse carts. Twenty prisoners had to pull each cart. Initially we went to Neukirch, then on to Neudörfel in the present-day Czech Republic [Nova Víska]. Nobody knew for sure, but everybody suspected that this would be our final destination. When we went on parade the next morning, behind the parade ground stood a truck, loaded with machine guns, concealed under a tarpaulin. The camp was to be "liquidated" in the official terminology. However, the local population wouldn't stand for it. Not on our behalf, but out of fear that the advancing troops might flatten the village, if they heard about the massacre. Still, when the commandant got mad—we had to move on . . . the final destination for us was a former camp for eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*) in Nixdorf [Mikulasovice]. On May 8, our guards silently abandoned the camp, even leaving behind their weapons.[10]

During the march, the prisoners who were unable to walk had been loaded onto a vehicle. However, the SS guards shot them in a wood before the group reached Wölmsdorf (Vilémov).[11]

SOURCES A publication edited by VEB Waggonbau Bautzen, *Waggonbauer pflegen revolutionäre Traditionen. Aus der Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers in der Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik vorm. Busch Bautzen* (Bautzen: VEB Waggonbau, 1983), contains relevant information on the Bautzen subcamp.

Documentation on the Bautzen subcamp can be found in the following archives: BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66); SÚA in Prague (KT/OVS 24); AMGR; and ASt-BZ (Rep. XI-NS).

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. See VEB Waggonbau Bautzen, ed., *Waggonbauer pflegen revolutionäre Traditionen. Aus der Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers in der Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik vorm. Busch Bautzen* (Bautzen: VEB Waggonbau, 1983), p. 8.
2. *Postanowienie Okręgowej Komisj Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich we Wroclawiu 1977* (OKBZHW), p. 157, as cited by Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987).
3. Ibid., p. 9.
4. SÚA, KT/OVS 24, Totenbücher I und II/1945 des KZ Gross-Rosen.
5. AMGR, DP No. 5036, Lista więźniów Bautzen.
6. *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), pp. 623–624.
7. AMGR, DP No. 5036, p. 5.
8. OKBZHW, Report, p. 159.
9. Quoted from *Waggonbauer*, p. 13.
10. Sächs Z, April 25, 1995, p. 3.
11. Quoted from *Waggonbauer*, p. 15.

BERNSDORF

Bernsdorf (now Bernartice, Czech Republic) was initially a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, ZAL) for Jewish women. It was established in June 1941 and placed under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt. On March 18, 1944, it

became a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. At that point, the SS undertook a selection at the camp; about 200 young women and girls remained, while the weak and sick ones were sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau (and most likely to their deaths). In their place, in the summer of 1944, came about 300 Jews taken from various transports to Auschwitz (after selection there). In the autumn, smaller transports arrived from Gross-Rosen subcamps in Wiesau and Sackisch. From this time on, the camp was also under the auspices of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz." SS guards, presumably Ukrainians, began to guard the camp as of the spring of 1945.

The imprisoned women were subjugated to forced labor in the spinning mills of the Johann Etrich and Berko firms. The largest number of prisoners, including those in the Schatzlar camp, was reached in the summer of 1944: 425 women, with 323 coming from Poland, 91 from Hungary, 5 from Bohemia, 4 from Slovakia, and 2 from Germany. More than half of them were between 15 and 30 years of age. In Bernsdorf, the prisoners were kept in wooden barracks. As of the autumn of 1944 until the spring of 1945, there was a maximum of about 320 young women and girls in the camp. Hunger, inadequate and constantly deteriorating nourishment, and the heavy labor resulted in a typhus epidemic. Two deaths have been confirmed; two other cases remain as probable.

Cultural activities took place in Bernsdorf. In the "Hungarian" barracks especially there were narrations about literary works (e.g., K. Čapek, H. Ibsen, H.G. Wells) and recitations (also from the dramas by F. Schiller). Two books were also put together of poetry in German and Hungarian that prior to the end of the war had been forbidden.

The SS guards fled the camp on May 9, 1945. Several wardresses were captured by the prisoners. Two of the wardresses were later convicted by the court in Jičín and sent to jail. The director of the Etrich factory dissolved the camp prior to the arrival of the Red Army, which was enthusiastically greeted by the prisoners on May 10, 1945.

The decent behavior and humanity of camp commander Maria Mühl are worthy of mention. According to former prisoners' accounts, her treatment of prisoners stood in contrast to the beatings, sometimes sadistic mistreatment, and verbal abuse of others.

SOURCES The basis for this article is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). The author also relied on Miroslav Kryl, "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek devoted his attention to a singular event, a theatrical play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T. The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (criminal trials against the former wardresses). Finally, there is the firm's archive at Texlen Trutnov; in the 1970s, its former head, Vladimír Wolf, made accessible to Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau (Trutnov) area contained in the files of the German textile firm for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERSDORF-FRIEDEBERG

The Bersdorf-Friedeberg subcamp was established near Friedeberg (now Mirsk), located to the south of Greiffenberg (now Gryfów Śląski) at the foot of the Izer Mountains (German: Isergebirge, Polish: Izerskie). The exact location is unknown.

There is a reference to the establishment of the Gross-Rosen subcamp in the account of former prisoner Greta Majzelsówna.

After the labor camp at Egelsdorf was closed down in May 1944, the prisoners living there—Jewish women who had been transported there from the transit camp at Sosnowitz—were moved to a "nearby concentration camp."[1] That was the forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, ZAL) Bersdorf-Friedeberg. The camp was situated on a hill. It consisted of wooden barracks painted green. On May 27, 1944—the day on which the group of Jewish women from Egelsdorf arrived there—it was already inhabited by 80 young Jewish women.

According to the account by witness Majzelsówna, a group of SS men from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp arrived at the camp in July 1944 before Bersdorf-Friedeberg was converted into a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. "One day in July, the Sturmbannführer and several other Germans from the Gross-Rosen headquarters are turning our labor camp into a concentration camp. They give us speeches and explain that now there will be justice and it will be better in every respect."[2] The female prisoners were allocated camp numbers, and 15 female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) in green uniforms were left to supervise the camp.

Living conditions were unsatisfactory. As in other camps, food was in short supply. To satisfy their hunger, prisoners gathered cabbage leaves and potatoes. They also ate cooked linseed, which they gathered in nearby factories—flax-crushing plants—where they worked.

From Majzelsówna's scanty account, we cannot arrive at more detailed information. There are no references to life in

the camp or the plants where the prisoners worked. The evacuation of the Bersdorf-Friedeberg camp began in February 1945. After two days of arduous marching in the cold and without food, the prisoners reached Gross-Rosen Kratzau (present-day Chrastava in the Czech Republic) subcamp.

SOURCES Information in this camp may be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stan badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państ. Wydaw. Naukowe, 1979).

The AŻIH's account collection also contains material on this camp.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Account No. 538 of Greta Majzelsówna.
2. Ibid.

BIESNITZER GRUND [AKA GÖRLITZ]

Biesnitz, a village to the southwest of Görlitz that was incorporated into the city of Görlitz in 1951, was the location of a Jewish forced labor camp that was under the control of the Organisation Schmelt from May 1943 to January 1944. The inmates worked in the Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG Görlitz (WUMAG) until they were transported away in early 1944. Jews were held in the Biesnitzer Grund camp again starting in August 1944 when it served as a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. In the same month, 250 Jewish prisoners arrived in Biesnitz; 225 came from Auschwitz (Jews from Hungary, Slovakia, and Rothenia), and the remaining 25 arrived straight from Gross-Rosen. From Fünfteichen, also a Gross-Rosen subcamp, 403 Jews were sent to Biesnitz at the end of August 1944 after having been shunted off as less productive. On September 5, 1944, between 500 and 800 Jews arrived at the Biesnitz camp from the dissolved Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto, among them 300 Hungarian and Slovakian women housed in quarters separate from the male prisoners. Finally, at the end of March 1945, between 120 and 180 women from the Gross-Rosen Ludwigsdorf subcamp arrived at the Biesnitzer Grund camp. The total number of inmates seems to have ranged between 900 and later 1,200 male and female prisoners of Jewish origin; a report dated December 5, 1944, mentions 1,406 inmates (1,106 males and 300 females). Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer estimate a figure as high as 1,570 to 1,630 Jewish prisoners, of whom one-third were women.



The Biesnitzer Grund subcamp of Gross-Rosen, shortly after liberation in May 1945; visible to the right is the disused brickworks.
USHMM WS #16474, COURTESY OF TANEK ZNAMIROWSKI

The Nazis had a wooden fence built around the Biesnitzer Grund subcamp. Wire capable of conducting electricity was tensioned between the long posts, and a so-called trip wire was crisscrossed between the shorter posts. The barbed wire was electrified. There were probably 11 barracks in the male camp, of which 9 functioned as accommodation barracks. In the other 2 barracks, there was a kitchen, washroom, infirmary, and supply store. In the nearby female camp, there were only 2 or 3 barracks. In the Biesnitzer Grund camp, there was a disused brick mill with a machinery room and installations such as kilns and drying facilities for the raw bricks. Barracks for the guards and camp commander, Wehrmacht officer Erich Rechenberg (born 1901), were located outside the fenced-in camp. Rechenberg's apartment was furnished with modern furniture. SS-Oberscharführer Joachim Zunker, born in 1917, served as camp leader (Lagerführer), and the camp elder (Lagersältester) was Hermann Czech, a criminal previously held in a Görlitz prison. After World War II, Zunker and Czech were sentenced to death by a Polish court. The Polish prisoner dentist Dr. Jaakov Kinrus recalls a few Jews from Greece as well as the later chairman of the Jewish community in Cologne, Kessler, as being in the Biesnitzer Grund camp. The Oberlagerführer, as he was called by the prisoners, always carried a leather whip when inspecting the camp, which he used for the slightest infraction of the rules. Arthur Berndt told about a Kapo who beat the prisoners when the loads they had to carry were too heavy for them.

There were different labor detachments with different tasks. Some of the prisoners slaved in the wagon construction area of the WUMAG, which now constructed mostly armored vehicles. Others were exploited in the machine construction area of Factory C where grenades were built. Constant working with heavy iron materials, the building blocks for the grenades, was a torture for the prisoners. It was even more difficult for those who worked at the ovens or the nearby metal presses. Only the Germans were permitted to wear masks when the tanks were sprayed with acetone for camouflage. Jaakov Kinrus, who worked in the munitions factory, was witness to intentional acts of sabotage by the prisoners. The prisoners worked 12 hours a day. In addition, there were roll calls in the camps. After hours there were constant controls to check whether the prisoners returned to the camp with fruit, bread, or food found in the garbage. The punishment for being caught was 5 to 10 blows with a whip. There were also more gruesome punishments.

The inadequate food was poorly prepared. Even the midday meal consisted of only cabbage and horse meat. Many of these unfortunate prisoners had problems with their feet; while marching they had to be supported by others or pulled on carts. The Görlitz medical doctor, Dr. Hans-Joachim Kautschke, regarded as a half-Jew, was shocked at the sight of the hungry prisoners, dressed in rags, from the Biesnitzer Grund subcamp. Women from Görlitz who were caught giving the prisoners food had to answer to the Nazis. Together with Jewish doctors from Hungary and Dr. Jakobson from Łódź, Dr. Jaakov Kinrus worked in the camp's small hospital. They could not prevent deaths from the heavy labor, the constant lack of food, and the inhuman camp conditions. According to evidence from a trial, a city firm collected, between 1943 and February 1945, 20 to 25 corpses a week. From the statistics, one can conclude that between April 1944 and February 1945, 148 Jews were cremated; 100 of the names suggest Polish citizens, a few Soviets, and the rest German Jews. From February 1945, the concentration camp dead were hastily buried in mass graves not far from the Jewish cemetery. The high weekly count of corpses also probably has something to do with the secret execution of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Polish prisoners, which took place at Biesnitzer Grund.

The Biesnitzer Grund subcamp, together with the Görlitz population, was forcibly evacuated on February 18, 1945, in face of the advance of the Soviet Army from the northeast. An inhuman march, interrupted by shootings, led through the villages of Kunnerwitz, Friedersdorf, Sohland, and Altbernsdorf to Rennersdorf. Later the bodies of 10 to 12 prisoners were discovered who had most likely been shot because they could no longer walk. In the abandoned Kunnerwitz manor, 13 murder victims were found in the cess pit. At the edge of the forest near Sohland, it is thought that 20 prisoners were shot because they took beets for fodder from a haystack; 11 of the camp inmates are buried in the Rennersdorf cemetery. A number of witness statements refer to other deaths during the evacuation march. However, as Nazi Party (NSDAP) District Leader Bruno Malitz needed the prisoners for fortification works and tank barriers, he ordered that they march back. After three weeks, the concentration camp prisoners who survived the barbaric march arrived back in Görlitz, where they were finally liberated by the Soviet Army on May 8, 1945. In February 1948, 173 corpses were discovered in two of the mass graves opened in the Jewish cemetery, the victims of the inhuman prison conditions and violence between the middle of February 1945 and May 8, 1945.

Between April 6 and April 22, 1948, two of the main culprits were tried before a German regional court (Landgericht) at Bautzen in the Görlitz city hall. The two accused were the last Nazi mayor (Oberbürgermeister), Dr. Hans Meinshausen, and Dr. Bruno Malitz. According to the local press that closely followed the trial, they were "the first Nazi prisoners of this category who were tried in the Soviet Occupation Zone, after they had disappeared in the Western Zone, where they were caught." Although both denied what they thought they could deny, they received death sentences, which were justified by their criminal policies.

SOURCES This essay is based mostly on relevant extracts from a brochure by Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen—KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996); as well as on Ernst Kretzschmar, *Widerstandskampf Görlitzer Antifaschisten 1933–1945. Erinnerungen, Dokumente, Kurzbiographien* (Görlitz: Kreiskommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, 1973); Roland Otto, *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Görlitz unter der faschistischen Diktatur 1933–1945* (Görlitz: Stadtverwaltung Görlitz, 1990); and *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus—eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). References to Biesnitzer Grund can be found in Erich Koksch and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation 2, 1918–1945, Görlitzer Arbeiterbewegung* (Görlitz: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1984); Koksch and Ohlig, *Chronik zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes in der Stadt Görlitz 1933–1945* (Görlitz: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1982); and the popular brochure compiled mostly by Ernst Kretzschmar, *Görlitz unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Görlitz: Bildchronik, 1982). See also the book by former prisoner Shlomo Graber, *Shlajme. Von Ungarn durch Auschwitz-Birkenau, Fünfteichen und Görlitz nach Israel. Jüdische Familiengeschichte von 1859–2001* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2002).

The RAG holds press clippings on the Malitz-Meinshausen trial; state prosecutor Rolf Helm who brought the charges wrote the following articles: "Das Urteil von Görlitz," *Wb*, May 11, 1948; and "Mit Schweiss und Blut gedüngter Boden im Biesnitzer Grund," *SächsZ*, July 8, 1955. Only one RAG file deals directly with charges against Bruno Malitz and Hans Meinshausen in 1948. Three reports from Jewish citizens from Poland about their deportation to Germany (including the Biesnitzer Grund camp) are held in YVA in Jerusalem; Arthur Berndt mentions the camp in his memoirs on his forced labor at the WUMAG between 1943 and 1945.

Roland Otto
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BIRNBÄUMEL

Birnbäumel, a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, operated from 1944 to 1945 in Birnbäumel (present-day Gruszeczka near Milicz, Lower Silesia Province). The camp was situated near the road from Sulau (Sułów) to Birnbäumel, in a spot totally surrounded by woods. It was one of many camps in the region and one of four operating in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp system created in connection with the "Barthold Operation," that is, the defense of Lower Silesia Province against the oncoming offensive of Soviet forces.

The first and probably last prisoner transport arrived at Birnbäumel from the Auschwitz concentration camp on October 22, 1944. The group comprised 1,000 women, all Jewish, with numbers from 78501 to 79500.

No data is available on the death rate among prisoners. At least one execution occurred: Irene Scheer, prisoner number 78787, born on June 3, 1900, was sentenced to death by hanging for trying to escape from the camp. The sentence was carried out on November 17, 1944, at 3:45 P.M. Fellow prisoners Hilda Tanzer (number 78784) and Sidonia Hirsch (number 78645) were to participate in the execution. Reported in camp records, the event was not noted in the only known account of a former prisoner. In her opinion, there were no murders in the camp.

The camp was ruled by SS men unknown by name, aided by Wehrmacht soldiers who supervised the prisoners during work. The Birnbäumel subcamp prisoners worked at various earthmoving jobs associated with building trenches. The Unternehmen Barthold, a company whose operations staff was located in the village of Kraschnitz (Krośnice), 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the village of Hochweiler (Wierchowice), was formed for the supervision and coordination of projects conducted in the region.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 23, 1945. The prisoners were led on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp and then transported to Bergen-Belsen in freight cars. A group of about 20 prisoners escaped from the evacuation column as the march began and were liberated in Birnbäumel.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on the monographs by Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stań badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); and Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); as well as the article by Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Sśsn* 9 (1982). Additional sources used were witness interrogations as well as reports from the investigation conducted on the camps and on crimes committed in 1944–1945 in the towns of Sieczko and Bukolewo. This material, which was acquired from the Okręgowa Komisja Badań Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland), is located in the AMGR, catalog No. DP/6500.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

BOLKENHAIN

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bolkenhain (later Bolków) most probably came into being in August 1944. The camp was located on the outskirts of Bolkenhain toward Wolmsdorf (Wolbromek), on a small hill now called Góra Ryszarda. The prisoner camp was made up of five barracks: three living barracks, an infirmary (*Revier*) and sewing and shoemaking shops in the fourth, and a bathhouse and bathrooms in the fifth barrack made of brick. There were several rooms in each living barrack; each room housed several dozen people. The camp headquarters, kitchen, and guardhouse were located outside the camp fence.

The exact number of prisoners in the camp is not known. According to the account of former prisoner Leopold Sokołowski, the camp population on any given day was approximately 600 prisoners, and a total of over 800 people passed through the camp during its existence (between August 1944 and February 1945).[1]

The prisoners were exclusively male. Almost all of them were Jewish. They mainly came from Hungary and Poland; several dozen of them were Greek nationals. Only a few functionary prisoners were Polish and German.

Two prisoner transports sent to the Bolkenhain camp are known. They both came from the main camp at Gross-Rosen. The first arrived in late August 1944 and numbered over 600 people. The definite majority, approximately 400, were Hungarian Jews. But there were also in this transport approximately 200 Polish Jews who had previously been transported to Gross-Rosen from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp and several dozen Greek Jews.

The other known transport arrived at Bolkenhain in early 1945. It included approximately 200 Jewish prisoners who had previously been evacuated from the Auschwitz concentration camp.[2]

The living conditions in the camp were quite hard. There was only cold water in the bathhouse, and "bathing" took place once a week. At that time, the Kapos would pour warm water into several brick troughs about 1.5 × 0.4 × 0.5 meters (1.64 × .44 × .55 yards), into which they placed four prisoners at a time. Prodded on by the Kapos, the prisoners had to wash quickly. Due to the crowding and amount of time they had, it was impossible to wash appropriately, so the prisoners only came out of those "baths" a little wet. The camp was very heavily infested with lice, and the prisoners had to eliminate lice on their own. Everyday the barrack chiefs had to send the camp elder (Lagerältester) glasses full of the caught lice. The prisoners treated the duty of catching lice every day as persecution. Since that method of delousing the camp did not provide the anticipated effects, a "lice infestation inspection" was ordered. The inspection took place when the prisoners came back from work on the day shift. The prisoners stood on the assembly ground the whole night waiting to be admitted to the hospital, where the doctors counted the lice on each prisoner, and the camp scribe made a list. This operation ended in the only disinfection in the camp's entire existence. Unfortunately, it did not improve the situation.

Some Bolkenhain prisoners attempted to escape from the camp; unfortunately, no information exists on whether any of the attempts were successful. However, information has survived of the executions of three prisoners caught after failed escape attempts: Aron Farkas, a Hungarian Jew, born on July 23, 1898, in Tinaboken, was hung on September 28, 1944.[3] Samuel Janowitz, also a Hungarian Jew, born on March 14, 1926, in Muszt, was hung on October 13, 1944. Fellow prisoners Marton Friedman and Kalmar Grünspan were designated to carry out the execution.[4] Henryk Laufer, a Polish Jew, was hung on November 30, 1944. Fellow prisoners Jakub Glücksmann and Benjamin Weimann carried out the execution.[5]

Leopold Sokołowski also described the Lagerführer shooting a prisoner who had stolen handfuls of raw carrots from

the camp kitchen. The tragedy took place during a roll call. First the Lagerführer made a cynical speech about friendship, saying that stealing the carrots was not friendly behavior and deserved only the death penalty in wartime circumstances. He forced the prisoners standing in the roll call to repeat those words, and one of them, beaten by the Lagerführer, had to "deliver" the death penalty. Then the Lagerführer ordered his victim to "go onto the barbed wire." The prisoner got as far as the guard posts and stopped; the Lagerführer then shot him.[6]

According to Sokołowski, the camp death rate was 20 to 25 percent of the inmate population. The naked corpses of prisoners, who had chiefly died of hunger, emaciation, and beating, were kept in a specially prepared, concrete-lined rectangular pit located next to the camp entrance gate. From there they were carted away to the main camp at Gross-Rosen every few days.

Leo Hersch stated that by the time the aforementioned 200-person transport came to Bolkenhain in January 1945, there were only about 300 prisoners living in camp.

The number of SS staff is unknown. SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Karl Wolf, born March 2, 1904, in Schweidnitz, held the post of Lagerführer. He died in April 1945 in unknown circumstances. The only German prisoner in the camp, Hans Henschel, held the post of Lagerältester.

The prisoners worked at Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke, making aircraft parts. They operated metalworking machines, mainly lathes, drills, milling machines, and grinders. The parts they made were then assembled in the other production halls, where the prisoners did not work. Prior to the Bolkenhain prisoners, French prisoners of war had operated the machines. They also trained their replacements. The prisoners punched time cards in the production hall to document their work time.

A small group of prisoners made up what was called the Aussenkommando, which worked building roads or streets. Due to the ever more frequent standstills in the factory, in the final weeks of the camp's existence, some prisoners were put to work cutting down trees in the vicinity of Bolkenhain.

The Bolkenhain camp existed until approximately mid-February 1945. Two days before the camp was abandoned, the sick prisoners were probably murdered with poison injections. Their number ranges between 62[7] and 150 to 200 people.[8] The bodies of the murdered people were buried in a mass grave prepared earlier.

The evacuation began around February 15 and included approximately 500 people. The prisoners were prodded along on foot via snow-covered side roads toward the city of Hirschberg (later Jelenia Góra). During the march, the Lagerführer, aided by the Lagerältester, selected several dozen weak prisoners, who were shot by the SS men escorting them.[9] After two days of marching, the prisoners reached the Hirschberg camp. There they stopped for several days.

The Bolkenhain prisoners continued their journey along with the Hirschberg prisoners. The column, now numbering approximately 1,000 people, was prodded on toward the town of Reichenau (later Rychnov in the Czech Republic), which they reached in the final days of February. The prisoners were loaded onto open freight cars at the Reichenau train station and transported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. The prisoners were not given any food during the trip from Reichenau to Buchenwald, which lasted about five days. Sokołowski recalled that, under those circumstances, the trip claimed numerous lives.

On March 7, 1945, 905 men from the transport were admitted to the Buchenwald concentration camp. They were mainly Jewish prisoners from the Hirschberg and Bolkenhain camps, as well as a dozen or so non-Jewish prisoners who joined the transport at Reichenau station and were from the Reichenau camp. It has not been determined how many of these prisoners had come from the evacuation at the Bolkenhain camp.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Bolkenhain subcamp: Bogdan Cybulski, "żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Studia nad faszyzmeni i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi* 4 (1979); and Konieczny, "Nowe dokumenty o egzekucjach w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *AUW*, no. 642 (1982). Certain information concerning this subcamp can also be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Archive materials concerning the Bolkenhain subcamp are mainly former prisoners' accounts and memoirs. They can be found in the following archives: AMGR, AŻIH, and AK-IPN in Warsaw. Documents concerning executions conducted (e.g., in Bad Warmbrunn) can be found in the archives of the ITS in Arolsen.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 5758/642/DP—Account of Leopold Sokołowski; and 8751/6/DP—Correspondence of L. Sokołowski with the Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Former Prisoners Club of Warsaw, dated August 8, 1960, and August 18, 1960.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 721 filed by Leo Hersch.
3. ITS, Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Collection, 52: 73–74.
4. Ibid., 52: 99–100.
5. AK-IPN, Microfilm Collection, M-623, Frames 22–23.
6. AMGR, 5758/642/DP—Account of Leopold Sokołowski.
7. AŻIH, Account No. 5488, filed by Henryk Fuchsmann, July 23, 1945.
8. AMGR, 6500/9-d/DP—Poznań District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes to the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, letter, dated February 17, 1973. Contains information from materials collected by the Public Prosecutor's Office at the National Court in Braunschweig, which conducted the investigation in the matter of the crimes committed at the Bolkenhain camp.
9. Ibid.

BRESLAU-HUNDSFELD

The Breslau-Hundsfeld subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, located in what is now Wrocław's Psie Pole section, was probably formed in July 1944 to meet the needs of the Rheinmetall-Borsig corporation, which produced bomb fuses and anti-aircraft gun sights. From the reports of the Wrocław Armaments Command's war diary (*Kriegstagebuch des Rüstungskommandos Breslau*), it is known that on June 18, 1944, there were meetings at the Rheinmetall-Borsig company about building the camp quickly. However, operations to use Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners for Rheinmetall-Borsig were being undertaken by the aviation section of the Breslau Arms Inspection Agency considerably earlier, in the first quarter of 1943.

At all the women's subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, including Breslau-Hundsfeld, all the arriving prisoners were Jewish, mainly from Poland and Hungary. This is confirmed by the testimony of Elfride Stephan (who served as a guard in the camp starting October 1, 1944) that only Jewish women lived at Breslau-Hundsfeld.[1]

The first group of prisoners was probably put in the newly formed camp in October 1944. They came from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp (perhaps because of that camp's planned evacuation). The number of prisoners who came and went through the camp is not known; they probably received numbers ranging from 49501 to 54000.

There is no information on working and living conditions in the camp. All that is known is that the diet was very poor. The women were convoyed from the camp to the factory by female guards who also watched them during work. They worked 12 hours a day.

Gross-Rosen concentration camp headquarters records for December 30, 1944, list as camp leader (Lagerführer) for the Breslau-Hundsfeld subcamp the name of Emma Kowa, born October 31, 1915, in Pforzheim. Besides the aforementioned Elfride Stephan, the following guards' names are also known: Gerda Glowacki and Emilia Welzbach, as well as SS-Schützen Lenz, Loy, and Lukossek. On May 27, 1947, Stephan was sentenced to three years of incarceration by the Świdnica District Court. It is also known that the Mannheim District Attorney's investigation against Welzbach was discontinued in 1972 due to the statue of limitations pertaining to the acts with which she was charged.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 25, 1945. The prisoners were first sent to the main camp. Their further fate is unknown.

SOURCES This is not a well-documented Gross-Rosen subcamp; as a result, fundamental published works generally regarding Gross-Rosen subcamps were used. These include Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogóznica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn*, 40 (1982); and Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975).

ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of female prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawy's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Oboz koncentracyjny na Slasku* (Wrocław, 1990), were also taken into account.

Also used were documents at AMGR (AMGR, sygn. 7613/ DP), in which the female official of the Breslau-Hundsfeld camp is mentioned. Information regarding the staff of this camp also originates from investigative and court reports kept at AK-IPN in Warsaw (AMGR, sygn. 47/39/MF). Helpful are also notes of a former prisoner, Roman Olszyn, located in the materials acquired by him pertaining to the history of subcamps (AMGR, sygn. 8751/ DP).

Anna Gołembiecka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMGR, sygn. 47/39/MF, material of the AK-IPN at Warsaw.

BRESLAU-LISSA

The Breslau-Lissa (now Wrocław-Leśnica) subcamp came into being in mid-August 1942. The first prisoner transport probably arrived there on August 18, 1942. This was, therefore, the first subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The camp was formed to support an SS military facilities complex: barracks, a large firing ground, and an ammunition depot. The prisoners were put to work expanding the facilities and those within a kilometer of the camp. They also worked for the Paul Urbansky company, building roads, and unloading cargo at the nearby railroad station, especially beginning in autumn 1944. It was at that time that building materials and various equipment started being brought in from Auschwitz to the camp warehouses.

The first prisoners were accommodated in a large wooden barrack with a brick floor and fenced halfway around where earlier there had been an army horse stable. Along the barrack ran bunks on which the prisoners slept side by side on straw (later two-tiered bunks were set up). The horse basins were converted into washrooms, and a dining hall was made out of several makeshift tables and large benches. An infirmary (*Revier*) with bunks for 12 patients was set aside in a corner of the stable.

One more barrack for prisoners was built at a later time. The storeroom and kitchen were located separately in a small barrack, as well as a small infirmary where only emergency aid was provided. There was also a small assembly ground. The small camp was fenced with barbed wire with watchtowers in the corners. Outside the camp there was what was called a guardhouse, and right at the gate was a building housing the camp command post and commander's quarters.

The initial transport numbered 150 prisoners. In all likelihood, only 17 prisoners from that transport survived until March 1943. Another 150 prisoners were sent later.

The initial period of the camp's operation was very difficult for the inmates. Living conditions were extremely hard; the prisoners were nagged by hunger and incessant repressive measures by the staff and the German prisoner-functionaries. There were many escape attempts, which resulted in more repressive measures, as well as many suicides. The records of the Wrocław Executive Committee (Nadprezydium) contain a report on the escape of a Russian prisoner Wassilij Woronow [Polish spelling], prisoner number 6577, from the Breslau-Lissa camp on July 18, 1943. Apprehended fugitives were sent back to the main camp, but in general prisoners were killed if caught.

The death rate was very high at that time. Bodies were taken to the main camp, and the subcamp's prisoner population was replenished on that basis.

In the camp's next state of existence, the main causes of death were bloody diarrhea, general emaciation of the body, or accidents at the construction site.

In the first quarter of 1943, the prisoner population was probably over 200. The number of prisoners increased over time. On October 24, 1944, at least 174 expert tradesmen prisoners from the evacuated Bauleitung Kommando arrived straight from Auschwitz. The prisoner population was probably over 500 by late 1944.

Russians and Germans were initially in the greatest numbers among prisoners; later Poles predominated. Ukrainians and Czechs were also an appreciable group.

Prisoners were dressed in striped prisoners clothing and had a strip of hair shaved down the middle of their heads.

Later on, living conditions improved considerably and were better than at the main camp or at Auschwitz. What bothered the prisoners the most were the hunger and cold, particularly in late 1944, when few packages were arriving, and the portions of food were decreasing. However, it was sometimes possible to get the remnants of barracks food from Wehrmacht soldiers. The Germans, despite the SS's official ban on prisoners being in the guards' barrack buildings, were glad to let them in and used them for various work. Thanks to this, the prisoners working as glaziers, carpenters, coal carriers, and cleaners had the opportunity of getting warm in heated quarters. Former prisoner Witold Wiśniewski also remembers that they used to make colored plywood animals at the camp carpentry shop and smuggle them into the barracks to exchange them for bread and cigarettes. The prisoners also made custom portraits or Christmas cards with gothic lettering.[1]

The regimen at camp as well as at work had slackened appreciably by late 1944. At Christmastime, the prisoners were even allowed to set up a tree in the guards' barrack dining area and sing carols out loud. In this later stage, there were no acts of terror, for example, brutal beatings or killings of prisoners. The prisoner death rate was also low at that time. Probably only two prisoners died in the final month before evacuation. No incidents of execution of this camp's prisoners are recorded.

The tolerable living conditions at camp were also possible because camp commander SS-Unterscharführer Erich Fischer was favorably inclined toward the prisoners that supported the efforts of the prisoner-functionaries. Even the commander's wife helped the prisoners; she and the prisoner-functionaries arranged to get fox meat from a nearby breeding farm. SS men kept watch over the prisoners at work. The prisoners worked 10 hours; they only worked longer when unloading railroad cars.

There is no information about sabotage on the job. The prisoners communicated with civilian workers, among whom were numerous Poles. Letters were sent via them. The camp doctor, who was permitted to move about the entire construction site, established such close relations with the civilian workers that he was finally moved to Auschwitz concentration camp. SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Barth was the first camp leader (Lagerführer), followed by Erich Fischer.

The evacuation on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp began on January 23, 1945. The march lasted three days. The evacuation column stopped at barns to put up for the night. There were even instances of prisoners receiving some modest food from a local farmer. There were no acts of repression. At the end of the column, the prisoners pulled sleds with provisions and the camp staff's belongings. Thanks to the efforts of the barrack chief and doctor as well as the commander's wife, who ordered the sick and weak to be put in sleds, the Breslau-Lissa prisoners reached their destination in the best condition of all the Breslau area subcamps. They were also sent to a section of Gross-Rosen called the "Auschwitz camp," from where they continued on to Buchenwald concentration camp in February 1945.

SOURCES The most valuable academic works are: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w roku 1945," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975); Konieczny, *Chronologia transportow i numeracja więźniów w KL Gross-Rosen* (Materiaty wewnętrzne Panstwowego Muzeum Gross-Rosen, n.d.).

ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners, as was Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1990).

The Breslau-Lissa camp has a substantially extensive literature of memoirs, which is a rich source of information and accounts of daily camp life. The following works were consulted and used: Andrzej Batat and Wacław Dominik, *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław: wydawn. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnictw, 1980) (the work focuses on life in Fünfteichen camp; it also contains information on the evacuation from the Breslau-Lissa camp); Józef Jabłoński, "Z Radogoszcza do Oświęcimia, Gross-Rosen i Mauthausen," *PL*, Nr. 1 (1969); Józef Zeglen, "Z 'rewiru' w Gross-Rosen," *PL*, Nr. 1 (1969). Witold Wiśniewski's, *Otwierają się bramy obozów* (Warsaw:

wydawn. Książka i Wiedza, 1981) contains detailed descriptions regarding numerous aspects of camp life and is very valuable on specific characteristics of the camp.

The fundamental research materials (accounts, memoirs, autobiographies, correspondence) held at AMGR allowed for the verification of numerous data. Determinations concerning camp officers were verified mainly on the basis of AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP (card index of members of KL Gross-Rosen personnel). Also consulted were AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP (materials from the Club of Former Prisoners of Gross-Rosen in Warsaw); and AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP (materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn).

Another rich source of information are the records of the AK-IPN and AK-IPN WR (copies of interrogations, sentences).

Anna Gołembiecka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Witold Wiśniewski, *Otwierają się bramy obozów* (Warsaw: wydawn. Książka i Wiedza, 1981), pp. 32–33.

BRESLAU I

Few German records about the operation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subcamps in Breslau (Polish: Wrocław) have survived. The information below is based on available studies and on the accounts of witnesses—former prisoners of those camps. Some of the information concerns both Breslau I and Breslau II.

Wrocław's Gross-Rosen subcamps were formed in consequence of an operation to put Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners to work in the Third Reich's arms industry (Breslau I, Breslau II, Breslau-Hundsfeld) and serving the army (Breslau-Lissa).

No exact date can be established for when the Breslau I subsidiary was formed; mid-1944 is most likely. The Breslau weaponry command's war log (*Kriegstagebuch des Rüstungskommandos Breslau*) for the second quarter of 1944 only refers to talks held on June 18, 1944, at the Fahrzeug- und Motorenwerke (Famo-Werke) plant on the construction of the camp, during which the participants stressed that it had to be done soon.

The accounts of former prisoners primarily concern the initial transports to the camp, which had already been set up. Some prisoners recall being transferred from the Breslau II camp to the camp at the Famo-Werke plant in the summer of 1944. They replaced the "civilians" who had lived in the barracks previously, and they worked getting the new camp set up. Some prisoners remained at the camp afterward, and some returned to the Linke Hofmann Werke plant. A prisoner who came to Breslau II from the main camp in the first transport of approximately 60 people, probably in late August 1944, relates that they were also joined by a group of about 60 prisoners assigned to Famo-Werke.[1]

The population of both Breslau I and Breslau II increased only in the autumn of 1944, due to the influx of prisoners to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp after the Warsaw Uprising. They were questioned at the main camp for their occupational suitability and then sent to various subcamps, such as Breslau I (a transport of around 300 prisoners arrived here probably on October 12, 1944).

Breslau I prisoner population figures vary. Studies provide a figure of approximately 2,000 prisoners. Depending on when they were incarcerated in the camp, former prisoners describe the inmate population at from 500 to 2,000. The camp mainly held Poles, as well as Czechs and Russians; there were fewer Yugoslavians, French, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans. The latter initially assumed most of the positions in the camp's prisoner administration.

The camp consisted of wooden barracks (probably 10 in total) with a separate kitchen. The camp was fenced with electrified barbed wire with guard towers set at intervals.

The prisoners were dressed in work overalls with painted phosphorescent bands on the sleeves and a cross on the back, as well as stripes on the pants, to prevent escapes.

Living conditions were difficult. Prisoners slept on bunk beds, two in a bunk. Although some point out that the discipline here was not as harsh as at the main camp, hunger was rife, yet the prisoners had to work hard.

The camp had been organized because of the demand for labor at Famo-Werke, which manufactured aircraft engines and tank parts (most probably caterpillar treads for artillery tractors).

The camp was situated near the factory. SS men guarded the prisoners on their walk to work for their 12-hour shifts. They also checked the number of prisoners at work (roll calls in the factory were mandatory after a prisoner had escaped). German civilian workers supervised the work at the factory. The accounts only mention an Austrian foreman who was not as rigorous as the others and even helped prisoners.[2]

The forced laborers working in the factory tried to provide help, exemplified by the prisoners' letters to families that they sent. Food packages came to the camp more often because of this.

There are no known instances of sabotage. But there were escapes from the factory, such as when two prisoners left the factory premises in a delivery truck and another prisoner who left unnoticed after work with a group of forced laborers.

There are no figures on the number of dead prisoners of this subcamp. Some point out that there were no particular instances of prisoner abuse in the Breslau I subcamp. A former prisoner who held the position of doctor claims that no murders occurred there, and working conditions were considerably better than those at Linke Hofmann Werke, for instance. The prisoner death rate was rather due to pneumonia and diarrhea. Bodies were carted away from the camp.[3]

We only know of one instance of execution, that of a Breslau I prisoner, carried out at the main camp on December 2, 1944. That was the hanging of Russian Nikołaj Szwalke (Schwalke), prisoner number 63988, for attempting to escape from camp on October 26, 1944.

The infirmary was located in a separate small barrack where two doctors and the medical personnel lived. It was very poorly equipped with medical supplies. Sick prisoners of the neighboring Breslau II subsidiary were also admitted here. The decision to admit patients was always up to the SS man supervising the infirmary. Seriously ill people were sent to the main camp (for example, a patient ill with what was called bloody diarrhea was sent back to the subcamp in about a month). There were also instances when prisoners who had been seriously injured at work were taken to Breslau city hospitals. A prisoner injured in an explosion in late 1944 survived to be liberated in a city hospital.

The population was systematically replenished. More prisoners were sent from the main camp as late as early January 1945.

SS-Unterscharführer Körner was camp leader (Lagerführer). His attitude toward prisoners is reported to have been proper. The names of eight rank-and-file members of the Breslau subcamp's staff are also known, chiefly from the surviving equipment receipt book (*Gerätebuch*) II log (which subcamp is unspecified), namely: Ries, Redlich, Seiberling, Barner, Gosso, Stefan Körmöczi, Hark, and Andreas Pataschitsch. It is known that the last person mentioned was sentenced to four years' imprisonment by decree of the Kraków District Court on March 25, 1948.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 23, 1945, at the same time as the other Breslau subcamps (probably excepting Breslau-Hundsfeld). All the prisoners, including sick ones, were sent to Gross-Rosen on foot, under escort by the camp guards. The march lasted several days (the column wove its way through back roads) in the bitter winter cold. The prisoners were forced to pull wagons with the field kitchens, provisions, and the sick, as well as the SS men's belongings. The second night in the barn of a farm was one to remember, as some of the prisoners hid; the Germans found most of them the next morning and shot them.

After reaching the main camp, the prisoners were sent to the unfinished barracks of a section of Gross-Rosen called the "Auschwitz camp," where under terrible conditions, without food or any way to keep warm, they awaited further evacuation to various concentration camps.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica: Wydawn. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975).

The catalog of camps, published by the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Oboz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław: Wydawna Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1990), was also taken into account. Helpful in describing transports to the Breslau I camp and subject matter regarding prisoner employment (often specialists) in the arms (war) industry was Barbara Sawicka's publication *Z powstańczej Warszawy do KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Wydawn. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994).

Among archival sources, the holdings of AMGR stand out: Determinations concerning camp officers were verified mainly on the basis of the Card Index of members of KL Gross-Rosen personnel (AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP). A rich and in practice fundamental source of information proved to be Materiały Klubu byłych Więźniów Gross-Rosen (Materials from the Club of Former Prisoners of Gross-Rosen) in Warsaw (AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP), as well as materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn (AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP). These materials contain accounts, memoirs, autobiographies, and correspondence of former inmates. Also valuable and important sources of information are records of the AK-IPN WR and AK-IPN, with copies of official records (minutes of interrogations, sentences/judgments) and interviews with former prisoners of Gross-Rosen (Group A—sets of questions in acquiring accounts of former prisoners of KL Gross-Rosen).

Anna Gołembiecka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. 5913/3/DP, materiały OKBZHW (materials of the District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes at Wrocław).
2. AMGR, catalog No. 5913/10/DP, 2935/DP.
3. AMGR, catalog No. 6651/DP, 2479.

BRESLAU II

While no exact date for the opening of the Breslau II subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp has been established, research findings point to mid-1944. Accounts by former prisoners show that the first small group (of approximately 60 to 100 prisoners) was sent to Breslau II from the main camp in late August 1944.[1] The prisoners were put in a building at the Linke Hofmann Werke company over Production Hall No. 7 in the factory office space, where they replaced Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They were put to work building barbed-wire fences (the hall was not yet fenced; guards stood at the entrances) and leveling the site for the assembly ground. Meals were brought in from the plant kitchen, and prisoners slept in the hall on straw mattresses (when the camp was completed, they slept on three-decker bunks). It took about four weeks to get the camp ready. Later on, besides the production hall and assembly ground, there was also a barrack built by the prisoners. An apartment barrack was also put up outside camp for camp officials.

The first major transport of approximately 300 prisoners arrived in late September or early October 1944 (prisoners from the Warsaw Uprising) and was composed of skilled

workers. Prisoner population figures for the subcamp vary, depending on the time they apply to, from approximately 400 to 2,000 prisoners. Günther Otto Treu, serving guard duty from autumn 1944 to early January 1945, testified that there were over 2,000 prisoners.[2] They were of various nationalities: Poles, Ukrainians, Belgians, French, Czech, and even Chinese (approximately 13 Chinese, residents of Warsaw, were put into Gross-Rosen concentration camp in the initial postuprising transport from the Pruszków transit camp in late September or early October 1944).

The prisoners lived and worked in the isolated production hall in the cold, with no ventilation, exposed to the constant inhalation of production fumes, mainly railway car paint and combustion gases. Health conditions were very poor. The prisoners were tormented by lice infestation. The starvation food rations (food was trucked in from outside the camp in pots), hard labor, and persecution by the staff (such as evening roll calls dragging on throughout the night) completed the picture of the especially hard conditions prevailing at this camp.

General emaciation of the body was also a reason for the high mortality rate. The deaths caused by paint poisoning even interested German doctors at one time. The dead were carted out of the camp, and the prisoner population was systematically replenished. An infirmary was set aside in the space for the prisoners, but only emergency aid was provided there. The seriously ill were sent to the main camp, and others were sent to the infirmary at Breslau I.

Breslau II prisoners worked for the Borsig-Werke and Linke Hofmann companies. They were put to work assembling railway cars and tanks. The work was supervised by German foremen, and their attitude toward prisoners can be described as proper. There were no other civilian workers in the production hall. On the other hand, the prisoner-functionaries and guards were known for their mistreatment of prisoners and frequent beatings of them at work (for example, they used to chase the prisoners through the narrow doors of the production hall).

Just as at Breslau I, prisoners wore work clothes with white markings and had a strip shaved down the middle of their heads.

There are no known instances of sabotage at work.

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was Sturmbannführer Bohnenstangel, whose attitude toward the prisoners was decidedly negative, and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was named Kampf. Only one other staff member, Günter Otto Treu, can be identified by name. He was sentenced to eight years in prison by the Świdnica District Court on April 26, 1949, but mainly for offenses at the Gross-Rosen main camp, where he served as block leader (Blockführer).

There were some instances of prisoners escaping from camp: 4 Soviet prisoners from Breslau II were among the 16 prisoners sent on December 4, 1944, from Gross-Rosen to the Buchenwald concentration camp Langensalza subcamp, where prisoners caught escaping were sent (the transport arrived there the next day). Also, surviving Wrocław Executive Committee records on fugitives who were caught include a report about Iwan Kunewitsch, a prisoner from the subcamp who escaped from Linke Hoffmann Werke on September 22, 1944.

Accounts of former prisoners also mention escapes, such as a successful one by two prisoners the night of January 2–3, 1945. There are no known instances of executions of camp prisoners.

The prisoners were evacuated on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp, probably on January 23, 1945, and the evacuation lasted about a week. Former prisoners provide discrepant information on the evacuation dates and route. But they all recall the hard winter conditions during the march and the particular cruelty of the SS men guarding the Breslau II prisoner evacuation column. As was the case with Breslau I prisoners, they also pulled wagons with staff belongings. At first, the bodies of those who had been shot while escaping (especially during the first night's stop, probably in Kostenblut) or during the march were buried; later they were left along the road.

When they reached the main camp, the surviving prisoners were sent to the "Auschwitz" section of the camp, where they awaited further evacuation under terrible conditions.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975); Konieczny, *Chronologia transportów i numeracja więźniów w KL Gross-Rosen* (Materiały wewnętrzne Państwowego Muzeum Gross-Rosen, n.d.).

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen. Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1990), was also taken into account. In describing prisoner transports to the Breslau II camp and their employment in the arms (war) industry, the publication by Barbara Sawicka, *Z powstańczej Warszawy do KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 1994), was consulted and used. Andrzej Butat and Wacław Dominik's work *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław, 1980) is useful on the description of the evacuation.

The AMGR holds most of the available relevant documentation for this subcamp. Rich sources of information proved to be AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP (Materiały Klubu byłych Więźniów Gross-Rosen) as well as materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn (AMGR, sygn.8751/DP). For camp officers, see AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP; in the matter of prisoner escapes from this subcamp, a report regarding the escape of a prisoner (AMGR, sygn. 6859/DP) was consulted. An equally valuable source of information and accounts of camp life are records of the AK-IPN in Warsaw and AK-IPN WR (copies of interrogations and judgments).

Anna Gołembiecka
trans. Gerard Majka

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. 5913/3/DP, materials of the AK-IPN WR; AMGR, sygn. 6651/DP, materials of the AK-IPN Kr; AMGR, sygn. 3106/2/DP-A, questionnaire.

2. AMGR, sygn. 47/150-151/MF, Świdnica District Court, September 24, 1947.

BRIEG [AKA PAMPITZ]

The Brieg subcamp, also known both in the literature and by former prisoners as Pampitz, began operating as a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in the summer of 1944. The camp was located 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the town of Brieg (later Brzeg), close to the village of Pampitz (Pępice), right after the curve in the road from Schüsselndorf (Żłobizna) to Konradswaldau (Przylesie). In August 1944, the Gross-Rosen prisoners replaced Jewish forced laborers who had been living in Brieg since November 1940 in a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) from the Dąbrowski coal region, working for the Organisation Schmelt.

The Brieg subcamp began operating on August 7, 1944, when the first transport arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

From its very inception, the Germans had set the camp's daily population at 1,000 prisoners. Prisoners lost through death or being sent back to the main camp were constantly replenished by new transports. The initial transport of August 7 numbered 1,000 prisoners, 60 percent being Poles who had been brought to Gross-Rosen in an evacuation transport from Warsaw's Pawiak prison; 20 percent were Russians (forced laborers and prisoners of war [POWs]); 10 percent were Poles arrested in the Reich and Poles from the Radom district and Kraków; and there were several Czechs. More transports arrived at the Brieg subcamp from the main camp by autumn of that year: 20 to 30 people in October and approximately 30 prisoners in the latter part of November. The purpose of that transport was to make up for the shortage caused by the departure a few days earlier of a 40-person group of tradesmen prisoners, metalworkers, and carpenters, who had been removed to the main camp, then sent to other subcamps such as Gassen (Jasień) and Niesky. Even earlier, on August 31, 3 former Russian POWs had been sent back from Brieg to Gross-Rosen headquarters; they had originally come to Gross-Rosen on August 2, 1944, from Stalag VIII A in Görlitz (Zgorzelec) for refusing to work and assaulting a citizen of the Reich. They were removed to the main camp for the death sentence to be carried out, as the Wrocław Gestapo had requested that the *Sonderbehandlung* ("special treatment") procedure be applied to them. The next transport from Brieg that we know of left for the main camp on January 4, 1945.

The barracks of the previous Jewish camp totally changed appearance by the time the subcamp had been in operation for six months. The 70 small plywood barracks with no furnishings were converted into 10 larger ones, with bunks around the walls and a stove, for which there was never any fuel. Besides the residential barracks, there were 2 other large ones, holding the kitchen, infirmary, warehouse, glass workshop, carpentry shops, food and clothing warehouse, camp elder's (Lagerältester) office, and camp office (*Schreibstube*). There were no sanitary facilities when the first transport arrived at camp; there were only latrines and troughs with faucets for washing installed in the open air. In time, an unheated bathhouse with showers was built, as well as a delousing station and a dayroom for the prisoner foremen. The entire camp was surrounded with two rows of barbed wire under high voltage. There were guard towers in the corners with searchlights and machine-gun stations.

The staff was composed of Luftwaffe soldiers and just a few SS men. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Obersturmführer Stosch, and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Luftwaffe NCO (Feldwebel) Mayer; only one other staff member's name—Gustav Schulz—is known. None of the camp's staff ever appeared before a court after the war for their deeds at the Brieg camp.

As was the case at other camps, to help maintain discipline, the staff used what was the "prisoner government." Since this camp was dominated by Poles, they also prevailed in the prisoner government. Initially, German criminal August Schneider was camp elder, but after he was recalled to Gross-Rosen, the job was assumed by a Silesian, Robert Nocoń aka Notzon. Poles predominated among barrack chiefs, among them Józef Kuzioł, Bronisław Tomaszewski, Zenon Helczyk, Stanisław Kowalski, and Donat Petrol. Andrzej Kamiński from Poznań was initially First Schreiber (camp clerk), and after he left for Gross-Rosen, Henryk Suchowiak replaced him in the position. Arnold Kubański was Second Schreiber. The Brieg camp had an in-camp police force (Lagerpolizei); there were three: a German by the first name of Helmut; a Russian, Wasyl Dubowicz; and a Pole, Roman Burzykowski. Dr. Witold Mączka was the warehouse manager. The position of camp foreman (Lagerkapo) was held by a Pole, Jan Rura, who was also the camp translator. The following were Kapos: Józef Jerzy Sobocki, Józef Semran, Zygmunt Ulfik, Kiniarz, and Henryk Zawierucha, the antihero of the later group escape. There was a penal company whose Kapo was a Pole, Janusz Natorff, who later worked in the camp office. Four of the aforementioned were tried before Polish courts after the war. Two of them were acquitted.

All the prisoners at the Brieg subcamp were put to work converting the civil airfield into a military one. Various companies were involved in the job, including Vianova, Maszewsky, and Forster. The prisoners worked in the following Commandos: Vianova-Kolonne, the largest; Mathias-Kolonne; Eimer-Kolonne; Baukommando; Transportkommando; Kieskommando; and beginning in December 1944, a Commando the prisoners called candy (*Cukierek*), whose prisoners were assigned to work in the Wehrmacht warehouses being evacuated from the front lines. Some prisoners worked in the workshops, repairing construction equipment, at the forge, the carpentry shop, and so on; they were supervised by

civilian foremen, including blacksmith Paul Mlocek and an ethnic German (Volksdeutscher) named Kopaczka.

Work went on for 12 hours a day, six days a week, and in the autumn, Rapportführer Mayer hired out prisoners to work with local farmers on his own account. In exchange for their only day of rest, prisoners had the opportunity of getting additional food. As extra motivation, outstanding prisoners received camp "money" (*Lagermarki*), which allowed them to supplement the meager camp food and buy pickled beets, cigarettes, or chewing tobacco at the canteen.

Despite the long hours of hard labor, some prisoners with an underground background did not give up thinking about fighting on and causing direct damage to the Germans. The sabotage operations they undertook on their own were designed to cause stoppages at work by doing things such as breaking machines.

The camp also had an infirmary (*Revier*), handling from 40 to 100 patients at a time, where the foreman position (Revierkapo) was held by a Pole named Guździoł (aka Kuździoł), and the head doctor was Dr. Jan Aleksander Łukawski, with the orderlies (Pfleger) being Warsaw actor Władysław Otto-Suski and Marian (aka Henryk) Dolata. The sanitary conditions prevailing at the infirmary were very primitive, and basic medicine was in short supply. At first, patients lay on the floor against the walls. Under these conditions, serious operations sometimes had to be performed when someone was injured at work. Approximately 50 prisoners died there in six months. One instance of death from scarlet fever was recorded, and several were due to beatings by the prisoner-functionaries, but the greatest toll was taken by phlegmon, the result of malnutrition. Initially, the dead were buried against the wall at the local cemetery, later in the field beyond the cemetery fence. Emaciated prisoners were sent back to the main camp.

Hunger was rife in the camp, despite the bonus allocated to hardworking prisoners. The kitchen was run by Czechs. Prisoners received three meals per day: a half liter (1 pint) of what was called *mehlzupka*; 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread; a liter (1 quart) of soup made of rutabaga, beets, cabbage or kale, and sometimes even nettles; a half liter (1 pint) of black "coffee"; a spoonful of molasses; and sometimes, as a bonus for hard workers (*zulaga*), a piece of blood pudding or horsemeat sausage (often raw), jam, and margarine. In addition, once a week the prisoners received a quarter liter (1 cup) of sweet "Knorr" soup. It was the practice to issue food in the evening, both for supper as well as the next day's breakfast.

From the beginning of the camp's existence, the prisoners put there made attempts to escape. The first to do so as early as August 14, 1944, were Johann Jankowski (prisoner 11504) and Leonit Juzwa (prisoner 11517). Former Soviet soldiers attempted to escape most frequently. The most important event in the history of this camp was unquestionably the daring escape of a group of 30 prisoners on January 5, 1945. The attempt was successful for only 2 of them; 22 of the participants who were caught were taken away to Gross-Rosen to a penal company, where the confusion caused by the camp's evacuation saved the lives of some of them; 6 of the participants lost their lives during the escape. This disaster was brought about because Kapo Henryk Zawierucha notified camp officials of the planned escape.

The Brieg subcamp operated until January 25, 1945, when all the healthy prisoners were driven on foot to the main camp (90 kilometers/56 miles), and the sick were trucked there. Then they all shared the fate of the main camp's prisoners, and in early February they were evacuated into the Reich by freight trains. Some prisoners of the Brieg subcamp wound up at Mittelbau or Buchenwald and some at Leitmeritz—a subsidiary of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

SOURCES The following publications contain information about the Brieg subcamp: "*Przeżyliśmy Gross-Rosen*," *II*, *zeszyt 6* (Warsaw, 1987); Jerzy Tęsiorowski, "Wielkie ucieczki—Gross-Rosen," *Kul*, no. 35 (1979); Rafał Brzeski, "Pojmani," *Kul*, no. 37 (1979); Leszek Izbiński, "Wielkie ucieczki Gross Rosen," *Kulisy*, no. 45 (1979); Edward Pochroń, "Ucieczka ku wolności," *Try-Odr*, no. 17 (1980); Stanisław S. Nicieja, "Lagier w Pępicach," *GBrz*, no. 9 (1995); Nicieja, "Katorżnicze obozy w Pępicach," *GBrz*, no. 11 (1995); Nicieja, "Ucieczka komanda paczkarzy," *GBrz*, nos. 12–13 (1995); Nicieja, "Sprawa Janusza Natorffa," *GBrz*, nos. 15–16 (1995); Aleksandra Kobielec, *Arbeitslager Brieg—filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen we wspomnieniach byłych więźniów* (Wałbrzych, 1996); "Epilog tragicznej ucieczki 30 więźniów z obozu w Brzegu rozegra się przed sądem w Krakowie," *EKr*, no. 280 (571) (November 10, 1947).

Primary sources, especially personal accounts, are in AMGR, for example, catalog No. 4350/DP (collection of records on the investigation into the subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp at Pępice, Brieg Township, maintained by the AK-IPN Op from 1968 through 1978).

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

BRÜNNLITZ

The Brünnlitz subcamp was the southernmost camp under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, located 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Brno in a small town in Moravia, named Brněnec in Czech. The decision to locate a camp there was made in Kraków in mid-1944. Due to the approaching front, German industrialist Oskar Schindler decided to move his factory and the Krakau-Plaszow camp prisoners working there to the town near which he had spent his youth. He located the transplanted arms factory (formerly Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik, DEF) on the site of the Hoffman cotton spinning mill (Löw-Beer Textile Company), and there he also built accommodations for the prisoners.

The Brünnlitz camp began operating on October 22, 1944. The initial transport included 700 men, who had received numbers 68821 through 69521 at Gross-Rosen. Then in November, 300 women arrived; after leaving the Krakau-

Plaszow subcamp, they went through a three-week quarantine at the Auschwitz concentration camp and received numbers 76201 through 76500 at Gross-Rosen. Subsequent transports arrived at Brünnlitz only in 1945. On January 29, 1945, 81 totally exhausted prisoners were admitted to the camp from the Golleschau subcamp, an Auschwitz subcamp that had been evacuated. These prisoners received camp numbers ranging from 77101 to 77181. On February 2, 1945, 6 prisoners were brought from the nearby Landskron prison, 5 of whom had previously been incarcerated at Auschwitz and 1 at Krakau-Plaszow. At Gross-Rosen, they received numbers 77182 through 77187. They were probably fugitives from evacuation transports. The next group of 30 prisoners arrived at camp only on April 11. They were prisoners who had been moved from the Geppersdorf subcamp, a Gross-Rosen subcamp that was being closed, and were identified with numbers 77001 to 77030. There were 801 male prisoners and 297 female prisoners in the camp on April 18, 1945. Because of the last transports, besides Polish Jews, there were also German, Hungarian, French, Czech, Slovak, Dutch, and Yugoslavian Jews in the camp, as well as 1 Frenchman and 2 German nationals (Reichsdeutsche). Although the prisoners had been sent here specially to work, the range of ages was atypical. The oldest prisoners had been born in 1881 (63 years old upon arriving at camp), while the youngest were born in 1930 (14 years old). The younger prisoners and their guardians had been withdrawn to the main camp in November 1944, and then they were moved to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Special barracks had not been built for the prisoners at Brünnlitz. They were put in the factory building, at first even without bunks and basic sanitary facilities. Six rooms for prisoners: four for the men and two for the women, were prepared on the upper level of the factory building. The male section was partitioned from the female section by a wire fence. Only in time were a bathhouse, latrine, disinfecting station, and laundry put into operation on the upper level.

SS-Obersturmführer Josef Leipold was camp commander, and the staff was composed of 13 noncommissioned officers and 26 privates, as well as 4 guards. Leipold, born on November 10, 1913, in Alt Rohlau (Stará Role), of German nationality, a barber by trade, had belonged to the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since November 1939 and to the SS since August 20, 1938. He served at the Mauthausen, Lublin, Budzyń, Wieliczka, and Krakau-Plaszow concentration camps and, from October 1944 to April 1945, at Brünnlitz. After the war, he was tried by the Lublin District Court for the crimes he committed at those camps and by Decree of November 9, 1948, was sentenced to death, the perpetual forfeiture of public rights, and the loss of his property. The sentence was carried out. The following names of the staff are known: SS-Schütze Adolph, Daus, Emmel, Fredrychowitz, Gerhard, Hahn, Kirschner, Kurtle, Laubenthal, Stapf, Stier, Unbescheid, Vogt, Weimar, and Wienenkampf; SS-Sturmmann Mähne and Mergenthaler; SS-Oberscharführer Mocek; SS-Obersturmführer Streilhof; and SS-Rottenführer Zilch. Alexander Schubert, prisoner 69460, headed the "prisoner government."

After the first transport arrived, the prisoners had a few days of rest, then were sent to work at the ammunitions factory. Their first job was to install machines. Production began in early 1945. Prisoners worked there in two shifts, and the entire rhythm of their day was thoroughly delineated by the camp rules and regulations. Engineer Schöneborn supervised the prisoners' work, aided by Czech and German civilian foremen, such as Dembina and Müller, whose attitude toward the prisoners was not too objectionable. Despite camp commander Leipold's efforts, the effects of the prisoners' work were rather poor. Several prisoners were sent to work at the nearby mill.

As in other camps, roll call took place twice a day here, too, although it was not as arduous as elsewhere, since attendance was checked at the factory production hall before work in the morning and after work in the evening.

Despite Schindler's goodwill, the food at this camp did not differ from standard camp fare. The daily ration included 25 decagrams of bread (8.8 ounces) and coffee in the morning, a liter (1 quart) of palatable soup at noon, and bread and soup at 8:00 P.M. The night shift received an extra half liter (1 pint) of soup.

An infirmary (*Revier*) was set up on the ground floor of the factory building. Dr. Chaim Hilfstein, prisoner 68895, was appointed its head, and the following persons also worked there: Dr. Aleksander Bieberstein, 68913; Dr. Juda Katz, 69149; and Dr. Matilde Löw, 76354. Dental procedures were performed by Friedrich Beck, prisoner 69094, and Rudolf Brechner, prisoner 69350. SS-Obersturmführer Streithof served as the SS medic (SDG) from headquarters. Several cases of scarlet fever were noted throughout the camp's operation, as well as five cases of typhus, which was successfully kept a secret from the German staff; thanks to the disinfecting station that had been set up, there was no epidemic. Approximately 60 people died throughout the camp's operation; they were buried in the community cemetery at Deutsch Bielau (Německá Bělá).

Although the conditions at Brünnlitz were severe, life was easier there in comparison to the camps through which the prisoners had come earlier. Also, the local population demonstrated great sympathy for the prisoners, providing them with extra portions of bread whenever they could and even sweet bread for Christmas. Near the end of the war, when the food situation kept growing worse, the Czech Doubek, Brünnlitz mill owner, provided the camp with barley for soup, which allowed the prisoners to survive the war in tolerable condition.

People did not seek salvation through escape at Brünnlitz. The festivity for Schindler's birthday in April 1945 was a camp event that unquestionably deviated from the norm. The prisoners were given sugar, margarine, and sweet bread at that time.

Camp commander Leipold and the guards were enlisted into the German army in late April 1945 and were to be sent back to the front. When Leipold, a stickler for camp rules and regulations, left, the entire camp breathed a sigh of relief.

The information that the war was over had already reached the Brünnlitz subcamp prisoners on May 6, 1945, when all the camp's prisoners were gathered in the factory production hall and Schindler declared that the war had ended. All Germans were to surrender arms by midnight, and the prisoners were to be set free. That evening the SS men who had been guarding the camp left in an unknown direction, along with the factory's German civilian workers. Factory director Schindler left the night of May 6–7, seen off with sorrow by the Jews he saved, having obtained from the prisoners a travel affidavit of his exceptional stance during the war.

A delegation of the Brněnec National Council arrived at the camp the morning of May 7 and made sure there were no contagious diseases at the camp, after which it provided the prisoners with meat, milk, and other food products. The prisoners spent two days alone in the camp. The hastily organized police force, recruited from among the members of the camp's underground organization, was armed with weapons that had been stored in Schindler's residence, as well as those that had been abandoned by the camp guards. The formation's job was to maintain order in the camp, although there had already been a lynching there, in consequence of which Kapo Willi was hanged in the factory production hall; he had come to Krakau-Plaszow from Budzyń, where he was famous for his exceptional brutality. According to other accounts, German Kapo Knobloch, who had come from Auschwitz, fell victim to that same lynching.

It was only on May 10 that the Soviet Army under the command of Colonel Safran entered the camp. A Soviet and Polish committee was formed and issued the prisoners clothing from the warehouse. On the evening of May 25, a special train left for Kraków. Sick prisoners were taken to a hospital in Police.

SOURCES Primary sources, especially personal accounts, are in AMGR; see, for example, AMGR, catalog No. 4108/DP—Liste der weiblichen Häftlinge des AL Brünnlitz, April 18, 1945 (original in YVA); catalog No. 4107/DP—Liste der männlichen Häftlinge des AL Brünnlitz. Stand vom April 18, 1945 (original in YVA).

Secondary source materials include Aleksandra Kobielec, *Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen*, *Arbeitslager Brünnlitz* (Wałbrzych, 1991); Roman Olszyna, "KL Brünlitz," *F-S* 51 (1978); Janusz Roszko, "Byłem w Brünnlitz w hotelu Schindlera," *DzP*, December 8, 1994; Roszko, "Byłem w Brünnlitz (Przyczynek do portretu świętego Schindlera)," *PDN*, August 19, 1994; Roszko, "Legenda o świętym Schindlerze (Szpieg—Budowniczy arki)," *PDN*, May 13, 1994.

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

BUNZLAU I

Bunzlau I was formed in May 1944 when the Gross-Rosen concentration camp command took over what had been the Organisation Schmeldt forced labor camp for Jews, located at No. 2 Menzelstrasse (Staroszkolna Strasse) in Bunzlau (Bolesławiec) on the premises of the Hubert Land Bunzlauer Holzindustrie wood products manufacturing plant. That camp had been in existence since June 1941 and housed Polish Jews from the Dąbrowski coal region in Upper Silesia Province; they were put to work making barracks, camp furniture, and decoy airplanes ordered by the Luftwaffe command. In the final phase of the camp's existence, it held approximately 730 men and a small group of women put to work in the kitchen and on the camp grounds. The most numerous group of prisoners were men in their early twenties.

The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence; it consisted of six wooden barracks, of which four were for the prisoners; the fifth was for the kitchen, bathhouse, and shoemaker workshop; and the sixth was for the infirmary. The living barracks, accommodating approximately 200 people each, had four rooms furnished with bunk beds, tables, and benches. The sanitary conditions were atrocious, the barracks were rife with dirt, and the bugs were a plague.

When the Organisation Schmeldt was disbanded, many of its Lower Silesian camps were put under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp during 1944. The Bunzlau camp was also reorganized on May 1 of that year. A selection was conducted, after which only about 450 men remained in the camp (the fate of the others is unknown), who were assigned prisoner numbers in the 35000 series three weeks later. The number of prisoners rose to 1,000 by the end of the year due to the arrival of a transport of several hundred Hungarian Jews from the Auschwitz concentration camp in early June 1944, as well as several smaller groups from other Gross-Rosen subcamps.

The subcamp initially operated under the name of Arbeitslager Bunzlau; because another Gross-Rosen subcamp was put into operation at Bunzlau in the summer of 1944, the name was differentiated by adding the Roman numeral I. The organizational change did not cause any basic modification in the Hubert Land plant's production profile, although some of the prisoners were put to work expanding it, namely, on the erection of a new production hall in which the Becco company then did tank overhauls.

In August 1944, the central Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt) notified the Army Armaments Inspectorate (Rüstungsinspektion) VIII in Breslau (Wrocław) that it was commissioning the plant with the production of airfoils for the Focke Wulf (Fw) 190 fighter planes being manufactured at the nearby Aslau airfield. The prisoners working on the production formed the "Weserflug" Commando (named after the Bremen aircraft plant, part of which was evacuated to Bunzlau). In December 1944, a 24-person Commando was also formed to operate the military warehouses (Heereszeugamt) at Rauscha (Ruszów).

SS-Unterscharführer Erich Schrammel, famous for his cruel treatment of prisoners at Gross-Rosen concentration camp, was the commander (Lagerführer) of the subcamp for the first four to five months; he was then replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Willi Michael, then probably by SS-Unterscharführer Müller.

Members of the Gross-Rosen SS-Totenkopfsturmbann 12th Company served guard duty. The prisoner "government" was headed by German criminal prisoners who had come from the main camp, where they were famous for their brutal treatment of their fellow prisoners. "Ossi" Wecks held the post of camp elder (Lagerältester), and Kurt Büttner was Oberkapo; local prisoners held the block elder (Blockältester) and Kapo positions.

The subcamp existed until February 10, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated on foot due to the Red Army detachments approaching Bunzlau. The approximately 120 people who were sick or unable to march were allowed to stay in the infirmary (*Revier*). The Russians liberated them a few hours later. Meanwhile, the evacuation column headed west, reaching the Mittelbau concentration camp in six weeks; on March 25, 541 Bunzlau I prisoners were admitted there, many of whom were sent to the infirmary immediately. After a short stay in the camp, there was another evacuation, this time in open railway cars, to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. How many Bunzlau I prisoners lived to see liberation there on April 15, 1945, cannot be established. The Rauscha detachment was evacuated on February 16; the prisoners were trucked to the Flossenbürg concentration camp Flöha subcamp, where they were put to work making aircraft parts. When the Flöha camp was evacuated, the prisoners were probably sent to the Terezin (Theresienstadt) ghetto, where they were later liberated.

In 1948, a court in Bytom (Beuthen) heard the case against Izydor Silbiger, a Kapo at Bunzlau I and then in the Rauscha Kommando; the court sentenced him to death.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Bunzlau I subcamp in *AL Bunzlau I i AL Bunzlau II : filie KL Gross-Rosen w Bolesławcu* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004). Primary and other relevant secondary sources are listed in that publication. Most of the significant primary sources are available in the archives of AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

BUNZLAU II

The Bunzlau II subcamp was formed in October 1944 on the upper floors of a textile factory building at the Concordia Spinnerei und Weberei GmbH in Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec). In 1943 the plant had already been adapted to meet the needs of the Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH aircraft plant, moved there from Bremen, which was threatened by Allied air raids. The plant manufactured aircraft parts, and in August 1944 the Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt) commissioned the plant with the production of airfoils for the Focke Wulf 190 fighter planes being assembled at the Aslau airfield production facilities.

The initial group of prisoners was sent to Bunzlau II from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on October 2, 1944; it numbered approximately 300 people. A second group arrived in early November and was housed in the attic of the factory building. Several small groups from Gross-Rosen were also sent in December and January 1945, and approximately 80 prisoners were transferred from the Aslau subcamp in several batches. A total of 600 to 700 prisoners were put in the subcamp, of whom 60 percent were Polish and 33 percent were Russian, the rest being of other nationalities.

SS-Hauptscharführer Alfons Gross held the post of camp leader (Lagerführer). Besides a group of SS men, Luftwaffe soldiers also guarded the prisoners. Kapos, headed by Oberkapo Bruno Hellriegel, supervised the work in the workshops.

The prisoners worked on the ground and second floor of the factory building, whose upper levels served as their sleeping and eating quarters. The work was done in two shifts and consisted of manufacturing aircraft wings under the supervision of German foremen. In principle, the prisoners did not leave the factory building. There were, however, two escape attempts, which were unsuccessful.

The unvarying food and the starvation rations emaciated the prisoners, who were then sent back to the main camp. After the second group of prisoners arrived from Gross-Rosen, a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was set up in the attic, where the physician was Dr. Jan Wójciński. Bunk beds were set up in the prisoners' quarters; the bugs were an unbearable plague.

Because the Soviet forces were advancing quickly during their Lower Silesian offensive begun on February 8, 1945, the camp was hurriedly evacuated in the early morning hours of February 11; sick prisoners and those unable to march were allowed to stay, although they were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) at Bunzlau I, where Soviet soldiers liberated them a few hours later. The primary marching column, numbering approximately 600 prisoners, among whom were some harnessed to carts containing food and the SS men's belongings, headed west through Görlitz, Bautzen, the vicinity of Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Aschersleben, and Quedlinburg to Nordhausen. On March 15, 1945, after 32 days of marching, the evacuation column reached the Mittelbau concentration camp; the column now numbered only 441 persons (266 Poles, 147 Russians, 6 Germans, 5 Frenchmen, 5 Yugoslavians, 4 Croatians, 2 Belgians, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, 1 Czech, and 1 ethnic German [Volksdeutscher]); the rest succumbed to the hardship of the march, hunger, and shootings by the guards. Another 37 prisoners died during their stay at Mittelbau. In early April, there was another evacuation to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where liberation occurred on April 15.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Bunzlau II subcamp in *AL Bunzlau I i AL Bunzlau II : filie KL Gross-Rosen w Bolesławcu* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004). Most of the significant primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

CHRISTIANSTADT

In the town of Christianstadt (present-day Krzystkowice) there was a women's labor camp (*Frauenarbeitslager*, FAL) for Jews that was a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. The camp most probably came into being in the first half of 1944. The first mention of it is in a document listing the subcamps and companies employing Gross-Rosen prisoners, dated June 9, 1944.

In Christianstadt itself and the immediate environs, work had been under way since 1940 to expand what had initially been the IG Farben Works chemical factory, then the Dynamit AG Nobel plant. Forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and Jews from the forced labor camp (ZAL) also known as Organisation Schmelt were employed at the building site. In September 1944, two transports of Jewish women from the Auschwitz concentration camp were brought to one of the camps they had vacated, designated Number 10. These are the first known transports to Christianstadt. There were 500 women in each of them. The Jewish women from the second transport came from the Łódź ghetto, which had been officially closed in the summer of 1944. Another transport of 201 women arrived in early January 1945.[1]

The numbers of the three known transports show that at least 1,200 women were sent to Christianstadt. Little is known about the transports leaving Christianstadt, although two such groups are known: on or about November 20, 1944, a small transport of only 20 women was sent to Parschnitz, another Gross-Rosen subcamp. The women were admitted there on November 24.[2] According to the account of Tojba Świadkiewicz,[3] they were a selected group of women that had committed offenses of some sort. On February 12, 1945, after Christianstadt had been evacuated, 2 more women from the Christianstadt camp were also admitted to the Parschnitz camp.[4]

The Christianstadt prisoners were Jewish women of Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Dutch, and Austrian nationality.

There is divergent information on the camp administration. Alfred Konieczny has determined that K. Siewanstock held the post of Lagerführerin (camp leader), and a Jewish woman from Łódź named Fryda was one of the barrack chiefs. The account of Czech prisoner Anna Hyndrakova provides more detailed but differing information.[5] She says that the Lagerführerin was named Emmie Harms, and her assistant was SS-Oberaufseherin Lina Pohl. Hyndrakova also lists the names of other camp staff members but does not provide the posts each person held: Käthie Tietz, Weigert, Daume, Methar, and Friedl, as well as two aliases or nicknames—Esmeralda and Snehurka.

The prisoners primarily worked for the Dynamit AG Nobel company, as well as for Siemens-Bauunion GmbH (Siemens Construction Union), Boswau und Knauer, Becker und Zelle, Gebrüder Hermecke, Bauunternehmen Hamburg, the Reckmann company, and the Sturchan (Stuchan) company.[6] Initially, almost all of the women worked for the Siemens-Bauunion company. They were also organized into what was called a "forest commando." The women prepared the site for a road and railway, they had to cut down trees and dig out the trunks, and they shoveled earth and sand. With their bare hands, they loaded and unloaded shipments of rocks that they then had to break up with heavy hammers. They also carried rails and set railroad tracks. Women from 15 to 50 years of age were put to work on those projects.

Various accidents and injuries would occur frequently during that hard physical labor, since the women received no protective clothing, not even ordinary work gloves. Several German foremen oversaw the work in the commando. Two of them were Willi Hoin and Willi Kreuz. Hadassa Debrecka, a former prisoner, also mentions that she installed water pipes.[7]

Later the women's main workplace was the Dynamit AG Nobel plant, located 4 or 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) from the camp. The most dangerous jobs at the plant included filling grenades with explosives and cleaning the grenades. The women were burned frequently, and the continuous contact with the toxic substances in the explosives made them very weak. The prisoners' work was very hard, and combined with malnutrition and lack of sleep, it caused considerable emaciation in many women, sometimes manifested in muscle spasm attacks reminiscent of epilepsy. Similar to the forest commando, the prisoners working in the factory were not issued protective equipment or clothing. All Dynamit employees, except for the prisoners, received a liter (one quart) of milk a day as an antidote for that hazardous work. Another group of women worked in the "sand commando," working on the construction of a waste incinerator. Their work consisted of shoveling sand onto wagons.

The camp regime was arduous for the women; for any offense at all, they were punished with penal roll calls lasting many hours, during which the prisoners had to stand regardless of the weather. This limited their rest time between shifts at work, leaving them with only an hour or two of sleep at times. For more serious offenses, such as attempting to escape or avoiding going to work, they faced being locked in a basement or having their food taken away. There was an infirmary (*Revier*) at the camp, and in exceptional situations sick women would not go to work for a short time; however, prisoner accounts mention instances of the more seriously ill inmates being taken off to Auschwitz, where death inevitably awaited them.

The fate of several women who were pregnant when they came to the camp is a special chapter in Christianstadt's history. Shortly after the women had arrived at the subcamp, the Lagerführerin ordered pregnant women to report, saying they would be moved to another camp and to easier work. The order caused a considerable amount of uneasiness. In spite of that, several women reported. They were all taken away from camp. Those who did not report had to hide their condition.

In the early autumn of 1944, a Hungarian prisoner gave birth to a stillborn child. The SS women wanted to watch the

delivery and thus escorted the prisoners out to work later than usual. The SS women buried the baby's body in the forest. The day after the delivery, the midwife prisoner had to go to work as normal in the forest commando. When the German foreman named Hoin, who supervised the work in the commando, learned of the event, he ordered that a makeshift bed (made of various rags and empty cement sacks) be prepared in the tool room. He put the midwife there and let her rest, at least while she was at work.[8]

On November 3, 1944, a prisoner named Fuchs gave birth to a healthy baby girl. Friedrich Entress, the SS doctor from Gross-Rosen who was inspecting the Christianstadt subcamp, filed a report about that to headquarters on December 11, 1944.[9] We do not know what happened to the child nor to the other children who were born shortly before the evacuation.

The evacuation occurred on February 2 or 3, 1945. The women were escorted out of the camp under the surveillance of a detachment of uniformed men commanded by an SS man with the rank of Oberscharführer. The evacuation route led southward. On foot, the prisoners reached the territory of what was then the "Sudetengau" (later part of the Czech Republic). They continued toward Draždany via the towns of Cinwald (Zinnwald, now Cínovec), Dubí (Eichwald), and Komořany (Kommern), until they reached Most (Brüx). There, the column was directed toward Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad). Four weeks after the evacuation had begun, the column reached a place called Cheb (Eger). There, the prisoners were loaded onto freight cars and taken to Zelle near Hanover. The march then brought them to Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES Only one article specifically detailing this camp exists: Dorota Sula, "Frauenarbeitslager Christianstadt," in *Filie Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2001). There is also an article written by Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Archival materials can be found in the AMGR in Walbrzych (accounts, questionnaires, transport lists), as well as in YVA in Jerusalem (memoirs and accounts of former female prisoners of this camp). Details can be found in the footnotes.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Archives of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, collection of the Kraków District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, vol. 119.
2. AMGR, sygn. Catalog No. 7069/DP, List of transport from Christianstadt labor camp to Parschnitz labor camp.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3331/MF, Account of Tojba Świadkiewicz.
4. AMGR, Catalog No.7069/DP, List of transport from Christianstadt labor camp to Parschnitz labor camp.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. 6305/DP-A, Account of Anna Hyndrakova.
6. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 128.
7. AMGR, Catalog No. 24/5480/MF, Account of Hadassa Debrecka.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 6305/DP-A, Anna Hyndrakova's questionnaire.
9. Report dated 12/11/1944, YVA, M-8/BD/GR3.

DYHERNFURTH I

During World War II in Dyhernfurth (later Brzeg Dolny), a town located on the Oder River approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Breslau (Wrocław), a factory of the IG Farben company was set up, where chemical warfare agents were made. Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners were put to work during the factory's construction and then in manufacturing the gases. The decision to erect the Dyhernfurth factory had been made in December 1939, under an agreement between IG Farben and the Chief Armed Forces Command. IG Farben's sister company Anorgana GmbH was given the job. Luranil Baugesellschaft mbH Ludwigshafen, a construction company founded by IG Farben in January 1940, was the building contractor.

Using its experience from Auschwitz III-Monowitz, IG Farben reached an agreement with Gross-Rosen headquarters in 1943, in consequence of which two subcamps were established at the Anorgana works.

The Dyhernfurth I camp, situated on the immediate premises of the Anorgana factory, was a top-secret detachment (Geheimniskommando). The first transport arrived there in mid-1943. The 37-prisoner group included 16 Germans, several Russians, 3 Czechs, and Poles who had come to Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz. Later on, the camp's population was increased, and any losses through death were made up by bringing in small groups of prisoners from the main camp. Most of the prisoners sent to Dyhernfurth I had the annotation "RU" (*Rückkehr unerwünscht*, return undesirable) in their records. This subcamp remained small throughout its existence; there were approximately 300 prisoners living there at its peak population. Although Poles predominated, there were also Russians, Czechs, and Germans, as well as 2 Gypsies. Once put there, the prisoners were never moved to another camp until the camp was evacuated.

The prisoners lived in a newly built, two-level brick barrack that was divided into rooms (*Stuben*); 40 prisoners slept in one such room on two-tiered bunks. The barrack was isolated from the rest of the factory by barbed wire, with watchtowers at the corners. A railway siding ran along the fence, and underground liquid gas tanks ran along the siding. It was incredibly cold in the barrack because all the windows had been knocked out to ventilate the space. Although there was no bathhouse on the camp premises, the prisoners used the showers at the factory.

The Anorgana factory chiefly produced the gas warfare agent Tabun (T38), which was in a liquid state and extremely toxic, directly affecting the nervous system. Later, they also made Sarin (T46). Tabun poisoning occurs via inhalation,

through the skin, the digestive tract, or the mucous membranes, and is complicated by the fact that none of the senses provide any warning that the gas is present, while the slightest dose causes shortness of breath, convulsions, and paralysis, often resulting in death. The Dyhernfurth I prisoners worked in close contact with the gases. They worked in a separate production hall of the factory, additionally surrounded by a double row of barbed wire, and only the civilian workers employed there, the prisoners, and the camp leader (Lagerführer) were allowed in the production hall. The other SS men stayed outside. The doors and windows of the production hall where the prisoners worked were tightly sealed, and the hall was ventilated the whole time with air mixed with ammonia. The main fixture in the hall was the gas filling station for bombs and artillery shells, their warehouse, the labeling and inspection stations, and so on. Tabun was used to fill 100-kilogram (220-pound) aircraft bombs and the artillery shells. The entire manufacturing process occurred on a conveyer system. The shells or bombs were placed on feeder conveyers handling several tons per day; then they were filled with gas, and every shell went through a low-pressure chamber to check for leaks. The prisoners' jobs also included cleaning the underground gas tanks and inspecting the equipment there. Work at the factory started at 7:00 A.M. and lasted eight hours; but afterward, the prisoners were sent to clear the woods or do other earthmoving projects, such as draining the pond, until dusk.

Some prisoners who were put to work directly filling shells were outfitted with protective masks and overalls, but not all of them worked in masks. Unfortunately, even those who had them would get poisoned. Teary and pussy eyes were common, as was partial blindness, especially at dusk, severe headaches, shortness of breath, and swelling.

There was no infirmary or doctor in the camp; there was a corner set aside in the living quarters barrack called the "infirmary," where Marek Wawrzyniak, serving as orderly, was in charge. In special cases, a doctor was brought in from the Dyhernfurth II camp 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, or plant doctor Dr. K. Martens helped, although as a civilian he was not allowed to enter the camp itself.

Chemical poisoning was frequent among prisoners and caused several instances of death, but the exact figures in this regard are unknown. The dead were carted away to the crematorium at Gross-Rosen.

Not only normal work with the gas caused poisonings; prisoners have also stated that experiments were conducted on them to test the toxicity of the cargo during transport. This caused most prisoner poisonings, as Tabun causes mild poisoning after just two minutes of exposure to an atmosphere containing only 0.0005 milligrams per liter of air.

Despite the bonus for hard workers, the camp food was inadequate. For breakfast before roll call, prisoners received an ersatz flour milk soup, and later at the factory they got a piece of bread and slice of horse-meat sausage. Lunch consisted of approximately one liter (one quart) of watery rutabaga soup, sometimes with potatoes. The hour break (from noon to 1:00 P.M.) barely sufficed to reach the camp, where soup was being distributed in the canteen. For supper in the evening, prisoners received one loaf of bread per four people, margarine or a spoonful of jam, and unsweetened black ersatz coffee.

The staff consisted of approximately 20 SS men. Initially, SS-Scharführer Karl Gallasch, born November 17, 1897, was the unit leader (Kommandoführer). (He was tried in Wrocław for his crimes at the Gross-Rosen, Dyhernfurth, Fünfteichen, and Reichenau camps on May 17, 1947, and sentenced to death. Just before the sentence was carried out, he committed suicide in his cell.) A reorganization was conducted in January 1944. One camp leader, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Brauer, born September 29, 1893, headed both camps. Although he was notorious for holding a hanging of refugees and led the camp's evacuation, he was never tried in court. SS-Unterscharführer Martin Klütsch, born October 20, 1912, in Cologne, was roll-call leader (Rapportführer). (The Świdnica District Court sentenced him to death on November 10, 1948. He was executed on July 3, 1949.) We also know the following names of staff: SS-Rottenführer Walter Dahms, born June 19, 1911; guard commander SS-Unterscharführer Johann Heinz (tried by Świdnica District Court in 1948–1949; he died of tuberculosis during his trial), and SS-Rottenführer Alfred Aller.

As at other camps, here, too, the Germans formed what was called the "prisoner government" to more easily maintain camp discipline; it was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Alfred (aka Bernard) Mikołajczyk; Ryszard Kurowski was block elder (Blockältester), the Kapo was Berst, and his assistant was Krauze.

Despite the harsh regime prevailing in camp and the fact that prisoners basically did not leave the factory premises, three Russians attempted to escape in late 1944. Unfortunately, the attempt ended tragically; all were killed.

The camp did not escape the hardships of evacuation. On January 24, 1945, all healthy prisoners were moved out of the camp as they set off on a death march along with the Dyhernfurth II prisoners, despite the freezing winter. The trek to the main camp lasted two and a half days. The lucky ones who survived the journey were not spared the difficulties of further evacuations. They were taken into the Reich along with the other prisoners of the main camp in early February; the majority would end up in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

SOURCES Publications dealing with Dyhernfurth I include Henryk Czernik, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego w Brzegu Dolnym," *SFiZH* 1 (1974); Roman Olszyna, "Żydzi w KL Dyhernfurth," *F-S* 5 (1978); and Kazimierz Hałgas, *Dyhernfurth II–Aussenlager Gross-Rosen. Todeskommando* (Wałbrzych, 1994).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see Catalog No. 13/28/MF, 5242/DP, 5913/DP—prosecution records in the case of Karl Gallasch; Catalog No. 5905/1-25/DP—records on Martin Klütsch; Catalog No. 108/1/MF, 6244/DP, 6298/DP—Dyhernfurth II voucher applications and payroll for

August 1944; Catalog No. 5917/DP—transcript of prosecution records on the investigation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subsidiaries at Brzeg Dolny, maintained by the AK-IPN WR (DS 1/68); also the collection of 305 Dyhernfurth camp prisoner accounts and questionnaires kept at AMGR; 97 camp letters from Dyhernfurth kept at AMGR; and the NMT Trial of the management of IG Farben.

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

DYHERNFURTH II [AKA LAGER ELFENHAIN]

During World War II in Dyhernfurth (later Brzeg Dolny), a town located on the Oder River approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Breslau (Wrocław) a factory of the IG Farben company was set up, where chemical warfare agents were made. Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners were put to work during the factory's construction as well as in manufacturing the gases. The decision to erect the Dyhernfurth factory had been made in December 1939, under an agreement between IG Farben and the Chief Armed Forces Command. IG Farben's sister company Anorgana GmbH was given the job. Luranil Baugesellschaft mbH Ludwigshafen, a construction company founded by IG Farben in January 1940, was the building contractor.

Using its experience from Auschwitz III-Monowitz, IG Farben reached an agreement with the Gross-Rosen concentration camp headquarters in 1943, in consequence of which two Gross-Rosen subcamps were established at the Anorgana works.

The Dyhernfurth II camp, also known as Lager Elfenhain, was established in the summer or autumn of 1943. The camp's prisoners were not put to work making or filling shells with gas but exclusively on construction projects on the Anorgana company premises.

Initially, the Luranil company used only Jewish forced laborers from the nearby Organisation Schmelt camp in existence since 1942 to work on the factory expansion. The camp's population ranged from 180 Polish Jews in the initial period to 600 to 800 prisoners toward the end of its operation. A decision was made in 1943 for the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to take control of the camp's prisoners, but for unknown reasons, construction of a new camp was started instead of expanding the existing one. Prisoners from the Jewish forced labor camp (ZALfJ) were sent to work on its construction. The ZALfJ closed down entirely on January 10, 1944, when there was a selection conducted on the Jews left at Dyhernfurth, and they were moved to the newly erected, but already operating, Dyhernfurth II camp, which was located in a small pine forest about a kilometer (0.6 miles) away from the Anorgana plant. The camp was composed of 30 barracks, including eight two-level brick buildings, while the rest were wooden. The camp kitchen and staff accommodations were located outside the barbed-wire fence. Although new, the barracks were damp, and in the winter they were for the most part unheated. Initially, there was neither running water nor toilets in the camp. Buckets for feces were set out on the walkways at night.

In the initial months of the camp's existence in 1943, the prisoner population was under 450. However, a large influx of prisoners was recorded there, starting in January 1944. The aforementioned transfer of Jews from the Organisation Schmelt occurred on January 10. Transports with non-Jewish prisoners started arriving from the main camp, primarily Poles and Russians, but there were also Czechs, French, Croatians, Italians, Germans, and Dutch. The first such transport had arrived at Dyhernfurth in February and numbered approximately 1,000 prisoners. About 500 Hungarian Jews arrived by transport from Auschwitz on June 8. The highest population on any one day was 3,037 prisoners on October 27, 1944. That was barely one-third of the planned number of 9,700 prisoners.

The prisoners were primarily put to work on earthmoving and construction projects, transporting cement or sand, and unloading railroad cars. A small number of them were put to work as metalworkers, clerks, and room painters. In addition, ten prisoners were put to work as draftsmen. In April 1944, the company began training support workers in building tradesmen jobs.

A new motivational system was introduced in 1944 at Dyhernfurth. It consisted of bonus vouchers paid to prisoners, which could be spent at the camp canteen. Prisoners could buy cigarettes or small amounts of food with the vouchers. The bonus system also included prisoner-functionaries; they received what were called "management bonuses," which were vouchers worth from 1.5 Reichsmark (RM) to 2.5 RM per week. But the bonuses did not solve the problem of the hunger prevailing in camp. The small food rations of fewer than 1,000 calories a day were reduced even further by thefts by the SS men. The factory issued prisoners performing the hardest labor an extra portion of bread and a small piece of horse-meat sausage. The prisoner kitchen was manned by 16 people and had a 5-person "potato" commando to help, which only peeled vegetables and potatoes.

The wretched food, ubiquitous violence, and awful conditions were the cause of many diseases and the large death rate, even though there had been an infirmary (*Revier*) in Dyhernfurth II from the start. It was initially located on the ground floor of one of the brick barracks. It consisted of two wards of 36 beds each, plus an admissions room, a washing space doubling as a morgue, and a small room serving as a storeroom. The patient population was about 60. In time, the infirmary was expanded into another barrack, and the number of patients admitted rose to 500 to 600. The most frequently encountered conditions were: weakness, malnutrition, starvation dropsy, and ulceration of unhealed wounds caused by beating. The position of infirmary Kapo was held by Dziubek. Two doctors, two dentists, and nine orderlies attended to patients, but they had very few medical supplies at their disposal, so a stay in the hospital only gave patients the opportunity for a short rest from work. The death rate at camp

was approximately 20 to 30 prisoners per week. The bodies of the dead were carted out once per week to the crematorium at the main camp. Selections were conducted at the camp regularly, and prisoners unfit to work were sent back to the main camp.

There were several escape attempts in camp. Anyone caught was not sent back to the main camp but was executed on the spot.

SS-Obersturmführer Peter Brandenburg, born on February 10, 1889, in Hörde, was initially camp commander; he was replaced by SS-Obersturmführer Karl Brauer in January 1944. Of the 200 members of the camp's staff, the following SS men's names are known: SS-Unterscharführer Bruno Martin Bönning (sentenced to 2 years in prison in 1947 by the Toruń Court); SS-Rottenführer Konrad Kumpf; SS-Rottenführer Anton Maurer; SS-Sturmmann Oskar Prechtl; SS-Untersturmführer Willi Rost; SS-Rottenführer Emil Ruck; SS-Sturmmann Jakob Schmitzer; SS-Schütze Johann Schmitzer; SS-Rottenführer Johann Tschokan; SS-Hauptscharführer Julius Uhl, roll-call leader (Rapportführer); SS-Sturmmann Peter Wrbanatz; SS-Rottenführer Peter Wolf; SS-Schütze Otto Schwanke (sentenced to 3 years' incarceration in 1947 by Toruń District Court); Johann Theil (aka Thell) (sentenced to 6 years' incarceration in 1948 by the Świdnica Court); SS-Oberscharführer Erwin, Uhl's successor as Rapportführer, infamous among the prisoners; SS-Scharführer Franz Skowronek, born October 4, 1891; SS-Rottenführer Fritz Herzog, the medical orderly (SDG) in charge of the hospital; Block Leader (Blockführer) Schulz; Konrad Giela; Walter Meisen; Herman Schöps, born August 2, 1901 (sentenced to 2 years' incarceration in 1947 by the Jelenia Góra Court); Assistant Commander Max Kant, born February 13, 1894 (sentenced to 12 years' incarceration in 1947 by the Wałbrzych Court and conditionally released in 1956); a block leader Weiss; August Peterek; Voelke; SS-Sturmmann Herbert Piotrowski; SS-Rottenführer Ludwig Hackler, the person in charge of the labor commandos; SS-Unterscharführer Wiese; SS-Unterscharführer Hlavicka; SS-Unterscharführer Blume; SS-Unterscharführer Bayer; SS-Unterscharführer Petrovic, head of the prisoners' and SS men's kitchen; SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Hanke, assistant supervisor of camp commandos; SS-Schütze Andreas Adamy; SS-Rottenführer Anton Balthasar; and SS-Rottenführer Ottomar Aichhdzer.

The staff had a "prisoner government" of about 100 prisoners to help them. It was headed by Camp Elder (Lageräl-tester) Guhr, Kapo Schmitz, and Oberkapo Stanisław Szulc. Only German professional criminals (BVs) held positions as block elders (Blockältester).

The bloodiest excerpt of the Dyhernfurth II camp's history was its evacuation on foot. Production at the Dyhernfurth works went on until January 1945, when the factory was hurriedly evacuated, and the civilian staff was escorted across the Oder on the night of January 23–24. The toxic gases and ammunition that had been manufactured stayed behind at camp. The prisoners were evacuated at the same time, leaving the sick who could not walk in camp. The 2-kilometer-long (1.2-mile-long) column of emaciated human skeletons still had to pull sleds with the SS men's belongings behind them through the snow-covered fields, leaving the main roads for the civil population under evacuation and for the army. In very low temperatures, clad in only thin clothing, the prisoners had to walk the 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the Gross-Rosen main camp. Any prisoners who stopped marching were shot. They traveled the 30 kilometers (19 miles) to Neumarkt (later Środa Śląska) the first day, leaving the bodies of over 200 shot prisoners on the way. The night's stay in the abandoned buildings of a sugar mill did not provide them with a moment's rest; approximately 100 prisoners froze to death that evening.

For reasons unknown, the evacuation of the sick people left in the camp was ordered the next day. Unclothed, wrapped only in horse-cloth blankets, their legs wrapped in rags substituting for shoes, they were also herded in the direction of Środa Śląska. The bedridden who could not stay on their legs were loaded onto wagons. But they were only driven to the railroad bridge over the Oder. There, they were all shot, their bodies thrown into the water. Many of those who had set out toward Gross-Rosen were shot along the way. The sick people who managed to reach Środa Śląska were put in a former slaughterhouse, where systematic executions by shooting were begun on the order of the local district leader (Kreisleiter), Ernst Dickmann, of the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) squad (the camp escort had fled), which were stopped only upon intervention by the Wehrmacht detachment alarmed by residents. (Dickmann, born July 7, 1911, in Niederdorfie, was sentenced to death by a Criminal Court Decree on December 10, 1945, for murdering 93 sick prisoners; the sentence was carried out.) The surviving ill people were transported to the Gross-Rosen main camp the next day.

After spending a few days at the main camp, they and the other prisoners had to undertake the hardships of evacuation all over again, this time by train into the Reich. Many of them did not survive that trip.

The city and factory at Dyhernfurth were taken by the 27th Corps of the 13th Soviet Army without a fight on January 26, 1945. The Germans retreated across the Oder in a panic, destroying the ferry and railway bridge. On February 4, German forces retook the factory with the intention of destroying it and concealing the truth about the place. The Germans retreated on February 6 when the Soviets brought in more forces.

SOURCES Publications dealing with Dyhernfurth II include Henryk Czernik, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego w Brzegu Dolnym," *SFiZH* 1 (1974); Roman Olszyna, "Żydzi w KL Dyhernfurth," *F-S* 5 (1978); and Kazimierz Hałgas, *Dyhernfurth II—Aussenlager Gross-Rosen. Todeskommando* (Wałbrzych, 1994).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see Catalog No. 13/28/MF, 5242/DP, 5913/DP—prosecution records in the case of Karl Gallasch; Catalog No. 5905/1-25/DP—records on Martin Klütsch; Catalog No. 108/1/MF, 6244/DP, 6298/

DP—Dyhernfurth II bonus [voucher] applications and payroll for August 1944; Catalog No. 5917/DP—transcript of prosecution records on the investigation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subsidiaries at Brzeg Dolny, maintained by the AK-IPN WR (DS 1/68); also the collection of 305 Dyhernfurth camp prisoner accounts and questionnaires kept at AMGR; 97 camp letters from Dyhernfurth kept at AMGR; and the NMT Trial of the management of IG Farben.

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

FREIBURG IN SCHLESIEN

Freiburg in Schlesien (later Swiebodzice), a women's Gross-Rosen subcamp, was probably formed in August of 1944, as the first references to a transport of female prisoners from Auschwitz concentration camp come from that time.[1] The transport numbered 1,000 women; 500 were Jewish women who had lived in the Łódź ghetto prior to being incarcerated at Auschwitz, and 500 were Jewish Czech women.

The next known transport sent to this subcamp was on January 12, 1945. It numbered 150 women brought to Freiburg from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They received numbers 94001 through 94150.[2] After a brief stay in Freiburg, they were transported to Ludwigsdorf, another Gross-Rosen subcamp.

The prisoners at Freiburg were put to work manufacturing ammunition at the Hildebrand und Frey factory and making aircraft lighting parts at the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) plant. AEG occupied space for this purpose in the Hermann Teichgräber company spinning mill.

Work at the factory lasted from 6:30 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. There was a half-hour lunch break. Although conditions at the factory were tolerable, intense hunger was rife in the camp. In addition, the prisoners were persecuted by the barrack chiefs Marysia (from Łódź) and Olga.

The camp was evacuated in March or April 1945. The prisoners were escorted to the railway station and put into uncovered cars without receiving provisions for the trip. After traveling for eight days, they were ordered to move into closed cattle cars; they reached the Mauthausen concentration camp in another eight days.

SOURCES Freiburg in Schlesien is partly covered in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112; Aneta Małek, *Labor in the KL Gross-Rosen System*, published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 2003; Bogdan Cybulski, "Satellite Camps of KL Gross-Rosen: The State of Research," published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 1987 and in the BS-DM 5 (1998), 16 (1999), and 17 (1999). These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp. Additionally, there is some discussion of this subcamp in Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

Available archival source material is composed primarily of accounts by former prisoners, as well as information about prisoner numbering. These materials are located in the AMGR.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The date of the establishment and evacuation of the camp comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny.

2. The information regarding numbers comes from AMGR, imprint 7/119/MF and 6835/5 and the account imprint 5387/DP.

FRIEDLAND

Friedland (Mieroszów since 1945) is a small mountain town with roots dating back to the fourteenth century, picturesquely located at an elevation of 1,640 feet in the Steine (Polish: Ścinawka) River valley. The town's several thousand people have been involved with the textile and lumber industries for centuries. Several labor camps began operating in Friedland at the very start of World War II; they were chiefly for displaced Poles (entire families, including children, were held there), Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and then Italians. They were put to work at local farms, in the granary, at the flax mill, and in other industrial plants.[1]

The decision to locate a subcamp of Gross-Rosen in Friedland was made in 1944 because of difficult circumstances in finding workers due to the situation at the fronts and the relocation of an ever-increasing number of industrial plants to Lower Silesia (German: Niederschlesien), as well as the shift over to wartime production at long-established industries.

The Friedland camp was situated about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from town on the road from Waldenburg (Wałbrzych), just between the road and the railroad track and river, in the shadow of a small mountain. Four wooden barracks were prepared for prisoners. Three of them were for living quarters, and the fourth one held the camp kitchen, warehouse, and infirmary. The living quarters barracks were furnished with three-tiered bunks. The assembly ground was in the center of the camp. The entire camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence, and at the camp entrance and the fence corners, there were watchtowers equipped with machine guns. A staff barrack stood outside the barbed-wire fence across from the camp entrance.[2]

The camp began operating on September 8, 1944, when the first transport of prisoners arrived from Auschwitz.[3] It comprised 300 Polish Jews from the Łódź (German: Litzmannstadt) ghetto, which was being liquidated. They stayed at Auschwitz for a month "on hold"; they did not receive numbers, since they were allocated to be transported to another camp right away. There was a search for specialists at Auschwitz to fill the transport to Friedland: electricians and metalworkers;[4] therefore, everyone on the transport list is recorded as an expert tradesman (or skilled worker, in the worst instance). The prisoners came to Friedland without

going through the main camp, which was atypical for transports of male prisoners,[5] and received numbers 56301 through 56600.

The next transport arrived there on October 13, 1944, and included 50 Slovak Jews, who received numbers 67301 through 67350. It also included expert tradesmen, but in another field. They were cabinetmakers, carpenters, and woodworkers, but as many as 22 of them had no trade (they were listed as laborers, *Hilfsarbeiter*).[6]

The last transport from outside the Gross-Rosen complex arrived at Friedland several days later on October 19, 1944.[7] A total of 165 prisoners arrived from Auschwitz, of which 133 had previously been at Theresienstadt, and at Friedland they received Gross-Rosen numbers ranging from 73801 to 73933; 11 from the Łódź ghetto received numbers 73934 through 73944; 18 Slovak Jews were identified with numbers 73945 through 73962; and 3 Hungarian Jews received numbers 73963 through 73965. Here, as in the first transport, expert tradesmen—metalworkers—predominated, but there were also three doctors.

The prisoner population remained basically unchanged until late 1944. Of the 515 prisoners who had come in the three transports described above, 510 were in camp on December 6.[8] Earlier, two doctors were moved to another subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen complex, the labor camp at Bad Warmbrunn (later Cieplice, a section of Jelenia Góra, which had been called Hirschberg until 1945).

The largest number of prisoners, numbering as many as 434, worked at the Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), Hamburg aircraft propeller factory. Prisoners were put to work directly in production, and their work consisted of shaping aircraft propellers with special tools (milling machines) with a tolerance of up to 1/100 millimeters. Even though only expert tradesmen were selected at Auschwitz, the Germans were concerned about the quality of production and devoted four to six weeks of job training at the factory. Upon completion of training, the prisoners began normal work at the factory. They worked on two 12-hour shifts.

Some 40 prisoners worked at the Fritz Schuber carpentry company; 21 worked in camp services. The work at the carpentry company and at VDM, although it was hard and the prisoners were exposed to persecution by the civilian foremen, provided a sense of protection against the approaching winter, at least as far as the cold was concerned. Prisoners assigned to work at construction sites (*Stollenbau*) had it the worst, as they carved caves into the nearby mountain for a purpose that was not fully explained (there was a rumor circulating among the prisoners that a factory was going to be located there). Equally hard and dangerous was the work on the railroad trackway, laying rails and ties. In the winter, the fingers of the emaciated and exhausted prisoners would freeze to the rails and cause serious mutilations.

The prisoners assigned to camp services had it the best, relatively speaking. Working in the kitchen or cleaning the SS men's spaces provided at least some slim chances of getting extra food, since the camp's greatest problem was the hunger prevailing there from the very beginning. The 85 to 99 grams (3.0 to 3.5 ounces) of bread and two daily issues of turnip water called soup were not enough for anyone, let alone people who had to perform hard physical labor 12 hours a day. The situation did not improve when a herb detachment (Kräuterkommando) was formed to collect herbs in the forest to enrich this diet.

The situation got even worse in 1945 when the next prisoner transport arrived at camp. It included at least 68 starving prisoners from the evacuation column from a Gross-Rosen subcamp that was part of the separate Riese complex: the Wolfsberg (Polish: Góra Włodarz) subcamp.[9] The camp commander refused to admit the entire evacuation transport. Those he did admit were placed in Barrack 4. Their arrival caused the already extraordinarily meager food rations to decrease.

The prisoners' initial relief at leaving the shadow of Birkenau's crematoriums and gas chambers quickly changed to despair. At the Friedland concentration camp, the exceedingly hard labor killed with equal effectiveness, as did the starvation and ever-present lice infestation, with which no one even attempted to fight, despite the bathhouses at camp (but only with cold water) and numerous disinfections.[10] Deceased prisoners were buried on the hill near the local Catholic cemetery.

Although the Friedland camp escaped the tragedy of evacuation, toward its end, headquarters had begun preparing for evacuation, as other camps were. On April 14 and 21, two transports of sick prisoners were sent away to the Dörnhau (Polish: Kolce) camp, which was the "hospital" for the Riese complex camps operating in the Eulengebirge (Polish: Góry Sowie).[11] There was an evacuation attempt in early May, and some prisoners were escorted out of the camp; but due to the commencement of the 1st Ukrainian Front's "Operation Prague" on May 7, the evacuation column was returned to camp after spending the night in the forest.[12]

The Friedland camp was one of the last camps liberated, as the Soviet Army entered it only on May 9.[13]

No German records on the camp's staff have survived. An inquiry conducted by the Commission Archives-Polish Institute of National Memory, Wrocław (AK-IPN WR) in the 1970s with regard to the commanders of the Gross-Rosen camp produced no results and ended in the proceedings being discontinued.[14] Out of the Friedland labor camp's staff throughout its operation, the name of only one SS man has been established. That was SS-Rottenführer Hofer, who served as medic (SDG).[15] According to former prisoner accounts, the camp's leader (Lagerführer) was a Silesian, a Wehrmacht captain named Kautz. The entire staff numbered from 20 to 30 SS men. None of them were tried in court after the war.

To help maintain discipline in camp, the SS men had what was called the "prisoner government." It was headed by the camp elder (Lagerältester), who was initially the Polish Jew Israel Herskon and later the Slovak Goldner. The barrack chiefs were Henryk Judkiewicz, Leib Ohrer, and

Majloch Rachoner. The head cook was the Austrian Max. At the infirmary (*Revier*), Franz Vetelicki[16] and Karl Zimmer served as doctors, while Leopold Winter was the camp dentist.[17]

SOURCES Information on the Friedland camp may be found in Roman Olszyna, "KL Friedland," *F-S* 47 (1978); and in the published memoir by Henry Starer, *Why* (New York, 1991).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see, for example, Catalog No. 146/DS 5/68-2/MF—testimony of female forced laborer from Friedland; Catalog No. 6928/DP; 108\9\MF—Transportliste über die am 8.9.44 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 300 jüdische Häftlinge, September 8, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO); Catalog No. 6931/DP—Berufsliste der im A.L.Friedland eingesetzten 510 jüdischen männlichen Häftlinge, December 6, 1944, A.L.Friedland (original at APMO).

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Account of E. Promny, AŻIH, MF35/9, vol. 119; AMGR, Catalog No. 146/DS 5/68-2/MF—testimony of a female forced laborer.
2. AMGR, Catalog No. 3669/DP-A—account of Henryk Marecki.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 6928/DP; 108\9\MF—Transportliste über die am 8.9.44 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 300 jüdische Häftlinge, September 8, 1944, Friedland (original in APMO).
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/DP/21—letter of H. Marecki, and Catalog No. 2638/DP—account of Dawid Szajnzych.
5. All transports sent to Friedland labor camp were sent there directly and did not go through quarantine at the main camp.
6. AMGR, Catalog No. 6929/DP; 108/9/MF—Transportliste über die am 13.10.1944 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 50 jüdische slovakische Häftlinge, October 13, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO).
7. AMGR, Catalog No. 6930/DP; 108/9/MF—Transportliste über die am 19.10.1944 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 165 jüdische Häftlinge, October 26, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO).
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 6931/DP—Berufsliste der im A.L. Friedland eingesetzten 510 jüdischen männlichen Häftlinge. December 6, 1944, A.L.Friedland (original at APMO).
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 2330/DP.
10. AMGR, Catalog No. 6208/DP-A, Catalog No. 4930/DP-A—accounts of Jerzy Piekielny.
11. AMGR, Catalog No. 6266/DP—"Zugansliste Riese von Friedland," reconstructed by Prof. Alfred Konieczny based on the collections of the America Joint Distribution Commitee in Prague.
12. Tape-recorded account of Dawid Szajnzych in the collections of the Gross-Rosen Museum.
13. Henry Starer, *Why* (New York, 1991).
14. Ruling of the OKBZHW [District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes], dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue proceedings, p. 172, IPN.
15. Health services SS man in charge of hospital [*Revier*].
16. Roman Olszyna, "KL Friedland," *F-S* 47 (1978).
17. GRM-A, sygn. 7087DP—copies of three dental reports (originals at Terezin [Teresin] Museum).

FÜNFTEICHEN

The creation of a Gross-Rosen subcamp in Fünfteichen (later Miłoszyce) near Breslau (Wrocław) was closely connected to the decision to build another armaments plant for the Maschinenfabriken Friedrich Krupp Berthawerk AG at that location. Construction of the Krupp factory buildings began in early 1942 and production commenced by early 1943.

The construction and production schedules assumed that employment at the plant would exceed 20,000 by the end of 1944. Plant management learned on July 1, 1943, however, that such numbers would not be available through normal channels; they therefore undertook negotiations with Gross-Rosen to use prisoners.

Consequent to the resulting agreement, Gross-Rosen took over a camp approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the plant. The construction work to finish and adapt the site was done in August and September 1943, with a workforce that included prisoners from the nearby camp in Markstädt (later Laskowice Oławskie, now part of Jelcz-Laskowice). The newly created Fünfteichen camp received its first large prisoner transport in late September or early October 1943: a transport of approximately 600 Polish Jews from Auschwitz. More prisoner transports arrived at the camp in subsequent months. There were 1,200 prisoners in the camp on February 2, 1944, though it could already hold 4,000 to 5,000 men. Prisoner accounts tell us that between 6,000 and 7,000 prisoners were in the camp near the end of its existence. It was the largest subcamp in the Gross-Rosen system.

The structure of Fünfteichen's prisoner population changed during 1944. Initially Jews constituted the majority. However, starting with the second quarter of 1944, many transports of Poles from prisons all over Poland began arriving via Gross-Rosen. These included approximately 200 men who had been sent to Gross-Rosen after the failure of the Warsaw Uprising. Records indicate that transports of Jewish prisoners also were leaving the camp. For example, in August 1944, 314 emaciated prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz, while 403 were transferred to the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Görlitz. Although a transport of approximately 500 Hungarian Jews arrived from Auschwitz in late May or early June, the number of Jewish prisoners decreased appreciably in late 1944. Poles began constituting the clear majority. There were also, though less numerous, French, Belgian, Dutch, Russian, German, Czech, and Croatian prisoners.

When the expansion was completed, the camp consisted of several dozen barracks: 32 one-story wooden barracks set directly on the ground for the prisoners; 5 barracks served as

lavatories and bathrooms, and 5 brick ones as the hospital. To the north of the assembly ground were the buildings of the *Schreibstube*, the camp canteen, and kitchen. A double barbed-wire fence surrounded the entire camp. Beyond the fence were 2 barracks for the SS and the headquarters building. Also on the outside were concrete bunkers spaced every 20 to 30 meters (66 to 98 feet) and several watchtowers. Electric current ran through the inner fence.

Most of the prisoners worked for the Krupp factory, in two 12-hour shifts, manufacturing 75mm and 150mm cannons as well as torpedo launchers. The prisoners made the approximately 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) trip from the camp to the plant on foot via a dirt road lined with barbed-wire entanglements on both sides. The SS men escorting the prisoners had dogs and walked outside the fencing on both sides.

The testimony of former prisoners leaves no doubt that the mortality rate was high. However, the figures are only estimates, which preclude providing an exact death count for the entire time the camp was in existence. The estimates range from 30 deaths per week to 100 or even 200.[1] If even the lowest of those figures were accurate, it would add up to over 2,000 deaths over the roughly 16 months of the camp's existence.

Initial plans called for a staff of approximately 60 to 100 SS guards, but by late 1944, there were between 400 and 500. The first Lagerführer (camp leader) was an SS man named Weiss; in the spring of 1944, SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Stoppel (born September 13, 1902) took over, and his assistant was SS-Hauptscharführer Erich Schrammel (born August 26, 1908). The first roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold, followed (in October 1944) by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Gallasch.

Attempts to escape from Fünfteichen occurred quite often, more frequently from the factory than from the camp itself. Escapes from the factory mainly occurred on the night shift or in the evening, when the day-shift prisoners were finishing work. People also took advantage of situations when an air-raid alarm was announced, because then the lights in and around the factory were shut off, and the chance for success increased. Many successful attempts took advantage of the rail lines that ran by the factory.

Prisoners shot while attempting to escape were displayed on the assembly ground as a warning to others. There would be a sign on the prisoner's chest, with the derisive words: "Ich bin wieder da" (I am back again) or "Ich bin von Reise zurück" (I am back from my trip). Anyone who was caught and brought to camp alive also stood on the assembly ground with a similar sign. The punishment for attempting to escape was usually death, most frequently by hanging. Executions were conducted either on the spot at the subcamp or at the main camp.[2] Sometimes the escapee was only whipped and assigned to a penal company.[3]

Prisoner beatings by SS men were a daily occurrence, mainly in camp but during work as well. Any prisoner who left his workstation without permission, talked to a fellow prisoner, or got tired and sat down for a moment was beaten, but it also happened very often for no evident reason. Some beatings were fatal.[4]

Many prisoners could not stand the conditions prevailing in camp and committed suicide. The most frequent form of suicide in the camp was called "going to the post," meaning getting so near the fence that a guard would open fire. At the factory, instances of suicide by hanging occurred. All you had to do was put a wire noose around your neck, hook it onto an overhead crane, and press the button that pulled the hook up to the factory ceiling.[5]

The evacuation of Fünfteichen started on January 21, 1945. Approximately 6,000 prisoners were marched out of the camp, surrounded by SS men. In temperatures reaching -20°C (–4°F), usually by dirt roads, the prisoners journeyed on foot to Gross-Rosen, which they reached in four days. Approximately 1,000 prisoners died en route. The prisoners stayed at the main camp for a few days, then were assigned to various evacuation trains into the Reich. Those who survived that next travail finally wound up at the concentration camps in Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Dachau, Mittelbau, and primarily Mauthausen.

However, not all the prisoners left with the death march. Approximately 300 sick prisoners remained in the camp hospital, without medical care or food; many of them did not live until liberation. The prisoners who died during that time were buried in a mass grave near the camp.

The staff left the camp along with the evacuation and were replaced by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). After two days, on January 23, 1945, they too left the camp. At approximately 11:00 A.M. that day, Soviet Army soldiers entered the camp, probably a detachment of the 52nd Army's 78th Rifle Corps. A number of lynchings occurred at that time, as prisoners took revenge against some of their fellows.

The following members of the SS staff at Fünfteichen were tried after the war: SS-Hauptscharführer Gallasch (born November 17, 1897), who served as Rapportführer, was sentenced to death by a decree of the Wrocław District Court, dated May 17, 1947; he committed suicide in prison on May 18.[6] Camp guard Jacob Morhardt (born March 23, 1899) was tried by the Świdnica District Court and was sentenced to death on September 12, 1947. The sentence was carried out on November 8.[7]

SOURCES There is no monograph on the Fünfteichen subcamp. Information on this subcamp can be found in Tadeusz Dumin, "The Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Subsidiary in Miłoszyce in Oława County," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); and Andrzej Bułat and Wacław Dominik, *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław, 1980). Also, Wacław Kolenda, *Wspomnienia* [memoirs] (Wrocław, 1984), published by the author, is helpful.

Archival material on the Fünfteichen camp is primarily located at the AMGR in Wałbrzych. It is chiefly composed of former prisoner accounts and recollections. On file at the AK-IPN, Warsaw and Wrocław divisions, are reports on examinations of witnesses and former Fünfteichen prisoners, as well as partial trial records for some of the SS staff members and prisoner-functionaries tried after the war. The AŻIH in

Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem also have accounts of prisoners from the Markstädt and Fünfteichen camps. The information on the Krupp Works and its association with the Fünfteichen labor camp is in the Records of Nuremberg Trial No. 10 against Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and codefendants before an American Military Tribunal (vols. 42, 63, 95, 99–102). There is a microfilm of the records kept at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and AMGR.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Testimony of T. Soll, AK-IPN WR; Testimony of K. Goniprowski, AK-IPN; Testimony of S. Reifel, AŻIH.
2. AMGR, 5900/3/DP, Report of examination of Józef Mazur; 5215/DP-A, Questionnaire of Henryk Danielczyk.
3. AMGR, 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Tadeusz Kaczanowicz; 5758/70/DP, Account of Z. Brodzki.
4. AMGR, 36/39/MF, Account of Maksymilian Rek; 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Władysław Budyński; 5758/70/DP, Account of Z. Brodzki.
5. AMGR, 3798/DP-A, Account of Stefan Matuszewski; 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Teofil Szczepaniak; 7009/9/DP, Account of Władysław Bąk.
6. AMGR, 5242/DP, 5913/DP, 52/40/MF; E. Kobierska-Motas, "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie" (Warsaw, 1992), Item 344.
7. Ibid., Item 1055.

GABERSDORF

The original camp for female Jewish prisoners in Gabersdorf (later Libeč) was established in January 1941 as part of the network of forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jews under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt. Apparently, the first wooden barrack was built around that time; the second, later. The female prisoners had to work in a spinning mill that had been "aryanized" in 1939 by the Viennese firm Vereinigte Textilwerke & Co. K.H. Barthel. Later, the prisoners would work also in the factories of the firms Aloys Haase and J.A. Kluge und Etrich, as well as in a cotton-spinning mill and for a manufacturer of tents.

On March 18, 1944, the transformation into a subcamp of Gross-Rosen was completed. Later on the camp was put under the control of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz." The camp held mostly Jewish girls and women between 15 and 30 (220 of the 363 women in the camp on October 27, 1944, were in this age group). There were 343 Polish women, 18 Hungarians, 1 Czech, and 1 Slovak. According to a report by the Gross-Rosen command office to K.H. Frank on November 18, 1944, there were 400 prisoners in the camp.

The food was, as in other camps in the area, monotonous, inadequate, and often tasteless, typically a soup made from rutabagas. In the course of the war, prisoner rations became worse both in quality and quantity (e.g., the prisoner's daily bread ration dropped to 220 grams [7.8 ounces] per day). The results were illnesses, a complete lack of vitamins, and total physical weakness while doing heavy work. The death of two women in the camp has been confirmed.

Under the charge of camp commander Charlotte Rose were 10 SS wardresses and 3 male SS guards. The camp was liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES The basis for this article on Gabersdorf is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). There is also Miroslav Kryl, "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984); and Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T. The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (criminal trials against the former wardresses). Finally, there is the firm's archive at Texlen Trutnov; in the 1970s, its former head Vladimír Wolf made accessible to Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area contained in the files of the German textile firm for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GABLONZ

A subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was formed in the town of Gablonz an der Neisse (Jablonec nad Nisou) in November 1944. The initial transport numbered 500 prisoners. A large percentage was composed of prisoners who wound up at the main camp after the Warsaw Uprising. The camp was set up at a former factory production hall near the Feinapparatenbau Carl Zeiss Jena Niederlassung factory. Prisoners were put in the upper level, while the camp staff lived on the lower one; there was also business space. Two buildings adjoined the camp. Prisoners of war (POWs) lived in one, and women, mostly Jewish, in the other. Otto Saenger held the job of commandant (Lagerführer). The staff was made up of 31 people.

Most of the prisoners were sent to work at the factory, where they worked in two 12-hour shifts. They worked machining aircraft parts and manufacturing parts for weapons.

A former prisoner writes about working at the factory in his memoirs:

> I was assigned to the Dreherei II department, composed of thirty automatic lathes and two precision lathes for turning out small amounts of small parts for machinery. The automatic lathes were operated exclusively by teenage boys from the Warsaw Uprising. . . . They were braver than some adults, which won them terrific liking and respect. . . . The department supervisor was a civilian German engineer, who rarely looked in on us, but the department was actually supervised by a civilian foreman . . . , a sixty-year-old Bavarian. . . . On the third day he told me that there was a slice of bread with lard in his desk drawer. When he walked away, I was to steal it and eat it quickly. He was afraid of being responsible for giving a prisoner extra food and that's why he told me to steal it. He did that every day, until he was transferred to another production hall. Upon my request, he would even leave his *Sudetenzeitung* newspaper in the drawer, in consequence of which I was a source of information on what was going on in the war for other prisoners. Our foreman was so good to me that he didn't even require that I fulfill the work quota.[1]

Prisoners Henryk Uchman and Władysław Motyl attempted to organize a sabotage group. They gradually initiated the more trusted prisoners, such as boy scouts. The sabotage consisted of destroying materials and ruining castings.

Roadway commandos called Brandelkommandos were also organized at the camp; they were assigned to build and repair the railroad tracks near the Gablonz train station. Prisoners from the commando were used also to unload railroad cars.

The group of teenagers also was used as help in the kitchen, where they did such things as peel potatoes and rutabagas. Sometimes they managed to take out slices of rutabaga, which they often shared with their friends. Anyone caught smuggling like that was punished, usually by beating.

Ulcers, erysipelas, tuberculosis, and diarrhea were the most frequent diseases at Gablonz. A typhus epidemic broke out at camp due to the lack of elementary hygiene, causing many deaths.

Former prisoners' accounts indicate that the SS army doctor performed selections and killed the gravely ill with injections. After such an injection, the patient would die in six minutes. The injections were administered to people who required longer periods of treatment and were suspected of having tuberculosis.

Delousing was a nightmare for the prisoners. Washing their clothes in cold water without soap every week did not solve the problem. One day the camp officials announced there would be lice catching. Prisoners received a cigarette for catching two lice. Nonsmoking prisoners gave the lice they caught to their smoker friends. There were so many lice that the cigarettes quickly ran out. The prisoners who had collected the greatest "harvests" were regarded as slovens and lice breeders. In consequence, they were ordered to "leapfrog," and the prisoner-functionaries exacted their penalty upon them with bats. The mangled prisoners were driven into the bathhouse, where they were "treated" to an icy shower. Many came down with pneumonia. Many prisoners died due to their wounds and emaciation.

There were two unsuccessful escape attempts at Gablonz subcamp. In the wintertime during the night shift at the factory, two prisoners escaped: a Russian and a Croatian. After an investigation had been conducted, the Blockführer (block leader) ordered that the punishment of 100 lashes be administered to the prisoners suspected of helping organize the escape. In a few days the fugitives were caught, beaten mercilessly, and dressed in paper clothes; a sign was put on them reading "wir sind wieder da" (we are back here again). They were finally taken away to the main camp, where they were probably hanged. The third escapee was a Russian who worked in the roadway commando. He too was caught, but he was not taken away to the main camp. He was beaten, his hands were twisted behind his back and tied, and he was hung from a rafter by his arm joints. That's how he spent a few hours.

Evacuation transports passed through the camp beginning in January 1945. In January, a 60-person group of prisoners arrived from Bautzen, another Gross-Rosen subcamp. They were sent to Buchenwald by foot march. On January 15, 15 prisoners reached the camp from Auschwitz concentration camp; they were moved to Sachsenchausen concentration camp in February. In January or early February, a transport of 80 to 100 prisoners also arrived from Auschwitz. In early 1945, approximately 200 to 300 Jewish women arrived from Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf, a Gross-Rosen subcamp. They were accommodated across from the men's camp. This is how one prisoner recalls the event: "The SS men prepared a drastic experience for us one Sunday. They brought about three hundred Jewish women from some nearby commando and ordered them to strip naked in our presence. They were sent in batches of fifty to wash in our washroom, where the hot water had been turned on for once. . . . To make the bathing more attractive and pleasant, the SS men brought in an accordion and ordered Cz. Matuszewski . . . to play rapturous tangos and waltzes."[2]

In March, approximately 30 prisoners detached from the evacuation column from the Hartmannsdorf subcamp arrived at Gablonz. About 100 prisoners were sent to the nearby Reichenau subcamp in early February. In late February or early March a new camp elder (Lagerältester) and block elder (Blockältester) as well as a dozen or so Jewish prisoners arrived at Gablonz from the closed Hirschberg camp. They brought equipment and provisions with them, as well as new terrifying regimens. Lagerführer Saenger was probably recalled just at this time, too, and a new commander arrived to take his place.

Only one shift remained working at the factory in April 1945. The remaining prisoners who had worked at the factory earlier were assigned to work repairing railroad tracks. The prisoners worked until May 7. In the early morning of May 8, evacuation of the camp was ordered. All the prisoners except the sick were led out of the camp under the escort of guards. Several of the stronger prisoners pulled a cart with bread. A group of female Jewish prisoners joined the column along the way. They were going toward Tannwald (Tanvald). The SS men unexpectedly surrendered the column to some Czech underground fighters and Red Cross representatives.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001); the Gablonz subcamp is discussed on pp. 147–160. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Archival materials on the Gablonz camp consist of numerous surveys, recollections, and accounts of former prisoners of Gablonz, which can be found at AMGR.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 5179/DP, Władysław Boczoń, "Opowieść wojenna," pp. 214–215.
2. Ibid., p. 237

GASSEN

This subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was set up approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) northeast of the town of Gassen (later Jasień) on the site of a former camp for prisoners of war (POWs) or for forced laborers. The initial transport of 100 to 200 prisoners arrived in late September or early October 1944. Prisoners who wound up at Gross-Rosen after the Warsaw Uprising, formed a large part of the transport. The camp's population was about 700 prisoners. Besides Poles, the most numerous group (56 percent), there were Soviet citizens (27 percent), Frenchmen (6.7 percent), Croats (3.5 percent), Czechs (1.4 percent), and even a few Italians and Belgians at Gassen. Nearly 70 percent of the inmates were under 33 years old: younger people could produce more.

The subcamp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Walter Knop, who joined the SS on April 15, 1935, and the Nazi Party on May 1, 1937. From October 1, 1938, to May 8, 1944, he served at the Sachsenhausen and Neuengamme concentration camps, after which he was transferred to Gross-Rosen. The German criminal Peter Klein was the camp elder (Lagerältester).

The majority of the prisoners were put to work at Focke-Wulf, a former farm-machinery factory that had been converted to manufacture aircraft parts; so mostly prisoners who were knowledgeable about metalworking were sent to this subcamp. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, with a break for lunch, which they ate on the spot.

There was a large group of teenage prisoners between 15 and 17 years old at the subcamp. They lived in a separate room. A monthlong course to learn the metalworking trade was held for them. Their teachers were foremen from the factory, who "treated" them to a mug of milk soup. After the course, they were sent to work at the factory, while on Sundays they were assigned to clean the aviator quarters near the camp. Sometimes they would get something to eat there. The teenage prisoners were exposed to the designs of Lagerältester Klein, who had a weakness for boys.

The diseases that plagued the prisoners most often included scabies, diarrhea, tuberculosis, and dysentery. Lice were another plague for the prisoners. There were delousing campaigns, which consisted of the prisoners handing over their things for disinfection outside of camp. While their things were being disinfected, the naked prisoners stayed in their quarters and, on one occasion, did not even go to work for 3 days. However, due to the lack of elementary hygiene, delousing was ineffective. Once every 10 days the prisoners were taken to the bathhouse about 180 meters (197 yards) from camp. Bathing occurred in cold water without soap and towels, and many prisoners paid for it with their lives. According to prisoners, the death rate at the camp was high.

Escape was the only salvation, so many prisoners attempted to escape. Two attempts in particular have stuck in the minds of former prisoners. Two Yugoslavians attempted to escape, probably in December 1944. They were caught, and signs were hung on them reading: "Von der Reise zurück, ich bin wieder da" (Back from my trip, I am here again). They marched about the assembly ground, banging spoons against eating bowls. Naturally, they were beaten, but their ultimate fate is unknown. Also in December, a Lithuanian prisoner attempted to escape while returning from the factory. The prisoners did not know his name, but they knew he was Lithuania's vice-champion or champion in boxing. After he was caught, Lagerältester Klein abused him in front of the prisoners in such a cruel and elaborate manner that the prisoner died of his injuries.

Prisoners were sent to the main camp for major offenses. Two former Soviet POWs were transported to "headquarters" from Gassen. They were shot on December 16, 1944, by order of the commander of the Breslau (Wrocław) Security Police.

Preparations to evacuate the camp were begun by disassembling the factory machines and equipment, which the prisoners then loaded onto railroad cars. The disassembled factory was taken into Germany. While packing mallets for hammering sheet metal, one of the prisoners, as Stefan Pala recalls, "came upon the idea that the mallet heads were edible. They were made of leather saturated with a hard resin substance. When the mallet was placed on the hot metal of a furnace [stove], the head unraveled and fried like the skin on pork fat. That's how we ate many mallets."[1]

The prisoners did not work for three days before the evacuation; they stayed in the barracks under orders not to leave them. According to a former prisoner, an announcement was made a few days prior to the evacuation, saying that anyone weak or unable to march was to report for transport by train. Unfortunately, we do not know when the sick prisoners left the subcamp. A transport of 55 prisoners (1 of 3 prisoners had died of emaciation on the way) was admitted to Buchenwald concentration camp on February 23, 1945. The prisoners were put in the camp hospital, where they stayed until liberation. In all likelihood, few survived.

The evacuation took place on February 12. The prisoners set out from the subcamp in the morning hours, arranged in fives. The winter was extremely cold, the snow knee-high; movement was difficult. The prisoners had not gotten far when the column was halted, and some of the SS men went back to the subcamp, where they set fire to the barracks. The SS men returned an hour later, and the column resumed its journey. The prisoners were sure that the people who had stayed in the camp hospital had been murdered. They carried that idea with them for many years after the war, as they did not know that the sick people had also been evacuated. The emaciated and weak prisoners quickly lost their strength due to the exhausting march. Sick prisoners were told to report during a stop as early as the first day. Those who responded to the order, and there were about 10 to 15 of them, were shot by the SS men. Over subsequent days of the march, anyone who did not keep up with the column was murdered with a shot in the back of the head.

After several days of marching, a stop was ordered in the vicinity of Spremberg or Weisswasser in Lusatia, lasting two days. The prisoners, losing their strength, were quartered in farm buildings. A dead horse was found near the buildings. The Lagerführer ordered that it be cooked and distributed among the prisoners. Some of the prisoners also ate the entrails, which had already been buried; it was not long until the effects were evident. Many prisoners became ill, and many died. After that stop, the prisoners were loaded into freight cars. Two days later, on February 23, 1945, the transport arrived in Leipzig. From the train station, the prisoners had to walk to the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald. Many prisoners were unable to get out of the train on their own, and 5 died along the way. More prisoners died due to extreme exhaustion and disease; 20 prisoners died between February 25 and March 4. The transport of 580 prisoners (including the dead) was officially admitted in the records of Buchenwald concentration camp on March 5, 1945.

A court in Cologne sentenced Walter Knop to nine years' incarceration in 1979.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Gassen subcamp is discussed on pp. 42–65. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Alfred Konieczny, "Ewakuacja podobozu KL Gross-Rosen w Jasieniu /luty—kwiecień 1945 roku/," in *Wpływ pobytuw KL Gross-Rosen na stan zdrowia i losy byłych więźniów* (Wałbrzych, 1986).

Archival materials on the Gassen subcamp include reports of witness interviews conducted by the GOKBZHwP (the originals are in the archives of the IPN), former prisoner accounts, and surveys on file in the collections of the AMGR.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMGR, sygn.5758/509/DP/2, Stefan Pala, Relacja z komanda Gassen (X 1944-18 II 1945).

GEBHARDSDORF [AKA FRIEDEBERG]

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Gebhardsdorf (later Giebułtów), also known as the Friedeberg subcamp after the nearby settlement by that name, was probably established in September 1944. Whether the camp was created on the basis of a preexisting forced labor camp belonging to the Organisation Schmelt has not been verified.

The female Polish Jew Johanna (Joanne) B. reported on a transport from Auschwitz on November 19, 1944, initially by truck and then on foot to Gebhardsdorf, which lasted several days and nights: "Not everybody arrived; many, very many died on the way. With cold hands we dug shallow graves and covered the bodies with a little earth. . . . We arrived in Gebhardsdorf at night. There was an open square, further selections were conducted, and what didn't please the SS-men, was immediately . . . thrown onto trucks and taken to Gross-Rosen. They were killed there. . . . My sister and I and all the other Hungarian and Polish (Jewish) women remained in Gebhardsdorf."[1]

In the camp at this time there were already 300 female Hungarian Jews, a fact that does not support the assumption of the Gebhardsdorf camp previously having belonged to the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camps for Jews (ZALfJ) in Silesia.

There is also no clarity with regard to the question of the registration numbers given to the women by the main camp in Gross-Rosen. They probably lie within the Gross-Rosen registration number series 79501 to 80450, 80601 to 80700, and 83201 to 84300.

The subcamp was located on an elevation. Former female prisoner Hadessa H. reported on the living quarters and hygienic conditions as follows:

> We lived in rooms, which had cupboards, clean containers, washrooms. The living quarters were clean. The women slept on the floor, covered with a blanket. In the camp there was only cold water, underwear could not be changed, very little soap (one piece per month), and so the initial delight slowly turned to disappointment. Washing clothes was

> strictly forbidden, but cleanliness had to be observed. The prisoners worked during the day, at night—illegally—they did their washing, which to a considerable degree exhausted the strength of the women.
>
> They worked in shifts both day and night. On Sunday, sleep after the night shift was not permitted, as this day of rest was designated for general cleaning up. In the camp there were two barracks: in the first lived the Hungarian women, in the second the Polish women. In each room lived forty women. Within the compound there was also a two-story building. On the first floor there were two living quarters, a refectory, two washrooms; the quarters were of medium size, here the prisoners also slept on the floor. On the second floor, there were three living quarters, an infirmary, two washrooms.[2]

Since the barrack roofs were leaking and water trickled in, the straw and blankets became damp, which led to prisoners getting sick primarily because of the cold temperatures. Only those with a high fever were admitted to the sickroom. The sick women were treated badly there. The sickroom was under the direction of a female Jew from Holland who suffered from mental disturbances. The woman in charge of the camp, however, thought that she was only pretending and poured cold water on her when it was frosty, which led to her death.

Work deployment was at the aircraft factory Aerobau, which had been established in the workshops of the Merveld Company. Johanna B. writes that the route to the factory was a long path through small woods, on which they never encountered any other people.

German craftsmen trained the women. They behaved correctly toward the female prisoners, sometimes even helping them. Since lunch was served in the factory canteen, together with civilian foreign forced laborers and the German workers, at least in this respect the women were not treated too harshly. The bread rations, however, were reduced to such an extent that one bread loaf was divided initially among four, later among seven, women.

The above-mentioned Johanna B. writes of the SS personnel: "The SS guards were from Romania, [ethnic Germans] from Siebenbürgen. There were no gas chambers in Gebhardsdorf, but there were sufficient murderers among the SS guards and female SS supervisors [Aufseherinnen]. That I remained alive is mainly due to my good command of the German language."[3]

Above all, it was the female camp leader who tormented and beat the women. Other female SS guards also harassed the women, by preventing them from going to the toilets or by surprise checks at night, during which they beat without pity those women who were guilty of minor infractions of the rules. The leader in particular was a fanatic, even by SS standards, who was brutal toward the prisoners but also impatient toward the female SS guards subordinated to her. She complained to the commandant of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp about several of her female SS guards for "breaches of their duties."[4]

On January 18, 1945, the subcamp was evacuated in a march of about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to St. Georgenthal (Jiřetin, now Jiřetín pod Jedlovou). On the second stage of the evacuation, the Gross-Rosen Nebenlager subcamp of Kratzau (Chrastava) was reached. Several women collapsed there from exhaustion during the evening parade. Nevertheless, after staying the night, the march was continued.

Johanna B. writes about this march: "Roughly in January 1945 we hiked again for seven days and seven nights to St. Georgenthal. We were harnessed to carts heavily laden with weapons, eight women to each just like horses, and had to pull them. Many of our women collapsed and died on the way tied to the carts heavily laden with arms. This did not disturb the SS escorts. As soon as we had buried the dead, other prisoners, including my sister and I, were harnessed up, and we dragged these carts further until we arrived in St. Georgenthal."[5]

Here, further selections took place. Some women were removed, probably to a camp for the sick, possibly in Zittau.

According to a report sent by the commandant of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, Hassebroek, on November 18, 1944, to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Prague, Karl Hermann Frank, at this time there was already a women's camp with 50 prisoners in St. Georgenthal.[6] The women that arrived from Gebhardsdorf, like the prison detachment already stationed there, had to work in the Sicht- und Zerlegewerk GmbH, dismantling damaged and destroyed aircraft. The workplace was located in the factory facilities of the Rott Company in Warnsdorf (Varnsdorf).[7]

Since there was also a camp for male prisoners in St. Georgenthal subordinated to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, the women's camp was designated as St. Georgenthal camp No. 2.[8]

In contrast to Alfred Konieczny, who writes that only the Hungarian women remained in St. Georgenthal and that the Polish women of the Gebhardsdorf detachment continued marching to an unknown destination, Johanna B., herself a Polish woman, ends her report as follows: "All of us, Hungarian and Polish Jewish women, remained in St. Georgenthal until the last day of the war and were liberated by the Russians on May 8, 1945."[9]

SOURCES There are no known publications focused solely on the Gebhardsdorf subcamp. References to the subcamp can be found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS, 1939–1945* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 131; Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Gedenkstätte Museum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 16–18; Roman Olszyna, "Juden-Häftlinge im KZ-Gross-Rosen und seinen Nebenlagern," *F-S* 51 (1977).

Among the most important archival sources are AŻIH (301/271); BA-L (IV 405 AR-Z 64/76 and IV 405 AR 832/70); and AMGR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Johanna (Joanne) B., report to the author on March 10, 1999, p. 2.
2. AŻIH, 301/271.
3. Johanna B., report, p. 5.
4. See Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologue: Böhlau, 1996), p. 273.
5. Johanna B., report, p. 3.
6. AMGR, DP No. 2829.
7. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, No. 473, p. 31.
8. AMGR, No. A 2456.
9. Johanna B., report, p. 4.

GEPPERSDORF

The Geppersdorf (Milęcice) subcamp was formed in late January 1945. It held male prisoners evacuated from the Auschwitz concentration camp. They had all probably passed through the reorganization point in Gleiwitz (Gliwice), where evacuation columns from Auschwitz were reformed and sent further on. Approximately 400 prisoners reached the Geppersdorf camp. They were predominately Polish, German, Hungarian, Dutch, and French Jews, as well as non-Jewish Poles, Germans, and Frenchmen. They probably received numbers 97061 through 97406, as numbers in that range were issued in late January 1945. On April 22, 1945, at least 107 prisoners from this group found themselves at the Dörnhau camp, which was part of the Riese complex of camps.

Previously, on April 11, 1945, a group of 30 prisoners from Geppersdorf reached the Brünnlitz camp. These prisoners had numbers from 77001 through 77030 (numbers in this range might also have been issued in late January 1945).[1]

There is a hypothesis that both transports (to the Brünnlitz and Dörnhau subcamps) were evacuation transports and included only a portion of the prisoners. The rest stayed in the camp and were liberated there on May 9, 1945.[2]

SOURCES The Geppersdorf subcamp essay was based on the article by Roman Olszyna from the journal 11 (1979), titled "Gdzie są świadkowie tych zbrodni?" Also used was the work of Alfred Konieczny, "Stan badań nad numeracją więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen." *Studia Śląskie*, n.s., 36 (1979): 155–189; as well as Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach kompleksu "Riese" w latach 1944–1945," *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlevowskimi* 7 (1981): 259–293. These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp.

The primary sources used are located in the AMGR. They include a questionnaire of a former prisoner of this camp; a transport list of the prisoners from Geppersdorf to Brünnlitz, dated April 11, 1945; and a list of the sick on May 9, 1945, compiled by T. Cytron, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the numbering and the transport list to subcamp Brünnlitz (imprint 6923/DP) comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny. Information comes from the work of Bogdan Cybulski.
2. The date of the liberation of the camp comes from Roman Olszyna's article.

GRÄBEN

In the town of Gräben (later Grabina, a section of the city of Strzegom), there was a camp run by the Organisation Schmelt, dating back to at least March 1943. Approximately 450 young girls lived there, Polish nationals from the Dąbrowski coal region. In late May and early June 1944, the Gräben camp was converted into a strictly women's camp and put under the control of Gross-Rosen. According to the account of camp prisoner Halina Inster, the previous female camp commander (Lagerführerin) was removed, and a new one was sent along with uniformed female guards. The new Lagerführerin carried a gun. A few days after the staff change, an SS commission came to the camp and made a list of the names of the prisoners gathered on the assembly ground. The women all got a badge engraved with a camp number, which they had to wear around their neck. Then the women were herded into a barrack and ordered to strip naked and to walk by the SS commission again. The SS men examined the women, noted comments, and left the camp. The women had their civilian clothes taken from them and were issued camp clothing.[1]

The camp was located directly by a linen mill, which had initially belonged to the Rüffel u. Deutsch i Vige company, then to the Falke company. It was made up of three buildings: two residential ones and a kitchen and ancillary facilities. Besides living quarters, the barracks had a bathhouse, laundry, sewing workshop, shoemaker workshop, and infirmary. There was also central heating, and hygiene was maintained at a relatively high level. Approximately 500 women lived in the camp. They were mostly the young women the camp absorbed from the previous Organisation Schmelt camp. There were also smaller groups of Jewish women from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[2]

The women were put to work in the linen mill. They worked from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with an hour's break for lunch at noon. The women worked processing linen; separating the fiber; pounding, drying, and threshing the flax; and cleaning the seeds. They also did jobs associated with transport, dust removal and cleaning, working in the boiler room, and so on.[3] Sunday was a holiday.

The prisoners were beaten and abused by the women who guarded them on the march back and forth to work. At the camp itself, conditions were "tolerable," as former prisoners put it. The commander even allowed cultural events. On New Year's Eve of 1944–1945, a soirée was held, including a recitation of poetry written by prisoner Fela Cymerman and featuring "live paintings" symbolizing the seasons of the year.[4]

The camp staff numbered approximately 25 people. Katarina Reimann held the post of Lagerführerin. We also know the names of some of the guards: Frieda Seidel, Erika Gross, Ida Heidrich, Lucy Hoffmann, Maria Hoffmann, Hildegarda Kaurod, Elfriede Milich, Ida Otto, Ida Scholz, Luise Schutzmann, Elza Jentsch, Marta Kühnast, Marta Leuschner, and Walli Sussenbach. Bala Zelynger was a prisoner-functionary.[5]

The camp evacuation began on February 8, 1945. The prisoners reached the town of Janowice on foot and from there were transported to the camp in St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín later Jiřetín pod Jedlovou in the Czech Republic), then to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

There were several trials of camp staff after the war. The following were tried by the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District: Marta Kühnast (born January 21, 1901; sentenced to five years in prison in a verdict of June 27, 1946); Elza Jentsch (born August 28, 1912; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of June 8, 1946); Lucy Hoffmann (born September 28, 1919; sentenced to eight years in prison in a verdict of September 14, 1946); Erika Gross (born November 22, 1921; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of March 22, 1946); Marta Leuschner (born February 19, 1922; sentenced to six years in prison in a verdict of September 19, 1946); Ida Otto (born March 6, 1906; sentenced to six years in prison in a verdict of October 30, 1946); Ida Scholz (born December 27, 1909; sentenced to seven years in prison in a verdict of February 21, 1946; released on probation in 1952).

The following were tried by the Świdnica District Court: Ida Heidrich (born April 19, 1912; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of January 21, 1947); Walli Süssenbach (born March 26, 1921; sentenced to five years in prison in a verdict of February 7, 1947); Luise Schurtzmann (born October 8, 1919; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of April 21, 1947); Elfriede Milich (born December 16, 1902; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of May 5, 1947); Frieda Seidel (born June 3, 1902; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of April 21, 1947).[6]

SOURCES Information on the Gräben subcamp can be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); and in particular on the SS members, see Elzbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw, 1992).

Archive materials concerning the Gräben subcamp can be found in AMGR in Wałbrzych and AŻIH in Warsaw. These consist mainly of collections of memories, as well as accounts and questionnaires written by former female prisoners at Gräben. Case files of staff members from the Gräben camp who were tried in Polish courts after the war are kept by the AK-IPN in Warsaw. Copies of these files also can be found in the AMGR.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Collection of Accounts and Testimony, Account No. 3282, Halina Inster.
2. AMGR, 122/25/MF, 122/259/MF, 122/62/MF, and 122/113/MF.
3. AŻIH, Collection of Accounts and Testimony, Account No. 3284, Halina Inster.
4. Ibid.
5. AMGR, No. 8751/29/DP—Olszyna Records Collection.
6. AMGR, 122/177/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus E. Jentsch; AMGR, No. 122/198/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus M. Leuschner; AMGR, 122/181/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus M. Kühnast.

GRAFENORT

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in the town of Grafenort (later Gorzanów, near Bystrzyca Kłodzka) was created in late March and early April 1945. It was a transit camp and was formed when the Polish Jewish women who had been living at another Gross-Rosen subcamp in Mittelsteine (later Ścinawka Średnia), were moved there.

Approximately 200 women were transferred to Grafenort. Probably all of them had begun their camp journey in the Łódź ghetto.

Grafenort was not a typical camp; the prisoners were lodged in a building standing at the edge of town. The building was brick, large, and several stories tall, and the windows were barred. Hanna Gumpricht testified that they had been quartered in rooms with double-decker bunks.[1] Another prisoner, Franciszka Ruzga (living in the camp under the name of Frania Pietrykowska), remembered that they were lodged in a great hall with straw mattresses on the floor.[2] Female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) guarded them.

The women were mainly put to work building trenches. It took them about an hour to walk to work, carrying the heavy shovels and stones used in the construction. They dug ditches while standing in the water in tattered clogs.[3] A smaller group of prisoners worked leveling gravel along railroad tracks. Male SS men guarded them at work.

On May 8, 1945, there was an attempt to evacuate the subcamp toward the city of Glatz (later Kłodzko). But the women were sent back to Grafenort because of the street fighting that had been going on in Glatz. The SS men escorting them fled on the way back. The women returned on their own to the building they had occupied. It turned out that the female SS guards had also fled. The Soviet forces entered Grafenort the next day, and the prisoners regained their freedom.

After liberation, the women were taken to Glatz. For several days the Russians fed them in their field kitchen and put the sick ones in an army hospital. After a while some of them were put onto a train and, after four days' journey, returned to Łódź.[4] Others went to Western Europe.

SOURCES There is no monograph on the Grafenort subcamp. The only information concerning the subject was published by Alfred Konieczny in his article "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); as well as by Bogdan Cubulski in his study *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Available archive materials concerning the Grafenort subcamp can be found in the AMGR in Wałbrzych, as well as in the AŻIH in Warsaw. These are accounts of former female prisoners of this camp.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 6500/6a/DP, Report of examination of witness Hanna Gumpricht, dated May 31, 1969.
2. AMGR, 7009/260, Olszyna Records Collection, F. Ruzga, letter, January 30, 1979.
3. AŻIH, Account No. 775, Adela Karmel.
4. AMGR, 7009/153/DP, Olszyna Records Collection, Mania Kufelnicka, letter, October 15, 1984.

GRÄFLICH-RÖHRSDORF

A forced labor camp (ZAL) for Jews was formed at Gräflich-Röhsdorf (Skarbków). It held women who were put to work at the Teichgräber linen spinning mill. The labor camp had been transferred to the administration of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on September 4, 1944. It was then that the 150 women received numbers 56051 through 56100 and 56201 through 56300.[1] The literature lists the figure of approximately 250 female prisoners who were interned at the camp.

Upon the camp's transfer, the women, who were now Gross-Rosen prisoners, continued working at the linen factory. Some of them were assigned to work handling flax at a barn near the town of Egelsdorf (later Mroczkowice). Another group of women from the camp were put to work at the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) plant.

The subcamp was closed in late January 1945, and the prisoners were moved to the Kratzau subcamp, which was also under Gross-Rosen.[2]

SOURCES This article is based on the work of Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944-1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112; as well as the work of Aneta Małek, "Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen," published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 2003; and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen–stan badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987). These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp.

Information about the numbering of the prisoners is located in the AMGR.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the numbering comes from the AMGR, imprint 7/119-c/MF.
2. Information about the erection and liquidation of the camp comes from the work of Bogdan Cybulski: Satellite Camps of KL Gross-Rosen: the State of Research (Rogozńica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987).

GROSS-KOSCHEN

The exact point in time when the Gross-Koschen subcamp was erected is not recorded in the documents. In the late summer of 1944, 200 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp erected a barracks camp on the grounds of a former gravel pit at Gross-Koschen, in order to receive a still-larger number of inmates. Both of the two large barracks blocks were built by Polish prisoners, who had been sent to the concentration camp as prisoners from the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. In Gross-Rosen they had been registered with numbers from the series 58000 to 59000.[1]

The erection of the camp was in preparation for the transfer of the Aircraft Dismantling Work from Auschwitz to Gross-Koschen. Former German prisoner of Gross-Koschen Friedrich Kühn wrote: "The core crew of about three hundred prisoners from Auschwitz arrived in the middle of the forest, underneath the Koschenberg, into an existing camp, where about two hundred prisoners from Gross-Rosen had already built a barracks and the cottage for the camp leader."[2]

This transport from Auschwitz on November 11, 1944, included 351 men who were registered with entry numbers from Gross-Rosen, to which the newly erected subcamp belonged, between 86351 and 86701.[3] A further transport on January 1, 1945, likewise from Auschwitz, brought 431 prisoners to Gross-Koschen, to whom the entry numbers 92002 to 92432 were issued.[4]

According to statements by former prisoner Kühn, the maximum camp population can be estimated at 800 prisoners.[5] Polish historian Mieczysław Mołdawa speaks of 2,500 prisoners, a number that also appears in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer.[6]

The subcamp prisoners were, above all, Poles and Russians but also French, Italians, Croats, Czechs, and a few Germans, the last mostly as Kapos.

For the choice of location, the decisions of the corresponding main commissions and of the Armaments Ministry may have been decisive. Nearby existed the Lautawerk, one of the aluminum works of the Vereinigten Aluminium-Werke AG (VAW) Berlin.

In the Aircraft Dismantling Work that was transferred from Auschwitz, defective aircraft that had either been shot down or were otherwise incapable of flight were dismantled. Valuable machinery, electrical components, motors, and weapons went to the aircraft industry for repair or direct reuse. The other material, airframes, and wings went to be

melted down in the aluminum works. The Koschenberg gravel pit had a connection to the railway main line at its disposal and was connected with the Lautawerk aluminum works, which was only a few kilometers away, via the shunting station at Hohenbocka. Sidings were laid to the Gross-Koschen Dismantling Work, leading through the work halls.

The prisoners were brought out of the camp and into the factory grounds through a narrow path enclosed with barbed wire. Likewise, the factory itself was surrounded with wire and observed from watchtowers. During work hours, the open land in the area of the Dismantling Work was also secured by guard posts. The inner area, the prisoners' camp, was secured against escape attempts by an electrically charged fence and guards on watchtowers.[7]

The living quarters apparently did not even offer the otherwise common multitiered wooden bunks as sleeping places. "All prisoners were poorly clothed and poorly nourished. In the barracks, everything laid on the floor between straw and rags," reported former state hunting master Putzke from Lautawerk.[8] The sanitary facilities were inadequate, and there was often a shortage of water. "The ubiquitous louse infestation facilitated the spread of infectious diseases. As a result of hunger, dysentery increased steadily. The area foreseen for the sick was constantly overfilled. The poor camp clothing did not protect against the cold. Through the work in the open, mass outbreaks of colds occurred. Despite fevers, many prisoners had to stay at their workplaces. There was only insufficient medical care and little in the way of medical supplies. The death rate rose steadily," wrote Polish historian Roman Olszyna, on the basis of survivor interviews.[9] German Anneliese Gesch, who was allowed, as a local resident, to enter the outer zone, reported about her observances that the causes of death were complete undernourishment, terrible abuse, and shootings. Another German resident, Frau Jurk, stated: "One time there was shooting in the camp, and a soldier said that prisoners were being murdered who worked in the crematorium."[10] Both witnesses also reported that bodies of the prisoners were at first doused with gasoline in trenches and burned in the open. Because of the widely perceptible smell of burning bodies, the SS camp leadership used an oven, equipped with a chimney, at the inactive gravel pit, to burn the dead and finally had an incineration oven, a kind of crematorium, built.

Abuse was part of the daily routine. Eyewitnesses describe a prisoner hung by his legs and beaten by the Kapos. In one case it was reported how a prisoner was hung head down in winter and doused with cold water.[11]

Despite reports by survivors and eyewitnesses from the area as well as by individual Luftwaffe guards on the high number of deaths, the Gross-Rosen death book contains only one notification of a fatality, that of the Croat Domenoke Tarabachia on February 13, 1945.[12] Here, the order of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) was obviously in effect not to announce the deaths of Jews, Poles, Russians, and other citizens of the Soviet Union, as well as Sinti and Roma (Gypsies).

For the crimes committed in Gross-Koschen, the camp leader (Lagerführer), SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Engst, bears most of the responsibility; 20 SS guards and a number of Luftwaffe soldiers were subordinate to him as the guard force. He also depended for the terrorization of the prisoners on camp elder (Lagerältester) Lothar Wagner and the Kapos.[13]

In February 1945, the prisoners from Gross-Koschen were partially evacuated. On February 24, a first group of 64 prisoners arrived in Buchenwald; on February 26, a transport of 290 prisoners followed. Former prisoner Kühn reported on the final dissolution of the camp: "At the end of March 1945, the rest of the prisoners (one hundred men), with the members of the Luftwaffe and various items of equipment, drove to Pocking, near Passau. The camp leader, Engst, went with them. We stayed in Pocking until the end of April 1945 and were then transferred to Dachau."[14]

SOURCES The one secondary source that deals exclusively with Gross-Koschen is Christine Winkler, *Das Aussenlager Gross-Koschen des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen* (Gross-Koschen, n.d. [1984]). Additional information may be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Stan badań nad numeracja wieźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Sśsn* 36 (1979); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996); and K.-H. Teichmann, "Mahnmal für die Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Aussenlager Grosskoschen," *SHKS* 1 (1983).

Primary source material on this camp may be found in AMGR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. AMGR, No. 3.15.1.1., Więźniówie obozu Gross-Koschen według nièpiełnych danych archiwum srodowiska.
2. Friedrich Kühn, letter to Felix Niesyto of January 31, 1971, cited in Christine Winkler, *Das Aussenlager Gross-Koschen des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen* (Gross-Koschen, n.d. [1984]), p. 7.
3. Alfred Konieczny, "Stan badań nad numeracją więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Sśsn* 36 (1979): 185.
4. Ibid., p. 187.
5. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 7.
6. Mieczysław Mołdawa, *Gross-Rosen obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Warsaw, 1979), notebook 9, p. 2; Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996), p. 12.
7. Cf. camp sketches by the former prisoners Kühn, Józef S. (number 86378), and Andrzej Sz. (number 59737), in Winkler, *Aussenlager*, pp. 21, 23, 25.
8. "Seerundschau," Senftenberg 1985, report of the former state hunting master Putzke, Lautawerk.
9. Roman Olszyna, Gross-Rosen, cited in Winkler, *Aussenlager*, appendix 2.
10. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 10.

11. Ibid., p. 9; statements of the witnesses Jurk, Buschmann, and Hartmann.

12. SÚA, KT/OVS K.24, Totenbuch des KZ Gross-Rosen, 1945/II, Nr. 92.

13. Cf. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 7.

14. K.-H. Teichmann, "Mahnmal für die Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Aussenlager Grosskoschen," *SHKS* 1 (1983): 18.

GRULICH

In late September or in October 1944, a transport of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was probably sent to the town of Grulich (Králiky), where a subcamp was formed. Most of the surviving accounts of prisoners who were in that transport show that approximately 160 men were transported to the subcamp at that time. But one account states that the transport included about 190 people. The latter number is supported by a document that Gross-Rosen concentration camp Commander Hassebroek sent to Commander H. Frank on November 18, 1944. By then, Grulich numbered 200 prisoners, with a planned population increase to 800, which never occurred, according to available information.

The camp was located near the Fahrzeug u. Motorenwerke plant. It was composed of a living barrack (the prisoners were put in one part of it; the staff occupied the other) and a "little barrack" that contained the infirmary (*Revier*) and sanitary facilities.

SS-Untersturmführer Emanuel Langer was in charge of setting up the camp and initially served as the camp commander. When he was recalled from the post to the main camp, he was replaced by SS-Unterführer Heinrich Hett. The staff was composed of 5 noncommissioned officers and 13 SS guards. The post of camp elder (Lagerältester) was held by Jerzy Zakrzewski, who, one witness testified, "was characterized by particular sadism." "At every step, for any reason," this witness stated, "[Zakrzewski] would abuse prisoners by beating them with a rubber strap or unending exercises. . . . He particularly hated Russian prisoners. He was a young man and spoke German."[1]

The prisoners were divided into two working groups. One group was sent to work in a factory that produced aircraft propellers. Kurt Hartman was the factory director. He was transferred to Litomierzyce in October 1944 and replaced by Karl Schuser, who had come from Berlin. The prisoners put to work there did such things as grinding propellers, which was a very arduous job due to the aluminum dust. Work was done in a two-shift system of 12 hours each daily. Forced laborers were also put to work at the factory. A German foreman supervised the prisoners' work.

The other group of prisoners was assigned to do jobs associated with constructing the new camp, which was to be situated on a hill near the town. According to a former prisoner's account, the camp was built on the site of an underground factory. Construction started by fencing the site. The barracks were assembled from prefabricated wooden components. A cinderblock and brick building was also erected. English prisoners delivered the building materials. Civilian Germans and SS men, who had "their Kapos for help," oversaw the construction.[2] The newly built camp was to be for prisoners who were to be put to work when the factory was expanded. That plan never materialized; consequently, some barracks were demolished toward the end of the war.

Sometimes prisoners from the construction commando were assigned to unload railroad cars after they finished work at the new camp site.

One prisoner, a Russian, had special talents. He made interesting rings from metal. He did that after work, needing as much as a week to make one. He would sometimes get a pack of cigarettes or a piece of bread from a guard for his work.

The camp did not have its own kitchen. The kitchen was on the factory premises. The prisoners brought dinners and provisions from the kitchen. As explained in one account:

> Everyone volunteered to go there. . . . For reasons of economy, the Germans cooked potatoes unpeeled. . . . At the mess hall, everyone had to peel their potatoes. Some guards allowed us to talk to the cleaning women at the civilian mess. We asked those women to always put those potato peels in piles at the edges of the tables, next to which we had our dinner pails. What a joy it was when we brought pocketfuls of them to the commando in our coats or shirts. . . . There were instances when there would be pieces of bread in those piles of potato peels, or even some well-packaged cigarettes. And that was a time when the civilian population had ration coupons for cigarettes. We asked the cleaning women to provide us with onions or onion peels, because the Russians also made cigarettes of onion peels. Later there were more and more volunteers to bring dinners, as hunger and cold were our worst enemies. . . . For supper we would mostly get one kilogram [2.2 pounds] of bread for ten people. The bread would differ: squashed, dirty, crusty, etc. The Russians made a primitive scale and the bread was divided up down to the gram. The same applied to jam, cheese, etc.[3]

The prisoners washed daily in the camp washroom without soap or towels. Once a week they were taken to the bathhouse in the factory buildings. At that time their underwear and clothing were taken away for delousing. After work, the prisoners employed at the factory could wash in the bathhouse with the civilians, but only when the guards were friendly toward them. On those occasions, civilian prisoners would give them pieces of bread and cigarettes. The prisoners

would carry these gifts into camp stealthily, to share them with their friends.

The infirmary at Grulich was located in a small space set aside in the barrack. It had several beds. According to one witness: "Initially there were no doctors and the barrack chief would dress wounds. After some time, a Russian doctor was brought in from Gross-Rosen, but he was at camp a short time and was taken back there. Then a Polish doctor and a Yugoslavian (Croatian) dentist were brought in, and they were there until the end."[4] The dentist was prisoner Plese Dragutin (no. 29709). The few surviving reports of dental services rendered show that from January 20 to April 19, 1945, 736 prisoners were examined, and 605 procedures were performed, including 76 extractions.

The most frequent ailments in the camp were phlegmon, diarrhea, scabies, and colds. Despite the harsh conditions, a high death rate was not reported. One prisoner, a Pole, died of emaciation, and his body was buried in the local cemetery.

As at other camps, there were escape attempts at Grulich. Due to the lack of records, information about escapes is not available. One prisoner recalls how he and a friend planned to escape but disagreed as to the date. They talked about December during the cold and snowy winter, totally unfavorable for such an undertaking. As stated in his account:

> [One day] on the way to work on the second shift—the sirens suddenly began to wail; it was an air-raid alarm. We had kerosene lanterns with us when we went to work in the evening. The guards told us to put them out and run to the factory. When we were already in the production hall, there was consternation among the guards as to what to do next? They told us to start working, everyone at his own workstation. I looked around and saw that the milling machine that my friend worked at was unattended. They called off the air-raid alarm, and here there was one Pole missing. They got us together, counted and counted, but there was someone missing. Suddenly they made a decision—lay all the prisoners down on the cement floor. . . . The cold draft from the floor was indescribable. . . . The guards kept counting and kicking us. . . . Finally everyone went to their stations to work.[5]

During roll call two or three days after that event, the camp officials told the prisoners that the fugitive had been caught and hanged.

There are several accounts of prisoner escapes, but they sometimes differ. For example, one prisoner recalls an escape attempt by three Grulich prisoners who were caught and hanged at the main camp. According to this account, three other prisoners were sent to Grulich to replace them in early February 1945. One of them was Edmund Dziuk (no. 85806). Another prisoner remembers the attempted escape of two prisoners who were also caught.

A witness describes an event that was supposedly the consequence of helping to organize the escape of several Russian prisoners: "I think it was in February 1945 on an ordinary working day at about 4:00 P.M. At that time I saw . . . an SS-man (always pale and reportedly ill with tuberculosis) shoot a Russian prisoner called Red Ivan. . . . The prisoner was working on the construction of a barrack outside the camp . . . and was pushing a wheel barrow, and the SS-man was following right behind him and then shot straight at the prisoner, getting him in the back. . . . Supposedly they carted away the prisoner's body to the Gross-Rosen camp, as I don't remember him being buried."[6]

Besides the initial large transport, prisoners were not brought to the camp in great numbers, but just a few at most. For example, one prisoner was sent to Grulich in December: Ignacy Woźniak (no. 88122).

In March or April 1945, the prisoners were sent to the vicinity of Grulich to clear the railroad tracks, which had been blocked by a train blown up by Czech underground fighters.

The Grulich camp was evacuated between May 6 and 8, 1945. A column of prisoners was formed at dawn. Some of them were assigned to pull wagons loaded with food and the SS men's things. Sick prisoners were also loaded on wagons. Only a portion of the staff oversaw the column in the evacuation march. They walked all day and spent the night in a barn. There they were fed some cooked potatoes. The following morning, the prisoners discovered that all the SS men had fled. Some of the prisoners stayed at the nearby school, while the rest dispersed.

SOURCES Some information on the Grulich subcamp can be found in Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival records with information on the Grulich subcamp can be found at the AMGR.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP6500/4-b, Report of examination of witness Edward Krukowski at the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland.

2. AMGR, DP6500/4-c, Result of investigation on the Grulich camp conducted by the Czechoslovakian Government Commission for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals, dated June 24, 1974.

3. AMGR, DP5877, Zdzisław Kwapień, "Kolego gdzie żyjesz—odezwij się," pp. 14, 18.

4. AMGR, DP-A, Włodzimierz Świętkowski's questionnaire.

5. AMGR, DP5077, Zdzisław Kwapień, "Kolego gdzie żyjesz—odezwij się," pp. 12–13.

6. AMGR, DP6500/4-b, Report of examination.

GRÜNBERG I

During World War II, the output of the Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG of Grünberg (now Zielona Góra) was geared toward military needs. The plant produced material for uniforms, army coats, parachutes, and blankets. As early as May 1942, the management was engaged in preparing and updating its building at 33 Breslauer Strasse to meet the needs of a planned Organisation Schmelt camp for Jewish women. The plans called for the construction of brick buildings, a kitchen, laundry facilities, and offices. The initial transport of Jewish women was brought in from the environs of Kattowitz (Katowice) and Kraków in 1942; 200 women and approximately 100 men arrived at that time. On October 26, 1942, Wollenwaren employed 1,410 Germans, 412 Jewish forced laborers, and 22 French prisoners of war (POWs). Surviving Wollenwaren records show that there were 576 or 579 forced laborers working there in the first quarter of 1943; there was an increase in April, when 748 prisoners were recorded. The new forced laborers came from such places as the closed camp at Neustadt. Former prisoners who have been interviewed provide a higher figure of 1,000 or even 2,000 prisoners. What is characteristic of these recollections is that the number of German workers decreased as the number of female Jewish workers increased.

The Jewish women were accommodated in the factory's two main production halls. Each of the halls could hold 300 to 500 women; they slept on wooden, double-decker bunks. The camp was guarded, although the women had more freedom until 1944; the only thing they were not allowed to do was leave the factory premises. They walked to work escorted by guards and later by female SS guards (Aufseherinnen). They worked in various departments as needed. The food was wretched, a starvation diet. The women were emaciated. Beating and persecution by the staff were a daily occurrence. The women were deprived of meals for even the slightest offenses, long roll calls were held, and their heads were shaved. Failing machines were a problem for the women, as they were accused of sabotage. They worked 12 hours, with a break for lunch. The conditions at camp were unsanitary. Dirt, lice, and bedbugs were widespread. There was no medical care.

A shortage of female guards was a problem during Gross-Rosen's operation to take over the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camps. The management of Wollenwaren negotiated with the local employment agency, and 48 women were sent to Ravensbrück for training in May 1944. The guard candidates were selected from among the German women employed at the factory. Their health was checked. People with a strong mental disposition and no criminal record were chosen. The course lasted two weeks, although one of these Grünberg overseers claimed she was in such a training program for three months. When the women returned from training, Grünberg was turned over to the SS. This was most probably on June 10, 1944. (One of these overseers relates that it was in early July 1944.)

One of the prisoners, Anna Charzykow, testifies that on the day the camp was taken over, all the women had to pass totally naked before each SS man in the general hall, while the SS men made notes. All the new Aufseherinnen were present the day the SS took the camp over and started their jobs that day. They were dressed in army uniforms. Once they were recorded by the SS men, the prisoners received numbers that they had to hang on their necks. Anna Jon held the position of Lagerführerin (camp leader). The staff mentioned by former prisoners included Anna Viebig, Waltrand Schirmre, Hildegard Kuehn, Helga Siebert, and Anna Hempel. The exact size of the staff and the prisoner population when the camp was taken over by the SS is unknown. According to Alfred Konieczny, there were 999 women in the camp, who were assigned numbers 46902 through 47900.

Conditions worsened. Although officially approved by the Gross-Rosen provisions department, the food was almost a starvation diet. Everyone thought food was being stolen by the guards (superintendents) and cooks. Jewish prisoners were not allowed to receive packages, and there was also a ban issued on giving the inmates extra food. For even the slightest transgressions, they were punished by beating and deprived of meals, and responsibility was collective.

A selection was conducted every three months at the camp, and sick women were taken away, probably to Auschwitz. There was no significant medical care, although a Czech midwife treated the sick.

On January 28, 1945, a transport of Jewish women arrived at camp from the nearby Schlesiersee I and II camps. The camp was evacuated the next day. Opinions differ as to the transport's size: they range from 1,300 to 2,500. The inmates were divided into two groups. The first group went west toward Berlin. The women covered a distance of up to 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) a day. They slept in barns. One prisoner managed to escape from the transport. She laid down under a car parked on the road; when the transport passed, she fled into the forest, where she hid for two weeks until the Soviet forces arrived. Another prisoner escaped near Guben, where the column had stopped for two days. It was then directed toward Juteborg. The prisoners spent part of the trip packed in freight cars. In late February 1945, they reached the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. They died from starvation and emaciation over the subsequent weeks. Only a few survived.

The other group of women was sent toward Christianstadt. The column was under the command of Karl Herman Jeschke (he was Lagerführer at the Schlesiersee camp), Kraus, and Graetz. They traveled over snow-covered back roads. The prisoners were poorly clothed and undernourished; they spent the nights in sheds and roadside houses, dying in masses. At Bautzen, there was a mass execution of 70 women for the alleged theft of bread. In early March 1945, near Ölsnitz, 179 prisoners unable to march were loaded onto railroad cars. They reached the Zwodau camp on March 6, 1945; 19 women died en route, and more died at the camp. Part of the transport reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp subcamp

Helmbrechts at the same time. Jeschke turned the prisoners over to the camp command. Locked in unfinished barracks, without medical care, and miserably nourished, masses of them became sick. They were not even assigned to any work. They lived under these conditions for six weeks. The camp authorities decided to continue the evacuation because the U.S. Army was approaching. On April 13, an evacuation column of 581 women set out toward Zwodau, where it was joined by another group of prisoners. In all, the transport that set out from Zwodau numbered 700 prisoners. They reached Wallern (Volary) on May 4, 1945. Approximately 300 women remained. They were locked in a shed. The local people were forbidden to help them at all. Some of the women were unable to march by this point, so the SS men demanded that the mayor provide carts. The women were loaded onto them and taken to Prachatitz (Prachatice). The rest had to finish the trip on foot. The march took place under the fire of an airplane. The stronger women managed to flee; in retaliation, 17 women were taken from a cart, dragged into the woods, and shot there. The remaining women were locked in a shed, and the staff fled. The local people brought them food and took the prisoners to the hospital, where 114 died. They were buried in the local cemetery. Only a few women from Gross-Rosen survived this horrific death march.

After the war, the Zielona Góra District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes held investigations into the crimes committed against Jewish women at the Grünberg labor camp, but they were discontinued because there were no supporting materials to establish the personal data of the SS men. An investigation was also conducted by the Czechoslovak War Crimes Agency in the matter of the extermination of female Polish, Czech, and Hungarian prisoners of the Jewish faith.

SOURCES Published sources on this camp include Dorota Sula, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2001); and B. Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach 'Organizacji Schmelt' w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę*, ed. Hans Brenner (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1999). Documents include records from interviews of witnesses from investigations conducted by the OKBZHW, a branch of the GKBZHwP, and documents from investigations conducted by the Czechoslovak Administration for the prosecution of military crimes in the case of the extermination of Jewish Polish, Czech, and Hungarian female inmates of the Auschwitz concentration camp and the Gross-Rosen Grünberg subcamp. These documents are located in the AMGR and come from the GKBZHwP.

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

GRÜNBERG II

According to the sparse information available, Gross-Rosen's Grünberg II subcamp was formed in the city of Grünberg (Zielona Góra) in October 1944. The first group of prisoners were Hungarian Jews sent from Auschwitz, who were given the numbers 73751 through 73800. Another transport of Hungarian Jews arrived in subsequent days; they were given the numbers 76001 through 76130. That confirms that 180 prisoners were interned there. They probably worked in the same plant as the women incarcerated at Grünberg I: Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG.

The fact that the death sentence was carried out on two prisoners is confirmed; they had attempted to escape on October 27, 1944. They were Sandor Blau, number 76008, and Sandor Grünfeld, number 76045. There is no information on the camp's staff or evacuation.

SOURCES A document from the GKBZHwP confirming the deaths of two inmates at Grünberg II served as confirmation of the existence of this subcamp. See also Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

GUBEN

The Guben subcamp was established in the summer of 1944 in the Prussian province of Brandenburg. That part of the camp that housed the women prisoners was on the eastern bank of the Neisse River, in the present-day Polish town of Gubin. The women worked on the western side of the Neisse in the German town of Guben.

Alfred Konieczny states that at the end of July 1944 a transport of around 600 Hungarian Jews arrived in Guben from Auschwitz. The women bore prisoner numbers from 10631 to 11280. This date is earlier than the date that the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives for the first mention of the camp—August–September 1944. A second transport followed in September 1944 of about 350 women (prisoner numbers 57581 to 58200).[1] According to Andreas Peter, transports arrived on August 21 and 29, 1944, and in November 1944.

Based on interviews with survivors of the camp, Peter postulated that there were at least 350 prisoners in the camp, but more likely the number was between 900 and 1,000. As in other Gross-Rosen subcamps, the female inmates were mostly Jewish women from Poland and Hungary. Many were related. A good number were under 20 years of age. After selections in Auschwitz or Krakou-Plaszow, they were sent to Guben. Others were sent directly from Hungary to the camp.

The women worked for the Lorenz Radio Company, a well-regarded firm in the electronics industry. During the war, it manufactured electronic equipment for aircraft including radios. Until 1943, it was based in Berlin-Tempelhof and was relocated to Guben in that year. The new factory was located in Ufer Strasse, in what was the Berlin-Guben Hat Factory. That building had been "aryanized" in 1938. The prisoners were accommodated in a camp that had an electrified fence. The camp was on a sports field in a forest, close to a Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.

The women interviewed by Peter made widely different statements on the living conditions in the subcamp. Some prisoners, such as Frieda Kahn and Anna Pollak, refer to long hours of work, lack of food and clothing, frequent beatings, and serious illnesses as typical for the camp; others such as Rachel Kramer and Bracha Goreen state that the conditions in the camp were much better than in Auschwitz. According to them, there were no deaths, the work was light, the food was satisfactory, and the treatment by the guards and foreman was decent and friendly. The civilian workers in the factory, they claim, treated the Jewish women as human beings, often spoke with them, and provided gestures of support. The female Jewish camp doctor, Esther Fox, confirms this: "In this place all the girls . . . were going daily to a factory, came after a long march back in the evening, tired, exhausted, hungry, cold. But there was not much physical abuse, but nevertheless all were emaciated. I tried to do my best."[2]

The last mention of the camp is for February 1945. It is likely that the women were then evacuated with the inmates of the Grünberg camp via Pinnow and Jamlitz in death marches to Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES Information on this camp can be found in the following published sources: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:133; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1808. The most detailed work, containing written statements from seven former female camp inmates, is Andreas Peter, "Ein Versuch über das 'unbekannte Lager' Guben. Einleitung mit Literaturübersicht," in *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004), pp. 90–106. Aleksandra Kobielec's "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Staatliches Museum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 31–36, also provides details on the subcamp. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 39–40, refers to the camp, as do Dietrich Eichholtz, "Rüstungswirtschaft und Arbeiterleben am Vorabend der Katastrophe 1943/44," in *Verfolgung—Alltag—Widerstand. Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1993), pp. 63–112; Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1996); and Czesław Pilichowski, ed., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 429.

In addition, documents on the Gross-Rosen subcamps are located in various archives. The USHMMA holds the witness statements by Esther Fox (Acc.1995.A.532) and Katarina Bloch Feuer (Napló közel 50 év utan) and an oral-history interview with Alice Lok Cahana (RG-50.030*0051). The YVA also holds reports by survivors on the subcamp in Collection 03/4337, Tape No. 033 C/730 (Shoshana Stark) and No. 015/2397 (Frieda Kahan); 03/6864, Tape No. V-D 80 (Rachel Kramer) and No. 015/2373 (Record of interview with the Jankovits sisters). "Tränen der Menschlichkeit. Ergreifende Zeilen einer jüdischen Frau an die Bewohner von Guben," *LR*-GR, October 28, 1994, also contains a survivor's report.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. GKBZHwP, Collection District Department Kraków, Folder 119, cited in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 39–40. See also Ryszard Olszyna, "Juden-Häftlinge in Gross-Rosen und seinen Nebenlager," *F-S* 51 (1977).

2. USHMMA, Acc.1995.A.532, Esther Fox, A memoir relating to the experiences in the Łódź ghetto, Auschwitz, Guben, and Bergen-Belsen.

HALBAU

The Halbau subcamp came into being on or about July 15, 1944, at a site where Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had previously been held. The prisoners were Poles (75 percent), Russians (about 20 percent), Czechs, Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavians, Dutch, and Germans. The camp contained 1,050 prisoners. Prisoners qualified as mechanics and metalworkers were sent primarily to Halbau, although initially several dozen prisoners were put to work expanding the camp. Prisoners were mainly assigned to work at the Winkler factory manufacturing military aircraft propellers, where they worked in two 12-hour shifts, with a half-hour break for lunch, which they ate on the plant premises. German foremen assigned and supervised the work.

The factory was located about three kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp. Making the trip was an extra effort for the prisoners, especially during bad weather and in the winter. One prisoner recalls: "We had wooden clogs on our bare feet. The snow stuck to the clogs, and the Germans prodded and beat us so we'd go faster. So we'd take off the clogs and walk barefoot to keep up in the march. Our legs were swollen, festering and frostbitten."[1]

After the major work enlarging the camp was completed, some of the prisoners were used to form a construction commando, which did building and repair work on factory premises. The woodworkers' commando of about 20 to 30 prisoners at a private firm in the town of Halbau (now Iłowa) had the easiest work, relatively speaking. The prisoners made windows for the barracks. SS men oversaw the group.

A separate electricians' commando with 15 prisoners was also set up. Factory employees often used to bring their broken radios to the commando. The prisoners had contact with the world, thanks to these repairs.

SS-Hauptscharführer Mathias Hesshaus was camp commander. Stanisław Kaczysko was the camp elder (Lagerältester); convicted of common crimes, he wound up at Sachsenchausen concentration camp in June 1940, then was transferred to Gross-Rosen. For the slightest offenses, Ka-

czysko would beat prisoners with a huge ladle called "Joseph" and force them to do long, exhausting exercises. He also sexually abused young prisoners. In one of his depositions, he said: "I admit that I beat prisoners in my capacity as quarters, barracks and camp elder. Some prisoners died because of the blows I inflicted upon them. On the other hand I myself was beaten even when I was camp elder and I often had to beat others to maintain order. Sometimes the SS ordered me to do so, and sometimes I would do it on my own. . . . The reason why I beat people was my cowardice and fear of my own death."[2]

For good work performance, prisoners were allotted bonuses in the form of vouchers, which they could use to buy something in the camp canteen. But what it came down to in practice was trading the vouchers for herring or snails in vinegar, and that only on Sundays. Prisoners were also punished for slight offenses by taking the vouchers away.

One prisoner recalls a rather extraordinary event, namely, a protest of prisoners against the starvation rations. In reply to an appeal to step up performance, one witness claimed, a group of prisoners "went to the camp commander and declared: 'that they wouldn't work with such food.' Although astonished, the commander promised to attend to the matter. . . . From then on the portions of bread were increased to a double piece of bread—150 grams [5.3 ounces], and the soup was improved by adding groats, beans and vegetables. No one was called to account for the attempt at revolt."[3]

A camp infirmary at Halbau operated throughout the camp's existence: 414 "patients," but only 331 prisoners, were treated at the hospital from July 19, 1944, to February 11, 1945. That was because some wound up in the hospital more than once; 64 prisoners died in that period. The greatest number of deaths were in August (14), which was during the camp's initial stage of operation and thus was a time of adapting to new, extreme conditions for many, and perhaps for the majority, of the prisoners. The same number of deaths (14) was recorded in January 1945, which is understandable, considering the weather conditions and associated illnesses and complications. The most frequent diseases the prisoners came down with were diarrhea, flu, pneumonia, and general emaciation of the body.

There were escape attempts, most of which ended tragically. In one case, for example, a Russian prisoner, Makary Cartakow, was brought to the assembly ground, and an SS man ran him through with a bayonet with the prisoners watching. He died in the camp hospital on November 6, 1944.

In their recollections, prisoners speak of sabotage on more than one occasion. Some of them portray the sabotage as an organized attempt at resistance, while others admit that the camp staff or workplace foremen treated any accidental breakdown of anything as sabotage. That was the case when a prisoner slipped and damaged a propeller when he fell; as punishment, he was sent to a penal commando. A two-week "stay" in a penal commando was also the punishment for poor work performance.

In October 1944, the camp command ordered that a choir be formed. Listening to the songs was a soothing experience for prisoners. A soccer team, another idea for occupying the prisoners' "free time," was ordered put together. It was headed by a prisoner named Korycki. However, no matches were played.

The Christmas holidays were an especially difficult time for prisoners, and they were peculiar at Halbau. Although there was a tree, Lagerältester Kaczysko dressed up as the Grim Reaper and walked around the tree with a scythe.

The camp was evacuated the evening of February 12, 1945. Sick and injured prisoners remained in the camp hospital, while the rest marched off. Several German "policemen" also stayed in camp. Even before the column left camp, it was joined by a group of 40 to 50 Jews from Gross-Rosen's Bunzlau subcamp, who were brought in by an SS officer. The prisoners were harnessed to carts with steel rope. The commander traveled in one of the carts, which looked like a Gypsy shed, with his wife and belongings. For the starving and weak prisoners, such a march was beyond their strength. The first prisoner died on February 13. The commander allocated a cart for exhausted prisoners. Whenever the cart was so full that exhausted prisoners could not all fit in, it was stopped and the prisoners were murdered with a shot to the back of the head, most frequently in the woods. Approximately 20 such executions were conducted. As many as 300 prisoners may have died during the march, which took about two weeks. On March 1, the prisoners were loaded into freight cars at Wurzen and traveled on for 6 to 10 days. The prisoners were not given food or drink during that time, so there were more deaths. The prisoners were finally admitted to Bergen-Belsen on or about March 10. According to a prisoner, 408 prisoners survived, including 28 seriously ill ones.

After the war, only Stanisław Kaczysko was tried and sentenced to death by decree of Łódź District Court on August 30, 1947.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Halbau subcamp is discussed on pp. 14–41. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Jan Sipowicz, "Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w Iłowie w powiecie żagańskim," *SFiZH* 1 (1974).

Archival materials housed at the AMGR include numerous surveys, orders of camp authorities, reports of witness interviews conducted by the GOKBZHwP (the originals are currently in the archives of the IPN), and former prisoner surveys, accounts, and recollections. The "Zeszyty z sapiskami ewidencyjnymi chorych więźniów z rewiru szpitalnego Halbau," kept by Doctor Jan Żaczek (AMGR, 108/7/MF), are a valuable source.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 90/DP, Report of examination of witness Władysław Harasimowicz at the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Koszalinie.

2. AMGR, 82/DP, Extracts from the records of the criminal case against Stanisław Kaczysko, Sąd Okęgowy w Łodzi.

3. AMGR, 5915/DP, Report of examination of witness Zygmunt Kwiatkowski at the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Poznaniu, p. 110.

HALBSTADT

As a result of heavy bombing attacks on Hamburg, the firm Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (Messap) transferred part of its time-fuse manufacturing out of its factory in Hamburg-Langenhorn, where prisoners from Neuengamme had been put to work since 1942, to Halbstadt (Meziměsí). There the firm erected a camp for female prisoners in the sprawling factory grounds of the Weberei und Spinnerei (Weaving and Spinning Mill) Knopf. On October 27, 1944, a transport from Auschwitz II-Birkenau brought 550 women and girls to Halbstadt.[1] Since they were forming a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, when they were registered with that main camp, they received the entry numbers 66501 through 67050.[2]

In order to increase the number of camp prisoner-laborers, further transports were brought to Halbstadt, through which the camp's strength grew to between 1,500 and 2,000 female prisoners.[3]

On February 8, 1945, still another group of 49 women came to Halbstadt from the Gross-Rosen subcamp of Ober-Altstadt.

A large part of the female prisoners in Halbstadt were Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto; others came from Ozorków and were probably also brought to Halbstadt via the Łódź ghetto and Auschwitz.[4] Many siblings remained together on the transports to Halbstadt; this had a positive effect on their will to survive. So, for example, one finds records of the sisters or relatives Bela, Bronia, Cesia, and Rosa W. from Ozorków, and Mania, Minia, and Sala L. from Brzezina.[5]

One group of the female prisoners was put to work producing clock pieces for time fuses, in the newly transferred Messap factory; another group went to work in the Knopf firm's textile factory; and a third group was employed in gas mask production for the firm Schroll Söhne. The firm Deutsche Telephonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (DE-TE-WE) Berlin, a subsidiary of the Siemens corporation, also probably employed these female prisoners.

Messap was a joint venture of the clock manufacturer Junghans, based in Schramberg in the Black Forest, with the production enterprise of the Army High Command (OKH) Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company), which already possessed years-long experience in fuse production on which to build. Messap used that experience to establish a system of norms and controls in the employment of the camp prisoners. Each prisoner had to complete the assembly of 120 clockworks for time fuses per day. The assembly was organized into several steps, for each of which a group of prisoners was employed. After each step, a prisoner, acting as an inspector, checked the workpiece. At the end, a civilian worker made a final check. The continual strain on the eyes involved in assembling the smallest pieces led in part to long-term damage to the prisoners' eyesight.

The woman who led the camp, SS-Oberaufseherin Lonny Winzer,[6] under whom were assigned first 23 and later 28 female SS overseers, had no male guard force for the Halbstadt camp, because the camp for the female prisoners lay within the fenced-off factory grounds, which were watched over by civilian factory guards. The prisoners were accompanied by the SS overseers on their way from the living quarters to their workstations. They remained always within the fenced-off factory grounds.

It became apparent during the time of their incarceration that some of the women in Halbstadt were pregnant. According to statements from other prisoners, those women were taken away from Halbstadt to an unknown location.[7] The SS-Oberaufseherin used several prisoners as functionaries, who were responsible to her in the maintenance of a strict camp routine. At their head was the camp elder (Lagerältester), Schmidt. Prisoner doctors and medics were also allocated to the transport of the prisoners. In this connection, Rachel A. also acted as a dental technician in Halbstadt.[8]

In the death register for the Halbstadt parish, four women who perished in the camp are entered: the first died on November 3, 1944, and the last on April 20, 1945.

The women and girls incarcerated in Halbstadt were not evacuated; they were freed by Soviet troops advancing through the area on May 9, 1945.[9]

SOURCES There is no secondary work that examines Halbstadt exclusively, but the camp does appear in several broader works, including Hermann Kaienburg, "*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*" *Der Fall Neuengamme* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994); and Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chladková, *Pobocky koncentracního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnárskych závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov, 1981).

Primary sources are available in AMGR, AG-T, and other repositories as noted in the citations.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979) 134.

2. OKBZNwK, Folder 119, cited in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994), p. 40.

3. OKBZHW, p. 193, cited in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987), p. 41.

4. AMGR, DP Nr. 6086, pp. 1–25, Wykaz dotychczasowej ponownej rejestracji, Frydlant, November 23, 1945.

5. Ibid.

6. AG-T, A 2463-2, Monatsbericht des Lagers Halbstadt an den Leiter der Zahnstationen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen, March 24, 1945.

7. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 11/62, Bd. 3, p. 494.

8. AG-T, A 2463-2.

9. YV, statements by freed prisoners in their witness interviews (Bela, Cesia, Bronia, and Rosa W); see also ITS, 12 W.

HARTMANNSDORF

A Gross-Rosen subcamp was established in Hartmannsdorf (later Miłoszów) in April 1944. It was a subcamp for male prisoners. The prisoners who arrived in the initial transport worked on the construction of camp buildings. The camp was situated in the town near the Hartmann textile factory.

It is difficult to determine how many transports were sent to Hartmannsdorf labor camp and how large they were. It is known that only individual prisoners were moved from the subcamp. There were approximately 1,000 prisoners at the camp. They were primarily Poles, nationals of the USSR, and Czechs, as well as (in lesser number) Germans, French, Italians, and Dutch. There was also a group of teenage prisoners who were no more than 17 years old when they were incarcerated at the camp. The prisoners lived in barracks; there were mattresses stuffed with straw on the bunks. There was one blanket for 2 prisoners. They had a change of underclothes every two weeks. There was a bathhouse operating on the subcamp premises, in which 20 prisoners could bathe at one time. It was cold and very crowded in the barracks. A hospital (or infirmary, *Revier*) was set up in one of the barracks. It held an average of approximately 80 people. The prisoners often had to wait a very long time to be admitted to the hospital. A doctor prisoner provided medical care. He had only the simplest tools at his disposal: a few thermometers, scalpels, and syringes. For dressing material he had paper bandages and dressings and a small amount of disinfectants. The death rate at the camp was high. The prisoners most frequently became ill with pneumonia, kidney inflammations, phlegmon, and general body exhaustion. The bodies of dead prisoners were carted away to the Gross-Rosen main camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Juchelek was the subcamp's commander. The staff was composed of 20 SS men and a few dozen soldiers. The staff's quarters were on the camp premises.

One of the prisoner's workplaces was the Hartmann textile factory building where the Walter-Werke weapons factory was set up. The weaving machines were removed from a part of the space and were replaced by lathes, milling machines, and other equipment. They were put into service and started producing aircraft parts. The prisoners also worked in the factory drafting bureau, where they copied engineering drawings. The work lasted 12 hours per shift, and German foremen issued the orders and supervised the work.

Prisoners also worked in the other part of the textile factory, the weaving mill. There they made fabric for the army as well as handkerchiefs.

A group of Hartmannsdorf prisoners was put to work in the nearby town of Marklissa (now Leśna), at a weapons factory, where they made V-1 and V-2 engines.

Some of the hardest work was in what was called the Stollenkommando, drilling tunnels in a mountainside near Marklissa. When work was complete, the local weapons factory was supposed to be moved there.

There were escape attempts made by prisoners incarcerated at Hartmannsdorf. One occurred on May 19, 1944 (prisoner Grigori Mischin), and another was on June 1 (prisoner Józef Malik). Both were unsuccessful. The prisoners were caught, but what happened to them afterward is unknown. Subsequent attempts also ended in the fugitives being caught, followed by torture, being sent to a penal company, or a death sentence at camp.

The most famous escape attempt from Hartmannsdorf occurred on August 25, 1944. Eight prisoners were involved in it. Their escape route was a tunnel they had made especially for the purpose, leading from a barrack near the fence. But the escapees were apprehended and sent to a penal company at the main camp.

The only prisoner who managed to escape from the subcamp was Zygmunt Czechowski. He escaped by the roof during the night shift at the factory. During his trek, the fugitive was aided by Polish forced laborers he encountered along the way.

The Christmas holidays were an important time in the prisoners' lives. The camp officials gave permission for a Christmas tree to be in every barrack; prisoners could sing carols in their native languages. They also received an extra portion of food for the holidays.

Evacuation was ordered on February 15 or 16, 1945. The prisoners were ordered to form marching columns. Only the sick at the camp hospital stayed behind under the care of the doctor prisoner. They were overseen by SS men living in the village. The patients had quite a bit of freedom. The stronger ones were in charge of feeding the rest of the prisoners, and the food improved slightly when the meat of horses that had died near the camp was cooked. Despite the improved living conditions, nine prisoners died and were buried on camp premises. On March 19, 1945, all the surviving prisoners were transported to the Zittau labor camp, where they were liberated on May 8, 1945.

The prisoners who left the camp had to pull carts loaded with food and the belongings of the staff's family members, who were also being evacuated. Many prisoners were shot along the way, as they no longer had the strength to go on, and their bodies were pushed into roadside ditches. The food during evacuation was a starvation diet; one loaf of bread for 12 people. Sometimes soup was cooked for them during stops.

After seven or eight days of trekking, the evacuation columns reached the Zittau subcamp. Here the tradesmen prisoners (such as metalworkers) were separated and sent to the Reichenau labor camp. Prisoners who were no longer able to travel stayed at Zittau. The rest set out again. When they reached Weimar, they were loaded onto coal cars and taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp. A total of 399 Hartmannsdorf prisoners were recorded in that camp's records on March 12, 1945.

SOURCES Information on this subcamp can be found in Dorota Sula, "AL Hartmannsdorf," in *KL Files from Gross-Rosen: Selected Articles*, ed. Dorota Sula (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2002); and in Aneta Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2003).

Additionally, the AMGR holds questionnaires and accounts of former prisoners of this camp.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

HIRSCHBERG (*ARBEITSKOMMANDO*)

Arbeitskommando (Labor Commando) Hirschberg, its official name, was a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The camp operated in the town of Hirschberg (present-day Jelenia Góra). It was located approximately 300 to 500 meters (984 to 1,640 feet) from the Zellwolle factory, near the Jewish labor camp, but there was no opportunity for communication between the prisoners incarcerated in these two camps. The camp may have come into being between April 18 and May 6, 1943. At that time the first and probably the last prisoner transport arrived. It held approximately 100 to 110 Polish men, mostly recruited from a large transport of 1,000 prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp that had arrived at Gross-Rosen on March 13, 1943. The group included prisoners marked with the following Gross-Rosen concentration camp numbers: 6617, 8386, 8402, 8453, 8464, 8467, 8494, 8495, 8562, 8575, 8576, 8627, 8764, 8773, 8789, 8796, 8797, 8799, 8849, 8891, 8905, 8915, 8916, 8964, and probably numbers 8624 and 8971.

Initially, the number of prisoners did not fluctuate much. We know of individual instances of prisoners being moved to other external Gross-Rosen commandos (such as Treskau). Not until the autumn of 1943 was an appreciable group of unidentified prisoners taken away to the main camp.

No instances of suicide, death from natural causes, or murder were recorded throughout the commando's operation. There were also no epidemics.

SS men comprised the commando staff. The data on camp officials is fragmentary. Lagerführer Alfred Juchelek or Juchelk is mentioned as one of them, although no information about his administration of the camp is available.

Civilian plant employees were put in charge of supervising the commando at work; a considerable percentage of former prisoners stated that these supervisors were kindly disposed toward the laborers.

The Arbeitskomando did various jobs for the Prix GmbH associated with the expansion of the nearby Schlesische Zellwolle AG synthetic textile plant. These were mostly assembly, construction, and support jobs. Some of the prisoners worked carting in, unloading, and stacking wood, the raw material processed into celluloid fibers in the factory. Another group was put to work stacking and moving the materials produced (heavy—approximately 50-kilogram [110-pound]—bales of rayon).

The last wartime information on the subcamp's operation dates from January 1944. The prisoners of the closed camp were moved to the main camp at Gross-Rosen.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: Stań badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); as well as Roman Olszyna, *KL Gross-Rosen: Wybór artykułów* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2005); and the author's postwar correspondence with the Celwiskozy plant (formerly Zellwolle) where prisoners worked during the war.

Original camp correspondence preserved in the archive of the AMGR comprises former inmates' questionnaires.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

HIRSCHBERG (*ARBEITSLAGER*)

Arbeitslager (Labor Camp) Hirschberg was one of the many subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It came into being in March 1944 (the dates March 1, 12, or 16 occur in the references) when Gross-Rosen headquarters took over a Jewish labor camp under the Organisation Schmeldt, which had been operating since 1942. The camp was located in the town of Hirschberg (present-day Jelenia Góra) on the Bober (Bóbr) River near the Zellwolle works.

The camp prisoners were men, mostly Jewish, from various countries of Europe, mainly Poland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. A large group of Hungarian Jews were interned in Hirschberg beginning in mid-1944.

The camp population is estimated to have been from a few hundred to 2,000 prisoners. Prisoners marked with the following Gross-Rosen numbers were interned here or arrived in new transports: 20000 to 20507 (prisoner number 20181 was at the labor camp since October 1942 and was transferred to Gross-Rosen's administration in March 1944); 35001 to 35480 (starting in May 1944); and 46001 to 46500 (starting in June 1944). Some of the prisoners at the Hirschberg subcamp were sent to Bad Warmbrunn, another Gross-Rosen subcamp situated nearby. Doctors were among the group that was moved.

Former prisoners of the subcamp remember instances of prisoners being murdered by staff members or prisoner-functionaries. They recall the fatal beating of two prisoners by an intoxicated SS man. Another time, an SS man punished a prisoner attempting to escape by whipping, then ordered prisoner-functionaries to torture him to death. The names of

the perpetrators of these crimes have not been established. One victim of the camp terror was the famous Hungarian soccer player Ferenc Moros, who was shot while doing his job and later died in the camp infirmary (*Revier*). Arnold Mostowicz, also a prisoner at the subcamp, described the event in his memoirs. Alfred Konieczny's publication, based on surviving original records, reports that the death sentence was carried out at the camp on two Jewish prisoners caught while escaping.[1] They were Ignatz Grossmann (number 49140), born December 20, 1921, and Andor Kiss (number 49224), born December 27, 1913. The prisoners were put to death by hanging. Their fellow prisoners Aspis Matysiak (number 34527) and Sandor Kiszelnik (number 46253) were assigned to carry out the sentence.

Among the characteristic noteworthy camp events remembered by prisoners are the Sunday soccer matches, in which the opponents were the staff members, on the one hand, and a team of prisoners, weak and emaciated by work, on the other. Of course, before being shot, Moros stood out on the prisoners' team.

Information on the subcamp staff is fragmentary. The only persons mentioned are SS-Oberscharführer Streiholz, serving as Lagerführer, and his assistant (Rapportführer) Franz Wenzel. Some sources call the latter the camp commander, while his assistant was supposed to have been SS-Unterscharführer Pitrass (the spelling of the name is uncertain).

The Hirschberg camp prisoners worked in the Zellwolle rayon plant, mainly in the chemical department, processing wood. The work was onerous because of the contact with dangerous acids. Another group of prisoners worked in front of the plant in the coal yard, unloading coal dust. Some prisoners worked for the Askania-Werke company, although the type of work they did is unknown.

Evacuation of the subcamp began in mid-February 1945. The destination was the Buchenwald concentration camp. On March 7, 1945, a group of 900 prisoners arrived there, having been evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamps Bolkenhain and Reichenau, as well as from the Auschwitz concentration camp; 78 prisoners from Hirschberg were evacuated in that group. The prisoners in that transport made the journey at first on foot to Reichenau, and from there they were transported in open railroad cars to Buchenwald. More groups of prisoners were probably moved in other transports; for example, a prisoner who had received number 136782 at Buchenwald was not on the list of the transport described above. It cannot be ascertained how many prisoners died during the camp's evacuation.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1988); Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stan badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); and Roman Olszyna, "Więźniowie Żydzi w KL Gross-Rosen," *F-S* 51 (1977).

See also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1977); as well as the report of Cwi (Zvi) *Rechanic* in AMGR, MF-L 124/958; and from "Korespondencj Kierownika Centralnego Urzędu Nordhein-Westfalen do Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce" in AMGR, MF-L 154/Ds./68-25. The transport list from KL Gross-Rosen to KL Buchenwald "Neuzugänge vom 7.03.1945" in AMGR, DP/ 589, was also used.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Alfred Konieczny, "Nowe dokumenty o egzekucjach w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Pra.* CX (1982) 22.

HIRSCHBERG/ BUCHWALD-HOHENWIESE

There is little information on the Gross-Rosen subcamp Buchwald-Hohenwiese. The encyclopedia *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945* lists Buchwald-Hohenwiese as a Hirschberg subcamp work detachment, thereby questioning whether Buchwald-Hohenwiese was an independent subcamp; on the other hand, the fact that the prisoners were accommodated on site in Buchwald suggests that it was such a camp.

The subcamp, located in the Prussian province of Lower Silesia or Niederschlesien, Kreis Hirschberg, was, according to a prisoner statement, opened on November 14, 1944. The male prisoners worked in an SS sanatorium for tuberculosis patients, primarily in the laundry and the boiler room, which heated the building.

According to a prisoner statement, the prisoners were evacuated on February 18, 1945, to Hirschberg.

SOURCES See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, (Arolsen, 1979, 1:135; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1795; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czeslaw Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 429.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HOCHWEILER

Hochweiler was a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It operated during World War II in 1944–1945 in the town of Hochweiler (present-day Wierzchowice). It was located at the site of a former brickyard. The camp belonged to a group of four Gross-Rosen subcamps that came into being in conjunction with the planned Barthold operation (the defense of Lower Silesia against the approaching Soviet army that had been in preparation since August 1944).

The one and only known prisoner transport arrived at Hochweiler on October 20, 1944, at 9:30 P.M. The women had

been brought from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp, where 1,000 prisoners had been prepared for transport. The cover letter signed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Mengele accompanying the transport roster said that there were three doctors among the prisoners (Erike Schuessler, Elli Joelson, and Helene Adler) and four nurses. It is also known that later one of the doctors was exchanged with the nearby Kurzbach camp for a dentist prisoner.

As in the two other Gross-Rosen subsidiary camps operating in the Militsch (Milicz) region (Birnbäumel and Kurzbach), Hochweiler held Jewish women. The prisoners received camp numbers probably ranging from 77441 to 78436.

Death rate data from the camp are incomplete: 1 prisoner had already died in the initial period of the camp's existence, that is, October 21 to October 31, 1944. The deaths of 5 more women were recorded through December 20, 1944. After that time, there is no detailed information on the subject. It is known from a camp record that there were 980 female prisoners in camp on January 16, 1945, meaning there were 20 prisoners less than at the start. But it is not known why the number of prisoners dropped. It could have been due to natural deaths, as well as transports of women to other subcamps. There is a surviving list of 78 prisoners unfit to work who were being prepared for transport due to various diseases. General bodily exhaustion and weakness were found in as many as 30 sick women in that group. And a considerable percentage of the prisoners could only be transported lying down. We have to remember that those women had earlier been incarcerated at Auschwitz concentration camp, where such menacing diseases as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhus occurred.

Permanent malnutrition was the immediate cause of the Hochweiler prisoners' appalling state of health. A surviving list of the food products needed and scheduled daily menus shows that both the number of meals (two per day), as well as their quality could have been a source of disease and death. For example, the menu for October 23, 1944, called for a first meal of potato soup with some meat, and a supper of bread, butter, and cheese. The weight of the products was not provided in this case. But the menu for November 13, 1944, called for a supper with the following food rations: 300 grams (about 10.6 ounces) of bread, 60 grams (about 2.1 ounces) of fish paste, and 250 grams (about 9 ounces) of potato puree. It seems that they were portions for one person. Meals may have been even more meager in reality.

The women's situation was made worse by camp sanitary conditions and the huge lice infestation, which, according to information from camp officials on January 16, 1945, had affected as many as 60 percent of the 980 prisoners.

The bad sanitary conditions, inadequate food, and hard labor were devastating to the body. The Hochweiler prisoners, like the women at the Birnbäumel and Kurzbach camps, had to work out in the open, digging ditches and raising entrenchments. The work was under the direction of what was called the "Unternehmen Barthold" with its operations headquarters in Kraschnitz township. There is no information on the camp's administration.

As far as the subcamp's evacuation is concerned, some of the prisoners were transported to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived on February 12, 1945. The number of prisoners who were in that group is unknown. At least two women remained incarcerated in the camp until liberation. They may have been part of a larger group that was not evacuated, or it may have happened by chance.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); as well as Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Additional sources are preserved in the AMGR.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

KAMENZ

In September 1944, the Daimler-Benz GmbH factory in Alsatian Kolmar (French: Colmar) was relocated to eastern Saxony in front of the advancing Allied troops and in accordance with an order of the responsible armaments commission. The Kolmar factory manufactured aircraft parts; its relocation fell under the jurisdiction of the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab), which had been established in March 1944 and was responsible for the repair and maintenance of damaged aircraft factories or their relocation. The relevant order stated: "The Reichsführer-SS will make available sufficient protective custody prisoners for construction and maintenance work. . . . The order to transfer factories to new areas is to be made by the R.d.L. and the Ob.d.L. Generalflugzeugmeister together with the Reichs Minister for Armaments and War Production."[1]

The factory relocated to Kamenz was given the name "Elster GmbH" to keep it secret.[2]

The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt III responded to the requests of the company and made available concentration camp prisoners as part of the Jägerstab program. The former chief of personnel at the Kamenz factory, Rudolf Rahmig, had the following to say when questioned about the introduction of concentration camp prisoners to the factory: "The required number of workers was not available at the new location for full production. A solution was soon found. As the Eastern Front got closer, a concentration camp in nearby Liegnitz (Legnica) was dissolved and its inmates transferred to the west. There followed a directive and we found out that we were going to get the concentration camp prisoners. They were accommodated in the Herrenmühle. (Tuchfabrik, Gebr. Nosske & Co., Kamenz, Herrental, Nr. 9). A few days before the prisoners arrived, it was in the last days of October, an advanced detachment appeared to establish the camp. The camp commander was part of the detachment."[3]

The machines in the cloth factory were dismantled, and camp facilities were established in the three floors of the building. The windows were barred up. The head of personnel,

Rahmig, stated during his interrogation that they had tried to "make the conditions as human as possible" and that "this factory in no way provided satisfactory accommodation for so many people. . . . The cooking vats were insufficient as were the toilets."[4] His statement was contrary to that of the company's director, Weist, who tried to make things appear better than they were.

The Kamenz subcamp was established when the transport with the first prisoners arrived at the beginning of November 1944. At the end of December 1944, 116 prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. On January 26, 1945, 750 prisoners were sent to Kamenz from the Flossenbürg concentration camp.[5]

The transport from Flossenbürg had the following nationalities: 232 Russians and other citizens of the Soviet Union; 165 Poles, including 60 Jews; 120 Italians, including 1 Jew; 95 French; 40 Belgians; 32 Germans; 29 Czechs; 10 Hungarians, of whom 6 were Jews; 7 Dutch; 6 Croats; 5 Serbs; 3 Slovaks; 2 Greeks; 2 Austrians; 1 Spaniard; and 2 stateless people.[6]

The local inhabitants had the following to say about the arrival of the transport: "When the prisoners arrived it was very cold, there was snow on the ground. There were about seven hundred, completely exhausted, hungry and freezing. It was a train of misery and horror, for those who wanted to see. They had no protection from the cold; some of them were bare foot. We scarcely regarded it as possible that a person could survive such conditions. Later another two hundred arrived."[7] When questioned, even the SS camp commander Wilhelm Wirker had to admit the following: "At the end of January or beginning of February 1945, 750 prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg at Weiden. These prisoners were already seriously ill and were in a shocking condition. Eight had died on the transport and they brought them with them."[8] Wirker attempted to put the causes of death back on to the miserable condition of the prisoners who in January had been transported from Flossenbürg. However, he had obviously counted on deaths and planned the cremation of the corpses in the boiler room of Nosske & Co., as he admitted in his interrogation: "There was a directive to cremate the dead in the closest crematorium. As the closest crematorium was in Dresden the cremations would be awkward. I received from the main camp Gross-Rosen the order to cremate the corpses in the company's boilers. . . . The prisoners who volunteered as stokers cremated the dead. Rottenführer Kastner was in charge of the cremations. He was also in charge of the infirmary and the doctors. . . . I admit that during my short time at the Kamenz subcamp around one hundred prisoners died and were cremated."[9]

The former machinist at the cloth factory had the following to say:

> Due to the total war effort the Nosske Tuchfabrik was closed down. Simultaneously I was ordered to August Lesche as a machinist. Shortly before the concentration camp opened at Herrenmühle, I was instructed to go there as the Elster GmbH and August Lesche Company had come to an agreement. I was instructed to make the boilers and heating operational. . . . I went there a few times when the camp was occupied as it was my job to control the boilers, the heating and the machine shop. . . . I learnt that during this period two prisoners had been trained as stokers in the glass works. They were to work in Herrenmühle. . . . A short time later a guard was posted at the entrance to the building and no one was allowed into the camp. The two stokers, whom I knew, had in the meantime been released. They were replaced by the trained prisoners, the Frenchmen P and G, prisoner numbers 80727 and 65891.[10]

The corpses were cremated just about daily. The smells that lay over the community left no doubt in the minds of the locals, particularly as the transport of corpses into the boiler rooms was noticed. The worker Lehmann stated the following: "A few days after they arrived [the prisoners], we saw prisoners carrying stretchers into the boiler rooms. . . . We saw this many times and there was no doubt in our minds that those who had been tortured to death were being burnt. We later learnt that one corpse was placed on a stretcher, tied down and thrown into the flames. . . . When the camp was to be relocated there were about eighty ill prisoners. They could not be transported. Wirker simply stated: 'What am I to do with the sick, the fire is out!' I immediately asked: 'Have all the dead been cremated?' Wirker had not expected such a question. He was at a loss for words and left me."[11]

The final police report for the Kamenz District Police states that the witness Lode was barred entry when the dead were being cremated. "It was the same for two Kamenz fire fighters. One of them noticed before he left that the dead were in the coal shed under wood wool."[12] A Hungarian SS man Tanner was the only member of the guard who publicly distanced himself from the crimes. In the final police report, it is said that he stated that "the sick and those inmates who could no longer work, were given, on the order of the camp's doctors, who themselves were prisoners, an injection in the lower arm and thus murdered. They were then cremated. The camp doctors later fled because they no longer wanted to be involved in these crimes, but died during an air raid on Dresden."[13] Tanner put the number of victims who were cremated in the boiler room of the subcamp at 125.[14]

The Gross-Rosen death register only records 57 deaths.[15] Jewish prisoners, Poles, Russians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) are completely missing from these records.

Rapid developments in the war during 1944–1945 kept the death toll from going higher. The expansion of the subterranean production facilities in the nearby caverns, code-named Rüdiger and Rudi, had to stop. As a result, there was no more mass deployment of concentration camp prisoners at these construction sites.[16]

The prisoners worked in the glassworks and the Minkwitz company. Here, under the supervision of engineers, skilled

tradesmen, and controllers, they dissembled aircraft engines and manufactured and assembled parts. The prisoners often collapsed when carrying the heavy loads. There was inadequate safety, and many accidents resulted due to the prisoners' weakened state. In addition, the prisoners scarcely had time to eat their sparse midday meal. At the end of each shift, they hurried, driven by the SS, through the city, back to the camp.

In 1945, workers at the Kamenz subcamp could no longer be exchanged for new prisoners. The camp management was forced as a result to give the prisoners a slight increase in rations (60 grams [2 ounces] of bread daily!). The physical deterioration of the prisoners could not be halted by the completely inadequate rations and, in individual cases, food secretly given by locals and workers to the prisoners.[17] An eyewitness stated in his memoirs:

> Between November 1944 and January 1945 I was a student at the Elster GmhH trade school, a Daimler-Benz factory for the war effort, based on the site of the Kamenz glassworks. We students worked in the workshops and the supply depot. At this time there were many prisoners in the factory. They worked at the machines and did other things. At the beginning of our service we were repeatedly instructed by the engineers from the Elster GmbH that there was to be no contact with the prisoners and that [they] were not to give them food or anything else. Nevertheless, we found ways to help the very emaciated and exhausted prisoners. We left potatoes, bread, and other food at different places in the workshops, which we had brought from home. We signaled to the prisoners where they could find something. They quickly learnt to understand us. This became more difficult after a while as there were special SS guards who arrived who guarded the prisoners while they were working. The prisoners worked between twelve to fourteen hours a day. The SS were foreigners, in my opinion, from Latvia, Croatia, and other countries. The prisoners were driven to work and beaten. We young ones were pulled out of this area and transferred to another area. However, we were repeatedly successful in hiding food for these hungry people. We used the known secret places.[18]

The camp commander, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Wirker, had a typical SS guard's career behind him. He trained as an SS guard in the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Oranienburg (Death's Head Guard Battalion Oranienburg)/Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he reached the position of block leader (Blockführer). After service at the front, he served from 1944 at the Vaivara concentration camp until it was evacuated. In October 1944, he was transferred to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, where he was then transferred to Kamenz as camp commander. He was tried after the war and was convicted for his role in the crimes committed at the camp. His six accomplices were also convicted.[19]

At the beginning of March 1945, the production site at Kamenz was no longer safe enough for the Daimler-Benz GmbH. The Soviet Army was pressing forward. The company's management ordered that the factory be pulled back to middle Saxony and Bavaria. The order to evacuate was issued without the slightest regard for the prisoners' accommodation. The factory manager, Weist, fearing that he would later be held responsible, persuaded the camp commander that the prisoners who had already been sent on the march should return to Kamenz. In the documents at his trial there is the following note: "The logical conclusion for the Elster GmbH is to inform the relevant offices that under these conditions there must be no more use of concentration camp prisoners."[20] Later he stated:

> The factory manager has just been informed by the Dresden Staatspolizei-Leitstelle, that the guards' commanders at other armaments firms with concentration camp prisoners, to the extent that they come from Flossenbürg, have been ordered, to the extent that it is possible, to avoid marching on the main roads, on their march back to Flossenbürg. The Staatspolizeistelle Dresden also advises that the imminent return of the prisoners under the guards' commanders is permitted on the basis that, as already noted by the company managers, it is no longer possible under any circumstance to provide accommodation for the concentration camp prisoners at the new camps.[21]

As a return to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was no longer possible (it had already been evacuated), the prisoners left Kamenz on March 10, 1945, by rail for the Dachau concentration camp. They arrived on March 16, 1945. At least 6 of the 690 prisoners on the transport died in transit.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Hermann Schierz, *Seid wachsam. Bericht über das Konzentationslager Kamenz* (Kamenz, 1965).

Archival records are available in the BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66; IV 405 AR-Z 198/74, Bd. 1–3); and SÚA (KT/OVS, K. 24).

Hans Brenner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SH StA-(D), Auto Union AG, Nr. 666, Bl. 22/23.
2. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, 80Ba6, Nr. 703, p. 38.
3. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 19–20, Aussage des Angestellten Rudolf Rahmig v. 3.9.1945, cited in Karl-Heinz Gräfe, "Die Nebenlager des KZ Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," in *Die Völker Europas in Gross-Rosen. Materialien aus der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Tagung 8.–9. Juni 1995* (Polanica Zdroj, 1995).
4. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 19–20.

5. NARA, T 580, Roll 69 and Roll 70, Group X, Ordner 332, Flossenbürg Concentration Camp, List of Inmates and Documents.

6. Ibid.

7. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 5–8, statement by factory worker Max Lehmann.

8. Ibid., p. 4., statement by former SS-Lagerführer Wirker, August 29, 1945.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 9, statement by factory worker Richard Lode, August 31, 1945.

11. Ibid., pp. 5–8, interrogation of factory worker Max Lehmann.

12. Ibid., pp. 26–28, report by Kreispolizeiposten Kamenz, September 4, 1945, to Landesverwaltung Sachsen/Landeskriminalamt on the mass murder of camp prisoners.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid. This number is probably not the maximum number of murdered prisoners in Kamenz.

15. SÚA, KT/OVS, K. 24, Gross-Rosen death books 1945/I and II.

16. Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Humboldt-University Berlin, 1970), appendix.

17. Hermann Schierz, *Seid wachsam. Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Kamenz* (Kamenz, 1965), pp. 22–23.

18. Memoir Heinz Stecklinna, Kamenz, March 1997, report in the possession of the author.

19. "Akte Herrenmühle," p. 4, interrogation of former SS Lagerführer W. Wirker, August 29, 1945.

20. Ibid., p. 47., appendix 3 to report by Erich Weist.

21. Ibid., p. 48.

KITTLITZTREBEN [AKA KRETSCHAMBERG]

A subcamp of Gross-Rosen was located in the town of Kittlitztreben (later Trzebień). In references, the camp is also called Kretschamberg. The towns of Kittlitztreben and Kretschamberg (later Karczmarka) were near each other. The prisoners brought to Kittlitztreben were unloaded at a railroad station in Kretschamberg. Some prisoners remembered that name and mentioned it in later accounts as the place where the camp was located.

The Kittlitztreben camp was put into operation in late February and early March 1944. Located on the edge of a forest, Kittlitztreben was a quite large camp. It was made up of eight living barracks, half of which were remnants of a previously closed camp, while the other half were remnants of a former Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. There were shoemaking and sewing workshops in the camp; the lavatory and infirmary (*Revier*) were located in separate barracks. The site of the camp was fenced with a triple row of barbed wire. According to Abraham Hendler's account, the entire forest in which the camp was located was also surrounded by barbed wire.

Approximately 1,700 to 1,800 Jewish men were imprisoned at the Kittlitztreben camp; they were mainly from Poland and Hungary. There were smaller groups from Germany, Austria, and Belgium. The prisoner holding the post of camp elder (Lagerältester) was German.

The initial prisoner transport arrived at Kittlitztreben between the end of February and March 13, 1944. The transport brought 200 people, mainly Polish Jews from the closed camp at Sagan.[1] Three more transports that are known of also arrived in March: 180 people from the camp at Grünberg,[2] approximately 200 people from the closed camp at Görlitz,[3] and an unknown number of prisoners from Freiwaldau,[4] which also had been closed. A transport of Jews from Hungary arrived, numbering several hundred prisoners (between 500 and 900), probably in May or early June. The last known transport arrived at Kittlitztreben on August 15, 1944. It brought approximately 200 Jewish prisoners who had previously been at the Fünfteichen (later Miłoszyce) camp, another subsidiary of Gross-Rosen.[5] We know of only one transport leaving Kittlitztreben: in July 1944, 50 prisoners, almost all of them metalworkers, were sent to the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bunzlau.[6] The death rate in Kittlitztreben was high, especially in the initial stage of its operation. Hendler stated that 250 of the 900 prisoners in the camp died within two weeks. That was because of the wretched sanitary conditions, the huge shortage of even cold water (for the longest time, there was only one faucet, which all the prisoners used), the bad living conditions (the prisoners were put in unfinished and unheated barracks), and the tremendous terror rampant at the camp. According to Armin Freudmann's account, the camp was inspected by the labor service (Arbeitsdienst) at some point in time, the result of which was somewhat improved prisoners' living conditions.

Two doctors and three orderlies, all of whom were prisoners, worked at the camp hospital. One of the doctors was named Braun. They were very limited in what they could do to help sick prisoners. The Jewish doctors were powerless in the face of German orders and the shortage of medicine and medical instruments. The prisoners remembered an accident at work when a prisoner's leg was crushed. Amputation was necessary; it was done without anesthesia and, because there were no surgical instruments, with an ordinary saw.[7]

Besides the hospital, the camp had what was called the care barrack. Prisoners who were convalescing after their illnesses could rest for almost 14 days in that barrack, until they were able to start working again. Prisoners who were found to be unfit for work were taken away from the camp.

Freudmann remembered two unsuccessful escape attempts at the camp. One of the intercepted fugitives was hanged right away at Kittlitztreben, while the other was taken to the main camp at Gross-Rosen and murdered there. What is unusual is that approximately 50 prisoners also were sent to Gross-Rosen along with the condemned man and were present at the execution. Upon returning to Kittlitztreben, they

had to tell the other prisoners at roll call all about the execution.

The commander's name and the other camp staff member names are unknown. However, it is known that Kittlitztreben was guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers.

Initially the prisoners worked expanding and setting up their own camp. Later they worked in various areas of the huge construction project the Luftwaffe was building in the forest around the camp. They cleared trees and built railroad tracks, concrete roads, ammunition depot bunkers, and barracks for the Luftwaffe soldiers. They worked in transport commandos: they carted the wood cleared from the forest and transported and stacked crates of ammunition in the depot bunkers that had been built. Records from the archives of the International Tracing Service (ITS), Arolsen, show that the prisoners also made aircraft parts. We know of 18 companies that employed the prisoners: Grülich, Hübsch, Koder, Konrad, Krause, Kunigals, Kunnith, Leistikoff, Madebrun, Mischke, Poikett, Reiners, Schulz, Tiessler, Wiedermann, Zimke, Peuke und Jeche, and Stein und Teer.[8]

In early 1945, the camp headquarters began evacuation preparations. A selection was conducted of the prisoners in the hospital, after which some of the patients were escorted to the assembly ground and ordered to exercise with the rest of the prisoners in order to improve their condition and endurance in the march. The weak prisoners who could not stand up to the pace were beaten severely and left unconscious on the drilling ground. Only in the evening were they taken back to the hospital. The prisoners were horror-struck at such evacuation preparations. The most active of them, approximately 30 people, organized and began their own preparations for the upcoming events. They hid some of their work tools, which they were going to use as necessary to defend themselves if the evacuation was ordered late enough that they would have a chance of surviving until the Russians came. They also prepared for the possibility that power to the camp and, what was most important, the fence would be cut. Unfortunately, the evacuation was ordered suddenly on the morning of February 9. The prisoners did not know how far away the advancing army was, so they did not go through with their plan of defense.[9] Several hundred of the most ill were left in the hospital. Freudmann says that headquarters had the order to blow the camp up, along with the sick people. But the camp leader (Lagerführer) was reported to have said: "Let's give the Russians the 300 cripples as a present." Soviet soldiers took them away on February 10 or 11.

The almost 1,000 prisoners who were deemed healthy began their march southward under terrible conditions. Some of the prisoners had not given up the plan to avoid evacuation and tried to escape. We know that Jakub Rettman was successful.

We do not know the exact evacuation route. All we know is that the column passed through Görlitz, where several dozen sick prisoners were left. The next point they reached was the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Zittau. A certain percentage of prisoners were left there, too. We do not know how many there were in that group. Based on Natan Klajman's account, we can suppose that it was not just the totally exhausted prisoners and those unable to continue marching who stayed at Zittau; Klajman and other prisoners in that group (along with the 300 other Jewish prisoners already there) were sent to work at the local aircraft factory. That group was liberated on May 9, 1945.

The last group of Kittlitztreben prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp only on April 4, 1945.[10]

SOURCES Certain information on the Kittlitztreben subcamp can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Wałbrzych, 1987).

Accounts and memoirs of former prisoners can be found in the following archives: AMGR in Wałbrzych, AŻIH in Warsaw, and YV in Jerusalem. Documents concerning the evacuation as well as companies employing Kittlitztreben prisoners are kept in the ITS archives in Arolsen.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Account No. 1692, Abraham Borger, and Account No. 919, Abraham Hendler; YVA, 02/643, account of Armin Freudmann.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 710, Jakub Rettman.
3. AŻIH, Account No. 2765, Natan Klajman.
4. AMGR, 7630/DP-A, Józef Mann's questionnaire.
5. AŻIH, Account No. 935, Symcha Kościak.
6. AŻIH, Account No. 919.
7. AŻIH, Account No. 710.
8. ITS, Kittlitztreben Camp Records.
9. AŻIH, Account No. 710.
10. AŻIH, Account No. 2765; ITS, Buchenwald Concentration Camp Records.

KRATZAU I

The Kratzau I and II camps were created in the city of Kratzau (Chrastava) by Organisation Schmelt in 1943 to supply workers for the Tannwald Textile Works and the Deutsche Industriewerke AG ammunition factory.[1] Only in October 1944 did Gross-Rosen take them over as subcamps.

Alfred Konieczny established that the Kratzau I subcamp was located in a four-story building with no windows or sanitary facilities. One account states, though, that the Kratzau I camp was located in four wooden barracks surrounded by a double fence supported by approximately 20 posts, next to the factory.[2] The camp was set up on the model of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It had an assembly area, also fenced with electrified barbed wire, which SS men guarded.

There are no precise data concerning the prisoners who were already at Kratzau I when Gross-Rosen took over management of the camp. The female prisoners brought to Kratzau I from Auschwitz in October 1944 had undergone a prior selection. The first transport consisted of 100 persons,



A five-sided blue badge issued to prisoner Helen Waterford at Kratzau (Chrastava) subcamp of Gross-Rosen, October 1944 to May 1945.
USHMM WS # N00098, COURTESY OF HELEN WATERFORD

who were numbered from 75901 to 76000. The second transport that reached the subcamp brought 200 women, identified by numbers from the series 83000–83200. As part of the evacuation of Gross-Rosen's subcamps for women, some women prisoners were sent to Kratzau from Bernsdorf and Gebhardsdorf and perhaps from others. As a result, the women's population grew to approximately 1,000, even though the Gebhardsdorf group had been taken away.

The camp included Polish, Czech, French, Belgian, Dutch, and Danish women. These women worked in several plants. Divided into three groups, one group was assigned to work manufacturing ammunition at Deutsche Industriewerke AG; a second group worked at the Tannwald company; and a third group worked making gas masks at the Tolex company, a division of the Spreewerke GmbH concern of Berlin.[3] Some 500 women were working there in November 1944, but an increase to 1,000 people was planned.[4]

The women's work in the gas mask factory was tolerable (they also ate dinner at the factory), while the hard 12 hours of work at the ammunition factory was made more intolerable by the German foremen working there. They beat the girls, taking as an example the "educational" methods used by the camp's female commander, Dinner. A foreman often chose only the weakest women to lift heavy crates.

In a description of her experience at Kratzau I, a former prisoner stated: "The food was barely sufficient, so I reported for shoemaking work. You got a double serving of soup for that job."[5]

The situation at the subcamp began to deteriorate as a result of admitting women from other Gross-Rosen camps. Hunger was prevalent, and the camp was very dirty. There was not enough clothing for the newly arrived women from Auschwitz.

Dr. Mengele, a doctor from Auschwitz concentration camp, arrived at the women's camp in October 1944 to conduct a selection. He made subsequent visits on January 20, 1945, and March 20, 1945. After such a selection, the group of women chosen would be sent to the Zittau subcamp.

The doctor at Kratzau I was a Polish woman, Dr. Janina Węgrzynowska of Warsaw (approximately 45 to 46 years old). She was taken away from the camp upon the commander's intervention.

The director of the Tannwald factory was Hugo Wilm, who was charged after the war with giving two Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) over to the Germans. He was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.

The following details about the camp are given in one source:

> Toward the end of the war, entire families of various nationalities were also brought there (to the camp), as well as Polish children who were separated from their parents, and they were lodged separately. They had to work; they were brutally treated.
>
> As in all the camps put under Gross-Rosen's command in 1944, prisoners worked in their own civilian clothes. The conditions there were unsanitary. There was no running water; water was carted in from the nearby Nysa [Neisse] river, so it was rationed sparingly. Not only drinking water was in short supply, so was water for laundry and washing. Lice infestation and scabies were rampant.[6]

All we know about the children in the camp is that they were assigned to cleanup jobs and to weeding the pathways, sweeping the sidewalks, and removing trash. Witness Zenon Lis, who was a child when he was in the camp, related the following: "We were treated harshly for children, always brutally driven, sometimes shoved about by the people supervising us, German-speaking men and women. The rooms in the barracks were very primitive; there were no sanitary facilities or washbasins. . . . Prisoners built the outdoor latrines. The food was poor and varied at different times: black coffee, dry bread, rutabaga soup, a potato on rare occasions, and a piece of liverwurst on exceptional ones. The children may not have minded the shortages as much, because their parents, and sometimes strangers as well tried to help to a very modest extent."[7] Approximately 40 children aged up to 14 were in the camp.[8]

One day when they got back from work, the women saw the guard women putting piles of wood around the building. As it later turned out, they were unsuccessful in destroying the camp; liberation had begun.

The commander and Aufseher (overseer) fled the camp in early May 1945. Only the woman in charge of the kitchen, two SS men, and 10 women guards remained.

The civilian who told the prisoners they were free recommended that they stay in the camp until the Soviet Army entered. They listened to him. The soldiers handed out cans of food to them, also warning them not to eat fatty foods because of their poor health. Despite the warnings, there were cases of dysentery and other diseases. Consequently, a quarantine was imposed, and an order forbidding anyone to leave camp was issued.

According to B. Zimmerman's account, Camp Commander Dinner was a person who would torment the prisoners by doing things like not letting them wash, and if she found an undressed woman washing herself, she immediately punished her with a whipping. The camp commander "was about 45 years old, she was a good-looking woman, she always had a whip with her . . . , she said that the only educational method was a good whipping. She whipped people in inhuman fashion."[9]

There was a woman camp leader (Lagerführerin) in autumn 1944; later there was a man. Some of the staff were arrested in May 1945. The Lagerführer was probably shot.[10] No information is available on the staff trials.

The camp staff was composed of 4 SS men and 10 SS women (they were German women from the Czech Sudeten area). Several staff names and a few details about them have been established:

- Maria Kraus née Hradec (born April 25, 1923). She was wanted after the war.[11]
- Someone named Paul Oswald Thiemann (born December 18, 1897) was an SS-Rottenführer at Kratzau starting July 1944. He was tried in Poland after the war. The verdict is not available.[12]
- Elza Hemmrich—Lagerführerin, SS member.
- Adela Pelz—Blockführerin, SS member.
- Berta Sommer—Administration Department, SS member.

Eighteen Aufseher have been identified: Uscha Bening, Schutz. Fonfara, Strm. Gungl, Strm. Heller, Schutz. Jasche, Schutz. Klitsch, E. Kraus, Maria Kraus, Schutz. Kuller, Strm. Lagua, Schutz Lang, Schutz Langfeld, Schutz. Muhlbauer, Uscha. Ruter, Schutz. Theis, Schutz. Thuer, Schutz. Wieland, and Schutz. Wiesner.[13]

The trial materials of the aforementioned staff members could not be found. The staff information might also apply to the Kratzau II camp.

SOURCES Some information of the Kratzau I subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); and Aneta Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival materials on this subcamp are scant. The accounts, recollections, and surveys of former prisoners are available in the AMGR and records of the OKBZHW; interviews are found in the collections of the AŻIH in Warsaw; and the list of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members tried in Poland after the war contains some information about Kratzau I.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP 8751, correspondence of R. Olszyna; AŻIH, Account No. 271.
2. AMGR, DP 8751, correspondence of R. Olszyna.
3. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS).
4. AMGR, DP 2829.
5. AMGR, MF 124/2139, account of Nela Liphart.
6. AMGR, XLIII/2.
7. AMGR, Kowalczyk
8. Ibid.
9. AMGR, MF/549602, account of B. Zimmerman.
10. AMGR, DP-A 3474, questionnaire of Zenon Lis.
11. AMGR, XLIII/1, Records of investigation located at the OKBZHW.
12. APMO, 27, List of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members tried in Poland after the war; (Trial Materials, Materials Catalog No./589); AK-IPN, 1,14,25 (Ur.: SS-Rottenführer, KL Auschwitz: 1940–1945; List of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members; Polish Army Mission records; PMW-BZW/171, k.228); AK-IPN (Paul Oswald Thiemann's other personal data is from the indictment dated December 20, 1947, in the trial of Walter Palinsky and associates, and SOWd-140, pp. 40–43, 77–86).
13. AMGR, DP 8751, Olszyna materials.

KRATZAU II

The Kratzau II camp was taken over by Gross-Rosen in the autumn of 1944. The camp accommodated approximately 150 Jewish women of French, Hungarian, and Greek origin.

The subcamp was located outside the village of Klein Schönau (Malý Šenov). The first mention of its existence is dated October 28, 1944. A 150-person transport from Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp arrived there around that date. The female prisoners in the transport were numbered in the series from 86201 to 86350. The women were put in the mill because it was the only building with large-enough rooms.

The Kratzau II camp probably accommodated only sick prisoners. A list made by the International Tracing Service (ITS) contains no information about the women working.[1] However, the name Tannwald Textilien Werke and the type of manufacturing it did—antigas protective equipment (*Gasschutzgeräte*)—appear next to Kratzau II in a document dated November 18, 1944. The number of women who appear to have worked there was 150, and an increase to 500 was planned.[2]

A former prisoner's account corroborates the supposition that the camp was only for sick women, as she says that the death rate was very high there, because someone died there every day and the prisoners themselves would bury the dead by the cemetery wall. Regarding the disposal of the bodies of dead women, another account informs us that the bodies were carted off to be cremated at a camp in Weiss Kirchen an der Neisse (later Bily Kostel nad Nisou).

The supposition regarding the nature of the camp might also be corroborated by information that selections were frequently conducted at the Kratzau I subcamp, and the sick were taken away from the camp. That could be the reason for setting up a separate camp nearby (Kratzau II) for those unable to work. By analogy, that is what happened in places such as the Riese Dörnhau camp.

All we know about conditions in the camp is that lice infestation was rampant and that prisoners worked washing dirty laundry in the Waschraum. As indicated in one account: "The camp was closed and lice-infested; the Dutch women were afraid of [bugs?], their bodies were bitten up by insects. The camp was in a mill. The beds were triple-deckers."[3]

Two reports provide us with information that dental procedures were performed in this camp; they record that from February 2 to February 27, 1945, prisoners were seen by Romana Silberschlag (camp no. 53948), the prisoner serving as the dentist at that time.

Several days before liberation, the Danish Red Cross sent food assistance. However, it may have been sent to Kratzau I or Kratzau II or to both camps.

The Aufseherinnen (SS women guard auxiliaries) and camp leader (Lagerführer) fled just before the Soviet Army entered the camp. Only a guard remained. The detachment leader (Kommandoführer) told the women that they would be liberated in a few days. Before she left, she gave a final command to clean the dirty toilet. A Soviet soldier announced they were free, after which the barbed wires were cut, and the camp celebrated.[4] Also, the camp warehouse loaded with huge amounts of food was knocked down. That information came from accounts by former prisoners. The same accounts say that for a time the women hid in the Aufseherinnen's room from the Russians, who raped women.

After a few days spent in the camp after liberation, the Czechs told the women to go to the train station. The train trip was not long; they had to get off for unknown reasons and continue their journey on foot through the forest. After much tribulation, they finally reached Łódź.[5]

The information on the staff provided in the entry on Gross-Rosen/Kratzau I might also apply to the Kratzau II camp. There is no accurate information, so we cannot determine which people were assigned to either camp.

SOURCES Information on the Kratzau II subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); Aneta Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). See also G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS); and Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45 (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material on this camp is scant. Recollections and surveys of former prisoners can be found at the AMGR.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS).
2. AMGR, DP 2829.
3. AMGR, 154/N, Frydla Kryger.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

KURZBACH

The Kurzbach subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp operated in 1944–1945 in the town of Kurzbach (present-day Bukołowo) and was located in some of the buildings on the estate of Prince von Hatzfeld (the sheepfold and pigsty, where, incidentally, the hospital for sick prisoners was set up).

It is probable that the subcamp came into being in late October 1944, although there are no documents to confirm that date definitely.

As was the case with the other camps formed in the region, the purpose of this one was to do work associated with the Barthold Operation (Unternehmen Barthold), that is, the construction of fortifications in Lower Silesia for defense against the approaching Soviet Army. To carry out these plans, 1,000 female prisoners were brought in from the Auschwitz concentration camp; they were marked with numbers beginning with 79501. The women were Jewish.

In the opinion of forced laborers working or living in the vicinity of the camp, the Kurzbach prisoners appeared haggard and beset by hunger, as they often begged for food. However, obtaining extra food that way was severely punished. Witnesses say that it was exactly this hunger that devastated the body and resulted in numerous deaths. The number of mortalities has not been established. Dead prisoners were most frequently buried at night in the nearby woods. Witnesses also recall instances of killing. They think that six or seven people were murdered. An investigation into the matter by the Zielona Góra District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes came up with neither the names of the perpetrators nor the victims.

The Kurzbach labor camp prisoners did murderously hard jobs (cutting down trees, digging ditches) called for by the Unternehmen Barthold and its Einsatzstab Kraschnitz.

The SS oversaw the camp, and the Organisation Todt (OT) supervised the prisoners' work. The management staff was made up of men and women.

The subcamp's evacuation began in late January 1945, when 200 to 500 women were escorted out. The sick and weak were escorted out later. Those who were unfit to march were killed.

The camp's prisoners were evacuated to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The number of women who completed the journey and reached its destination has not been determined.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); and Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Other sources used were minutes of witness interrogations as well as reports from the investigation conducted on the camps and on crimes committed in 1944–1945 in the town of Sieczko and Bukolewo. This material, which was acquired from the OKBZHW, is located in the archives of the AMGR, Catalog No. DP/6500.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

LANDESHUT

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Landeshut was put into operation in July 1944 in a suburb of Landeshut (later Kamienna Góra) to provide the labor force for the roller and ball bearing manufacturing works moved there from Schweinfurt, which was threatened by Allied air raids. The decision to move the plant was made by the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) in May 1943 and concerned the Kugelfischer and Vereinigte Kugellager-Fabriken plants, which were given use of the production halls of the local Kramst, Methner and Frahne und Leinag AG textile plants in Landeshut. The adaptation work that had to be completed was done by such people as prisoners from the Organisation Schmeldt forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) that was established at that time; the prisoners were then incorporated into the manufacturing process. The ZALfJ was closed in April 1944 due to a typhus epidemic, after which the plants sought Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners for labor.

The initial group of prisoners, numbering over 300, was sent to Landeshut on July 16, 1944; they were selected from recently arrived transports of prisoners from Warsaw (Pawiak prison), Białystok, and Łomża. A second group arrived in early August, and a third group of prisoners arrived in mid-September (including many from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Afterward, only small groups would arrive to make up for losses due to death or disability, such as a 50-person group of Polish children from the Auschwitz concentration camp. A group of Jewish prisoners from the evacuated Auschwitz Gleiwitz subcamp arrived in late January 1945. A total of approximately 1,500 prisoners were sent to Landeshut, of whom Poles definitely predominated (over 80 percent), followed by Soviet citizens (approximately 15 percent) and small groups of Croatians, Czechs, Frenchmen, and Germans. The prisoners were housed in four brick barracks with two levels; a fifth barrack was also occupied toward the end of the camp's existence. The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by a detachment of SS men from the Gross-Rosen Guard Battalion 11th Company.

SS-Hauptscharführer Alfons Gross became the camp leader (Lagerführer) at Landeshut, and his assistant was SS-Unterscharführer Johann Metzner. SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Hank became the new camp leader at the turn of the year from 1944 to 1945. The "prisoner government" was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Richard Peter, previously a block elder (Blockältester) at Gross-Rosen; the block elders were Stanisław Kowalski, Gottlieb Adam, Tomasz Pilujski, Marian Kośmida, Zygmunt Pietrzak, Paweł Proksa, and Hieronim Furmanek. Stanisław Lebiedyński became the doctor in the infirmary.

Besides some small camp support (kitchen, laundry, infirmary) and construction commandos, the prisoners worked in two shifts in the plants, making ball bearings. The SS men escorted them to the workplace and took them back to the camp as well. They worked in three separate plants, named Werk I, Werk II, and Werk III, under the supervision of Kapos and German foremen. Otto Dicke headed the group of Kapos and was aided in persecuting and abusing the prisoners by German criminal prisoners Zappe and Karl Regel, as well as Poles Henryk Iwanowski and Teodor Szulc. Werk I did the preliminary processing of the bearing rings, cutting, grinding, and pretempering them. Werk II assembled the bearings and did the quality control and shipping. The work was the hardest at Werk III, put into operation in the autumn of 1944: at large electrical furnaces the rings were punched out for further processing. The labor in the factory quickly exhausted the prisoners' strength, also aided by the starvation food rations. They soon became emaciated and fell ill with various diseases. The infirmary did not have the medicine it needed, and many of the prisoners died. The bodies of the deceased were sent to the crematorium at the main camp up until the evacuation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in February 1945, after which they were buried in Landeshut in the Jewish cemetery.

Some determined prisoners made several attempts to escape. The first successful one, as early as August 24, 1944, was by two Russians; there was another attempt by three Russians on September 23. Apprehended fugitive Piotr Garczyński was hung on the assembly grounds to intimidate the prisoners; the others were sent back to Gross-Rosen and put into a penal company.

When the next Red Army set off on another offensive in Lower Silesia on February 8, 1944, the Landeshut region was suddenly in the zone threatened by the frontline operations. The camp command ordered the evacuation of all prisoners

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

able to march; the sick and exhausted were allowed to stay at the camp. On February 14, the evacuation column set off toward Hirschberg (Jelenia Góra), but it stopped after having traveled over 19 kilometers (12 miles) and was ordered back to the Landeshut camp. There, the people who had stayed behind were accused of aiding the Communists and destroying camp facilities; they were formed into a penal company that the SS men and prisoner-functionaries subjected to a "bloody Friday" on February 16; tens of people were killed or shot during the massacre and during punitive labor at Werk III the next day.

The prisoners were not sent to work until late February, as the plants had been evacuated. The camp provisioning had degenerated considerably, and the number of emaciated people quickly rose, as did the prisoner death rate. In March and April 1945, the authorities started forcing the prisoners to build antitank ditches near Liebau (Lubawka), which for the starving people was often more than their strength could bear; the work lasted until early May. The prisoner-functionaries and SS men left the camp the night of May 8; the camp was liberated by detachments of the Soviet 21st Army the next morning.

Bodies were exhumed from three mass graves at the Jewish cemetery in Landeshut on April 11, 1946; the remains of 107 prisoners were dug up, some with evident skull injuries and gunshot holes. The Polish courts tried some of the Landeshut prisoner-functionaries: on September 16, 1946, the Katowice Special Criminal Court sentenced block elder Marian Kośmida to death; on August 31, 1948, the Jelenia Góra District Court sentenced Kapo Henryk Iwanowski to death; on August 9, 1949, the Białystok District Court sentenced assistant Kapo Władysław Rogowski to six years in prison; and on August 23, 1948, the Kraków District Court sentenced Władysław Mleczko, Barrack I scribe (Blockschreiber) and briefly block elder, to three years in prison.

SOURCES There are no publications that deal directly with this camp; some information is available in the broader publications on Gross-Rosen. Primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

LANGENBIELAU I [AKA REICHENBACH, REICHENBACH SPORTSCHULE]

The Gross-Rosen subcamp Langenbielau I was located in the Prussian province of Lower Silesia (Niederschlesien), in what is present-day Bielawa, about 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the south of Breslau (Wrocław). That the camp had two names is due to the fact that the accommodation barracks were located between the villages of Langenbielau and Reichenbach. The buildings were part of the former SA-Sports School—thus the origin of the camp's name Reichenbach Sportschule.

Forced labor camps were located in the area around Breslau in Upper and Lower Silesia and some in the Sudetenland as early as 1940, to hold the local Jewish population. Under the command of Albrecht Schmelt, the Sonderbeauftragter (special commissioner) of the RFSS und Chef der deutschen Polizei für den fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz im Osten (Chief of German Police for the Employment of Foreign Labor in the East), the inmates of these camps that were part of the Organisation Schmelt worked primarily in textile industries that supplied the Wehrmacht. In 1942, an Organisation Schmelt camp was established in Langenbielau. In the autumn of 1944, it came under the control of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp as a subcamp. The prisoners' living conditions sharply deteriorated with this change in command: according to Monika Schmidt, who has described the camp in the *Dachauer Hefte*, the women in the forced labor camp were selected, and the men were mistreated.

According to Schmidt, the camp Langenbielau I consisted of sections: the men's camp, or Männerlager I, and the women's camp, or Frauenlager I. Between the end of August and the beginning of September 1944, the SS had taken over the former Reichenbach Sports School and, with the labor of Jews from the forced labor camp in Faulbrück, converted it into a concentration camp. The Langenbielau I camp for men consisted of eight two-level barracks, and the camp for women, which was only a few meters away, consisted of six barracks. The buildings were surrounded by a 3-meter-high (almost 10-feet-high) electrified fence, and there were 5-meter-high (16.4-feet-high) guard towers.

There were around 2,000 prisoners in the camp for men; the first inmates were from the dissolved forced labor camp (ZAL) in Faulbrück, and they arrived in Langenbielau on October 17 and 25, 1944. At the end of October, another transport arrived with 200 prisoners from the Krakau-Plaszow camp. Details on the age and national origin of the male prisoners have not been referred to in the secondary literature. The death rate in the men's camp has been described as high, with the prisoners suffering mostly from lung diseases. The death rate is said to have been 3 or 4 prisoners per day.

The camp commander for the Langenbielau I men's camp, which was also the site of the camp offices for the other camps in Langenbielau and Peterswaldau, was SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulbricht, who had previously been commander of the guards at the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. The Rapportführer was Martin Klütsch. The camp was guarded by roughly 150 SS guards, of whom only a few are known by name: Richard Dietrich, Max Grimm, and Koppelmann (or Koppmann). Blockführer Helmut Schulze was known to the prisoners as Joine (der Bösartige, or "The Vicious One").

The women's camp Langenbielau I held around 400 prisoners when it was taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. They were given prisoner numbers 49501 to 49898. Around 200 of these women had arrived in Langenbielau a few weeks earlier, following the dissolution of forced labor camps at Gellenau. A quarter of the women were between ages 13 and 18; a third were between 19 and 23. Additional arrivals increased the numbers of prisoners to around 800. It is likely that the numbers were even higher. Most of the

women were Hungarian and Polish Jews. Hans de Vries states that there was also a group of Dutch prisoners in Langenbielau (probably Langenbielau I): 450 of these prisoners, mostly women, were deported in June 1944 from Herzogenbusch to Auschwitz and then were sent on to Langenbielau/Reichenbach. Only 160 (male and female) inmates of this so-called Philips Group survived.

The women slept in unheated barracks on straw; details on the death rate in the female camp have not survived, but according to Schmidt, relying on eyewitness statements, the prisoners were mistreated by the guards, roll calls lasted for hours, and at least one female prisoner was shot in a forest near the camp. As in the men's camp, prisoners from the women's camp who were no longer capable of working were sent to Auschwitz or to the Dörnhau subcamp, a so-called death camp (*Sterbelager*). From September 1944, the women's camp was used to train wardresses for the Gross-Rosen camp; the women were armed with cudgels and whips, and the use of dogs was planned. Schmidt states that around 40 to 50 wardresses were in charge of the prisoners in the women's camp. Lieselotte Reiche is named as the commander of this camp. The name of another wardress, Charlotte Hilscher, is known, as are the names of 3 women who worked in the prison administration: Erika König, Maria Kühnel, and Helena Wiltzdorf.

The male prisoners as well as the female prisoners worked at a number of local firms, probably as a continuation of the work done for the Organisation Schmelt. Often, the male prisoners worked in armaments production or on construction sites after the transfer of control of the camp to Gross-Rosen.

Little is known about the cultural life in the camp. Bella Gutterman has revealed that at the beginning of 1945 the Jewish prisoners celebrated Passover in Langenbielau. The male prisoners burned some of their beds to bake matzoh. The celebration occurred in the Langenbielau I women's camp.

On February 18, 1945, some of the female prisoners were evacuated to Porta Westfalica, a Neuengamme subcamp, and others to Parschnitz. In March 1945, 432 male prisoners were probably taken to Dachau. Of those, it is thought that only 240 reached their destination. However, there was not a full-scale evacuation of the camp. It was liberated by Soviet troops on May 8, 1945.

Klutsch and Schulze were sentenced to death in Poland in 1948 and hanged.

SOURCES Monika Schmidt reconstructs everyday life in the camp Langenbielau I in her essay "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 174–195. The essay is based on witness statements, and the description is necessarily fragmentary. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), describes the "Frauenarbeitslager" Langenbielau on pp. 21–25 and on p. 23 deals with the use of the names "Langenbielau" and "Reichenbach." Bella Gutterman in her essay "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 37–58, on p. 57 relates the preparation and celebration of Passover by the Jewish prisoners in the Reichenbach camp [aka Frauenlager Langenbielau I]. Hans-Werner Wollenberg, one of the doctors in the men's camp, wrote a memoir: . . . *und der Alptraum wur de zum Alltag. Autobiographischer Bericht eines Jüdischen Arztes über Zwangsarbeitslager in Schlesien (1942–1945)*, ed. Manfred Brusten, Pfafferweiler: Centaurus, 1992. On pp. 156–87 he deals with his time in Langenbielau. Hans de Vries describes the fate of the Jewish prisoners in the Langenbielau I subcamp in his "Holländische Staatsbürger im KL Gross-Rosen," in Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, pp. 85–90.

The GKBZHwP's *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czeslaw Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), refers to the camp on p. 429 as an independent subcamp under the name Reichenbach but without any reference to Langenbielau I.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:139, states that the Langenbielau I subcamp was also known as the Reichenbach Sportschule. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1835, lists the Reichenbach camp under the name Langenbielau.

The BA-L under Signatures ZdL 405 AR 2797/67 IV and ZdL 405 AR-Z 11/62 II holds files on the proceedings against the camp commander of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulbrich. BA-L, ZdL 205 AR 1018/63, contains witness statements regarding the Langenbielau subcamp; collection ZdL 405 AR 1663/66 comprises files from the proceedings against Helmut Schulze. Witness statements on Langenbielau I are also held in the archives of AMGR, the ZfA in Berlin, the AŻIH in Warsaw, the YVA in Israel, and the USHMM in Washington, DC. Files from the trial of SS and wardresses are held in the GKBZHwP in Warsaw, collections SOSW 125 (proceedings against Martin Klütsch) and SOSW 6 (proceedings against Gertrud G.). Further information can be found in the collections of the BA-B, NS 3/1570 (Angaben zu Aufseherinnen), NS 4 Bu 99 (Gross-Rosen aus Ausbildungsort für Aufseherinnen), and NS 4 GR vorl. (Gross-Rosen).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LANGENBIELAU II

The Gross-Rosen subcamp Langenbielau II was located in Langenbielau (present-day Bielawa). The subcamp was for female prisoners. As with the women's camp in Peterswaldau, it was administered from the male camp at Langenbielau I.

Unlike the camp at Langenbielau I (which was also known as Reichenbach or Reichenbach Sportschule), there are few details known about the camp at Langenbielau II. Also,

Langenbielau II did not originate from the Organisation Schmelt. It probably originated, as with other Gross-Rosen subcamps, as a result of the arrival of prisoner transports from Hungary, Slovakia, Krakau-Plaszow, and Litzmannstadt (Łódź). Many of these transports went through a selection in Auschwitz before the prisoners were distributed to the new subcamps. According to statements by former prisoners, it would seem that the women were taken to the Langenbielau II subcamp up to April 1945.[1] Women who could not work were regularly returned to Auschwitz.

The International Tracing Service (ITS), relying on a prisoner statement, reports that the Langenbielau II camp was mentioned for the first time in February 1945. The women, according to the ITS, worked for the companies Lehmann and G.F. Flechtner (the Lehmann company had taken over part of the Flechtner factory). Details on their work are not known. The women slept in barracks next to their work. The female SS guards in the camp were under the command of Elisabeth Knauer, who joined the SS-Gefolge (Auxiliary) at the age of 23 in March 1944. At least one SS wardress was to be trained to lead a dog squad. In response to statements about the completely unhygienic sanitary conditions and the frequent epidemics among the prisoners, including typhus, Knauer is alleged to have said: "They should croak!"[2] The death rate is said to have been high, but there are no details.

The Bielawa city administration has information that suggests a number of around 1,000 Silesian Jewish women in Langenbielau II who, from mid-1944, worked for the Frolich Spinning company.[3] It is likely that this information confuses the women's camp with Langenbielau I.

The prisoners were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), refers to Langenbielau on 1:139; see also "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Ab, 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1819; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 428.

Alfred Konieczny refers to the Langenbielau II camp in *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 43–44. Monika Schmidt in her essay "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 174–195, provides numerous details on the camps in Langenbielau (also Peterswaldau) as well as the prisoners' living conditions.

Information held by the Bielawa City Administration on the camps Langenbielau I and II can be found at the following Web address: http://wiadomosci.um.bielawa.pl/wb.php.

The BA-L, Signatur ZSt 405 AR 2797/67 IV, holds files on the proceedings against the camp commanders of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulbrich and Else Knauer (in particular, the interrogation of Karl Ulbrich, dated August 16, 1965); investigations on Langenbielau II are held in Signatur ZSt 205 AR 1018/63. The planned training of an SS wardress as a dog squad leader is confirmed in BA-L, ZSt Verschiedenes 301 Dm, pp. 235–236; information on the transport of selected women out of the camp is located in ZSt 405 AR-Z 11/62 I, p. 140 (statement by Sima K., February 8, 1965).

In AŻIH, Signatur ZIH 301/901, there is a report by survivor Hanna W., dated September 28, 1945, on her time as a prisoner in Langenbielau II.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aussage Rachel B. vom 16. August 1966, ZdL, Signatur ZSt 205 AR 1018/63, (held at BA-L).

2. Bericht Hanna W., 28.9.1945, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Signatur *ŻIH* 301/901, p. 1, zitiert nach: Monika Schmidt, "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 185.

3. See http://wiadomosci.um.bielawa.pl/wb.php.

LIEBAU

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Liebau (later Lubawka) was located approximately 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Landeshut (Kamienna Góra).

From the surviving original camp records, there is no doubt that there was a women's camp in Liebau under the command of Gross-Rosen. The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, citing the recollections of former prisoners collected at the Arolsen archives, dates the formation of the Liebau subcamp to July 1944. In accordance with original German records (transport rosters), as well as postwar records of the trials of Liebau female staff members, the camp was created in September 1944. The first transport was sent on September 19, 1944. It numbered 200 women—Hungarian Jews who were sent to Liebau from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The prisoners had been given numbers 59801 through 60000. The entire transport was divided into three groups and assigned to work at three local companies. Prisoners numbered 59801 through 59850 worked at the Kurt Laske furniture factory, where ammunition crates were manufactured; those numbered 59851 through 59900 worked at the Heinz Wendt machine factory, making aircraft parts; and those numbered 59901 through 60000 worked at Nordland GmbH, making tank treads.

In mid-October 1944, a transport of nearly 300 women arrived from Auschwitz. Besides Polish and Hungarian Jewish women, there were also Jewish women from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. They were given numbers 74101 through 74393 and were also assigned to work in the aforementioned three companies (the approximate shares were: Nordland, 150 women; Laske, 100; Wendt, 50).

One more group of 50 Jewish women was sent to Liebau in the same month; they received numbers 76131 through 76180.

Therefore, the total population of Liebau labor camp was approximately 550 female prisoners.

Work went on in the plants 24 hours a day without a stop. Some prisoners worked in the daytime, some at night. The shifts rotated every week. Besides working in the factories, the women also did farm-field work as well as work at the airfield construction site.

The living conditions in the camp were adequate. The living quarters were in two types of barracks: wooden and brick. They could be heated in the winter. The brick ones had tile stoves, while the wooden ones had iron stoves. The women slept on bunks arranged in double tiers, one over the other. Each woman had two blankets; one served as a cover, while the other served as a sheet.

Initially, the clothing available was inadequate. Not only was underwear in short supply, so too were blouses and shirts. The shortages were made up in time from supplies in the warehouse. There were also instances of some female guards sharing their clothes with prisoners, although it was forbidden.

The food was poor. Too little was issued, although it was issued regularly, three times a day. The food for the entire day consisted of breakfast, one-fourth of a small loaf of bread, a bit of butter, and some coffee; lunch, 0.75 to 1 liter (3 to 4 cups) of watery soup; and supper, the same soup as at lunch. Women working the night shift received an extra portion of soup. From time to time, there would be a ration of jam, sugar (about four tablespoons), and milk.

Female German guards in the service of the SS oversaw the camp. The commander's name was Kowa; she came from Bavaria. The barrack commander was Gertrud Kolberg from the Breslau (Wrocław) area. The female overseers (Aufseherinnen) were simple girls who had been recruited by the local Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) shortly before the camp's establishment. They were taken to Gross-Rosen, where they were assigned to guard duty in the ranks of the SS. After one day at Gross-Rosen, they were sent to the camp at Parschnitz (later Pořičí). There, they underwent 10 days of training consisting of watching the local female guards work. The Aufseherinnen's duties included escorting the prisoners to their workplaces, watching over them during work, making sure they did not talk or shirk work, and escorting them back to the camp 12 hours later. Then the guards were off duty until the next day. Every three or four weeks, there would be Sunday guard duty. On Sundays there were roll calls, which were conducted by the camp commander and barrack commander. The Aufseherinnen filed reports with the camp commander on improper behavior by prisoners, and the camp commander would mete out bodily punishments: she beat their faces and hands, cut their hair, or ordered them to stand outside for a long time. The guards at Liebau were dressed in SS uniforms, but, as their trial records show, they did not carry weapons.

There is no detailed information on the medical aid at Liebau. We know that among the Jewish prisoners there was a Polish doctor, Helena Ryłło, who had probably been brought to the camp specially. However, there are no references at all to a hospital (*Revier*) operating in the camp. Over the camp's eight months of existence, 10 women died due to illnesses. Most of them were reportedly Hungarian women. Their bodies were buried in coffins near the Catholic cemetery in Liebau.

The camp was liberated on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Liebau camp: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); and AMGR, collection of written and microfilmed records.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

LUDWIGSDORF

The Gross-Rosen subcamp for women at Ludwigsdorf (later Ludwikowice Kłodzkie) came into being in the summer of 1944. However, the history of the camp located here goes back considerably longer. Since at least June 1942, there was a camp at Ludwigsdorf. The camp was situated in a valley on the edge of Ludwigsdorf and was surrounded by forest and mountains. It was composed of two sections: male and female. There was a common bathhouse for women and men on the border of the two sections. There were approximately 400 prisoners, Polish Jews, in the women's camp; the men's section held 600 Jews, who were Polish, Dutch, Belgian, and French nationals.[1] Both the women and the men were put to work at the Dynamit AG and Mölke-Werke ammunition factory. Although the death rate at the camp was very high, the population remained the same. That was because new transports of Jews were sent to Ludwigsdorf from other camps. The following is known about the Ludwigsdorf camp:

On June 23, 1942, an unknown number of women arrived from the camp at Ottmuth (later Otmęt); among them was Cesia Finkiel; both sections of the camp were already in existence then.

In early 1943, a group of men arrived at Ludwigsdorf from the camp at Brande (later Prądki in Opole Province); Kazimierz Olszewski arrived in that transport.

In April 1943, approximately 100 girls arrived from the Gogolin forced labor camp for Jews; Fela Kurztag was in that transport.[2]

In late November and early December 1943, an unknown number of men arrived from the camp at Annaberg (later Góra Świętej Anny); Dawid Gliksman was in that transport.

In early spring 1944, approximately 50 Dutch women were transported to Ludwigsdorf.[3]

On March 28, 1944, a transport of 198 men arrived from the defunct camp at Markstädt. They were sick and weak prisoners who had undergone a selection and were unfit for

work at the Krupp works in Fünfteichen. Berek Goldman arrived in that transport.[4]

In April or May 1944, approximately 10 women from the camp at Annaberg were admitted.[5]

Prior to July 1944, an unknown number of Jewish women from Hungary were transported to Ludwigsdorf.

In July 1944, women were brought from the defunct female camp at Klettendorf in Breslau (later Klecina, a section of Wrocław).

Between late August and September 24, 1944, a transport of Polish Jewish women arrived; it is probable that the women were brought from Auschwitz concentration camp.

In mid-1944, a decision was made to convert what had been a mixed men's and women's camp into a strictly female subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. On July 22–23 of that year, the men's section of the camp was closed. Approximately 230 healthy prisoners were sent on to the camp in Faulbrück. However, 455 Jews unfit for work were sent on to Auschwitz concentration camp; 370 of them were gassed.[6]

The new transports of women were lodged in the barracks that the men had vacated at Ludwigsdorf; approximately 600 women lived at Ludwigsdorf. The camp was guarded by the SS. The names of three guards are known: Margarite Schüler, Elizabeth Bischof (born June 7, 1916), and Winger. The name of the camp leader (Lagerführerin) is unknown.

All the women worked in the Dynamit AG and Mölke-Werke factory. The work went on continuously and was divided into three shifts of eight hours each. The women made ammunition, grenades, and other explosives. This work was extremely dangerous and a health hazard; the women were continuously exposed to a variety of dangerous chemicals. Weighing gunpowder was an especially hazardous job. The clouds of dust and gas caused heart, lung, and eye diseases. Depending on the type of gunpowder, the dye turned their skin yellow, green, or red. Giza Klein described the consequences of that work: "Many people got lung conditions because of the gunpowder. We were very dirty. You couldn't get yourself clean. Everything was greenish yellow from the gunpowder. Your hands were pungent from gunpowder. Bread also had a bitter taste. There were no lice or bedbugs—they ran away from the gunpowder. The gunpowder killed everything."[7] The only supposed body protection they had was kerchiefs tied around their faces and an extra ration of a half liter (two cups) of milk a day. The death rate was high, due to the hazardous work, combined with the absence of medical care, hunger, and the terror prevalent in the camps (both the earlier camp and the Gross-Rosen subcamp). According to Josef Teichmann, a German who worked at the same ammunition factory, approximately 300 prisoners were buried in the cemetery behind the factory.[8]

Production was halted at the factory in January 1945 due to the shortage of raw materials. The women were sent to dig ditches and to build defensive fortifications.[9] In mid-April 1945, some of the prisoners were evacuated, at first on foot, then later by train, to the camp at Biesnitzer Grund. Cesia Finkiel, who was taken away in that transport, remembers that there were 300 girls in Görlitz. We do not know if they had all been transported there from Ludwigsdorf. Sick and weak women who were unfit for transport were left at the Ludwigsdorf camp. Soviet soldiers liberated them on the night of May 8–9, 1945.

After the war, there were two trials of former SS guards from the Ludwigsdorf camp. Elizabeth Bischof was tried in 1946 by the Municipal Criminal Court in Jicin, in what is now the Czech Republic. On February 27, 1946, she was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. After she was released on probation on October 23, 1953, she went to Germany.[10] Margarite Schüler, tried by the Wrocław District Court on October 31, 1947, was sentenced to 3 years in prison. She was released on January 3, 1949, having served her sentence.[11]

SOURCES There are no monographic essays on Ludwigsdorf. There is certain information about this camp in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

The archival material on Ludwigsdorf consists mainly of former prisoner accounts on file at the AŻIH in Warsaw and AMGR in Wałbrzych. The AK-IPN in Warsaw contain reports of witness interviews regarding this camp.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Account No. 924, Cesia Finkiel.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 960, Fela Kurztag.
3. AMGR, 6500/9-g/DP, Report of examination of witness Andrzej Okuta, dated March 26, 1977.
4. AŻIH, Account No. 946, Berek Goldman.
5. AŻIH, Account No. 2620, Bronisława Radzik; AMGR, 13/40/MF, Report of examination of former prisoner Masza Dembińska at Nowa Ruda Municipal Court, dated May 6, 1949.
6. APMO, D-Au II-3/1—Quarantäne-Liste, k. 6; AŻIH, Account No. 946.
7. AMGR, 4801/DP, testimony of Giza Klein, dated March 9, 1948.
8. AMGR, Records of the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, Report of examination of Josef Teichmann, dated January 7, 1969.
9. AMGR, 4801/DP.
10. AMGR, 7103/DP—Information on female guards at concentration camps in the Czech Republic.
11. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie" (Warsaw, 1992), Item 1397.

MÄHRISCH WEISSWASSER

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Mährisch Weisswasser (Bila Voda) came into being in September 1944. Information about how many women were sent there or how they were numbered could not be found, but it is known that they were put to work at the Telefunken company (the former Friswerke).

Information collected after the war by the local Czech government shows that the subcamp was established in early 1944. The camp accommodated Jewish women from Hungary, Romania, Poland, and France. The camp was probably established especially for the Telefunken company of Berlin. There is also information on a transport from Auschwitz of women who were found fit to work.

Most likely 10 women were assigned to work in the forest to get the wood needed to build the camp, which was composed of six wooden barracks measuring 9 × 18 up to 9 × 27 meters (9.8 × 19.7 up to 9.8 × 29.5 yards). The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, which was electrified at night. The camp was designed for 500 people. According to postwar information, 650 people passed through it; 500 people were numbered. Of the total of 650, 4 people died and 2 of them died in the hospital at Červená Voda shortly after liberation.[1]

According to the account of Růžena Simonovičové, who was treated at the Červená Voda hospital, the camp was founded in late September 1944.[2]

The prisoners were chiefly put to work by Telefunken in the Frieswerke buildings.

The subcamp's operation, like other subcamps located in the Sudeten district, was coordinated by a special SS-Kommando Trautenau located in what was then called Parschnitz.

Only one member of the camp staff has been identified: Herbert Gustaw Arndt (born August 4, 1889), a guard at Mährisch Weisswasser from February 1945 to May 1945. He had previously served at the concentration camps in Krakau-Plaszow (September 25, 1944–September 30, 1944) and Riese/Wüstegiersdorf (September 30, 1944–February 1945). He was found not guilty in a postwar investigation because he had been drafted into the SS guard staff on September 25, 1944, that is, at the end of the war when Hitler brought the oldest draftees into the army. Moreover, according to witness testimony, he did not agree with Nazi Party ideology.[3]

The Mährisch Weisswasser camp was liberated on May 8, 1945. Earlier, on April 8, 1945, the female German guards (SS women) left the camp in fear of the approaching Red Army.

There were 650 prisoners in the camp, and upon liberation, they left it and hid in nearby villages. There was no one left in the camp on the day the Red Army entered it.[4]

The prisoners went back to their homes. Due to their serious condition, three women had to stay in the hospital at Červená Voda. One of them recovered, and the other two died in the hospital. Their bodies were buried at the cemetery in Červená Voda.

After liberation, the camp was used by the Soviet Army.[5]

SOURCES Some information on the Mährisch Weisswasser subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material for this subcamp is minimal. The AMGR has only postwar information compiled by the Czech local government.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP 6772.
2. Ibid.
3. AMGR, MF 44/674-678, Investigation of Herbert Gustaw Arndt.
4. AMGR, DP 6772.
5. Ibid.

MERZDORF

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Merzdorf in Riesengebirge (later Marciszów) was located approximately eight kilometers (five miles) north of Landeshut (Kamienna Góra).

From 1942, there was a forced labor camp for Jewish women (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ), administered by Organisation Schmelt, in Merzdorf. The camp was situated near the linen mill belonging to Kramsta-Methner und Frahne AG. Women from the camp were put to work in the mill. The prisoners lived in brick barracks.

In the summer of 1944, forced labor camp (ZAL) Merzdorf was converted into a women's subcamp of Gross-Rosen. According to the information from the International Tracing Service (ITS), the first reference to the Merzdorf camp under Gross-Rosen's command is from August 1944. Based on the materials available, a small group (11 names) of Merzdorf subcamp prisoners has been identified. The numbers given these 11 women ranged from 50578 to 67272, which indicates that the first numbers could have been issued in September 1944.

The camp held several hundred Jewish women (the exact number has not been established). The prisoners' work did not change after the ZAL camp was converted into a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The prisoners still worked in the Kramsta-Methner und Frahne AG linen spinning mill.

As determined by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław (OKBZHW), the job of camp leader (Lagerführerin) was held by SS officer E. Rinke.

The Merzdorf subcamp operated until the end of the war. It was liberated on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Merzdorf camp: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*

in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979); and rulings of the OKBZHW, dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue the proceedings against the Gross-Rosen camp commanders; AMGR, collection of written and microfilmed records.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

MITTELSTEINE

The Mittelsteine (Polish: Ścinawka Średnia) subcamp was established on August 23, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 200 women from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.[1] These prisoners were registered in the main camp with numbers from 53591 to 54000 and 55001 to 55150.[2] In this transport there were Polish Jews, many of them from the dissolved Łódź ghetto. One of them, former prisoner Pesel S., stated as follows: "I arrived in the Mittelsteine camp. Before that I had been in Auschwitz for a week, to where I had been brought from Łódź. . . . In Mittelsteine I had the prisoner number 55024. The Mittelsteine camp was a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The camp had about four hundred prisoners. We were initially guarded by men for a few days. Later the camp was taken over by wardresses. We were also guarded by wardresses in the factory."[3]

A second transport arrived on October 5, 1944, with 200 Hungarian and a few Czech Jewish women. They were given the prisoner numbers 64001 to 64200.[4]

Halina G., a Polish prisoner, stated the following about the camp and its internal workings: "The camp in Mittelsteine was located on the edge of a small town. The camp consisted of two single level wooden barracks. They held the female prisoners. There was a smaller barrack in which were the infirmary bay, doctor's room, camp elder's room, kitchen, and store room. In the barracks there were bunks for us to sleep on. They had straw sacks. The women in the camp were almost exclusively Jews. Poles were the majority, but there were a large number from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and [a] few of other nationalities."[5]

The women worked at the Firma Albert Patin, Werkstätten für Fernsteuerungstechnik Berlin. It had relocated in 1943 at the request of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) to Mittelsteine after it had been damaged during bombing raids.[6] Hana G. had the following to say about her work:

> Each day we left the camp for work in the nearby factory. It was probably a factory for aircraft parts. I worked at a lathe. The work was done in two shifts each of twelve hours (from 6:00 in the morning to 6:00 in the evening and from 6:00 in the evening to 6:00 in the morning). Not only women from our camp worked in this factory but also men and women of other nationalities. I did not know if there were prisoners from other camps because you were not allowed to speak with anyone. The factory foremen were men—mostly Germans. Some of the women from our camp worked outside the factory site, constructing a building that resembled a concrete bunker. That work was very difficult. Sometimes the female workers were working in water up to their knees. My mother and sister worked there. After we came back from the factory and had our meal we were forced to work in the camp, carrying, for example, bricks from outside the camp into the camp. In the spring of 1945, we began to construct something with these bricks. . . . Because of the additional work there was tension between the company and the camp commander, because the company was concerned that it had good labor.[7]

The camp commander was SS-Oberaufseherin Philomena Locker, who for the crimes she committed in the camp and during its evacuation was sentenced in 1948 before a court in Świdnica to death. The sentence was commuted to seven years' imprisonment with hard labor.[8] She was released from prison in 1953.

Hana G. made the following statements about mistreatment by the camp commander:

> Once, in 1945, during a roll call in the camp yard, the camp commander ordered us to give the names of those who are said to have told the foreman that the female prisoners had to do extra work in the camp after their work in the factory, carrying bricks. My mother stepped out of the line and admitted that she had done it. Whether that was true, I don't know. The camp commander took my mother to where the wardresses slept and beat her. I can no longer say with what she was beaten and how she was beaten. As a result of the beating, my mother's spine was damaged. This was only determined when she was in hospital in Munich after the liberation. After she was beaten, my mother had to go back to work.[9]

Pesel S. also made a statement about the camp commander:

> I only have the impression that the camp commander was very mean. She was dangerous. She had one or more dogs. Once, when I went past the storeroom and tried to get some carrots through the window, she saw me from afar and her large dog came running toward me. He bit me in my back.
>
> Another time, at roll call we were told that we would only get our soup when the girls report that we had stolen carrots. I and seven others immediately reported that we had stolen. We were put up against the barracks wall with our faces to the wall. Then the other girls had to go past us and each of them had to give us one blow with a large wooden cudgel. Any one who would not hit us did not get any soup.[10]

The evacuation of the Mittelsteine camp began in March–April 1945. It took place in a number of stages. The prisoners were taken to a number of Gross-Rosen subcamps, for example, Grafenort, Altheide, and Mährisch Weisswasser. Former Polish prisoner Dwora B. stated the following:

> In April 1945 (I can't remember the exact date), the Mittelsteine camp was evacuated and we were taken by foot to the Grafenort camp. On May 4, 1945, all of us, i.e., all the female prisoners in the Grafenort camp, were led into the forest by the SS wardresses from our camp (the SS wardresses who were in the Mittelsteine camp). In the forest, we met Wehrmacht soldiers who were coming from the front. The Wehrmacht soldiers asked the SS wardresses, "Where are you taking these people?" The SS wardresses replied: "That is our business. It has nothing to do with you!" The soldiers replied: "We know that you shoot defenseless people but you won't succeed. The Russians are not far from here!" With weapons drawn the soldiers forced the SS wardresses to take us back to the Grafenort camp. When we arrived at the camp the wardresses fled. One of the Wehrmacht soldiers stayed at the entrance to the camp and made sure that nothing happened to us. On the following day the Russians marched into Grafenort.[11]

Two women found near Mittelsteine are the probable number of prisoners who died during the evacuation march. They were shot in the nape of the neck. Autopsies were carried out by the Klodzko (Glatz) state prosecutor. Their bodies were brought from Mittelsteine to Grafenort.[12]

Gizi B. wrote the following about the evacuation of the other group of women prisoners to Mährisch Weisswasser:

> In the middle of April 1945 I was one of two hundred women, who were transferred from Mittelsteine to the Weisswasser camp to work in a factory there. However, we never worked there. Instead we were held inside the barracks until we were liberated.
>
> Our conditions in the camp were indescribable. We were called to roll call twice daily, morning and evening, and received once a day a small piece of bread and a few spoons of a so-called soup. We were covered in lice while we were in this camp. Had we been forced to endure this torture much longer, I doubt that many of us would have survived.[13]

SOURCES There are no publications specifically on this camp. Archival records may be at the BA-L (IV 405 AR–Z 105/67); AK-IPN (collection region commission Kraków, Folder 119); and NWHStA-(D) (Dortmund Rep. 118).

Hans Brenner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 140.
2. AK-IPN, collection regional commission Kraków, Folder 119; cited by Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen in Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994), p. 44.
3. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67, p. 230, statement by Polish witness Pesel B.
4. AK-IPN.
5. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67, p. 290, statement by Polish witness Hana G.
6. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 319, file note, September 13, 1943.
7. BA-L, IV 405 AR–Z 105/67, pp. 290–291, statement by Hana G.
8. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67.
9. Ibid., p. 292, statement by Hana G.
10. Ibid., pp. 230–231, statement by Pesel S.
11. Ibid. p. 276, statement by Dwora B.
12. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67.
13. Gizi B., letter to the author, June 6, 1999.

MORCHENSTERN

As the Gross-Rosen subcamp in the small Silesian industrial city of Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (later Mysłakowice), which had existed in a textile factory since July 1944, was evacuated in front of the rapidly advancing Soviet troops in mid-February 1945, the commando of about 300 women was transferred in one group to the other side of the Riesengebirge Mountains. After the arduous march over the wintry mountains, which began on February 17, the column of female prisoners arrived in Morchenstern (Smržovka), near Gablonz (Jablonec nad Nissau), on February 19.[1]

Here, the women—Polish, Czech, and Hungarian Jews—were put to forced labor in a newly established subcamp located in the aircraft engine works of the Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke Taucha (MIMO), a subsidiary of the aircraft manufacturer concern Auto Union AG Chemnitz.[2] This MIMO factory, which was given the code name "Iser-Werke," belonged to the group of factories that had been transferred out of the Leipzig area because of heavy air attacks there. Since 1941, its technical director, Dr. Ing. William Werner, played a leading role in the directing organs of the German aviation arms sphere, such as the "Reichsmarshall's Industry Council for the Production of Air Force Equipment," the "Armaments Council," the Fighter Staff, and the Armaments Staff. Correspondingly, he exerted influence over the allocation of concentration camp prisoner labor. As a result of heavy bomb damage sustained at the main works in Taucha, near Leipzig, on July 7, 1944, the factory management attempted to increase production in its satellite factories such as in Morchenstern. For that purpose, MIMO was allocated and received the female concentration camp prisoners from Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf. Whether Andreas Baumgartner's conjecture that parts for the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet

fighter were produced in the Iser-Werke is justified has not been established.

Accommodations for the women were in two barracks. In the camp, life was regulated according to the usual camp routine of the female SS overseers, some of whom were put on trial after the war for mishandling the prisoners.

The actual employment of the women in Morchenstern was limited in duration, due to the circumstances of the war. After barely a month, the detachment was again transferred. In connection with the last-ditch effort to mount an effective air defense, the prisoners from Morchenstern were taken to the Nordhausen subcamp, where 294 women arrived on March 15, 1945.[3] By then it was too late to put them to work. On April 4, the women departed on a days-long foot march and railroad journey to Mauthausen, where 221 of them arrived on April 15. Even then the suffering of these women was not at an end; 44 of the women were put into work details at Mauthausen and presumably stayed there until their liberation on May 5. Probably the only Belgian in the Morchenstern subcamp, Marie M. was able, together with other Belgian "protective custody" prisoners, to reach Switzerland on April 22 on a transport organized by the International Red Cross.

On May 1, 1945, shortly before Mauthausen was liberated, a larger part of the women from Morchenstern were forced on a death march from the Mauthausen main camp to the Gunskirchen subcamp, where an unknown number of them died of typhus. One of the survivors, Hungarian Jew Sarolta M., stated in June 1945:

> When we departed, we received supplies for one day. We marched out. While under way we received hardly anything to eat. The hunger was terrible. The men plucked grass and herbs, which we cooked. Sometimes we succeeded in digging up a couple of potatoes, but anyone who was caught doing that was shot down. . . . Naturally there were many who could not endure this march, so many people sat down exhausted by the side of the road. The SS officer drove a bicycle along the edge of the road and shot anyone whom he saw sitting. Once we sat down, completely exhausted. The SS man noticed this and drew his pistol to shoot us. We quickly sprang up, and so he let us live. . . . Our foot march ended in Gunskirchen. We arrived in pouring rain. The camp for us had been erected in a forest. There was hardly any straw there, and we were given hardly anything to eat. A quarter liter [8.5 ounces] of soup and 120 grams [4.2 ounces] of bread was our daily ration. Typhus broke out there. Many men got it. We women received Swiss care packages, and so we held out somewhat better, but later the infection raged among us as well, naturally.[4]

How many women survived the strains of the many evacuations in the end is not known. Up until the evacuation of Morchenstern, there were only 3 deaths. The decrease in the number of women to 221 before the arrival in Mauthausen very probably reflects the fact that 35 women escaped during the foot march from Nordhausen-Grosswerther to Herzberg, where the group boarded a train, and that a further 30 probably escaped during the train trip. That latter group included Czech prisoner Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, who succeeded in fleeing and in hiding herself until the arrival of American troops.[5]

SOURCES There is no secondary work that addresses this camp exclusively, but information may be found in Joachim Neander, *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997); Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen. Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verl. Österreich, 1997).

Archival records are available in the SÚA (KT/OVS, K. 171), HAFHDCB, and AG-MD.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 140.
2. BA-B, Bank der deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 498, Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke Taucha GmbH, p. 2.
3. AG-MD, no archival reference, list of 294 new arrivals from Morchenstern, March 15, 1945.
4. HAFHDCB, no archival reference, report by former Hungarian female prisoner Sarolta M.
5. NARA, M 1079, Roll 2, Frame 383, statement by Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, April 18, 1945, cited in Joachim Neander, *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997), p. 441.

NEUSALZ

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Neusalz (present-day Nowa Sól) was the result of the conversion of an Organisation Schmelt forced labor camp (ZAL). The first laborers who were to work for the Gruschwitz Textilwerke AG had already been sent to Neusalz in 1940. The men and, above all, the women came from the area of Lissa (Leszno) and Rawicz. Transports of young Jewish women from Upper Silesia began arriving in the first half of 1942. In November 1943, 118 Jewish women arrived from the closed Grünberg camp, and 120 Hungarian Jewish girls arrived from Auschwitz in April 1944.

There were 897 women in the ZAL camp when it was converted into the Gross-Rosen Neusalz subcamp located at the Gruschwitz factory. Some 14 wooden barracks were erected in 1942. They were surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. There was a kitchen and camp infirmary (*Revier*) on the camp premises. The Jewish women incarcerated in the camp were

isolated and could not leave the camp grounds as the other forced laborers could. Instead, they were escorted to work by the female overseers and had considerably harder work than other laborers. They worked in the weaving mill and the linen combing mill, where the dust was very heavy; some women loaded ammunition onto trucks in the factory basements. They worked in two shifts of nine hours a day each and had Sundays off. From their appearance, as forced laborers have all agreed in their testimonies, they must have had very hard conditions and very unsatisfactory food. That is why many of the forced laborers tried to help the Jewish girls. They would leave food at spots they had agreed upon, and they would get correspondence through to family and friends.

Forced laborer Lidia Stanek became friends with a Jewish girl at work. Throughout her time at Neusalz, she maintained correspondence with her and sent letters to her family in occupied Poland. One of the German women overseers aided her in this. The letters, written from 1942 to 1945, and the recollections of Aliza Besser, a forced laborer and then a prisoner at the Gross-Rosen subcamp, tell about the atmosphere prevailing in Neusalz. The women were overworked and underfed, and they all stopped menstruating after a short while at the camp. They were maltreated, not only by the SS guards but also by their fellow countrywomen serving in various jobs, such as Judenälteste (Elder of the Jews), cooks, and the dentist. They dreaded sickness, as they could then be allocated for selection and taken away to Auschwitz. They constantly quarreled and informed against one another, but there were also times, mostly during Jewish holy days, when they would pray and sing together. They were depressed by news passed on in smuggled messages about their families being taken away and their closest relatives and friends dying. A transport with clothing arrived in May 1944. Some Hungarian Jewish women recognized their mothers' and sisters' belongings. The scenes were very depressing when they caressed the clothing they had known.

There was an infirmary in the camp; a German doctor came in from outside the camp, and the dentist was a Jewish prisoner. She abused her fellow prisoners greatly. Besser writes about her as follows: "My heart aches at how one Jewish woman treats another." There were over 100 prisoners serving in various jobs. "Bloody Rywka" stood out in particular. Several prisoners died throughout the camp's existence; there were also several accidents at work. One of the prisoners was pulled into a loom by her hair; another one had her hand cut off. They came down in the masses with furuncules (boils).

In late May and early June 1944, they became aware that some changes were on the way. Pachowa, who was then commander, announced that there would be administrative changes on June 19. Because of the closing of the Organisation Schmelt camps, the existing forced labor camp was to become a Gross-Rosen subcamp and would be under SS supervision. At a roll call, 897 women were officially handed over. As Besser relates, they were alone unsupervised for several days: none of them escaped, thinking that they would be treated better. There was a "holiday of love and flirting," as French laborers had come to the camp.

It was only several days later that about 50 female guards (Aufseherinnen) in SS uniforms appeared. They had been picked from German women working at factories in Neusalz and sent to Ravensbrück for several weeks of training. Elizabeth Gersen became the new camp commander, and her assistant was Effenberge. As Besser continues, a roll call was ordered on July 6, 1944. A delegation of four SS men arrived. Every woman had to undress and go into a room where the SS men were sitting behind a table, with Aufseherinnen standing at the sides. A circle had been drawn in chalk in the middle of the room, and the naked women were to enter it one at a time. They were inspected and measured, and their teeth were checked. They were separated into categories and then assigned numbered tags, which they had to wear hanging around their necks. Numbers ranging from 47945 to 48645 were issued at that time. Unfortunately, nothing about the movement of transports is known. Several prisoners were moved to the Auschwitz concentration camp. There were 800 prisoners at the time of evacuation. Conditions had changed completely; discipline had been tightened, and all communications with local workers came to an end. The prisoners received printed numbers, which they had to sew onto the left front of their clothing, and blue-gray striped material to sew onto their backs where squares 25 by 15 centimeters (10 by 6 inches) had been cut out.

News arrived in January 1945 of the impending evacuation. Preparations began. Some clothing from Birkenau, which was to be recycled into raw materials, was distributed to the prisoners. Pants were made out of blankets; there were no shoes. The winter was exceptionally cold. The subcamp was evacuated on January 31, 1945. Prisoners were given two loaves of bread, a jar of jam, and some margarine. They were arranged in four columns of 200 women; the escort was made up of five Aufseherinnen and two SS men. They walked 29 kilometers (18 miles) a day. They slept in barns and schools and received a hot meal once a day. One of the prisoners, Franciszka Wajchman, escaped from the transport and returned to Nowa Sól; forced laborer Antoni Ostojewski hid her in the camp office until the Soviet forces entered. Upon reaching Christianstadt, the Aufseherinnen returned to Neusalz. All they found at Christianstadt, which was also a Gross-Rosen subcamp, were the bodies of dead female prisoners.

A two-day stopover was ordered; then they continued on foot toward Dresden. The escort was changed, and the treatment of the prisoners improved. Seeing what terrible condition the women were in, local residents made them some food. In early March 1945, the column of prisoners reached the Zwodau labor camp, where they stayed for a few days. Then they were moved to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. They arrived there on March 9 and were given a decent meal. They could wash up, and they also received a change of clothing: dresses and men's clothes. In 7 to 10 days, they were

sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp by rail transport. They did not get food, and the trip lasted 10 days. The mortalities were massive, and the prisoners themselves threw the dead out of the railroad cars. When they got to the camp, they encountered piles of rotting corpses. A typhus epidemic was raging. They were put to work getting rid of the bodies. The Neusalz women lived under those conditions until liberation. They died in masses. Those who survived in a state of extreme exhaustion were transported by English soldiers to barracks, then to Sweden for treatment. The malnourished, emaciated women had walked approximately 500 kilometers (311 miles) in the cold. Many of them were shot or died during the march; those who survived until victory died of emaciation in masses. Not all the dates and figures provided are certain. There is little accurate information on the death marches. Due to the ghastly conditions under which the prisoners lived, memoirs often provide erroneous dates and transport sizes, but the atmosphere of those atrocious days has been relayed very well.

Aufseherin Gertruda Hoffmann was identified and tried after the war. On September 12, 1946, a Special Criminal Court sentenced her to four years of incarceration, forfeiture of public rights, and confiscation of all her property.

SOURCES Published sources related to this camp include Dorota Sula, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2001); and B. Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach 'Organizacji Schmelt' w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1999).

Documentary sources comprise the memoir of Aliza Besser (the original is located at YVA in Jerusalem) and the investigative records on Neusalz from the GKBZHwP.

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

NIEDERODERWITZ

The history of the Gross-Rosen subcamp Niederoderwitz can be traced back to 1942 and the effort by Osram KG to double the production capacity of its cable works for wolfram and molybdenum cables and bolts, both of which were of vital importance to the manufacturing of pipes. At the same time, a part of the production process was to be transferred to peripheral areas of Germany deemed to be safer from air raids.[1] Osram leased a chocolate factory in the vicinity of a railway station near Niederoderwitz situated about five kilometers (three miles) from Zittau—the Kosa Schokoladenfabrik Rolle KG Niederoderwitz/O.L., also known as Kosa. Its owner founded a holding company, Apparatebau Niederoderwitz GmbH, Niederoderwitz (O.L.), which then took over the production while the technical supervision remained with Osram, which supplied skilled tradesmen and engineers. The Apparatebau took up production in the summer of 1944.[2]

The increasing threat of air raids resulted in a decision in July 1944 to relocate under the code name Richard II all the production of the cable factory deemed essential to the war effort to the chalk mines in Leitmeritz, located not very far from the concentration camp at Theresienstadt. Of the 900 laborers needed for the production process, there should have been 300 Osram employees plus about 600 prisoners, a third of them women. In the case of Niederoderwitz, this meant that these prisoners should receive some training up to four weeks in groups of 120 to 140 prisoners for the work in Richard II. The company tried to plan in advance all the details for the intended relocation and thereby based its plans on using the prisoners designated for forced labor and already trained in Niederoderwitz when assembling the machines and qualified workers.[3]

Preparations began at the same time for the use of prisoners in Niederoderwitz. In negotiations between the Osram administration and SS-Obersturmbannführer Koegel, the Flossenbürg concentration camp commander, the decision was made to follow "general construction security measures." For accommodation, the "old massive barrack" should be used and be separated by barbed wire from the so-called barracks city—accommodation for the foreign workers on the land of the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) located beside the factory—where other foreign laborers and 12 SS guards were housed. In the barrack, the already installed washbasins were replaced by simpler iron drains.[4]

However, right from the start of deployment of the prisoners, there were continual delays since the SS could not provide enough prisoners for selection. Already, very early on, the company administration learned that the prisoners would be Hungarian Jews. In any event, both the resistance of Gauleiter of Saxony Mutschmann against the use of Jews in Niederoderwitz and the difficulty in obtaining blankets could be overcome.[5]

On December 30, 1944, the Osram engineer Behrndt finally selected in Flossenbürg 180 "Hungarian Jews . . . almost all of whom were aged between twenty and forty" from a newly arrived transport. As a matter of fact, among them were at least one Jew from Czechoslovakia and another one from Romania.[6] Behrndt stressed in a detailed report that he was successful "in pushing through our demands for skilled labor so that we got, for example, all the metal workers that were on the transport." Behrndt also mentioned that he chose "only those prisoners who looked physically fit" and that he "rejected the sick and fragile." Out of those selected, 140 were to be sent to Niederoderwitz, and another 40 were to go directly to Leitmeritz to help there with the assembly of the production installations. The prisoners arrived in Niederoderwitz on the evening of January 7, 1945, and were forced to work the next day.[7]

Because there is a dearth of survivors' reports, we unfortunately do not know anything from the prisoners' perspective about conditions in the subcamp or about the working conditions in Niederoderwitz. However, the company management expressed satisfaction as to training successes and

productivity while requesting additional security "so that the prisoners could be deployed at all posts that were envisaged for them." It is therefore likely that the prisoners were guarded during their 12-hour shift (of which there were two) not only by the approximately 27 civil trainees but also inside the company by SS guard companies. There is no information available on how the prisoners were treated. However, there do not appear to have been any deaths, and according to reports, the prisoner numbers did not vary throughout the entire time period. Because the investment in the training of the prison workers was particularly valuable to the management of the company, it made sure that once the prisoners were marked by wearing an oval-shaped badge, they were transferred at the end of February and the beginning of March to Leitmeritz. This way it was hoped—in conjunction with repeated statements to the SS that they were "young, good workers"—to prevent them from meeting the same fate as simple "construction prisoners," a fate aptly described by Miroslav Kárny as "extermination through work."[8] This distinction takes on a special meaning insofar as 80 very detailed file notes document that the Osram employees knew about the gruesome conditions at the construction sites. As these files reveal, the Osram employees had contributed themselves to the worsening of these conditions by demanding repeatedly that the pace of work be increased.

The use of prisoners in Niederoderwitz ended with the transfer of 140 prisoners to Leitmeritz at the end of February or the beginning of March 1945.[9] With the end of the war approaching, the Richard II project ceased as well to have any meaning.

Since the subcamp was not listed in the Catalogue of Camps and Prisons (CCP), the West German Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) did not carry out any investigation of its own.[10] Even though there appeared in the 1970s two statements by former prisoners of the Niederoderwitz subcamp in the investigation into the main Flossenbürg camp, and despite appropriate recommendations by the investigating state prosecutors, it did not result in the opening of any investigation. Further judicial investigations have not been recorded.

SOURCES The most important source for researching the relocation of the Osram Cable Factory, which includes the Niederoderwitz camp, can be found in the LA-B. The confiscation of the extensive Osram files by the Soviet occupation authorities turned out to be a stroke of luck, as these files were later given back to the German Democratic Republic. As a result, researchers today have access to the detailed planning of responsible persons at Osram and to details about their negotiations with the SS and Reich authorities. (LA-B, A Rep.231, particularly Files 0.481 to 0.502). The Osram company—at the turn of the century a 100 percent–owned subsidiary of Siemens—claimed in response to a question by the author in August 1999, on the other hand, not to have an archive. A few important documents from this collection have been published by Laurenz Demps, "Die Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 (Dokumentation)," *ZfG* 26 (1978): 416–437; and Hans Brenner, "Zur Frage der Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 (Dokumentation)," *ZfG* 27 (1979): 952–965.

East German historians, based on the Osram files that were returned to the German Democratic Republic, began relatively early their research into the use of prisoners by Osram; see, for example, Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion, dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., East Berlin, 1970). However, their research was of limited value as they tried merely to document the supposed influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy.

Miroslav Kárny addresses the effects of the relocation of the Osram Cable Factory on the prisoners of concern in Leitmeritz in his " 'Vernichtung durch Arbeit' in Leitmeritz. Die SS-Führungsstäbe in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft," *1999* 4 (1993): 37–61. However, he incorrectly assumed that the prisoners in Niederoderwitz never made it to Leitmeritz. Rainer Fröbe dealt in a basic essay with the significance of forced labor by skilled workers; see his "KZ-Häftlinge als Reserve qualifizierter Arbeitskraft. Eine späte Entdeckung der deutschen Industrie und ihre Folgen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christian Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), pp. 637–681. One of the cases he examined is the Niederoderwitz subcamp. In doing so, Fröbe examined the connection between survival chances of the prisoners and their qualifications. The prisoners were chosen by the Osram employees in Flossenbürg and not selected as originally envisaged—and described by Fröbe—in Gross-Rosen.

This entry is based on an article in which the author deals with forced labor as exemplified by skilled workers at the Auschwitz-Bobrek (Siemens-Schuckert Works [SSW]) and at the Niederoderwitz subcamps: Rolf Schmolling, " 'Pfleglichstes Aufforsten'—Zur Bedeutung der Häftlingszwangsarbeit für die Produktion bei Siemens und Osram," in *Konzentrationslager–Geschichte und Erinnerung. Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Haustein, Rolf Schmolling, and Jörg Skribeleit (Ulm: Klemm & Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 115–132. In this article, the main focus of the analysis is on companies planning their production combined with the use of prisoners in the context of a war economy.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Osram Drahtwerk to Baumeister Siewert, "Erweiterungsbau auf O VI für Metallverwertung-Bauerlaubnis," November 3, 1942, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.481, p. 297; Osram KG to Vereinigte Wasserstoffwerke, Hauptverwaltung Berlin, October 11, 1943, ibid., p. 198.

2. Agreement between Osram GmbH KG and Kosa Schokoladenfabrik Rolle KG Niederoderwitz/ O.L., April 18, 1943, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 245; Osram Drahtwerk File

Note, "Besprechung über Raumfragen bei der Zuckerwarenfabrik Kosa in Niederoderwitz/Sa.," April 27, 1943, ibid., p. 231.

3. Vgl. Osram Drahtwerk, draft "4. Verlagerungsbetrieb Richard II," July 20, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 285; Osram Drahtwerk Niederschrift, "Anruf bei OStuF Biemann am 29.11.1944," ibid., p. 217.

4. Osram Drahtwerk, "Bericht über Besuch bei der Apparatebau GmbH Niederoderwitz am 20. und 21.9.1944 gemeinsam mit Herrn Fehse," September 22, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 3; Osram Hauptgeschäft, "Lagebericht über die Betriebe in Nieder- und Oberoderwitz, Stand Januar 1945," LA-B, A Rep.231/0.481, p. 24; on the guards, see Identificaton of Prisoner [SS-Mann] Oluf W., *03.1900 in Es., Denmark, Service in CC Hartmannsdorf and Gross-Rosen Januar 1945–April 1945 Niederoderwitz, Berlin-Oranienburg [Sachsenhausen] and Köpenick, BA-L, ZdL IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 21.

5. Osram Drahtwerk, "Aktennotiz Richard II Nr. 47," October 19, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.5012, p. 12; Osram Drahtwerk, "Anruf bei Obersturmführer Biemann," January 24, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 179; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über einen Besuch im SS-WVHA," November 13, 1944, ibid., p. 210; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift. betr.: Anruf bei OStuF Biemann," November 29, 1944, ibid.; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über ein Ferngespräch mit Hr. OStuF Biemann," November 13, 1945, ibid., p. 185.

6. Record of interview with Efraim Da. [*11.1920 in Sighet, Rum.], June 2, 1971, in Tel Aviv, BA-L, ZStL IV 410 AR-Z23/68, p. 927; Zwi Ka. [*12.1919 in Bodzasujlak/CSR], June 11, 1971, in Tel Aviv, ibid., p. 929.

7. Osram Drahtwerk [Behrndt] to Osram Hauptgeschäft/Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift, betr: Besuch im KL Flossenbürg zwecks Ausmusterung von Häftlingen," January 3, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 330; Osram Drahtwerk [Dr. Born], "Kurzbericht über die Betriebe in Nieder- und Oberoderwitz. Berichtszeitraum 1.12.44 bis 10.1.45," January 12, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 178.

8. Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über ein Ferngespräch mit OStuF. Biemann am 13.1.45," ibid.; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift, betr: Anruf bei OStuF. Biemann am 24.1.45," LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 179.

9. Osram Drahtwerk [Dr. Köhler], "Aktennotiz Richard II Nr. 83, Betr: Besuch in Richard vom 8. u. 9.3.45," March 14, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.491, p. 37.

10. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

NIESKY [AKA WIESENGRUND]

In June 1944 the Wiesengrund subcamp was established in Niesky. It existed from June 9, 1944, to April 18, 1945. The camp held between 1,000 and 1,200 Russians, Uzbeks, Poles, Jews, Yugoslavs, French, and Czechs. Additionally, until January 23, 1945, there was an agricultural labor detachment in Klein Radisch near Klitten. There was an overflow camp between March 1, 1945, and April 21, 1945, in Spohla/Brandhofen near Hoyerswerda. Karl-Heinz Gräfe in "Die Nebenlager des KZ Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," which was published in the book *Die Völker Europas im KZ Gross-Rosen*, states that fortification works must have taken place there.

The prisoners from the Niesky subcamp were given the Gross-Rosen roll-call numbers in the series from 1000 to 5000, some numbers between 8000 and 19000, and then numbers in the series 35000.[1]

Peter Sebald describes the Wiesengrund subcamp as follows: "The camp was not even three kilometers [less than two miles] from the Christoph & Unmack factory. It stood on an open area, surrounded by fields and as the area was a little swampy—it had boggy ground, it was given the name 'Wiesengrund,' even though it was not in a depression. The camp was visible from the main road, Muskau Strasse." [2]

The prisoners in Wiesengrund mostly worked as forced laborers at the Christoph & Unmack metal foundry. The company-operated camp consisted of five barracks and an infirmary. An article published on August 3, 1998, in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* (*ND*) shows the cooperation between industry and the SS leadership: SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was responsbile for the whole concentration camp system with its thousands of prisoners and sat with Alfred Kurzmeyer, the right hand of Hermann Abs of the Deutsche Bank, on the supervisory board of Christoph & Unmack.

The prisoners worked on railway goods wagons, converting their platforms to carry anti-aircraft guns. Prisoner Edward Tomala has described the prisoners' work as follows: "The prisoners worked in a railway goods wagon operation. The work varied. They largely did heavy work, such as separating the frozen gravel, loading sacks of cement, and unloading steel. It was a work connected with loading and transport. Only a group of fifty prisoners was busy constructing a cement bunker. I was part of that group. Actually, water pipes with a diameter of 2 meters [6.6 feet] and a length of 1.80 meters [5.9 feet] were built onto the platforms. We worked for twelve hours from 6:00 AM to 6:00 PM regardless of the weather. The food was very poor and we were paid three marks a week."[3]

Historian Peter Sebald has written about events he experienced in Niesky as a boy 10 and 11 years old:

> The chores of the Niesky camp command, such as the daily trip to the post office, were done on a flat car pulled by the concentration camp prisoners under armed escort. The prisoners, whose wooden shoes barely deserved the name, conspicuously and noisily went down the Niesky cobbled streets. The striped trousers under normal but ripped coats showed that the prisoners were not the usual kind of prisoners. I cannot remember whether the SS wore their black uniforms every day, but it occurred to us that guards were not like the typical trusted German

> soldier (*Landser*) who carried their rifles slung across their shoulders. They carried a machine pistol so that it was always in a position to be fired and the guards indicated that they were prepared to do exactly that. Since the prisoners were held in Wiesengrund, there were search lights on the guard towers which constantly moved across the camp so that from Niesky the camp appeared to us civilians to be huge, particularly when we arrived in the evening at the railway station. In 1944, an air raid bunker was constructed on the camp grounds, probably for the guards.[4]

Tomala has named those responsbile in the Niesky subcamp. The commander until September 1944 was SS-Unterscharführer Franz Sänger; from then until the camp's dissolution, the commander was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold. Rapportführer was Wilhelm Kirsch. Johann Biworski was in command of the guards. Kurt Weisbricht was senior Kapo. The camp elder was German criminal Kurt Vogel.

A German Federal Archives, External Branch, Ludwigsburg (BA-L) folder contains a report by Dr. Zychski, a prisoner, who has the following to say on the conditions in the Niesky subcamp:

> There were hunger rations. As far as I can recall, we received about 300 grams [10.6 ounces] of black loamy bread with a little horse meat on Sundays, on weekdays sometimes beet jam with a little margarine. The usual meal for lunch, as in Gross-Rosen, was a soup made of beets and cabbage leaves, in which every now and then there was small piece of potato, a sinew or a bone. Medical supplies did not match the demand. To make up for the lack of medicines, we made our own, e.g., in order to stop diarrhea we used coals made from burning and crushing bones. The lack of organic calcium was replaced by chalk from wall plaster. I cut boils with tailor's scissors as there were no surgical tools. The death rate was very high and in the winter of 1944/45 ten prisoners died on average each day.[5]

As a consequence of the heavy labor, the cold during the winter of 1944–1945, and the poor food, debilitation, hunger edemas, diarrhea, infections, and kidney and lung inflammations were prevalent.

The military situation in Lower Silesia resulted in the evacuation of the Wiesengrund subcamp on February 22, 1945. The evacuation affected 800 of the 1,000 prisoners. Jan Lysek recalls: "In February 1945, the camp was evacuated. The prisoners pulled the wagons for a week. They were given little food. The sick and the weak were shot along the way. During the day we had to dig ditches and during the night we slept in closed barns. We were not even allowed outside to go to the toilet."[6]

About two to three weeks after the evacuation of the subcamp in Niesky, 22 prisoners suffering from typhus were brought from Brandhofen to Niesky. Until then, the dead had been cremated in the Görlitz crematorium. When the morgue was filled in Niesky, 39 dead prisoners, according to Tomala, were buried in a nearby forest.

About 60 to 80 sick prisoners were left behind in the Wiesengrund subcamp in Niesky. They were liberated by units of the 2nd Polish Army on April 18, 1945.

The prisoners from the subcamp at Spohla/Brandhofen commenced their death march in the direction of Dresden on April 19, 1945. Some 30 sick prisoners were left at the Brandhofen camp, which was liberated by the Russian Army on April 21, 1945.

On April 22, 1945, tanks of the 1st Corps of the 2nd Polish Army broke through the German defenses. A few prisoners succeeded in getting behind the front line and reached freedom. Many ended up being captured by the Germans. They were taken to a camp in Stolpen and later to the Elbe River, where they were put on barges. On May 5 or 6, 1945, a tug pulled the barges up the Elbe. On May 9, 1945, the prisoners were liberated in the vicinity of Theresienstadt.

While the prisoners in Spohla/Brandhofen had to do fortification works, those in Klein-Radisch bei Klitten worked as an agricultural labor detachment of the Nieskey subcamp until January 23, 1945. It is possible that agricultural produce from this detachment was used to feed the prisoners in Niesky. The death register of the Klitten vicarage contains the record of the burial of five prisoners who were shot in February 1945.

SOURCES There are numeous but scattered references to the Niesky subcamp published in different books, for example, Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky–Filia Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993); Alfred Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KZ Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen—KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996); and Hans Brenner, *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004).

The BA-L holds interesting archival material on the Niesky subcamp.

Georg Häusler
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Dr. Hans Brenner archive, Zschopau.
2. Dr. Peter Sebald, letter to Dr. Hans Brenner, December 6, 1994, Niesky City Museum.
3 Quoted in Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky—Filia Gross-Rosen* (Walbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993), p. 12.
4. Sebald letter to Brenner, December 6, 1994.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 405 AR-Z 45/77 Bd.2, 3, Aussage Dr. Zychski.
6. Statement by Jan Lysek, quoted in Sawicka, *AL Niesky.*

NIESKY/BRANDHOFEN

Despite its short existence, the Gross-Rosen subcamp in Brandhofen (before 1940 and after 1945: Spohla, near the city of Hoyerswerda) had one of the highest death rates. It was established on March 1, 1945, from some of the prisoners of the Niesky subcamp and remained subordinated to the Niesky camp administration until its dissolution.

A local inhabitant gave an eyewitness testimony about the arrival of a column of prisoners in Brandhofen:

> On March 1, 1945, a column of about five hundred male prisoners approached Spohla. Emaciated men dressed in thin prison clothing and rags pulled eight horse carts by their long shafts. The shafts were equipped with crossbeams. In each case, two pairs of prisoners in a row pressed with their bodies against the crossbeam, in order to move the cart. Several pairs behind each other had to take on this heavy burden. On the stanchion and on the running board other prisoners pushed themselves, who clearly no longer had any strength left. These miserable figures, visibly racked with pain, who had not received anything warm to eat and drink for fourteen days, were driven forward by heavily armed SS men with Alsatian dogs.
>
> In Spohla there was a mood of silent outrage when the prisoner column arrived. Two barns were requisitioned immediately to accommodate the prisoners. The protests of their owners were answered with a threat by the SS camp leader, as to whether they also wanted to become inmates of this camp.[1]

The registration numbers of former inmates (mostly Polish men, some of whom also died there) of the Brandhofen subcamp that have been uncovered so far indicate that they were sent to the main camp and registered there at different times. They had prisoner numbers ranging from 1519 to 91800.[2]

In the largest SS requisitioned barns in the village, 400 men were crammed together so much that most of them could only sleep in a sitting position. Since the barns were locked and barred early in the evening, soon the men had to lay, or rather sit, in their excrements. The local inhabitants were strictly forbidden to go anywhere near these barns.

The prisoners soon found themselves in terrible physical condition. Despite this inhuman treatment, the men had to go out every day to dig trenches sometimes at work sites several kilometers away. The most minor infractions caused the SS guards to beat them without mercy.[3]

The camp leader of the Niesky subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold, served also as the camp leader in Brandhofen.[4]

Some of the men who had arrived from Niesky in an appalling condition after the grueling march did not recover. A small wooden hut was converted into a primitive infirmary, in which, however, there was no medical treatment, so that the men simply withered away until their deaths. The dead were driven into the forest on a cart and then buried there in graves that had been excavated. The prisoners detailed to pull the cart had to load it up with firewood for the kitchen on the return journey.[5]

Many of the survivors testify that in addition to the prisoners of war (POWs) working in the village, Germans living in Brandhofen and living near the work sites secretly gave food to the prisoners, always running the risk of being caught by the guards and reported to the police. Nevertheless, this aid was scarcely sufficient to improve the fate of the prisoners to any substantial degree.

When the 13 graves were opened after the war, the exhumation commission found the bodily remains of 99 prisoners. Since some of the sick prisoners were exchanged for others who still appeared to be fit for work from the Niesky subcamp and therefore died in Niesky, the number of victims of the Brandhofen subcamp was well over 100. Former prisoner Edward T., who was a witness of the exchange in Niesky, reports: "When the column stopped in Brandhofen, about two or three weeks after the evacuation, they took twenty-two prisoners that were very sick from Brandhofen to Niesky and more healthy ones from Niesky to Brandhofen. Unfortunately all the sick that had just arrived suddenly died after one week. The room for the dead was full up."[6]

In spite of this large number of deaths, the death book of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp records only one single death for the Brandhofen subcamp, for Bronis P., a Lithuanian prisoner.[7]

From the beginning of April 1945, the SS began preparing for the camp's evacuation. The SS camp leader confiscated the cartwright's workshop in the village and had the prisoners repair the carts that had come with them from Niesky. Here, locals gave some assistance to the prisoners, who in turn repaired these villagers' sewing machines and bicycles.[8]

In the middle of April, shortly before the evacuation from Brandhofen, the SS took a group of 40 prisoners to the Bautzen subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Former prisoner Jan L. recalls: "In mid-April we [40 prisoners] were loaded onto a vehicle and were driven to the camp at Bautzen. There, behind the gate of the camp, an SS man ordered four prisoners to get undressed. When he saw the skeletons, bitten by mice, we had to go immediately to the baths and our things were sent to be disinfected. In the baths four prisoners died immediately and the remaining prisoners were put in a special barracks, which were surrounded by additional barbed wire. Once a day we received food and thickened water in a pot that was passed through the fence on a stick, since we were all sick with typhus. We lay like this for several days, the dead and the living together."[9] The camp administration got rid of its typhus cases in this manner.

On the evening of April 19, 1945, the SS drove the 200 or so prisoners who still seemed capable of marching in a westerly direction.[10] Former Polish prisoner Bonifacy R. reports on this:

> The prisoners from Brandhofen set out again on April 19, 1945, on their evacuation march. Here they also left behind in the camp those who were severely ill and no longer capable of walking. It was a group of thirty people. On April 21, the Russian Army liberated them.
>
> The evacuation column, which came from Brandhofen, was chased toward Dresden. On April 22, at the Radeberg-Dresden crossroads, tanks of the First Corps, Second Polish Army, broke up the German columns. Some of the prisoners succeeded in making it across the front line and reached freedom. The Germans recaptured many of them [due to a German counterattack]. They were placed in a camp near Stolpen and later taken to the Elbe River, where together with other prisoners they were loaded onto barges that sailed up the Elbe. They were liberated on May 9, close to Terezin.[11]

After the departure of the prisoner column from Brandhofen, on the morning of the following day, local residents discovered a barn occupied by 33 severely ill prisoners, which had been nailed shut on the orders of SS camp leader Seibold. These prisoners had been without any care for several days. Despite the immediate assistance given to these prisoners, not all of them could be saved. Of the 10 men who were sent to the hospital in Wittichenau, 8 of them died there, and 2 had recovered sufficiently that they were released to return to Poland in June 1945.[12]

SOURCES Danuta Sawicka's *AL Niesky–Filia KL Gross-Rosen (w świetle relacji byłych więźniów)* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993) also contains information on the Brandhofen subcamp, as it was directly subordinated to the Niesky camp.

Relevant archival sources can be found at the BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66) and the AMGR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Marlies Röhle, *Aufzeichnung von Augenzeugenberichten* (Hoyerswerda, 1970), p. 12.
2. See Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky—Filia KL Gross-Rosen (w świetle relacji bylych więźniów)* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993), pp. 51–90.
3. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, p. 2.
4. See Bogdan cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987), p. 12.
5. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, pp. 2–3.
6. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 35, report of the Polish prisoner Edward T. (number 12049).
7. SÚA, KT/OVS 24, Death Book II/1945 of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen, death certificate number 8.
8. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, p. 3.
9. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 35, report of the Polish prisoner Jan L. (number 1700).
10. Roman Olszyna, "Polscy czolgiści przynoszą wolność wieźniom w Niesky," *ZWiL* 21: 258 (November 1, 1965).
11. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 37, report of the Polish prisoner Bonifacy R. (number 5439).
12. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, pp. 3–4.

NIMPTSCH

A Gross-Rosen subcamp operated in the town of Nimptsch (present-day Niemcza). The earliest known source information about the camp is from an equipment receipt book (*Gerätebuch*) dated December 1, 1944.

The data available on the initial transports comes from as late as January 1945. Lists of prisoners prepared for transport from Gross-Rosen to the Nimptsch subcamp have survived. A list dated January 8, 1945, contained 140 names, some of which were crossed out. However, it turns out that at least 1 of the people crossed out was a prisoner at Nimptsch. The other known list, dated January 10, 1945, contained only 10 names.

Information provided by former prisoners shows that everyone had been moved to the camp in one 150-person transport. That was on January 8 or 10, 1945. Prisoners' accounts are not definite as to the date the transport arrived. However, if the information on one transport is true, then it is more likely that the group arrived on January 10, 1945.

The camp was located outside of town. There were Polish, Czech, and Russian men interned there. There were also two Croats. There were neither youths nor elderly prisoners recorded in the group. The prisoners in Nimptsch ranged from 19 to 55 years old.

The main criterion for the composition of the aforementioned transport was occupation. Therefore, there were tradesmen with various specialties at the camp: cabinetmakers, carpenters, metalworkers, and so on. There were even special prisoners for cooking and medical matters (a doctor and orderly had been designated).

German criminal prisoner Walter Kloss, number 46746, became camp elder (Lagerältester), and Polish prisoner Wacław Ludwig, number 3069, was camp scribe.

The camp staff was made up of SS men, whose personal information prisoners have not remembered due to their short stay at Nimptsch. Some accounts mention the last name of Jaschke (or Jeschke), who was supposedly the subcamp commandant. He was a young man of around 30 who limped.

Prisoners remember the death of one prisoner from their stay at the Nimptsch camp. There are no known documented cases of abuse of camp prisoners by staff members or prisoner-functionaries.

The prisoners were put to work on strenuous jobs such as finishing the barracks in which they lived. They also disassembled machines being prepared to move away at the "Famo" factory. Prisoners worked seasonally at removing snow in camp and on nearby roads. In late January (probably January 25) 1945, the subcamp prisoners were evacuated on foot to a large Jewish camp operating nearby, known as Langenbielau I

[aka Reichenbach Sportschule], which was also in the Gross-Rosen camp system. At Langenbielau they formed a separate group of prisoners from the rest of the camp and lived in a fenced barracks with "their own" staff of SS men. They made sure that no communications were possible between the prisoners from Nimptsch and the previously incarcerated Jews.

At the new camp, the Nimptsch prisoners mainly worked at building trenches, removing snow, and other tasks. The prisoners regained their freedom on May 8, 1945, when the Langenbielau camp was liberated. Earlier, some of the prisoners, probably sick ones, had been evacuated to other camps located in the Sowie Góry (Owl Mountains) such as the Riese/Dörnhau subcamp.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stań badań)* (Rogoźnica: AMGR, 1987).

Primary sources include copies of camp documents ("Transportliste Überstellen, nach dem Arbeitslager Nimptsch am 8.01.1945") and the above-mentioned "Transportliste . . . am 10.01.1945") and questionnaires of former prisoners. All sources are from the AMGR.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

OBER-ALTSTADT

Two forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jewish women were established under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt in the 1940s in Ober-Altstadt (Horní Staré Město). On March 18, 1944, they were amalgamated into a single Gross-Rosen subcamp. The Jewish women had to work in the spinning mills of the firms Ignatz Etrich and J.A. Kluge. The camp was also under the control of the SS-Kommando Trautenau.

On October 2, 1944, 791 women from the Parschnitz camp arrived in Ober-Altstadt. As of November 16, 1944, 650 women and girls were working at the Kluge firm. On November 12, 1944, another 30 women were sent from Auschwitz to the Etrich firm and 100 to the Siemens-Motorwerke in Jungbuch (Mladé Buky). References are made to 936 prisoners in the Ober-Altstadt subcamp (of whom there were 681 from Poland, 234 from Hungary, 6 Slovaks, 4 Germans, and 1 each from Belgium, the present-day Czech Republic, and Russia). The overwhelming majority of prisoners were Jewish females ages 15 to 30. The women were accommodated in wooden barracks. Cultural evenings that gave them courage and strengthened their Jewish identity were renowned. The SS staff consisted of a female camp commander and a further 33 wardresses, an SS noncommissioned officer, and 4 guards. Before the war ended, the women were used in fortification works. The Red Army liberated the camp on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VHJ Lnářský průmysl v Trutnově, 1981), pp. 22–25, 49–50. The author has also relied on Kryl's article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," *Lp-pKd* 5 (1984). See also Hans Brenner, who completed earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, especially his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbűrg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Thereseienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný und Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 282–283.

Well-known professor of German studies in Olomouc Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a singular event, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín). The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, there are the firm archives containing the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau (Trutnov) area, referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBER-HOHENELBE

The Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp was located in the town now known as Hořejši Vrchlabi. It was probably established on September 12, 1944. Bogdan Cybulski questions whether this was an independent camp or a labor commando of Parschnitz (Trautenau), but Alfred Konieczny definitely uses the name of Ober-Hohenelbe (the proper name of the town where the camp was located).[1] The transport list of 250 Hungarian women sent to Ober-Hohenelbe from Auschwitz on September 12, 1944, shows that it was a labor camp for women. The prisoners were numbered 60231 to 60300 and 61701 to 61880. The camp population on October 27, 1944, was 248 women, who were assigned to work at the Lorenz factory. Two prisoner transports from Auschwitz concentration camp were recorded in the chronology of prisoner transports and numeration in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp under the date of September 12, 1944. The first included 70 prisoners, and the second, 165, for a total of 235 people. The range of numbers of these prisoners corresponds to the numbers of the 250 people who were on the transport list from Auschwitz concentration camp to Ober-Hohenelbe, dated September 12, 1944.[2]

On November 14, 1944, the camp population rose to 400 women when a transport of 152 Jewish women from Hungary and Slovakia was admitted from Auschwitz II-Birkenau (numbers 86772 to 86923). A document dated November 18, 1944,

shows that 400 female prisoners worked at the plant, and the number of people working there was scheduled to increase to 500.[3] Parts for the V-2 (vengeance weapon) were manufactured at the Lorenz factory.

Information collected after the war by the Czech government shows that 450 women were incarcerated in the camp and that it was located in a warehouse hall without living quarters.

The women incarcerated at Ober-Hohenelbe were put to work making radio parts and manufacturing ammunition. One witness recalls: "There were many places to work. My job was gas welding glass bulbs. The bulbs were for aircraft spare parts. My friend worked in another room on that floor, where miniature wires were nickel-plated. A skilled Czech worker always stood there."[4]

In the prisoners' living space there was one dark cell in which the women would be locked, if so ordered, for two to three days without food. Such punishments were for "crimes" such as resting during work or talking to the foreman, who was not a prisoner but a hired supervisory employee.

Selections were conducted in the camp. The first selection occurred in the winter by order of the camp commander, but at that time the doctor did not find any women qualified to be taken to Gross-Rosen. Chief doctor Josef Mengele (better known for his activities at Auschwitz) participated in the second and last selection, also at the commander's request; 10 prisoners were taken away to an unknown place as a result of that selection. They included 1 Hungarian woman; the rest were Polish women between 17 and 25 years of age. "The reason for the selection," as Elza said, "was to demonstrate that there was a decrease in prisoners at the camp."[5]

We have no information on medical care at Ober-Hohenelbe in the source material. However, information on the care provided to the prisoners has survived. As with other camps, there is a surviving report, dated March 21, 1945, recording that prisoners with dental conditions were seen on March 8–11. Female prisoner Simon Perl (camp number 60887), who was a doctor by profession, served as the dentist at that time.

A report filed by Ober-Altstadt labor camp informs us that there was no need for any dental assistance in April 1945.

Konieczny reports that May 9, 1945, was the day that the Ober-Hohenelbe camp was liberated. The prisoners were not evacuated from the camp. Information collected after the war by the Czech government states that the prisoners left Ober-Hohenelbe in April 1945. Out of the total population of 150, 138 people left the camp, and 12 were taken to the hospital (there is no explanation for the discrepancy in total numbers). No information on deaths in the camp has been found.

The following information concerns staff members at the camp:

Marie Larischová (born January 5, 1914) joined the SS on August 20, 1944, and was trained to serve as a female SS guard (Aufseherin) at the Lorenz company camp in Hořejsi Vrchlabi. She was a guard there until April 1945. She testified that there were 400 women in the camp and that initially 14 women guards, later 10, were assigned to watch over them. She received a sentence of one year in prison after the war.[6]

The camp commander was (probably) Elza Havlikova, who was approximately 35 years old. She gave her subordinates orders to mistreat the prisoners. Havlikova beat the prisoners and ordered her subordinates to abuse them.

Pfeifer, a Sudeten German, was the director of the Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp.

SOURCES Information on the Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp can be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982); and Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994). See also A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript); G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript); and Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material mainly consists of witness testimony, records of court cases against the camp staff, a surviving transport list, and postwar information compiled by the ONV Vrchlabi Sbor Národni Bezpěcnosti Velitelstvi, stanice Hořejši Vrchlabi, okres Vrchlabi, dated March 17, 1947, in the collections of the AMGR.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 90.
2. Chronology of prisoner transports and numeration in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, p. 20, AMGR, DP 6855, transport list of 250 Jewish women, dated September 12, 1944.
3. AMGR, DP 2829.
4. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript).
5. AMGR, DP 7115/3, Erika Lednar.
6. AMGR, DP 7103, accounts by former female guards.

PARSCHNITZ

One of the first forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jewish women under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt was established in Parschnitz (Poříčí) in the summer of 1940. In 1941, the second camp, also for Jewish women and girls, was opened. (Both were located in the spinning mills of two German textile companies.)

Between March 12 and March 18, 1944, both of these camps were taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Later, they were transformed into one of the largest Gross-Rosen subcamps for women. In March 1944, the Gross-Rosen commander, Hassebroek, commanded SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Ritterbusch to establish the SS-Special Detail (Sonderkommando) Trautenau in Parschnitz. His residence was located in-

side the camp in Parschnitz. He was in command of seven subcamps including (Ober-) Hohenelbe and Liebau, which were outside the then Sudentenland Gau.

The women in Parschnitz had to work in the spinning mills of the German firms Aloys Haase; Gebrüder Walzel, C.G.; Johann Etrich, K.G. in Trautenau; and later for the Berlin General Electric Company (AEG). Large transports primarily of young Jewish women from Hungary (after they had been selected in Auschwitz II-Birkenau) went to Parschnitz. At the end of September, the camp reached its largest number of prisoners: 2,164 female inmates. It also functioned as a quarantine camp for prisoners who were to be sent to other camps in the area. Small transports from other Gross-Rosen subcamps (e.g., Sackisch, Christianstadt, and Wiesau) arrived here between the autumn and February 1945.

The majority of the wardresses treated the Jewish women brutally, as did the civilian personnel in the factories. There were often scenes of terrible beatings and torture. But there were also other cases of assistance and further expressions of solidarity and humanity, above all by the Czechs who were "totally deployed" there as well. In the spring of 1945, the prisoners were put to work on preparing fortifications. The statistics show that at the end of 1944, among the 1,356 women, 704 were from Hungary, 646 from Poland, 3 from Bohemia, and 1 from Slovakia, and 40 were French and Dutch. The overwhelming majority were Jewish women aged between 15 and 40 (there were among them girls younger than 15). The number of those who died was 17, the largest number in the Trautenau camp complex (although the records are incomplete).

There is a song by the Polish Jewish women that has survived. It is called "The Ballad of the Punishment Camp" (Die Ballade über das Straflager). The composer was F. Grynszpand. The Red Army liberated Parschnitz on May 9, 1945. There were 48 wardresses in the camp. The camp commander, Else Hawlik, was notorious for her brutality. Of the more than 50 former SS wardresses that were convicted by a Czechoslovak court in Jičín between 1945 and 1946, there was only 1 who had been in Parschnitz. Ritterbusch, the former SS commander in Trautenau, was arrested in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany. He died in 1947 in a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) Special Camp in Mühlberg.

SOURCES The basis for this article is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VHJ Lnářský průmysl v Trutnově, 1981). The author also relied on Miroslav Kryl's article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbűrg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Thereseienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999).

Well-known professor of German studies in Olomouc Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play created by Jewish women from Hungary in the Schatzlar camp: "Lágr je sen? (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklć v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín Memorials). The most important ones are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, mention must be made of the firm archives at Texlen Trutnov; its chief at the time, Vladimír Wolf, provided access in the 1970s for me and Ludmila Chádková to the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PETERSWALDAU

Peterswaldau (present-day Pieszyce) is a city in the Polish Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie) about 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the south of Breslau. During World War II, Peterswaldau was part of the Prussian province of Lower Saxony; there was a Gross-Rosen subcamp for female prisoners in the city, which was administered by the commander of the Langenbielau I subcamp.

Peterswaldau is first mentioned in May 1942 as an Organisation Schmelt camp (a so-called Zwangarbeitslager für Juden [ZALfJ]). At this time the women worked in the Ferdinand Haase spinning and weaving mill. Around April 1, 1944, shortly after 10 women were brought from the ZALfJ in Sagan, which had been dissolved, to the Peterswaldau camp, the camp was transferred from the Organisation Schmelt to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.[1] Transports arrived with female prisoners from Auschwitz—a transport of 500 women in May is documented and another between August and September of 1944, although Monika Schmidt states the transports to the Peterswaldau camp consisted of between 10 and 300 women.[2] The transports consisted almost solely of Hungarian Jewish women. As Isabell Sprenger states, these women were often very young, around 20, and arrived at the camp in small family units consisting of female relatives (sisters, mothers, cousins, and aunts).[3]

In the beginning, there were around 370 women in the camp, but the numbers quickly increased to 1,500. It is highly likely that for many women the camp was a transit camp on the way to the Langenbielau subcamp. The roughly 100 women who worked for the Ferdinand Haase spinning and weaving textile factory (Textilfabrik [Spinnerei und Weberei]

von Ferdinand Haase) were accommodated in a room in the factory. The large majority of the women, who produced detonators for the munitions firm Diehl GmbH & Co., were initially accommodated in the local castle and then in additional rooms of the former Zwanziger Weaving Mill. Margit Schulz, one of the prisoners, who was transferred from Auschwitz to the Peterswaldau camp, reported that between 110 and 120 women slept in one room in the weaving mill and that many of the high windows were without glass. Many of the women slept two each in 60-centimeter wide (24-inch-wide) three-tiered bunk beds so as to share their thin blankets.[4] Schmidt, in her essay "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," writes that on the first and second floors of the weaving mill there were large areas with three-tiered bunk beds for between 200 and 250 people. The few toilets in the factory yard could only be used by the women during the day, and at night they had to use buckets. There are only three reported deaths in the camp, notwithstanding the unhygienic conditions, two from typhus.[5]

The women were guarded exclusively by female SS personnel. In May 1944, Else Hein, the longest-serving female supervisor, was appointed commander of Peterswaldau. There are also records of another supervisor named Slenke. An SS female supervisor was also to be appointed dog squad leader. The SS maintained a relentlessly strict regime—prisoner beatings were the order of the day. One prisoner described the female supervisors' daily brutality as follows:

> The SS women beat us often, they walked around, and the guards were standing and sitting by the door. And if someone had to go urgently, we were only human, young women, we just had to go out. We begged them: "We have to go to the toilet." Then they beat us around the head and said, "Piss off, you Jewish pig!" and then they came out to make sure that we were quick and got back to work. Those are memories. The card, that we had, was called a "Scheisskarte," pardon, and just as in a bus or electric tram, we made a hole, when we were outside, once in the morning and once in the afternoon.[6]

There are many prisoner reports on the working conditions in Peterswaldau, particularly the company Diehl GmbH & Co. Schultz has reported on the assembly of detonators:

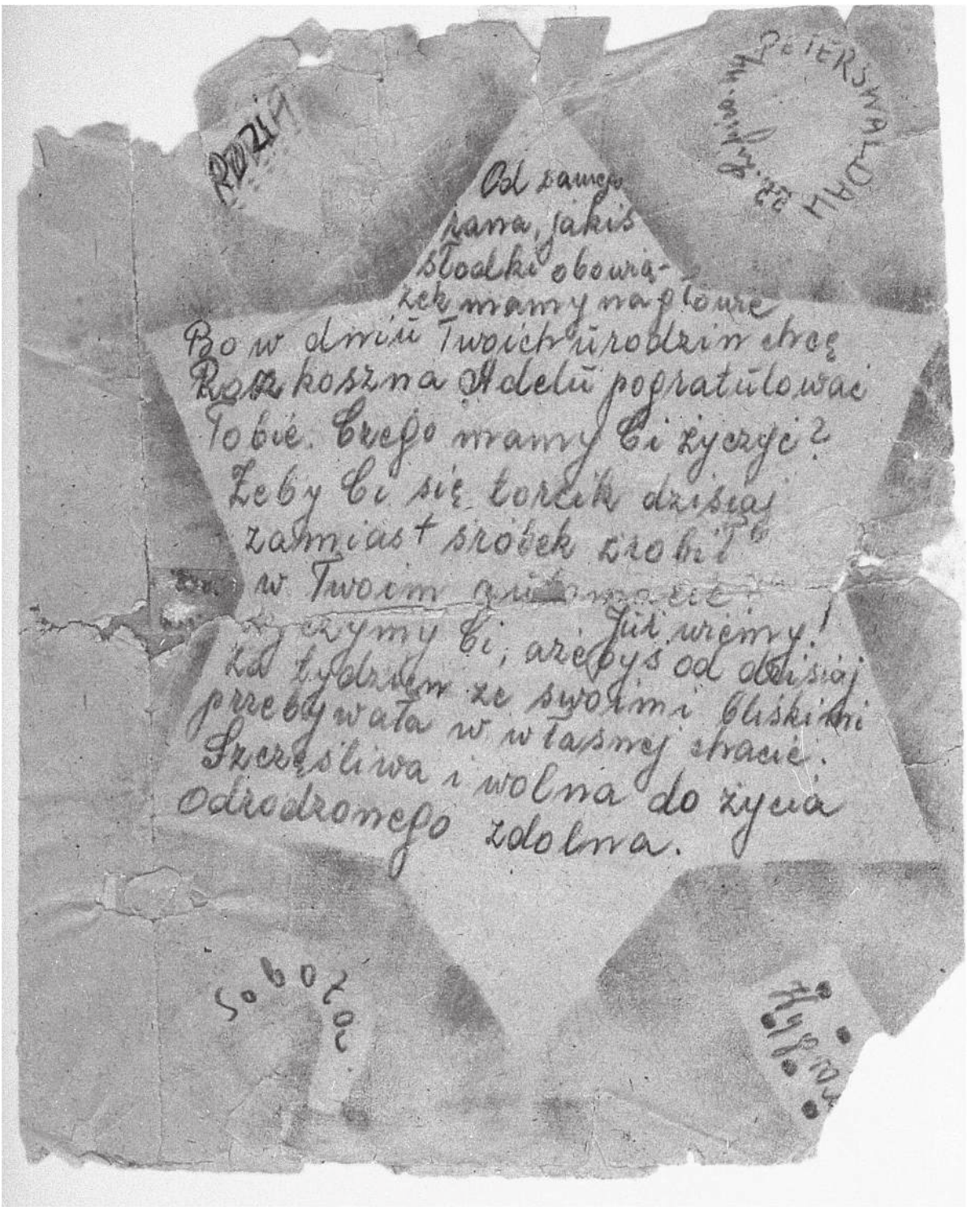
> [T]hey were like nails, about two centimeters (three-quarters of an inch) long, the head was in the middle, just as a nail has its head at the end. I had to mill off a piece from the nail; we were given some sort of device to measure each little piece, whether it was right or not, and if it wasn't we had to call the forewoman to correct the machine. It squirted, and squirted, oil, tri [trichloroethyl—a solvent]—on the clothes and the iron filings. The iron was a very strong metal that was milled and there were lots of filings. We had to clean up every Saturday, clean the whole machine, and remove from it the week's filings. We had to wash our dresses and hang them up to dry above our beds during the cold of the night. Often they were not dry in the morning. Then we had to get up and put on our wet dresses—there was no other way. We had to be very clean, because the oil was squirting and burned our skin.[7]

Former prisoner Helga Wolfowicz stated that "each time when I put aside my work magnifying glass, the foreman came with a hammer and hit me on the fingers."[8] Many other prisoners, including Henia Golombiarska, Frieda Poremba, Mady D., Helene Maringer, Rose Besser, Helen Preiss, and Rose Futter, have described similar unbearable working conditions—for example, in the zinc plating area where the prisoners were permanently exposed to poisonous gases, the women lived in constant fear of the frequent selections when women who could no longer work would be taken to Auschwitz and murdered. There was an infirmary in the camp with a female doctor and nursing sister.

Bella Gutterman, who has researched the everyday life of the Jewish prisoners in the Gross-Rosen subcamps, states that the Peterswaldau subcamp had intensive artistic and cultural activities. There were cultural evenings so that the operetta *Die Fledermaus* was performed with permission of the camp commander. Poetry written by the inmates has survived. Truda Gutman, a prisoner, writes in her poems on the dehumanization process that the prisoners underwent: "Der Hass gegen sich selbst unter uns/Fusstritte und Stösse, Schreie und Schläge/Von der Menschlichkeit ist in uns nichts mehr geblieben" (The self-hatred/kicks, shoving, screams and beatings/Nothing remained in us of our humanity).[9]

The camp was maintained until May 6, 1945. In the last weeks of the war, the women were repeatedly taken to nearby Reichenbach where they had to clean up after bombing raids. On May 7, the women were given the order, probably at all three work sites, to take the machines apart and prepare them for relocation. But it was too late. On May 8–9, 1945, the Soviet Army reached the Peterswaldau subcamp and liberated the women.

The history of the Peterswaldau subcamp was reworked in the years following 1977. In 1977, Karl Diehl, the owner of the munitions factory Diehl GmbH & Co., where the women had to do the forced labor, was given honorary citizenship of the city of Nürnberg for his outstanding work for the benefit of the city of Nürnberg and "for his 'life's work."[10] Massive protests by journalists and female former forced laborers resulted in debate on Diehl's work for which in 1943 he was recommended for the War Service Cross First Class (Kriegsverdienstkreuz Erster Klasse). This debate did not prevent the awarding of honorary citizenship. It was probably due to this public protest that the family firm declared that it was prepared to make contact with the 180 surviving Jewish women from the camp. In 1999, before the government regulated the payment of compensation for forced labor in Germany, the company paid to each of the women between 10,000



A birthday card, in the shape of a Star of David, presented to Rose Hersz by fellow prisoners at the Peterswaldau subcamp of Gross-Rosen, July 22, 1944. The card reads: "From early morning we have carried the sweet obligation. To congratulate you on your birthday. What should we wish you? If you were to have a little chocolate cake today instead of the nuts and bolts [of the workshop], that would improve your spirits. Oh, now we know [what to wish you]! We wish that one week from today you will be with your loved ones and in your own place; that you will be able to be happy and free and to live a renewed life."
USHMM WS #15932, COURTESY OF ROSE GRINBAUM FUTTER

and 15,000 Deutsche Marks (DM) each as compensation. The women in return declared that they would not pursue any legal claims against the company.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Peterswaldau camp on 1:141. The *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1 "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," refers to the camp on p. 1832. The encyclopedia of the Central Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce), *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czeslaw Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), lists the camp at p. 432.

The statements by former prisoner Margit Schultz are located in Monika Schmidt, "'Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann.' Margit Schultz. Erinnerungen an Peterswaldau," published in Barbara Distel, ed., *Frauen im Holocaust* (Gerlingen: Bleicher-Verlag, 2001), pp. 70–104. Schmidt has numerous witness statements that are contained in her essay "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 174–195.

The collections in USHMM in Washington, DC, include the following documents on the history of the Peterswaldau subcamp: photograph #1 16602 (a .50 RM piece of scrip from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp that was given to Hanka Granek during her imprisonment at the Peterswaldau subcamp of Gross-Rosen); RG-10.174 (Helen Preiss Collection: Tagebuchnotizen einer jungen Jüdin zu ihrer Zeit in Peterswaldau); RG-50.483*0001 (Oral History Interview with Helen Preiss regarding her time in Peterswaldau); and Acc.1995.A.619 (Bronisława Radzik, "A Memoir Relating to the Experiences in Sosnowiec and Peterswaldau").

The YV Memorial contains the following statements on the Peterswaldau Camp: Rosa F. 20.9.1964, Signatur 03/1684; Richarda W. 25.2.1960, Signatur 03/1660; and Hilda L. 13.7.1945, Signatur 015/2298.

The ZfA in Berlin holds an extensive collection of statements by former prisoners: Chana Z. 15.4.1998; Helene M. 26.5.1998; Frieda P. 12. April 1998; Sendi M. 14.4.1998; Ita S. 9.4.1998; Fruma G. 6./13.4.1998; Margit S. 12.4.1998; Nechuma L. 16.12.1998; Tamara Z. 8.4.1998; Pesia F. 13.4.1998; and Tonia K. 6./9.4.1998.

Some reports of surviving prisoners have been published including Einzelne Berichte Mady D., "The Spirit of Goodness," in *Love Carried Me Home: Women Surviving Auschwitz*, ed. Joy Erlichmann Miller (Deerfield Beach: Simcha-Press, 2000); Rose Futter, "My Liberation Day," www.1939club.com/LiberationStories.htm; and Paul Lungen, "Canadians to Share in Slave Labor Compensation," *CJN*, June 25, 1998.

The collections of the ZdL (held at BA-L) in Signatur ZSt 405 AR 2797/67 IV contain files on the proceedings against the camp commandants of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulbrich. Details regarding the planned training of an SS female warden from Peterswaldau as a dog squad leader are in ZSt Verschiedenes 301 Dm, Bl. 235 f.

Alfred Konieczny describes the camp in his essay in *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), p. 29.

Bella Gutterman investigates the camp in "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 37–58.

Other references to the Peterswaldau subcamp are to be found in Alfred Konieczny, ed., *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), especially the essays by Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," pp. 31–36; and Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," pp. 149–156.

For the conflict surrounding Karl Diehls and the compensation claims from the firm, see Peter Schmitt, "Schwere Vorwürfe gegen neuen Nürnberger Ehrenbürger Karl Diehl," *SZ*, November 11, 1997; "Adelsdorfer Verhältnisse sind Nürnberger Verhältnisse und umgekehrt," www.conne-island.de/nf/41/15.html (based on sources from *Trib*, *ZVJ*, Heft 144, and Abo, No. 26, 19. December 1997); Peter Zinke, "Die Leistungen überwiegen," www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_98/04/08b.htm; and Nürnberger Medienwerkstatt (Jim Tobias and Bernd Siegler), "*Wir waren die Sklaven von Diehl.*" *Ein Ehrenbürger und seine Vergangenheit* (Videoproduktion, 12 minutes), November 1997. A positive picture by Karl Diehl and his compensation offer is in Hans-Werner Loose, "Vorbildlicher Diehl," *Welt*, March 24, 1999.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Report Nr. 2180 by Sylwia Bachner. For details of humiliating selection of the female prisoners when the administration of the camp was taken over by Gross-Rosen, see the report by Chana Z. in Monika Schmidt, "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 178.

2. Schmidt, "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," p. 179.

3. See Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 149–156.

4. See Monika Schmidt, "'Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann.' Margit Schultz. Erinnerungen an Peterswaldau," in Barbara Distel, ed., *Frauen im Holocaust* (Gerlingen: Bleicher-Verlag, 2001), p. 92.

5. Schmidt, "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," p. 181.

6. Schmidt, "'Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann.' Margit Schultz," p. 88.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

8. Cited by Peter Zinke, "Die Leistungen überwiegen," www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_98/04/08b.htm.

9. Bella Gutterman, "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas*

im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 41, 45, 54.

10. Cited in "Adelsdorfer Verhältnisse sind Nürnberger Verhältnisse und umgekehrt," www.conne-island.de/nf/41/15.html.

REICHENAU

The Reichenau subcamp came into being in March 1944 upon the order of the Gesellschaft für Technische und Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung mbH (Association for Technical and Economic Development), which manufactured radio and radar equipment. The initial transport of 199 prisoners (1 died en route) arrived at Reichenau (now Rychnov) from Gross-Rosen on March 14, 1944. The prisoners were put into two barracks located near the factory; the SS staff occupied a third barrack.

SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Braun served as commander at the subcamp. As described by Jan Kosiński:

> [Braun] was a slim, tall man with a long face, thirty-six to forty years old. He was always dressed up in a pressed SS-man's uniform and high boots polished shiny as a mirror. Clean-shaven and perfumed, he himself was in charge of reports and the barrack chiefs. He was all over the place: at roll calls, in the barracks, in the labor commandos and at mail inspection. . . . Braun drank . . . and then you had to stay out of his sight. . . . Quick-tempered, obstinate, rigorous and impervious to any sentiments, he was inhuman and evil. It was he who thought up the most diverse punishments for prisoners, such as standing long hours in the cold, leap-frogging, wallowing on the ground regardless of the weather, extra work, continually spying on them, beating, which led to many deaths because there was no medical care, constant suspicion and searches.[1]

The camp staff numbered 25 people in November 1944. The camp held 300 prisoners at that time, and an increase to 400 was planned.

A new transport arrived at Reichenau every month. Prisoners were brought in groups of several to several dozen.

For the first few months, some of the prisoners worked on expanding the camp. But the specialists, the electricians, and lathe operators were assigned to work at the factory, which the prisoners called "civilian" because it was outside the camp. In July some prisoners were moved to the factory's newly erected division on camp premises. The prisoners put to work at the factory received vouchers worth around 4 Reichsmark (RM) for their labor and could use them to buy food in the camp canteen. But they could not buy anything except for cigarettes and vegetable salad, the ingredients of which the prisoners could not identify.

Some prisoners sabotaged production, doing such things as badly soldering the ends of connections or turning parts that were too big on the lathe. Those who were caught were transferred to a penal company or a construction commando. When the camp expansion was finished, the construction commando bored a tunnel to connect the factory division in the camp with the mother plant.

A group of approximately 100 prisoners worked extending and replacing railroad tracks. In the spring, prisoners of various nationalities from labor camps in the area joined the track extension work. SS men watched both groups of prisoners to make sure they did not communicate with each other.

Other prisoners worked on various transport details; in the garage, tailor, and cobbler shops; and in the factory's design office. Braun also used construction brigade prisoners to build his house in Pelkowitz (Pelkowice), a town located almost 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp.

In February or March 1945, when the front was getting nearer, the prisoners were sent to build fortifications, barricades, and trenches. According to a former prisoner: "Walking about in the mountains and digging ditches, even though it was getting warmer outside, was becoming an increasingly difficult job. We were already very exhausted. Our column looked pitiful coming back to the camp from work. Even though the guards would urge us on, we would spread out into small groups. Those who were a bit stronger helped those who could not go on, so we saved one another, as we sensed that freedom was at hand."[2]

Because of breaks in materials deliveries, the pace of work in the factory was slowed down. The prisoners were assigned to cleanup work more and more frequently.

There was no kitchen at Reichenau; food was brought in from the factory canteen located almost a kilometer (0.6 mile) from the camp.

Maintaining cleanliness was a problem for the prisoners. A washroom with running water, a shower, and several bathtubs was built in the third quarter of 1944. Prisoners had to wash in the morning and evening, but they did not get any soap. Underwear was changed no more than once a month. Clothes were not washed. The prisoners were escorted to the delousing station in Gablonz, a town located several kilometers from camp. Prisoners waited outside of the building for their things, after which they put on wet clothes, with lice in most cases, and returned to camp on foot. Their clothes would dry out during the long march. The trek took all day and for many prisoners ended in sickness at best.

There was no infirmary at Reichenau for the first few months; sick people were taken to the main camp. The commander would make the selection. A sickroom was set up in late 1944 due to the high death rate.

The prisoners did not make any escape attempts, except for one that was unsuccessful. A 19-year-old Russian prisoner tried to escape during work on the night shift at the factory, but a guard spotted him and turned him over to the commander, who ordered him shot. Many prisoners recall that a resistance movement existed, primarily initiated by prisoners

from the Warsaw Uprising and Auschwitz concentration camp. One of the group's important achievements was getting hold of a radio and passing on the news they heard to their friends. Poles were the largest ethnic group at Reichenau. There were also Czechs, Frenchmen, Belgians, Russians, Germans, two Ukrainians, two Jews, a Norwegian, and an Italian. There were no major conflicts among the prisoners over ethnic differences, although there were instances of mutual complaints, accusations, and resentments.

Beginning in January 1945, preparations were under way at the main camp of Gross-Rosen for moving headquarters to Reichenau. On February 10, camp commander Hassebroek and most of headquarters staff moved to Reichenau, where they stayed for a week. The camp records and prisoner files were also moved and were destroyed in late April or early May. Evacuation transports moved through the subcamp beginning in 1945. An evacuation column of approximately 1,600 Auschwitz prisoners reached the camp in early February. Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to the prisoners later. Gross-Rosen's Hirschberg subcamp was evacuated in late February; the prisoners reached Reichenau on foot. The group included prisoners evacuated from Auschwitz. They rested the night, then were loaded into railway coal cars and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp, where they arrived on March 7. The transport was joined by approximately 90 prisoners from Reichenau. They rode in uncovered railway cars, with no food; many probably died along the way, as the list of newly admitted prisoners to Buchenwald contains the names of only 9 Reichenau prisoners.

The Reichenau camp was ordered evacuated the night of May 7–8. In all probability, 18 sick people who could not walk were left behind. The column set out toward Jablonec. The prisoners had covered several kilometers when they were stopped by a German army detachment and ordered to go back. They reached the camp in late afternoon of that same day. Some of the staff disappeared along the way. The prisoners were locked in the barracks. Czech underground fighters arrived at the camp on May 9. It turned out that the rest of the staff had fled during the night. The sick people were given medical help and food.

SOURCES The basis of this entry is Dorota Sula's study on selected Gross-Rosen subcamps, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Reichenau camp is discussed on pp. 124–146.

Archival materials housed at the AMGR include orders of camp authorities as well as former prisoner accounts, surveys, recollections, and correspondence.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 5747/DP, Jan Kosiński, Reichenau bei Gablonz: The Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Subsidiary, pp. 10, 12–13, 20–21.

2. AMGR, 5758/731/DP, Henryk Uchman, "Gdy byłem w Reichenau."

RIESE COMPLEX

The code name Riese applied to the Riese construction project built from 1943 to 1945 at Niederschlesien (present-day Dolny Śląsk in Lower Silesia, Poland); and the subcamp complex of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp formed to provide manpower for the Riese project. In official terminology, that labor camp complex was named Arbeitslager Riese.

As a result of the German army's deteriorating situation on the Eastern Front in 1943, the Third Reich's high command began to realize that Hitler's headquarters (Wolfschanze) near Rastenburg in East Prussia (present-day Kętrzyn, in northeastern Poland) might be threatened by military operations. They considered the possibility of evacuating the headquarters. In order to keep the military and political command centers working safely and undisturbed, another headquarters had to be readied, at a considerable distance from the front lines.

Considering the operational capacities of aviation at the time, the new quarters would have to safeguard staff operations, primarily against air attacks. Security would be provided by putting staff in suitable underground shelters. These would house Hitler's Headquarters (FHQ), the Army High Command (OKH), the Air Force High Command (OKL), the Navy High Command (OKM), Himmler's headquarters (RFSS), and the headquarters of the Reich Foreign Ministry (RAM).[1]

The Germans chose a location in a range of small, almost entirely wooded mountains, rising up to 811 meters (2,661 feet) above sea level, in the northwestern part of the Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie, the Owl Mountains, in the Sudetens in southwestern Poland).

A total of six complexes was to come into being in the Eulengebirge region; they were to be built above and below ground and have the necessary technological infrastructure. Reinforced-concrete residential, office, and service buildings of various sizes were built on the surface on the mountainsides. Tunnels leading to the main chamber excavations were bored in the mountainsides. They were to be lined with reinforced concrete and also house office spaces and probably living spaces as well. The entire project was to be fitted with the necessary communications facilities and have a suitable roadway system, water, and electrical power supply.

The headquarters was also to include Förstenstein Castle near the county seat of Waldenburg (present-day Książ Castle within the Wałbrzych city limits), suitably adapted and furnished with an underground shelter. The castle is approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northwest of the main Eulengebirge structures.

The Industrie Gemeinschaft Schlesien AG (Silesian Industrial Corporation, Inc.) was contracted to do the construction and excavation work. The work commenced in the late autumn of 1943.[2] The manpower was initially provided by forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Poland, as well as by Italian prisoners of war (POWs). In late November and early December 1943, four camps that could accommodate

5,200 people were set up for them.[3] More camps were being prepared; the intent was to put 15,000 laborers to work on the Riese project.[4] The outbreak of a typhus epidemic slowed the work down so much that changes had to be made, both in the project's management and the labor force. Initially, no concentration camp prisoners were put to work. However, that option was already being considered.[5] It was finally implemented in April 1944, when the Organisation Todt (OT) took over the project and began using prisoners from Gross-Rosen, even while keeping the forced laborers and POWs on the job.[6] A special Senior Construction Directorate (Oberbauleitung) within the OT, code-named "Riese," supervised the prisoners' work.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Lütkemeyer, born June 17, 1911, was the commander of the Riese labor camp complex. He joined the Nazi Party on March 1, 1933, and the Allgemeine–SS on September 1, 1939. He was decorated with the Iron Cross 2nd Class. He served at Esterwegen concentration camp in 1934 and at Mauthausen and Neuengamme in 1941.

The prisoners from Gross-Rosen soon constituted the most numerous group of laborers in the Riese project, and all of them were Jewish. The first transports arrived in late April or very early May 1944.[7] The prisoners were quartered in a weaving mill in Tannhausen (present-day Jedlinka, a section of the city of Głuszyca). It belonged to the Websky, Hartmann & Wiesen company of Wüstewaltersdorf (now Walim). The camp at the weaving mill was the first one to belong to the Riese complex. It also housed Riese's central headquarters, as well as the quarters of Commandant Lütkemeyer and other people in management positions at the camp. The central food and clothing warehouse was also located there.

At first, the prisoners were primarily used to build more camps.[8] Because of the magnitude of the construction project and the extensive area of mountains it involved, not one but over a dozen camps were constructed. They were usually named after nearby towns or other place-names.

The following camps were part of the Riese complex: Dörnhau, Erlenbusch, Falkenberg (Eule), Fürstenstein, Kaltwasser, Lärche, Märzbachtal, Säuferwasser (Säuferwassergraben), Schotterwerk (Bahnhof Ober Wüstegiersdorf), Tannhausen (V Lager), Wolfsberg, Wüstegiersdorf, Wüstewaltersdorf (Stenzelberg), and Zentralrevier Tannhausen.[9]

Besides the camps listed above, some sources also mention more camps in the Eulengebirge region that were reported to be part of the Riese complex. There were three camps named Waldlager 1, 2 and 3,[10] as well as a camp in the town of Bad Charlottenbrunn.[11] However, no information on these camps has been uncovered.

Based on incomplete data, it has been established that approximately 13,000 prisoners lived at the camps belonging to Riese. Over 4,900 of them died.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the Riese camps: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Cybulski, "Szpitale dla byłych więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w Głuszycy (1945–1946)," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1980), 6:308–341; Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944-1945," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1982), 8:275–308; Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Lodzkie, 1962); Alfred Konieczny, "Przeniesienia więźniów z podobozu Riese do KL Auschwitz-Birkenau w 1944 r.," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1986), 10:293–316; Piotr Kruszyński, *Podziemia w Górach Sowich i Zamku Książ* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez organizację TODT oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę [materiały z międzynarodowej sesji naukowej]* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003).

Records relevant to this camp complex may be found in AMGR, WAP-W, BA-K, and BA-L.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. BA-K, N 1514.
2. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, sygn. 8303, vols. 2–3, letter from official doctor Dr. Sommerfeld of the National Health Agency in Wałbrzych (Waldenburg) to the director of the company's building inspectorate (Genossenschaftsbauinspektion), dated January 13, 1944.
3. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vols. 2–3.
4. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vols. 24–28, letter from Dr. Kaiser of the National Health Agency in Dzierżoniow (Reichenbach/Eulengebirge) to the Wrocław Regency President, dated February 9, 1944.
5. BA-L, ZdL 413 AR-Z 567/67, p. 230, Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967.
6. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vol. 92, letter from the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 23, 1944.
7. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vol. 77, letter from Dr. Kaiser of the National Health Agency in Dzierżoniow (Reichenbach/Eulengebirge) to the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 5, 1944.
8. BA-L, ZdL 413 AR-Z 567/67, p. 232, Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967.
9. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 150.
10. Ibid., pp. 150, 152.
11. BA-L, ZdL 405 AR-Z 45/69, p. 84, Report of examination of Heinrich Schicha in June 1969.

RIESE/DÖRNHAU

A Gross-Rosen/Riese subcamp was established in June 1944 in the buildings of a former carpet factory in Dörnhau (now Kolce). The prisoners were Jews, nationals of various countries.

On June 9, 1944, a transport of 250 prisoners from the Tannhausen camp arrived at the subcamp. On July 15, 40 prisoners were moved from Tannhausen to Dörnhau. The average daily population of the camp ran into several hundred in mid-1944, rising to approximately 1,400 in 1945.

SS-Unterscharführer Wolf held the post of camp commander until the end of 1944. His successor's name is unknown.

The prisoners initially worked felling trees and building a road and a narrow-gauge railway. Butzer und Holzmann AG was in charge of the work; it was evacuated to Linz in 1945. The prisoners dug tunnels on the southern slopes of Säufer Höhen (Osówka) Mountain. The work was done in three galleries at various elevations. The total length of the excavations accounted for in the complex was 1,700 meters (1,859 yards). The prisoners also built projects above ground directly over the tunnels or nearby (approximately 1 kilometer or 0.6 miles). The work at the "Siłownia" and "Kasyno" projects was the most advanced.

Some of the prisoners were assigned to workshops, where they straightened and assembled sections of the narrow-gauge railway tracks, which were then loaded onto freight cars and taken away. They also unloaded freight cars and did other routine jobs, straightening things up.

Besides the aforementioned company, both Artur Becker Tiefbau AG of Berlin and Krause, Schallhorn und Eule used prisoner labor. The work sites and numbers of prisoners assigned to projects varied as needed by the companies.

The completed parts of the installation began to be dismantled in January 1945. In an entry made at Dörnhau, dated April 1945, a prisoner wrote in his diary:

> Today I worked in another group—under a Magyar [Hungarian] in a tunnel, in gallery no. 4. We're dismantling the tunnel fittings—ripping out huge, long, heavy pipes. We carry them out and put them outside the tunnel. A truck comes by every hour and we load the scrap onto them. The tunnel is big, damp and cold. . . . We have one hour's rest over twelve hours of work. Many of us have accidents of different kinds every day. We get crushed by iron beams, pipes fall on our legs, or we faint under their weight, but if we're able, we keep on moving and carry the scrap, so as not to faint and be brought round by a gun butt or crowbar.[1]

Beginning in October 1944, the camp started serving as a collective hospital (*Revier*) for sick prisoners brought in from other Riese complex camps. Almost all the sick prisoners working in the Owl Mountains passed through this camp. There was no medical care at all, and the SS men called it a camp for the dying (*Krepierungslager*). The ground and second floor were for the sick; the third floor only was occupied by prisoners who still went to work. From March 19 to April 10, 1945, 416 prisoners died in the camp.

Abram Kajzer, a former prisoner of the Erlenbusch camp, stated that the prisoners of that subcamp were evacuated to Dörnhau in March because of a typhus epidemic. We do know that the last prisoner transport sent from one camp to the other was on April 21, 1945. A transport of 187 prisoners from another Gross-Rosen subcamp, Bad Warmbrunn, arrived at Dörnhau on April 14. The next day another transport from Bad Warmbrunn was admitted; the names of only 13 prisoners in that transport have been successfully identified. Also, a prisoner recollects that three days later most of the prisoners who had come from Bad Warmbrunn were sent to another camp.

Besides one account, we know nothing of any escapes from this camp. In an entry dated April 7, 1945, Kajzer wrote:

> By chance, I learned that there were two prisoners in our camp, a Pole and a Russian, who had escaped from forced labor a year ago, but were caught four weeks later and put in our camp as punishment. . . . I decided to see the two prisoners and persuade them to escape with me. I had thought the plan out in detail and imagined that it would be best to escape with them, as they knew the local terrain and would know where to go. . . . First I woke up Kola the Russian, then Piotr the Pole. . . . I had no hope that they'd agree to my crazy idea, so instead of suggesting that we escape together, I asked them to lend me an axe. . . . I approached the barbed wire carefully, raised the axe and cut the wire along the fence. My hands trembling, I bent back the wire, stooped down and quickly went towards freedom, which had been so difficult to regain.[2]

The two prisoners referred to by Kajzer joined in, but we do not know what happened to them afterward. Kajzer managed to save himself.

The camp was liberated the night of May 8–9. Some of the prisoners who still had some strength left the camp immediately after being liberated. The most gravely ill remained there. A hospital for prisoners was set up in the former camp.

SOURCES See the Riese Complex overview.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź, 1962), p. 175.
2. Ibid., pp. 177–179.

RIESE/ERLENBUSCH

The Erlenbusch subcamp was part of the Riese labor camp complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. The camp was established as a result of an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT), concerning the provision of necessary labor. All of the camps in the Riese complex were under the command of the Gross-Rosen headquarters.

The camp was established on the outskirts of the village of Erlenbusch (later Olszyniec), in a meadow of about 1 hectare (2.5 acres) below the Bad Charlottenbrunn (later Jedlina Zdrój)–Schweidnitz (later Świdnica) railway line across from the junction of tracks running from Tannhausen (later Jedlinka) to Hausdorf (later Jugowice) and from the city of Waldenburg (later Wałbrzych) to Erlenbusch.[1]

It is not known who built the camp or when it was built. Due to the absence of sources, it is impossible to precisely establish the date of the construction of the camp. In all likelihood, it was operating by May 27, 1944.[2] The population of the Erlenbusch subcamp is also unknown. It was probably one of the smaller camps of the Riese complex and numbered around 500 prisoners. It housed only Jews, chiefly from Hungary and Poland. Based on the 42 camp numbers of Erlenbusch prisoners that have been established, it is understood that the camp included prisoners who were recorded in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp files on May 24 and June 8, 1944 (from transports of Hungarian Jews), approximately August 25 and September 20 (Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto), and October 16 (Polish Jews from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp).[3] The size of the transports is unknown. Although all the groups had come from Auschwitz originally, only the May transport went directly from there to Erlenbusch; the others were transfers from other Gross-Rosen subcamps in Eulengebirge.

The earliest description of the Erlenbusch subcamp refers to the second half of 1944. It comes from the account of Henryk Włodarczak, a Polish forced laborer at Erlenbusch who had been put to work as an assistant narrow-gauge railway engineer.[4] According to his account, the "Jewish camp" was made up of several large wooden barracks as well as round plywood cabins called "Finnish huts." There were two barracks in the lower part of camp. One of them housed the kitchen and food warehouse; the other housed the camp headquarters. The camp leader (Lagerführer), an officer with a light limp, also lived in that barrack, as well as at least one other person from the camp management. The guards who watched the prisoners lived somewhat higher up in two or three more barracks. There were bunk beds in the guards' barracks. The prisoners were quartered in the huts, of which there were, according to Włodarczak, "quite a lot, more than just a few, and they stood in rows." All the campgrounds were fenced. The section inhabited by the prisoners was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence and was very heavily guarded by watchmen with dogs. The guards were armed with small-caliber Italian rifles with bayonets. Although the Germans made communication between the forced laborers and the prisoners working on the tracks difficult, it was possible. Włodarczak spoke German, so he was able to understand prisoners who spoke Yiddish. He remembers that they asked for fuel. Although there were stoves in all the hut barracks, the prisoners had nothing to burn in them. The forced laborers working on the narrow-gauge locomotives would give them briquettes. Unfortunately, that help did not change the situation much. The hut walls had no thermal insulation, and even when the prisoners could get a bit of fuel and burn it in the stoves, it was only a bit warmer in the cabins and only for a very short time. In general, in Włodarczak's opinion, the prisoners lived under horrendous conditions and froze terribly in the wintertime.

There was a fire in the camp in February or March 1945. It broke out in the large headquarter barracks. From there it spread to huts, which burned down. Włodarczak thought that there were not any prisoners in camp anymore, although he does not know exactly when they were transported out. (The witness came down with typhus in December 1944 and was sent to the hospital for infectious diseases in Wüstewaltersdorf [later Walim]. He returned to Erlenbusch several weeks later, shortly before the fire.)

Two accounts by former camp prisoners concern the early spring of 1945. Abram Kajzer wrote that he had been brought to Erlenbusch from the Dörnhau labor camp in late February–early March 1945.[5] In his opinion, there were approximately 500 prisoners living in the camp at the time. New arrivals were deloused and got clean clothes and blankets. They were quartered in barracks; the rooms were clean and had board beds. There was a bathhouse with hot water in the camp. Kajzer was at Erlenbusch for only a month, after which he returned to Dörnhau because of a typhus epidemic.

Former prisoner Arnold Mostowicz wrote in his published recollections that he had come to Erlenbusch from Dörnhau labor camp in early April 1945.[6] The camp was situated in open country and was made up of five new barracks that had been painted green. The new boards of the barracks still smelled of the pine forest. There was a group of several dozen prisoners on site who were erecting the barracks. According to Mostowicz, he was in the first major group that arrived at the camp. They slept on straw mattresses stuffed with wood shavings, just like the ones at Dörnhau, although there were no fleas or lice in them. He described this new and clean camp, which had been set up at the very end of the war, as an "astounding phenomenon." The sanitary conditions at Erlenbusch were also better than at other camps in the spring of 1945. The prisoners could wash up every evening there in the bathhouses with hot water.[7] Mostowicz also returned to the Dörnhau labor camp after a short time.

There is no information on the infirmary at Erlenbusch. For a brief time in April 1945, Mostowicz served as an orderly.[8] No information exists on the total number of illnesses

and deaths. It is known that prisoners in serious condition were taken away to the infirmary in Dörnhau. The surviving fragmentary records show that there were eight transports between the hospital and the camp between December 6, 1944, and May 7, 1945, in which there were 27 prisoners: for five transports totaling 17 prisoners, it was clearly recorded that they had been sent from the camp to the infirmary, while the only information provided for the remaining transports was the name of the camp, without the specific destination. The dates listed for the transports are also interesting: the first one was on December 6, 1944, and involved 1 prisoner. That was the only transfer that year. The next 4 occurred between January 25 and 29, 1945, and involved 19 prisoners. The last three, involving 7 prisoners, were on April 21, May 3, and May 7.[9] The surviving information shows that 7 prisoners died at the Dörnhau hospital between March 19 and May 8, 1945, and 3 more died on May 3, 1945, during the transport from Erlenbusch to Dörnhau.[10] It is striking that the number of sick prisoners sent back to the Dörnhau hospital was so small and that the number of deaths recorded was relatively low, all the more so because we know that there had been a typhus epidemic at Erlenbusch among the forced laborers who lived under incomparably better conditions. In light of these facts, it seems probable that the typhus epidemic also affected the prisoners at Erlenbusch subcamp. Besides the situation at the front at that time, it also could have been the reason for their transport out of the camp around mid-February 1945. On the other hand, the sick people sent to the Dörnhau infirmary in the aforementioned last three groups were from the new "settlement" of the camp.

We know little about the SS staff at Erlenbusch subcamp. An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty. We know the names of two SS men: SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Rückner, born March 21, 1896. He was a staff member of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp from August 26, 1941, to December 28, 1944; besides Erlenbusch, he was also at the Falkenberg labor camp for a time.[11] Herman Schöps, born August 2, 1901, was a German. His dates of his stay at the Erlenbusch subcamp are unknown, but it is known that he was also at other Gross-Rosen concentration camp subcamps, in Breslau, Dyhernfurth, Bad Warmbrunn, and Hirschberg.[12]

The prisoners worked at the railway siding near the camp, unloading and reloading building materials. They also maintained the narrow-gauge railway between the siding at Erlenbusch and construction sites in the town of Jauernig (later Jugowice Górne) as well as on the slope of the Wolfsberg (later Włodarz) Mountain.[13]

They also did excavating work for the construction of the water supply system on the slope of the Saal Berg (later Jedlińska Kopa).[14]

In the spring of 1945, the prisoners worked at the construction site in Jauernig and also near the camp, loading construction and engineering equipment onto railroad cars for evacuation. All of that occurred under conditions of severe disorganization.[15]

Unfortunately, there is no clear-cut information about the end of the Erlenbusch subcamp's operation. According to accounts referred to above, it seems that the camp was first evacuated in February 1945. Then new groups of prisoners were brought in, probably as early as March or April. At least some of them were transferred to the Dörnhau camp in early May.[16] It is not known whether the Erlenbusch subcamp then ceased to exist or whether some prisoners remained there until war's end and were liberated.

Schöps, an SS guard at Erlenbusch, was tried after the war and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on September 29, 1947. He was freed after serving his sentence.[17]

SOURCES Information on the Erlenbusch subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Alfred Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003). Information also can be found in the published recollections of former prisoners of this camp: in particular, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962); and Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw, 1988).

Archival material on the Erlenbusch subcamp can be found at the following locations: AK-IPN in Warsaw and AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 6500/15/DP, Report of examination of witness Adam Ludwik Religa at the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes on May 24, 1968.
2. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, 8303, vols. 99–100, letter from Dr. Kaiser, camp administration officer in charge of sanitary supervision over camps in the Eulengebirge region, to the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 27, 1944.
3. Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.
4. Account of Henryk Włodarczak, P. Kruszyński's private collections.
5. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962), p. 159.
6. Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw, 1988), pp. 222–227.
7. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 159.
8. Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda*, p. 227; AMGR, 6500/22/DP, Report of examination of witness Arnold Mostowicz.
9. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.
10. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital; AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.

11. AMGR, 132/78/MF, Collection of War Criminal Photographs.

12. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1372.

13. Henryk Włodarczak, account in P. Kruszyński's private collections; Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 161–163, 172.

14. Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999), pp. 49–50.

15. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 161–163.

16. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 148; Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda*, p. 236.

17. Kobierska-Motas, "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów," Item 1372.

RIESE/FALKENBERG [AKA EULE]

The Falkenberg subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Falkenberg emerged from an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] Falkenberg and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Falkenberg was set up in the hamlet of Eule (later Sowina), which was an administrative section of the village of Ludwigsdorf (later Ludwikowice Kłodzkie). Since the large village of Falkenberg (later Sokolec) was near Eule, the camp was named after that place. Various sources also call the camp Eule.

The Falkenberg camp probably came into being in late April or early May 1944. The first prisoners were Jews from Greece and Yugoslavia, brought from Auschwitz. They were recorded in the Gross-Rosen files on April 26. The next group to arrive were Polish Jews from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, who had been admitted to Gross-Rosen on May 1.[2] There were also some Hungarian Jews in the camp, who had been sent to Gross-Rosen in transports from Auschwitz on May 24, June 8, and in September 1944, as well as some Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto.[3] However, it is not known when the Łódź Jews were sent to Falkenberg or in which transport they arrived. A former prisoner from the transport from Krakau-Plaszow testified only that the Jews from the Łódź ghetto arrived after the transport of Hungarian Jews. The size of the group is also unknown.[4]

The first group of Greek and Yugoslavian Jews, probably numbering about 300 prisoners, was quartered in 10 small round barracks made of plywood called "Finnish huts." The next group of 250 Jews from Krakau-Plaszow was put in 1 of the 3 already existing large barracks.[5] According to the account of Michał Fallak, the "tent section" in which the Greek and Yugoslavian Jews lived was fenced off and constituted a separate camp. He would only encounter those prisoners during work.[6] A total of up to 1,500 prisoners lived at Falkenberg.[7]

The camp had no kitchen during the first few weeks of its operation. Bread and soup would be delivered daily, and coffee would be brewed on site outdoors. In time, a kitchen and latrine were built.[8] More barracks were also put up.[9]

A hospital was also set up in the camp; initially it had one room, later two. Dr. Bronisław Rubin was the camp doctor; he had arrived in the transport from Krakau-Plaszow. Besides him, seven more prisoners worked in the hospital: three doctors, two dentists, an orderly, and a prisoner who performed administrative work. The prisoners themselves strove to improve the hospital's supply of medicine and equipment. Prisoners who worked at the railway station would get bandaging materials and vaseline; pharmacists would make salves out of sap and made salicin by boiling willow bark; prisoners working in the metal shops would make lancets, splints, and crutches; and wounds were sutured using needles and thread taken out of the sewing and shoemaking shops.

The camp death rate was high; the number of prisoners unable to work reached 200 in the autumn and winter of 1944, and the number of deaths was approaching 2 per day.[10] The most seriously ill prisoners were taken away to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp. The surviving fragmentary records show that between October 6, 1944, and January 30, 1945, at least 68 prisoners wound up at the Dörnhau hospital, while 34 Falkenberg camp prisoners died there between March 19 and April 10, 1945.[11]

Prisoner selections were conducted at Falkenberg, as at the other Riese camps: the sick and weak who were unfit for work, yet still walking, were sent to neighboring camps.[12]

Hygienic conditions were simply terrible; the camp had no bathhouses. Fallak, who was at the Falkenberg labor camp from May 1944 through its evacuation, testified that they were only taken once to a bathhouse, located at another camp.[13]

Just as at the other camps, tremendous hunger prevailed at Falkenberg. However, in this instance it happened that prisoners working near buildings in the hamlet of Eule would sometimes receive a little bread and boiled potatoes from the German inhabitants.[14]

The terrible living conditions and very hard labor not only caused physical devastation but mental breakdown as well; prisoners who could not stand it any longer committed suicide. Dr. Rubin remembered that several prisoners hanged themselves, and one threw himself under a truck.[15]

The prisoners' main occupation was excavating a tunnel in the northern and eastern slope of Schindelberg (later Gontowa) Mountain. It was particularly hard and dangerous labor, during which there were frequent accidents, many of which ended in deaths.[16] Besides that, the prisoners built a road from

Eule to the tunnel exits and the building complex in the forest on Schindelberg Mountain. On the mountain, they prepared the excavations for foundations, then laid the foundations for the surface buildings, dug ditches for sewers and telephone cables, and built the subgrade for the narrow-gauge railway and freight-handling facilities; they also worked at the railway siding in Ludwigsdorf, unloading building materials. The work was organized in two shifts of 12 hours each.[17]

The prisoner's labor was used primarily by the OT, the main contractor of the project under way in the mountains, as well as the companies with which it did business. The following companies were associated with this project: Hoffmannswerke/Bielitz; Wayss & Freytag; Hoch- und Tiefbau; Deutsche Hoch- und Tiefbaugesellschaft; Seidenspinner (Bauunternehmen); Urban (Bauunternehmen); Dybno (Bauunternehmen); and Fix (Barackenbau).[18]

Not much information has survived about the SS staff at Falkenberg. An SS company from Gross-Rosen served guard duty.

Falkenberg was disbanded sometime during the first 10 days of February 1945. After the sick people were transported back to the Dörnhau hospital in the final days of January, only those who could walk remained in the camp. That group left the camp in two columns. The first headed southward, proceeding through the town of Glatz (later Kłodzko) and reaching Czechoslovakia after several days of marching. The prisoners were then loaded into open railway cars and were taken toward Trautenau (later Trutnov). The second column was led northward to the Wolfsberg camp. Several days later, around February 16, they continued onward with the prisoners of that camp.[19] The several thousand prisoners were led toward the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów). The next day the prisoners reached the town of Schömberg (later Chełmsko Śląskie). There, the column was divided into two unequal sections. The smaller group was sent, probably immediately, to the station in Trautenau and finally taken by rail to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.[20] The larger section, which remained at Schömberg and stayed in wooden sheds for several days, was also led to Trautenau. The prisoners were loaded into open railway cars and joined the transport that already included the group that had left Falkenberg via Glatz. That transport reached the Mauthausen subcamp in Ebensee.[21]

Two SS men from the Falkenberg camp were tried after the war. By a decree of the Wadowice District Court dated 8 April 1948, Otto Steinke was sentenced to four years in prison and seven years' deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property.[22] The Świdnica District Court sentenced Franz Rösel to death on May 22, 1947. The sentence was carried out on June 9, 1948.[23]

SOURCES Information on the Falkenberg subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Bronisław Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza z Falkenbergu i Ebensee," *PL* 1 (1968).

Archival material on the Falkenberg subcamp can be found at the AMGR in Wałbrzych and the AŻIH in Warsaw.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig on March 16, 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z 567/67.
2. AMGR, 3573/DP, Account of Bronisław Rubin; and 8751/68/DP, Account of Michał Fallak.
3. Files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.
4. AŻIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
5. AMGR, 3573/DP, Recollections of Dr. Bronisław Rubin.
6. AŻIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
7. Bronisław Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza z Falkenbergu i Ebensee," *PL* 1 (1968): 184.
8. Ibid.; AMGR, 3573/DP, Recollections of Dr. B. Rubin.
9. AŻIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
10. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
11. AMGR, 2330/DP, Patient list as of May 9 1945; AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.
12. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
13. AŻIH, Account No. 4113–Michał Fallak.
14. Ibid; account of Hedwig Neumann, then a resident of the hamlet of Eule, in Hubert Hübner, *Heimat Schlesien–Glätzisch Falkenberg und Eule* (Zentralstelle Grafschaft Glatz/Schlesien e.V.), 1997 pp. 303–304.
15. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
16. AMGR, 124/1077/MF, 8751/19/DP, Accounts of Mojżesz Teller.
17. AMGR, 8751/DP, Account of Aleksander Heller.
18. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 149.
19. AMGR, 8751/DP, Account of Aleksander Heller; Roman Olszyna, "KL Falkenberg," *F-S*, September 23, 1978, p. 10.
20. AMGR, 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein.
21. AMGR, 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944; and 1/MF, Alphabetical list of Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners compiled at the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Warsaw.
22. AMGR, A. Lasik, files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp staff members.

23. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1301.

RIESE/FÜRSTENSTEIN

The Fürstenstein subcamp was one of the camps in the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of the underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese system, the Fürstenstein camp derived from an agreement between the headquarters of Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT). Fürstenstein and other Reise camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

The camp was situated on a hill about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) southeast of Fürstenstein Castle (later Książ Castle within the Wałbrzych city limits) near the road between Fürstenstein Castle and the Waldenburg (later Wałbrzych)–Freiburg in Schlesier (later Świebodzice) road.

The camp was formed in May 1944. Jewish men were interned there, mostly from Hungary; there were also smaller groups of Greek and Slovakian Jews. Unfortunately, the records providing the exact number of prisoners have not survived. According to the account of a former prisoner, there were approximately 1,000 men at the Fürstenstein labor camp.[1] In the initial transport from Gross-Rosen in May 1944, 400 people were brought there. For certain, there were Hungarian and Slovakian Jews in that transport.[2] The next transports arrived over subsequent months. The prisoners whose names and camp numbers have been established were recorded in the Gross-Rosen files between May and August 1944.[3]

The initial construction team is unknown. When the first transport arrived, small plywood barracks called "Finnish huts" had already been put up (at least partially), in which the prisoners were quartered. After the prisoners arrived, the campgrounds were fenced with barbed wire. The prisoners themselves continued the camp's expansion.[4]

Prisoners attempted to escape from this camp. We know of one attempt, in the latter half of January 1945, in which two Hungarian prisoners sought to escape: Aleksander Friedmann (Gross-Rosen camp no. 31579) and Mor Nauman (Gross-Rosen camp no. 39983). Unfortunately, the escape was unsuccessful, and the fugitives were caught. A few days later, on January 24, 1945, both prisoners were hanged in public at Fürstenstein.[5]

Sanitary conditions in the camp were very bad. Even though the camp had a water supply and sewage system, very frequently there was no water. There was also a shortage of medical care and medicine.[6] Sick prisoners were taken away to the infirmary for the entire Riese complex at the Dörnhau camp.[7] Based on surviving records, we know that between October 28, 1944, and February 16, 1945, at least 98 sick Fürstenstein prisoners were sent back to the Dörnhau infirmary, while in another 100 cases, we are not able to determine whether the transport was from the camp to the hospital or from the hospital to the camp.[8]

Since the records are incomplete, the exact number of deaths is unknown. However, from the surviving fragmentary records, it is known that in just the three weeks from March 19 to April 10, 1945 (after the camp reopened), as many as 56 patients who had been brought from Fürstenstein died and that the deaths of 15 persons were recorded in the final weeks of the camp's operation between January 23 and February 8, 1945.[9] These fragmentary figures indicate a high death rate at the camp, at least in the final period of its existence. The bodies of prisoners who died at the Fürstenstein subcamp were trucked away to the crematorium at Gross-Rosen. Only in the final weeks were the dead buried on-site in the forest, because of the main camp's evacuation.[10]

Very little information about the SS staff has survived. It is known that the Lagerführer was an SS man with the rank of Unterscharführer. Guard duty was served by a platoon from the guard company stationed at Tannhausen labor camp, a company commanded by SS man Heinrich Schicha.[11]

The Fürstenstein Castle was supposed to be one of the buildings in the Riese project. Adapting the castle for new needs involved rebuilding the historic medieval structure. The work done at that time destroyed many valuable historic components of the castle forever.

The prisoners' main workplace was the castle itself and its immediate environs. They dug tunnels under the castle. The length of the underground excavations that are known is about 950 meters (1,039 yards). A considerable portion of these tunnels were lined with concrete. Two shafts connecting the surface and the subterranean areas were built. Various construction work was being done in the castle itself; some rooms were rebuilt and repainted, wooden floors were replaced, new electrical and plumbing systems were installed, and a round staircase was built from the castle terraces to the first basement level.

Smaller groups of prisoners were put to work on the railway siding in Liebichau (later Lubiechów), handling construction materials and delivering them to the castle by narrow-gauge railway. They also worked building roads and water supply and sewer systems.

Prisoners with a higher education worked at the castle on road, tunnel, and building construction designs.[12]

We know the following names of companies that the OT hired for the work being done at the castle and that joined with it in using the labor of Fürstenstein prisoners: Sänger und Laninger; Singer und Müller; Hegerfeld, Kemna und Co.; and Pischel.[13]

The camp was evacuated in mid-February 1945. Sick prisoners were sent to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp. The last known transport from Fürstenstein reached Dörnhau on February 16.[14] The prisoners who could walk were led out of the camp; they reached the town of Trautenau (later Trutnov) on

foot. There, they were loaded into railway cars without being given any rations. Many people suffocated and died in the horrible conditions on the train, without food or access to an adequate amount of air. Approximately 40 percent of the prisoners died; the bodies of the dead were thrown from the railway cars at stops. The transport eventually led to Flossenbürg.[15]

Everything indicates that new prisoners were brought to the camp, and work resumed in late February or early March 1945. The work continued until May 6. The next day, the OT abandoned the castle premises. That same day, the prisoners were taken away, probably to the Wüstewaltersdorf (later Walim) area, and were left there.[16]

Out of the SS staff members at Fürstenstein labor camp, only Stefan Horvat was tried after the war; he was captured by the Americans in May 1945, after which he was extradited to Poland on December 18, 1946. For belonging to the SS and being a guard at concentration camps, the Kraków District Court sentenced him on April 28, 1948, to three years in prison and five years' deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property. He served his sentence from April 28, 1948, to December 24, 1949, at the Montelupich Prison in Kraków. After serving his sentence, he was released and was extradited to Germany on April 18, 1950.[17]

SOURCES Published material on Fürstenstein is limited to Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003).

Archival material on the Fürstenstein subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
2. Ibid.
3. Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.
4. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
5. AMGR, 2769/DP, Report of receipt of verbal notice of a crime; AMGR, 105/1382/MF, Section III, Totenliste des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Riese (Ungarn).
6. AMGR, 1238/DP, questionnaire of J. Weis.
7. AMGR, 2330/DP, Concentration camp patient list as of May 9, 1945, compiled by Dr. Tadeusz Cytron.
8. Ibid.; AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau (22.03.–22.05.1945); AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital (March 18 to April 10, 1945).
9. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital (March 18 to April 10, 1945); and 105/1382/MF, Section III, Totenliste des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Riese (Ungarn).
10. AMGR, 2769/DP, Report of receipt of verbal notice of a crime.
11. Testimony of Heinrich Schicha, BA-L, 405 AR-Z 45/69.
12. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
13. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 149.
14. AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.
15. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
16. AMGR, Riese. AL Fürstenstein, Official notes of interview with Ms. Dorota Stempowska in Książ on April 2, 1987.
17. AK-IPN, SOKr-375, pp. 6, 96; SOKr-376, pp. 77–79.

RIESE/KALTWASSER

The Kaltwasser subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Kaltwasser emerged from an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] Kaltwasser and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Kaltwasser was set up on a gentle slope located south of the road between Wüstegiersdorf (later Głuszyca) and the village of Kaltwasser (later Zimna Woda in Głuszyca).[2] It is not known who built the camp or when it was constructed. It consisted of no less than five living barracks, a hospital, kitchen, vegetable-peeling house, and warehouses. The initial prisoner transport arrived there from Auschwitz in late August 1944. The next one, also from Auschwitz, arrived around September 20. The prisoners were Polish Jews, mainly from Łódź.[3] Henryk Susmanek, who was brought there in the first transport, remembered that upon their arrival and the issuing of camp numbers all the prisoners were inoculated against contagious diseases. The exact number of prisoners sent to the camp is not known. It can only be surmised (based on the number of living-quarter barracks) that it did not exceed 2,000.

The camp had a hospital. At first, one prisoner doctor worked there. Another one was sent later. When the number of patients began growing, the hospital started admitting only those patients who had a fever of at least 40 degrees Centigrade (104 degrees Fahrenheit).[4] They most often wound up there due to colds, various types of inflammations, or open wounds on their legs.[5]

Prisoners in serious condition were transferred to the hospital at the Riese camp at Dörnhau; 33 Kaltwasser prisoners were sent to Dörnhau in the period from September to December 1944.[6]

No exact data on the prisoner death rate are available. Former prisoner recollections include accounts saying that every day crates with the bodies of the dead were removed from camp by truck. There is also information saying that the death rate grew week by week, from an initial 30 deaths per week to between 50 and 60, two weeks later.[7]

There were prisoner selections in the camp in September or October 1944. How many prisoners were selected is not known. However, it is known that in consequence over 90 percent of the hospital population was carted away in several trucks. Those prisoners were taken to Auschwitz along with prisoners selected at other Riese camps. Shortly after that event, there was another selection of "poor-looking" prisoners, who were sent to Riese/Wolfsberg. The prisoners made the journey between the two camps on foot.[8]

There is almost no information on the SS staff at Kaltwasser. What is known is that the camp leader (Lagerführer) was replaced at least once.[9] One of the Lagerführers was SS-Scharführer Hartmann, a German from Meissen in Saxony. He was at Gross-Rosen from 1944 to February 1945. In addition to Kaltwasser, he also served at the Lärche and Wüstewaltersdorf subcamps. He was transferred to the main camp before February 1945.[10]

An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty at Kaltwasser. The name of one SS man is known: Georg Mittelstädt, born May 22, 1902, in Waldheide. He joined the Wehrmacht in 1942 and served in a transport column until October 1944, after which he served in the guard company at the Riese camp; prior to Kaltwasser, he had also been at the Wüstegiersdorf, Langenbielau, and Lärche camps.[11]

The prisoners' main workplace was the projects under construction on Ramenberg (later Soboń) Mountain: they leveled and surfaced the ground for a narrow-gauge railway track; they carried the rails; set down new tracks; felled trees to build new roads; dug ditches and put in sewers; cleared forests; unloaded railroad cars loaded with concrete, sand, and bricks; dumped stones out of trucks and shoveled them into ravines; and installed poles for electric wires. Some of the prisoners worked making cobblestones for road paving: rocks were dynamited, and the larger pieces were broken up into smaller ones and worked down to the required size. The prisoners worked in two shifts regardless of the weather. All the labor was very hard and dangerous, and there were frequent accidents. There were also instances of suicide.[12]

Smaller groups of prisoners, mostly those who were no longer fit for hard labor, were sent to commandos on camp premises, such as the shoemaking commando, the vegetable and potato-peeling commando, or the grounds-keeping commando.[13]

The following companies used the labor of Kaltwasser prisoners: Fix, Sager und Wörner; Butzer und Holzmann; Argo-Waldenburg; Weiden und Petersil; and Lentz und Seiden.[14]

Kaltwasser was disbanded in December 1944, an event associated with a shift in the front. The healthy prisoners and the SS staff were transferred to the Lärche labor camp, while the sick prisoners were sent to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp and to the Tannhausen Zentralrevier (Central Infirmary).[15]

Only a small group of hospital patients and the peeling-facility personnel remained in the camp. Several SS men guarded them.[16] They were finally sent to the Wolfsberg camp. The date when that group of prisoners left Kaltwasser is not known. What is known is that one of them died at the Wolfsberg camp on December 28, 1944, a few days after arriving there.[17]

SOURCES Information on the Kaltwasser subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962).

Archival material on the Kaltwasser subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and in Wrocław and at the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig on March 16, 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z 567/67.
2. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962), pp. 69–72.
3. Ibid.; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman.
4. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 92, 94.
5. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman.
6. AMGR, 2330/DP, Patient list as of May 9, 1945.
7. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 108–109.
8. AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.
9. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 77–78.
10. AMGR, 5903/DP, Reports of examination of witnesses/Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, pp. 54, 55; 6/181/MF, Report of examination of Jan Wojakowski; 5903/54/DP, extracts of examination of Josef Stancik.
11. AMGR, 47/51/MF, Report of examination of Georg Mittelstädt at Kraków Municipal Court.
12. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufmann.
13. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 87–88, 90; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 296/DP-A, Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman, p. 24.
14. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos*

sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979), p. 150; Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 89.

15. AMGR,124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman, p. 30.
16. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 111.
17. AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.

RIESE/LÄRCHE

The Lärche subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Lärche developed out of an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] Lärche and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

The camp was situated in the forest on the southern slope of the Ramenberg (later Góra Soboń), about 450 meters (492 yards) north of the village of Kaltwasser (later Zimna Voda). At 675 to 695 meters (738.2 to 760.1 yards) above sea level, it was the highest camp in the Riese complex. Lärche was most probably established in mid-December 1944, when most of the prisoners and staff of the disbanded Kaltwasser subcamp were moved there.[2] The camp was located here so that prisoners working in the region did not have to travel so far to work. It is not known who built the camp initially. When the prisoners arrived from Kaltwasser, it was ready, and they were its first inmates. The camp's population cannot be exactly determined. In his account, former prisoner M. Kaufman stated that the group brought from Kaltwasser numbered 1,000 prisoners. Yet that same witness testified that there were 12 small barracks in the camp, including the sick room, workshop, warehouse, and space for the camp elder (Lagerältester). Each barrack could hold about 60 prisoners. Therefore, a maximum of 600 to 700 prisoners could have lived in the camp. Besides the Kaltwasser prisoners, a group of prisoners from the Wüstegiersdorf camp was also sent to Lärche.[3]

The prisoners were exclusively Jewish people from various European countries, mainly Poland, Hungary, and Greece.

The living conditions in this camp were very bad. The prisoners lived in low plywood barracks; light got into them through small windows in the peak. Streams of water poured into the barracks whenever the snow melted in the winter and spring.[4] Up to four people a day died in a certain period due to the overall living and working conditions in the camp. According to a former prisoner's account, because of that a committee came to the camp to "investigate" the living conditions. To decrease the prisoner death rate, "they ordered the lower bunks to be raised from the floor by 10 centimeters [3.9 inches]."[5]

Lice were also a veritable plague, causing the prisoners additional suffering, which a former prisoner depicted graphically in his recollections: "People's entire bodies, which looked like skeletons, were wounded by scratching. They would get suppurating ulcers, in which the lice were very well sheltered."[6] Seriously ill prisoners were moved to the hospital at the Dörnhau subcamp. The first 4 prisoners arrived there on December 28, 1944. Another 30 were transported there in January 1945; the last known transport was admitted at Dörnhau on January 26; 15 Lärche prisoners died at the Dörnhau hospital between March 19 and April 10.[7] Approximately 40 sick prisoners were also moved to the Wolfsberg labor camp in mid-January. Several of the weakest prisoners died during the journey from one camp to the other, which they traveled on foot.[8]

SS-Scharführer Hartmann was the commander at Lärche; he had previously been commander at Kaltwasser and had been transferred with the prisoners. He was from Meissen in Saxony. He was at Gross-Rosen from 1944 to February 1945. Besides Kaltwasser and Lärche, he also served at Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf.[9]

An SS company from Gross-Rosen served guard duty at Lärche. The only known SS man was Georg Mittelstädt, born May 22, 1902, in Waldheide. Besides Lärche, he also served guard duty at several other Gross-Rosen subcamps.[10]

The main place where Lärche prisoners worked was on the construction of buildings in the region of Ramenberg Mountain: they built roads, narrow-gauge railway lines, and water supply systems; they excavated for foundations and also excavated tunnels inside the Ramenberg. Prisoners were also put to work handling freight, as well as on jobs at the camp itself, such as at the shoemaking shop.[11]

The following companies put Lärche prisoners to work: Butzer und Holzmann, Argo-Waldenburg, and Lingen.[12]

There is a surviving account by a former prisoner saying that there was an organized mutual aid movement at Lärche, most probably in the Lódź ghetto prisoner community; the aid consisted of the prisoners working in the shoemaking shop providing their most needy fellows with extra portions of soup (the prisoners working in the shoemaking shop got extra portions of soup). They provided at least 6 to 10 portions a day.[13]

The Lärche camp was disbanded on February 8, 1945. The prisoners went to Märzbachtal, where they stayed until mid-March, after which they and the prisoners from that camp joined a large collective evacuation column of approximately 4,000 Riese prisoners.[14] The prisoners were led southwest; the route of that death march led through such places as the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów) and Liebau (later Lubawka). In four days they reached the city of Parschnitz (later Poříčí); there they were loaded onto freight cars, reaching the Flossenbürg concentration camp after about a week's journey.[15] The prisoner transport that had been assembled at the Riese complex in mid-February was recorded in the Flossenbürg concentration camp files on February 25, 1945.[16]

SOURCES Information on the Lärche subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w

latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962).

Archival material on the Lärche subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and in Wrocław and at the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z56/67.

2. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962); AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman.

3. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*.

4. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 119.

5. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, p. 31.

6. Ibid.

7. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital; Bogdan Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982): 282.

8. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 129.

9. AMGR, 5903/DP, Reports of examination of witnesses/Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, pp. 54, 55; 6/181/MF, Report of examination of Jan Wojakowski; 5903/54/DP, Extracts of report of examination of Josef Stancik; AK-IPN WR, Ruling by the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes dated 3.01.1977 regarding discontinuing proceedings against the commanders of the Gross-Rosen camp, p. 143.

10. AMGR, 47/51/MF, Report of examination of Georg Mittelstädt at Kraków Municipal Court.

11. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 30, 123.

12. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 150.

13. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 30, 123.

14. Ibid., p. 32.

15. AMGR, 5903/50/DP, Account of Jindrich Fantl [or Fantel]; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 36–39.

16. Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1987): 280.

RIESE/MÄRZBACHTAL

The Märzbachtal subcamp was one of the camps in the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Märzbachtal developed from an agreement between the headquarters of Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] Märzbachtal and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Märzbachtal was located near the city of Wüstegiersdorf (later Głuszyca). It was located on a mountainside over the Grosser-März-Bach valley (later Marcowy Potok Duży). The camp was most probably put into operation in late May–early June 1944.

The construction of the first buildings at Märzbachtal began in May 1944. The work was done by a commando of prisoners from the nearby Riese/Wüstegiersdorf subcamp. At that time, approximately 40 to 50 small living barracks were erected, measuring about 3 × 4 meters (3.3 × 4.4 yards). Then Märzbachtal prisoners put up additional buildings, such as the kitchen, headquarters, a bathhouse, lavatories, warehouses, workshops, hospital barrack, and more living-quarters barracks, large and small, as well as a fence around the entire camp.[2] That work was conducted almost until the end of the camp's existence.

The first group of prisoners arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944. They were Romanian and Hungarian Jews from Transylvania, approximately 600 to 700 of them. These prisoners arrived at the Oberwüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca Gorna) railway station in a transport of approximately 4,000 men from Auschwitz, all of them destined for various Riese camps. They made the several-kilometer trip from the railroad station to Märzbachtal on foot.[3] That was probably the core group of prisoners and probably the only one sent to Märzbachtal from another concentration camp. Subsequent small groups of prisoners, including Polish and Slovakian Jews, started arriving from other Riese camps only in the late summer and autumn of 1944. There were many juveniles—teenage boys—among the prisoners (especially in the Transylvanian group). According to the account of former prisoner Erwin Rona, the camp's highest population was approximately 800.

The living conditions in the camp were very hard. When the initial transport arrived, the camp was just being built and outfitted. The basic structures such as the kitchen, lavatories, and bathhouse had not been built yet. The living barracks lacked bunks and bedding; the prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor. They did not receive any blankets or mess kits. The sanitary conditions were very primitive: prisoners washed up outside at a water pipe in which holes had been drilled, and their latrine was an outhouse made of a few poles. The kitchen was erected only in July; until then, food was trucked in from outside the camp in pails.

An SS company from Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty at Märzbachtal.

Like all the other camps of the Riese complex, this camp was established in order to provide the manpower for the OT's secret construction project at Eulengebirge. The Märzbachtal prisoners' main workplaces were the structures being built in the März Bach valley and on the nearby mountainsides. The prisoners worked clearing the forest and excavating. They built roads and bridges there; they dug ditches for water lines and excavations for the foundations of aboveground buildings; they were put to work installing electric lines. They were probably also put to work excavating a tunnel underneath Ramenberg Mountain (later Soboń Mountain). Some prisoners worked in internal commandos expanding and organizing the Märzbachtal camp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked for the following companies: Otto Trebitz, Argo-Waldenburg, Mühlhausen, and Weiden und Petersil.

A hospital was set up in the camp: 3 prisoner doctors were put to work there in succession: Dr. Fuchs, Dr. Mandel, and Dr. Elias. Later, an additional doctor was put to work there, Dr. Berger from Transylvania. According to Rona, there were 20 to 30 doctors among the Märzbachtal prisoners.[4] Only the less seriously ill were kept at the hospital there. More seriously ill prisoners were carted off to the hospital in Dörnhau. Records show at least 12 transports between Märzbachtal and the hospital at the Dörnhau subcamp.[5]

Even though the more seriously ill were taken away to Dörnhau, selections were conducted at Märzbachtal, in which the prisoners who were sick, weak, and unfit for hard physical labor were separated out and removed from camp. SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Rindfleisch, the chief SS doctor at Riese, performed the selections personally. There were a few of them, no less than three. In the two lesser ones (late July and mid-August 1944), 45 to 65 prisoners were selected. In the third and largest one (late October–early November 1944), 600 juvenile prisoners were selected; they had been brought there a few days earlier from all the other Riese camps. During that selection, Dr. Rindfleisch was assisted by SS men who were not on the Märzbachtal staff, as well as by Riese's camp leader (Lagerführer), SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Lüdkemeyer. The prisoners who were selected were taken away to Auschwitz and probably gassed.[6]

No precise information is available on the death rate at Märzbachtal. From the entries in the surviving "Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital," it is known that over a period of not quite a month (between March 19 and April 10, 1945) 23 prisoners from Märzbachtal died at that hospital.[7]

We know of one escape attempt. Ludwig Fischer, a Hungarian Jew with prisoner number 33815, attempted to escape in the late summer of 1944. Unfortunately, his attempt to regain his freedom failed; Fischer was caught and executed. The execution by hanging was conducted on the Märzbachtal assembly grounds.[8]

The camp's evacuation began in mid-February 1945. A few days earlier, on February 8, the prisoners from the disbanded Lärche camp were brought to Märzbachtal. The prisoners of both camps joined a huge collective evacuation column of Riese prisoners, numbering approximately 4,000 men. The column was sent to the southwest. The prisoners walked approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) the first day. They stayed the night in the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów). Some of the prisoners were put in the Gross-Rosen subcamp there; the others were put in an inactive factory. They probably spent the next night at the camp at Liebau (later Lubawka). After four days of murderous marching on snow-covered roads, they reached Parschnitz (later Poříčí). Here the prisoners were loaded onto freight cars. After almost a week of this ghastly journey, the transport reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp.[9] On February 25, 1945, those who had the strength and luck to survive were recorded in that camp's files.[10] However, the Flossenbürg concentration camp was not the destination for all the Riese prisoners. According to Kaufman's account, about two weeks later, some of the prisoners from that transport were transported to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

The two SS men from the Märzbachtal camp guard company whose names are known were tried after the war. Franz Rösel was sentenced to death by the Świdnica District Court on May 22, 1947. He was executed on June 9, 1948.[11] By decree of the Wadowice District Court, dated April 16, 1948, Richard Michael Rank was sentenced to four years in prison and five years deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Märzbachtal subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003).

Archival material on the Märzbachtal subcamp can be found at the BA-L; the AK-IPN in Warsaw; and the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 423 AR-Z 567/67.
2. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. AMGR, 2330/DP, Cytron's patient list.

6. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965.

7. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.

8. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965; Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979): 235.

9. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman; AMGR, 5903/50/DP, Account of Jintrich Fantl [or Fantel].

10. Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986): 269–289.

11. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1301.

12. AMGR, A. Lasik, Files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp staff members.

RIESE/SÄUFERWASSER

The Riese / Säuferwasser camp was set up on a hill near the Säuferwasser (Kłobia) creek. It had been in existence since at least August 23, 1944, because that was the day that a transport of prisoners arrived at Dörnhau from Säuferwasser. However, it is probable that it was formed as early as May or June 1944. That is indicated by camp numbers that were assigned on such dates as May 24, 1944, or June 8, 1944, to prisoners who had arrived from Auschwitz and were sent to Säuferwasser. The prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, and Greece. The names of only 417 prisoners of this camp have been identified. There were 59 adolescent prisoners in the group. Unfortunately, no information is available about the camp's staff.

The prisoners worked under the instructions of the Holzmann company. They did the excavation for building foundations. They built what was called the "Kasyno" [Casino] (a single-level reinforced-concrete building, over 50 meters long and 14 meters wide [164 by 46 feet]) and the "Siłownia" [Powerhouse] (a concrete barracks 29.8 by 30.3 meters [97.8 by 99.4 feet], housing internal facilities accessible via hatchways with steel clamps), a water reservoir, and residential buildings near the summit of Säufer Höhen (Osówka) Mountain. They built drainage ditches, a water supply system from Grosse Eule Berg (Wielka Sowa, Great Owl) to Säufer Höhen, roads, and a narrow-gauge railway system. They dug tunnels in Säufer Höhen Mountain and did concrete work.

The death rate at this subcamp must have been great, as 31 sick Säuferwasser prisoners died at the infirmary at Dörnhau just in the period from March 19 to April 10, 1945. The camp was liberated in May 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

RIESE/SCHOTTERWERK [AKA OBERWÜSTEGIERSDORF]

The Riese/Schotterwerk camp was set up in the neighborhood of the Oberwüstegiersdorf (now Głuszyca Górna) train station. Its name comes from the local crushed stone works. It was composed of at least 11 barracks. The staff barracks and guard facilities were outside the camp fence. The first prisoners probably arrived at Schotterwerk labor camp in late April or in May 1944. The prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Greece, and Slovakia. The names of 1,245 prisoners of this camp have been identified. There were 140 juvenile prisoners among them. No information about the staff of this camp is available.

The prisoners worked for the following companies: Lenz, Steinhage, Schallhorn, and Holzmann. They worked at the quarry in Oberwüstegiersdorf, directly extracting the stone; in the crushed stone works; and on a railway siding at the train station, unloading construction materials. They were used for sewer (or drainage) system building and carpentry.

The death rate at the camp was very high, especially near the end of the war, when a typhus epidemic raged. A. Kajzer described the situation in the camp in early January 1945:

> We don't go to work. We stay in camp all day and lay in our bunks. Our only occupation is flicking the lice off our shirts, [striped prisoner's] uniforms and blankets. The lice have multiplied terribly and become a veritable plague. Many prisoners are suffering from serious gastric disorders. . . . The doctors are powerless, as there is no medicine. . . . You constantly hear anguished voices calling out for help. A great number of people die everyday in the barrack in awful torment. The bodies are carried on tarpaulins to barrack no. 11 or 10, where they're stripped naked. Some of the prisoners take their clothes so as to protect themselves from the cold.[1]

Some of the prisoners from the Wolfsberg subcamp were moved to Schotterwerk in January 1945. It may be that as early as late January or in February 1945 some of the prisoners were sent to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The numbers assigned to the prisoners there indicate that the transport was entered into the camp records on February 25. The remaining prisoners were liberated on May 8, 1945. After the liberation, a hospital for sick prisoners (Banhof Hospital) was set up on camp premises.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Lodzkie, 1962), pp. 151–152.

RIESE/TANNHAUSEN

The Riese/Tannhausen (Jedlinka) camp was formed in late April or early May 1944 in the buildings of a linen mill owned by Websky, Hartmann and Wiesen AG. The prisoners were Hungarian, Greek, Polish, and Western European Jews. The names of 273 prisoners have been identified. No information is available about the camp's staff. The prisoners were put to work by the Organisation Todt (OT). They were liberated in May 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

RIESE/WOLFSBERG

The Wolfsberg labor camp was one of the camps in the Riese labor camp complex created in the Eulengebirge range (present-day Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets), in conjunction with the construction of the underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's chief command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese labor camp, the Wolfsberg labor camp was formed in consequence of an agreement between the headquarters of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] The labor camp and the other camps comprising the Riese labor camp were subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The Wolfsberg labor camp was established on the northeastern slope of Wolfsberg (Włodarz) Mountain, above the road connecting Wüstewaltersdorf (present-day Walim) to Jauernig (present-day Jugowice Górne). The Wolfsberg camp came into being in May 1944. Like all of the other Riese complex camps, it was established in order to provide the manpower for the secret headquarters construction project.

Wolfsberg was the largest of the Riese camps. Based on the number of names that have been successfully established, at least 3,110 prisoners passed through the camp. Among them were over 500 juvenile prisoners who were under 18 years of age in 1944.[2] There are 3,012 names on a surviving list of prisoners dated November 22, 1944.[3] All the prisoners were Jewish; they were mainly from Poland and Hungary but also from Greece, the Netherlands, and Germany.[4]

The timeline of the transports sent to this camp is not known. Based on knowledge of the prisoners' camp numbers, all that can be deduced is that Wolfsberg held mostly prisoners brought to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp from the Auschwitz concentration camp between late April and September of 1944.[5] There were also transports to Wolfsberg from other Gross-Rosen subcamps. After November 22, 1944, several hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from the Fünfteichen labor camp,[6] and in late December, a group of sick inmates from the Kaltwasser labor camp were transported here.[7]

There were three types of living facilities in the camp:

- typical camp barracks
- Finnish "huts" (literally tarp-covered primitive round plywood barracks, small and low) accommodating about 20 people
- ordinary dugouts accommodating up to 20 people

The prisoners slept side by side on the ground in the huts and dugouts, with wood shavings for bedding.[8] The camp had an infirmary, to which less seriously ill prisoners were sent. A high death rate prevailed in camp due to the extremely primitive living conditions, as well as the poor hygienic conditions, the spreading of contagious diseases, and lack of medical assistance, coupled with tremendous hunger, hard labor beyond the strength of the emaciated prisoners, and the ubiquitous terror. From the surviving fragmentary German records, it is known that in the final three months of the camp's operation alone, between November 22, 1944, and February 20, 1945, at least 114 prisoners died.[9] That figure is incomplete because—just as at the other Riese complex camps—the more seriously ill prisoners were sent to the central hospital at Tannhausen or the hospital at Dörnhau, where they died in masses. R. Olszyna determined that 613 Wolfsberg prisoners died in that period, and the death of another 65 patients was recorded at the Dörnhau hospital after the camp's evacuation, between March 19 and April 10, 1945.[10]

The bodies of the dead were carted away to the crematorium at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp until approximately mid-December 1944. In the final two months of the camp's operation, however, the dead were most probably buried in the woods near the camp.[11] The prisoners' situation was tragic, so there were many suicidal acts at Wolfsberg. Despite such a desperate situation, not all the prisoners lost heart and looked for liberation in death. Many found consolation and the strength to survive in prayer, studying the Torah, and piously observing Jewish holy days.[12]

It is unclear who the Lagerführer (camp leader) of Wolfsberg was. The references cite the names of three SS men who supposedly performed that job; they are Rudolf Kugelmeier,[13] Fabian Ritt,[14] and SS-Oberscharführer Kluss.[15] It is also possible that all three performed that job at various periods. An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty.

The Wolfsberg prisoners were put to work on construction projects in the region of Wolfsberg and Mittelberg (present-day Dział Jawornicki) Mountain. They excavated tunnels inside the mountain; built the foundations of aboveground structures; did water-line and sewer work; reinforced the banks of mountain streams; and built bridges, reservoirs, narrow-gauge railway subgrades, and a road from Jauernig going to Säufer-Höhen (present-day Osówka) Mountain.[16] The chief project contractor, OT, hired many different companies to do all that work. According to Abram Kajzer, a former prisoner at a number of Riese camps, there were as many as 38 of those companies.[17] The following ones are known: Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), Tebe und Bucer,

Ackermann, Dübner, Geppardt, Hotze, Hutto, Jank, Kemna, Otto Weil,[18] and Lam (or Lamm).[19]

The work in the tunnel consisted of drilling blasting holes using pneumatic drills. After the blasts, prisoners loaded the crushed rock material onto narrow-gauge railway cars. It was very heavy labor, which was dangerous and resulted in many accidents. The prisoners did it manually to a large extent and were issued no protective clothing. On many occasions the pace of work was so fast that they did not even wait for the resulting gases and hovering dust to clear from the excavations after the explosive blasts.[20]

Evacuation preparations were begun in the first 10 days of February 1945. The prisoners were ordered to build sleds, which were going to be the means of transport, but then they were ordered to convert them into carts because of an unexpected thaw;[21] others sewed large sacks, which were later packed with provisions for the SS men. A selection was conducted among the prisoners, and anyone who was fit for the journey was picked. The Falkenberg labor camp prisoners fit for evacuation were also led to Wolfsberg at that time. The sick people were left in the camp. On February 20, after the evacuation column had left, 136 of them were taken back to the hospital at Dörnhau, and a small group was taken to the Schotterwerk camp.[22]

Evacuation commenced on February 16, 1945. A column of several thousand prisoners left Wolfsberg. Smaller groups of prisoners from the Wüstegiersdorf and Schotterwerk labor camps joined them along the way.[23] The column thus formed was escorted toward the town of Friedland (present-day Mieroszów); that same day, 71 prisoners unfit to travel onward were left at the Friedland subcamp. The others were herded into two large barns standing out in the open to stay the night. Due to being pressed upon by such a great number of people, the huge door of one of the barns collapsed, crushing 56 prisoners; the casualties of the accident were buried in a mass grave.[24] The next day the column reached the town of Schömberg (present-day Chełmsko Śląskie). There, the column was probably divided into two sections. On day three of the march, the smaller group of prisoners was sent to the railway station in Trautenau (present-day Trutnov). They were loaded onto railway cars and finally transported to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.[25] The other group, considerably larger, was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp subcamp at Ebensee where 2,048 prisoners were entered in the Ebensee records on March 3, 1945, and assigned numbers from 135401 through 137448.[26]

Among the Wolfsberg staff's SS contingent whose names are known, only Johann Klaar was tried. He was extradited from Germany's American occupation zone to Poland on December 18, 1946, and was sentenced to death by the Kraków District Court on December 22, 1948. On July 4, 1949, the Kraków Province Court commuted the sentence to life in prison. He was released on March 7, 1959, as part of an amnesty.[27]

SOURCES Information on the Wolfsberg labor camp may be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Cybulski, *Ewakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Bella Gutterman and Naomi Morgenstern, *The Wolfsberg Labor Camp Machzor, 5705 (1944)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002); Jürgen Heckenthaler, "Das Arbeitslager und das Sonderbauprojekt Riese. OT–Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis); Alfred Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999); Roman Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," F-S 23 (1978): 10; Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese. Filia KL Gross-Rosen*, (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of former prisoners: Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Lodzkie, 1962). Archival material on the Wolfsberg camp may be found at the following locations: AK-IPN; APMO; APMM; AŻIH; and AMGR.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z 567/67.

2. AMGR, Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, Wolfsberg labor camp prisoners.

3. AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.

4. Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); also his "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982).

5. Based on the files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the AMGR.

6. Account of Edmund Szenkowski in *Przeżyliśmy Gross-Rosen*, vol. 2, bk. 2, p. 38; AMGR, Catalog No. 13/40/MF, File 17–18, Report of examination of witness Aron Abramczyk at the Nowa Ruda Municipal Court.

7. AMGR, Catalog No. 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.

8. AMGR, Catalog No. 19/N-A, Account of Edmund Szenkowski; AMGR, Catalog No. 6500/22-b/DP, Chaim Henryk Susmanek, Report of witness examination.

9. AMGR, Catalog No. 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.

10. Roman Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," F-S 23 (1978): 10; Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością," p. 282.

11. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), p. 144.

12. Bella Gutterman and Naomi Morgenstern, *The Wolfsberg Labor Camp Machzor*, *5705 (1944)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), p. 63.

13. Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," p. 10.

14. AMGR, Catalog No. 132/78/MF, Collection of war criminal photographs.

15. Jürgen Heckenthaler, "Das Arbeitslager und das Sonderbauprojekt Riese. OT-Aussekommandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis).

16. Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 50–51.

17. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 130.

18. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer*-SS (1933–1945) (Arolsen, 1979), p. 152.

19. AMGR, Catalog No. 6500/25/DP, Report of examination of witness Władysław Milejski.

20. Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów," pp. 50–51.

21. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein (original at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Account No. 3861).

22. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*.

23. Bogdan Cybulski, *Ewakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989).

24. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein.

25. Ibid.

26. Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," SFiZH 10 (1986): 269–289.

27. APMO, Trial materials, sygn. [Catalog No.] Mat./296, Item 302; UNWCC list; Catalog No. 22001/Dpr-ZOd/36, p. 78; AK-IPN, Criminal case records, Catalog [or Docket] No. SOKr-381, pp. 44–47; Sentence of Decree, Catalog No. SOKr-381, pp. 185–186a.

RIESE/WÜSTEGIERSDORF [AKA LAGER V]

The Wüstegiersdorf subcamp, also called Lager V, was set up in the buildings of the Stöhr company's textile mill, located in the middle of Wüstegiersdorf (now Głuszyca). The camp was formed in May 1944. There were between 700 and 1,000 prisoners in the camp; they were primarily Polish and Hungarian Jews.

SS-Scharführer Schwarz held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader). The staff was probably made up of a dozen or so people but changed from time to time.

The prisoners were used for work connected with construction projects in the Ramenberg (Soboń) and Säufer Höhen (Osówka) Mountain region. As one prisoner put it, "The work at the quarry was more than people could bear. After a few days of that murderous work, most people collapsed."[1] Prisoners were also assigned to various jobs in the town of Wüstegiersdorf. There were two commandos of 100 prisoners each whose job was to build drainage systems. And 30 prisoners were sent to work at the train station, where they unloaded freight cars of provisions, sand, stone, and wood. Prisoners cleared forests, worked in the metal, carpentry, sewing, and shoemaking shops, and delivered provisions to the camps.

The following companies used their labor: Messinger, Tiefbau, Sager & Wörner, Wayss & Freytag, Hoch und Tiefbau, Fix (built barracks), Dübner (tunnel construction), Websky (machinery dismantling), Holzmann, Schallhorn, Lenz, Krup, and National Socialist Motor Corps (Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps, NSKK).

The death rate at the camp was substantial, although it seems to be lower than at the other Riese complex camps.

A few transfers from other subcamps are known: 11 prisoners from the infirmary at Tannhausen probably arrived in September 1944, among them Abram Kajzer. In his diary, under the date of Tuesday [n.d.] 1944, he wrote:

> We who came here from the hospital don't go to work outside the camp, but work in camp premises under the supervision of a kapo. We sweep the assembly ground, tidy up the trash dump, and chop wood. Some of us are lucky enough to have been assigned to cleaning the barrack. They have it good, as they avoid the rain, snow and cold which chills you to the bone, as well as the keen vision of the Lagerführer, who cannot bear to see anyone standing idly, even though there often is not any work in the courtyard. . . . When the Lagerführer appears, we are seized by crazy fear. . . . Our compulsory idleness drives the Lagerführer into such a rage that he roars, beating and kicking, until his victim loses consciousness. . . .
>
> Thursday, [n.d.] 1944.
>
> Today was the first day that I and four others who had also returned from the hospital worked in a commando. We removed feces from the latrine under the supervision of an SS-man. Taking the opportunity, we "appropriated" some potatoes from a nearby shed, exchanging them this evening for some soup and bread, and baking some of them. We have been ordered to go to work tomorrow, too.[2]

One of the prisoners attempted to escape, but unfortunately he was caught and hanged in the presence of the prisoners, including his father. The name of the victim has not been identified. The camp was probably evacuated to the Flossenbürg concentration camp on February 24, 1945. In the first stage of the evacuation, the prisoners walked through the mountains to Trautenau, where they were loaded onto freight cars. There were many mortalities along the way. Those who were unable to march were shot.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. No. 124/1389 MF, account of Zew Weinhreb.

2. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Lodzkie, 1962), pp. 115, 117.

RIESE/WÜSTEWALTERSDORF [AKA STENZELBERG]

Wüstewaltersdorf was one of the camps in the Riese complex, which formed part of the vast system of Gross-Rosen subcamps. Since almost no official German documents concerning this site exist, the only major sources are a few survivor testimonials and information provided by Polish informants as well as former German inhabitants of the village of Wüstewaltersdorf (now Walim). Like the other Riese camps, Wüstewaltersdorf was situated in the Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie), a mountain range near the present-day Czech-Polish border, not far from the city of Wałbrzych (Waldenburg). According to former German residents of Wüstewaltersdorf, this camp was located on the southern upper slope of a mountain called Stenzel-Berg (Chłopska Góra).[1] It was separated from Wolfsberg, one of the larger Riese camps, by a narrow valley through which the road from Friedrichsberg (now Kolonia Górna, a section of Walim) to Hausdorf (Jugowice) runs.

Available sources contain some clues about the beginnings of the Wüstewaltersdorf camp. In a memorandum to the Regierungspräsident (regional government chairman) in Breslau (Wrocław) dated May 27, 1944, Amtsarzt Dr. Kaiser, who was well acquainted with most of the camps existing in the area at this time, mentions three for which he cannot supply prisoner statistics: Wolfsberg, Stenzelberg, and Erlenbusch. Apparently he was unable to inspect them because he had been dismissed on May 19, 1944, as a result of his criticism of sanitary conditions in other camps. The implication here is that these three sites had been set up very recently.

There is additional evidence that Stenzelberg was the initial name of this site. It is the only one used by Dr. Errikos Levis (1913–2005), a Greek physician who arrived from Auschwitz with approximately 100 other Greek Jews on April 19 or 21, 1944. Many on this transport were from Dr. Levis's hometown, Ioannina. Due to his knowledge of German, the Lagerführer (camp leader), an SS-Oberscharführer, appointed him as camp elder (Lagerältester) and physician of the camp. On one occasion, he was beaten by the Lagerführer in front of all the inmates for giving three sick prisoners a temporary leave from work. According to Dr. Levis, there was also one Dutch and one Hungarian Jew, a medical student, at this site. He reports that the inmates had to set up the "tents" described below at the Wolfsberg camp, which was only 20 minutes away on foot. The same primitive type of housing was waiting for them upon their arrival at the camp on the Stenzel-Berg. Toward the end of May 1944, this group of prisoners was moved to Wolfsberg where Dr. Levis worked as a physician in the infirmary.[2]

In all other survivor testimonials, the camp on the slopes of the Stenzel-Berg is called Wüstewaltersdorf. Two Czech Jews, Thomas Figueras (formerly Nadelstecher, born 1927) and his brother Paul (born 1923), were in the next transport to reach the camp. According to Thomas Figueras, they reached the village of Wüstewaltersdorf by train on May 27, 1944, three days after they had passed through Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz.[3] Joseph Gelber (born 1925) and Andrei Gergely (born 1912), both Hungarian Jews who had also been in Auschwitz, appear to have been in the same transport. Thomas Figueras reports that a Polish Lagerältester, Polish Kapos, and a German *Schreiber* (clerk) were the only prisoners at the site upon his arrival.[4] Survivor testimonials refer to two other transports to this camp. Around the middle of July 1944, a truckload of former Auschwitz prisoners arrived.[5] In late fall of 1944, prisoners from the Łódź ghetto were transferred to Wüstewaltersdorf. Previously most of the inmates had been from Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece, with only a few from Poland.[6]

Housing consisted of structures—made of wood and other materials—that looked like round tents. Each of them accommodated 10 inmates. According to a Polish informant, his firm, Bender (Munich), set up approximately 50 of these "tents" as well as two or three barracks for the guards and the kitchen in the spring of 1944. No statistics exist concerning transports to Wüstewaltersdorf, the fluctuating number of prisoners, or the total number of deaths. Also, it is not known whether non-Jewish inmates were at this camp. It was fenced in with barbed wire, and there were guard towers as well.

Forced labor at this camp included earthmoving, as well as the construction of railroads, buildings, tunnels, and roads. The latter involved splitting rocks with sledgehammers, a particularly dangerous assignment. Prisoners were almost certainly involved in the construction of the road leading from Wüstewaltersdorf past the Stenzel-Berg and the camp to the road linking Friedrichsberg and Hausdorf. Günter Proll (born 1923), a former inhabitant of Wüstewaltersdorf, reports that prisoners were escorted from the camp on the Stenzel-Berg through the center of the village to the mountain near the Kriesten sawmill in his neighborhood, Dorfbach (Rzeczka). At this location, three approximately parallel tunnels, each with a separate entrance, were under construction. A memorial site established by Polish authorities serves as a reminder of the life-threatening labor that prisoners were forced to perform there. Horst Wittig (born 1933), who spent his childhood in a part of the village called Zeidlitzheide (Siedlików), frequently witnessed a group of approximately 50 exhausted prisoners passing by who were harassed and beaten by Kapos. From the summer of 1944 to approximately February 1945, they took part in constructing a large nearby water storage facility, which was still in use at the turn of the century, as well as in digging trenches for pipes and utility cables leading into and away from this site. In the summer of 1944, prisoners were frequently seen digging utility trenches alongside the road

to Hausdorf, just outside of Wüstewaltersdorf. The various work details were supervised by members of the Organisation Todt (OT), as well as employees of firms active in and around the village, among them Gebrüder Butzer & Holzmann and Hutto Hydrierwerke AG.[7] Villagers also repeatedly witnessed emaciated and poorly dressed prisoners removing snow from roads in Wüstewaltersdorf during the winter of 1944–1945. What was particularly shocking to the onlookers was that they wore wooden clogs, with their feet wrapped in rags.

As winter approached, many prisoners, especially those from Greece, died from hunger, exposure, and disease.[8] At some risk to themselves, a number of villagers gave small amounts of food to inmates. The first Lagerführer, reportedly an SS-Oberscharführer, who appeared to be very knowledgeable about repairing shoes, announced that only dead or working inmates shall be in the camp; accordingly, he was in the habit of beating sick inmates.[9] This Lagerführer was followed by two others, about whom no information is available. U.S. Army records reveal the names of three guards at the Wüstewaltersdorf camp, all of whom were transferred to the Waffen-SS in 1944 prior to their concentration camp assignments. Gustav Friedrich Feller (b. 1879) served there in January and February 1945, Walther Rehberg (b. 1908) from September 1944 to February 1945, and Wilhelm Sonnenberg (b. 1903) from August 25, 1944, to March 1945.[10] On one occasion, in the summer or fall of 1944, while playing on a slope above the Zedlitzheide soccer field, Horst Wittig noticed a considerable number of guards surrounding hundreds of prisoners below him. Shots rang out in the distance, and afterward he heard grown-ups talk about a failed escape attempt by several Jews.

Information regarding transports out of Wüstewaltersdorf is fragmentary. Sometime in the summer or fall of 1944, another group of inmates must have been transferred to the Wolfsberg camp because the names of some of the prisoners who arrived in Wüstewaltersdorf in late May 1944 appear on the Wolfsberg list of November 22, 1944.[11] According to a Polish worker who had lived in Wüstewaltersdorf since 1943, the camp was evacuated around the middle of February 1945.[12] Joseph Gelber (b. 1925) and Mayer Lowy (b. 1925), both from Hungary, report that subsequently they were in Bergen-Belsen, Stutthof/Pölitz, and Ravensbrück/Barth. They are likely to have been in a transport of approximately 500 prisoners from Wüstegiersdorf that arrived in Bergen-Belsen toward the end of February 1945. Together with 1,500 to 2,000 other prisoners, they were taken from there to Pölitz near Stettin around the middle of March. These three and possibly other former Wüstewaltersdorf inmates are likely to have been among the 400 male prisoners who left Pölitz for Barth on April 18, 1945.[13]

SOURCES A number of videotaped interviews preserved by the VHF (nos. 690, 27641, 29338, 40995, 49887) and the testimony by a survivor before a German court (BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335) are important sources for this entry, as are interviews with, and statements by, former German inhabitants of the town of Wüstewaltersdorf. Piotr Kruszyński, one of the foremost experts on the Riese complex of camps, supplied pertinent information from his files. For an overview of Riese and some information on camps in and just outside of Wüstewaltersdorf, see Dariusz Garba, *Riese: Das Rätsel um Hitler's Hauptquartier* (Zella-Mehlis: Heinrich-Jung-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000). The search for Nazi documents regarding Wüstewaltersdorf did not yield new results. Additional information has been provided by the USHMM, the AMGR, and the AG-BB and AG-S.

Hermann F. Weiss

NOTES

1. This location has been confirmed by Piotr Kruszyński (Nürnberg), a native of Poland, as a result of his wide-ranging explorations of the terrain (interview by the author, November 4, 2005). Among the former Wüstewaltersdorf residents who indicate that the camp was located on the Stenzel-Berg are the following: Gertrud Winkler née Richter, born 1913 (interview August 7, 2005); Günter Proll, born 1923, and Kurt Scholz (Wüw He, no. 115 [1994]). The camp under discussion here is not to be confused with the so-called Lager I, which was located in Wüstewaltersdorf itself.
2. VHF, No. 49887 and Pre-Interview Questionnaire; USHMMA, Oral History Interview RG-50.030*0313.
3. VHF, No. 29338.
4. Ibid. Dr. Andrei Gergely likewise reports that the camp was empty when his transport arrived (BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335).
5. VHF, No. 29338.
6. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335 (statement by Dr. A. Gergely).
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. VHF, No. 29338 (testimonial by Th. Figueras).
10. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 288; B 162/5607, pp. 589, 521.
11. Thomas and Paul Nadelstecher (Dorota Sula, AMGR, email September 1, 2005); Andrei Gergely (Shaul Ferrero, YV, email October 31, 2005).
12. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 379 (statement by W. Skrzypczak, May 13, 1967).
13. Bernhard Strebel, email November 4, 2005; AG-S, email November 3, 2005; AG-BB, email November 10, 2005.

RIESE/ZENTRALREVIER OR ZENTRAL-KRANKENREVIER IN TANNHAUSEN [AKA BLUMENAU]

The alternate name of the hospital comes from the name of the hamlet of Blumenau (present-day Jedlinka Górna) where it was located. The Central Camp Hospital (Zentralkrankenrevier) was established in the latter half of 1944 for sick Riese complex prisoners. It was composed of four one-level brick buildings surrounded by barbed wire.

There were up to 1,000 sick prisoners at a time there near the end of the war. Prisoner A. Kajzer wrote the following about his stay at the "hospital":

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

> Yesterday we were in the bath. We received fresh underwear and fresh [striped prisoners'] uniforms. We were deloused. It is extremely clean here and lice are not biting us anymore. If not for the fact that there are guards in the corridor and outside the barbed wires, I would not feel as if I were a prisoner at all. In the morning at roll-call, everyone stays at their bunks, just raising their heads. The Unterscharführer takes the roll-call. We are allowed to lay in our bunks the whole day and rest as much as we want. What a pleasure!
>
> Tannhausen, Thursday, [n.d.] 1944.
>
> This morning a doctor visited us—a Dutch Jew, an extremely pleasant and good man. . . . He asked each of us detailed questions about our illnesses, and recommended laying in bed as treatment.
>
> "That's all I can treat you with," he said. "At least for the time being, until medicine arrives." . . .
>
> Saturday, [n.d.] 1944. . . . The doctor said that anyone who recovers has to return to the camp he came from. That would be awful. I'd rather die here. True, the food here is worse than in camp, but on the other hand, it's blissful to lay all day in warmth, under a blanket, and think of the past and future.[1]

Upon liberation, the sick prisoners stayed in the infirmary barracks that were now called the Blumenau hospital. Its purpose was to care for those former prisoners whose general weakness precluded them from returning home safely. The hospital was closed in late June 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Lodzkie, 1962), pp. 111–113.

SACKISCH

The subcamp in Sackisch (present-day Zakrze), was formed because several plants and companies manufacturing for wartime production, primarily Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), as well as the Sehmann, Goldschmidt, and Telefunken companies, had been moved to the Bad Kudowa (now Kudowa Zdrój) region in late 1943 and early 1944.

Thousands of laborers had to be brought in to provide the manpower needed to continue operations. A large camp with about 20 barracks was built for them. The camp was situated on swampy land along the road between Sackisch and Bad Kudowa. The buildings extended for about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles). Because of the marshy substrate, the barracks were built on posts driven into the ground. Polish forced laborers and Russian and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) were put into the barracks. The POW barracks were fenced with barbed wire, and Wehrmacht soldiers stood guard.

In the summer of 1944, five accommodations barracks were appropriated from the big camp, a separate kitchen and warehouse were set up, and a guardhouse was added; it was all surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, like the POW section. That is how the separate camp under Gross-Rosen concentration camp was formed.[1]

Sackisch most probably began operating in late August or early September 1944. Jewish women from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were sent to Sackisch. The camp's population at any given time is hard to determine. At least four known transports were sent to the camp. They all came from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The transports brought a total of at least 950 women.

The first transport probably reached Sackisch in late August 1944. It numbered at least 300 women; they were Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto. Tauba Szmaragd, who received number 53904, arrived in that transport.[2]

Another 250 women from Hungary and Poland were brought to the camp in the second known transport. On October 12, the prisoners were issued camp numbers ranging from 66501 through 66750.

Another transport of 250 Czech and Hungarian Jews reached Sackisch also around mid-October 1944. The women who arrived at that time received numbers 67051 through 67300.[3]

The last transport was admitted on November 28, 1944. The 150 Czech Jewish women were issued numbers 86001 through 86150.

There is little information available about the transports leaving Sackisch. What is known is that on December 10, 1944, 20 prisoners were sent on to two other Gross-Rosen subcamps (10 to each camp): Bernsdorf (present-day Bernartice) and Parschnitz (present-day Poříčí).[4]

Another source provides the additional information that "some of the prisoners were moved to the Langenbielau camp" in 1944.[5]

According to the affidavit of former prisoners Fejgi Orenstein and Chai Mayer, 16 women died at Sackisch; they were buried near the local church.[6] The names of 4 of the deceased are known: Helena Grunberg, Bianka Sara Kasum, Ida Sara Schich, and Gisa Wassenberg. The aforementioned information would indicate that prisoner losses were not great. However, there is a document reporting that on December 2, 1944, there were only 172 prisoners in the camp.[7] Thus, it is safe to assume that knowledge of the subject is far from complete.

The guards at the camp were SS women. A German woman, Lucia (Luiza) Kloversa, initially held the post of Lagerführerin (camp leader) (September–October 1944). Elizabeth Spar was her successor. The guards were German women: Helena Hilzer, Hilda Steinhofer, Magdalena Hazller, and Toni Knifel.[8]

Almost all the prisoners were put to work at VDM, which manufactured aircraft parts at the former C. Dierig textile plant. The work was split up into two 12-hour shifts, six days

a week. Once a week, on Saturday, the VDM management gave the prisoners an extra food ration of 0.5 kilograms (18 ounces) of bread and 0.2 kilograms (7 ounces) of sausage. However, the SS guards would often take the extra ration away from them under any pretense.

A small group of women worked on the camp premises.

There was no infirmary at Sackisch. A dentist, Rosa Kacenelson (camp number 51221), and a prisoner doctor whose name is unknown provided medical assistance to their fellow prisoners.[9]

The Sackisch subcamp was not evacuated. Work was halted at VDM in April 1945. For the final weeks of the war, 100 women were put to work building a road in what was then the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; the others did odd jobs (such as cleaning or peeling potatoes) in the homes of local Germans.

T. Szmaragd described the moment of liberation in her account: "During breakfast the morning of May 8, we noticed changes in the Germans' attitude toward us. Our SS-Kommandoführerin came to us and told us that we were free and could leave the camp. The SS-men themselves escorted us to the Czech border in Nachod. They gave the Czechs a list of our laborers, leaving us, and we did not know where they had gone. The Czechs escorted us to lodgings in Nachod, fed us, and replaced our striped uniforms with dresses. After three days in Nachod, we went our separate ways."[10]

There were two trials of camp staff members after the war in Poland. The first Lagerführerin, Kloversa, born November 17, 1921, was tried by the Wrocław Special Criminal Court and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on January 23, 1946. She left prison on January 15, 1949. Guard Hilszer, born November 4, 1919, was tried by the Kłodzko District Court. Sentence was passed on December 31, 1946. She was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. She left prison on October 8, 1953.

SOURCES There are no references devoted entirely to Sackisch. Certain information about it may be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen" (*Studia Śląskie*, seria nowa, vol. XL (1982)), and in Bogdan Cybulski, "Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen" (Rogoźnica, 1987).

The archival material on Sackisch chiefly consists of accounts of former prisoners of the camp, on file mainly at the AMGR in Wałbrzych and the AŻIH in Warsaw, as well as the trial records for the female SS officers from the camp staff, at the AK-IPN WR. There are also copies of these records at the AMGR.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN WR, OKBZHW, sygn. [Catalog No.] Ds. 35/67.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 208—Tauba Szmaragd.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 7/119/VII/MF—Orders to make numbers.
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 4346/DP—Transportliste.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/63/DP—Collection: R. Olszyna Records.
6. AK-IPN WR, OKBZHW, Catalog No. Ds. 43/67/XXIV—Affidavit of F. Orenstein and C. Mayer filed on May 1, 1968, before a notary in New York (copy).
7. ITS, Gross-Rosen materials.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 4/429/MF—Letter from Kłodzko Municipal Court dated October 24, 1946, to the GKBZHwP.
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 6750/DP—Leistungs und Personal Meldungs der Zeit vom 19.1. bis 19.2.1945; AŻIH, Account No. 208—Tauba Szmaragd.
10. AMGR, Catalog No. 4/429/MF—Letter from Kłodzko Municipal Court dated October 24, 1946, to the GKBZHwP.

SCHATZLAR

The forced labor camp (ZAL) was probably established, under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt, in Schatzlar (Žáceléř) in June 1942 and lasted as such until 1944, when it became a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The small subcamp was established before June 9, 1944. It remains unknown how many of the initial young Jewish women and girls in the forced labor camp were taken over by the subcamp. The official documents appear to confirm that the camp was not only under the authority of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz" but was combined with the nearby and much larger Bernsdorf camp. The difference between the two labor camps was probably what hindered their complete merger.

At Schatzlar the prisoners had to work in the spinning mills of the Fa (Firm) Gustav Adolf Buhl-Sohn. In any case, the female camp commander and three other wardresses were responsible to the Bernsdorf camp command. In addition to the 111 women in the camp, 15 Jewish women from Wiesau arrived there in December 1944. The total number grew from 120 to 130 female inmates. The camp structure and conditions were similar to those in Bernsdorf. The end of the camp coincides with its liberation by the Red Army on May 8, 1945. The prisoners, together with the military prisoners, helped to remove tank traps. A unique and interesting document, a manuscript of a drama with the title "Der Traum der Künstlerin" (The Dream of a Female Artist), was created in the camp and written in German. According to the author, Celine Richter, from Budapest, it is a "playful tragedy." The manuscript has been preserved as part of the trial documents used against Emma Mach, the camp commander in Schatzlar. The play was indeed dedicated to her and is dated May 5, 1945. It was performed in the camp by a group of young female Hungarians. Mach claimed before the court in Jičín that she and her husband helped the Jewish women. Despite her claims, she and M. Mühl from Bernsdorf were found guilty for being members of the SS and given a prison term.[1]

SOURCES The basis for this article is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VHJ Lnářský průmysl

v Trutnově, 1981). The author has also relied on his article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd, 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," (*Thereseienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper Prague: Academia, 1999).

In Olomouc well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp by Jewish women from Hungary: "'Lágr je sen?' (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklć v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín). The most important files are those of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, the firm archives at Texlen Trutnov contain important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area as referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Ludvík Václavek, "'Lágr je sen?' (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991), pp. 155–160.

SCHERTENDORF

A Gross-Rosen subcamp came into being as the result of the evacuation of Jewish commandos from occupied areas and was set up in unplanned fashion in Schertendorf (now Przylep), a village almost five kilometers (three miles) from Grünberg (Zielona Góra). The purpose was to make use of the manpower in Zielona Góra armaments factories. The camp was located in barracks designed for warehouses. There were three of them, but only one was used. The area was fenced in, and there were two guard huts and a gate. According to accounts by local people and forced laborers, there were over 100 young Jewish women and men in Schertendorf. Blahe, a noncommissioned SS officer with the rank of Oberscharführer, served as the subcamp commander.

The prisoners worked at Christ ü Co and Beuchelt (now Zastal), which were armaments companies. The prisoners were escorted to work every day in two columns, women and men separately. They were convoyed by guards in navy-blue uniforms. The guards were specially trained. The prisoners were dressed in gray clothing and wore wooden clogs. The women were very badly treated; they were beaten for any reason; they were hungry and ate apple peels. Some Germans gave them extra food, hiding it in the machines. The camp was closed in early February 1945. The prisoners were probably sent toward Szczecin.

There is no proof of homicides having been committed in the camp.

SOURCES This entry relied heavily on AMGR, sygn. 6500/DP, OKBZH at Wrocław: Report of Proceedings on the Slave Labor Camp at Przylep, Zielona Góra County, witness testimony; and on AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/34/DP, collection of Roman Olszyna's materials on the Schertendorf subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

SCHLESIERSEE I

The camp at Schlesiersee (present-day Sława) came into being as the result of the evacuation of Jewish commandos from occupied areas. In early October 1944, a transport of 1,000 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz, and the women were used to form the Schlesiersee I commando. Another transport of 1,000 women arrived at the end of the month, and then a second camp (see Gross-Rosen/Schlesiersee II) was formed. According to other researchers, 2,000 Jewish women from Poland and Hungary were sent from Birkenau to Schlesiersee on October 22, 1944; 1,000 of them, assigned numbers 70001 through 71000, were put on Count Haugewitz's eastern farm, Neue Vorwerk: Schlesiersee I. The prisoners were lodged in a barn and slept on hay. In the center was a stove, which was only used when some fuel had been collected. Sanitary conditions were ghastly. The water pump was in the barnyard and froze in the winter. There was no soap or towels. The food was insufficient. Many of the girls had frostbitten feet, as they had no footwear. Although diseases were frequent, people remember no incidences of shooting prisoners. There was a doctor, but medical aid was inadequate.

Karl Herman Jeschke held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader), and Joseph Kowatsch was Rapportführer (report leader). Krause, Hoffman, and Graetz are among the staff members mentioned in documentation regarding the camp. The women worked at the Kraus company and digging trenches. Three kilometers (almost two miles) south of the camp buildings, they dug trapezoidal antitank trenches 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) by 4 to 6 meters (13 to 20 feet) at the top. The excavated earth had to be spread. Conditions became very hard when the earth froze in December.

Evacuation occurred suddenly on January 21, 1945, at 10:00 P.M. The prisoners had to abandon camp immediately. Sick women were transported on carts and wheelbarrows pushed by their fellow prisoners. The column reached the village of Stary Jaromir on January 25. The sickest women were loaded onto three carts; supposedly they were going to be taken to the hospital. They were carted off to the woods 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the village, and there they were

shot upon an order from Jeschke. The remains of 41 victims were unearthed in an exhumation conducted after the war. As Bernard Robinson relates, one prisoner survived the massacre, Waleria Straussova. Severely wounded, she wandered through the fields for two days. She found shelter with Maria Wojciech, a resident of the village of Wijewo. The evacuation column advanced toward Wojnów [or Wojnowo]. The column reached the Grünberg commando on January 28. The women were emaciated, ragged, barefoot, and dirty. The sight of the column shocked the Grünberg prisoners.

They set out to continue their journey the next day after some of the Grünberg women joined them. The evacuation ended in the town of Volary in Bohemia only in May of 1945. Not many survived. For a more detailed description of the evacuation route, see Gross-Rosen/Grünberg I.

SOURCES Documents on this camp are scarce; see AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6835/DP, Transports of female prisoners of the Zielona Góra subcamps—lists compiled by B. Robinson; also AMGR, Catalog No. 7946/DP, testimony of Luba Beilowitz. Published sources include Bernard Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach Organizacji Schmelt w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 105–138; Dorota Sula, "Filie KL Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1944–1945," in *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2001); and A. Kaczmarczyk, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1943–1945" (master's thesis, Zielona Góra, 1977).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

SCHLESIERSEE II [AKA PÜRSCHKAU]

The Schlesiersee II commando was formed from the second transport of 1,000 Jewish women from Poland and Hungary that arrived at Schlesiersee from Auschwitz in October 1944. According to other researchers, Schlesiersee II was formed from the second half of a transport of 2,000 women that arrived from Auschwitz on October 22. They were put on Count Haugewitz's western farm called Bänisch. It was 1.5 kilometers (almost 1 mile) south of the village of Pürschkau (now Przybyszow). The prisoners were assigned numbers 71001 through 72000.

As at Schlesiersee I, Karl Herman Jeschke held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader), and Joseph Kowatsch was Rapportführer (report leader).

The women were lodged in buildings for animals. They worked for the Kraus company and digging trenches.

Evacuation was ordered on January 21, as at the Schlesiersee I subcamps. Both columns reached the Grünberg I subcamp on January 28. The next stage of the death march started the very next day, along with some of the Grünberg I prisoners, ending at Bergen-Belsen. The route is described in detail. See Gross-Rosen / Grünberg I. Only a few lived until liberation.

SOURCES Documents on this camp are scarce; see AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6835/DP, Transports of female prisoners of the Zielona Góra subcamps—lists compiled by B. Robinson; also AMGR, Catalog No. 7946/DP, Testimony of Luba Beilowitz. Published sources include B. Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach Organizacji Schmelt w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 105–138; D. Sula, "Filie KL Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1944–1945," in *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2001); and A. Kaczmarczyk, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1943–1945" (master's thesis, Zielona Góra, 1977).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

ST. GEORGENTHAL

A forced labor camp for Jews was established in St. Georgenthal (Jiretin) in 1943. Due to the lack of records on the later subcamp at St. Georgenthal, no specific information on its organization and operation is available. From Gross-Rosen commander Hassebroek's letter of November 18, 1944, to Karl Hermann Frank, the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Prague, it is known that he provided a figure of 50 female prisoners who were put to work in the communications equipment factory in 1944. The number of women was to increase to 700.[1] It is unclear whether this actually happened, due to the lack of information in the sources. The letter notified Frank that according to Heinrich Himmler's order, the Gross-Rosen camp headquarters was to file reports on the Gross-Rosen subcamps not only to the HSSPF in Breslau (Wrocław) (Schmeiser) but also to the HSSPF for the area where any of those subcamps operated. The list appended to the aforementioned letter confirms the information that there was a Gross-Rosen subcamp at St. Georgenthal. A document drawn up by the Czech county security agency just after the war contains the information that a maximum of 280 to 340 people lived in the camp. The total number of women who passed through the camp was 600, however. They were Jewish women of various nationalities: 31 percent Polish, 29 percent Czech, 28 percent Russian, 7 percent French, 2 percent Italian, and 3 percent of other nationality.[2] Only 3 people died in the camp, including 2 of Polish and 1 of Russian origin; 1 of them died in the hospital at Tranvale, and her body was buried in the town of Hor. Tanvale. This fact was recorded in the register of deaths there. Two people were taken to the hospital in Liberci.

The prisoners probably lived in wooden barracks located on the premises of the factory in which they worked. They were put to work at the Sicht- und Zerl Werke dismantling aircraft that had been shot down.

According to Brandy Kiejzmann's testimony,

> St. Georgenthal was the worst camp (I had been at Ostrowiec and Auschwitz earlier). I was tortured at

> St. Georgenthal, and so were others. Although Seliger did not have a bat, she would beat prisoners with her fist. The older women particularly suffered at her hand. The kitchen staff also suffered whenever she was dissatisfied. It was her doing that the bread ration was decreased. Whereas initially five people would get one loaf of bread per day, later one loaf was apportioned to fourteen people. If she caught someone stealing a potato, she would cut their hair off on the spot. Then they wouldn't be allowed to put a kerchief on their head for the next few days. She would also beat them.

Hanna Seliger was one of the Aufseherinnen (female guards).

Sara Kiejzmann describes Seliger's behavior toward the prisoners as follows: "She was particularly brutal: shortly before the war ended, she beat two prisoners unconscious. . . . [B]efore liberation, she broke one woman's arm with her bat [*sic*]. She killed yet another woman for making her bed untidily. There were also many other sadistic acts, which I cannot express in words."[3]

A woman named Margot was the Lagerführerin (camp leader). She knew of the methods that Aufseherin Seliger used, yet she did nothing to stop her sadistic outbursts. Former prisoners relate that she too was afraid of Seliger. The other Aufseherinnen were also afraid of her, as they contended with the possibility of being sent to a penal commando. The other guards were also severe, but they did not beat the women when they noticed they had stopped working. Seliger repeatedly instructed them to perform their duties "better."

There is no information for this camp on the existence of an infirmary or on the medical help provided there. Two reports provide only information on the dental procedures performed. Romana Silberschlag examined prisoners in January 1945, but only from January 20 through 25. She also served in that position at other camps, such as the Kratzau II and Zittau subcamps. Another prisoner, Hanna Chwat (camp number 53943), was serving as dentist by the next month.

The camp was liberated on May 9, 1945.

Defendant Seliger testified that she and 14 young women had been recruited to work at the subcamp. According to a list of staff assigned to guard the respective subcamps, 9 female SS guards kept watch at camp.[4]

Ida Otto was an Aufseherin at the camp. She served at the Parschnitz, Graben, and St. Georgenthal camps from October 1944 to May 1945. After the war, she was accused of beating and kicking prisoners and chopping off their hair. There was insufficient evidence to support those charges as a basis for sentencing. She was found guilty because she had belonged to the SS. She received a sentence of six years in prison and the confiscation of her property.[5]

SOURCES The following works contain information on this subcamp: A. Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003); G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL Gross-Rosen," (unpub. typescript); B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1987); K. Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

The documentary source material for this subcamp is scant. The author used the AMGR information from the Czech County Security Agency regarding the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the St. Georgenthal subcamp, compiled around 1945; the records of the Polish Army's Nazi Crimes Investigation Mission in Germany's British Occupation Zone in 1946; and the records of cases against staff members.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 2829–DP, Secret Diary.
2. AMGR, Catalog No. 6779-DP, Czech County Security Agency information on Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the St. Georgenthal subcamp, from ca. 1945.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. MF 70/4255, Polish Army Mission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in the British Occupation Zone of Germany, September 4, 1946.
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 2829-DP, Secret Diary.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. MF 122/113, Records of case against Ida Otto.

TRESKAU

It is not known when the camp at Treskau (present-day Owińska, near Poznań) was established. The first reference to it in surviving German records is dated August 30, 1943.[1] However, two of the numerous accounts of former prisoners say that the camp was already in existence in early 1943.[2]

The camp was in the basement of one of the buildings in a barracks complex dating back to World War I. Between the wars, the buildings had housed a facility for people with psychiatric conditions. The invading Germans slaughtered the patients by November 1939, and the SS took over the facility for barracks. The following units were stationed there: Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment), then Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler (Bodyguard Regiment Adolf Hitler), and finally the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School), which had been transferred there from Brunswick.

A subcamp was established because the SS school needed renovating and expansion. The prisoners were men, mainly Russian and Polish, but there were Czechs, Ukrainians, and Germans as well. All accounts agree that the camp population was approximately 100 to 110 prisoners.[3] The population did not change because there were regular small transports from the main camp, often of just a few people, to replace the dead or the seriously ill who were removed to Gross-Rosen. One prisoner reports that the population had been reduced to 50 people in November 1944.[4] Another prisoner estimated that several men died every week.[5] Prisoners died of emaciation; executions were not performed in Treskau.

There was no infirmary in the camp. There was only a prisoner who served as an orderly; he had a medicine kit and administered first aid. Aside from that, the prisoner orderly went to work normally with everyone. The names of two orderlies are known: Franc Grabowski served in the job until December 1943, and after his death, it was medical student Stanisław Dziaduś, who had been brought from the Gross-Rosen main camp. Dziaduś served as orderly until he escaped from the Treskau subcamp in May 1944.

The first Lagerführer (camp leader) known by name was SS-Scharführer Alfred Juchelek, a German born on November 4, 1911, in Kattowitz (later Katowice). He had been at Treskau since August 1943. He was promoted to the rank of SS-Unterscharführer prior to December 13, 1943. In February 1944, after the death of camp elder (Lagerältester) Emil Schwarz, he was dismissed from Treskau. Then an SS man, whose name is unknown, assumed the job of Lagerführer. He was at Treskau for a very short time. The next Lagerführer was SS-Rottenführer Diener, who came from Serbia.[6] The date that Diener was dismissed is unknown. All that is known is that he was already at the Gross-Rosen main camp on January 26, 1945. After him, another SS man whose name is not known was Lagerführer until the camp went out of existence.[7]

German criminal prisoner Emil Schwarz initially held the post of Lagerältester; he was singular in his aggressiveness and brutality toward his fellow prisoners. On February 18, 1944, he was murdered by Wołodia Nosyr, a young Russian prisoner. When Nosyr was caught, he was taken to the main camp at Gross-Rosen and hanged there. A Czech political prisoner named Karel became the new Lagerältester. The aforementioned German criminal Grabowski (concurrently the orderly) was the Kapo in charge of the largest work group, the construction group. He was shot accidentally in December 1943, and a German named Max was appointed to replace him. The new Kapo was brought to Treskau with Dziaduś, who assumed the post of orderly. Life was less severe at Treskau after Max and Dziaduś arrived; they managed to stand up to Schwarz. There was more freedom within the confines of the basement walls, and the fear of speaking, even to another prisoner, disappeared. Hygienic conditions in the quarters also improved somewhat.

The prisoners primarily worked constructing auxiliary buildings for the school: stables, a covered riding area, garages, a movie theater, and a rabbit pen. They were divided into three labor commandos: construction; water and sewer ditch digging (the Vorarbeiter [foreman] here was a Pole, Stefan Rajski); and the smallest, the gardening commando (Gartenkommando—the Vorarbeiter was a Ukrainian named Boris), which worked planting lawns, flower beds, borders, hedges, and so on. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners also worked building an airport. That information is plausible. In actual fact, there was a small airfield in the town of Bednary several kilometers from Treskau. Luftwaffe detachments had been stationed there since August 1941. Prisoners also were sporadically sent to do odd construction jobs in Treskau itself. In the spring of 1944, approximately 10 prisoners working in the Gartenkommando were trucked under escort to the Fabianowo section of Poznań. The SS barracks construction warehouses were located there. There was also a prefabricated frame house on the premises. The prisoners' job was to level the site around the house and to plant a garden. The prisoners worked there for about a week. The house's owner, an SS doctor with the rank of Obersturmführer, who worked at a Poznań hospital, would bring large amounts of dry bread and give it to the prisoners working at his house as extra food. The work in Poznań stopped after several days, and the prisoners were put into the commandos building the garages and the rabbit pen in Treskau.

On May 11, 1944, three prisoners escaped from a work site in the woods near Treskau: Poles Dziaduś and Stanisław Purgał and Lithuanian Władysław Wysocki.[8] Purgał was shot immediately upon escaping by the SS man guarding them. Dziaduś was caught near the town of Koło about two weeks later. In June, he was moved from the prison in Koło to the Gross-Rosen main camp and put in a penal company. Wysocki was probably successful in escaping.

According to Apolinary Sztybel's account, on Christmas 1944, an SS man let the prisoners cut down a tree in the woods and decorate the Christmas tree in camp.[9] He also got them an extra portion of food and gave each prisoner two packs of cigarettes. He also sang Christmas carols in Polish with the prisoners. For the prisoners, that was intensely moving.

The evacuation of the Treskau subcamp began on January 20, 1945. The prisoners were prodded along on foot to Poznań. There they were loaded onto railway cars and taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It is unclear how many prisoners left the Treskau camp; according to historian Alfred Konieczny, only 60 men from that transport were admitted at Sachsenhausen.

SOURCES There are no monographic essays on the Treskau camp. There is encyclopedic information in B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). Also of great value are the recollections of former prisoner Stanisław Dziaduś, "Historia jednej ucieczki" (unpub. typescript from MSS, AMGR in Wałbrzych).

The available archival material on the Treskau labor camp has been collected at the AMGR in Wałbrzych. It is chiefly composed of surveys, accounts, reports of interviews, and correspondence with former prisoners of the Treskau camp.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 145.

2. AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/40/DP—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Władysław Strzopa; AMGR, Catalog No. 3107/DP-A—Questionnaire of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Apolinary Sztybel.

3. AMGR, Catalog No. 7/106a/MF—Report of examination of witness Stanisław Jabłoński, dated June 11, 1945; AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/40/DP—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Władysław Strzopa; AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP, collection: R. Olszyna Records—Letter of former prisoner Paweł Wójcik; AMGR, Catalog No. 6910/DP-A—Questionnaire of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Marian Szczepanik; AMGR, Catalog No. 3466/DP-A—Questionnaire of former prisoner Bolesław Litwin; AMGR, Catalog No. 1983/DP-A—Józef Sochacki's questionnaire; AMGR, Catalog No. 2223/DP—Account of former prisoner Jan Ferenc.

4. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP—List Pawła Wójcika.

5. AMGR, Catalog No. 6910/DP-A—Ankieta Mariana Szczepanika.

6. AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/41/DP—Protokół przesłuchania świadka Bolesława Litwina z 25.01.1974 r.

7. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP—List Pawła Wójcika.

8. AMGR, Catalog No. 5903/49/DP—Protokół przesłuchania świadka St. Dziadusia z June 4, 1972 r.; AMGR, Catalog No. 2223/DP—Relacja byłego więźnia Jana Ferenca.

9. AMGR, Catalog No. 3107/DP-A—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Apolinary Sztybel.

WALDENBURG

Waldenburg (present-day Wałbrzych) is located in the foothills of the Sudetes Mountains approximately 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) south of Wrocław.

There was a labor camp here for Jewish men, under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The fact is documented by accounts of former prisoners and court materials from postwar trials of staff members and prisoner-functionaries, as well as by the surviving original German list of Waldenburg labor camp prisoners. The exact date the camp was formed has not been established. According to information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, the Waldenburg camp came into being in early 1944, having been converted from a forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ). The findings of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland move the opening date forward to September 1, 1944. On the other hand, prisoner accounts put it at early October 1944.

On September 30, 1944, two high-ranking SS men came to the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camp (ZAL) at Freiburg (Świebodzice), one of them being a doctor. Their job was to conduct a selection from among the Freiburg prisoners. After excluding those who were weak or looked poorly (labeled with the letter *U*: *untauglich*—unfit), who were sent away in an unknown direction, a group of 132 men qualified for concentration camp incarceration (*T*: *tauglich*—fit) were trucked away to nearby Waldenburg. This was the first transport that arrived at the newly established, still uncompleted Waldenburg labor camp. Another group of 433 men were transported in by train several days later, this time from ZAL Klettendorf. Thus the camp reached a population of 565 prisoners in the first days of its operation. Some changes occurred that same month. On October 28, 1944, 57 prisoners were sent back to Gross-Rosen for unknown reasons, and a group of 58 Jews were brought in to replace them, having been taken out of two transports that had arrived at Gross-Rosen in mid-September 1944 from the Krakau-Płaszow concentration camp. In subsequent months, there were only slight changes in the camp's population: 7 prisoners were sent to Gross-Rosen on November 23, 1944, and 4 were sent on December 9. Then in January 1945, 31 men were brought to Waldenburg; according to one prisoner's account, they were "prisoners from various camps who had gotten lost during the evacuation and wound up near Wałbrzych."[1] Two prisoners were sent to the Wüstegiersdorf subcamp on February 18.

The prisoners from the Freiburg and Klettendorf transports were assigned numbers 64201 through 64765. The Krakau-Plaszow transport ranged in numbers from 69366 to 69912 and 74431 to 74847. The prisoners incarcerated in January received numbers 97029 through 97059. This group included two Hungarian Jews who initially had been assigned numbers 97014 and 97015, only to have them changed a few days later to 44786 and 45033; those prisoners were then sent back to Wüstegiersdorf.

The Waldenburg camp was for Jews. Polish Jews from Upper Silesia and Małopolska (Lesser Poland) predominated. There was also a small group from Western Europe.

The camp was located in the southern part of town in the Stadtpark section (present-day Gaj, the Królewiecka Street area). The area was wooded. Railroad tracks ran near the camp. The road running along the camp buildings led to a facility (plant[s], mill[s], or factory[ies]) at the coal mine, at which facility the prisoners worked.

The camps had not been finished when the first prisoners were admitted in October 1944. Two identical-looking two-story cinderblock buildings were finished. There were eight living quarters (sztuba) in each, four on the first and four on the second floor. Each sztuba was intended for 30 prisoners. There were toilets and washrooms in the corridor outside the chambers, and there was a shower in the basement. The barracks were also equipped with a central heating system. However, neither running water nor heat was connected for some time. The quarters' furnishings were standard: three-decker bunks, a table, and stools, all new. There were no straw mattresses or wool or cloth blankets. The prisoners slept on straw and had paper bedspreads for covers. The camp buildings also included an administration building. It was a long one-story brick barrack that held the kitchen, hospital/infirmary (*Rever*), sewing room, canteen (Schreibstube), and a large room the prisoners called the "dayroom," which was adapted into living quarters after the group of 58 prisoners from Krakau-Plaszow arrived. In time, the entire camp premises were surrounded by a double fence of barbed wire, and the inner one was electrified. Outside the fence there was a building for the SS staff.

Living conditions at Waldenburg were relatively good. New accommodation buildings with new undamaged furnishings, a sewage system, hot and cold running water, and central heating were not standard in camps of this type. However, the prisoners' food was insufficient. Bread, coffee, and watery soup did not supply the hardworking men with an adequate amount of calories. Every month the daily food rations grew smaller. Immediately after arrival at camp, prisoners received striped clothing, caps, and wooden clogs. In the winter, sweaters and coats were also distributed.

There was an infirmary at the camp: an outpatient room and a ward with beds. Three doctor prisoners serviced it: a dentist, a surgeon (a young Warsaw doctor named Czarmarka), and a general physician (a Czech Jew). The food there was somewhat better. On occasion, sick patients would even get milk soup with saccharine.

There were only four deaths recorded throughout Waldenburg's operation, and that was in the spring of 1945, by which time the prisoners were very weak due to the emaciating labor and insufficient food.

The camp day began with a wake-up call at 5:00 A.M. After breakfast and roll call, the prisoners were divided into groups and left for work. A smaller group worked finishing and expanding the camp. Most of the prisoners were escorted by SS men to a construction site called the Baustelle, about 500 meters (1,640 feet) away. According to information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, chiefly construction and assembly work was done there for the following companies: Hoch und Tiefbau AG, Philip Holzmann, IG Farben AG, AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft; General Electric Co.,) and Synthetische Benzin—Fabrik Mathildenhöhe. Work at the construction site lasted 10 hours, with a meal break from 12:30 to 1:00 P.M. Upon returning to camp, the prisoners were counted, and there was an evening roll call, at which people weak by work were often additionally tortured by exercises. There were roll calls with mandatory exercises on Sundays, too.

The camp was guarded by the SS staff. SS-Unterscharführer Schrammel was the commander. A former prisoner depicted him as follows: "A known murderer of prisoners at other camps, he behaved completely differently at Wałbrzych. To us he was above all a merchant. He loved money and derived satisfaction from accumulating it. . . . At such times (when he would sell prisoners cigarettes and tobacco), the man, usually inaccessible, would take off his jacket and collect the money from everyone by himself."[2] The same witness continues by relating Schrammel's attitude toward the camp he was in charge of: "The Lagerführer has paid a lot of attention to the infirmary and it's important for him to get as much medicine for patients as possible. You could describe him in one sentence: he wanted his camp to be the best; he allowed anything to be brought to camp, but wouldn't let anything be taken out."[3] He could punish people severely for the slightest violation of camp regulations, such as stealing potatoes or disobeying orders. He beat people, set dogs on them, and abused them by ordering what was called "athletics," which consisted of a prisoner having to wallow on the ground while he brutally walked all over the person laying there.

The Waldenburg camp was not evacuated. It operated until the end of the war. As the front approached, the work at the Baustelle stopped, and the prisoners were put to work building trenches in the environs of the city. The SS staff and commander left the camp on the night of May 7–8, 1945. The Waldenburg camp then ceased to exist.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: B. Cybulski, "Podobóz obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen AL Waldenburg (Wałbrzych)," in *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, No. 1072: Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes, vol. 13, 1990; B. Cybulski, "Żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," in *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, No. 281: Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes, vol. 2, 1975; "Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945," in *Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); AŻIH, Collection of Accounts; AŻIH, "Dokumenty niemieckie" collection, sygn. 167 ("AL Waldenburg. Alphabetischen Häftlings-Verzeihnis"); AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, Collection of Surveys, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6201/DP-A.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 2089.
3. Ibid.

WEISSWASSER

During World War II, the Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke (United Lausitz Glassworks) produced, in addition to jars for conserved food, medicine bottles and cooking utensils, and glass parts for armored vehicles, mines, and the V-1 flying bomb. In 1944, the plant Malky Müller & Co. (Bärenhütte) in Weisswasser (Biała Woda), that had been owned by the Dutch Philips company since 1920, became the relocation site of the Philips-Valvo Factory in Aachen. A transport of 300 mostly Hungarian Jewish women and children was organized at the beginning of September 1944 to Weisswasser, which became a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The women had been selected by a Philips-Valvo Factory representative in Auschwitz. The prisoners were accommodated in three barracks in Weisswasser located on Kromlauer Weg and the corner of Neuteichweg.

Edit K., a survivor of Gross-Rosen with prisoner number 61191, related that a civilian radio manufacturer sought the prisoners out and promised that they would be treated well. They were chosen not only on the basis of their age, but also after an examination of their eyes and hands. After a month they were taken to Weisswasser for work. When they arrived, they found very clean barracks. Each room held 16 people and

each person had their own bed with two blankets. They had clean wash rooms and an English toilet. They could properly wash themselves. They had electric light and in winter the barracks were even heated.

The prisoners worked in the Bärenhütte and Luisenhütte (smelting works). Franciska L., a survivor with prisoner number 61225 at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, wrote that there were two large operations for making globes and filaments. The one was called 'Bärenhütte,' the other 'Luisenhütte.' The prisoners were put in various groups, including assembly, dusting down, and laboratory. They lived in wooden barracks, one hundred women per barrack, which were surrounded with barbed wire. Five men from the Wehrmacht were constantly guarding them. There were 16 female SS wardens, a female commander named Berta Frank (née Metzig, from Hamburg), as well as a female head of the group. They were watched from every possible angle and were not permitted to speak to anyone. They were completely isolated.

Margot K., from the town of Weisswasser, reported that her father made pistons at the Philips factory in Bärenhütte, later Luisenhütte. In 1944, he came home very annoyed as he had not earned any money. There were new people, he said, who dusted down, but who had no skill and caused a lot of damage. They were young Jewish women with shaved heads. There was a female warden from the SS-Wehrmacht (his term) sitting on a revolving chair on each corner of the room where her father worked at Luisenhütte. To eat, the prisoners had old tin cans with a handle—they were given food which was quickly eaten so that they could get seconds. The women were only allowed to return to the barracks under guard. For their trip home the girls had made bags out of corrugated boards with a string—many looked quite good. They rattled when they walked—that was the wooden shoes. They always had cloths over the poor clothing they wore.

Elizabeth W., a survivor with prisoner number 61266 from Gross-Rosen, said that the prisoners' work day began with a march to the factory accompanied by an SS guard. When they arrived at the factory they were given breakfast, soup, which they ate in a room separate from the German workers. For the rest of her life, she said, she would only remember those meals. The prisoners were always hungry. She did the soldering, while her sister, Klara, wired radios or lamps for aeroplanes. In the evening, they marched back to their barracks.

Paula R., another Weisswasser survivor, born in Hungary and a Jewish prisoner of Gross-Rosen with prisoner number 61234, said that she was 13 and the youngest in a group of women. They came from Auschwitz and were chosen because of their good eyesight and dexterity. All their SS wardens were women. Each of them had a nickname which matched their "qualities" and crimes against the prisoners. The head wardress was called the "Devil," her assistant the "Leach," her best friend the "Death Kapo," and so on. The prisoners worked 14–16 hours a day and were fed daily 1,000 calories—they suffered terribly from hunger and thirst. They were often beaten when they could not do the work and did not achieve the quotas. They could only go to the toilet once a day. Diarrhea was treated as sabotage. The first group, to which her sister belonged, sometimes sat on an open wagon on the factory grounds, a wagon on which potatoes were loaded. A few girls could not control themselves and ran to grab a few potatoes. When they came back they were brutally beaten by the wardens. Then they were put in isolation. The wardens injured the prisoners physically and psychologically. Their lives were nothing. As a youth, she said, Paula was strongly influenced by the older generation. She saw Jewish inmates treated like animals, and guessed that people in Weisswasser saw this but did nothing.

An official report on the Weisswasser subcamp by the local police branch Weisswasser/OL dated February 5, 1946, pursuant to order no. 163 by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD), stated that there were 300 female Hungarians in the camp. The police could not provide a list of the Hungarian citizens as they were not insured by the local hospital insurance fund and all other documents were destroyed as a result of the war.

In the original Weisswasser camp workers book held at Yad Vashem Archives (YVA), the names of all 300 women and their prison numbers are listed together with the work location and the person in charge of each section. The women were aged from 13 to 34 years. There was one recorded death in Weisswasser, prisoner number 61178, Györgyi Kundler (born: Kisvarda, Hungary, October 27, 1925); she died on September 21, 1944, at 10:30 A.M. The entry was made after a verbal report by the female camp commander Berta Frank. She stated that she voluntarily reported the death and that the woman had died from injuries and fever.

The camp was evacuated on February 26, 1945, after heavy bombardment by the Red Army. The women had to walk to Senftenberg and then were taken in wagons to Horneburg, where there was another Philips factory. Three weeks later, on March 30, 1945, they were transferred to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Those who survived were liberated by the British Army on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES On the wartime production of the glass factory Lausitz, see *Geschichte des VEB Lausitzer Glas Weisswasser* (1989).

There are few archival sources on the Weisswasser subcamp. YV in Jerusalem holds the original camp workers book in which all the names and prison numbers (from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp), the work sites, and those in charge of each section are listed.

Gudrun Albrecht
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WIESAU

Wiesau (present-day Łąka) is located approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec). Information about the camp at Wiesau indicates that at various times there was also a Jewish men's forced labor camp (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ) there, as well as a woman's subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

According to a former prisoner's account, a forced labor camp (ZAL) for Jewish men was established at Wiesau in October 1942. The first transport of 500 prisoners arrived at four newly erected wooden barracks. The buildings were surrounded by barbed wire. The whole camp covered an area of approximately 20 square kilometers (7.7 square miles). The kitchen was outside the barbed wire in the SS staff's barrack.

Besides the men, there was also a group of approximately 20 Jewish women prisoners; they did things such as working in the kitchen and doing laundry. On May 10, 1944, the ZALfJ Wiesau women were taken over by the female labor camp (FAL) Ludwigsdorf under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The ZAL Wiesau men worked building a sewage system and a factory that was near the camp. The prisoners' food for an entire day was composed of 350 grams (approximately 12 ounces) of bread and some margarine and a dinner of soup made from greens, rutabaga, and potatoes. Besides the hunger and strenuous labor, the prisoners suffered intensely from the tortures administered by the Lagerführer (camp leader) (according to a former prisoner's account, the Lagerführer was named Drobrk). The favorite form of punishing prisoners for being disorderly or unclean was to douse a prisoner standing in a barrel full of water with a stream of cold water. This caused the exhausted people to faint, in consequence of which they drowned to death.

ZAL Wiesau was probably closed in May 1944. The prisoners were examined by a panel of doctors and divided up into two groups. The healthy ones were sent to the newly formed Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bunzlau. The weak and sick group was taken away to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

According to the information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, there was also a Gross-Rosen subcamp at Wiesau. The first reference to a camp of this type dates from September 1944. It held female Hungarian Jewish prisoners. The women worked for the Küppers company, an ammunitions factory.

Copies of six transport rosters dated December 7, 1944, confirm that information. The rosters contain the names of Hungarian Jewish women (a total of 68). On December 7, 1944, they were moved from Wiesau to the following Gross-Rosen subcamps: FAL Ober-Altstadt, FAL Bernsdorf, FAL Parschnitz, and FAL Schatzlar. The prisoners listed in the rosters had numbers in the 60506 to 60996 range, which indicates, according to the chronology of Gross-Rosen transports, that they had been admitted to the camp in September 1944. Unfortunately, no information on camp living and working conditions is available.

According to *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, the last reference to the Wiesau subcamp is from January 1945.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Śśu* 40 (1982); Rulings of the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue the proceedings against the Gross-Rosen camp commanders (typescript); "Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945," in *Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: 1979).

For archival sources, see AŻIH, Collection of Accounts; and AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

ZILLERTHAL-ERDMANNSDORF

A forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Jude, ZALfJ) was formed at Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (Mysłakowice) in the autumn of 1940. Jewish women were sent there as manpower for a nearby factory belonging to the Erdmannsdorfer Leinenfabrik corporation.

The labor camp was converted into a subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in late May and early June 1944. The women, now concentration camp prisoners, received numbers on round tags worn around the neck.

Girls and young women aged 13 to 25 lived in the camp. Initially, the population was approximately 100 people; subsequently it rose to about 200. However, the number of women incarcerated at the camp was probably greater. Transports from such places as Sosnowiec and the Auschwitz concentration camp were sent here. Original records are unavailable, so it is difficult to determine how many such transports there were or their size. The prisoners lived in two barracks, unheated in the winter, containing double-decker bunks. The barracks had washbasins in which the women washed and did their laundry; the toilets were outside. The food was poor and insufficient for the work done by the prisoners. Reveille was at 6:30 A.M. Roll calls were conducted in the morning before the prisoners went to work, as well as upon their return. Medical care was provided by an orderly picked from among the prisoners. However, basic medicine was in short supply.[1]

After the camp was transferred to Gross-Rosen's administration, the women continued to work in the Erdmannsdorfer factory in the weaving and spinning departments; they also spooled flax from fields in the vicinity. The factory manufactured cloth for German army uniforms. Work lasted from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. There was a short lunch break at about 1:00 P.M. German civilian foremen oversaw the women at work and also ordered and inspected the work.

No one can say how many deaths there were at the camp, although there were such instances, due to malnutrition. Scurvy and lice infestations were rife among the prisoners. There were also selections; sick prisoners and those unfit for work were taken away.

SS members comprised the staff. There is no specific information on how many of them there were; all that is known is that they occupied a separate barrack at the camp.

The subcamp operated until January 17, 1945, when it was ordered evacuated.[2] The prisoners were probably divided into two columns. The first reached the Gablonz camp (a men's

subcamp). They were disinfected and their heads were shaven; then they were placed in a camp prepared especially for them. They were put to work in an ammunition factory as well as doing various other work on factory and camp premises. The prisoners were liberated on May 8, 1945.

The other group was sent to the town of Morchenstern (Smržovka), where the women stayed about three weeks, after which they were transported to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

SOURCES A useful source for this topic is the work of Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśsn* 40 (1982): 55–112; as well as the work of Aneta Małek, "Praca w systeme KL Gross-Rosen," published by the AMGR in 2003. Portions of both works are devoted to this topic. The works are available in Polish.

The archival sources on this topic are few. The accounts of a female former prisoner are available in the AMGR. Information on this topic is also located in the materials of the GKBZHwP.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the number of female prisoners and life in the camp comes from the account of the former prisoner (AMGR imprint 2658/DP).

2. The date of the uprising and evacuation of the camp comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny: "Women in the Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp from 1944–1945," *Sśsn*, n.s., 40 (1982): 55–112.

ZITTAU [AKA KLEIN-SCHÖNAU]

Within the context of the transfer of the aircraft industry to areas that were less prone to air attack, the Zittau firm Gebrüder Morus AG received word on September 20, 1944, from the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) of the transfer of the Junkers Aircraft Works from Dessau: "The firm Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works AG (transferring enterprise) is tasked to transfer the production [facilities] of its factories in Dessau and Magdeburg into the space occupied by the firm Gebrüder Morus AG . . . Zittau in Saxony (receiving enterprise), in accordance with the transfer notice sent with the communication of August 16, 1943."[1] In this connection, the transferred Junkers enterprise received the cover name "Zitt-Werke."[2]

In addition to hundreds of civilian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs), the Junkers Works also still sought to receive concentration camp prisoners for work in Zittau. They were successful in their negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), in part because of support from the RLM. A representative of Zitt-Werke sought suitable prisoners in Auschwitz. Because this was the period—late summer of 1944—when the large deportation transports from Hungary were arriving in Auschwitz II-Birkenau, 500 mostly Hungarian Jewish women were selected. In the report of the former prisoner Monica Elizabeth H., one finds the following: "Someone came from Zittau, where they needed five hundred women (from Auschwitz). Thus the transport was formed."[3]

On October 28, 1944, with this first transport of women from Auschwitz, the Zittau subcamp was established.[4] The women and girls received registration numbers from the series 83000 to 84000 from the Gross-Rosen main camp, to which the Zittau subcamp was subordinated. A large part of these women hailed from Budapest, others from Szolnok, Tocsö in the Carpatho-Ukraine, and Colanto.[5]

With a transport of 250 men from Buchenwald on January 27, 1945, a men's Gross-Rosen subcamp was also established at Zittau.[6] In this case, the prisoners were Polish and Hungarian Jews. When the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Görlitz was temporarily evacuated to Rennersdorf on February 18, the SS brought a group of 100 prisoners to Zittau. Likewise, in February 1945 the number of female prisoners in Zittau rose because of a transport of about 300 women from one of the two subcamps in Kratzau (Chrastava).

There is still little clarity concerning the exact number of female or male prisoners in Zittau. Moldawa speaks of several hundred prisoners; Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes (OKBZH) maintains that there were 5,000. Former Polish prisoner Dr. Kulig even gives a count of 8,000 Jewish men and women in Zittau, which probably reflects the temporary accommodation of various evacuation transports from Gross-Rosen subcamps to the east of Zittau, such as Hartmannsdorf, in the Zittau camp.[7]

The establishment of the accommodations for both the male and the female prisoners went forward in the barracks complex in Kleinschönau (later: Sieniawka) and on the grounds of the then estate Grossporisch (later: Porajów), as a result of which the camp was occasionally known as Klein-Schönau.[8]

Through an agreement of June 3, 1944, the entire barracks facility was taken over by the Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works Dessau, Zittau Branch, which had, in fact, been using it since December 1943.[9]

The camp leader (*Lagerführer*) was SS-Oberscharführer Horst Klehr, although there was also an SS-Oberscharführer Foerster, who signed many SS documents.[10] No information is available about the number of SS guards and female SS overseers. On February 4, 1945, a part of the Gross-Rosen command staff was transferred to Zittau and remained there about one week, up until its further transfer to the Reichenau subcamp, near Gablonz.[11] Also, a liquidation site (*Abwicklungsstelle*) of Auschwitz was located in Zittau for a time.[12]

Because of increasingly frequent instances of pregnancy among the Hungarian and Slovakian prisoners who had been deported in late spring or early summer via Auschwitz to the Gross-Rosen subcamps, the SS faced the problem of how to deal with these pregnant women. In Zittau, the top floor of a camp building was converted into a delivery station. Women from other nearby Gross-Rosen subcamps, including Ober-Hohenelbe, Liebau, Sackisch, and presumably also Kratzau, were brought there before their deliveries. After the delivery,

some of the women and their children were sent away. According to Alfred Konieczny, 10 children received registration numbers from Gross-Rosen (from 96951 to 96960) and then were transported from Zittau to Langenbielau. Because one of the children, with the registration number 96957, died on April 17, 1945—two days after its birth—it is possible that this was just such a transport.[13] Gertraude S., born Sojka in Berlin in 1909 and deported from the Slovakian Nitra in 1944, wrote, "I . . . was deposed because of my Jewish heritage and found myself in the Kleinschönau camp in Kreis Zittau, where also my child was born. Now I am located in the Kreis women's clinic in Watzdorfheim. After my release, which should follow in the coming days, I wish to travel to Prague and from there to Nitra, Slovakia, in order to trace my husband. I want to take the urn for my child with me, because as a Czechoslovak citizen I wish to have my child's remains buried in my homeland."[14]

All survivors describe the food situation in Zittau as catastrophic and for many as fatal. Former prisoner Zdzislaw M. testified that "[i]n the Zittau camp we received starvation rations, which consisted of one hundred grams [three and one-half ounces] of bread, as well as a bowl of hot water with potato peelings."[15] Hungarian Monica Elizabeth H. wrote: "We were hungry, such that we dug into the 'muck heap' in order to find some potato peelings to eat. The hunger was terrible. I can only describe it as the greatest agony. . . . We had only one wish, to just have a whole loaf of bread."[16]

From the available records, it emerges that 9 women and 90 men were registered as having died in the Zittau camp between February 4 and May 7, 1945.[17] Whether there were already deaths before that period, since the camp existed with female prisoners, and how many died in Zittau after the liberation on May 8, 1945, remain unknown.

Just as there is a connection between the very high number of prisoners in the camp and other subcamps' evacuation marches that passed through Zittau, there may be such a connection with the number of dead given by Dr. Kulig, who was himself evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamp Hartmannsdorf to Zittau. During his witness interview, he said:

> The rest of the still surviving prisoners [sick] were evacuated to Zittau via motorized transport on March 19, 1945. The group of SS who had come to the camp to evacuate it shot those prisoners who could not leave the camp under their own power.
>
> After my evacuation from the Hartmannsdorf camp I found myself, up until my liberation by the Soviet army, . . . in the Zittau subcamp. . . . On May 5, the SS men marched out toward the west with a group of five thousand prisoners. At that time I stayed in the camp with a large group of sick prisoners. I am not capable of providing the names of all the ill prisoners who died in the camp. Many died during their confinement in the camp, and many after the liberation.[18]

Dr. Molenda, likewise evacuated from Hartmannsdorf to Zittau, also said in a statement: "After the liberation, a group of us who were healthier, under the leadership of Dr. Kulig, occupied ourselves with burying the dead prisoners, as well as with transporting the still living prisoners to the local hospital, with the agreement of the Soviet city commander."[19]

SOURCES There are no secondary sources that address this camp exclusively. Information may be found in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Primary sources are to be found in AMGR, BA-L, and the Stadtarchiv Zittau, as indicated in the notes.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. Ast-ZI, file Gebrüder Morus Zittau 1943–1947, p. 220.
2. BA-B, Bank der deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 138.
3. Monica Elizabeth H., report to the author, October 15, 1998.
4. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 153.
5. Archiv Brenner, Zittau I/3, Entlassungs- und Reisebescheinigung für 23 ungarische Häftlinge v. 18. Mai 1945.
6. ITS, *Verzeichnis*, p. 153.
7. See BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 189, statement Dr. Kulig.
8. Ast-ZI, Nr. IIc-I-26-Nr. 10, pp. 63–64.
9. Ibid.
10. On Klehr: AG-T, Nr. A 2452; Bericht des Lagers Zittau an den Leiter der Zahnstationen im KZ Gross-Rosen v. 20. March 1945; on Foerster: Ast-ZI, IV-II-3-Nr. 6, vol. 124-2430: Totenscheine verstorbener Häftlinge.
11. Ast-ZI, letter to the author, January 28, 1994, p. 2.
12. NARA, T 976, Roll 21.
13. Ast-ZI, IVb-II-1 Nr. 6-2368, p. 184.
14. Ast-ZI, Bestattungsamt, Kriegstodesfallmeldung, I-II-L, Nr. 49, Bl. 40/41.
15. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 260, statement Zdzislaw M.
16. Monica Elizabeth H., report to the author, November 17, 1998, p. 1.
17. Ast-ZI, Bestattungsamt, Kriegstodesfallmeldung, I-II-1, Nr. 6-2368.
18. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 189, Aussage Dr. Kulig.
19. Ibid., p. 260, statement Dr. Molenda.

HERZOGENBUSCH



Post-liberation view of the moat, fence, and guard towers at Herzogenbusch concentration camp, September 1944 to 1945.
USHMM WS #44176, COURTESY OF NARA

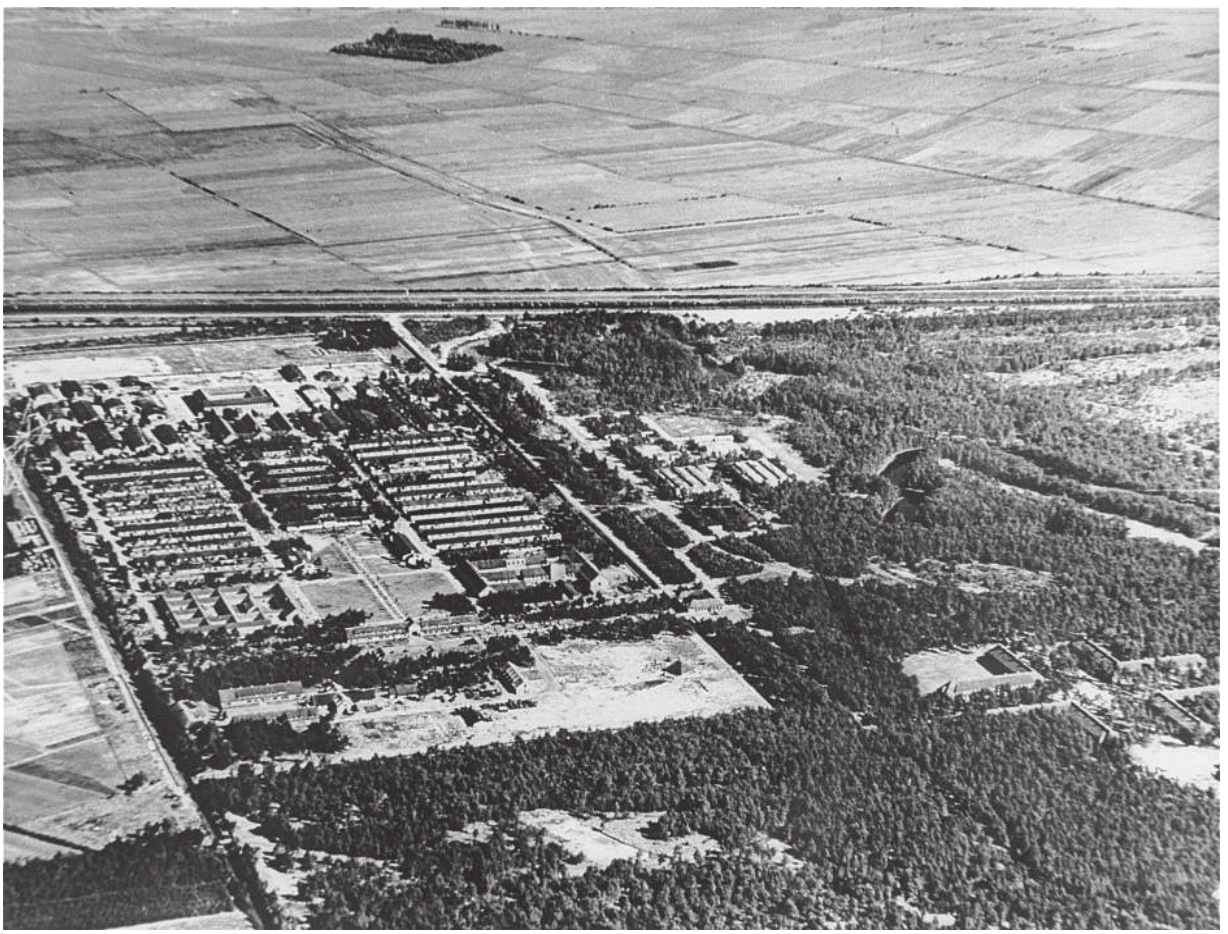
HERZOGENBUSCH MAIN CAMP [AKA VUGHT]

In the summer of 1942, only a few weeks after the first deportation train had left the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) at Westerbork for Auschwitz on June 15, Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Hanns Albin Rauter, in consultation with Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, decided to start construction of a new camp called Herzogenbusch ('s-Hertogenbosch). Because of its proximity to the municipality of Vught, the Dutch called it Vught.

The most probable reasons for this decision have to be found in Rauter's concerns about the tempo and effectiveness of the deportation of the Jews from Westerbork—in principle, about 120,000 people eventually were deported—and the obvious malfunctioning of the already existing camp at Amersfoort, which proved to be too small and which had a notorious reputation for its harsh regime.

In the beginning of December 1942, Rauter's superior, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, following Rauter's regular updates, ordered that Herzogenbusch had to be considered an "official" concentration camp, in other words, a camp under direct supervision of the Berlin offices of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). He did not want it to be a police transit or extended police camp (*Polizeiliches Durchgangslager* or *Erweitertes Polizeilager*) like Amersfoort, or a Judendurchgangslager like Westerbork. To that end, Himmler charged WVHA head Oswald Pohl to have talks with Rauter, which would take place in the same month.[1] For the time being (and until May 1944), Rauter did not obtain the final responsibility over the camp—by definition in the hands of the WVHA—but was responsible for its supervision (*Dienstaufsicht*). This made him responsible for the daily routine of the camp.

The camp itself, formally set up on January 5, 1943,[2] started to function on January 13, 1943, with the arrival of about 250 male prisoners (including Jews) from the Amersfoort



Aerial view of Herzogenbusch concentration camp, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #13918, COURTESY OF NIOD

camp. A second transport—some 2,000 prisoners from Amersfoort—arrived three days later. The same day, about 450 Jews arrived from Amsterdam (mainly "armament Jews," or Rüstungsjuden).

Their former guards, all members of the Wachbatallion Nordwest, accompanied the Amersfoort prisoners. Most of the prisoners were in terrible shape. The prisoners' first task was to build the barracks, which was, given the shape they were in, a very strenuous job. Moreover, hardly any facilities were provided in the beginning. The food provided was poor, and drinkable water was rare. It is not surprising at all that by April 1943 over 200 prisoners had perished. In the end, the camp took up 300,000 square meters (359,000 square yards) and consisted of 36 barracks for living, sleeping, and working. The complete construction of the site was financed from confiscated Jewish capital. The camp had a crematorium but not a gas chamber.

Herzogenbusch became known as one of the few concentration camps located outside the Reich territory (*Reichsgebiet*). Apart from the control issue, this status had some other implications. The camp was made up of several largely independent sections for different kinds of prisoners: the "protective custody" camp (*Schutzhaftlager*, including the women's concentration camp, or *Frauenkonzentrationslager*); the Judendurchgangslager; the students' camp (*Studentenlager*); the hostage camp (*Geisellager*); a Polizeiliches Durchgangslager; and a Security Service camp (Sicherheitsdienst-Lager, or SD-Lager). Most of these sections did not exist through the full period when Herzogenbusch was active. Actually, some of them operated only for a couple of months. In these six sections, an estimated 30,000 people were imprisoned.

The main camp, the Schutzhaftlager, was in operation throughout Herzogenbusch's existence. About 12,000 people (11,000 men and 1,000 women) were quartered in this camp for periods ranging from less than a month to more than a year. In principle, *Schutzhaft* (protective custody in order to protect state security) could be imposed on all kinds of prisoners: Jews (i.e., those who violated one of the anti-Jewish measures; the so-called Jews qualified for punishment, or *straffällige Juden*); political prisoners; Jehovah's Witnesses; "antisocials" (black marketeers, thieves, and others arrested for economic reasons); and criminals (some of them Kapos, coming from Germany). In the Schutzhaftlager, people imprisoned for purely political reasons made up only a minority. About 1,350 male prisoners came from abroad, mostly from Belgium and, to a lesser extent, from France. From May 1943 on, women were imprisoned in a separate barracks, called the Frauenkonzentrationslager.

About 60 percent of the prisoners were released; the rest were transported to different concentration camps in Germany. Worth mentioning are the transport of about 90 prisoners, including some very well known resistance fighters, to the concentration camp Natzweiler at the beginning of July 1943 and the transport of about 800 prisoners to Dachau in May 1944.

The Judendurchgangslager opened on January 16, 1943. In the camouflaged language of the Germans it was at that time "appropriately" called the Jewish collection camp (*Judenauffanglager*), suggesting the possibility of a longer stay than in Westerbork, as a Judendurchgangslager. About two months afterward, however, it was renamed according to its basic function. The first group of prisoners sent to the Judenauffanglager was about 450 Jews from Amsterdam. Because their work (with diamonds and textiles) was important for German interests, they believed themselves protected against deportation and thus remained under the illusion that they would stay in the camp. In April and May, thousands more people would arrive, mostly Dutch provincial Jews, or *mediene*. In May 1943, the prisoner population reached its maximum of 9,000 people.

Like the other prisoners, the Jews were put to work in different internal and external detachments (Innen-und Aussenkommandos). However, apart from the usual harassment, working conditions for them were much harder. This explains why they tried to get assigned to the Philips-Kommando, where life remained relatively acceptable because of the protection of the Philips company management. Even more important, they hoped that this protection would safeguard them against deportation. It did not stop them from being transported, but actually did protect them during their deportation to Auschwitz. After their registration there, almost all the prisoners of this so-called Philips-Transport were transferred to the Gross-Rosen Aussenkommando Langenbielau [aka Reichenbach], where they had to work in a Deutsche Telefunken factory. About one-third of the Philips-Transport prisoners survived.

In all, about 12,000 people—men, women, and children—were imprisoned in Herzogenbusch, all of whom were eventually deported to Sobibór and Auschwitz. Usually, the transports to Poland went through Westerbork. By the beginning of October 1943, this was the fate of more than 10,000 people. Two transports, on November 15, 1943, and June 3, 1944, went straight to Auschwitz. After the last, the above-mentioned Philips-Transport, the camp was closed.



Jewish prisoners work in the Eindhoven Philips Plant shortly before dispatch to Herzogenbusch concentration camp, 1943 to June 1944.
USHMM WS #10467, COURTESY OF YVA

The Studentenlager existed only in February and March 1943. It came into being because of the attempts by the resistance on the lives of high-placed Dutch Nazis. Investigations of the German police indicated that students and people from better-off circles took part in these actions. In reprisal, about 600 students and 1,200 sons of upper-class families (*Plutokraten-Söhnchen*) were arrested at the beginning of February and transferred to Herzogenbusch. After a couple of weeks, almost all of them were released. A small group of students, however, were transported to Germany for forced labor.

In February 1943, the Geisellager was set up. It remained active until the larger camp was dissolved. A few hundred hostages were locked up, generally for not longer than a couple of months. Two groups existed: people imprisoned in reprisal for certain actions of the resistance (*Strafgeiseln*) and family members of resistance fighters or other people wanted by the German police (*Sippengeiseln*). The second group did not enter the camp before October 1943. The women and children stayed in the Frauenkonzentrationslager.

In August 1943, as a result of deportations from the Judendurchgangslager, space became vacant for a new camp: the Polizeiliches Durchgangslager, which thus mirrored the original function of the Amersfoort camp. The immediate cause for this change was the massive overflow of prisoners under investigation (*Untersuchungshäftlinge*), whose number was far too large to be put up in the prisons of the German police. In total, about 2,000 men and 300 women were imprisoned in this camp.

A special group of Untersuchungshäftlinge consisted of about 1,500 men who, at the time, were imprisoned in the major political prison in the Netherlands, the "Oranjehotel" in Scheveningen. This group was transported to Herzogenbusch in June 1944, because of the Allied invasion in Normandy, and was placed in a special camp, the SD-Lager. Most of the prisoners were considered to be important enough for the Germans that they were put in the so-called Bunker, the camp prison. People from this group of prisoners were executed in August and September 1944.

Like all the other concentration camps, Herzogenbusch is to be considered as a camp complex, that is, a main camp (*Hauptlager*) with internal sections and several external detachments or subcamps, some of them located in the immediate vicinity of the main camp, others at a distance of over 96 kilometers (60 miles). In general, it can be stated that because of the food supply and working conditions, life in the Hauptlager was less difficult than in the subcamps. On the other hand, escape from these subcamps appeared to be easier than from the main camp.

Four different kinds of detachments or subcamps can be distinguished:

1. Detachments where prisoners constructed and repaired airfields (Arnheim, Eindhoven, Gilze-Rijen [aka Breda], Leeuwarden, and Venlo);
2. Detachments where prisoners worked on coastal defenses (Moerdijk and Roosendaal);
3. Detachments where prisoners performed administrative work on behalf of the Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD ('s-Gravenhage, Haaren, and St. Michielsgestel);
4. One detachment where prisoners were deployed for industrial labor (Herzogenbusch).

The camp leadership and part of the guard staff were recruited from people who had already worked in other camps, notably at Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen. German camp inmates were transferred with them, in order to be prominently placed as Kapos in the prisoner hierarchy.

The first camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Walter Chmielewski, who previously served in Sachsenhausen. Although his conspicuously rude behavior initially did not seem to have raised Rauter's objections, he was sacked in October 1943 because of misconduct (and even sentenced by an SS court in Berlin to 15 years' imprisonment).

His replacement was SS-Hauptsturmführer Adam Grünewald, who worked previously in Dachau and Sachsenhausen. Under his regime, a punishment company (*Strafkompanie*) was set up; partly because of this, the practice of beating up prisoners increased. Although the sources do not indicate tensions between Grünewald and Rauter, the second commandant was arrested, together with his adjutant, in January 1944, because of his responsibility for the so-called Bunker tragedy (*Bunkerdrama*). This incident took place on the night of January 15–16, 1944. A German female prisoner betrayed some of her fellow prisoners, as a result of which she was punished by some of them. Interrogated by the commandant, no one reported who was responsible for this. Consequently, 74 women were collectively punished by putting them in one cell in the bunker for 14 hours; 10 women did not survive. Grünewald was arrested and sentenced by an SS court in the Netherlands to three and a half years' imprisonment.

The dismissal of two camp commandants, a responsibility usually reserved for the WVHA, led to a conflict between Pohl and Rauter. Pohl was clearly disappointed with, in his eyes, the lack of appropriate action taken by his Berlin superiors. Pohl thereupon requested Himmler to take Herzogenbusch away from the WVHA and to charge Rauter with final responsibility for the camp. Rauter refused, claiming that the staff at his disposal was inadequate for this transfer.[3]

Grünewald's successor was SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Hüttig, whose formative career experience came in Natzweiler. He appears not to have come into conflict with Rauter. Although certainly not as tough as his predecessors, Hüttig was said to have exerted power from behind his desk. Among other things, he was responsible for the massive shootings of prisoners in August and September 1944 and for the evacuation transports afterward.

Because of the advance of the Allied forces through France and Belgium, the prisoners of the Schutzhaftlager, the Polizeiliches Durchgangslager, the SD-Lager, and the Frauenkonzentrationslager were transported, on September 5 and 6,

1944, to camps in Germany. About 2,900 men went to Sachsenhausen, while about 650 women were sent to Ravensbrück. The remaining prisoners, all hostages, were set free or transferred to the Amersfoort camp. The Herzogenbusch camp in fact ceased to exist. Afterward, the Wehrmacht took over the facility and used it as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp before handing it over to the Dutch Red Cross. The camp premises were liberated on October 26, 1944.

In the late 1960s, a survey, by no means representative, was conducted of the inhabitants of the municipality of Vught, aged around 65 years, concerning their state of knowledge of the neighboring camp. People had to answer questions about its function, the number and types of prisoners, personal contacts with the guards or prisoners, and so on. The general conclusion of the survey was that the local population had a basic knowledge of the camp and that the people of Vught were apparently involved in the fate of the prisoners. People claimed to have supplied illegal food and smuggled in notes.

Two women stood out in the neighborhood for their efforts to get to know the names of the prisoners, in order to pass this information to the prisoners' family members. In this way they clearly facilitated the sending of food parcels, which were of course of great help and comfort for the prisoners. From May 1943 on, the supply of food parcels was taken over by the Dutch Red Cross.

Two of the three commandants were tried after the war, but not by Dutch courts. In 1961, a German court sentenced Chmielewski to life imprisonment. A French court gave Hüttig the same punishment, but he was released in 1956. Grünewald was never tried; he died in combat in 1945 in Hungary.

Herzogenbusch was a transit camp; people were not supposed to stay in it for a long time. For Jews in particular, but also for political prisoners, the regime intended to send them to other destinations.

Imprisonment in Herzogenbusch distinguished itself not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms. It is important to note that Herzogenbusch was deliberately designed by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) as a Level (*Stufe*) I and II camp, in terms of the severity of its regime. This level implied, among other things, that the non-Jewish prisoners were permitted (censored) correspondence and the receipt of food parcels.

For political reasons—the Dutch had to be won over in the battle of the Germanic peoples—it was of great importance to Himmler and Rauter to make Herzogenbusch a "perfect" camp. Amersfoort got an extremely negative reputation, and the scarce reports about people imprisoned in camps abroad, notably in Germany, suggested even worse conditions. A few days before Himmler's visit to Herzogenbusch (on February 3, 1944), Rauter addressed an audience of leading SS officials. In this speech, about the specific qualities of the SS, he did not refrain from calling the camp "an exemplary SS operation" (*Musterbetrieb der SS*).[4]

Rauter was very keen on maintaining this so-called high-level quality and is said to have inspected the site three or four times. The treatment of the prisoners would be, as Rauter put it in his trial after the war, "severe, but fair" (*streng, aber gerecht*).

On a theoretical level, Rauter's last statement can be qualified as highly contradictory. Nevertheless, some examples illustrate what he tried to bring forward in his defense. Hygienic conditions were poor, most notably in the Judendurchgangslager, suggesting that the physical condition of these prisoners was not a matter of concern for the camp leadership. Nevertheless, a fairly well equipped hospital, run by imprisoned doctors, functioned from July 1943 on. The quality of this hospital was incomparably better than the ones in other concentration camps.

Moreover, the regime in Herzogenbusch obviously did not show itself as cruel as was the case elsewhere. To some extent, the camp leadership kept the violent behavior of the Kapos in check and did not punish escapees who were caught afterward with hanging. About 8,000 people, more than a quarter of the total number of prisoners, were released.

However, these examples are not convincing enough for the acceptance of Rauter's statement. Although it can well be argued that the Herzogenbusch regime did not match the level of cruelty of the other concentration camps, this does not take away from the camp's notorious record, notably during the first half-year of its existence. A substantial food shortage, the prisoners' poor condition, hard working conditions, and systematic battering of a certain group of Jewish inmates caused the death of 400 prisoners. At some points, the camp showed an even more deadly face. For example, in September and October 1943, 27 Belgian resistance fighters, sentenced to death in Belgium, were hanged outside the camp, and in the last two months of its existence, about 450 political prisoners were shot.

SOURCES It was not before 1978 that scholarly attention was publicly paid to the camp. At that time, Louis de Jong, the former NIOD director who published a 14-volume series about the general history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in World War II, devoted one of his volumes completely to the Nazi prisons and camps. In this publication some 70 pages are dedicated to Herzogenbusch. See his *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, vol. 8 ('s-Gravenhage, 1978). After the publication of de Jong, it took another decade before Coenraad Stuldreher, a former NIOD staff member, published a general article, "Deutsche Konzentrationslager in den Niederlanden: Amersfoort, Westerbork, Herzogenbusch," *DaHe* 5 (1989):141–173, the first publication not in the Dutch language. Later he enlarged this article into "Das Konzentrationslager Herzogenbusch—Ein 'Musterbetrieb der SS?'" in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1: 327–348. Apart from these general publications, the last decade has witnessed books published with attention to special features of the camp: Example, on the Jewish child prisoners, Janneke de Moei, *Joodse kinderen in het kamp Vught* (Vught, 1999); on the Bunkerdrama, Hans Olink, *Vrouwen van Vught: Een nacht in een concentratiekamp* (Amsterdam, 1995); and on the Philips-Kommando, P.W. Klein and Justus van de Kamp, *Het*

Philips-Kommando in Kamp Vught (Amsterdam, 2003). See also Tineke Wibaut-Guilonard and Ed Mager, *Kamp Vught 1943–1944: Eindpunt . . . of tussenstation* (Amsterdam, 1994). Information about the opening and closing dates of the main camp and subcamps, the type of prisoners, and prisoner labor can be found in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:154–157.

Because Herzogenbusch was not liberated by Allied forces—it was evacuated before their arrival—its prisoners were not in the position to get hold of camp records and take them home. On the contrary, testimonies clearly indicate that members of the guard force started to destroy the archives shortly before the final evacuation of the prisoners. Fortunately, not everything went into the flames. Immediately after the liberation in May 1945, RIOD (later NIOD) was founded and started to collect documents about the occupation, among them of course documents concerning the different camps in the Netherlands. Until the present day, the NIOD collection of Herzogenbusch documents, although fragmentary, is to be considered the main source for serious research into the history of the camp complex. Through the decades, the original collection has been enriched with various reports of former prisoners and other documents. As far as the archival situation is concerned, a serious drawback is the fact that none of the three camp commandants was tried in the Netherlands. Consequently, their penal records are absent. Grünewald died in action. Chmielewski and Hüttig were tried outside the Netherlands. The only penal records are available for minor perpetrators. They are found in the NAN. The only penal record of a leading personality is Rauter's trial. Because of the trial's importance, its complete text was published in 1952. Portions of Rauter's correspondence with Himmler and Pohl are to be found in the collection of the former BDC (later BA-DH) and published by former NIOD staff member N.K.C.A. in't Veld, ed., *De SS en Nederland* ('s Gravenhage, 1979). The following collections in NIOD contain information about this camp: Coll. 77-85, HSSPF; Coll. 210, BDC; Coll. 250b (Gevangenissen en Concentratiekampen; algemene verslagen); Coll. 250g (Vught I); Coll. 250gg (Vught II). Until 1978, only memoirs of former prisoners, usually of a highly personal character, had been published. Although informative, these publications cannot serve as a solid basis for scholarly research, as they are devoid of fact-checking or source references. Furthermore, some attention from the (mostly local) press has to be noted. However, the most impressive and touching publication about Herzogenbusch is a diary kept by prisoner David Koker, a 22-year-old student. This diary runs from February 11, 1943, through February 8, 1944. Koker was deported to Auschwitz on June 2, 1944. He did not survive the war. His diary is published as *Dagboek geschreven in Vught* (Amsterdam, 1977). On the bunker and the crematorium, see the testimony of former prisoner Wibaut-Guilonard, *Kamp Vught 1943–1944: Bunker en krematorium* (Amsterdam, 1992).

Hans de Vries

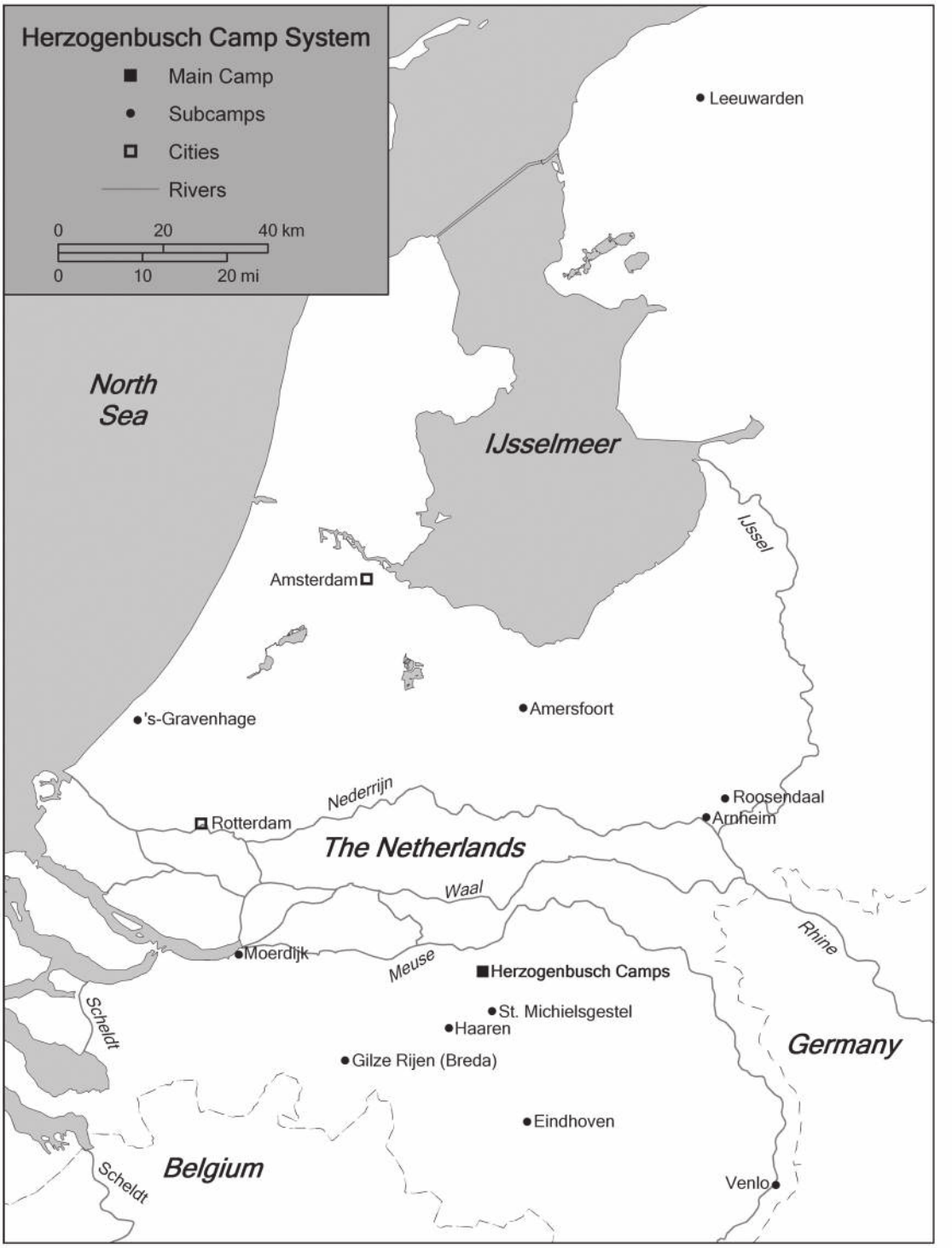
NOTES

1. Himmler's order has not been preserved but is referred to in a letter from Pohl to Himmler on December 17, 1942, BDC H540: 3654, copied at NIOD.

2. RSHA Circular, January 18, 1943, NIOD [C61.01], Collection 250g.

3. On February 16, 1944, Himmler endorsed Pohl's request and transferred Herzogenbusch from Pohl's responsibility to Rauter's. Pohl is referring to this decision in a letter to Rauter, March 29, 1944 (BDC H540: 3649, copied at NIOD), in which he suggests to hand over the camp to Rauter from May 1, 1944.

4. Doc.I, 1380-b, 14, NIOD.


Herzogenbusch Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
Cities
Rivers
0 20 40 km
0 10 20 mi
North Sea
IJsselmeer
IJssel
Leeuwarden
Amsterdam
's-Gravenhage
Amersfoort
Nederrijn
Rotterdam
Roosendaal
Arnheim
The Netherlands
Waal
Rhine
Moerdijk
Meuse
Herzogenbusch Camps
Scheldt
St. Michielsgestel
Haaren
Germany
Gilze Rijen (Breda)
Eindhoven
Belgium
Scheldt
Venlo

AMERSFOORT

This subcamp, located in the former Police Transit Camp Amersfoort (Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort, or PDA), existed only for a very short time, from May to July 1943. Its beginning implied the reopening of the PDA, which had been closed since January 1943. About 70 prisoners from the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) and about 600 prisoners from the Durchgangslager Westerbork were put to work here. On behalf of the Luftwaffe, which had an air base close to the PDA, they had to work on the expansion of the shooting range. After about four weeks, the prisoners were sent back to their original camps, and other, non-Jewish, prisoners entered the camp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ARNHEIM

Arnheim (Arnhem) was in operation as a subcamp from July to August 1943 and from January to September 1944.

In the first period of this Kommando, Jewish prisoners had to expand rifle ranges for Waffen-SS troops, who were quartered in the neighborhood and who supervised these works. The prisoners stayed in the Coehoornkazerne, a former barracks of the Dutch army.

In the second period, approximately 30 prisoners stayed in the Saxen Weimarkazerne (also a former barracks of the Dutch army). They had to do various works in order to expand the Luftwaffe air base Deelen. A Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung) supervised these works.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries



Post-liberation photograph of the Amersfoort camp gate, 1944–1945. After the closure of this Herzogenbusch subcamp in July 1943, Amersfoort resumed its original function as "police transit camp" until liberation in September 1943. In this photo, Dutch resisters guard the camp, which then held collaborators.
USHMM WS #17863, COURTESY OF NIOD

EINDHOVEN

In the Eindhoven subcamp, which existed from September 1943 to June 1944, prisoners were put to work for the construction of a new Luftwaffe air base, called Welschap. They worked under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung).

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

GILZE-RIJEN [AKA BREDA]

Also called Aussenkommando Breda, this subcamp, which existed from August 1943 to May 1944, worked at the expansion of a Luftwaffe air base. From October 1943 it consisted almost exclusively of black marketeers. Partly because the prisoners were guarded by a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung)—a guard unit that was considered far less tough than the SS—more than 25 percent of the total number of escapes from the Herzogenbusch concentration camp (22 out of 81) took place in this subcamp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HAAREN

In Haaren, prisoners were put up in the prison of the German police and in a hostage camp (*Geisellager*), which was located in the former seminary, between January 1943 and September 1944. Prisoners had to execute various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HERZOGENBUSCH (*CONTINENTAL GUMMIWERKE AG*)

This subcamp, which existed from December 1943 to September 1944, was unique in two ways: It was the only one consisting of female prisoners, and it was the only Herzogenbusch subcamp in which prisoners had to do industrial labor. It was located in a factory of the German-owned Continental Gummiwerke, where prisoners had to manufacture gas masks.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

LEEUWARDEN

The Leeuwarden subcamp, which existed only from February to March 1944, was unique in the sense that its population did

not consist of Dutch prisoners but of German Kapos who had been convicted of misbehavior in the main camp. They were quartered in a Dutch prison in the city of Leeuwarden, which is located some 250 kilometers (155 miles) from Herzogenbusch. Under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung), a group of about 40 people had to dismantle unexploded bombs at the local Luftwaffe air base. After a couple of weeks, they were sent back to the main camp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

MOERDIJK

Moerdijk is the name of a village and an area located between the rivers in the southwestern part of the Netherlands. As such, it was of the utmost strategic significance. The defense of this area would enable the Germans to repel an Allied attack from the south on the city of Rotterdam (with its important port) and the center of the country.

Among the Herzogenbusch external detachments, the one in Moerdijk, which existed from March 1943 to February 1944, was the largest. Initially, some 500 male prisoners from the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) were selected and transported to barracks that originally belonged to the Dutch river police and were located a couple of kilometers (about a mile and a half) from the village. Together with some non-Jewish prisoners and under supervision of an Organisation Todt (OT) construction unit (Bauleitung), they mostly had to dig antitank ditches on different, sometimes coastal, locations. These and other defenses were carried out by a Dutch contractor.

At the same time, other Jewish prisoners formed a clothing detachment (Bekleidungskommando) for making clothes for SS members who made up the staff and guard of Moerdijk.

In October 1944, all the Jewish prisoners were brought back to the main camp, from which they were deported to Auschwitz on November 15, 1944. These prisoners were replaced by non-Jewish prisoners, mostly people arrested for helping Jews. In the end, the Moerdijk camp is said to have had about 1,000 prisoners.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ROOSENDAAL

The Roosendaal subcamp, located not far from the Belgian border, existed only for a very short time, from February to April 1944. The prisoners, all male Jews, stayed in an agricultural college. Under supervision of an Organisation Todt (OT) construction unit (Bauleitung), they had to work on various kinds of defenses, the construction of which a Dutch contractor carried out. These defenses were part of the Atlantic Wall.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

'S-GRAVENHAGE

A very small subcamp existed at 's-Gravenhage from September 1943 to July 1944. Prisoners were deployed for various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ST. MICHIELSGESTEL

As in the external detachment at Haaren, prisoners in St. Michielsgestel had to execute various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system. They were quartered in a hostage camp (*Geisellager*), which was located in the former youth seminary. This camp existed from January 1943 to September 1944.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

VENLO

In the Venlo subcamp, the prisoners (including, for a short period, Jews) had to perform various tasks for the preparation of a new Luftwaffe air base. They stayed in a hangar and worked under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung). The camp existed from September 1943 to September 1944.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HINZERT



The Hinzert concentration camp in winter, nd.
USHMM, WS #70097, COURTESY OF CNR

HINZERT MAIN CAMP

The Hinzert camp was established in 1938 by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) as a camp for Organisation Todt (OT) workers constructing the Westwall: the guards were supplied by the DAF. In the summer of 1939, the camp burned down, except for two barracks. Rebuilt, it was opened in October 1939 as a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) and police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) as well as an SS special camp (*Sonderlager*). Hinzert was one of at least 8 (some sources say 20) Western camps (*Westlager*) structured the same way and was also the seat of the central command for all Polizeihaftlager on the Westwall. Hinzert and its attached Westlager reported to the Inspector of the Security Police and SD, who also was the leader of the Security Staff (Sicherungsstab) at the OT.

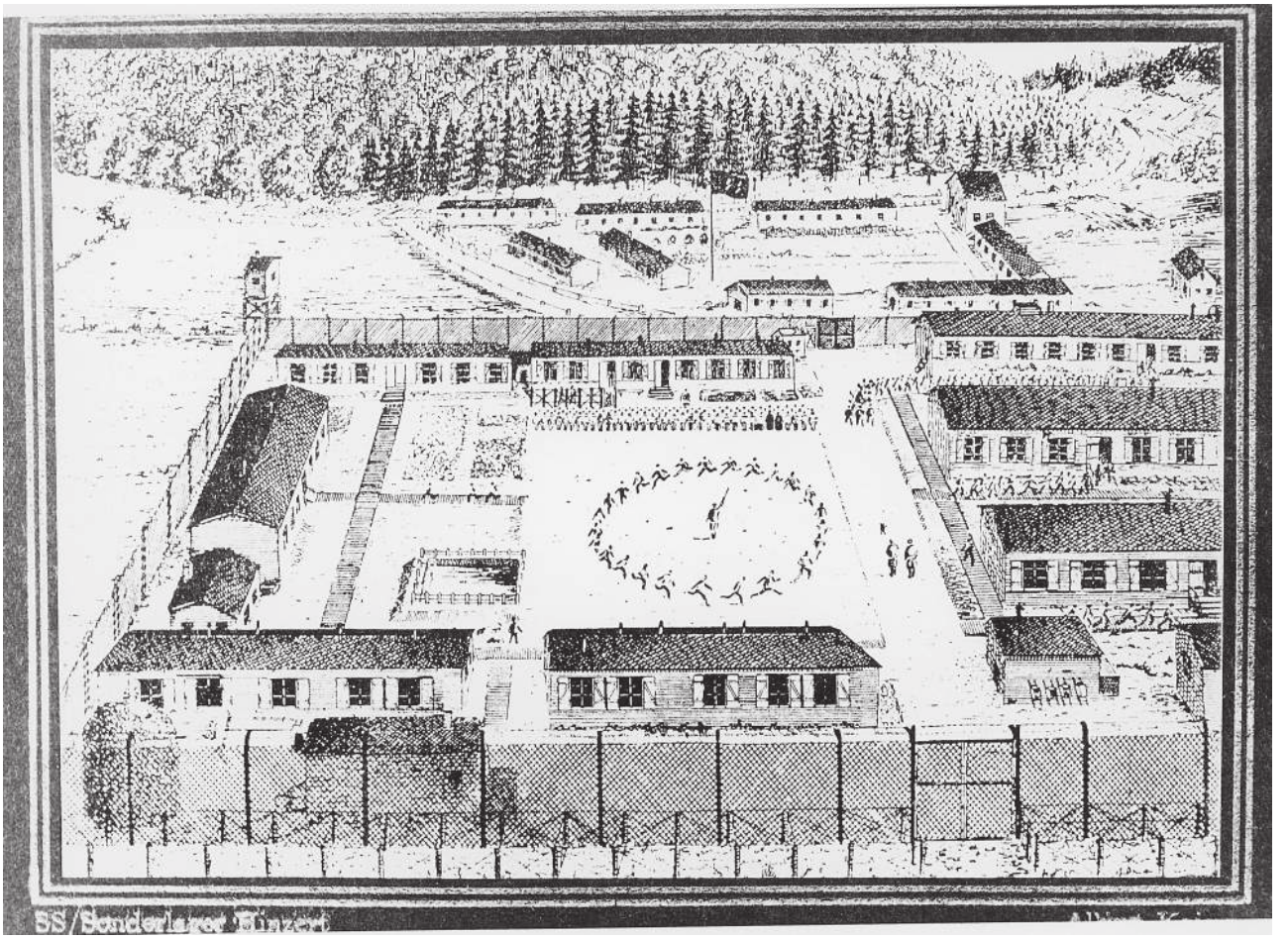
The Sicherungsstäbe were allocated by the Chef der Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) to each OT building directorate. The purpose of this was to prosecute workers building the West Wall and the Reich autobahn for breaching discipline, such as failing to turn up for work, stealing from "comrades," fighting, acts of violence against superiors (*Tätlichkeiten gegen Vorgesetzte*), speaking out against National Socialism, and breaches against the "principles of a sound conduct of war" (*Grundlagen einer gesunden Kriegsführung*). Workers were usually sentenced to about eight weeks of arrest at the police detention camp, but in certain cases (severe crimes or repeat offenders), they were transferred to the SS special camp for a much longer period of time. This way, Hinzert was two camps in one, and its inmates remained police prisoners who could be dragged into a camp by simple administrative decisions.

Hinzert continued its existence as a police prison even though Heinrich Himmler in December 1939–January 1940 had ordered that all camps established after the beginning of the war either be dissolved or be taken over as concentration camps. The only change was that with the movement of the OT into occupied France in July 1940, it continued as a regional police arrest camp but with a double subordination: economically, it continued to be responsible to the Sipo and thereby the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), but the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) provided the personnel. As a result, the camp, like Stutthof, could hold not only so-called police prisoners but also prisoners being investigated by police (*Untersuchungshäftlinge*) and regular "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). In the summer of 1940, Hinzert became an "admission camp" (*Einweisungslager*) for regular protective custody prisoners and other special prisoner groups, among them political prisoners. Simultaneously, it was a remand prison and an extension of the Stapostelle Trier police prison and the Sipo Einsatzkommando and SD in Luxembourg. In 1941, the overwhelming majority of inmates were "loafers at work" (*Arbeitsbummelanten*), admitted by the Stapostellen Trier, Koblenz, Karlsruhe, and Saarbrücken, but the camp began to resemble more and more a concentration camp.

On February 7, 1942, Himmler withdrew from the Stapostelle Trier the commercial administration of the camp and placed the camp under the control of the newly founded SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Hinzert property continued to remain in the ownership of the farmers who leased it. Fiscally, it was under the control of the Stapostelle Trier. Administratively, Hinzert remained a unique case. The command structure, file systems, organization, command staff, and guards at Hinzert corresponded to all the SS-WVHA concentration camps; but instead of the Political Department II, which in the other concentration camps was responsible for prisoner interrogation, Hinzert had an autonomous Gestapo interrogation squad installed in the camp.

The Hinzert camp was located in the Hunsrück Mountains, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the southeast of Trier, 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) to the west of the village of Hinzert, in the Moselgau. It was located outside the village, but two public roads ran along the camp boundary. The camp was divided into two sections: The prisoners' camp(s) had an area of about 29,000 square meters (35,000 square yards). Grouped around the roll-call square were five wooden accommodation barracks, as well as an administration barracks (clothing store, dry storeroom, mortuary, baths, and quarantine room), a kitchen barracks (kitchen, stores, and mess room), the laundry, the bunker, and several storage and supply barracks. The prisoners' barracks were divided into two rooms, each of which could hold 50 inmates. The prisoners slept in double bunk beds equipped with straw sacks: between the two dormitories there were flush toilets and washbasins. There was an infirmary in the camp with about 20 beds, where three French inmate physicians worked: Dr. Chauvenet, Dr. Chabaud, and Dr. Jagello, all of them Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*, NN) prisoners. The prisoners' camp was surrounded by high mesh and barbed wire. In the corners were four guards' towers equipped with strong searchlights.

The SS part of the camp consisted of two or three accommodation barracks for the more than 200 SS-Führer and guards, an administration barracks (offices, interrogation rooms), a barracks for the kitchen and canteen, and a garage with a multipurpose workshop. In addition, there were kennels and arrest cells for guards who infringed on regulations. Depending on its function and organizational structure, the Hinzert camp recruited the guards from a variety of sources. In the camp's initial phase, the guards were ordinary members of the Allgemeine-SS and OT, and former soldiers of the Reich Veterans League (Reichskriegerbund). From 1940, the guards were recruited from surrounding district defense commands (Wehrkreiskommandos). An indication of Hinzert's special position is gleaned from the fact that even



Map of Hinzert concentration camp rendered by former prisoner Albert Kaiser, 1945.
USHMM WS #70092, COURTESY OF CNR

though the camp was officially designated as an Arbeitserziehungslager, the responsible camp leaders, administrative personnel, and guards in Hinzert were not provided by the police, as was usual for AELs. No later than the summer of 1940, when the camp came under the control of the IKL, began a regular exchange of Hinzert's guards with the Waffen-SS Death's Heads Formations (Totenkopfverbänden) from other concentration camps and Waffen-SS units that had been at the front. As some of the SS members who had been called up to active service were often transferred to the SS special camps as guards, there was a high turnover rate in the guards.

For many prisoners, Hinzert was the worst camp that they experienced. Details of the living and work conditions can be obtained from the indictment against the camp commandant, Paul Sporrenberg, in 1960–1961. About 10 percent of the inmates worked in the internal prisoner detachments inside the camp itself. The others worked in many outside detachments that were deployed in the immediate vicinity of the camp, mostly doing fortification and repair work but also working in forests as well as in firms at Hinzert, Hermeskeil, and other nearby areas. Hinzert had more than 20 subcamps. In 1942–1943, larger groups of Hinzert inmates were transferred to other camps. Beginning in the summer of 1944, the prisoners were deployed in various outside detachments in the vicinity of Hinzert, especially at airfields along the Rhine.

Hinzert was originally built for 560 prisoners; at least in the initial months of the war the camp operated at below full capacity. In 1943–1944, there were up to 1,500 prisoners in the camp; usually the numbers were between 800 and 1,200. Estimates vary strongly on the total number of prisoners who passed through the camp, varying between 9,500 and 20,000 in Hinzert and its subcamps. There were not only German inmates but inmates from just about every European country—Soviets, Poles, Belgians, Dutch, Croats, Italians, Spaniards, Czechs, French, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and Jews of various nationalities.

According to official camp records and records of the Hermeskeil Bureau of Vital Statistics, in whose area the camp was situated, nearly 300 prisoners died in Hinzert: 18 Belgians, 53 French, 2 Dutch, 1 Croat, 64 Luxembourgers (some sources speak of 79 or 82), 41 Poles, 1 Italian, 78 Soviet Russians, 10 Germans, and 29 prisoners of other nationalities. This obviously low death count may have been caused by the fact that

Hinzert was not only a small camp—it was also a transit camp where many inmates did not remain for very long. Official and internal dissimulation occurred, and so it is likely that a higher death toll is more realistic. A letter from the French occupation authority dated February 4, 1946, refers to around 1,000 corpses exhumed in the area around the Hinzert main camp. Not included in the number of dead in the Hinzert camp are those prisoners that were only brought to Hinzert to be executed in the camp or its immediate vicinity. Three mass executions took place: 70 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were killed in September 1941, 20 Luxembourgers in September 1942, and 23 Luxembourgers in February 1944. There are no records of any successful escape attempts from Hinzert. Recaptured prisoners were taken back to the camp and, as a rule, executed.

In Hinzert, there were a number of prisoner categories: The so-called work shy or Arbeitserziehungshäftlinge (*AE*) and asocials (*Asoziale*) were initially Germans admitted as police prisoners and protective custody prisoners while constructing the Westwall or the autobahn. Later, this category also included foreigners such as Luxembourgers and others but also political prisoners, who were admitted as AE prisoners. No one knows how many prisoners of this category Hinzert held. Another catergory were Luxembourg prisoners, above all political prisoners arrested for political/security reasons by the Sicherheitspolitische Einsatzkommando Luxembourg. At least 1,599 (some sources say at least 1,800) Luxembourgers were sent to Hinzert from the middle of 1941. In 1941 and 1945, Luxembourg prisoners represented between 10 and 15 percent of the camp inmates. Initially, they were not put to work but were held at the disposal of the State Police Interrogation Commission (Vernehmungskommission). From July 1942, they were used as labor. Then there were NN prisoners who were sent to the camp from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands from May 29, 1942 on. At least 40 NN transports arrived from France, and probably more than 2,000 French NN inmates were held at Hinzert. There were very few Jews at the Hinzert camp, including a small group from Luxembourg but also some Jews of other nationalities. Several were murdered in the camp, and others were transferred to other camps. A special category consisted of so-called E-Polen ("Eindeutschungs-Polen," Poles to be Germanized): they were Polish civilian laborers and POWs who had had illegal sexual relations with German women. Usually they were meant to undergo so-called special treatment (*Sonderbehandlung*, execution) for committing this "crime," but some of them, following a decree by Himmler in 1941, were selected to be examined to determine whether they could be Germanized. In that case, they would have to "have Nordic characteristics . . . a good appearance and . . . a very favorable character."

In 1943, Himmler ordered that the prisoners in question be transferred for six months to Hinzert, "to a department in the special camp especially established for those who were capable of being Germanized." They remained for a period of six months there while undergoing a "racial/psychological investigation." During this period, their relatives (*Herdstellenangehörigen*) also were checked by the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) in Poland. In case of a positive result, they were placed on the German national list (*Volksliste*) III and would have to marry the German woman with whom they had had a relationship. E-Polen had their own rooms and mostly worked in Polish-only labor detachments, but in 1944 the so-called re-Germanization program (Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm, WED) was wound down due to the war. There is no information available regarding the number of E-Polen that Hinzert actually held. Another catergory of inmate specific to the Hinzert camp only were Foreign Legionnaires: Up to 1,000 former Foreign Legionnaires of German origin were deported from France via the camps in Fréjus and Chalon-sur-Saône to Hinzert in the first half of 1941 and 1942 to receive a "strict" reeducation including punishment by severe labor or—in case they were qualified for military service—to be recruited for the Afrika Korps. Since the Foreign Legionnaires fell into different categories, it is almost impossible to come to clear conclusions regarding their working and living conditions. For what was presumably only a limited time, there were youths in the "youth detachment" (*Jugendabteilung*), which was set up in April 1941 at the instigation of the Stapostelle Saarbrücken. However, it was replaced that year by the Etzenhofen-Köllerbach Arbeitserziehungslager (work education camp, AEL), which existed until 1944. From 1942 on, Hinzert also held foreign laborers from Poland, the Soviet Union, and other East European countries who had been accused of loafing or refusing to work. At the end of 1943, Hinzert became a transit camp for French foreign workers who had illegally returned to France and were now being sent back into the German Reich as well as for hostages (*Repressaliengeiseln*). It is also thought that there were political prisoners from Poland in Hinzert, including POWs and students, but little is known about them.

Hinzert was under the command of a number of commandants: The first one was SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Pister, from October 9, 1939, to December 21, 1941. During his era, 70 Soviet POWs were murdered by the SS camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Wolter using Zyankali (prussic acid) in September 1941. Pister was transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp at the end of 1941. When Hinzert came under the control of Buchenwald in January 1945, he once again became commandant of Hinzert. He was sentenced to death after the war for crimes committed in Buchenwald and died in Landsberg on September 28, 1948. The second commandant was SS-Sturmbannführer Egon Zill, from December 21, 1941, to May 1, 1942. After serving in Hinzert, Zill became commandant of the Natzweiler-Struthof camp. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1955, but later his sentence was reduced to 15 years. He died, a free man, in 1974. The third commandant was Paul Sporrenberg, from May 1, 1942, to January 1945. Sporrenberg initially had been the leader of the Vicht police and protective custody camp near Aachen, which was a subcamp of Hinzert. In the middle of 1941, he returned to Hinzert and became one of the three

protective custody leaders (Schutzhaftlagerführer), later becoming commandant of the most important Hinzert subcamp, Wittlich. At the beginning of 1942, he was once again a Schutzhaftlagerführer in Hinzert, and from April 1942, Hinzert deputy commandant. From July 25, 1942, he had full command in Hinzert. He was promoted in November 1943 to SS-Hauptsturmführer. During his command, 43 Luxembourg resistance fighters were murdered in September 1943 and February 1944. Sporrenberg was in command of up to 300 SS men. He was responsible for introducing a regime of merciless arbitrary acts and was known to set upon the prisoners with a German shepherd. He was transferred to Buchenwald in January 1945 and took over the command of the Dorndorf subcamp near Eisenach. He was only charged as an "accessory to murder" in March 1960 but died in December 1961 before his trial commenced. The last Hinzert commandant, from January 1945 to March 3, 1945, was an SS-Obersturmführer and criminal investigator from Trier whose name is unknown.

On November 21, 1944, Hinzert formally came under the jurisdiction of the Buchenwald concentration camp. There were still small groups of prisoners sent to Hinzert and its subcamps in the middle of February 1945. The Hinzert camp was dissolved on March 2 and 3, 1945, when U.S. troops reached Trier. Accompanied by a few SS men, the inmates, probably between 120 and 150, were driven on an evacuation march toward Buchenwald. Divided into small groups, they were liberated by the U.S. Army over the course of the following days. Only a few inmates had remained in the camp. As soon as the SS guards escaped from the approaching Allied troops, the prisoners went into hiding in the forests surrounding the camp and only came out of hiding after the arrival of the U.S. troops.

Between 1948 and 1960–1961, the following trials dealt with crimes committed at Hinzert:

- US Military Court, Dachau, 1946: Dr. Waldemar Wolter is sentenced to death for his crimes commited as a physician at the Hinzert and Mauthausen camps; he is hanged in 1947 in Landsberg/Lech.
- U.S. Military Court, Dachau, August 14, 1947: In the so-called Buchenwald Trial, Hermann Pister was sentenced to death by hanging. He died before he could be executed.
- The Swiss Schwurgericht Zürich, June 20 to July 6, 1948: Camp Kapo Eugen Wipf was sentenced to life in prison for "repeated murder, accessory to murder, grievous bodily harm." He died in prison on August 31, 1948.
- Military Court of the French Occupying Authority in Germany, Rastatt/Baden, June 18 to July 12 (15 members of the guard), September 1 to October 28, 1948 (including appeals to February 1949) against a former camp doctor and 21 members of the former camp SS: Sentenced to death were SS-Unterscharführer Anton Pammer (responsible for the vegetable gardens, block leader) and SS-Unterscharführer Julius Reiss; lifelong hard labor for the SS-Schutzhaftlagerführer Untersturnführer Alfred Heinrich; lifelong forced labor for SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Schattner (stores administrator) and SS-Unterscharführer Theodor Fritz (in charge of the prisoners' card index and responsible for labor detachments); 20 years' hard labor for SS-Unterscharführer Ludwig Windisch; 3 years' hard labor for auxiliary policeman Julius Günther.
- Landgericht Mannheim, April 14, 1950, against two SS-Unterführer: SS-Oberscharführer Georg Schaaf (bricklayer and block leader, called Ivan the Terrible [Iwan der Schreckliche] and SS-Oberscharführer Josef Brendel (Sanitätsdienstgrad [medical orderly, SDG]) for aggravated prisoner mistreatment: Brendel received 2 years 6 months' prison, and Schaaf, 10 years' prison. Schaaf later committed suicide in prison.
- Schwurgericht München, February 27, 1951: Egon Zill was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to 15 years' hard labor. He died in 1974.
- Schwurgericht Trier, 1961, three trials against four former members of the camp SS in Hinzert: SS-Oberscharführer Hans Krischer, head of the infirmary, sentenced to four years and nine months' imprisonment; SS-Oberscharführer Willy Kleinhenn sentenced to two years' hard labor; SS-Sanitäter Josef Brendel and dentist Werner Fenchel (accessories to the homicide of 70 POWs), acquitted.
- Staatsanwaltschaft Trier, 1960–1961: Investigation and charges laid against Paul Sporrenberg for 10 counts of murder, 23 counts of being an accessory to murder, and in at least 6 cases, grievous bodily harm causing death. A trial did not take place as Sporrenberg died in 1961.

SOURCES The history of the Hinzert concentration camp is outlined in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87ff;2:710–714. Uwe Bader and Beate Welter describe the Hinzert main camp in great detail in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 17–42. Both historians are also the authors of other publications on Hinzert: Beate Welter, "Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert und die Zwangsarbeit," in *Zwangsarbeit in Rheinlad-Pfalz während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, ed. Hedwig Brüchert and Michael Matheus (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 21–31; Beate Welter and Uwe Bader, "Luxemburger Häftlinge im SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 66–82; Beate Welter, "Die Gedenkstätte SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert," BLzL

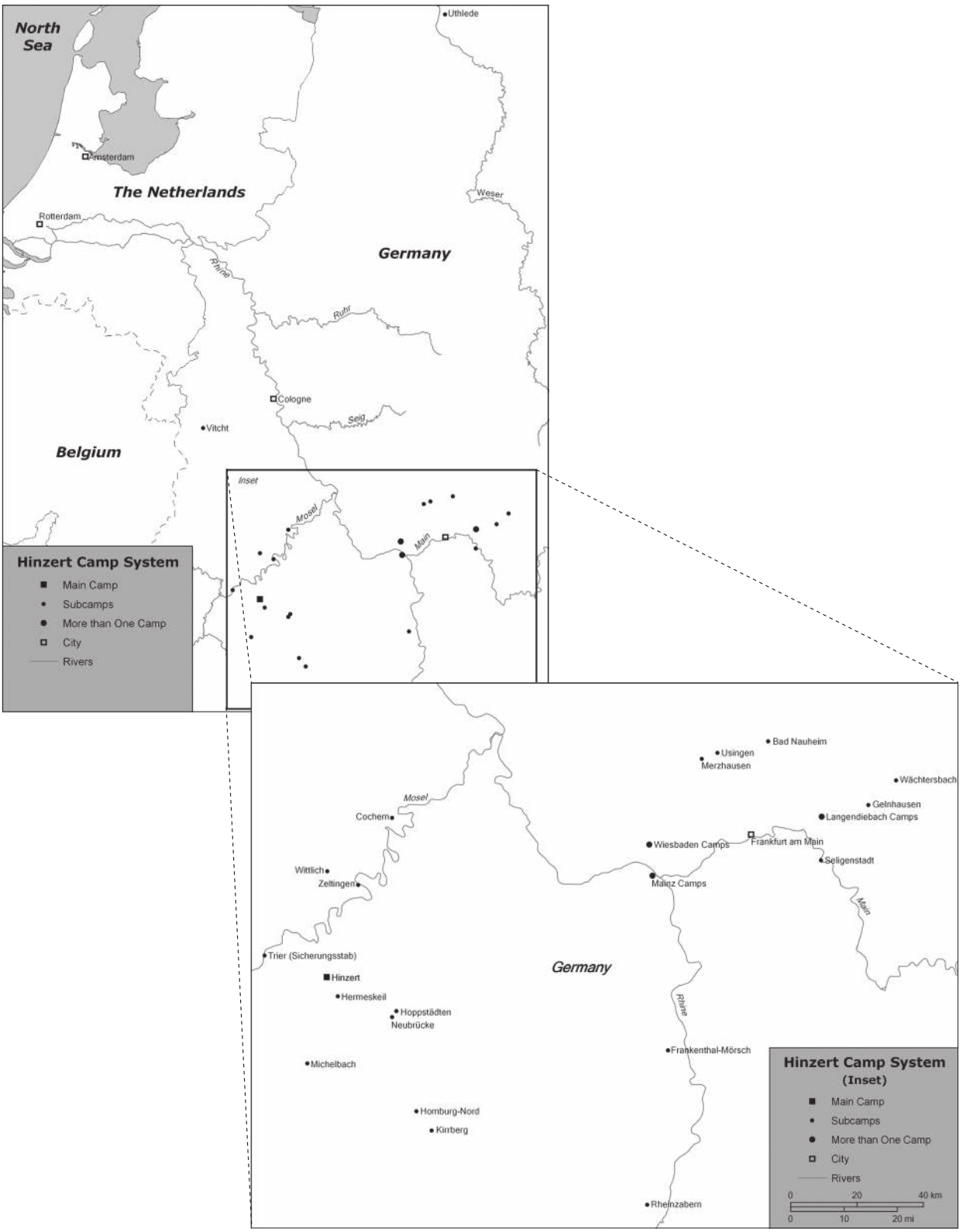
(extra) (2005); and Uwe Bader, "Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1939–1945," in *Terror im Westen. Nationalsozialistische Lager in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Luxemburg 1940–1945*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2004), pp. 249—275). Joseph de la Martinière, a former inmate, published his memoirs in French as *Mon Témoignage de déporté NN—Hinzert* (Lignieres de Touraine, n.d.) and in German as *Meine Erinnerungen als NN-Deportierter—Hinzert*, ed. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Ingelheim, 2005). There is an incomplete and partly erroneous list of the Hinzert subcamps and OT-Polizeihaftlager: Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten's study *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983) focuses on Luxembourg between 1940 and 1945 and the fate of the Luxembourg prisoners. Especially in the second part, there is a wealth of factual information, including a detailed description of the prisoners' accommodations (p. 390ff), the Hinzert camp regulations including punishments (from p. 371ff), and a detailed description of the history of the prisoners' infirmary (p. 406ff). Beginning on p. 613, there is a list of published and unpublished sources relating to Hinzert. An important source on the history of the camp under Commandant Sporrenberg is Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/K Z Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). The indictment offers a detailed description of everyday camp life. Volker Schneider describes in his Web article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.) the last months of the Hinzert camp. Schneider is also the author of *Waffen-SS— SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. Das Konzentrationslager im Gau Moselland 1939–1945 (*Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998). Gabriele Lotfi investigates Hinzert as part of the AELs in the Third Reich in *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000). The appendix provides a comprehensive list of unpublished sources in German, Dutch, and British archives. In Lotfi's "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sibylle Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Münich, 2000), pp. 209–229, she provides comprehensive information on the early Hinzert camp. Eugen Kogon mentions the Hinzert camp in passing in his work *Der SS-Staat*, 23rd ed. (Gütersloh, 1974). Gudrun Schwarz mentions the SS-Sonderlager Hinzert and its subcamps and police camps in her work *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (1990; Frankfurt am Main, 1996); unfortunately, many of the details are either incomplete or inaccurate. Another important source is Peter Buchers, "Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert bei Trier," *JWDLG* (1978). Eberhard Klopp analyzes the Hinzert camp with a focus on the postwar history of the camp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 20.000* (Trier, 1983). Linus Reichlin deals with the fate of Lagerkapo Eugen Wipf in his book *Kriegsverbrecher Wipf, Eugen: Schweizer in der Waffen-SS, in deutschen Fabriken und an Schreibtischen des Dritten Reiches* (Zurich, 1994). Hinzert and its subcamps are mentioned in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further details on Hinzert can be found in the following: Dieter Burgard, "Förderverein: Dokumentations-und Begegnungsstätte Hinzert e.V.,"*Sachor* 7 (1994); Hans-Günther Homfeldt and Helmut Pfeifer, "Gedenkstättenarbeit zum früheren SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert," *Sachor* 7 (1994); Hiltrud Kometz, *Das ehemalige KZ Hinzert* (Luxembourg, n.d.); Matthias Alexander Gerstlauer, "Das ehemalige SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisations- und Machtgefüge der SS" (Master's thesis, FB III Universität Trier, 1996); Edgar Christoffel, "Ein KZ-Lager im Trierer Land: Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert (Hunsrück)," in Christoffel, *Verfolgung und Widerstand im Trierer Land während des Nationalsozialismus* (Trier, 1983), pp. 219–249; and Volker Schneider and Helmut Peifer, *The Former SS-Special Camp/ Concentration Camp at Hinzert, 1939–1945*, trans. Susan Hubert (Mainz, 1997).

Unpublished sources on the Hinzert camp are to be found in the following archives:

BA-K (NS 4, Konzentrationslager; NS 4 Hi, SS-Sonderlager Hinzert; NS 19, Persönlicher Stab RFSS; R 58, RSHA); NWHStA-(D) (Akten der Stapostellen Köln, Aachen, Düsseldorf); BA-BL (former BDC); ACNR, Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation, Besancon AOC (collection Rhenanie-Palatinat, cercle de Tréves, mise sous sequestre, Hinzert, caisse 1096 and others); LHRP-Ko (Verfahrensakten gegen Hinzerter Täter vor dem Landgericht Trier; Dokumentegruppen im Zusammenhang mit den Verfahren des IMT, Nürnberg); BA-L. Files from the trials against the commandants and the Hinzert camp guards are to be found in the archives of the authorities having jurisdiction in the Swiss Department of Justice, AOC, GLA-K, and ANL, as well as in the LHRP-Ko. For a comprehensive overview on the archival sources on the Hinzert camp, see Engel and Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945*, following p. 613. Roland Osstyn has published the prisoners' statements made to the Staatanwaltschaft Trier on Hinzert in *Hinzert: 4 Hefte* (Brussels, 1977). Former Luxembourg prisoner Metty Barbel published his experiences in Hinzert under the title *Student in Hinzert und Natzweiler, Erlebnisaufsätze von KZ Nr. 2915 alias 2188* (Luxembourg, 1992). Hinzert is mentioned in several publications by Joseph de la Martinière, for example, in *Nuit et Brouillard à Hinzert*, 2 vols. (Tours, 1994); *Mon Témoignage de Déporté NN*, vol. 2, *Hinzert* (Lignières de Touraine, n.d.); and *La Procédure Nuit et Brouillard: Nomenclature des Déportés NN*, vol. 1, *Hinzert* (Porto-Sonneburg, 1996).

A note on the Hinzert subcamps: There are no entries in this work for several locations, either because information on them was lacking or because of the likelihood that they were work detachments, rather than proper subcamps. Those locations are: Bendorf, Farschweiler/Ferschweiler, Flughafen Rhein/Main, Fulda, Heddernheim, Hellenthal-Losheim, Lehrbach-Kirtorf, Mariahütte, Trier (Festungsdienststelle), Trier (Flughafen), Trier (OT-Oberbauleitung Trier II), and Zweibrücken.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini


North Sea
The Netherlands
Germany
Belgium
Uthlede
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Weser
Rhine
Ruhr
Cologne
Sieg
Vitcht
Inset
Mosel
Main
Hinzert Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
City
Rivers
Bad Nauheim
Usingen
Merzhausen
Wächtersbach
Gelnhausen
Langendiebach Camps
Cochem
Wiesbaden Camps
Frankfurt am Main
Seligenstadt
Wittlich
Zeltingen
Mainz Camps
Trier (Sicherungsstab)
Hinzert
Hermeskeil
Hoppstädten
Neubrücke
Rhine
Frankenthal-Mörsch
Michelbach
Homburg-Nord
Kirrberg
Rheinzabern
Hinzert Camp System
(Inset)
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
City
Rivers
0
20
40 km
0
10
20 mi

BAD NAUHEIM (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

Bad Nauheim was one of at least eight Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camps (Polizeihaftlager) that were administered by the Hinzert main camp. The camp was probably set up at the end of 1939 or the beginning of 1940. The number of prisoners in the camp, as with other West Camps (Westlager) probably ranged between 300 and 400.[1] These OT-Polizeihaftlager held workers from the Westwall and the Reichsautobahn (RAB). The security offices, which were allocated to each OT building administrative unit by the Chief of the Security Police, had sentenced the workers to police custody for breaches of discipline due to failures to work, theft from comrades, fighting, assaults on foremen, disparaging statements about National Socialism, and breaches of the "basic principles of a healthy war attitude."

The prisoners were not convicted by a court but simply put in police custody. Upon their release, they were considered as having no record of a conviction, and therefore were not regarded as "protective custody" prisoners, as the police arrest camps were not recognized as state concentration camps. The inmates remained as prisoners of the police who had been deployed to an SS special camp by a simple administrative measure.

According to historian Gabriele Lotfi, "Unlike the concentration camps where terror reigned, the police custody camps, at least initially, felt bound to follow the traditional authoritarian-military approaches used in 'improvement institutions,' insofar as they wanted to educate the inmates by means of discipline and training in order to release them later back into society as useful elements."[2] As a rule, the prisoners were held in camps such as Bad Nauheim for only a few days or weeks but not more than three months; those held for more than three months served their time at the Hinzert main camp.

Regional authorities, district governments, building administrations, and local communities all asked for prisoners from camps such as Bad Nauheim. They wanted to use the prisoners for a variety of projects, and the prisoners were highly valued because working under police guard they arrived punctually at work and worked extremely diligently. The camp was probably dissolved in 1940 following the occupation of France, which meant that the tasks set for OT were no longer necessary.

SOURCES Gabriele Lotfi states that Bad Nauheim was administered by Hinzert in her book *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000). Likewise, she mentions Bad Nauheim in her article on SS-Sonderlager, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldan," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitick*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 213.

COCHEM [AKA BRUTTIG UND TREIS]

Cochem is located at the Mosel river in the former Prussian Rhine Province. It was the closest railway station to Bruttig and Treis, two villages where concentration camp inmates were kept. Bruttig and Treis were located at the opposite ends of a railway tunnel that had been built before the war but had never been put to use. In March 1944, in the context of the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) program that dealt with securing and increasing the production of fighter planes, for instance, by relocating the production underground, plans were developed to also use the railway tunnel between Bruttig and Treis for that purpose. Therefore, a Natzweiler subcamp was erected that bore the official name of Cochem and whose inmates were accommodated in Bruttig and Treis. The camp held about 600 to 800 inmates from all over Europe who began to prepare the tunnel for the commencement of production. But already in August or September 1944, after the camps in Bruttig and Treis had been bombed by Allied planes, the camp was dissolved. Afterward, inmates of the Hinzert concentration camp were taken to Bruttig and Treis, probably to continue the construction work. But continued Allied bombing made the work impossible, and this Hinzert subcamp was finally dissolved, too.

SOURCES Due to its short existence, there is only little information on this Hinzert subcamp. Ernst Heimes has provided a comprehensive description in his research into the camps at Bruttig and Treis in his book *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen: Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; repr., Koblenz, 1996). However, his research is exclusively limited to the Natzweiler period of the camp. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten have verified the existence of a Hinzert subcamp in Cochem in their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), but the information provided is admittedly sparse. Albert Pütz describes Cochem in his book *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) as a Hinzert and Natzweiler subcamp. See the map reproduced on p. 277 of his volume. Incomplete details on the number of deaths in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in the following publications: *Nachweisung über Grabstätten von Angehörigen der Vereinten Nationen im hiesigen Amtsbezirk VG Cochem-Land, Kreis Cochem*; and *Nachweisung über Todesfälle von KZ-Häftlingen in der Gemeinde Bruttig, Kreis Cochem, Amtsbezirk Cochem–Cochem Land*. Reinhold Schommers has published two works on Cochem: "Die Last drückt immer noch," *RZC* (ca. 1985); and *Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit* (St. Aldegund, ca. 1985).

Archival documents relating to the Cochen subcamps

(Bruttig and Treis) are to be found mostly in the collections at ACCS. In addition, there are two newspaper articles that are devoted to the proceedings against senior officers of the Natzweiler subcamp before the Tribunal Général 1947 in Rastatt: "Die Verbrechen von Treis und Bruttig," *Tr-Vo*, August 5, 1947; and "KZ-Lager Treis und Bruttig vor Gericht," *Tr-Vo*, July 22, 1947.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FRANKENTHAL-MÖRSCH (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

Frankenthal-Mörsch in Bavaria was one of at least eight Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camps (Polizeihaftlager), which were under the supervision of the Hinzert main camp. It was first mentioned in the Hinzert camp files on July 25, 1940.

Workers from the Westwall and Reichsautobahn (RAB) were put into the OT-Polizeihaftlager once found guilty for having breached discipline requirements—lack of work compliance, theft from "comrades," involvement in fights, assault on foremen, remarks against National Socialism, breach of "principles of a healthy war leadership." "The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training all in accordance with the same educational program as used by the Reich Labor Service [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth."[1] As "police prisoners" the inmates were to be "re-educated" and molded into "full" members of the National Socialist community by means of hard work, physical mistreatment, brutal punishment, beatings, and arrest. As the inmates had not been convicted by a court and were only in police custody upon release, they had no criminal record.[2]

Prisoners with prison sentences of less than three months (often only for two weeks) were sent to the Polizeihaftlager Frankenthal-Mörsch—those with longer prison sentences were sent straight to the Hinzert main camp. The prisoners performed heavy labor on the Reichsautobahn. Frankenthal-Mörsch was mentioned for the last time in the Hinzert files on November 11, 1940. Presumably the camp was dissolved around this time or shortly thereafter in connection with the occupation of France and the subsequent new work assignments for the OT.

SOURCES The Frankenthal-Mörsch camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Frankenthal-Mörsch is also mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000); and "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp considers Frankenthal-Mörsch to be a Polizeihaftlager under the supervision of Hinzert in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983); Gudrun Schwarz mentions Frankenthal-Mörsch as a Polizeihaftlager under the administration of the Hinzert camp in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Frankenthal-Mörsch is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffenlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 214.

GELNHAUSEN [AKA ROTHENBERGEN BEI GELNHAUSEN]

It is not clear whether Gelnhausen was a Hinzert subcamp or a work detachment. In any case, Gelnhausen was one of a group of subcamps or work detachments that was established from the summer of 1944 onward along the Rhine Line or at nearby airfields. Gelnhausen is located in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau, at the foot of the Spessart. The camp was located in the vicinity of Rothenbergen near Gelnhausen.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp's or the detachment's existence as of September 1944 was mentioned for the first time in a statement made by a former prisoner.

From June to August 1945, prisoners were taken to Gelnhausen for the first time. Their number was about 20. In September, apparently a new, second camp was erected to replace the first one. This camp is referred to in ITS, based on a statement made by a former prisoner. The approximately 80 male prisoners constructed mine shafts for a bomb-secure subcommand post located at an airfield that was used for training purposes by glider pilots and Luftwaffe school squadrons of the Gau of Wiesbaden.

The prisoners were kept in corrugated iron barracks surrounded by barbed wire. The camp leader was a "grumpy 80-year-old SS man" who had a Doberman.[1] According to prisoners' statements, the ITS stated that the camp existed until the end of March 1945. More recent research indicates that the prisoners in the Gelnhausen subcamp were sent to Mannheim-Sandhofen (a Natzweiler subcamp) as early as the autumn of 1944.

SOURCES The Gelnhausen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:710. Marcel Engel and

André Hohengarten briefly describe Gelnhausen in their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 449. Volker Schneider refers to the withdrawal of prisoners from Gelnhausen to Mannheim-Sandhofen in the autumn of 1944 in his online publication "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45." Schneider is also the author of *Waffen-SS–SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. Das Konzentrationslager im Gau Moselland 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998), which refers briefly to the Gelnhausen subcamp. Albert Pütz identifies Gelnhausen as a Hinzert subcamp in a graphic overview of the subcamps and work detachments of Hinzert in his *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). On the contrary, Eberhard Klopp characterizes Gelnhausen as a Hinzert Kommando in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Beate Welter describes the Gelnhausen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 45–46. Gudrun Schwarz, in her study *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), says that Gelnhausen was a Hinzert subcamp, as based on a reference to be found in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Some information on the subcamp can also be found in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, vol. 1, Hessen I. Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt*, ed. Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 449.

HERMESKEIL

Hermeskeil was only a few kilometers away from the Hinzert main camp. It can therefore be assumed that the Hinzert prisoners were used primarily for external work detachments.

According to the Hinzert files, which are cited by the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners were used for the first time in Hermeskeil on March 23, 1940. They were deployed in a number of detachments from no later than March 23, 1940, until at least April 15, 1944, to the firm Paul Dietrich, Laubach; to the Bahnmeisterei Hermeskeil—a work detachment Flachsrösterei (flax roasting facility); to the firm Müller & Froitzheim, when constructing the Reichsautobahn; to the timber firm J.C. Dittgen KG from Schmelz/Saar, loading timber; and to the firm Peter Blaumeyer, St. Wendel, laying water pipe. In addition, a 90-man-strong Polish contingent worked at the ball-bearing factory of Ehrenreich & Co. The attempt by two prisoners to escape from this detachment during Pentecost 1943 was unsuccessful.

The last time the Hermeskeil camp is mentioned in the Hinzert files is on April 22, 1944.

SOURCES Hermeskeil appears in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten compiled a list of work detachments of Hinzert prisoners in Hermeskeil for their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939—1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 383. Eberhard Klopp identifies Hermeskeil as a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz refers to Hermeskeil as a subcamp of Hinzert in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Her statement is based on a reference to be found in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and in the ITS catalog.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HOMBURG-NORD (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) in Homburg-Nord in the Saarland was first mentioned in the files of the Hinzert main camp on December 13, 1939. It was one of at least 8 (some sources say 20) so-called West Camps (Westlager) in which workers on the Siegfried Line and the Reichsautobahn were held for breaches of discipline, such as work absenteeism, thefts from "comrades," fights, assaults on superiors, or statements made against National Socialism. The security staff officers who were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each OT construction administration carried out the prisoners' arrest. They were held in prison for only a few days to about two weeks to a maximum of three months. Prisoners held for longer periods were held in the Hinzert main camp.

The prisoners in Homburg-Nord worked for the OT senior construction administration at Homburg and Pirmasens and for the Saarbrücken district of the OT senior construction administration at St. Wendel-Saarbrücken. Working conditions were aggravated as the "common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Service [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth."[1] Local and regional private businesses, communities, and authorities also profited from the reliable and punctual labor service provided by the prisoners, who were under constant guard. As a rule, the Westlager held between 40 and 300 prisoners.

The camp is mentioned for the last time in the camp files for September 18, 1940. At this time, the OT police custody camps were dissolved, as the invasion of France resulted in new assignments for the OT.

SOURCES The Homburg-Nord subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Homburg-Nord is mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000), where she refers to it as an OT-Polizeihaftlager under the command of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert; and in her article on SS-Sonderlager: "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp mentions Homburg-Nord as a Hinzert Polizeihaftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Homburg-Nord is mentioned as a Polizeihaftlager by Gudrun Schwarz in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Her source is the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

HOPPSTÄDTEN

Emergency accommodations for the prisoners of the Neubrücke subcamp were located in Hoppstädten. After the Neubrücke subcamp was destroyed during a heavy bombing raid on January 22, 1945, the camp was relocated to Hoppstädten. The prisoners, however, were still working in Neubrücke, repairing bomb damage and salvaging machines from their work location, the tank undercarriage plant of the Deutsche Eisenwerke.

SOURCES Volker Schneider mentions the Neubrücke camp's relocation to Hoppstädten in January 1945 in his online work "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (pdf, n.d.), p. 18 and n.46. Gudrun Schwarz mentions Hoppstädten as being under the administration of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). That statement is based on a reference in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KIRRBERG (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) in the Bavarian town of Kirrberg near Zweibrücken was administered by the Hinzert main camp. It was first mentioned in a letter written by the commandant of the SS special and police custody camps on October 11, 1940.

Prisoners were committed to the OT police custody camps by the security staff officers, who were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each OT construction administration. They were committed for breaches of discipline, such as work absenteeism, thefts from "comrades," fights, assaults on superiors, or statements made against the National Socialist regime. The prisoners in Kirrberg were held for a period of between a few days and a maximum of three months. The average time was two weeks. There were probably between 40 and 300 prisoners held at Kirrberg. "The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) and Hitler Youth."[1]

The dissolution of the camp probably occurred after the transfer of the OT to occupied France.

SOURCES The Kirrberg camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), II: 714. Kirrberg is also mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000); and "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp 209–229. Eberhard Klopp mentions Kirrberg as a Polizeihaftlager administered by Hinzert in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz mentions Kirrberg as a Polizeihaftlager under the administration of the Hinzert camp in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Kirrberg is also mentioned in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. G. Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

LANGENDIEBACH I AND II

The Hinzert subcamp Langendiebach was located in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. Based upon a witness statement, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp was first opened in 1942 and that the male prisoners worked on an airfield.

Other statements put the camp's opening on June 13, 1944. By then, the camp would have been one of the Hinzert subcamps founded in 1944 on or close to airfields along the river Rhine. This camp, which is also referred to as Langendiebach I, was under the command of camp leader (Lagerführer) SS-Oberscharführer Nikolaus Spurk until approximately July 1944. The prisoners of the Langendiebach I subcamp worked at the Hanau military airfield, which was opened in July 1939, and were accommodated in a large wooden barrack next to the maneuvering area. The barracks was once part of a Hitler Youth camp. The camp was probably dissolved on August 18, 1944, and the prisoners taken back to Hinzert.

Langendiebach II was founded in the fall of 1944 (probably on September 10 or 13, 1944). Its camp leader was SS-Scharführer Max Zimmermann, followed at an unknown date by SS-Unterscharführer Martin. This time, two separate barracks, one for French prisoners of war (POWs) of African origin and one for Greek prisoners, had also been added next to the maneuvering area. Each of the consecutive camps held approximately 100 to 120 prisoners. More than a third of them were Luxembourgers; the others mostly Dutch, Belgian, and French inmates. For some of them, as Volker Schneider suggests, Langendiebach might have been a transit camp on their way to a deployment in other Hinzert subcamps. The inmates were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers and Organisation Todt (OT) men who apparently were less brutal than the usual SS guards.

Mainly interceptors and night fighters were stationed at the Langendiebach airfield, but due to lack of fuel and spare parts as well as to devastating Allied air raids, which occurred almost daily, the planes remained mostly on the ground. The inmates were used to maintain the airfield and the runways and to defuse unexploded bombs. There are no reports detailing if and how many inmates died as a result of their tasks or the frequent air raids.

The subcamp was evacuated on March 25, 1945. At that time, 117 prisoners were still in the camp. They were taken by three train cars toward Bad Orb, where they were liberated by the U.S. Army on March 31, 1945. According to survivor statements, several prisoners managed to escape from the evacuation march by pretending that they were a labor detachment on their way to work.

SOURCES The Langendiebach subcamps I and II are mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711, but without a distinction between the subcamps. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten provide the most comprehensive description of both subcamps in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 448, 451. Volker Schneider describes the Langendiebach subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 47–48. Eberhard Klopp states that Langendiebach was a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Albert Pütz depicts the Langendiebach subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 277, on a comprehensive map of all subcamps and outside details. Gudrun Scharwz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Langendiebach was part of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. As a source she cites the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and the reference in the ITS.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAINZ-FINTHEN [AKA FINTHEN]

Mainz-Finthen was a Hinzert subcamp located at Mainzer Höhe, a hill between the villages of Wackernheim, Drais, amd Finthen, just outside the city of Mainz, Hessen Province. In the summer of 1939, a military airfield had been opened in Finthen, and this was to become the site of a Hinzert subcamp created in the summer of 1944. Mainz-Finthen therefore belonged to a group of subcamps established at that time that were located at airfields along the Rhine Line.

After an advance detachment of Poles and Luxembourgers had arrived at Mainzer Höhe from the Amersfoort camp in the Netherlands to begin preparatory work, the main group of inmates was sent on to Mainz-Finthen on September 14, 1944. It consisted of 100 inmates, mostly Dutch and Luxembourg prisoners. They had arrived by train at the Mainz-Mombach station and had walked from there the 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the Hinzert airfield, accompanied by SS guards. The International Tracing Service (ITS), however, sets the date the camp was erected as November 16, 1944—this is probably the date when an additional prisoner transport from Hinzert arrived in Mainz-Finthen. After the arrival of this transport, the camp had reached its maximum capacity with about 220 inmates—among them 96 Luxembourgers, 108 Dutch, 18 Italians, 3 Belgians, and 1 Frenchman, whose names are known.

The prisoners were accommodated in a few (fewer than five) barracks at the southeastern corner of the airfield. The prisoners slept on the bare ground; they had no beds but used straw mattresses to cover themselves. There was a camp library, which they were allowed to use. The hygienic conditions were poor; there was only one water faucet for the inmates, and the prisoners were plagued by lice. The medical officer of the Luftwaffe airfield was in charge of the concentration camp inmates, too, and among other things he vaccinated them against contagious diseases.

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was Nikolaus Spurk, who had gained notoriety for being an alcoholic and beating the inmates. Until October 1944, Spurk was supported by SS-Unterscharführer Weirich. From the beginning, the Luftwaffe commander of the airfield made Spurk understand that under his authority the prisoners were not to be mistreated. In March 1945, when Spurk was ordered to accompany the evacuation march of the Hinzert inmates, he was replaced by an SS-Schütze called Müller and a few weeks later by a young

SS man named Gert Gutknecht. Both of these last two were later described in prisoner statements as harmless and friendly. The remainder of the guards were elderly Austrians and young Luftwaffe pilots still in training who could no longer fly due to the lack of aircraft. Inmates report that in general they were treated nicely by their guards and that from time to time they even received supplemental food from them. Nevertheless, food was always scarce in the camp, especially due to the situation at the end of the war. The cold winter and the harsh labor conditions would have required much larger rations of food than were available to the inmates. During the last weeks of the existence of the camp, inmates therefore repeatedly left the camp and tried to steal food from the local population. There is only one reported case of death in camp: Luxembourg inmate Jean-Pierre Jungels died on November 29, 1944, from exhaustion.

The work of the male prisoners at the airport consisted mainly of filling in bomb craters, building roads and paths, cutting timber in order to camouflage the airplanes, and building underground tunnels for the construction of a bunker. During air raids, there was no shelter for the inmates of the camp, and they had to hide themselves in a nearby forest. However, according to historian Bärbel Maul, no inmates were killed during these attacks.

The camp existed until its liberation in the spring of 1945. On March 17, the Luftwaffe units left the airfield, and the inmates were to follow on March 20. Afraid that they would be killed during the evacuation march, more than 30 inmates escaped and hid in the forest, with local farmers, and in a tunnel they had dug not far from the camp. They were liberated on March 21, 1945, when U.S. troops reached the camp. About 160 inmates, however, were taken on an evacuation march toward the south, and they were only liberated on March 29, 1945, by the U.S. Army in Berstadt near Hungen.

SOURCES Bärbel Maul gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Finthen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz, and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 49–53. She is also the author of "KZ-Aussenlager Mainz-Finthen—Eine Spurensuche mit Folgen?" MGb 10 (1995–1996): 194–198. Further descriptions of the subcamp can be found in Daniela Brunner and Justus Obermeyer, "Das Aussenlager des SS-Sonderlagers/KZ Hinzert in Mainz-Finthen," in Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel, eds., *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *"Für die Aussenwelt seid Ihr tot!"* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 260–267; Léon Glesener, "Vers la libération et le retour. Hinzert, Kommando Mainz-Finthen," Rappel 3–5 (1970): 151–153; Edmond Kreis, "Das Hinzerter Kommando in Mainz-Finthen," Rappel 2 (1990): 71–72; and Heinz Leiwig, "Das Straflager Finthen," in *Leidensstätten in Mainz 1933–1945. Eine Spurensuche*, ed. Heinz Leiwig (Mainz, 1987), pp. 81–91. The Mainz-Finthen (Finthen) subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:710. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe Mainz-Finthen as a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück*, *1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 464. Albert Pütz refers to Mainz-Finthen as a Hinzert subcamp on a map in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp states that Mainz-Finthen was a Hinzert Aussenkommando in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). However, he probably means a subcamp. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Finthen was part of Hinzert. She quotes as a source the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and the ITS catalog.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAINZ-GUSTAVSBURG

The Mainz-Gustavsburg subcamp was established quite late in the history of the Hinzert camp system, most likely on December 6, 1944. Its erection was a direct result of repeated air raids on Mainz that had also destroyed inmates' quarters. The labor detachments therefore had to be relocated permanently, and a new camp was erected at the Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN), on the Mainspitze in Gustavsburg, a Mainz suburb on the eastern shore of the river Rhine. The prisoners worked for MAN until their camp was dissolved or evacuated on March 19, 1945.

SOURCES The Mainz-Gustavsburg subcamp is described by Beate Welter in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 53–54. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe Mainz-Gustavsburg briefly in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück*, *1939–1945* (Luxembourg: Sankt Paulus, 1983), p. 464. Albert Pütz mentions Mainz-Gustavsberg as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). For further information, see also Mathias Gerstlauer, *Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisations- und Machtgefüge der SS. Arbeit zur Erlangung des Magister Artium am FB III der Universitat Trier* (Trier, 1996), as quoted by Welter.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAINZ-INGELHEIMERAU [AKA MAINZ-INGELHEIMER AUE]

The Hinzert subcamp at Mainz-Ingelheimerau was erected in the early summer of 1944 at a former island in the river Rhine that had been connected with the river's western bank by landfill in the early twentieth century. From then on, it was used as an industrial area, and a number of companies were located there. In the early 1940s, the Gestapo had established a Lager Rhein (Camp Rhine), adjacent to the company of Dr.-Ing. Eugen Pfleiderer, who had developed a procedure for the manufacture of prefabricated buildings from light

concrete plates. After Wiesbaden, his second production site was Mainz-Ingelheimerau. In the camp attached to the company, a number of foreign workers were kept, mainly coming from the Soviet Union. But Pfleiderer also employed forced laborers from Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, as well as military internees from Italy. Like Mainz-Weisenau, also Mainz-Ingelheimerau, according to historian Hedwig Brüchert, served in part as a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*, AEL). In the early summer of 1944, on a separate part of this camp, a Hinzert subcamp was erected. Apparently, its first function was to accommodate the inmates of the Hinzert subcamp in Mainz-Weisenau, which was to be dissolved at that time. In June 1944, the inmates from Weisenau arrived at the new subcamp. Over the next months, more inmates arrived, partly from the Mainz police prison but also from Giessen and Darmstadt. Most of the inmates were Polish and Russian forced laborers, but there were also French and Dutch citizens. The average strength of the camp was about 100 inmates; the maximum was reached late in 1944 with 292 inmates, but already in December the number began to decline.

There were not enough barracks to accommodate the inmates. In the beginning, all inmates slept in one building, on the bare floor, on wood shavings. In the course of the following months, more buildings were erected, but the camp remained mainly incomplete: There were no washrooms for the inmates, and the hygienic conditions were terrible. Brüchert reports that one inmate died as a consequence of bites to his skin from rats, lice, and or bedbugs.

The inmates worked for the Pfleiderer company, producing concrete parts. They also were employed at other locations within the city of Mainz: They helped to clean up after air raids and worked at the city's slaughterhouse, at the gasworks, and in repairing the railway bridge at Ingelheimer Aue. Beside these tasks, inmates were also used in further constructing the camp. Their work conditions were exhausting, and there were permanent disagreements between Pfleiderer and the camp leaders as to where to employ the prisoners. The terrible work conditions, malnutrition, insufficient accommodation and hygienic conditions as well as mistreatment by guards led to a number of deaths in the camp. The first camp leader (Lagerführer), Klein, personally killed two inmates: one was shot during an attempt to escape, the other because he was to be taken to a hospital. SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Köhler, who became the camp leader in July 1944, also killed a number of prisoners. There was no infirmary in the camp. An inmate without medical expertise was in charge of treating the sick, but according to Brüchert, German physician Dr. Regner, who took care of the workers in the forced laborers' camp, repeatedly volunteered to take care of the inmates of the Hinzert subcamp and AEL, too.

In December 1944, the camp suffered severe damage during an air raid. Apparently, the prisoners were still kept at Ingelheimer Aue afterward, and the camp was only evacuated in mid-March 1945, the inmates probably taken to the AEL at Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Most likely, 31 Soviet inmates who were too weak to be taken on the evacuation march were shot near the camp on that occasion.

In 1947, SS guard Karl Lippelt and Paul Vollrath were tried by a French military tribunal for crimes committed at the Mainz-Ingelheimerau camp: Lippelt was sentenced to three and Vollrath to five years of prison. Pfleiderer and his wife had to face denazification and were sentenced in 1948 to four years of labor camp and the loss of a part of their property. In 1950, the sentence was commuted: Pfleiderer's services as a supplier of concrete parts were badly needed in reconstructing Germany.

SOURCES Hedwig Brüchert gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Ingelheimer Aue subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 54–57. A further reference to the subcamp Mainz-Ingelheimerau is in Volker Schneider's online article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.)

Archival sources on the subcamp can be found especially at Spruchkammerakte Pfleiderer, in HHStA-(W), Bestand 520 BW, Nr. 2838–39. For trials against guards and other people in charge in the camp, see Urteilsbegründung des Schwurgerichts bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, 22.8.19498, in HStA-D, Bestand H 13 Darmstadt Nr. 915 (evacuation march of the inmates); and AOC, Colmar, Dossier de jugement de Karl Lippelt, call number AJ 1640, and Dossier de jugement de Paul Vollrath, call number AJ 3654. For a trial against camp leader Köhler, see Heinrich Pingel-Rollmann, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Darmstadt und der Provinz Starkenburg 1933–1945* (Darmstadt, 1985), p. 411 n. 62. For his crimes committed at the Mainz-Ingelheimerau subcamp, Köhler was never put on trial.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAINZ-WEISENAU

The history of the Hinzert subcamp at Mainz-Weisenau is very complex, mainly due to the fact that there were a number of camps existing at Mainz-Weisenau whose histories were closely intertwined.

The subcamp was located on the grounds of the Portland-Zementwerke (Portland Cement Factory), where the Darmstadt Gestapo had already erected a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*, AEL) in 1941 or 1942. In June 1944, the inmates of this camp were relocated to the Mainz-Ingelheimerau camp. Historian Hedwig Brüchert provides two explanations as to why the Weisenau camp was dissolved: According to a statement by the head of the Darmstadt Gestapo, Fritz Gierke, the poor food supply was one reason. More relevant, however, according to Brüchert, were plans to relocate the armament production of the Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg (MAN) factory in Mainz-Gustavsberg underground. The factory was threatened by frequent air raids, and therefore plans were developed to relocate parts of

the production process to tunnels that were to be dug in the quarry of the Portland-Zementwerke at Mainz-Weisenau. Since this project was considered top secret, the AEL had to be relocated, and the prisoners were replaced by inmates from Hinzert.

It is not exactly clear when the Mainz-Weisenau camp was erected. The camp is mentioned in the Hinzert files for the first time on November 14, 1944, but apparently inmates were already in the camp before that date. Their task was to dig tunnels, working closely with German miners and engineers (*Pioniere*). This task was extremely dangerous, and there were a number of accidents in which inmates died. According to Brüchert, two Belgians and one French inmate were killed on September 15, 1944, and also a number of Russian inmates. The camp leader at that time, until Christmas 1944, was SS-Unterscharführer Brandenburg. He was then transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. It is unclear if the Mainz-Weisenau camp was completely dissolved at that time.

At the end of December 1944, however, new inmates were sent from Hinzert to Mainz-Weisenau. Mainly they were Luxembourgers, Poles, and Russians, and some of them had been in the Gelnhausen, Seligenstadt, and Mainz-Gustavsburg camps before. They were accommodated in a barrack at the Weisenau quarry, equipped with beds and mattresses, but they had no shelter in the case of air raids. According to Brüchert, none of these inmates worked at digging the tunnels, but they were taken daily to Mainz-Ingelheimerau, where they had to shovel coal at the local gasworks, which had been significantly damaged during an air raid. In mid-Janaury, the prisoners' barrack was destroyed during another air raid. Thanks to an SS guard who had promised the inmates that, in case of an air raid, he would open the gates so that they could escape to the banks of the river Rhine, the inmates escaped death. Some of them were now sent to Mainz-Gustavsburg, while the others were taken permanently to Mainz-Ingelheimerau.

At Mainz-Weisenau only the camp that was erected in the underground tunnels remained. It was considered to be an AEL and held German and foreign prisoners who were sent to the camp from the Mainz police prison. Some of the prisoners were employed in preparing the tunnels for the underground production, while others helped to dig a tunnel at Karl-Weiser-Strasse in Mainz where a bunker for the city commandant of Mainz was to be erected.

It is unclear when the last Hinzert inmates left the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp. According to a survivor statement, the AEL was to be dissolved and evacuated to the AEL at Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Rumors stated that the last 30 to 40 inmates were to be blown up in a railway car stationed at a railway bridge, but this never took place. On March 22, 1945, the last remaining inmates of the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp were liberated by the Americans.

SOURCES Hedwig Brüchert gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 58–60. For further literature on the camp, see Matthias Gerstlauer, *Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisartions- und Machtgefüge der SS. Arbeit zur Erlangung des Magisters Artium am FB II der Universität Trier* (Trier, 1996); and Heinz Leiwig, "Die Straflager in den Portland-Zementwerken Mainz-Weisenau 1941–1945," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Weisenaus* (Mainz, 2001), 2:75–94. Information on the Weisenau camps can also be found in Dieter Ertl, *Alternativer Stadtführer. Zu den Stätten des Faschismsus in Mainz 1933–1945*, ed. DGB Kreis Mainz-Bingen (Mainz, 1998), p. 25.

The Mainz-Weisenau subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711. Albert Pütz names Mainz-Weisenau as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/K Z Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), p. 277. Volker Schneider's online article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.) states that Mainz-Weisenau was one of the last Hinzert subcamps. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Mainz-Weisenau was a Hinzert labor detail. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852, also states that Mainz-Weisenau was a Hinzert labor detail.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MERZHAUSEN

There has been little research on the Hinzert subcamp at Merzhausen near Usingen in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. The Merzhausen prisoners worked at an airfield in the Taunus Mountains between the villages of Merzhausen, Hausen-Arnsbach, and Wilhelmsdorf. The airfield had been erected in 1937 as a reserve airfield of the Luftwaffe and had been in operation since November 1939. The Führer's headquarters "Adlerhorst" was located in nearby Ziegenberg/Wiesetal, and beginning in the fall of 1940, the Führer's courier echelon was situated at the Merzhausen airfield. In the spring of 1944, Merzhausen became an active airport for defense purposes, and the runways had to be extended to accommodate the more modern, more technologically advanced fighter planes. Therefore, Merzhausen was one of the numerous Hinzert subcamps that arose from the summer of 1944 on, when prisoners who were capable of work were no longer sent to the larger concentration camps but to the newly formed subcamps and work detachments that were located, above all, along the Rhine, on or near airfields.

The first inmates to be relocated to Merzhausen left Hinzert on June 14, 1944. The transport consisted of 30 inmates from Luxembourg who were accommodated in Merzhausen in a wooden barrack at the northeast corner of the airfield. They were guarded by older Luftwaffe soldiers and promised that they would be treated decently but severely punished for every attempt to escape. But only a few weeks later, when SS-Unterscharführer Windisch arrived from

Hinzert to become the camp commander, a regime of terror was established. The working conditions of the inmates were very hard; many of them were already too emaciated to be able to fulfill the physically demanding labor of extending the runways. Inmates considered to be incapable of work were transferred to Mauthausen; out of nine inmates of the Merzhausen subcamp sent to Mauthausen, seven died.

The remaining 21 Luxembourg inmates were evacuated on August 18, 1944, via Neubrücke-Hoppstädten to Hinzert; 17 of them were later taken to the airfield at Mainz-Finthen to work there. By the end of the war, they were evacuated to Buchenwald. On the way there, they were liberated by the U.S. Army.

SOURCES Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germend, based on extensive research, describes the Merzhausen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 61–63. The Merzhausen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Albert Pütz mentions Merzhausen in *Das SS-Sonderlager/K Z Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) in the context of a geographical review (p. 277) as a Hinzert subcamp. Gudrun Scharwz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Merzhausen was part of Hinzert. She quotes as a source the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Archival sources on the Merzhausen subcamp can be found at BA-B, NS 4 Hi/8.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MICHELBACH (SCHMELZ)

The Hinzert subcamp in the Saarland town of Michelbach (Schmelz) is mentioned for the first time on August 12, 1940, in a letter from the company Betting Hartsteinwerke GmbH, Saarbrücken.

The Michelbach prisoners worked for the company Lenhard in Saarbrücken in a quarry in Michelbach belonging to the Betting Hartsteinwerke. Their camp was located near today's Schattentrieschsiedlung.

SOURCES A very short mention of the Michelbach camp by Beate Welter can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 63. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, ed. Studienkreis deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995). The Michelbach (Schmelz) subcamp is further mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Albert Pütz erroneously lists the Hinzert subcamp as Michelstadt in a geographic overview included in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). Gudrun Schwarz states in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt, 1990) that Michelbach was part of Hinzert.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NEUBRÜCKE [AKA NEUBRÜCKE-HOPPSTÄDTEN, NEUBRÜCKE/NAHE]

Neubrücke was a Hinzert subcamp established in April 1944. It was formed at a time when Hinzert concentration camp prisoners were no longer being shunted into the larger concentration camps but were assigned to "outside details" or "subcamps."

Neubrücke is located on the Nahe River in the Prussian Rhine province, at the railway line between Saarbrücken and Bingerbrück. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the first mention of the camp is to be found in the Hinzert files on July 17, 1944. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten also state that the Neubrücke subcamp was first mentioned on July 17, 1944. But already by April 27, 1944, prisoners from Hinzert had been stationed in Neubrücke-Hoppstädten to help erect a branch factory of the Deutsche Eisenwerke AG (German Iron Work, DEW). DEW at that time was to produce the SdKfz 251—a lightly armored half-tracked vehicle that had the advantage of being lighter and much more efficient than fully tracked vehicles. In the Neubrücke factory, components were to be premontaged before being delivered to the Duisburg main factory to be finished. The machines for this future plant had been requisitioned and dismantled in France. Also involved in this project were Italian military internees (IMIs) who were most likely accommodated elsewhere. As soon as the Neubrücke factory was erected, beginning in July–August 1944, the prisoners were given two new job assignments: some began to work in the factory, producing the vehicles, while the others were taken to erect another armament plant in the neighboring Steinau valley. Due to the harsh work conditions—the prisoners had to redirect the Steinau creek here and do construction work in a swamp—this work detachment was considered the worst in the subcamp.

The camp was located on the street from Neubrücke to Birkenfeld, and the barracks were set up along the railway tracks. The roughly 200 prisoners—Luxembourgers, Poles, Dutch, Italians, and most likely also French, Belgians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Serbs—were housed in four large barracks. The camp was fenced, but since there were no searchlights and guard towers, the prisoners were locked up at night in their barracks. Originally, the guards came from the Hinzert main camp; among them were also Flemish and Czech SS men. The camp commander was SS-Oberscharführer Rüsch. Subsequently, the SS guards returned to Hinzert and were replaced by police forces, first a police unit from Trier and later on local policemen. From early January 1945 on, there were no more Hinzert SS men in the Neubrücke subcamp.

By the end of 1944, the subcamp and the armament plant were bombed. On January 22, 1945, the camp was severely damaged during an air raid, and the prisoners were taken to a temporary camp in the neighboring village of Hoppstädten. In March 1945 the camp was dissolved. On March 16, the prisoners were taken in the direction of Kusel but then returned to Hoppstädten. Here they were liberated by U.S. troops on March 18, 1945.

SOURCES Volker Schneider gives a detailed description of the Neubrücke-Hoppstädten subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 64–65. He is also the author of two Internet publications, "Aufbau, Betrieb und Abwicklung des Nebenlagers Neubrücke des KZ 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45," (PDF, 2001), www.gymherm.net/07_angebote/Projekte/hinzert/downloads_hinzert/KZ_NL_Neubruecke.pdf, which contains a lot of detailed information; and "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.). The Neubrücke subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem-Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe the Neubrücke subcamp comprehensively in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), from p. 460. Albert Pütz depicts the subcamp Neubrücke-Hoppstädten as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) on a map (p. 277). Eberhard Klopp states that Neubrücke was a Hinzert "outside detail" in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Gudrun Schwarz states in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) that Neubrücke was part of Hinzert. Among other sources she quotes the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

RHEINZABERN (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) Rheinzabern was located close to the city of Germersheim in Bavaria. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), it is first mentioned in the camp files on April 26, 1940. The last reference to the camp, according to a member of the camp's staff, was in 1941. The prisoners in the Rheinzabern Polizeihaftlager were OT workers laboring for the OT Senior Construction Administrations (OBL) Landau-Speyer and Freudenstadt.

OT-Polizeihaftlager were established to punish OT workers on the Siegfried Line and the Reichsautobahn (RAB) for breaches of discipline. These breaches included work absenteeism, theft from "comrades," fights, assaults on superiors, statements made against National Socialism, and generally all violations against the "principles of a healthy war conduct." The security staff officers, which were allocated by the Chief of the Security Police (Sipo) to each OT construction administration, sentenced the OT workers to police custody. They were transferred to the camp by the State Police (Stapo). The usual period of imprisonment was from between two weeks to a maximum of three months: longer periods of imprisonment were served in the concentration and Hinzert main camp, which provided prisoners for all OT police custody camps in the area.

During their time in custody, the prisoners were to be reformed to become "useful members" of the "National Socialist people's community" "through supervised hard physical labor complemented by a stringent military drill and ideological training in the sense of a National Socialist way of life."[1]

As with other OT police custody camps that stood along the Siegfried Line, one can assume that there was heavy demand for the prisoners' labor. Regional and local firms, authorities, communities, building administrations, and district authorities profited from the use of the prisoners, who worked under heavy police guard until they were exhausted. The dissolution of the camp was probably connected with the transfer of the OT into occupied France, where it was allocated new tasks.

SOURCES The Rheinzabern subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:714. Gabriele Lotfi mentions Rheinzabern in her study *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) and in her article "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp defines Rheinzabern as a "police custody camp under Hinzert" in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) refers to Rheinzabern as a police custody camp, as does the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur Nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

SELIGENSTADT

The Hinzert subcamp at Seligenstadt was probably opened on September 22, 1944. Prisoners from Hinzert were taken to the Mainflingen-Zellhausen airfield (other sources: the Langendiebach airfield), where they refueled and maintained an installation that provided wood gas for the generators

installed on the trucks of a Luftwaffe unit. The prisoners were accommodated in a gymnasium (other sources: a barracks); there were Poles and Belgians in addition to Luxembourgers. The inmates were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers. The camp was probably dissolved by December 2, 1944.

SOURCES Beate Welter describes the Seligenstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 66–67, but her description differs from the details provided by Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück*, *1939–1945* (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus, 1983), p. 463. The camp is also mentioned in Volker Schneider, *Waffen-SS—SS-Sonderlager "Hinzert." Das Konzentrationslager im "Gau Moselland" 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998). Albert Pütz lists Seligenstadt as a subcamp of the Hinzert concentration and SS-Sonderlager in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998), p. 277.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TRIER (*SICHERUNGSSTAB*)

The subcamp Trier, Sicherungsstab (Security Staff), at Martinerfeld Strasse 61 is one of the early Hinzert subcamps. Security staff officers were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each Organisation Todt (OT) Senior Construction Administration (OBL) in order to punish breaches of discipline by workers—absenteeism, thefts from "comrades," fights, assaults on superiors, statements against National Socialism, and generally all violations of the "principles of a healthy war conduct."

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the subcamp Trier, Sicherungsstab, was mentioned for the first time in the Hinzert files on June 2, 1940. The most recent research seems to point to a later date, but before June 1941.

SOURCES The Trier, Sicherungsstab, subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten briefly mention Trier, Sicherungsstab, in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück*, *1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 383. Eberhard Klopp states that Trier I and Trier II were Hinzert "outside details" in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). However, it is unclear which subcamps are meant by this description. Albert Pütz refers to four Trier subcamps of Hinzert in a map on p. 277 in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Trier, Sicherungsstab, was part of Hinzert. The Trier, Sicherungsstab, is also listed as an outside detail in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

USINGEN

The Usingen subcamp of the Hinzert concentration camp system, located at the base of the Taunus Mountains, was established on June 14, 1944. It was one of a series of Hinzert subcamps and labor details that were formed mostly along the Rhine from the summer of 1944.

The Usingen subcamp was based on a former airport for glider training. Some 30 prisoners were to upgrade the field for larger airplanes.

The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks running parallel to the road to Usingen. Each barracks was divided into two rooms. The prisoners slept on the upper level in beds with clean linen. The guards were reservists (probably from the Luftwaffe); SS guards were seldom present.

There were several political prisoners in the Usingen subcamp. They were taken back by SS members to Hinzert. These prisoners died there or in other camps to which they were sent from Hinzert.

The Usingen subcamp was dissolved after only two months on August 18, 1944.

SOURCES The only reference to this subcamp is to be found in Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten's book, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück* (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus, 1983), p. 456.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

UTHLEDE (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*) [AKA UTTLEDE]

An Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) subcamp of the Hinzert main concentration camp was located in Uthlede near Wesermünde in the Prussian province of Hannover. The camp files refer to the camp for the first time on April 26, 1940. The police prisoners held here were workers of the OT Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL) in Bremen. They were interned for a variety of disciplinary offenses—mainly work absenteeism, thefts from "comrades," fights, assaults on superiors, statements against National Socialism, and the like. They were interned for a maximum of three months. Prisoners with longer sentences were held at Hinzert.

Police custody camps came into being at the end of 1939 in order to deal with the growing disciplinary problems during the construction of the West Wall and the Reichsautobahn (RAB). "The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Servive [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth."[1] The prisoners were regarded as "pupils" (*Zöglinge*). Since their internment was not the result of any judgment sentence, they had no criminal record after their release.

As with other so-called West Camps (*Westlager*), one can assume that in Uthlede the number of prisoners was between 40 and 300 and that the prisoners possibly worked for local and regional construction projects in addition to their work for OT. Private enterprises, public authorities, and communities often had a great interest in the reliable, cheap labor of the prisoners who could be exploited until complete exhaustion. Presumably, Uthlede was dissolved during the course of 1940 or at the latest in 1941 when the OT was transferred to occupied France, where it undertook new assignments.

SOURCES The Uthlede camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Gabriele Lotfi describes Uthelde and other OT-Polizeihaftlager in her book *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp states that Uthlede was a Polizeihaftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Uthlede was a Polizeihaftlager under the administration of the SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. The Polizeihaftlager Uthlede is mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, " SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur Nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

VICHT (*OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER*)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) Vicht was located in the Prussian town of Gressenich (Rhine Province) close to Aachen. It is mentioned for the first time by the head of the OT Security Office Wiesbaden in a letter dated December 5, 1939. It was closed in the middle of 1941. According to a statement by the commandant of the Hinzert main camp, all remaining Vicht prisoners were transferred to Hinzert. The prisoners in Vicht had worked for the OT Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL) in Aachen, Düren, Bonn, and Geldern.

Vicht was solely an OT camp. Prisoners were interned there for three to four weeks for minor infractions—work absenteeism, insubordination, or theft from "comrades." Those sentenced for longer periods were held in the Hinzert camp.

The Vicht camp was about 50 × 50 meters (55 × 55 yards). It had a capacity for 320 prisoners. There were three small accommodation barracks in which an average of 50 to 60 (up to a maximum of 80) prisoners were held; there was a guards' barrack. The guards consisted of between 10 and 22 SS members (SS noncommissioned officers and other ranks).[1] The camp commandant was Paul Sporrenberg who later became infamous as the Hinzert commandant. In 1960–1961, the Trier public prosecutor's office initiated investigations against Sporrenberg; however, he died in 1961 before proceedings commenced.

SOURCES The Vicht camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:714. In connection with a description of Paul Sporrenberg's career, Albert Pütz provides a short description of the Vicht camp, which he categorizes as a "police custody and protective custody camp" in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Gabriele Lotfi mentions Vicht in *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp states that Vicht was a Polizeihaftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), as does Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp is mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini.

NOTE

1. These details are from Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), pp. 51, 107.

WÄCHTERSBACH

The subcamp Wächtersbach in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau is referred to for the first time on September 12, 1944, in International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, based on a witness statement. According to at least one other source, it was a subcamp of the Hinzert subcamp Langendiebach. The prisoners worked for the company Karl Budde, Dampfsäge und Hobelwerk (Steam Saw and Planing Mill), in Wächtersbach. The last reference to the subcamp is on March 23, 1945.

Beate Welter states in *Ort des Terrors* that the prisoners kept in Wächtersbach were "E-Polen" (Eindeutschungs-Polen, Poles to be "Germanized") who had had forbidden sexual contacts with German women and were now tested and tried for a potential "Germanization." E-Polen were a special

category of concentration camp inmates who were only found in the Hinzert camp. According to Welter, the inmates worked in a private enterprise, building barracks and sheds (*Hallen*). It is unclear if she refers to the Karl Budde enterprise.

SOURCES Beate Welter gives a short description of the Wächtersbach subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 69. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I. Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt*, ed. Studienkreis deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995). The Wächtersbach subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Eberhard Klopp states that Wächtersbach was a Langendiebach subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Éditions Trèves, 1983), p. 16. Albert Pütz states that Wächtersbach was a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998), p. 277. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1990) states that Wächtersbach was part of Hinzert.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WIESBADEN-ERBENHEIM [AKA WIESBADEN-FLIEGERHORST, ERBENHEIM]

Starting in the summer of 1944, Hinzert prisoners who were capable of work were no longer sent on transports to the larger concentration camps. Instead, they were deployed in outside details, especially at airfields along the Rhine Line.[1] One example is the use of Hinzert prisoners at the subcamp at Wiesbaden Air Base (Fliegerhorst) Erbenheim, whose existence is confirmed in an official report held in International Tracing Service (ITS) files. The prisoners held in this camp were mainly Luxembourgers.

SOURCES The Wiesbaden-Erbenheim subcamp is referred to as "Wiesbaden" (with reference to the Erbenheim airfield) in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten refer to a Wiesbaden subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 350, 443. However, they make no specific reference to the Erbenheim air base, so it is likely that they refer to the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen camp). Albert Pütz refers to a Wiesbaden-Erbenheim camp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp refers to a Wiesbaden camp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Édition Trèves, 1983), but without providing details. Volker Schneider mentions the Wiesbaden Fliegerhorst Erbenheim camp in his online publication "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.). Wiesbaden is also mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Because the reference is based on the ITS, it refers most likely to the Wiesbaden-Erbenheim subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 350.

WIESBADEN-UNTER DEN EICHEN [AKA WIESBADEN]

On March 20, 1944, a work detachment of 57 skilled Luxembourg craftsmen was sent from Hinzert to Wiesbaden. Their task was to erect *Ausweichquartiere* (temporary quarters) for Police and SS offices that were either threatened or destroyed by Allied bombing raids in Wiesbaden. Already a few weeks earlier, inmates of the Wiesbaden police prison had prepared accommodations for these inmates on the grounds of the former *Festplatzgelände* (fair grounds) of the city Unter den Eichen.

The contingent was increased in numbers in September 1944 by an additional 19 Luxembourg prisoners who had previously been dismantling airplanes in Gelnhausen. Altogether, there were almost 100 prisoners in the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp, including 76 Luxembourgers, a few Dutch and French, 1 Belgian, and 1 German prisoner. The camp elder was Nicolas Braun. Other sources state that in November 1944 a second group of about 100 prisoners, mostly Dutchmen, arrived in the camp.[1]

The prisoners worked for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Inspectorate) and renovated a former tournament barrack; they built air-raid shelters and large barracks for SS offices as well as accommodations for female auxiliary communication officers of the Luftwaffe, the so-called Blitzmädel. The prisoners worked 12 hours daily, not only on the camp grounds but also in a few Wiesbaden tradesmen's stores, in the neighboring Café Ritter, and at the Erbenheim airfield. They were deployed in cleanup operations after air raids and, after February 1945, in loading trucks with incriminating files. They had to help in the burning of those files outside the city. A few prisoners from the subcamp worked in the house and garden of Jürgen Stroop in Wiesbaden, Nerotal 46; the original Jewish owner of the house had been expelled from Wiesbaden. Stroop at that time was Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Rhein/Westmark, SS-Brigadeführer, and had become notorious as the SS commander who suppressed the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April and May 1943.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Although the work was hard, living conditions were in general more bearable than at Hinzert. The camp leader, SS-Unterscharführer (other sources: Hauptscharführer) Theodor Fritz, is described by the prisoners as distant and initially strict. However, his demeanor softened after the prisoners demonstrated their discipline and willingness to work and as the end of the war got closer. After the war, a few prisoners described the police guards as "distinctly humane."

The camp consisted of five simple wooden barracks without any insulation. They were separated from the nearby SS and police offices as well as Café Ritter by a simple barbed-wire fence. The camp guards were from the Order Police (Orpo); during work the prisoners were guarded by the SS.

The camp food came from the kitchen of the Wiesbaden police. Sometimes the head cook of the camp, the butcher Jean Pirotte, was able to supplement the food with meat from horses or sheep killed during bombings. Additional food deliveries and medicines were supplied by the owner of the Café Ritter, Elisabeth Ritter, and her future husband Josef Speck. The couple also arranged mail deliveries for prisoners (which was prohibited) and also arranged for the prisoners to be visited by family members (which was also strictly prohibited).

Six Luxembourger prisoners died during an air raid on Wiesbaden on December 18, 1944. They were buried in the city's southern cemetery, and their remains were repatriated after the war.

The SS withdrew from Unter den Eichen on March 24, 1945. A few prisoners were able to escape from the planned evacuation march to Frankfurt-Heddernheim and were hidden by Wiesbaden citizens. The evacuated prisoners were to be shot by the SS in Heddernheim, but the detachment leader, Polizeileutnant Hertert, was able to prevent the killings. While the evacuation march continued northeast, more prisoners were able to flee. The remaining prisoners were liberated by U.S. soldiers.

SOURCES Bärbel Maul and Axel Ulrich describe the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert*, *Auschwitz*, *Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 69–72. Both are also the authors of *Das KZ-Aussenkommando. "Unter den Eichen,"* ed. Magistrat der Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden–Stadtarchiv (Wiesbaden, 2005). Bärbel Maul also published an article on the same topic, "Das Aussenkommando Wiesbaden des SS-Sonderlagers Hinzert," in *Verfolgung und Widerstand in Hessen 1939–1945*, ed. Renate Knigge and Axel Ulrich (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 484–497.

A Wiesbaden subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. However, this entry refers to the camp at Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (Fliegerhorst) and not to the Wiesbaden camp (Unter den Eichen). Bärbel Maul and Axel Ulrich provide a detailed description of the subcamp Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen in *Das KZ-Aussenkommando "Unter den Eichen"* (Wiesbaden, 1995), which they call an outside detail. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten devote several paragraphs to the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück*, *1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 350, 443. Eberhard Klopp mentions a camp in Wiesbaden in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Édition Trèves, 1983). However, it remains unclear as to which of the two Wiesbaden subcamps he is referring. Albert Pütz mentions the Wiesbaden subcamp (Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen) in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Volker Schneider mentions the camp Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen in his Web publication "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.). A report on the bombing raid on the camp on December 18, 1944, and the nine victims is to be found in *RRPPD* 2 (1992): 271. In the same journal is an essay by Aloys Raths, "KZ-Gedenkstätte in Wiesbaden," *RRPPD* 2 (1992): 279–325. Wiesbaden is mentioned in Gudrun Schwarz's book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp also forms part of the list of concentration camps and subcamps in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further information is to be found in Lothar Bembenek and Axel Ulrich, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Wiesbaden 1933–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Giessen: ASt-Wies, 1990), pp. 357–363; Bembenek, "Aussenkommando Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs*, *Lager*, *Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek and Frank Schwalba-Hoth (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), pp. 63–69; Hans Jürgen Bömelburg, "Die Gedenkstätte 'Unter den Eichen' in Wiesbaden," MGb. 7 (1992): 184–186; and Bärbel Maul, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Gedenkstätte 'Unter den Eichen,' Wiesbaden," *GeRu* 46 (December 1991): 11.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Statement of the former prisoner Robert Poeker, in Lothar Bembenek and Frank Schwalba-Hoth, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs*, *Lager*, *Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), p. 66.

WITTLICH [AKA WITTLICH AN DER MOSEL]

Wittlich was the first and the most important subcamp administered by the Hinzert main camp. It was located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Hinzert in the Prussian Rhine Province.

The Hinzert subcamp was erected in April 1940 and existed until the end of February 1942. It is not clear if there was any connection with a camp at Wittlich that held French prisoners of war (POWs) and was formed on April 29, 1940. This camp was located in Wittlich below Koblenzer Strasse on Hahnenweg, behind the former Wittlich Dampfziegelei (Steam Brick Works), and its more than 200 prisoners in Wittlich worked on a reopened large construction site in the

Flussbach municipality. In Flussbach, there was also a large penal and forced labor camp for women.[1]

The Wittlich subcamp was located near the Wittlich-Daun railway tracks at the northern edge of the town. There were two inmates' barracks with two- and three-tiered bunks and four administrative barracks: kitchen barrack, mess (*Soesiehalle*), toilets, and a wash barracks, as well as clothes storage, and a "punishment bunker" (*Strafbunker*). The SS guards were accommodated in a house outside the camp. The commando leader was Paul Sporrenberg, who later became the commander of the Hinzert concentration camp. Sporrenberg was responsible for the most stringent camp drill. He was supported by others including Unterscharführer Georg Schaaf, whom the prisoners called "Ivan the Terrible" on account of his sadism. Schaaf served in the Wittlich camp over Christmas 1941.[2] Eugen Wipf, barrack elder for the Poles, later became known as the infamous Kapo of the Hinzert camp.

The Wittlich prisoners came mostly from Poland, Italy, and Luxembourg, including some Jews from Luxembourg. One of the most prominent inmates at Wittlich was John Mersch, the U.S. vice consul in Luxembourg.

All prisoners were "rented out" to the Cologne construction company Christian Krutwig[3] and worked on the Eifel autobahn, a section of the planned Reichsautobahn (RAB): Berlin—Koblenz—Wittlich—Trier—Luxembourg—Calais. The inmates worked in three overlapping shifts: the first (60 inmates) from 5:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., the second (100 inmates) from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and the third (60 inmates) from 12:00 noon until 9:00 P.M. Survivors report harsh working conditions: Even for the heavy excavation work, the prisoners only had picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows; there were no mechanical tools. Guards and some prisoner-functionaries mistreated the inmates—beatings were frequent, especially against the Polish inmates—and food was scarce.

When the construction work on the RAB ceased at the end of February 1942, the Wittlich subcamp was also dissolved (historian Gudrun Schwarz sets the date as February 28, 1943), and the inmates were taken back to Hinzert.

In 1960–1961, the Trier public prosecutor's office initiated investigations against Paul Sporrenberg. Sporrenberg died in 1961 before proceedings commenced. Georg Schaaf was convicted by the Mannheim Regional Court in 1950 of charges of severely mistreating prisoners and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. He committed suicide in prison. Eugen Wipf was sentenced in 1948—largely for his crimes in Hinzert—by a Swiss court of assizes in Zurich to life imprisonment, but he died two months into his prison term.

SOURCES Beate Welter is the author of a description of the Wittlich subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 72–74. There is a short description of the history of the Wittlich subcamp in Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983). Albert Pütz describes the subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp mentions Wittlich in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Other sources are "Aussenkommando Wittlich—das unbekannte KZ," *Tel* 34 (August 21, 1982); and Dieter Burgard, *Alles im Laufschritt: Das KZ-Aussenlager Wittlich* (Luxembourg, 1994). Burgard is also the author of "'Alles im Laufschritt!' Das KZ-Aussenlager Wittlich," in Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel, eds., *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *Für die Aussenwelt seid Ihr tot!*" (Mainz, 2000), pp. 252–259. Eugen Wipf, barrack elder in Wittlich and camp Kapo in Hinzert, has been researched by Linus Reichlin in *Kriegsverbrecher Wipf, Eugen: Schweizer in der Waffen-SS, in deutschen Fabriken und an Schreibtischen des Dritten Reiches* (Zurich, 1994). Gudrun Schwarz mentions the Wittlich camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). She states that Wittlich was a camp or detachment of the Hinzert concentration and SS-Sonderlager. One of her sources is the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713, mentions the Wittlich subcamp.

Emile Schaus's *Auf der Galeere* (Luxembourg, 1982), an autobiographical novel, deals with the Wittlich camp. An illustration of a barrack in the Wittlich camp can be found in Eberhard Klopp, *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 121.

The BA-B holds some information on the Wittlich subcamp in NS 4 Hi 7, for instance, a letter of Krutwig to the Hinzert commandant Hermann Pister from April 1940 about the employment of Hinzert inmates at the Krutwig construction site.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 52.

2. Eberhard Klopp, *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 68.

3. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 440.

ZELTINGEN
[AKA ZELTINGEN AN DER MOSEL]

It is not known for certain when the Hinzert subcamp in Zeltingen an der Mosel was erected but most likely in summer or fall of 1944. The prisoners in this subcamp were mostly involved in digging tunnels, either as a part of relocating armament production underground or constructing shelters and storage space for weapons and ammunition. Most likely, the camp held 8 or 10 inmates from Luxembourg.

As a result of military developments toward the end of the war, the subcamp was dissolved at the beginning of 1945, and

its occupants were returned to Hinzert between January and the middle of February 1945.

SOURCES The camp is mentioned in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 74. Volker Schneider refers to a deployment at Zeltingen in his online publication "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.) and in his publication *Waffen-SS—SS Sonderlager "Hinzert." Das Konzentrationslager im "Gau Moselland" 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KAUEN



A Jewish man stands outside the entrance of a workshop in the Kauen concentration camp, 1943. The sign behind him reads," Entrance to this workshop is strictly forbidden to anyone without written permission from the commandant of the KL [concentration camp]—The Commandant."
USHMM WS #10921, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

KAUEN MAIN CAMP [AKA KAUNAS, KOVNO, KOWNO, ALSO SLOBODKA]

There has been little academic research into the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp. However, there have been many autobiographical accounts on the topic. As historian Christoph Dieckmann has shown, the Kauen concentration camp arose as the result of a complicated relationship between the German civilian administration in Lithuania, the regional representatives of the Reichsführer-SS (RFSS), the Commander of the Security Police and Sicherheitsdienst (BdS) in Lithuania who reported to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the "Wirtschaftsstab Ost," and the regional Wehrmacht administration. It was located, as was the ghetto before it, in the northeastern area of Kaunas (in German: Kauen; in Yiddish: Kovno; in Russian: Kowno), known as Viljampole or Slobodice, to the east of the small Neris River.

The transformation of the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp was the result of an order given by the RFSS, Heinrich Himmler, to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland, Friedrich Jeckeln, and the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, on June 21, 1943. Himmler's aim to give the SS control of ghetto life and labor deployment in Kauen had two goals: first, to furnish a more efficient application of German policy in the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO), above all the economic and security aspects, and, second, to expand his power. He also required that by August 1, 1943, all Jews in ghettos within the RKO were to be put into concentration camps. This would apply only to those Jews of working age—the others were to be selected and murdered.

Himmler's order, which was agreed to by the Reich Ministry for the East (RMO) on July 13, 1943, was not applauded by the German civilian administration, which wanted to maintain its control over the ghetto, including its contents and the value that could be obtained from it. The Kaunas city administration, which was dominated by SA men, was not able to prevail in the long term, as it was behind in fulfilling its quotas, including the delivery of agricultural products, mobilizing Lithuanian labor, and establishing a Lithuanian Waffen-SS division. In August 1943, the SS took over responsibility for converting the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp. On September 15, 1943, the administration of the ghetto was formally handed over by the German civilian administration to the SS, which controlled the operation of the concentration camp with typical bureaucracy. For example, at the end of 1943, a directive of the Kauen concentration camp medical officer was given on camp hygiene (*Lagerhygiene*), in which general camp hygiene (personal hygiene, dwelling cleanliness) and general hygiene (maintaining the grounds around living-quarter blocks, drinking water hygiene, toilet and rubbish pits) was regulated, regardless of the actual living conditions in the overcrowded, undersupplied camp.[1] The structural changes continued into 1944. Gradually, there was also a handover from the Council of Elders to the SS command office in the ghetto.

The camp commandant was SS-Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Göcke, who had previously been in command of the Mauthausen and Warsaw concentration camps. His deputies were Hauptsturmführer Ring, Hauptscharführer Fiffiger (or Pfiffiger), Unterscharführer Pilgram, and from June 1943 the chief of the gestapo, Bruno Kittel, who had proven himself in the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. Research has not revealed how efficient the SS administration was in the concentration camp. Historian Alfred Streim states that the administration of the Kauen concentration camp followed the tried and tested examples of the concentration camps in Germany. On the other hand, Dieckmann argues that the administration of the concentration camp in Lithuania was differently structured than the camps in the Reich: according to a statement by SS-Unterscharführer Josef Pilgram, to whom the "Jewish Order Service" (Jüdische Ordnungsdienst) in the Kauen camp reported, a few men from the SS-Sturmbann Neuengamme and Wolfsburg-Arbeitsdorf labor detachment were trained in the camp as a cohort (*Haufen*), and all key positions such as food, security, and labor administration (here: SS-Oberscharführer Franz Auer) were divided between them. The ghetto was guarded by German guards who until the summer of 1943 were located inside the ghetto. For a few months after that, the Jewish police were in charge inside the ghetto. In the autumn of 1943, a Waffen-SS company, consisting mostly of Banat Germans, took over security of the ghetto, which was now being transformed into a concentration camp. During the last weeks of the Kauen concentration camp, Latvian SS were also deployed as guards.

By the end of March 1943, there were around 16,000 Jews concentrated in the ghetto. Around 4,000 of them worked in 44 workshops inside the ghetto, and another 6,000 worked in labor detachments outside the ghetto. Numbers for May 1943 show that Jewish laborers worked for 110 different firms: 68 percent for the army and in armaments production, 19 percent in administration and other civilian areas, 9 percent in transport and constructing railway bridges, and 4 percent as police guards. SS directives envisaged that the HSSPF Ostland, SS-Oberführer Eduard Bachl, would reorganize as quickly as possible the use of Jewish labor as follows: as many Jews as possible would be deported to the Estonian oil fields; the labor brigades working in Kauen workshops important for the war effort would be reduced so far as possible without reducing productivity; and the remaining ghetto inhabitants would be murdered. As early as August 1943, the RKO had demanded that "for political and propaganda reasons . . . the Jewish labor columns should disappear from the streets."[2] To achieve this goal, the SS had to establish small concentration camps at the sites where the Jews worked. These camps be-

came Kauen subcamps. Second, Jewish labor was replaced by Lithuanian civilian labor. However, this proved impossible for administrative reasons and a lack of Lithuanian labor, so many Jewish labor columns continued to work for months. The SS did, however, manage to reduce the number of labor detachments from 93 to 14; Göcke also required—as Avraham Tory reports in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary*—at the end of September 1943 that the Jewish labor detachment had to be less visible on the streets.

Even before the Kauen ghetto was transformed into a concentration camp, Jewish labor had worked outside the ghetto: daily, the Jews marched to a variety of work sites. From the middle of September 1941, one of the first was the airfield at Kauen-Alexoten. During the summer and autumn of 1943, the laborers were sent for periods of several weeks to Kauen-Alexoten; from November 29, 1943, Kauen-Alexoten became a permanent subcamp. There were similar developments in other Kauen subcamps.

The background to the SS plans to keep the prisoners in the subcamps was due not only to a desire to increase the efficiency of the prisoners but above all to an attempt to reduce the numbers in the Kauen concentration camp so as to implement more successfully security and control measures. The plan was put into place in stages: the situation report (*Lageberichte*) of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (KdS) Litauen from August 1943 highlights the problems in constructing permanent subcamps, including the lack of supplies and personnel.[3]

For the inhabitants of the Kauen camp, work in the labor detachments had been of immense importance—it enabled food to be smuggled into the camp even though this was strictly forbidden, as the rations were far too low to allow survival. Plans and measures to construct independent subcamps were watched with worry by the inhabitants of the ghetto/concentration camp: it was feared that if the inmates were held in subcamps, this would be the end of the Kauen main camp. The harsh living conditions, the separation of men and women, and the breakup of families were also feared. Many of those affected tried at first to resist the demands of the Jewish ghetto administration to work in the subcamps.

During the second half of 1943, eight Kauen subcamps were established: Schaulen (probably September 17, 1943), Prawienischken (a subcamp from November 1943), Kauen-Alexoten (November 29, 1943), Kauen-Schanzen (since December 16, 1943), Kedahnen (probably December 1943), and Kazlu Ruda (probably at the beginning of 1944); the precise dates when the Koschedaren and Palemonas subcamps were established are unknown. At six locations there were male and female camps; it was only Palemonas that appeared to hold only males. The camps in Kazlu Ruda, Kedahnen, Koschedaren, Palemonas, and Prawienischken had been Jewish forced labor camps (ZALfJ) since 1941. The Jews in the subcamps were used as labor in two main areas: in industries vital for the war effort and the Wehrmacht and in working in the forests and peat fields. It is not known what the prisoners did in Kedahnen and Koschedaren.

There has been no detailed study on the work and living conditions in the subcamps. Alfred Streim states that, as a rule, the food for the prisoners was inadequate and the accommodations insufficient. Also, contrary to camps in the Reich, there was not an immediate requirement to dress the prisoners in prisoners' clothes. The hygienic conditions in the Kauen subcamps were similar to those in the Reich: numerous diseases, such as typhus, were rampant and caused by the high concentration of prisoners, their inadequate nutrition, and abusive exploitation. Selections, arbitrary shootings, beatings to death, physical mistreatment resulting in death, executions for attempted escape, and mistreatment by means of leather whips, rubber truncheons, steel rods, cudgels, and axes were the order of the day, according to Streim, in the subcamps.

With the change from a civilian to SS administration, the Kauen ghetto inhabitants feared that they would be liquidated by the SS, just as the Vilnius ghetto was liquidated in September 1943. Göcke caused further mistrust when he announced that the approximately 1,000 children in the kindergarten would be cared for by elderly ghetto inmates, no longer capable of working. At first Göcke tried to quiet the mood in the camp by reducing the controls at the camp gates and increasing food rations. A Lagebericht of the KdS Litauen from December 1943 suggests that Göcke did not want to adversely affect the expansion of the camp by selecting Jews no longer capable of working and that he personally chose the time for future measures. Nevertheless, the takeover of the ghetto by the SS administration had been deadly: on October 25, 1943, Göcke demanded that the Jewish Council of Elders present a list of 3,000 names that would be transferred to a new camp near Kauen. The list was put together with the help of a newly established Jewish Quartering Commission (Jüdische Kasernierungskommission). When, on the following day, all of those on the list did not appear, the Ukrainian SS and Jewish Police rounded up more than 2,700 people, of whom 2,000 were sent to the shale oil area in Estonia, in compliance with Himmler's directive of June 21, 1943. Another 758 were selected as no longer fit for work and were probably murdered in Auschwitz.

The Kasernierungskommission, which included members from various different political persuasions in the camp, was active in the following months, influencing the selection of labor chosen for the construction of the subcamps, which was undertaken in harsh living and work conditions. Around 8,000 prisoners remained in the main camp after the permanent relocation of the workforce, of which around 4,600 worked in various workshops, considerably more than the SS original plan of 2,000.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, measures against the concentration camp inmates became clearly worse. In February 1944, Göcke had 10 Kapos sent from Mauthausen, who as column leaders (Kolonnenführer) were to supervise the Jewish labor detachments in the camp. In March 1944, the majority of the Jewish Camp Police were arrested and taken to Fort IX. There, they underwent intensive interrogations of hiding

spots in the camp, connections to the resistance, and attempts to escape from the ghetto/concentration camp. Resistance groups were active in the camp and had the support of the Jewish Council of Elders and the Jewish Police. The groups consisted of about 600 members, including several Zionist youth movements and a Communist group under the leadership of Chaim Yelin. Beginning in the summer of 1943, these groups cooperated within the Jewish General Fighting Organization (Yidishe Algemayne kamfes Organizatsiye). Mostly, they organized escapes into the neighboring forests. In the autumn of 1943, contact was made with the partisan movement, fighting against the German occupiers. Until April 1944, small groups of ghetto inmates were able to escape in this way. Altogether, more than 450 Jews fled from the camp and joined the partisans. More than 300 of these people belonged to the organized Zionist and Communist underground, and around 150 did not have ties with any group. Many others were unsuccessful in escaping.

After their interrogation in Fort IX, 40 police were shot, including just about all the police leadership. There then was established a Jüdische Ordnungsdienst under the command of the infamous Tanchum Aronstamm, who previously had been one of the two deputies of the commander of the Jewish Police, Moshe Levin. The Jüdische Ordnungsdienst reported to SS-Unterscharführer Josef Pilgram. The Jewish Council of Elders was dissolved on April 5, 1944, and its functions were taken over by the SS administration. The former chairman of the Council of Elders, Elkhanan Elkes, was now insulted by being given the title Senior Jew (Oberjude).

It was during this period of massive transformation that one of the most brutal operations (*Aktionen*) in the existence of the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp occurred: the Children and Elderly Operation (Kinder- und Alten-Aktion) of March 27–28, 1944. German SS and Ukrainian Vlassov men under the command of Oberscharführer Fuchs transported 1,000 children and 300 old people probably to either Auschwitz or Majdanek. Jehoshua Rosenfeld, a member of the Jüdische Ordnungsdienst, stated after the war that the victims on the first day were taken to Majdanek, while those of the second day, a smaller number, were taken to Fort IX, where they were shot. Only a few children survived by hiding. Forewarned by similar Aktionen in other camps, Jewish families had long tried to put their children with non-Jewish families outside the camp. Around 500 Jews, the majority being children, managed to survive in this way.

In the weeks after the Kinder- und Alten-Aktion, the living conditions in the camp worsened markedly: the number of guards was doubled, and the civilian labor brigades were dissolved. To make escape more difficult, the civilian clothes of the inmates were exchanged for prisoners' clothing. Individual apartment buildings or blocks were manned with block elders who were responsible for ensuring that all the inhabitants in the block or building were accounted for. Helene Holzman states in her memoirs that the houses in the former ghetto were numbered and divided into 330 blocks so as to provide a more efficient system of watching over the inmates.



Fort IX, the site where many Kauen prisoners were executed, including Jewish children on March 27–28, 1944. Photographed shortly after liberation.
USHMM WS #81149, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

In addition, there were daily morning and evening roll calls. All these measures made the living conditions more difficult as well as made it more difficult to make contact with partisans and to escape from the concentration camp.

As the Soviet front advanced into the Baltic states, the first Kauen subcamps were dissolved beginning in July 1944. Evacuations sometimes, but not always, went through the Kauen main camp. The Kauen concentration camp was dissolved on July 8, 1944. The concentration camp was evacuated over several days during which there were a number of Aktionen. The camp's inhabitants were taken by barge and rail from Kaunas to the west. The deportees were divided according to sex: the women were taken to Stutthof, with some, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), being taken to the Dachau subcamp at Kaufering, while the men were taken via Stutthof to Dachau and its subcamps. At least three transports with Jewish prisoners from Kauen arrived in Dachau: on July 15, July 29, and August 18. Elkes died on July 25, 1944, two weeks after his arrival in the Dachau concentration camp. A transport of Jewish women and children went from the Kauen and Schaulen concentration camps on July 26, 1944, to the Stutthof concentration camp and from there to Auschwitz.

Many Jews tried to evade the deportation by hiding in improvised hiding places, so-called malines. In the following days, SS search operations uncovered many victims, of whom around 2,000 were murdered. The concentration camp and the former ghetto were completely destroyed. Around 900 of

those in hiding experienced, hidden in deep bunkers, the arrival of the Red Army on August 1, 1944.

The camp commandant, Göcke, was killed while fighting in October 1944 in the area around the Adriatic Sea. In postwar trials, several of those responsible for the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp were tried. Alfred Tornbaum, commander of the Third Department of the German Police in Kaunas, was charged in Wiesbaden in 1962. He was acquitted despite witness statements due to a lack of evidence. In the same trial was SS-Lieutenant [*sic*] Peter Heinrich Schmitz. He committed suicide in his cell before a judgment was handed down. At first, Gestapo chief Heinrich Rauca, responsible for Jewish Affairs in the Kaunas Gestapo headquarters, lived after the war in Canada. He was extradited to Germany in 1991 after a court trial. He was charged with the murder of 11,500 Jews but died while being held in remand shortly after his arrival in Germany.

SOURCES Immediately after the war, work began on different aspects of the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp. These early works include Yosif Gar, *Umkum fun der jidischer Kovn*o (Munich, 1948); Dimitrius Gelpernas and Meir Yelin, *Partisaner fun Kaunaser Geto* (Moscow, 1948); and Leib Garfunkel, *Kovno ha-Yehudit be-Churbanah* (Jerusalem, 1959). See also the yearbooks *Lite*, Bd. 1 (1951); and *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *Ha-Shoah 1941–1945*. An essay that compares the Kauen, Vaivara, and Kaiserwald camps in the RKO is Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187. At the end of the 1990s as part of a special exhibition organized by the USHMM on the "Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto," research on the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp was revived. Important publications include Dennis B. Klein, ed., *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Boston: USHMM, 1997); Jürgen Matthäus, "Das Ghetto Kaunas und die 'Endlösung' in Litauen," in *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss (Berlin, 1999), pp. 97–112; Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941–1944," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Struktur und Entwicklung*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1:439–471; and Sara Ginaite-Rubinsoniene, *Atminimo Knyga: Kauno Zydu Bendruomene 1941–1944 Metais* (Vilnius, 1999). Literature on the Kauen concentration camp is mostly autobiographical and concentrates on certain aspects of the ghetto/concentration camp. Those bibliographies worthy of mention include Zvi Bar-On and Dov Levin, *Toldoteha shel Mahteret: Ha-irgun ha-lohem shel Yehude Kovnah be-milhemet ha-olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 402–409; Philip Friedman, "Bibliografie fun Churbn-Literatur vegn Lite," *Lite*, Bd. 1 (1965), pp. 1923–1940; as well as two bibliographies in *HGS* 12 (1998): Elizabeth Kessin Berman, "From the Depths: Recovering Original Documentation from the Kovno Ghetto," pp. 99–118; and "Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto: An Annotated Bibliography," pp. 119–138. There are several accounts of Jewish resistance in Lithuania and Kaunas, including by Chaim Yelin, leader of the Jewish partisans around Kaunas/Kovno, in Dimitrius Gelpernas, "Evrejskoe soprotivlenie v gody gitlerovskoj okkupacji Litvy 1941–1944," *Žydu muziejus*; *Evrejskij muzej* (Vilnius, 1994), pp. 83–98; and Dov Levin, *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry's Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945* (New York, 1985), here especially pp. 116–125, on resistance in the Kauen ghetto. Gudrun Schwarz lists the Kauen concentration camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The concentration camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:158; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1815.

Archival material on the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp is held in a number of archives in different countries. The most important collections are at the LCVA, which holds the collection of the Jewish Museum in Vilnius (R 1390 and 973), the files of the Lithuanian Police Commander in Kaunas/Kovno (R 1444), the files of the Sipo (R 1399), GK (R 615), the Kaunas/Kovno Stadtverwalter (R 616), the SD from 1941 to 1944 (R 731, Ap. 1), the BdS Litauen 1941 to 1944 (R 972, Ap. 1-2), the Jewish Ghettopolizei in Kaunas (R 973, Ap. 1–3), and the Central Lithuanian Office of the Commander of the Sipo in Kauen 1941 to 1944 (R 1216, Ap. 1). The LVVA also holds important collections on the history of the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp. The files of the Soviet Extraordinary Commission, which took place immediately after the liberation of Kaunas, in 1944–1945, and collected evidence of German crimes, are held in the CAFSSRF, 7021-94. The ULJ-A holds a valuable collection, as does YVA in GFH. The BA-B holds the collections of the Sipo (R 58 and R 70 Sowjetunion), the RFSS (NS 19), and the files of the RMO (R 6) and the RKO (R 90). At BA-L, the ZdL holds the following relevant collections: Sammlung UdSSR, 401; Lithuania files, including correspondence, investigative reports, statements and reports (207 AR/Z 14/58, vols. 1–10) and Nazi Crimes in the Baltic States (408 A/Z 233/59). Other files are found in NARA, including the collections of the Lithuanian Ministry of the Interior from 1919 to 1944 (RG 59, Decimal file 860 m), the Reichskommissar für die baltischen Staaten (Collection of Foreign Seized Records, Captured German Records: Records of the Office of the Reichs Commissioner for the Baltic States, 1941–1945; RG 242, T-459, microfilm), and the RMO (Collection of Foreign Seized Records, Captured German Records: Records of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1941–1945; RG 242, T 454, microfilm). The collection of YIVO at CJH holds the following files: Okkupierte Gebiete—Litauen (RG 215 OCC E3b alpha, as well as the files of the Reichspropagandaministerium and the RKO); Territorial Collections: Baltic, Lithuania (3, including the Jewish Ghetto Police), the collection of Abraham Sutzkever, and Shmerke Kaczerginsky Collection (RG 223, supplementals uncataloged, Box 16, which were compiled immediately after the liberation of the concentration camp). The YIVO also holds miscellaneous documents and a book with librettos written by an unknown author in the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp 1941–1944. There are extensive collections from the Lithuanian archives in USHMMA, including files that deal with the Wehrmacht in Riga and Kaunas as well as Jewish forced labor in Riga and Kaunas (RG-18.002M*54), files of the RKO (RG-18.002M*26), as well as the Kommandantur der Sipo und SD in Latvia

(RG-18.002M). The USHMMA also holds an extensive collection of survivors' reports from the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp. The establishment of the Kauen concentration camp is mentioned in a circular letter from the RSHA, Amt IV (Müller), of October 2, 1943, Betr: "Konzentrationslager Kauen und Vaivara," which is held in ZdL, Signatur 408 AR-Z-233/59, fol. 5007. The document is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ost": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1998), as Document 255, p. 266. The letter of the RKO to the Generalkommissare from August 1943 on the "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" is held in LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 129. It is also reprinted in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus as Document 253, p. 265. In Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, there are other relevant documents that substantiate the existence of the Kauen concentration camp: extracts from a letter from the Stadtkommissar Riga to the Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, betr.: "'Umsetzung' von Juden in Konzentrationslager" (copy in NARA, T-459, R 19, fr. 503, reprinted as Nr. 254, pp. 265–266); a letter from the Reichskommissar für das Ostland, Abt. II (Trampedach), to the Generalkommissare, October 14, 1943, regarding "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" (original in LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 127, reprinted as Nr. 256, p. 267); the aforementioned directive of the Kauen concentration camp medical doctor at the end of 1943 on the "allgemeine Lagerhygiene" (original in LCVA, R973-3-19, reprinted as Nr. 257, p. 267); extracts from a letter from the KdS Lettland (Lange) to the BdS Ostland, April 6, 1944, betr. "Zuständigkeit in der Bearbeitung von Judenangelegenheiten" (original in LVVA, R1026-1-3, fol. 203, reprinted as Nr. 259, p. 270). The Kauen concentration camp is also mentioned in the KdS Litauen Lageberichten, for example, the report of August 1943 (original in LCVA, R1399-1-61, p. 213) and December 1943 (original in LCVA, R 1399-1-61, p. 339). Statements by the 10 criminal Kapos brought from Mauthausen to Kaunas about their role as "Kolonnenführer" in the Kauen concentration camp are held in the EK3-Verfahren, Band 470 (Zeugenaussagen). The ZdL collective investigation into crimes in the Baltic concentration camps holds witness statements and documents on Kaunas under file 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L. Between 1957 and 1973, the FRG State Prosecutor collected material on events in the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp, concentrating on the activities of the Sipo. The files include those of the Sta. Frankfurt, 4 Js 1106/59; HHStA-(W), Abt. 461-32438. Proceedings never commenced except for a preliminary investigation by LG Giessen in 1964. Another original document is a statement by SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, the Kauen ghetto Arbeitseinsatzleiter, which was made on September 2, 1946, in Landsberg before the Jewish Historical Commission. Hörmann, who had unsuccessfully attempted to save Jews from deportation or murder on the basis of their professions, gives a detailed description of events in the camp. The report in typed manuscript is found in ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, and reprinted in Benz and Neiss, *Judenmord in Litauen*, pp. 117–132. On pp. 133–141, there is the statement by Jehoshua Rosenfeld on murderous Aktionen in the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp that was given to the Sta. Mü on June 4–5, 1959. The report is held by the ZdL under Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58. The Rauca trial reference is Sta. Frankfurt am Main 50/4 Js 284/71, ZdL207 AR 366/80. Survivors' autobiographical accounts worth mentioning include: Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). Tory wrote his diary from June 22, 1941, until his escape from the concentration camp at the end of 1943. Helene Holzman, the non-Jewish wife of a Jew murdered in the ghetto, penned her notes between September 1944 and August 1945, which were published as "*Dies Kind soll leben": Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman*, ed. Reinhard Kaiser and Margarethe Holzman (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co. Verlgsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2000). Two additional testimonies are Tamara Lazerson-Rostovski, *Yomanah shel Tamara; Kovnah 1942–1946* (Tel Aviv: Beit Lochamei hagetaot, 1976); and Solly Gonor, *Das andere Leben: Kindheit im Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1997).

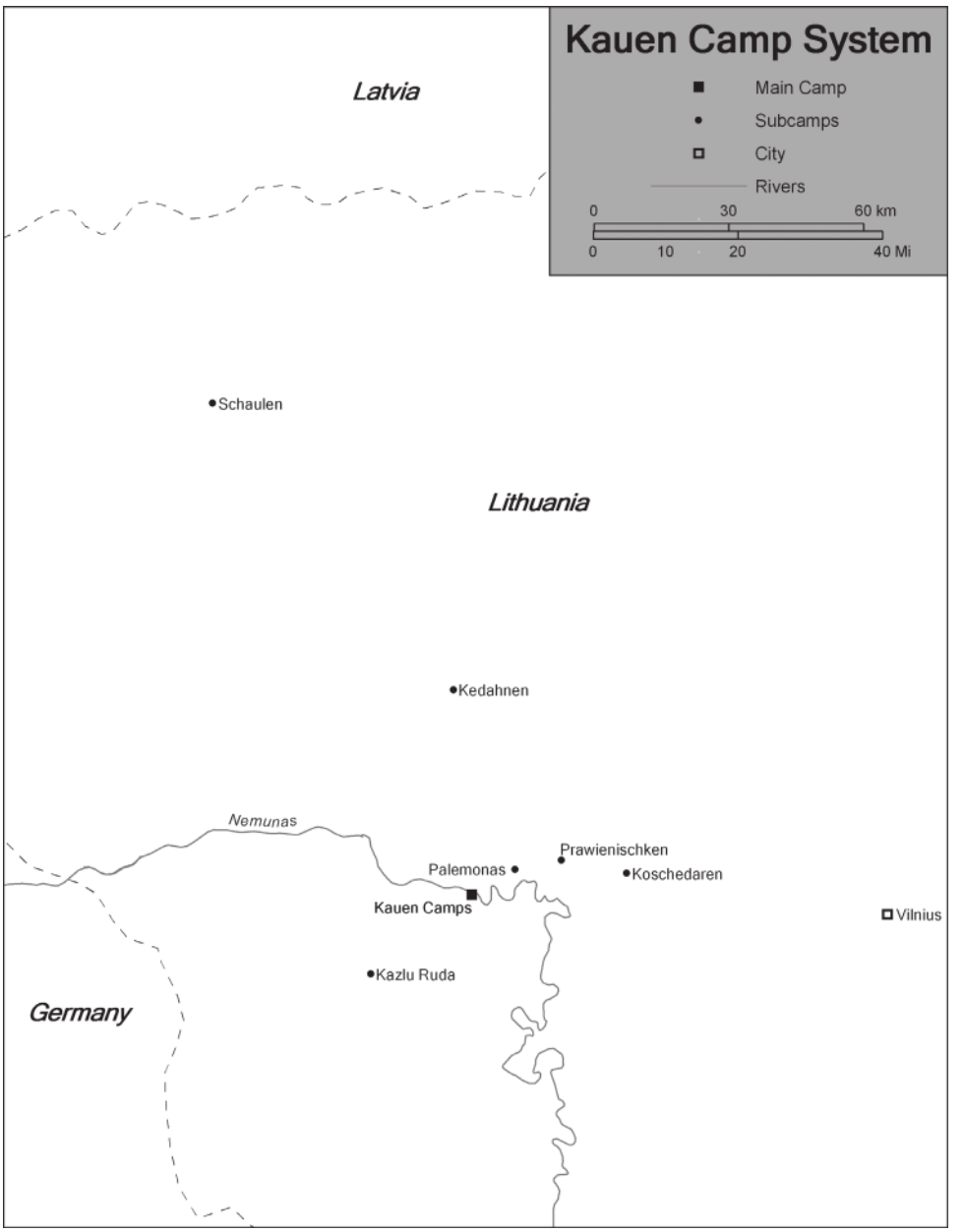
Evelyn Zegenhagen and Christoph Dieckmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. LCVA, R973-3-19, reprinted in Wolfgang Benz, Konnad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ost": Dokumente zum Völkermord in Baltikum und in Weissrussland* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1998), p. 267.

2. Schreiben des Reichskommissars Ostland an die Generalkommissare vom August 1943 über die "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern," LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 129, copy in USHMMA, RG 18.002, Reel 2; reprinted in Benzetah, *Einsatz*, p. 265.

3. Lagebericht des KdS, August 1943, LCVA, R1399-1-61, p. 213. Lagebericht KdS Litauen zum August 1943, cited by Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941–1944," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Struktur und Entwicklung*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1:454.



KAUEN-ALEXOTEN

From 1941 to 1944, Kauen was the capital of the General District Lithuania (Generalbezirk Litauen), Reichskommisariat Ostland. The district of Alexoten lay to the south of the ghetto/concentration camp in the city of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno), on the left bank of the Nieman River. At the local airfield, Jews were deployed in a labor detachment and later a concentration camp subcamp.

The Alexoten subcamp came into being in the process of the transformation of the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp. The history of the use of Jewish labor in Alexoten, however, dates back to 1941. According to historian Christoph Dieckmann, 1,000 inhabitants of the Kauen ghetto had been put to forced labor in Alexoten beginning September 19, 1941. They were used as substitutes for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who since the end of July 1941 had been worked to death in Alexoten under the most difficult work and living conditions. SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Hörmann, an employee of the German Labor Office in Kauen and the ghetto's labor detachment leader (Arbeitseinsatzleiter), stated after the war that many of the Soviet POWs died from typhus and malnutrition. How quickly the prisoners in Alexoten were worked to death, and how extensive the labor demand was, can be seen in the fact that less than two weeks after the dispatch of the first contingent of Jews, another 1,000 Jewish laborers were required in Alexoten, now mostly employed in the night shift.

According to Hörmann's statement, up to 3,000 Jewish inhabitants from the Kauen ghetto were used as forced labor in Alexoten. Helene Holzman states in her memoirs that as early as the autumn of 1941, 1,200 men and 500 women were working at the airfield. The workers left the ghetto at 5:30 A.M., accompanied by Jewish policemen. Dieckmann puts the number of Jewish workers at the airfield much higher, as between 4,000 and 5,000. The work at the airfield can be seen as the first large deployment of Jewish labor from the Kauen ghetto.

The working conditions for the forced laborers were hard. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states the prisoners worked for the company Schichau GmbH, a company based in Elbing (Elbag), repairing flak guns. Holzman, who visited the Jewish prisoners, states—without any further specification—that they were employed by two German construction firms doing heavy physical labor and that they worked in two shifts. Holzman also states that among the inmates were about 30 Jewish women who three times a day had to prepare food for about 1,500 people in the subcamp. The prisoners worked regardless of the weather—sun, rain, and cold. What made the conditions at Alexoten even worse was that unlike numerous other labor brigades from the ghetto the laborers in Alexoten had no opportunity to obtain food from the local population, which deprived them of a very important means of survival. But like the other labor detachments working outside the ghetto at that time, the Alexoten prisoners still returned each evening to the ghetto.

At least two names are known from those working at the Alexoten airfield: Ja'akov Ulejski was one of the two Jewish supervisors at the airfield, and Flier was the deputy leader of the labor detachment (Arbeitseinsatzkommando).

According to the *Bundesgesetzblatt*, the SS opened the Alexoten subcamp as part of its takeover of the ghetto on November 30, 1943. Avraham Tory states that there had been preparations from August 1943 to permanently accommodate the workers in Alexoten; the accommodations of the deceased Soviet POWs were cleaned up by removing their personal belongings, and new accommodations were constructed. From the end of November 1943 on, the Jewish forced laborers were held permanently in Alexoten under strict guards. Tory states that the camp was fenced in with a double barbed-wire fence. Armed guards in the guard towers guarded the camp; most of them were German and Ukrainian nationals. Probably at that stage, the inmates of the subcamp were equipped with prisoners' uniforms, most likely the uniforms of concentration camp prisoners.

Tory's secret notes, the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, reveal the unrest that the beginning of the site's transformation into a concentration camp caused among the prisoners in 1943. The sealing of the camp totally removed any possibility of food exchanges with those outside the camp but also among the inmates. The women deployed in Alexoten were particularly worried about the permanent separation from their families and children who had remained behind in Kauen. Tory refers to an incident at the beginning of August 1943 when the Jewish Elders' Committee could not provide sufficient labor for work at the airfield in Kedahnen. Hauptscharführer Schtitz, the Gestapo chief of the ghetto, traveled to Alexoten and arbitrarily chose the required 50 workers from the labor force there. Among those selected were women who urgently begged to be allowed to stay in the Alexoten camp and to not be transferred even farther away from their families, since it was not at all clear if and when they ever would be allowed to return from their new work site. Their requests were not even considered.

According to the ITS, the camp was closed in the middle of July 1944, in advance of the approaching Soviet front. The inmates were deported to the west, and most likely the women were taken to Stutthof.

SOURCES As with the other Kauen subcamps, no specific sources exist on the history of the Alexoten subcamp. The subcamp is mentioned in Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941 bis 1944," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 1:439–471. Gudrun Schwarz lists Alexoten in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:158; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1787 (as Alexoten) and p.1815 (as Kauen-Alexoten).

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann described the Jewish labor deployment in Alexoten to the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg on September 2, 1946. The report is held in typed manuscript in the ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp. 117–132. Witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps are held by the ZdL as part of its collective investigation into crimes in the Baltic concentration camps under File 408 AR-Z 233/59. The Jewish memorial books on the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp hold a number of survivors' statements on the Alexoten subcamp, for example, in *Yahadut Lita*: Meir Yelin, "Sheluḥot ha-geto-Maḥanot ha-'avodah," Bd. 4, pp. 98–103; Yizrael Kaplan, "Ha-'avodah bi-sde ha-te'ufah," Bd. 4, pp. 84–90; and Ja'akov Ulejski, "Be'ayot ha-'avodah bi-sde ha-te'ufah," Bd. 4, pp. 91–92. Ghetto survivors and eyewitness have also dealt with the Alexoten subcamp. For example, Avraham Tory in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Helene Holzman in her memoirs "*Dies Kind soll leben*": *Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman*, ed. Reinhard Kaiser and Margarethe Holzman (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2000).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KAUEN-SCHANZEN

Šančiani (Schanzen), part of Kauna (Kauen, Kovno), lay to the southeast of the ghetto and the city center, on the right bank of a loop of the Nieman River. As survivor Avraham Tory described in the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, preparations for the use of Jewish labor began in August 1943. The inhabitants of the ghetto feared at this time the liquidation of the ghetto and the distribution of the inmates to several labor camps. As Tory noted in his diary entry for August 9, 1943, the ghetto inhabitants saw the construction of accommodations in Schanzen, which was to hold a Jewish labor force without the possibility of returning to the ghetto in the evening, with fear and mistrust. The march from the ghetto to Schanzen was long. The work, mostly construction work, was physically demanding. As described by Tory, the Jewish laborers worked under strict security with military construction brigades. The strict security made it impossible to obtain food either by buying it or exchanging things or begging. Other Jewish labor detachments had often been able to do this, and this was an important source of supplies for the camp. Tory stated that on October 12, 1943, a double barbed-wire fence, interspersed with guard towers, was put up around the accommodations of the future subcamp. The guards were German and Ukrainian SS men.

According to an eyewitness account, the Schanzen subcamp was finally opened on December 16, 1943. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked for a variety of Wehrmacht establishments, such as the Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (HVM), the Heeresbekleidungsamt (HBA), the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) and the Heeresbaustelle (HBS). Other employers included the Kauen Kraftpostamt.

The camp was closed on July 12, 1944, in the face of the push forward by the Soviet front in the Baltic. The prisoners were evacuated to the west. The men of the Kauen-Schanzen camp were taken to the Dachau concentration camp, whereas the women were taken to Stutthof. The prisoners from the Schanzen subcamp arrived in Dachau on July 15, 1944.

SOURCES Alfred Streim refers to the Schanzen subcamp in his essay "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, but only in reference to the camp's evacuation in May 1944. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Schanzen women's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170, as Kauen-Sanciai. The camp is listed as Kauen-Schanzen in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:159; and as Kauen-Schanzen in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1815.

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, Arbeitseinsatzleiter in the Kauen ghetto until it was taken over by the SS, referred to the Kauen camp at Schanzen in a statement given to the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg on September 2, 1946. The typed manuscript is held by the ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp 117–132. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps. Avraham Tory refers to the subcamp a number of times in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 455, 482, 501.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KAZLU RUDA

From 1941, a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) existed in the town of Kazlu Ruda. There is scarcely any information on the work of the Jews in the Kazlu Ruda subcamp. There are no details on the work and living conditions of the subcamp's inmates. SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann stated before a Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg in 1946 that in the summer of 1943 there were "still five hundred Jews" who would be brought to Kazlu Ruda. If that is the case, the camp at Kazlu Ruda was a medium-sized camp. It is not known how many men and women were among the prisoners.

Based upon prisoner testimony, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the forced labor camp at Kazlu Ruda was converted into a Kauen subcamp in 1944. Compared to other Kauen subcamps, this conversion occurred relatively late.

The prisoners in the subcamp were evacuated to Dachau in July 1944 in front of the approaching Soviet troops.

SOURCES There is scarcely any mention of the Kazlu Ruda subcamp in the literature. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Kazlu Ruda men's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed as Kazlų Rūda in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:159; and as Kazlu Ruda in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, the Kauen ghetto Arbeitseinsatzleiter until it was taken over by the SS, referred to the Kazlu Ruda camp on September 2, 1946, before the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg. The typed manuscript is held by the ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp. 117–132. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KEDAHNEN

Kedàiniai (Kedahnen) is a provincial town about 35 kilometers (22 miles) to the north of Kauen. Jewish prisoners worked there at the local airfield.

There is little information on the camp. Historian Gudrun Schwarz stated that the date the camp opened is unknown, whereas the International Tracing Service (ITS), based upon an eyewitness report, concluded that the camp was first mentioned in December 1943. As revealed by survivor Avraham Tory in the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, even before this time Jewish prisoners must have been working as forced labor in Kedahnen. At this time, the Kedahnen camp was probably going through a transitional phase from a temporary labor camp, from which the inmates after a limited stay could return to the ghetto, to a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp.

Tory stated that on August 2, 1943, 200 Jewish laborers were sent from the Kauen ghetto to work in Kedahnen. Despite the requests of the ghetto's Jewish Council of Elders (Ältestenrat), insufficient workers reported for work: the inhabitants of the ghetto tried to avoid this labor assignment, as it meant a stay of several weeks in the country, far from families in the ghetto. Tory stated that the Jewish laborers were accommodated in a barracks in a military camp. As a rule, according to Tory, the assignment to a provincial city like Kedahnen lasted for about three weeks. The workers were then given a day off so they could visit their families in the ghetto. Up to this point, assignments in the labor camps had been popular, as they allowed contact with the local population and the chance to obtain food, whereas now the Jewish laborers feared that their dispatch to a temporary labor camp meant that the ghetto would be liquidated and that after their assignment they would not be returned to the ghetto but would be murdered. Tory stated that at the beginning of August 1943 instead of the 200 planned laborers, 152 reported for work in Kedahnen; Hauptscharführer Schtitz from the Kaunas Gestapo then arbitrarily chose 48 men and women working as forced labor at the Alexoten airfield and had them taken by rail goods wagon to Kedahnen. Among them were 16 policemen who had guarded the contingent of workers planned for deployment in Kedahnen and Flier, the deputy leader of the labor detachment in Alexoten.

It is not known how many prisoners worked in Kedahnen. Tory states that on August 20, 1943, 300 (additional?) Jews were brought to Kedahnen for work. It can be assumed that, as in other Kauen subcamps, after the camp was taken over by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), it was fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by either German or Ukrainian SS. The inmates' civilian clothes would have been exchanged for prisoners' clothing. According to the ITS and *Bundesgesetzblatt*, the camp was closed in July 1944.

SOURCES There has been no significant academic research on the Kedahnen subcamp. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Kedahnen men's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

The camp is mentioned by Avraham Tory in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 448–451, 458. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KOSCHEDAREN

Kaišiadorys (Koschedaren) is a provincial city about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the east of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno). A labor camp for Jewish prisoners (ZALfJ) from the Kauen ghetto was located there, which became a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp when the SS took over the ghetto.

The use of Jews in Koschedaren is documented from July 2, 1943. Avraham Tory mentions in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary* that at this point 400 Jewish laborers worked in cutting peat in Koschedaren. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the male prisoners not only cut peat (as did the female prisoners) but also worked in the forests and a sawmill.

As in other camps outside Kauen, the Koschedaren prisoners were employed in long-term projects outside the ghetto. After a period of time, probably after two to three weeks, the prisoners returned to the Kauen camp. Tory reports that the conditions in the labor camp at this time were bearable and that the food was adequate. Nevertheless, according to Tory, several Jews had escaped and returned to Kauen—probably because of the fear the inmates of the labor detachment would not be returned to the ghetto after their assignment. The German civil administration demanded that the Jewish ghetto administration return the escaped workers.

Tory states that on August 2, 1943, there were 350 laborers in Koschedaren. Four people were murdered during the night of August 1–2, 1943, when Ukrainian partisans attacked the camp: the German supervisor of the labor detachment, a Dutch expert employed by the camp, and two of the Ukrainian SS guards. According to Tory, five Ukrainian guards fled during the attack. The Jewish laborers in Koschedaren feared reprisals by the Germans. At the end of September 1943, another 150 laborers were sent to Koschedaren. They were probably both males and females. The date Koschedaren opened as an official Kauen camp is unknown. Most likely, transition happened smoothly and over a longer period of

time. But as in other Kauen subcamps, the takeover by the SS meant a worsening of the inmates' work and living conditions. Contact with the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp was completely cut off, as was contact with the inmates' relatives.

According to an eyewitness report, the camp in Koschedaren was evacuated in July 1944.

SOURCES There has been no specific academic research on the Koschedaren subcamp. The camp is briefly mentioned by Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. It is also listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and, without reference to the gender of the inmates, in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1818.

Avraham Tory describes the events in the Koschedaren labor camp in his book *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 408, 454, 482. Tory's report on the number of Jewish laborers in August 1943 is found on p. 454. Witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps were collected by the ZdL in its investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps and are held under File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PALEMONAS

According to historian Gudrun Schwarz, the Palemonas subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp already existed in 1941 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). Details differ on how the male prisoners were used in the labor camp: the International Tracing Service (ITS) does not make any reference to this, whereas Schwarz states that the men worked in the forests and with peat. On the other hand, survivor Avraham Tory in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary* stated that on September 28, 1943, 150 Jews were taken from the Kauen ghetto to Palemonas to work in a brick factory, where they remained for a long time, with no possibility of returning to the ghetto. Whether this is the one and the same labor detachment is unclear: all that can be said is that the details provided by Tory are closely aligned with other facts. If one follows Tory's description, Palemonas was one of the first labor camps in which the future commandant of the Kauen concentration camp, SS-Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Göcke, implemented SS guidelines for the treatment of prisoners. At the end of September 1943, Göcke inspected the camp in Palemonas, where he was informed that a Ukrainian guard had allowed a young Jewish woman to leave the camp to beg for food in nearby Lithuanian houses. According to Tory, Göcke ordered the execution of the guard and the inmate. At the request of the guard, his punishment was changed: his death sentence would be waived if he murdered the inmate with his own hands, which in fact occurred. According to Tory, this event was confirmed by the leader of the Jewish labor detachment in Palemonas. The incident was undoubtedly used by Göcke to secure his position as the future commandant of the concentration camp as well as to establish iron discipline among the guards and the prisoners.

It is not known when the camp finally became a Kauen subcamp. According to eyewitness reports, the inmates in the camp were evacuated by ship on July, 7, 1944, to Germany.

SOURCES The history of the subcamp in Palemonas remains largely unresearched. There continues to be no specific academic investigation of the Palemonas subcamp. The Palemonas camp is mentioned by Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, at p. 183, but only with reference to the closure of the camp in July 1944. Gudrun Schwarz describes the Palemonas camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170, giving a closure date of July 31, 1944, and an evacuation date of July 7. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1831.

Avraham Tory mentions the labor detachment in Palemonas in his *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 482, 490. Tory's account of the murder of the young Jew does not accord with the view in the literature that the Palemonas subcamp was a camp only for male prisoners. Eventually, there was more than one labor camp or subcamp in Palemonas. Documents on Kauen and its subcamps are found in the ZdL collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps, File 408 AR-Z 233/59, at BA-L. Unpublished prisoner testimony may be found in USHMMA, Acc. 1995.A.697, Miriam Bratman, "A Memoir Relating to Experiences in Palemonas and Stutthof"; and USHMMA, RG-50.002*0069, oral history interview with Henry Yungst, May 18, 1987.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PRAWIENISCHKEN

The town of Pravieniškis (Prawienischken) lies about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the east of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno). A Jewish forced labor camp (ZALfJ) had been established there in 1941, where Jewish labor from the Kauen ghetto was used. The male inmates worked in the forests and the peat fields. It is not known when the Jewish forced labor camp in Prawienischken became a Kauen subcamp. Presumably the transfer took place smoothly and was completed in November 1943.

With the advance of Soviet troops into the Baltic, the prisoners from the subcamp were evacuated to the west. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is mentioned for the last time on May 10, 1944 (men's camp), and May 15, 1944 (women's camp).

SOURCES There has been no academic work conducted specifically on Prawienischken. Alfred Streim mentions the camp in his essay "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, at p. 183. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Prawienischken subcamp (men) in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:161. The subcamp is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

The ZdL collected witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps in its collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps. They are held in File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SCHAULEN

Following the invasion of German troops into Lithuania, a ghetto was formed in Šiauliai (Schaulen) in July 1941. During the German occupation, its location was referred to as Generalbezirk Litauen, Reich Kommissariat Ostland. The ghetto was located in the city districts Kaukazas (also known as Kavkaz/Kawkas)—close to the Jewish cemetery—and Trakai (also known as Trokay/Trokaj)—close to the city prison. Although there were two ghetto districts, both were run by one Council of Elders.

On June 21, 1943, the Reichsführer-SS Feld-Kommandostelle issued a secret order to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland and to the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) whereby all Jews who were still in ghettos in the Ostland area were to be gathered in concentration camps. The date set for this reorganization was August 1, 1943. By order of Heinrich Himmler, after this date it was strictly forbidden to leave the concentration camps for work.[1]

This order probably accounts for the transformation of the Schaulen ghetto in the late summer or autumn of 1943, probably on September 17, 1943, into an outside detail of the Kauen concentration camp, which was located about100 kilometers (62 miles) to the southeast.[2] In this camp were Jewish prisoners of Lithuanian, Polish, and German nationality.

After the takeover, about 1,000 Jews from the Kawkas ghetto district were taken to and quartered at the local airfield, about 12 to 15 kilometers (7.5 to 9.3 miles) from the ghetto. The first transport to the airfield occurred on September 25, 1943. According to one of the inmates, they had to cover the route by foot. Another 500 were sent to the Jewish forced labor camp Daugeliai, where they had to work in a brick factory. And 500 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Baciunai, where they worked in a peat storage room; 260 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Pawentsch (Pavenciai), where they worked in the sugar factory; and 200 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Okmian (Akmene), where they worked in the chalk factory.

After the Jews were transferred and quartered in their barracks, the Kawkas ghetto district was dissolved. The Jews remaining in the ghetto prior to its dissolution and those who worked in other parts of the city were put together in the Schaulen outside detail, the former Trokaj ghetto, which was located between a leather factory and the city jail.[3] This camp was surrounded by barbed wire. In the ghetto, civilian clothes with a Star of David and white stripes on jacket and trousers were worn. After the takeover by the Kauen concentration camp, the prisoners, as in other outside details, had to wear striped clothing.

According to prisoner statements after the war, the prisoners had to work for the following companies: Fränkel, for work in leather goods factories; Hardt, Knittel and Welker, Rubereit, and Sager & Wörner, for work at the airfield; and Bazun, for work with peat. In addition, they had to work at Wehrmacht offices, on the railroad, and in the limekiln.

The Wwi Kdo Kauen (Wehrwirtschaftkommando, military economic detachment), Unit Z (Z-Gruppe), weekly report for April 16 to 22, 1944, states the following for April 22: "At a visit to the United Leather Works Schaulen [Vereinigte Lederwerke Schaulen] it was ascertained that there were still 1,014 Jews working as laborers. This corresponds to approximately 50% of the entire work force. The Wwi Kdo Kauen required the company to replace immediately this labor force with local or Russian laborers."[4]

Personnel files and statements after the war mention the following trades as being practiced by the prisoners in the Schaulen outside detail: white-collar workers, laborers, physicians, printers, accountants, brush makers, electricians, butchers, master carpenters, tradesmen, rural laborers, farmers, stove fitters, rabbis, sawmill workers, saddlers, locksmiths, locksmith apprentices, chimney sweeps, cobblers, grade school pupils, university students, carpenters, dentists, and cabinetmakers.

Just one month after the transformation into an outside detail of the Kauen concentration camp, an operation occurred in Schaulen during which "574 children and several old men and disabled persons were deported to a death camp."[5] This operation, described by the survivors as "Kinderaktion" (child operation), took place on November 5, 1943.

The guards were provided by the SS. The commandant was Unterscharführer Hermann Schleef, whose name appears as "Schlef" or "Schlepp" in some witness statements. The activity report of the Department V3 of the Kauen concentration camp for June 1944 indicates that on July 3, 1944, the size of the guard detachment was 30 men. Testimonies confirm that there were also Lithuanian and Ukrainian guards.

From the beginning of 1944, prisoners were transferred back to Schaulen, who had been sent to the above-mentioned

forced labor camps for Jews and elsewhere as part of the transformation of Schaulen into a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp.[6]

In June 1944, the transfer of Jews of Czech, German, Hungarian, Estonian, and other nationalities from distant camps started: for example, the Jewish forced labor at Ponewesch was moved to Schaulen.

As a result of the approach of the Red Army, the westward evacuation of Schaulen began in July 1944. Most of the prisoners were taken to the Stutthof concentration camp. This is confirmed by the Kommandantur Order No. 48 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 20, 1944. According to that order, 1,800 male and 200 female Jewish prisoners were to be transferred on July 21, 1944, to Kaufering, where they would be at the disposal of the Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners to be transferred to Kaufering were to come from transports dispatched from the Kauen main camp and Schaulen.[7]

In addition, according to the Kommandantur Order No. 49 dated July 25, 1944, 1,423 Jewish prisoners (524 mothers, 483 male children, and 416 female children) were to be transferred from the Stutthof concentration camp to the Auschwitz concentration camp on the following day. These prisoners were also to come from transports dispatched from Kauen and Schaulen. The transport leader was to be SS-Oberscharführer Redder.[8]

According to negotiations of the Kommandantur of the Stutthof concentration camp on July 26, 1944, it seems that 1,893 Jewish prisoners were given over to Redder to be transported from the Stutthof to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Among these were 210 prisoners who were sent to Stutthof from the Kauen subcamp Schaulen on July 26, 1944.

SOURCES Documentary sources for the Schaulen subcamp are scarce. Most information comes from former ghetto inmates or prisoners. Special reference is made to information supplied by Levi Salit, who published his experiences under the title *So sind wir gestorben* (Munich, 1945). Translated extracts have been provided by the URO Frankfurt am Main. A letter from the OSta. Lübeck (2 Js 297/60) to the United Restitution Organization, New York, dated January 7, 1966, regarding National Socialist crimes committed by Gewecke and others, confirms the date—as documented by former prisoners—of the transformation of the ghetto into a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp. However, there were also no primary sources for the criminal procedure, which therefore had to rely on witness statements. Documentary testimony is provided by the weekly report dated April 16–22, 1944, of the Wwi Kdo Kauen (BA-B, R 91/15) and by the Kommandantur Orders No. 48 and No. 49 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated from July 20 and 25, 1944 (GKBZHwP). The ITS also holds documents on this camp.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Secret order of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, Feld-Kommandostelle, June 21, 1943, to HSSPF Ostland and the Chief of the SS-WVHA.

2. Letter from OSta. Lübeck (2 Js 297/60) to URO, New York, January 7, 1966, regarding the criminal case against Gewecke and others who were charged with National Socialist violent crimes.

3. Levi Salit, *So sind wir gestorben* (Munich, 1945), p. 265.

4. Weekly Report, April 16–20, 1944, of Wwi Kdo Kauen, signed by Hermann. A copy is located at the ITS, call number Sachdokumentenordner Verfolgungsmas snahmen besetzter Ostgebiete/ehemals baltische Staaten 2 (Documents on Persecution in the Occupied Eastern Territories/formerly Baltic States), pp. 218–219.

5. Salit, *So sind wir gestorben*, p. 277.

6. ITS, call number Documents M3 Schaulen, Statement by the former prisoner Isaac Z.

7. Kommandantur Order No. 48 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 20, 1944, signed by Hoppe, SS-Sturmbannführer and Kommandant, p. 1, No. 2, Häftlingsüberstellung.

8. Kommandantur Order No. 49 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 25, 1944, signed by Hoppe, SS-Sturmbannführer and Kommandant, p. 1, No. 3, Häftlingsüberstellung.

KRAKAU-PLASZOW



An entrance gate to Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.
USHMM WS #03393, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

KRAKAU-PLASZOW MAIN CAMP

The Krakau-Plaszow (Polish: Kraków-Płaszów) camp became the major detention place for Jewish forced laborers in the Kraków district of the General Government and only in early 1944 was transformed into a concentration camp, which then existed for 12 months. Planning for the camp started in June–July 1942, as a consequence of the mass deportation from the Krakau ghetto to the Bełżec extermination camp, which lasted until June 4.

The staff of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in the Kraków district, Julian Scherner, started to erect a camp in the Płaszów suburb of Kraków in October 1942.[1] The Płaszów train station had already served as a transit point for the deportations to Bełżec, and there was a small camp there for Jewish railway workers, the "Julag I" (Judenlager or Jews' camp). The new camp, which several hundred ghetto inmates built, was situated nearby, partly on the site of two Jewish cemeteries. Until the spring of 1943, the camp area was approximately 10 hectares (25 acres); it was expanded to 81 hectares (200 acres) by September 1943.

The camp itself was divided into several sections, one for German personnel, including the commandant's villa; one for the work facilities; and a section for male and another for female prisoners, each divided into separate accommodations for Jews and non-Jews. Some existing buildings were used for the camp administration, especially for SS housing. In addition, more than 100 new barracks were built in 1943. The several hundred forced laborers of the barracks construction (Barackenbau) unit worked under extremely harsh conditions, since the camp was to be erected at record speed.

Until January 1944, the camp was officially called the Jewish Forced Labor Camp of the SS and Police Leader in the Kraków District, Krakau-Plaszow (Jüdisches Zwangsarbeitslager des SS und Polizeiführer im Distrikt Krakau, Krakau-Plaszow).[2] Scherner's staff was responsible for building and running the camp. All leading camp personnel belonged to the SSPF office, such as the first acting camp commandant Horst Pilarczyk (until November 1942), about whom relatively little is known, and his successor Franz Josef Müller.[3]



Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp's industrial sector, 1944.
USHMM WS #08864, COURTESY OF IPN



Krakau-Plaszow prisoners haul a food container, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #50693, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

On February 11, 1943, Amon Göth took over for Müller. Göth, who transferred from the staff of the SSPF Lublin, had been involved in *Aktion Reinhardt*, the mass murder of Polish Jews. He served as camp commandant until September 13, 1944, and was replaced for some months by Philipp Grimm and then by Kurt Schuppke. Important camp administrators were Lagerführer Edmund Zdrojewski, Josef Grzimek, and the chief of the guard unit, Paul Raebel. The camp for Poles (built later) was led by Oberscharführer Landdorfer.

Most of the guards were non-Germans, such as Ukrainian members of the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 206 and about 110 men who had served in the SSPF Lublin training camp in Trawniki, so-called Trawniki men, some of whom had served as guards in extermination camps.[4] From the German perspective, these men were not considered to be reliable.[5] The so-called Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst, auxiliaries transferred from the Kraków ghetto, kept order inside the camp.

On October 28, 1942, during the "Ghettoaktion" in Kraków, the Germans sent approximately 2,000 ghetto inmates to Plaszow instead of exterminating them. The next major change in the prisoner population occurred during the liquidation of the Krakau ghetto on March 13–14, 1943. Between 8,000 and 10,000 Jews were marched from the so-called ghetto B (for workers and their families) in Kraków to the camp. (In December 1942, Scherner had ordered that all Jewish workers from Kraków be concentrated in Plaszow.)[6] In the spring of 1943, Plaszow, with its 10,000 prisoners, was one of the biggest forced labor camps in occupied Poland. The prisoner population grew even further with transports from other camps such as Rymanów in July 1943 and Tarnów on September 2, 1943.[7] In September 1943, the Jewish workers in the Kraków district were increasingly concentrated in Plaszow. In May 1944, almost 6,000 Jews from "Greater Hungary," who had been deported through Auschwitz, arrived. They stayed only for a few months, some to be deported back to Auschwitz, others to be transferred to Austria.

Up until the summer of 1943, almost all the prisoners were Jewish, but non-Jewish Poles were also interned in Plaszow as punishment for small offenses. They were put into separate barracks first; then a camp section was built for them in the second half of 1943. Apparently, this camp section also served as a work reeducation camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) for people whom the Nazis considered unreliable workers. Those Poles were usually imprisoned for three months, but this period could be extended. The Arbeitserziehungslager expanded from a capacity of 1,000 to approximately 6,000 prisoners. Almost 10,000 Poles were imprisoned there during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, among them hostages taken in Kraków to avoid any similar revolt. Most of those prisoners were released after a while. Some Gypsies were also kept in the Polish part of the camp.

In comparison to other camps, Plaszow's inmate population included a comparatively high proportion of Jewish women and children. Among the thousands of Jews who came to Plaszow in March 1943, approximately 65 percent were men. The transports from Hungary consisted to a high degree of women. While most of the Jewish children under 14 in Poland were killed by the end of 1942, there were still some in the so-called Julag III until 1943 and in Plaszow until the spring of 1944. Female Jews had a lower chance of survival in



Female prisoners pull a rail cart along "Industry Street" inside the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #50705, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

comparison to men, since most of the working facilities were meant for male prisoners.

Conditions in the forced labor camps for Jews in the General Government were generally inhumane but could vary according to camp and time. The survivors give a rather diverse picture of camp life. The food was totally insufficient, and a typhus epidemic in June–July 1943 took hundreds of lives. The working conditions varied. In the textile works, they were not nearly as bad as in the stone quarries, where male laborers were driven to total exhaustion.

The worst features of Plaszow were the mass executions and the random violence of the camp officers and guards. Beatings by guards, either spontaneous or as official acts of punishment, were an almost daily feature. Göth was infamous for individual murders. He randomly beat prisoners to death, shot them, or sent his two trained dogs to attack them. Frequently Göth had members of working detachments shot after they were apprehended smuggling food into the camp. Inmates tried to avoid any contact with Göth if possible, and they especially feared his murderous roll calls or the barrack searches. He was certainly not the only functionary to kill prisoners, however; some survivors claim that SS-Untersturmführer John behaved even worse. The foreign guards, most of them Ukrainians, were also infamous for their excessive violence.

The Plaszow camp functioned not only as a detention and forced labor site but also as an area for mass murder for both camp inmates and prisoners brought from outside to the camp area. Immediately after the March 13–14, 1943, Ghettoaktion in Kraków, the corpses of approximately 2,000 Jews were brought to the camp and interred in a mass grave. Jews later apprehended while hiding in Kraków were shot near the camp, behind the so-called swimming pool (*Badeanstalt*). Further, during the *Lageraktionen* from May to July 1943, at least 250 Jews were shot. The main targets were old and sick inmates who had been transferred from the camp hospital. In April 1943, 50 members of the Jewish police met that fate. Polish inmates were also sometimes killed, for example, for keeping contacts with the outside world. From June–July 1943 on, the perpetrators moved their activities to a fortification from World War I, which the inmates called Hujowa Górka; from mid-1944 on, at a hill called Lipowy Dołek. The Security Police and camp personnel such as Oberscharführer Albert Hujer also murdered Poles there, including priests, who had been arrested.[8] These mass executions apparently started in September 1943; one of the biggest massacres took place on February 2, 1944, when 200 inmates from Kraków prison were killed. It has been calculated that approximately 2,000 non-Jewish Poles were shot near Plaszow; 2 out of 3 had been transferred from the Montelupic Security Police prison. According to Polish estimates, 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners were shot in the area surrounding the camp. By the end of 1944, there were at least 10 mass graves situated around the camp.

Resistance was much more difficult in the camp than in the ghetto. After escapes, Commandant Göth usually had about 10 prisoners shot for each 1 who escaped. Nevertheless, people did escape. Mutual aid was more common. There were even organized assistance groups, such as the Zehnerschaft (The Ten), women who organized support for other inmates. In October 1943, a small underground group was formed by several Jewish Kapos, calling themselves the Jewish Fighting Organization. They were able to collect some weapons, but after the murder of their leader, Adam Stab, the resisters chose not to try an uprising but to wait to be evacuated to the West.

To a certain extent, Plaszow prisoners could rely on help from outside. The Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle, a welfare organization that the Germans tolerated, could supply the inmates with some food and medical care. Stanislaw Dobrowolski, the head of the Kraków branch of the Council for Aid to Jews (Rada Pomocy Żydom, or Żegota), supported inmates, as did the famous pharmacist Tadeusz Pankiewicz;[9] the Rada Głowna Opiekuńczą, the Polish welfare organization, sent extra food to Polish prisoners, some of whom shared it with Jewish inmates.

The camp inmates, as well as some average Polish workmen who were not imprisoned and could go home every evening, worked for several German firms, most of them for the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) of the SS, which supplied the SS with uniforms and repaired goods that had been taken from murdered Jews. The Austrian enterprise Madritsch, whose owner secretly supported his workers, made uniforms for the Wehrmacht. Some of the inmates even worked for a Nazi academic institution, the Deutsche Ostinstitut in Kraków.

Despite the SSPF's order not to locate Jewish workers outside Plaszow, it had several subcamps.[10]

Efforts to bring the forced labor camps of the SSPF under supervision of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) in Oranienburg had been under way since early 1943. Apparently, in early September 1943, decisive negotiations were undertaken between the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the armaments inspectorate.[11] In late October, the WVHA



Krakau-Plaszow's commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Amon Göth, stands shirtless and armed on the balcony of his villa, which overlooked the camp, 1943.
USHMM WS #05276, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

decided to take over Plaszow as a concentration camp.[12] That is obviously one of the reasons why no major massacre of all Jews took place in the camp, unlike during the *Aktion Erntefest* in Lublin district on November 2–3, or in Lemberg-Janowska on November 19. The branches Julag II and III were dissolved around November 15, 1943, and their prisoners transferred to the main camp. Some skilled workers were sent to other forced labor camps in the General Government.

From January 10, 1944, the camp was officially called Konzentrationslager Krakau-Plaszow, but the actual changes were few. All orders now came from Oranienburg or from the SS-Wirtschafter at the Higher-SS and Police Leader in Kraków. To a certain extent, Göth, who did not represent a typical concentration camp commandant, was now restricted in his actions, since he had to obey the general rules for camp management and was obliged to report everything of importance to Oranienburg. (Göth was finally arrested in September 1944 for corruption and other offenses.)[13] After a while, an SS-Totenkopfverband (Death's Head Unit), the Wachsturmbann Krakau, numbering approximately 600 men and women, took over guard duties. An SS camp doctor arrived, first Dr. Jäger, later Dr. Blancke. Even a small group of German concentration camp inmates, who were to take over some functions in the camp, arrived in June 1944. But in general, Plaszow was never fully integrated into the standardized system of concentration camps because of the late date at which it was incorporated. The majority of inmates were still Jews, and there were few official prisoner-functionaries (Funktionshäftlinge). The exchange of prisoners with other concentration camps remained, before mid-1944, of minor importance. Instead, prisoners were still sent to other forced labor camps, such as when 2,000 Jews were sent to the Skarzysko-Kamienna camp in March 1944.

In early May 1944, Göth received the announcement that approximately 10,000 Jews from Hungary were to be transported to Plaszow. In order to make room, he prepared deportations to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On May 14, he ordered all children in the camp to be transferred to the "kindergarten," which had been installed in March. This turned out to be a pretext for their deportation to Auschwitz on May 15, where they were killed.

At the same time, evacuations to Plaszow from other camps located farther east intensified. In April and June 1944, transports from the eastern Galician cities of Drohobycz and Boryslaw arrived; in July, prisoners from other camps in the Kraków district arrived.

In August–September 1944, the camp leadership started to erase the traces of its crimes. It is not clear whether this was organized within the framework of "Sonderkommando 1005," the Gestapo's program to destroy mass graves in Eastern Europe. A group of 170 Jews, who were kept isolated from the other inmates, was recruited to unearth the mass graves and burn the corpses. This horrible task took until mid-October. Nevertheless, during this period executions of Poles continued.[14]

During the course of the Red Army summer offensive in June–July 1944, preparations were started to evacuate the camp. The biggest evacuation transport left Plaszow on August 6, deporting 7,500 to 8,000 Jewish inmates to Auschwitz. Somewhat later a train left for the Mauthausen concentration camp, from which the prisoners were transferred to its branches. Probably on August 7, 4,000 to 5,000 Jewish women from "Greater Hungary" were deported through Auschwitz to the Stutthof camp in the north of Poland.

On January 1, 1945, there were still 453 male and 183 female prisoners left in Krakau-Plaszow, together with 87 male guards. Right after the beginning of the Soviet winter offensive, on January 14, HSSPF Koppe gave the order to evacuate the remnants of the camp—according to official data, 623 inmates—to Auschwitz.[15] Only 180 prisoners arrived in Auschwitz on January 17. Units of the Red Army reached the camp area in Kraków that same day.

Due to the lack of documentary evidence, only estimates are possible on the general number of prisoners in Krakau-Plaszow. The card index of prisoners was destroyed. Apparently, in the autumn of 1943, there were around 12,000 inmates; in July 1944, 17,000; in September 1944, for a short time up to 25,000. All in all, probably between 30,000 and 50,000 prisoners went through the camp, some only for days. Approximately half of the prisoners were non-Jews.[16] Between 5,000 and 8,000 prisoners were killed there, not including those who were transported to the camp area to be shot immediately. Probably the majority of those Jews who were evacuated from Plaszow in 1944–1945 died during the final period of the war inside the Reich.

The crimes in Krakau-Plaszow were the subject of relatively few postwar trials, the most important of which dealt with Göth. He was sentenced to death and executed. At least one other German camp staff member and two Jewish Kapos were brought to court in Poland.[17] West German prosecutors started to systematically investigate the crimes in Krakau-Plaszow only at the end of the 1950s.[18] Two camp functionaries were brought to trial: the former camp commandant Müller and Karl-Heinz Bigell, an employee of the Madritsch enterprise.[19] Several of the foreign guardsmen, who were captured by the Soviet secret police, were tried in the Soviet Union.

SOURCES There is no scholarly monograph on Krakau-Plaszow; two unpublished Hebrew dissertations were not available to the author: Reshef Ben-Tsion, "Mahane Plashov" (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1990); and Shlomi Barmor, "Mahane Plashov al reka' ha-mediniyut ha-Natsit ba-'avodah kefiya shel Yehudim be-General Guvernman" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1995). Several useful articles and booklets also exist: Aleksander Bieberstein, "Przyczynek do dziejów obozu w Krakowie-Płaszowie," *PL* 1 (1977); Roman Kiełkowski, "Obóz pracy przymusowej i koncentracyjny w Płaszowie," *PL* 1 (1971); Magdalena Kunicka-Wyrzykowska, "Kalendarium obozu płaszowskiego 1942–1945," *BGKBZHwP* 31 (1982): 52–86; Angelina Oster, "Im Schatten von Auschwitz: Das KZ Krakau-Plaszow—Geschichte und Erinnerung," *DaHe* 19 (2003): 170–179; and a brochure by Tadeusz Wroński, *Obóz w Płaszowie, miejsce masowej eksterminacji ludności żydowskiej, polskiej i innych narodowości w latach*

1942–1945 (Warsaw: Sport i Turystyka, 1981). Important chapters are included in Roman Kiełkowski, . . . *Zlikwidowac na miejscu!: z dziejów okupacji hitlerowskiej w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1981); and in the mixture of memoirs and research by Aleksander Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1985). On mutual assistance, see Judith Tydor Baumel, *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 103–114.

Only tiny fragments of German documentation on Krakau-Plaszow survived the war, especially from the WVHA and other concentration camps (BA-K, NS 3; BA-DH, RGVA R-1367K) and the Kraków SS and Police (IPN). Other sources in Polish archives, such as reports of the Polish welfare and underground, are listed in *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 391. Published documents on Krakau-Plaszow are available in *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów Żydów w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką* [*DiM*], vol. 1, *Obozy*, ed. Nachman Blumental (Łódź: CZK, 1946), pp. 270–274; and *Faschismus—Getto—Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des 2. Weltkrieges*, ed. AŻIH (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961). Polish trial proceedings are located in IPN. On the Göth trial (microfilm in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0248), see *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha przed Najwyższym Trybunalem Narodowym* (Warsaw, 1947); *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, vol. 7 (London: HMSO, 1948); and interviews with Göth's daughter, Matthias Kessler, *"Ich muss doch meinen Vater lieben, oder?" Die Lebensgeschichte der Monika Göth, der Tochter des KZ-Kommandanten aus "Schindlers Liste"* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2002). West German investigation files are stored in the BA-L: LG Mosbach Ks 2/61, re: Franz Josef Müller, BA-L 206 AR-Z 225/59; Sta. Mosbach 21 Js 3892/77, re: Lüth, BA-L 206 AR-Z 1276/63; Sta. Bayreuth 1 Js 546/67, re: Grimm, BA-L II 206 AR-Z 600/67; Sta. Deggendorf 1 Js 108a-c/66, re: Kiermaier, et al., BA-L 206 AR-Z 48/66; LG Berlin 3 P (K) Ks 2/72, re: Bigell, BA-L II 206 AR-Z 601/67. The verdict of the Müller trial is reproduced in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), 17: 234–253. The Soviet investigation files against—at least—four Trawniki guardsmen in Krakau-Plaszow are in the custody of the CAFSSRF. For prisoner memoirs, see Joseph Bau, *Dear God, Have You Ever Gone Hungry? Memoirs* (New York: Arcade 1998); Yosef Bosak, *Vehaayil lo ne'ehaz ba-sevakh: korot-hayav shel Avraham (1939–1944)* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, 1986); Malvina Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto and the Płaszów Camp* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989); Stanisław Jagielski, *Sclavus saltans: wspomnienia lekarza obozowego* (Warsaw: Nakt Lekarskiego Instytutu Naukowo-Wydawniczego, 1946); Marian Krawczyk, *6 sierpień 1944 r. Garść wspomnień z obozu koncentracyjnego w Płaszowie* (Kraków, 1945); Halina Nelken, *And Yet, I Am Here!* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Jakub Stendig, *Plasbov: ha-tahanah ha-aharonah shel Yahadut Krakov*, trans. from Polish by Aryeh Bauminger (Tel Aviv: ha-Menorah, 1970); Tadeusz Śliwiński, *Periturus* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1979).

Dieter Pohl

NOTES

1. See the SSPF query to the insurance company Bayerische Versicherungsbank AG from October 1942 in Peter-Ferdinand Koch, *Menschenversuche: Die tödlichen Experimente deutscher Ärzte* (Munich: Piper, 1996), p. 110.

2. See the printed letterhead in Göth to Schindler, March 23, 1943, in *Schindlers Koffer: Berichte aus dem Leben eines Lebensretters*, ed. Claudia Keller and Stefan Braun (Stuttgart: Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1999), p. 19.

3. See Verdict District Court Mosbach Ks 2/61 re: Müller, April 24, 1961, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), 17: 234–253.

4. Former Polizeischützenregiment 32; see commander-in-chief of the Orpo in the GG to RFSS, September 3, 1943, BA-B, R 19/115, p. 365.

5. Transfer rosters of SS-Ausbildungslager Trawniki to Krakau-Plaszow, not dated, CAFSSRF.

6. Circular letter by Scherner, December 14, 1942, and guidelines, February 9, 1943, *Faschismus—Getto—Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerinstand der Juden in Polen während des 2. Weltkrieges*, ed. AŻIH (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 448.

7. Verdict LG München I 116 Ks 1/70 re: Johann Unterhuber, June 18, 1970, pp. 11–12.

8. Verdict District Court Hannover 11 Ks 2/76 re: Heinemeyer, March 30, 1979, pp. 53–54, IfZ, Gh 05.24.

9. See the detailed information on the camp in the report of the Żegota, n.d. (probably end of 1944), in *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy*, ed. Nachman Blumental (Łódź: CZK, 1946), pp. 270–274.

10. Circular letter by Scherner, August 30, 1943, *Faschismus*, p. 453.

11. See the conferences on Lublin camps on September 3 and 7, 1943, a protocol of the latter in *Faschismus*, pp. 459–460.

12. Order Pohl, October 22, 1943, Nuremberg document NO-60.

13. Letter HSSPF Koppe to Himmler, September 6, 1944, BA-K, NS 19/2586, p. 2.

14. Information of Żegota, not dated, *DiM*, 1: 274.

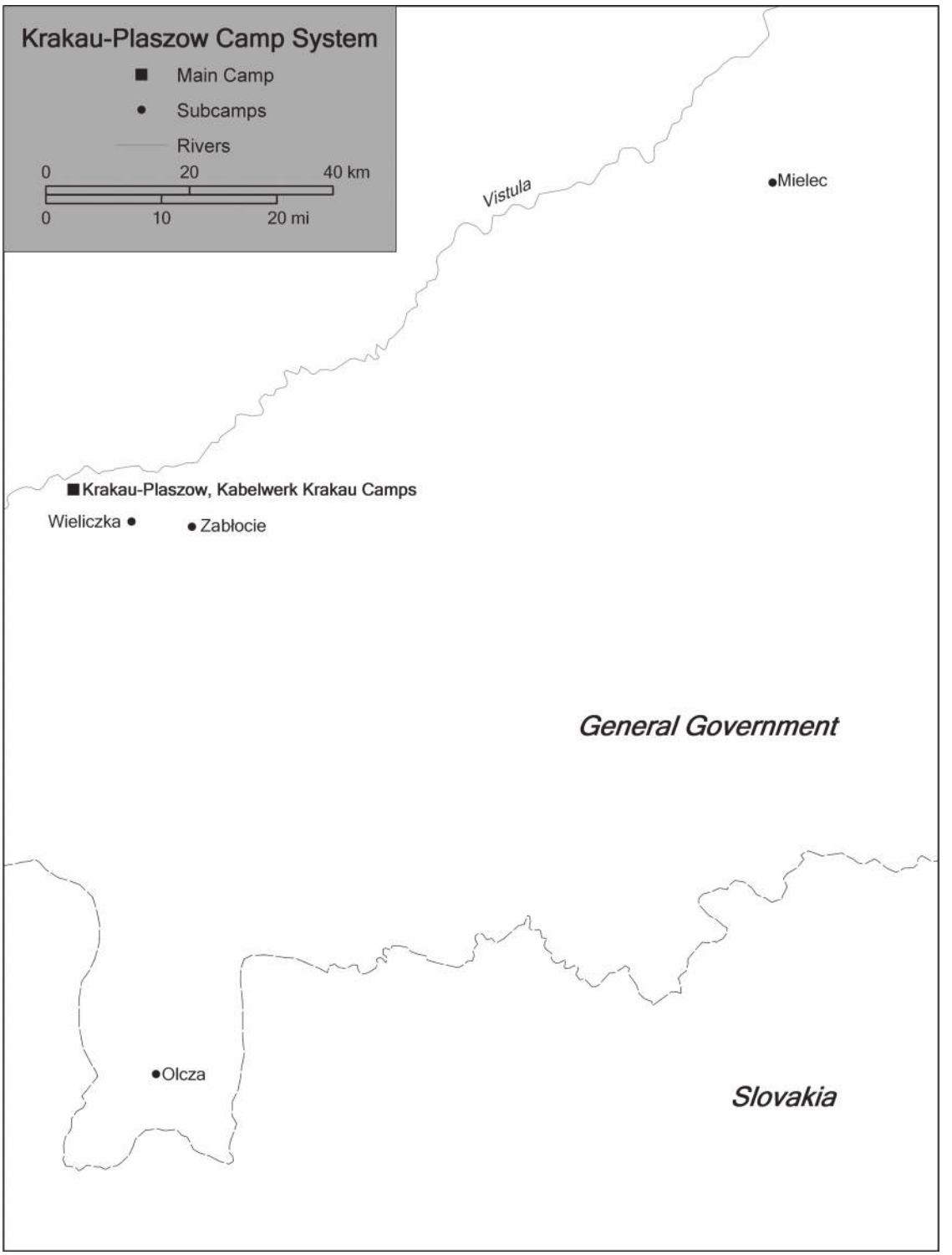
15. BA-K, NS 3/439, p. 2; Report on the departure from Krakau-Plaszow, February 2, 1945, BA, NS 3/650.

16. See the preliminary list of 1,852 prisoners: "Indeks imienny więźniów obozu w Płaszowie"(MSS, IPN, 1980).

17. Lublin District Court against Paul K. in 1948, who served in several concentration camps; see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946–1950* (Warsaw: GKBZpNP, 1992), 2:121.

18. A camp member was acquitted in 1947 by LG Berlin.

19. Verdict District Court Berlin 3 P (K) Ks 2/72 re: Bigell, June 4, 1973, IfZ, Gb 06.111; Paul Raebel was tried for his crimes in eastern Galicia.


Krakau-Plaszow Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
Rivers
0
20
40 km
0
10
20 mi
Vistula
Mielec
Krakau-Plaszow, Kabelwerk Krakau Camps
Wieliczka
Zabłocie
General Government
Olcza
Slovakia

KABELWERK KRAKAU

Polish Jewish men and women were forced to work between July 1942 and September 1944 manufacturing cables for Kabelwerk Krakau. Kabelwerk in Krakau-Plaszow had been compulsorily acquired from the German electronics concern Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) by the German military authorities in 1941 after the occupation of Poland.

The factory site, almost 120,000 square meters (143,500 square yards), about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the southeast of Kraków, not far from the Plaszow railway station, was the site for the manufacture of electrical and telegraph cables. In 1941, around 1,400 male and female Polish blue- and white-collar workers were employed there. Following the compulsory acquisition by the Rüstungsinspektion (Army Armaments Inspectorate) Krakau in September 1939, the cable factory, which was owned by the Polish Fabryka Kabli S.A., was placed under the trusteeship of Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Montan), which in turn was controlled by the Army High Command (OKH). The Montan contracted with Reichswerke Hermann Göring and the AEG for the management of the operation.[1] In July 1941, the AEG leased the Kabelwerk. It acquired the stock and raw materials and undertook "to directly or indirectly give preferential treatment to Wehrmacht contracts."[2]

Administratively, the Kabelwerk was controlled by Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH (KWK), which was established by the AEG in September 1941. In 1941, the AEG placed the 43-year-old senior engineer Ewald Böhme as factory manager. Böhme had been working in the Kabelwerk Oberspree (KWO) in Berlin-Oberschöneweide since 1925. KWO, the largest of the AEG cable factories, relocated its production orders and materials such as lead and copper to Kraków.

Kabelwerk Krakau produced field cables for the Wehrmacht and telephone cables for the Deutsche Post Ost. The product mix included deliveries to the AEG sales office in Kraków, which sold, among other things, switches and lighting systems produced by the Berlin AEG factories to the Wehrmacht, the "Ostbahn," and the SS. It is most likely that Jews from the forced labor camp at Pustków were used in installing electrical and lighting systems for the AEG at the Waffen-SS troop training ground at Dębica. The AEG had been installing these systems since 1941 as part of a large contract.[3] On not so grand a scale, the AEG Krakau also took over contracts from armaments firms such as the Heinkel aircraft factory at Mielec.

In April 1944, the former owner of the cable factory, the Polish company Fabryka Kabli S.A., stepped into the lease with the AEG.[4] The Mährische Bank from the Czech town of Brno (Brünn) then claimed possession on the basis that since 1939 it had been the sole shareholder of the Fabryka Kabli S.A. The Mährische Bank was controlled by the Creditanstalt Bankverein AG from Vienna. The Deutsche Bank had been the largest shareholder since 1941 in this, the largest, Austrian bank.

In the middle of 1942, Böhme representing KWK negotiated with the Arbeitsamt Krakau on the use of Jewish laborers from the Kraków ghetto. It was intended that mostly women would be used in the cable factory, as there were no available men. The inmates were to go back and forth daily in groups from the ghetto to the cable factory. Initial security for the prisoners was to be provided by the cable factory's security. The Jewish forced laborers were to work in a cable factory and a plastics factory and in checking field cables. They were to be fed the same amount of the factory's soup as the Polish labor force.

Böhme also successfully negotiated that in exceptional cases he could decide whether to give the Jews consumer goods. The management used such means as pressure to reduce the high absentee rate in the Polish workforce, which in turn was the result of the German occupation policy that had resulted in a catastrophic food shortage in the General Government. In April 1942, more than 20 percent of the Polish workforce was missing either daily or for part of each day. The management demanded that the Arbeitsamt Krakau transfer individual Poles to the labor camps as a deterrent measure.[5] In 1942–1943, the absentee rate was reduced to 2 percent, due to the distribution of food.[6]

Böhme announced, however, at the end of August 1942, that the Jewish forced laborers "were not to receive any more special rations until otherwise stated. This included all goods which had been distributed."[7]

Oskar Schindler, who had business dealings with the Kabelwerk's management, told of seven laborers from the Kabelwerk who were transferred to Krakau-Plaszow where they were hanged by the SS. According to Schindler, "Director Dihle stated that it had a visible increase in production."[8]

In addition to the use of Jewish women from the Kraków ghetto, it is likely that from the end of August 1943 a group of 96 male Jews from Wieliczka were deployed in the Kabelwerk. The men were accommodated in a "barracks-type" area in the Kraków ghetto.[9] After the evacuation of "Ghetto A" on October 27 and 28, 1942, all Jewish forced laborers in the cable factory were transferred to the newly established forced labor camp at Plaszow. Following the final liquidation of the Kraków ghetto on March 13, 1943, the company's management housed them in barracks on the factory grounds.[10] As was the case with Schindler's enamel factory, the Kabelwerk Krakau established a "firm camp" (*Firmenlager*).

A total of between 200 and 300 Jewish forced laborers were assigned to work for Kabelwerk, probably 50 percent male and 50 percent female.[11] From the beginning of September 1942, they worked in three shifts. Among them was Leontyna Opoczyńska who was 20 in 1941. She was assigned to work in the wire factory within the Kabelwerk. According to Opoczyńska, they were given substitute coffee in the morning, bread and soup for lunch, and bread in the evening. The Polish workers with whom she worked secretly gave her additional food.

Even though the forced labor and their accommodation on the factory grounds initially protected the Jewish prisoners

from deportation, it did not protect them from persecution. Opoczyńska stated that following a nervous breakdown, it was only the solidarity of her fellow prisoners that prevented her from being selected. "I was not taken away and shot," said Opoczyńska, "because my fellow workers put part of their output down on me."[12]

The AEG commenced the evacuation of the Kabelwerk at the beginning of August 1943 in the following order: unfinished products and raw materials such as cable wrapping, copper wires, or artificial silk were shifted to an AEG raw material depot to the east of Berlin and sold to the Berlin KWO.[13] Food such as vegetables, which had been grown on the fields of Kabelwerk Krakau to feed the workers, was also removed. The production facilities including the wire factory, where many of the Jewish prisoners worked, was shut down. The AEG relocated the enamel wire factory to the Sudetenland. Other attempts to relocate machines were refused by the armaments authorities. Representatives of the Mährische Bank stated that "those machines which probably would be damaged during transport and whose reassembly would be uneconomic should remain [in the Kabelwerk]."[14]

Unlike Schindler's case, the Jewish forced laborers in Kabelwerk were not evacuated. They were transferred to the forced labor camp at Plaszow, which in January 1944 had become a concentration camp. Opoczyńska, with many other female concentration camp prisoners from Plaszow, was deported to Auschwitz. When Auschwitz was evacuated, the SS transported her via the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where she was liberated by British soldiers in April 1945.[15] She and more than half of the Jewish forced laborers at Kabelwerk Krakau survived the deportations.

SOURCES Some background information on the AEG project in Kraków may be found in Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961). For the documentary record of Schindler's business relations with the KWK, see Erika Rosenberg, ed., *Ich, Oskar Schindler: Die persönlichen Aufzeichnungen; Briefe und Dokumente* (Munich: Herbig, 2000). For more on Schindler's role, see Mietek Pemper, *Der rettende Weg: Schindlers Liste—Die wahre Geschichte* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005).

Details on the use of forced labor are contained in the file notes and correspondence of the KWK management as well as in memoirs of former Jewish forced laborers. There are only scattered details on the history of the Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH in the AEG files. Files of the Fabryka Kabli are held in the APK;KWK files in the BA-B, the LA-B, and the DTM-AEG-A. Reports by survivors are held in the archives of the USHMMA as well as in YVA.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Kabelwerk Krakau an Kabelfabrik AG, Bratislava of August 26, 1940, Betr.: Kündigung des Gestionsvertrages, as well as Bl. 124, Beschluss Kreisgericht Krakau, September 14, 1940, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00580, pp. 223–224.

2. See 1. Entwurf of November 25, 1940, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00580, p. 220; as well as Ulrich Dihle to AEG FKU Abt. W. of June 19, 1941, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 11.

3. Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 436.

4. See Abschrift Pachtvertrag JB-Vertragsarchiv Nr. 424, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00581, pp. 67–72.

5. See KWK an Arbeitsamt Krakau of May 19, 1942, Betr.: Säumige Gefolgschaftsmitglieder.

6. See Werkmitteilung SEK of July 29, 1943, Betr.: Anruf des Herrn Böhme; Rundschreiben Nr. 47/4 of August 21, 1943, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 15.

7. See Kabelwerk Krakau, Rundschreiben Nr. 50/42 of August 31, 1942, in LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 14.

8. As cited in Erika Rosenberg, ed., *Ich, Oskar Schindler: Die persönlichen Aufzeichnungen; Briefe und Dokumente* (Munich: Herbig, 2000), p. 104. On the KWK and Oskar Schindler, see Ewald Böhme and Ulrich Dihle to Oskar Schindler April 27, 1944, LA-B, A Rep 227-06, Nr. 9.

9. See Kabelwerk Krakau, Aktenvermerk Nr. 108/42 of September 2, 1942, Betr.: Judeneinsatz, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 14.

10. See Leontyna Davies, Questionnaire transcript and photo album, USHMMA, RG 02.070, pp. 5–6; Mietek Pemper, *Der rettende Weg: Schindlers Liste—Die wahre Geschichte* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005), p. 104.

11. Opoczyńska estimates the numbers at 300 people. After 1945, the AEG stated there were 200. See Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070; as well as the letter from Max Stein to E. Katzenstein and the Claims Conference of April 21, 1960, Re: AEG and Telefunken, YVS [YVA], 400/1, Korrespondenz Telefunken (Akte Dr. Stein).

12. Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070.

13. See Versandscheine und Aufstellungen über Räumungsgüter, LA-B, A. Rep 227-06, Nr. 8+12.

14. See Protokoll Aufsichtsrat Kabelfabrik A.G., September 8, 1944.

15. Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070.

MIELEC

The town of Mielec lies about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Kraków and about the same distance to the southwest of Lublin. For a few weeks during the war, there was a Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp labor detail located in Mielec. The forced labor camp that was established after the occupation, as well as the subcamp that came later, was located at the site of the former aircraft factory at Mielec. This was a small- to medium-sized camp that only existed for a short time as a subcamp. As a result, only a few records remain. Prisoner statements, which form part of the documents in International Tracing Services (ITS) documents, suggest that at first a forced labor camp was established on March 7–9, 1942, for male Jewish prisoners in this part of the General Government.[1] The first mention of female Jewish prisoners in the Mielec forced labor camp is dated from March 1942.

Contradictory statements about the date of closure make it impossible to determine the precise period it existed as an independent camp. In the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, an interrogation report on the Plaszow camp titled "Die mörderische Aussiedlungsaktion" (The Murderous Deportation Operation) can be found. According to that report, 2,000 prisoners of the detachment were taken from Mielec to Plaszow on July 26, 1944. However, there are a number of postwar witness statements challenging this evacuation report. The testimonies state that prisoners from this detachment were transferred to the Wieliczka labor detail and the Flossenbürg concentration camp on July 22, 1944. Another statement, made sometime after the events, suggests the camp still existed in August 1944.[2] There is no further mention of the outside detail after this date. The reason for the rapid evacuation of the outside detail was the approaching Soviet Army into the steadily shrinking territory of the Third Reich.

A file note of the Chief of the Office W IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated January 13, 1944, shows that the Krakau-Plaszow main camp remained a Jewish forced labor camp until January 11, 1944, and only from then on became a concentration camp. This means that the Mielec forced labor camp could only have become an outside detail of the now-independent concentration camp, the main camp Krakau-Plaszow, sometime later, namely, on June 12, 1944.[3]

According to the statements of prisoners and the few remaining personnel documents, the inmates were solely Jews of Polish nationality. On the other hand, the little available literature points to the Mielec prisoners as being "Poles and Jews."[4] As was the custom in most forced labor camps, prisoners wore civilian clothing with colored stripes; in addition, Jews were forced to wear a yellow star. After the transformation of the camp into a concentration camp, the prisoners had to wear the conventional striped camp clothing. The prisoners were accommodated in barracks for the entire duration of their persecution.

A peculiarity of this camp was how the prisoners were tattooed. In contrast to the usual practice at Auschwitz where the entire prisoner number was tattooed on the left forearm, those responsible at the Mielec detail only tattooed the letters *KL* on the forearm. According to the literature, this was done alternately on the right and the left forearm. However, numerous postwar prisoner statements say that the tattoos were only made on the right forearm. The same procedure, that is, tattoos with the letters *KL*, possibly occurred in Budzyń (a Lublin subcamp) and Wieliczka.[5]

The Mielec inmates worked at the Heinkel aircraft works. The surviving registration cards often display the abbreviation "FWM" in the top left-hand corner, which stands for Flugzeugwerke Mielec. The aircraft works were enclosed by walls, and on top of the walls was an electric wire. The work was done in two shifts, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. and from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The prisoners' main task was rivetting aircraft wings. The prisoners also had to perform cleaning and general metalwork. The prisoner cards of the Mielec subcamp as well as the concentration camps to which the prisoners were transferred, such as Flossenbürg, state, among other things, the main trades, which include bakers, tailors, plumbers, and assemblymen, and the prisoners' secondary trades, such as locksmith or unskilled workers (*Bau Hilfsarbeiter*). There are also notations for the actual work, that is, deployment, such as turner, brush maker, milling, drilling, and unskilled workers.

The available sources vary regarding the total size of the subcamp: from 800 to 2,000 to even more male prisoners and from 50 to 300 female prisoners. The largest number of prisoners at the Mielec camp, which was closed during the summer of 1944, is 4,000; however, there is no precise date for this figure, which was estimated by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland by the Council for the Protection of Monuments, Struggle and Martyrdom (Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa).[6]

The prisoners were fed one meal of soup at lunch and received 1.4 kilograms (3.1 pounds) of bread per week.[7] Initially, the prisoners were guarded by members of the Luftwaffe and later by the SS and the Ukrainian SS, respectively. According to postwar documents, the Gestapo and SS shot prisoners in the Mielec camp.[8]

SOURCES The following reference books were helpful in preparing this entry: GKBZHwP, Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); and Edward Kossoy, *Handbuch zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (BEG)*, *Law & Notarial-Offices Apelbom* (Munich, 1956), p. 166.

This essay on the Mielec subcamp is based nearly exclusively on sources that are contained in the general collection of ITS. The sources include statements and the documents generated from investigations by former prisoners, referring to the total period of their persecution and imprisonment, respectively. This makes possible a distinction between information relating to the forced labor camp and the later subcamp. The prisoner cards of the Mielec aircraft works as well as the Flossenbürg concentration camp provide documentary confirmation, as the cards refer to the Mielec labor camp as the place of admission.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. March 7, 1942, according to a statement dated December 24, 1959, and held by ITS. On the other hand, the OKBZNwK puts the opening date as March 9, 1942.

2. ITS, Call number Documents M3 Mielec, Statement of the former prisoners Fried. Sz.

3. First Supplement to the "Verzeichnis von Ghettos, Zwangsarbeitslagern und Konzentrationslagern," August 1, 1953, presented by the Oberregierungsrat Dr. Ungerer, München , on January 1, 1954.

4. GKBZHwP, Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945; informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979), ¶ 2719, p. 318.

5. Edward Kossoy, *Handbuch zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (BEG), Law & Notarial-Offices Apelbom* (Munich, 1956), p. 166.

6. GKBZHwP, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945*, ¶ 2719, p. 318.

7. ITS, Call number Documents M3 Mielec, Statement of the former prisoners Fried. Sz.

8. ITS, Call number M3 Mielec, note regarding investigations into the dead at the Mielec camp, filed by the former prisoner St. Sy.

OLCZA [AKA ZAKOPANE, ZAKOPANE-OLCZA]

Zakopane lies 90 kilometers (56 miles) to the south of Kraków (Krakau). Between 1943 and the spring of 1944, in nearby Olcza a subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp was in operation.

At the beginning of the 1940s, a hydroelectricity power station was constructed in Olcza. The construction workers were initially members of the Góralska Służba Ojczyźnie (Polish Highlanders' Homeland Service). This service was similar to the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and comprised the Polish national minority, the Goralen (Polish Highlanders), who were regarded by the Germans as a separate "race." Some of the Goralen people were classified as Group III of the German national list (*Volksliste*).

These workers were replaced at the beginning of 1943 by around 150 male Jewish prisoners from the SS labor camp in Krakau-Plaszow. When this camp was converted into a concentration camp, Olcza became a subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.

The prisoners were accommodated in the Villa Prymułka. According to *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich*, around 10 prisoners died during the camp's existence. The camp was dissolved in the spring of 1944 due to the approaching front.

SOURCES The history of the Krakau-Plaszow Olcza subcamp near Zakopane is largely unresearched, which in part is a factor of the short life of the camp and the relatively small number of prisoners in the camp. Józef Marszałek provided a short description of the camp in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 53; and in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 481, entry 5609. Information on the history of the Jews in Zakopane (including Olcza) under the German occupation is to be found in *Pinkas hakehillot Polin: entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: YV, 1984), pp. 144–146. There is some information on the history of the Goralen as a national minority under the German occupation at www1.ipn.gov.pl/download.php?s=1&id=3874 (*Biuletyn IPN*/October 2001, "To jest sprawa człowieczeństwa," p. 5). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, *2* vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:166; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1851.

There are few original sources on the subcamp. The camp is listed in the material of the GKBZHwP, Signatur Zh III/31/35/68, obozy pracy, województwo krakowskie, p. 34.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WIELICZKA

The Wieliczka subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp is closely connected with the underground production of Heinkel aircraft at the end of the war. The production site was the salt mines at Wieliczka about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the southeast of Kraków (Krakau). It is a site of world cultural significance due to its geological uniqueness and because for hundreds of years it operated as a salt mine.

Heinkel established in the early 1940s a number of aircraft production sites in Poland, for example, at Mielec and Budzyń. Production of the He 111 and He 177 aircraft intensified in the spring of 1943. In the Mielec camp, work was done by people who had either no or limited qualifications, that is, by forced laborers including many *Junaks*, or unskilled non-Jewish Poles. In the spring of 1942, 2,000 Jews from Krakau-Plaszow were brought to Mielec. A camp for Jews (*Judenlager*) was established at the factory. In addition to the Jews of Polish nationality, there were also Hungarian Jews from the Auschwitz concentration camp in Mielec. At the beginning of July 1944, they were deported first to Krakau-Plaszow and from there to the Wieliczka mine, where Heinkel continued its production.

A second Heinkel production site was at Budzyń near Krasńik. This forced labor camp was established in the autumn of 1943 by the SS and was administered from October 1943 by the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. According to historian Józef Marszałek, who cites a report by the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), from the middle of March 1944, there was a camp in Mielec with 2,457 Jewish prisoners, which included 319 women. The prisoners were of German and Polish (Jewish) origin. Among the men there were at least 800 engineers and technicians. In May 1944, the relocation of this camp began due to the rapid advance of the Eastern Front and the fear that the production facilities would be bombed. The prisoners at the Budzyń camp were deported to Majdanek and to the camps at Skrżysko, Starachowice, and Wieliczka. The final group of prisoners deported, 450, were deported to Germany. Morris Wyszogrod, a survivor of the Wieliczka camp, stated that he arrived in May 1944 in Wieliczka in a transport from Budzyń that included about 900 prisoners. The transport was relatively bearable, with about 40 to 50

prisoners in each railway car. For the journey, the prisoners were given straw as bedding as well as bread, cheese, and water. There were already 2,000 prisoners in the camp when they arrived. With the arrival of the new transport, there were about 2,900 prisoners in the camp. According to Wyszogrod, after the prisoners arrived at the camp, they went through the usual procedures: they were deloused, cautioned, and threatened. The prisoners' hair was shaved in stripes (so-called lice streets), and the letters *KL* were tattooed on their wrists. The tattooing was done by the camp doctor, Dr. Mosbach, and a German soldier. All the prisoners were given strips of cloth with prisoner numbers, which they had to sew onto their clothes.

In May 1944, the Jews deported from Mielec and Budzyń began to assemble the production facilities in Wieliczka. The prisoners had to construct the barracks in the camp, the barbed-wire fence, and guard towers. According to survivors, the prisoners lived in small, dilapidated houses (others say barracks), with two-tiered beds. Wyszogrod stated that an SS officer, Schragner, was the camp leader (Lagerführer). The camp was situated on the edge of Wieliczka, and on one side there was an open field. According to *Obozy hitlerowskie*, the camp was located in the Królowa Kinga Park directly adjacent to the salt mine. On the other hand, Wyszogrod stated that the prisoners had to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) before they went into a large basket that was lowered several hundred feet into the mine.

The salt supplies that gave Wieliczka its existence continued to be mined by Polish workers during the period of the concentration camp. Wyszogord described the difficult conditions in the mine and the devastating effects on the malnourished and poorly clothed prisoners: the tunnels with their chasms and underground lakes were a dangerous place for the weakened prisoners, who staggered around the dangerous work site. The air was cold and damp, and salt water dripped from the ceilings and the walls. According to Polish historians, the total number of prisoners in the Wieliczka camp was around 6,000. Included in this number are the women, who probably had their own camp, working mainly in the kitchens and as cleaners.

Armaments production in Wieliczka lasted only for a few months: in September 1944, production ceased, and the camp was abandoned. The reason was the advance of the Soviet Army as well as the high humidity and the salty air in the mine. Machines and tools were dismantled and transported to Germany. The Wieliczka prisoners were initially sent to Plaszow. From there, they were taken to Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg.

SOURCES A short description of the Wieliczka camp as well as its precursor camps in Mielec and Budzyń is provided by Józef Marszałek in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), pp. 101–103. Marszałek provided detailed sources on the history of the three camps. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), refer to the Wieliczka camp as entry 5302 at p. 560. Information on the history of Jewish life in Wieliczka can be obtained from the following: Shmuel Meiri, ed., *Kehilat Wieliczka; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wieliczka Association in Israel, 1980); and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin: entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: YV, 1984), pp. 131–136. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:166; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

The AŻIH holds several statements of survivors of the Wieliczka camp under the collections Wspomnienia 2352, as well as Pamietniki 1018, 1166, and 5266. Other documents on Wieliczka are to be found in the following archives: IPN, Signatur 48, Karte 107; Bestand "Bd" Signatur 4362, Bestand "Z," Signatur 924; Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy, Signatur 327, k. 6-7, Signatur 326, p. 150; AIZ, Dokument V 26, vol. 4, p. 96; and GKBZHwP, Signatur Zh III/31/35/68, obozy pracy, województwo krakowskie, pp. 82–84. There are several survivors' accounts on the camp, including that by Morris Wyszogrod, *An Artist in the Death Camps* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), where reference is made to Wieliczka at pp. 183–187.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ZABLOCIE

Although very little and only incomplete source material exists on the outside detail Zabłocie of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, the name Zablocie (Polish; Zabłocie) has become well known since the film *Schindler's List* appeared in 1993. The movie is a strong portrayal of the suffering of many prisoners and shows the chronology of the persecution of a group of Jewish prisoners in the Kraków area—including a detailed account on their imprisonment in the Zabłocie detachment. The film reveals the contradictions of people being subject to forced labor by the National Socialist regime, which at the same time provided a chance for survival. For many, the suffering began in the ghetto Krakau-Podgorze, which was located in the city of Kraków.

At that time, many inmates were already forced to walk to and from work in Zabłocie every day. This continued after their transfer to the forced labor camp for Jews, Krakau-Plaszow, which was a little further to the east.

As the prisoners were often late for work, Oskar Schindler negotiated with the SS authorities to get permission to establish a camp in the vicinity of their work. He was supported by other employers who also used Jews from the camp at Krakau-Plaszow. After permission was granted, the Jewish forced labor camp in Zabłocie was opened in the spring of 1943.

On January 11, 1944, simultaneously with the transformation of the Jewish forced labor camp Krakau-Plaszow into an

independent concentration camp, the Zabłocie outside detail became its subcamp. The outside detail was located at 4 ulica Lipowa, in an industrial area in the southern district of Kraków. It exclusively contained Jewish men and women of Polish nationality. According to statements in the novel *Schindler's List*, the prisoners were guarded by the SS.[1]

The majority of the prisoners in Zablocie worked at Oskar Schindler's firm Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik—Email- und Metallwaren aller Art (German Enamel Factory—Enamel and Metal Wares of All Types, DEF). The prisoners worked not only in the enamel factory but also in the munitions factory that was also established there. They worked in three shifts.

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks on Schindler's factory grounds. Altogether there were between 1,000 and 1,200 prisoners.

When questioned, the prisoners replied that they worked in a munitions factory, knowing full well that this was an essential war activity; this provided a certain degree of protection from deportation. In addition, the prisoners were used as forced labor by the Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (NKF)—Kurt Hodermann—Spezialfabriken für die Flugzeugindustrie—Werk Krakau GmbH (New Cooling and Airplane Parts Factory—Kurt Hodermann—Special Factories for the Aircraft Industry—Factory Krakau Ltd), 9 ulica Romanowicza,[2] and at the crate factory, Kühnpast.[3]

There were also men imprisoned in the outside details who had previously, from the late summer of 1943 on, worked in the so-called Siemens detachment. Their task was also of service to the war industry. They had to construct a new building for punching machines for Schindler's firm. The prisoners, who supposedly numbered between 200 and 300, were required to excavate, pour foundations, and erect the side walls.[4] After the war, many prisoners remembered an accident in which a young Jewish prisoner was buried during the first excavation work. According to a report of the Compensation Trust, the "Stanzhalle" was finished except for the roof. Electrical installations had begun as well as the installation of a few machines.

Personnel files of concentration camps to which former prisoners of the Zabłocie subcamp were transferred to, as well as statements made by liberated prisoners after the war, refer to the following trades in the camp: metalworker trainee, metal processing worker trainee, office worker, laborer, automotive welder, female accountant, wood turner, lathe operator, iron worker, homemaker, woodworker, skilled builder, salesman, plumber, engine assembler, machinist, pharmacist (female), nurse, locksmith, apprentice locksmith, tailor (male and female), grade school pupil, university student, metal presser, and skilled textile worker.

The approaching front line caused the evacuation of Zabłocie to begin in the summer of 1944. The evacuation was complete in October 1944. The prisoners who worked for the NKF and the crate factory were transferred back to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, together with prisoners who had also worked at Schindler's DEF.

At the same time, one or two U.S. airplanes were shot down and crashed at Zabłocie. As a result, a few barracks burned down completely; however, they were not occupied because the evacuation had already begun. As a result, the remaining prisoners were transferred back to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, as were most of the prisoners prior to the evacuation. This resulted in the complete liquidation of the subcamp, since the prisoners kept walking daily to and from Zabłocie only for a short time. They had to load machines that were to be transported to the Brünnlitz detachment.[5]

From Krakau-Plaszow, the prisoners were deported to various concentration camps. The female prisoners were sent to Auschwitz, among other concentration camps, and the males were sent to Gross-Rosen. Thanks to Schindler's intervention, these prisoners were transferred from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to the outside detail at Brünnlitz, which was administered by Gross-Rosen. They worked in his newly established company in Brünnlitz until they were liberated.

Other prisoners, for instance, were transferred to the Flossenbürg and Mauthausen concentration camps.

SOURCES There is no history of the Zabłocie subcamp of Krakau-Plaszow apart from the historical novel by Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 1994).

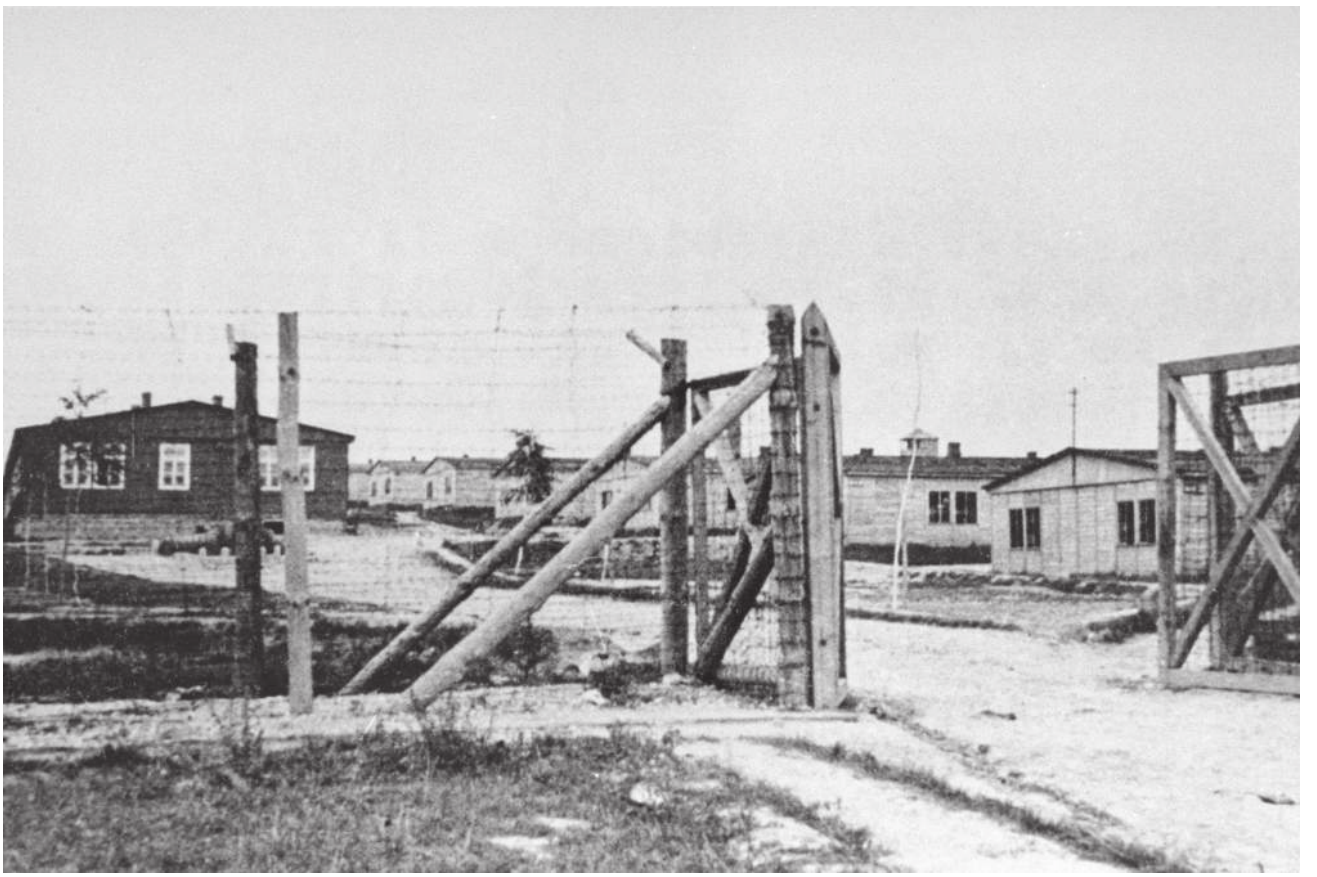
Due to the lack of sources, most knowledge on the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp Zabłocie subcamp is derived from the interim report on Siemens-Plaszow by the Compensation Treuhand GmbH, New York, dated February 4, 1965. This report is based on statements made by former prisoners. Statements by former victims of persecution, which are to be found at ITS, have provided additional information. They have been valuably complemented by the evaluation of personnel files, particularly of prisoners who were transferred to Brünnlitz. Two letters to the SSPF Lublin dated March 9, 1943, provide documentary evidence of the work deployment. Because of the lack of primary sources, two collection vouchers dated March 9, 1943, were used to provide details about the firms' headquarters. They were issued by the DEF as well as the NKF.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 1994), p. 169.
2. ITS, Call number: Technical Document M 3 Zabłocie, Statements by former prisoners.
3. Interim Report Siemens-Płaszów by the Compensation Trust GmbH, U.S. Advisory Board, New York, dated February 4, 1965 (ITS call number: Documents M 3 Zabłocie), p. 2
4. Ibid., p. 3.
5. Keneally, *Schindler's List*, pp. 232, 329.

LUBLIN



Post-liberation view of Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp's Field III section.
USHMM WS #50519, COURTESY OF IPN

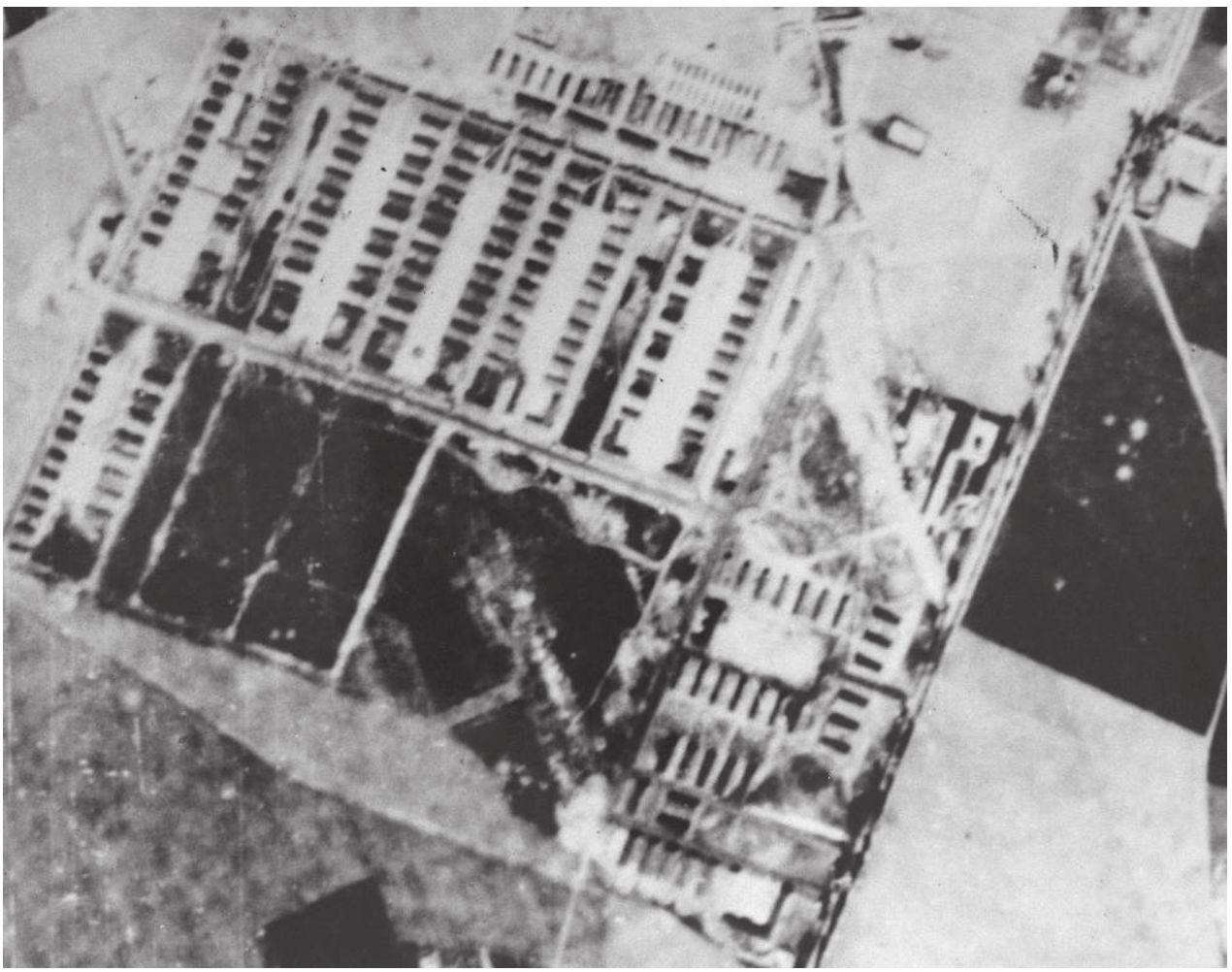
LUBLIN MAIN CAMP [AKA MAJDANEK]

Majdanek was the "other Auschwitz," the only other SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp that engaged in the mass murder of Jews by means of poison gas. The 1941 decision to construct a major concentration camp outside the Reich in the Polish city of Lublin was an integral part of Heinrich Himmler's plans to make Lublin the center of an SS military-industrial complex, where SS-owned industries using SS-controlled slave laborers would produce supplies for SS forces in the East. On July 20–21, 1941, Himmler charged SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin Odilo Globocnik to build a concentration camp for 25,000 to 50,000 prisoners.

To evade the Lublin civilian authorities' opposition to a concentration camp, the SS announced it would build a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp there. Officially designated Waffen-SS Prisoner of War Camp (Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen-SS) Lublin, the camp derived its Polish (and more widely known) name from its location in the Majdan Tatarski suburb. Eventually the camp consisted of five compounds or "fields," with a capacity for 25,000 prisoners, with one more compound still under construction when the camp was liberated.

Although designated a POW camp, Majdanek was always subordinate to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) and adopted the same organization and regulations as all other concentration camps. On February 16, 1943, Majdanek's official designation changed to Lublin concentration camp (Konzentrationslager Lublin).

Himmler's special plans for Lublin and the peculiar tasks he assigned to Globocnik caused Majdanek to be more heavily influenced by the SSPF and more intimately involved in the



Aerial reconnaissance photograph of Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #89983, COURTESY OF NARA

activities of the SS and police than was generally the case with other camps. For example, the Order Police (Orpo) and the Security Police (Sipo) each administered a special section within Majdanek, and in pursuing Himmler's plan for Germanizing the Lublin District, Globocnik sent the Polish families he displaced to Majdanek for eventual shipment to the Reich for forced labor.

Globocnik's greatest influence over Majdanek, however, came from his leadership of Operation Reinhard, the program to implement the "Final Solution" in the General Government. Globocnik used Majdanek to realize three of the operation's goals: exploiting Jewish workers, utilizing Jewish assets, and murdering Jews. Majdanek's principal role in the operation was to concentrate Jews who had been temporarily spared extermination to work for the SS. The camp's gassing facilities served primarily to dispose of the overflow from the other Reinhard killing centers, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka.

Between April 29, 1942, and November 3, 1943, Jews constituted the overwhelming majority of prisoners registered at Majdanek. Research indicates that the SS deported between 74,000 and 90,000 Jews to the Majdanek main camp. At least 56,500 of these people were Polish Jews: 26,000 were from the Lublin District; 20,000 were from the Warsaw ghetto; 6,500 were from the Białystok ghetto; and roughly 4,000 were deported between November 1943 and May 1944 from other labor camps. At least 17,500 came from other European countries: 8,500 from Slovakia; 3,000 from Bohemia and Moravia; 3,000 from Germany and Austria; 2,000 from France, the Netherlands, and Greece; and 1,000 Jews from countries other than Poland, transferred to Majdanek after November 3, 1943.

Poles represented the largest minority in the camp. In mid-October 1942, out of a total of 9,519 registered prisoners in the camp, 7,468 were Jews (78.45 percent) and 1,884 were non-Jewish Poles (19.79 percent). In August 1943, there were 16,206 prisoners in the main camp: 9,105 were Jews (56.18 percent); and 3,893 (24.02 percent) were Poles. Other prisoners at Majdanek included Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Soviet POWs, Soviet civilians, and a handful of others.

Majdanek also frequently served as a transit camp or a temporary stop for Polish and Soviet civilians being deported to the Reich for forced labor or being held temporarily after the Germans removed them as undesirables in a resettlement project. During the summer of 1943, for example, transports of victims of "pacification" operations in Russia, Galicia, and Belarus, along with Polish political prisoners and Jews, brought Majdanek's prisoner population to 23,000, making it the third-largest of the concentration camps, behind Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen.

In October 1942, on Himmler's orders, Majdanek opened a women's camp, whose population reached 7,800 in mid-1943. Although Himmler's January 1943 order that Majdanek establish a camp for children was ultimately rescinded, infants and children accounted for 6.2 percent of the camp's total identifiable population.

After the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*) killings of November 3, 1943, Majdanek no longer had a majority of Jews among its prisoners. At the end of 1943, of 6,562 prisoners registered at Majdanek, approximately 71 were Jews. In mid-March 1944, as surviving Jews from various subcamps of Majdanek were brought to the main camp for eventual evacuation west to Auschwitz and other concentration camps in the Reich, 834 Jews were imprisoned in Majdanek. Some were killed in the gas chambers between March and July 1944; the SS transferred the rest to Auschwitz and Krakau-Plaszow.

After Majdanek was almost completely evacuated in April 1944, the German army opened a camp for Poles conscripted to build fortifications. Last-ditch pacification operations brought more peasant families into the camp in June. Majdanek was finally evacuated on July 22, 1944. When Soviet troops arrived the next day, they found 500 disabled Soviet POWs and more than 1,000 recently seized peasants.

Majdanek's SS leaders fostered corruption and sadism among the staff and guards. The first three commandants were "old school" managers from the prewar camp system: Karl Otto Koch (October 1941 to August 1942) had been commandant of Buchenwald; Max Koegel (August to October 1942) had commanded Ravensbrück; and Hermann Florstedt (October 1942 to September 1943) had been Buchenwald's Schutzhaftlagerführer. The SS executed Koch and Florstedt for corruption in 1945. Only Martin Weiss (September 1943 to May 1944) adopted the "practical" wartime SS management philosophy by modestly improving working conditions. Majdanek's last commandant, Artur Liebehenschel, had previously overseen Auschwitz.

Koch's deputy at Buchenwald, Hermann Hackmann, was Majdanek's first Schutzhaftlagerführer. The SS commuted his death sentence for corruption. Arnold Strippel, Majdanek's first Rapportführer and last Schutzhaftlagerführer, had also served at Buchenwald. Schutzhaftlagerführer Anton Thumann (1943–1944), infamous for extreme cruelty, had previously served at Dachau, Auschwitz, and Gross-Rosen. The women's camp was guarded by female SS guards from Ravensbrück, led by SS-Oberaufseherin Elsa Ehrich and her deputy Hermine Braunsteiner.

Majdanek's SS-Death's Head Guard Battalion, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann KL Lublin, consisted largely of ethnic Germans recruited primarily from Yugoslavia and Romania. By late 1943, it had five companies and a canine unit, but its manpower was never adequate to guard the camp alone. For a year from November 1941, the 2nd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion of Kaunas reinforced it, followed by two companies of SS auxiliaries from Trawniki and then by the 252nd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion.

There were at least 270 labor details at Majdanek, many employed in maintaining the camp and its farm, vegetable gardens, and greenhouses. Majdanek's intended purpose, however, was to supply prisoners for SS-owned workshops and enterprises. In 1942, the prisoners built the Old Airfield (Alter Flughafen) forced labor camp across the road from



Forced labor at Lublin-Majdanek.
USHMM WS #04394, COURTESY OF NARA

Majdanek, where the SS-Bekleidungswerk (Clothing Works) employed both Majdanek prisoners and Jewish forced laborers to sort and process clothing looted in Operation Reinhard. The Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) opened workshops that employed Majdanek prisoners in such enterprises as repairing uniforms, making furniture, and converting gas engines to burn charcoal. Majdanek also supplied laborers to various formations of the SS, Waffen-SS, and police in Lublin.

In March 1943, Globocnik and the WVHA founded Ostindustrie GmbH (Eastern Industries, Ltd., Osti) as a joint venture to run existing and planned enterprises employing Jews in forced labor camps and to exploit formerly Jewish-owned assets. Majdanek prisoners worked in Osti enterprises at both the Old Airfield camp and at Majdanek by, inter alia, reconditioning aircraft parts, manufacturing brushes, and building an iron works with materials from the Warsaw and Białystok ghettos.

Lacking "productive" jobs, some Majdanek inmates were forced to perform tasks with little or no purpose other than inflicting suffering, such as moving and breaking up stones. The official workday lasted from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. between April and November; otherwise, from 6:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. Prisoners often had to work within the camp in the evenings as well.

On September 7, 1943, the WVHA announced that it would take over the SSPF Lublin's labor camps, which would all become subcamps of Majdanek. On paper at least, Majdanek became a far-flung camp complex in which more than 45,000 Jews and tens of thousands of other prisoners labored to feed, clothe, house, and arm the SS in such enterprises as textile works, a sawmill, brickworks, peat processing, and munitions plants.

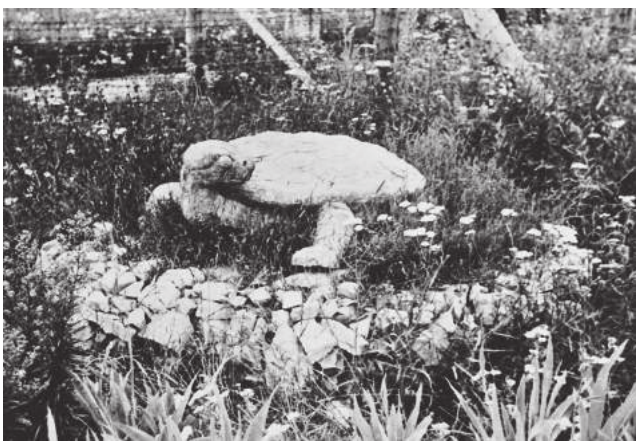
This empire collapsed on November 3–4, 1943, when Operation Harvest Festival wiped out most of the Jews in Lublin. SS enterprises that were dependent upon Jewish laborers shut down, although a few at Majdanek and the Old Airfield camp continued operating with non-Jewish prisoners. Majdanek did acquire new subcamps in January 1944: the remaining Jewish forced labor camps at Bliżyn, Budzyń, and Radom, as well as Warsaw (until April 1944) and the reactivated Lipowa Street camp. Osti was dissolved in early 1944, however, and most of Majdanek's able-bodied prisoners were sent elsewhere.

Three factors favored resistance activities at Majdanek, particularly from 1943: (1) the proximity of a large city; (2) the employment of civilian contractors on some projects within the camp; and (3) the influx of Polish political prisoners. Nearly every Polish political party and resistance group had an organized presence within the camp. Civilian contractors carried messages back and forth, so the Polish government-in-exile could stay informed about conditions. Resistance groups even planned an uprising at the end of 1943 but had to give it up in view of the massive SS presence in and around Lublin.

Escapes were most frequent in 1942, while the camp was still under construction. More than 100 Soviet POWs escaped as a result of several mass attempts that year. Several dozen Jews and Poles also succeeded in escaping during the camp's existence, fleeing singly or in small groups, often taking advantage of opportunities offered by outside work details.

The SS destroyed most of Majdanek's records before evacuating the camp, so figures for arrivals or deaths are only estimates. The accepted minimum number of registered prisoners is 240,000 to 250,000, but that does not include those who were killed immediately, nor does it reflect the latest research. Estimates of the number who died in Majdanek range from 80,000 to 110,000 for the main camp and another 15,000 to 20,000 in the subcamps.

Considering that in less than three years some 250,000 prisoners passed though a camp with a prisoner capacity of 25,000 and an actual population that seldom exceeded 15,000, it is clear that prisoners either were quickly transferred or died. Conditions were so catastrophic that they shocked even experienced prisoners. Inmates suffered from extreme over-



Post-liberation photograph of a turtle sculpture, produced by Majdanek prisoners on the commandant's orders; its designer was artist Albin Maria Boniecki.
USHMM WS #50520, COURTESY OF IPN

crowding, bad (and scarce) water, inadequate food, and practically nonexistent sanitary facilities. Epidemics inevitably resulted from these conditions. Typhus was the most deadly, and sometimes infected the SS as well. Although the SS killed prisoners whom they suspected of infection during an outbreak in the summer of 1942, a new epidemic caused the camp to be quarantined from January to March 1943. A camp "hospital" lacked basic medicine and supplies. Several fields had a rubbish block (*Gammelblock*), a barracks surrounded with barbed wire, where debilitated prisoners were isolated without any care or sustenance. The prisoners were removed periodically and, if still alive, gassed.

In December 1943, Majdanek became a camp for prisoners who were no longer able to work. As no improvement in medical supplies or care accompanied this change, these prisoners were simply sent to Majdanek to die.

Fragments from Majdanek's death books record that in the autumn of 1942 approximately 25 percent of the camp's population died each month. In August 1943, the WVHA listed Majdanek with the highest mortality rate of all the camps: 7.67 percent for men and 4.41 percent for women. The camp's first crematorium could cremate 200 corpses a day, which quickly proved inadequate. Even after a new crematorium opened in the autumn of 1943 that could incinerate 1,000 bodies a day, corpses continued to be burned on pyres. The ashes were spread on the camp's farm.

Numerous Majdanek prisoners died at the hands of the camp's staff, guards, or prisoner-functionaries, many of the latter professional criminals from the Reich. But systematic murder claimed vastly more victims. From its inception, Majdanek was an execution site to which Poles and Jews were brought to be shot in pits behind Field V or in the nearby Krepiec Forest. Prisoners were also hanged or clubbed to death or dispatched with lethal injections.

Gassing probably claimed the largest portion of Majdanek's murder victims. The three gas chambers known to have operated at Majdanek were constructed in late 1942 and 1943 next to the bathing barracks across from Field I. The two smaller chambers could hold 150 people, the larger one 300. All three used Zyklon B and at least two could also use carbon monoxide.

After the first gas chamber became operational in the autumn of 1942, the SS began selecting the elderly, children, and mothers of young children from newly arriving transports of Jews. They often waited, sometimes for days without food or water, in the barbed-wire enclosed "Rose Garden" north of the gassing facility, before being gassed. Selections were also regularly conducted within the camp to send debilitated Jewish prisoners to the gas chambers. Some non-Jews too ill to work were probably also gassed.

The gas chambers ceased operating at Majdanek sometime in late 1943. Some scholars estimate that 50,000 victims were gassed at Majdanek, but this number may be revised. Witnesses and historians agree that the majority of Majdanek's gassing victims were murdered in 1943. A recently discovered British intercept of a January 11, 1943, SS radio transmission communicating a "fortnightly report" of Operation Reinhard reveals that 24,733 Jews had been "resettled" (i.e., killed) at Majdanek under Operation Reinhard in 1942, 12,761 of them in the last two weeks of December. As Majdanek may have had only two operational gas chambers at that time, it is possible that many of the Jews killed in that last month were shot rather than gassed. Nevertheless, the apparent fact that nearly 25,000 Operation Reinhard victims were murdered at Majdanek in 1942 alone suggests that Majdanek's role in the "Final Solution" may have been larger than most historians have heretofore assumed.

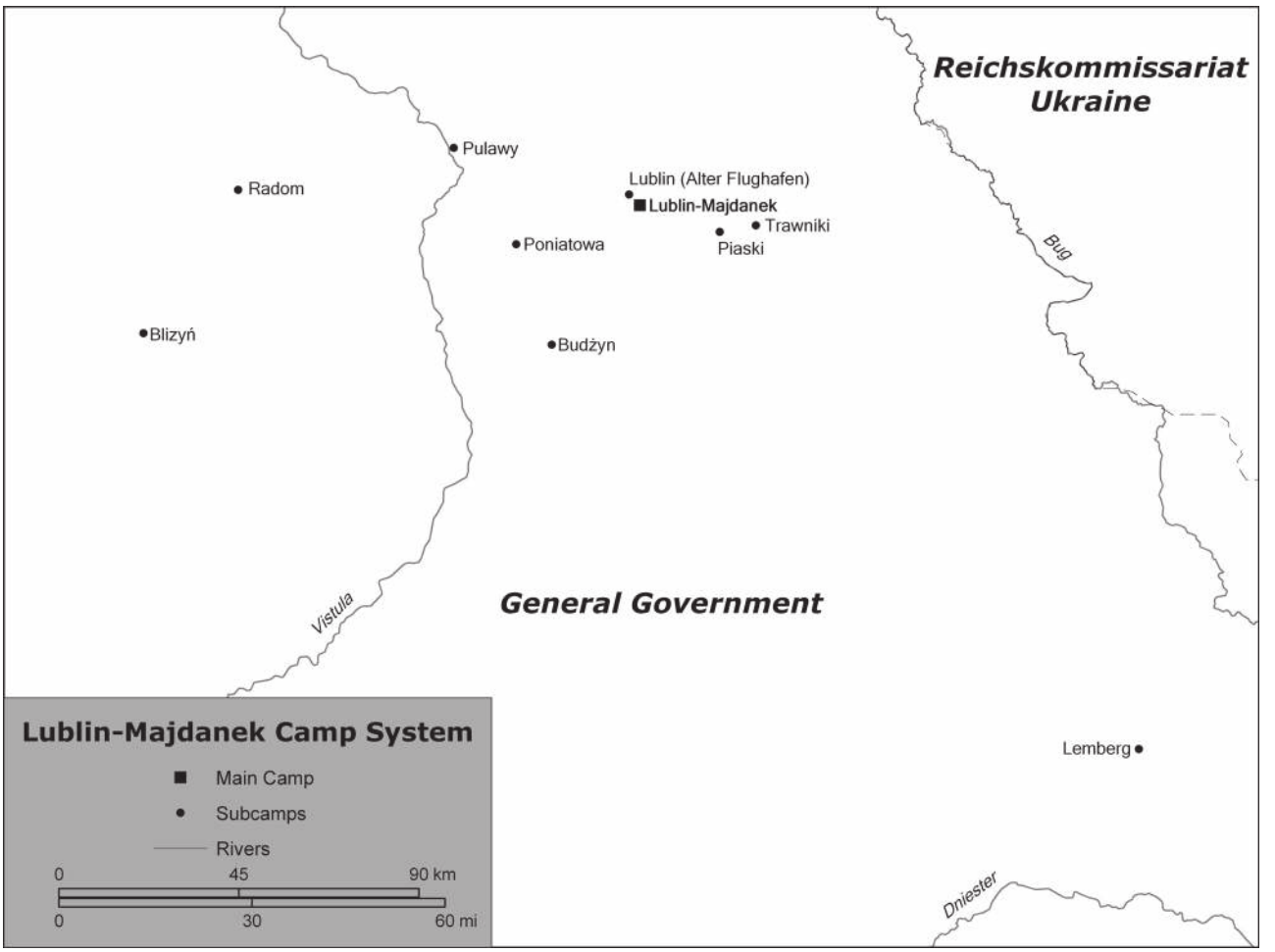
Shooting was also used to dispose of the 10,000 Polish prisoners brought to Majdanek in "death transports" from Polish prisons between December 1943 and March 1944. After the gassings ceased, the prisoners selected for death because they could no longer work were shot in the crematorium. Shootings continued into Majdanek's last days: 1,350 inmates of Lublin's castle prison were shot at Majdanek on July 20 and 21, 1944.

Majdanek was the first concentration camp to be liberated, in late July 1944, and newsreels and photos from the camp—particularly of the mountain of shoes found there—caused an international sensation. A handful of low-level SS camp officials and Kapos seized at the camp were tried and executed in the autumn of 1944. A number of Majdanek's leading SS officials were also tried after the war, but few for their activities at Majdanek. All three commandants who survived the war were condemned to death, Weiss for crimes at Dachau, Koegel for Ravensbrück, Liebehenschel for Auschwitz. The only postwar trial to deal at length with crimes at Majdanek was held in Düsseldorf in the 1970s. Among the defendants convicted were Schutzhaftlagerführer Hackmann and Hermine Braunsteiner, whom the U.S. extradited.

SOURCES The following are some of the most informative published sources on Majdanek: Barbara Schwindt, *Das Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Majdanek: Funktionswandel im Kontext der "Endlösung"* (Würzburg: Könighausen & Neumann, 2005); Tomasz Kranz, "Eksterminacja Żydów na Majdanku i rola obozu w realizacji 'Akcji Reinhardt,'" *ZeMa* 22 (2005): 7–55; Kranz, "Ewidencja zgonów i śmiertelność więźniów KL Lublin," *ZeMa* 23 (2005): 7–51; Zofia Leszczyńska, "Transporty i stany liczbowe obozu," in *Majdanek, 1941–1944*, ed. Tadeusz Mencel (Lublin: Wydawn. Lubelskie, 1991); Czesław Rajca, "Problem liczby ofiar w obozie na Majdanku," *ZeMa* 14 (1992): 127–131.

Archival records may be found in USHMMA (including in the recently released records of the ITS); NARA; APMM; IPN; APL; and the *Proceedings against Hermann Hackmann, et al.* in Düsseldorf, probably in the NWHStA-(D); and various proceedings held in the BA-L relating to the city of Lublin and Lublin District.

Elizabeth White



BLIŻYN

Bliżyn (German: Blizyn) is located about 40 kilometers (24.8 miles) southwest of Radom. The forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) in Bliżyn was officially established on March 8, 1943. At that time, it was subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Radom, SS-Standartenführer Dr. Herbert Böttcher, and viewed as a subcamp of the Jewish forced labor camp in Radom. The main company employing prisoners from the Blizyn labor camp was the SS holding company Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti). The company paid the SS a rate of 3.70 zloty per day for prisoner labor. Once the prisoners were withdrawn, the armaments factory in Bliżyn was sold to the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW), and the quarry in Bliżyn was sold to the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt), both at book values determined by Osti.[1]

Apparently the camp had been used previously to house Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and some bodies were buried around the campsite. This contributed to the serious rat infestation in the camp, which plagued the prisoners. From the spring until the summer of 1943, various groups of Jews were transferred to the Blizyn forced labor camp, including Jews from Radom, Kielce, Częstochowa, Piotrków Trybunalski, and Tomaszów Mazowiecki. In the late summer of 1943, another group of Jewish prisoners arrived from the Białystok ghetto via Majdanek. Among this group were a few doctors and also a number of Jewish women with bandaged wrists, who had tried to commit suicide when they thought that they would be gassed at Treblinka.[2] In late 1943 or early 1944, those children (aged 10 to 12) who had survived in the camp until then were taken away and presumably murdered.[3]

The camp consisted of roughly 5,000 or six 6,000 prisoners comprising both men and women. The prisoners' living compound was composed of a number barracks, with the female and male barracks strictly segregated from each other. There were also additional barrack buildings for the camp administration, a kitchen, a hospital, and also a primitive treatment center (*Ambulanz*). The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, which was lit up by searchlights at night. Within the camp, the parade ground was also surrounded by barbed wire. In an adjoining camp, separated from the prisoners by the Kamienna River, were the offices and accommodations for the camp personnel. Apart from the guards, composed of ethnic German and Ukrainian SS men, as well as German SS, there were also work supervisors, including some German civilian craftsmen.[4]

Every morning and evening there was a roll call during which the prisoners were counted, and new instructions were issued. The food supplied to the prisoners was completely inadequate. It consisted of only about 170 to 250 grams (6 to 9 ounces) of usually damp bread, as well as a watery vegetable soup at lunchtime, which sometimes contained a little meat. Prisoners who worked in the kitchen could acquire a little extra food and trade it. Others bribed Ukrainian guards who could even arrange for local inhabitants to throw bread across the fence. Conditions for workers in the armaments factory and especially the quarry were arduous. Others worked inside the camp in various craft sections, as tailors, cobblers, and carpenters, in 12-hour shifts.[5]

According to a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Staff W (Business), dated January 19, 1944, the Blizyn forced labor camp was to become a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp in February.[6] The official transfer took place on February 10, 1944.

The camp commandant from March 1943 until the subordination of the camp to Majdanek was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Nell. One survivor described him as "a terribly sadistic SS man" who terrorized the prisoners with his vicious dog Pasha. "At the command of his master this dog tore victims to pieces."[7] Nell also shot prisoners during roll call on several occasions.

SS-Oberscharführer Heller replaced Nell in February 1944. He enjoyed a markedly better reputation among the surviving prisoners. Under his control as camp commandant, for example, visits by husbands to their "wives" in the female barracks were silently tolerated; he also curtailed the arbitrary shootings and beatings of prisoners that were customary in the camp. He even made efforts to improve the food rations and, in the face of a serious outbreak of typhus, obtained some medical supplies for the Jewish doctors in the camp.[8]

Nevertheless, hundreds of prisoners died of typhus, exhaustion, and SS brutality during the camp's existence. The corpses were buried in a wood close to the camp. The names of the dead were simply erased from the camp records, and only the number of fatalities was recorded by the camp administration.[9]

When SS-Unterscharführer Karl Artur Gosberg stood in as camp commandant for some 10 weeks due to Heller's illness (he contracted typhus himself) from April until June 1944, the camp soon relapsed back to its former brutality. The Jewish camp elder (Lagerältester), a man named Minzberg who died after the war in the United States, was sometimes forced to carry out the whippings of prisoners (usually 25 lashes), which occasionally even resulted in death. One female prisoner was found to have an egg illegally in her possession. She was given 100 lashes on the orders of Gosberg. She died about 12 days later from the severely infected wounds.[10]

Apart from the change of command, the transition to a concentration camp entailed certain other changes. Those prisoners working outside the camp now received striped uniforms. In addition, the inclusion of some non-Jews (Poles) in a separate barracks fenced in within the camp may have been related to this change of status from a Jewish forced labor camp.

Escape attempts were severely punished. For example, the Ukrainian guards hanged some attempted escapees on the camp fence. Nevertheless, several escapes were attempted, some even meeting with success. Before the camp became a concentration camp, Samuel Gerstenfeld escaped with a small group, making it successfully across the bridge to the neighboring guards' camp facility and then fleeing. Another group escaped with the aid of a tunnel in the first half of 1944, having made contact with partisans outside the camp who were keen that a doctor should escape to join them. Once it was discovered at roll call that five prisoners were missing, all the prisoners were held on the parade ground for hours during the investigation. Prisoners from the block where the escape took place were severely beaten and placed in the underground punishment cell for several days.[11]

As the front began to approach the Radom area at the end of July 1944, the Blizyn subcamp was evacuated. Records of the WVHA indicate that the armaments factory that employed prisoners from the Blizyn subcamp began to transfer its equipment into the Reich by rail on July 22, 1944.[12] The remaining prisoners (1,614 male Jews and 715 female Jews) were transported in cattle wagons to Auschwitz, where they arrived on July 31, 1944, and were issued numbers B-1160 to B-2773 and A-15211 to A-15925, respectively.[13] The proportion of survivors from the Blizyn subcamp was relatively high. Survivors mainly thank the commandant, Heller, for helping to maintain their health, such that most survived the initial selection on arrival at Auschwitz.

The first commandant of the Jewish forced labor camp in Bliżyn, SS-Oberscharführer Nell, was sentenced to death and executed by the Polish authorities after the war. SS-Oberscharführer Heller, who officially commanded the camp from February until its dissolution in July 1944, was captured and tried by U.S. authorities. However, after several Jewish survivors from Blizyn testified in his favor, he was acquitted and released.[14] SS-Unterscharführer Gosberg, who stood in as camp commandant for about 10 weeks from April to June 1944, was tried by the regional court in Wuppertal in 1961. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison on May 19, 1961.[15]

SOURCES Documentation relating to the Blizyn subcamp, including a number of testimonies by survivors, can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; IPN; ITS; USHMMA (RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir; RG-14.045M, copies of NS 3 from BA-BL); VHF; and YVA. A number of published survivor memoirs include sections dealing with their experiences in the Blizyn camp. Especially relevant for the later period, when it became subordinated to the Majdanek concentration camp, are Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Vom Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena*, *Blizyn*, *Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004); and Mira Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997). The verdict from the trial of Karl Gosberg in

Wuppertal, published as Lfd. Nr. 510 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: UPA, 1979), 17:404–416, is also focused on events in 1944, following the camp's subordination to the Majdanek concentration camp. For background on Osti, see *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946–April 1949* [Green Series], 15 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO 1949–1953; reprint, Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1997), 5:512–524.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *TWC* 5 (1997): 512–524: Report by the SS-Unterscharführer Johann Sebastion Fischer on a rough audit of the books of the Osti, February 29, 1944.

2. AŻIH, 301/1812, testimony of Gołda Teich; 301/1450, testimony of Maria Cymbalist from Tomaszów Mazowiecki; 301/59, testimony of Mojsze Bojm from Radom; Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), pp. 44–46; USHMMA, RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir, transferred to Blizyn from the Kielce ghetto.

3. AŻIH, 301/1812.

4. Verdict of LG Wuppertal in the case of Karl Artur Gosberg (11 Ks 1/60), May 19, 1961, Lfd. Nr. 510, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: UPA, 1979), 17:407–408.

5. AŻIH, 301/7621, testimony of Eta Brifman; and 301/1812.

6. Stab W an Chef des Amtes W IV, January 19, 1944, betr.: Umwandlung der Zwangsarbeitslager in Krakau-Plaschow, Lenberg [Lemberg], Lublin und Radom-Blisyn [Blizyn] in Konzentrationslager (NO-1036), in BA-L, B162, Versch. 299, pp. 84–87.

7. Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust*, pp. 47–48.

8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408. According to one account, nightly visits of men to the women's barracks (and vice versa) were relatively common, as were even sexual relations between some Jewish girls and the SS guards (both German and non-German); see AŻIH, 301/1456, testimony of Pesach Bursztajn (in Yiddish).

9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408; AŻIH, 301/1450.

10. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408–411.

11. USHMMA, RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir; Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Vom Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena, Blizyn, Auschwitz-Birkenanu, Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004), pp. 144–150.

12. USHMMA, RG-14.045M (BA-BL, NS 3/605).

13. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 674; AŻIH, 301/7621; Golani, *Brennendes Leben*, pp. 170–173.

14. Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust*, p. 48.

15. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 415.

BUDZYŃ

Budzyń (German: Budzyn) is located about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the northwest of Kraśnik. In the mid-1930s, the Polish authorities established a military-industrial production center there. Under German occupation, most of the arms factories were taken over by the Reichswerke Hermann Göring, and in 1942, the Heinkel Company opened a factory for aircraft construction using SS prison labor as well as their own employees.

The first Heinkel (He) project employing Jewish forced workers was established in April 1942 in Mielec. Then in June 1942, a proposal was drafted to exploit Budzyń as the main center for the relocation of much of its production from Rostock, which had already been hit by Allied bombing. The Budzyn site offered 55,000 square meters (about 66,000 square yards) of factory space and adequate housing nearby.[1] Following the visit of Ernst Heinkel in July 1942,[2] the company planned to deploy some 2,100 Polish and Jewish workers in the factory to produce the Junkers 188 aircraft.[3] The first Jewish forced laborers started work at the Heinkel-Budzyn factory in November 1942, comprising several hundred Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Końskowola and about 150 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from the Lipowa 7 camp, who had been captured while serving in the Polish Army.

The Budzyn forced labor camp, which was initially subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Lublin, Odilo Globocnik, was located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the Heinkel factory. As described by the survivor Morris Wyszogrod, the main purpose of the camp was to supply workers for the industrial plants of the German armaments industry. The most important of these was the Heinkel factory, which repaired airplane parts. There was also the Organisation Todt (OT) that repaired tanks and other heavy equipment and other, smaller operations. The daily march to these workplaces took about 45 to 60 minutes.[4]

From the summer of 1942, various groups of Jews were transferred to the Budzyn camp, including 100 Jewish women from the Bełżyce ghetto and about 500 Jews from the remnant of the Krasnik ghetto.[5] Others groups arrived subsequently from the camps in Gościeradów, Hrubieszów, and Krychów. The Jews' living compound was composed of six barracks similar to those in Majdanek, constructed by the first prisoners, plus a kitchen barrack and a toilet barrack. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and four watchtowers used by Ukrainians trained at Trawniki. Over the gate was a sign that read: "Jedem das Seine" (To Each His Own). Conditions in the camp were very bad, and the number of prisoners declined due to disease and SS brutality. In April 1943, according to a report of the Armaments Inspectorate of the Wehrmacht, there were 750 Jews in the Budzyn camp, which "due to prolonged undernourishment were becoming generally listless and would have to be replaced by Polish civilian workers."[6]

On May 1, 1943, 807 survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising who had been sent to Majdanek were selected by the then-commandant of the Budzyn camp, SS-Oberscharführer Reinhold Feiks, from the Sudetenland. Feiks is described by most prisoners as having been especially brutal and bloodthirsty. According to most estimates, following the arrival of

the Warsaw group, the Budzyn camp had some 3,000 Jewish prisoners, including several hundred females.[7]

By the summer of 1943, Air Ministry priorities had changed, and production of parts for the He 219 in the Heinkel-Budzyn factory began in October 1943. In September 1943, this facility had some 1,300 Jewish forced workers in a total workforce of 3,950.

According to a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), on October 22, 1943, the Budzyn forced labor camp officially became a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp. This transfer took place just before Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), on November 3–4, 1943, during which more than 40,000 of the 50,000 remaining Jewish forced laborers in the Lublin district were murdered. The prisoners at Budzyn were fortunate to be spared, presumably on account of the military significance still given to the Heinkel factory.

News of the massacres soon spread via the Ukrainian guards, blackening the spirits of the prisoners, which had been raised by news of Soviet advances. Following rumors of a possible liquidation, a group of prisoners tried to escape a few weeks later. The Ukrainian guards not only shot those trying to escape; they also dragged more than 30 other prisoners from their barracks and murdered them inside the compound.[8]

The women were housed in a separate barracks, which the men were not permitted to visit. However, men and women were able to meet and talk for a few minutes everyday outside the barracks, and some love affairs flourished. By January 1944, the food rations were so meager that prisoners without access to extra rations wasted away. "Those who had no more strength to work were sent to the camp hospital, where they quickly died."[9]

The Budzyn camp was relocated at the end of January 1944 to another newly constructed camp about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away, known as "Barrackenbau," now much closer to the Heinkel factory. Here the prisoners also received striped uniforms and a prisoner number. The transfer took several days. At the new location, the camp was somewhat larger and surrounded by an electrified fence.[10] Several hundred sick and weak prisoners, including many women, were not transferred but were murdered instead. This relocation reflected the "official" integration of the camp into the concentration camp system and was accompanied by the appointment of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Leipold as camp commandant to replace SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Tauscher. Prisoners recall that the daily rations slightly improved at the new camp, consisting now of a piece of bread with margarine and soup with even a couple of potatoes in it.[11]

Punishment in the form of beatings was administered in front of all the prisoners on the parade ground. Some useful prisoners received special privileges, including Morris Wyszogrod, who painted artworks for the commandant, and Jakob Eljowicz, who was the SS portrait photographer. When there was an escape in February 1944, Wyszogrod was ordered to draw a plan of the camp, marking the point of escape to accompany the official report.[12]

Despite the camp's formal designation as a concentration camp, certain cultural privileges were granted by the camp's leadership. Just prior to the move in January, the prisoners put on a humorous show, involving songs and skits.[13] Then at Passover in 1944, thanks to the influence of camp elder (Lagerältester) Noah Stockman, unleavened bread was baked, and a Seder ceremony was held.

After the last director of the Heinkel-Budzyn factory conceded in January 1944 that much of his workforce was not being used to their full capacity, the Armaments Inspectorate withdrew its resistance to the workforce being deployed elsewhere.[14] As a result, the Heinkel labor force declined by some 50 percent in February 1944. Throughout the spring and early summer of 1944, there were various selections in the camp, as weaker prisoners were designated for death and groups of workers were sent to other camps. Among the destinations of prisoners from Budzyn in this period were the Heinkel factories in Mielec and Wieliczka and also the Majdanek main camp.

The camp was finally evacuated in July 1944 in the face of the advancing Red Army, with many of the prisoners being taken initially to Wieliczka and subsequently toward Germany. The proportion of survivors from the camp was relatively high compared with other Jewish labor camps in the area.

Josef Leipold, born November 10, 1913, in Altrohlau, the camp commandant following its relocation in January 1944, was extradited to Poland by the Americans in 1947. He was tried by the district court in Lublin and sentenced to death on November 9, 1948. He was executed by shooting on March 8, 1949.

SOURCES There are several pages devoted to the Budzyn camp in David Silberklang's dissertation: "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem, 2003). This also includes a more comprehensive list of relevant sources. The article by Lutz Budrass, "'Arbeitskräfte können aus der reichlich vorhandenen jüdischen Bevölkerung gewonnen werden': Das Heinkel-Werk in Budzyń 1942–1944," *JfW* 1 (2004): 41–64, provides useful information on the decision making that led to the establishment of the Heinkel works in Budzyń. There is also a short article on the camp in Polish by B. Wróblewski, "Obóz w Budzyniu," *ZeMa* 5 (1971): 179–189.

A number of accounts by survivors from the Budzyn subcamp can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (copies at USHMM); VHF; and YVA. Relevant German documentation can be found in BA-MA and DMM. Some published testimony is available in *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, 9 vols. (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992). A number of published survivor memoirs include sections dealing with their experiences in the Budzyn camp. Especially relevant for the later period, when it became subordinated to the Majdanek concentration camp are Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Morris Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death: An Artist in the Death Camps* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); and Joshua Laks, *I Was There, Zaklikow* (Tel Aviv: Y. Laks, 2005).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. DMM, Sondersammlungen, Dokumentation, HeA Korr. Milch, letter of Heinkel to Milch, June 18, 1942.

2. BA-MA, RL 3/1105, pp. 74–82, Visit to the Polish factories in Budzyń and Baranów, July 22, 1942, appendix to letter of Heinkel to Belter (RLM), July 28, 1942.

3. DMM, HeA Berliner Büro 2, Notes of a meeting, September 24, 1942.

4. Morris Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death: An Artist in the Death Camps* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999, p. 136. This volume also includes sketches drawn by the author of scenes in the camp prior to its relocation in January 1944.

5. AŻIH, 301/647, testimony of Genia Ajdelman from Bełżyce; 301/2221, testimony of Nuchim Rozenel from Kraśnik.

6. BA-MA, RW 23/1, Rüstungsinspektion im Generalgouvernement, Review of Third Quarter, 1942.

7. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, 9 vols. (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), 2:1232–1233, testimony of David Wdowinski; AŻIH, 301/1086.

8. Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 152–155, dates this incident in November; Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 172–173, dates it in January 1944. Other sources date the incident in February.

9. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, p. 158.

10. Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 173–174; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, 2:1235; AŻIH, 301/1514, testimony of Róża Mitelman.

11. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, p. 164; Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 173–175.

12. Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 175–178.

13. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, pp. 162–163.

14. BA-MA, RW 23/4, p. 16, KTB Rüstungsinspektion Generalgouvernement 1/44.

LEMBERG [AKA LEMBERG (WEST-STRASSE), LEMBERG (JANOWSKA)]

The Lemberg subcamp (best known as Lemberg-Janowska) of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp in Galician Lemberg (Lwów, Lvov, Lviv) existed for only a few months, from January to July 1944. It was located at 132-134 Janowska Strasse, Lemberg. During the Third Reich, the street, which headed from the northwest of the city in the direction of Janów, was called Weststrasse.

A forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) was located at Lemberg between the end of 1941 and the autumn of 1943. It held at least 50,000, but probably between 100,000 and 120,000 people, mostly Polish and Soviet Jews. They were all murdered. Some of them fell victim to the brutal living and working conditions in this camp, which was under the control of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Galizien, Fritz Katzmann; many more were murdered at the execution site, adjacent to the camp, called Der Sand (also, Todestal).

The camp was located on the site of an old camp and factory. In the camp were Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW) workshops, administration buildings, and prisoner barracks. In March 1943, the ZALfJ reached its maximum capacity with 15,000 prisoners. During the course of 1943, the camp was allocated to Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti), a company jointly owned by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and SSPF. It lasted for only a short time. During the course of the year, the camp was gradually decreased in size and its inmates murdered. The last inmates of the ZALfJ were murdered or deported on November 3–4, 1943, as part of Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*).

A Sonderkommando 1005, consisting of between 120 and 250 prisoners from the Lemberg camp, was busy from the summer of 1943 in removing the traces of the mass killings from the camp and its surroundings. The squad was named after the file name given to the action by the Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller. The Sonderkommando "unearthed" tens of thousands of corpses and was present at mass executions, where it cremated the victims. It was commanded by low-ranking officers under the Commander of the Security Police and the SD (KdS), headed by SS-Untersturmführer Walter Schallock. Although officially the Kommando was top secret, the smoke and odors from the cremations were sometimes so strong that its activities could not remain hidden. In one case, the Lublin fire brigade was called out. On November 19, 1943, members of the Sonderkommando rebelled, attacking the guards and breaking through a barbed-wire fence; 12 men managed to escape, while the others were all shot. After that, a new, smaller Sonderkommando was established, but it never operated. Members of this Kommando were shot in January 1944.

From January 1944, Lemberg was still operating as a work and internment site primarily for non-Jewish criminals, including several hundred Poles, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche). This is the period in which the WVHA ordered by letter dated January 13, 1944, that the camp become part of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. In the following months, there were a few Jews, around 100, in the camp. As a rule, they were Jews who had succeeded in escaping and hiding among the Polish population but had been discovered and arrested. Other Jews, exhausted from months or years living underground, had voluntarily surrendered themselves to the camp. Here they worked mostly as tailors, cobblers, leather dyers, electricians, gardeners, and launderers. It was probably around this time that plans were implemented to put the DAW workshops back in operation. The number of prisoners in the camp probably did not exceed 2,000 in 1944. Honigsman states that in the spring of 1944 there were less than 1,000 prisoners in the camp.

During a bombardment of the camp by the Soviet Air Force on April 20–21, 1944, quite a few prisoners, including 15 Jews, managed to escape. The camp was finally evacuated in the summer of 1944 with the approach of the Red Army. The International Tracing Service (ITS) puts the evacuation in June, but historian Thomas Sandkühler puts the date as July 19, 1944. The evacuated prisoners—there were less than 100

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Jews—were deported to the west. There they worked at first in building fortifications for the SS Construction Staff Venus I and in an SSPF Galizien holding camp in Neusandez/Grybów. They were transferred then to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. From there they were evacuated via Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to Gusen, a Mauthausen subcamp—an odyssey that only few Janowska prisoners survived.

SOURCES The camp is briefly referred to in a few monographs including Philip Friedman, "The Destruction of the Jews of Lwów," in *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada June Friedman (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), pp. 244–321; and Eliiakhu Iones, *Evrei L'vova v gody vtoroi mirovoi voiny i katastrofy evropeiskogo evreistva 1939–1944*, ed. Svetlana Shenbrunn (Moscow: Rossiiskaia biblioteka Kholokosta, 1999). Thomas Sandkühler, in *"Endlösung in Galizien": Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1996), provides rich detail on the history of the Sonderkommando 1005 and the camp after October–November 1943 but states that the plan to convert the Lemberg camp into a concentration camp had been abandoned in 1943. J. Honigsman describes Lemberg in *Janower Lager (Janower Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden in Lemberg): Kurzer historischer Essay*, ed. Lwower Gesellschaft für jüdische Kultur (Lemberg, 1996), dealing also with the removal of the evidence of the mass killings. Essential reading for the events and camps in Ukraine is the source material in Towiah Friedman, ed., *Die verantwortliche SS, Gestapo und Schutzpolizei bei der Ermordung der Juden Ost-Galiziens, 1941–1944: Dokumenten-Sammlung* (Haifa: T. Friedmann, 1996). Józef Marszałek in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum Na Majdanku, 1998), pp. 107–109, describes the camp. The subcamp is also described in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:168; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1820.

Due to the camp's short period of existence, there are as a rule no eyewitness reports. Survivors' statements are based on time in the forced labor camp and did not take notice of the transfer by the WVHA into the new administration. Investigations into the Lemberg ZALfJ, SK 1005, and Lemberg concentration camp were led by the Sta. Ludwigsburg under file EL 48/2 I, Bü 395. The files hold an extensive collection of survivors' statements/records of interviews. The history of the fire brigade being called out because of the heavy smoke caused by the Sonderkommando 1005 activities is based on a report by the fire brigade and held in DALO, R 58/1/66. Bl. 100. It is cited by Sandkühler, "*Endlösung in Galizien*," at pp. 271–280, who also cites other witness and survivor reports from the early period of the Lemberg camp on Janowska Strasse. General information on the history of the different camps in Lemberg can be obtained from the following archival collections: AAN: Records of the Lwów mayor's office under German occupation (Collection 540), and other records of Lwów and the Government General; AGK: Records of war crimes trials in postwar Poland; BA-MA: detailed records of Oberfeldkommandantur 365 in Lemberg, 1941–1944 (Collection RH 53-23), and documents of the Rüstungskommando Lemberg (Collection RW 23); AŻIH: materials from the Lwów Judenrat, and Yiddish underground periodicals; as well as ZdL at BA-L: records of war crimes trials in postwar Germany. For Lwów, see especially files with the prefix 208 AR. At USHMMA, the following collections are of interest: RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944); 1995.A.1086 and 31.003M (copies of materials found in DALO); and RG 22.002M (records of the war crimes trials conducted by the Soviet Extraordinary Commission in postwar Lwów).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LUBLIN (ALTER FLUGHAFEN) (MEN)

The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was named after its location, on the airfield of the former aircraft manufacturer T. Plage/T. Laskiewicz near Lublin, near Fabryczna Street, 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) to the north of Majdanek. It was part of a complex system of camps and warehouses at the site, which included the Nachbaulager Russland-Süd (for the Wehrmacht's southern front) and the main supply camp (*Hauptnachschublager*) for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Russland-Süd und Kaukasien.

The use of Jewish labor at Lublin (Alter Flughafen) began in July–August 1940 with the establishment of a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). No later than the summer of 1942, the camp was significantly expanded and became part of the close economic cooperation between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), headed by Oswald Pohl, and the local SS and Police Leader (SSPF), Odilo Globocnik. Both parties were interested in cooperating with one another: Globocnik, in intensifying the exploitation of Jewish forced labor in the Lublin region and in the profitable recycling of the property of deported and murdered Jews. Pohl was interested in increasing the efficiency of the SS economic enterprises. This resulted in 1942–1943 not only in increased concentration and exploitation of the Jews in the Lublin region under the control of the WVHA but in the formation of the Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti), a company jointly owned by the WVHA and SSPF. In this joint venture, Pohl secured authority over the Jewish forced labor, and Globocnik secured functional control of the camp, particularly because he appointed his confidants to key positions in it. The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was one of the camps where this cooperation was practiced.

On the camp itself, there is little published information. In 1942–1943, the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was comprehensively expanded in connection with its task of being a sorting and recycling site for the property of Jews deported from the General Government and murdered. The property dealt with in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp came from

the Majdanek, Bełżec, and Sobibór camps but also from other dissolved ghettos and camps. The camp had a railway connection, useful for dispatching the Jewish property after it was cleaned, repaired, sorted, and packed. It is unknown when the first inmates were put into this camp. According to historian David Silberklang, it was no later than the summer of 1943, for there is a record at the time of 5,000 male prisoners who were separated in their own camp from the female prisoners. While in 1942, there were about 300 women in the camp, in 1943 there were already 5,000 to 6,000. While the women were mostly used to sort and recycle clothing, the men were used primarily to sort, recycle, and recast unusable household appliances and furniture. One source states that, starting in November 1942, about 4,000 women had to do hard physical labor, including paving runways. Trials conducted after the war shed light on the living and work conditions in the women's camp: there was no running water and no sewerage, and electricity was only available at the job sites. Many of the female overseers had come from Lublin-Majdanek, among them Charlotte Mayer.

Little is known about the origin of the prisoners. In 1942, most of the prisoners in camp were from the Majdan Tatarski ghetto, which was located not far from the camp. The ghetto was liquidated in November 1942, and most of the prisoners then came from liquidated camps and ghettos from a wider area, with some even coming from Germany and Austria. The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp can be seen as an important location for Jewish forced labor in Lublin; according to Silberklang, it probably was the most important one. Former Jewish property was sold here to German offices and citizens in Lublin and also sent to Germany. Some perpetrators operated businesses large and small with stolen Jewish property.

On October 22, 1943, the camp became a subcamp of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp complex. Two weeks later, the prisoners, as part of the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), were sent to Majdanek and murdered. The new administrative subordination to the WVHA scarcely had any practical effect.

The murder of the prisoners began on November 3 at 7:30 A.M. That morning, about 5,000 to 6,000 women, accompanied by female guards on bicycles, were taken to Majdanek, where they were shot. The men of the subcamp were murdered on location. According to Silberklang, members of the SS-Division "Wiking" and the police were involved in it. Based on the statements of participants, historian Christopher Browning proves that men of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries, who brought the prisoners to their graves. The shooting was done by men of the SD. Music roared from loudspeakers, drowning out the machine-gun salvos and the prisoners' screams. Nevertheless, the prisoners' murders did not go unnoticed; especially during breaks in the music, the sounds could be heard in nearby Lublin. According to witness statements quoted by Silberklang, Lublin inhabitants climbed on the roofs of their houses to watch the "spectacle." Some 300 men as well as 300 women were spared. Their task was to exhume the corpses, clean the camp, and remove traces of the killing. The fate of these prisoners is unknown.

Historian Helge Grabitz stated that at the beginning of 1944 Jews from Warsaw were taken to Lublin (Alter Flughafen) as part of the evacuation of the Jewish ghetto. The sex of these prisoners and the nature of their work are unknown. According to witness statements, the camp was liberated by the Red Army on July 24, 1944.

SOURCES There is little information on the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp. One of the richest sources is David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003). The camp is described here following p. 316, with the economic prehistory of the camp at pp. 312–315. Dieter Pohl refers to the camp in "Die 'Aktion Reinhard' im Licht der Historiographie," in *"Aktion Reinhardt": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musial (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004), pp. 15–48, at p. 26; as does Helge Grabitz in Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Ghetto Warschau, SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki, Aktion Erntefest; Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), p. 323. The entry "Lublin," s.v., in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, n.d.), pp. 13–38, refers to the camp Lublin (Alter Flughafen) several times but without reference to the Aktion Erntefest in November 1943. Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), p. 138, describes the participation of Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 in the murder of the camp's Jews. Biographical information regarding the female guard Charlotte Mayer (or Perełka [Little Pearl], as the prisoners referred to her), employed in Ravensbrück, Majdanek, Łublin, and Auschwitz, can be found in Ingrid Müller-Münch, *Die Frauen von Majdanek. Vom zerstörten Leben der Opfer und der Mörderinnen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Tasdchenbuch-Verlag, 1982), pp. 107–111. According to survivor statements, Mayer treated the inmates decently; she provided drinking water for them, sometimes allowed them to smuggle potatoes, and allowed conversations between male and female inmates. Mayer did not bear a whip and refused to beat inmates or to report them for beating. In the Düsseldorf Majdanek trial in 1981, Mayer was acquitted; but in general, events at the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp only played a very minor role during this trial.

The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:168; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1822.

Background information on the Lublin region during World War II is contained in the following collections at USHMMA: RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944). Statements on the murder of the inmates at the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp and the reaction of the Lublin population are held in YVA under Collection

TR.10/815, pp. 127–128. See also statements by Wolf Antoni, JM/3536b, Friedrich Ruppert, NO-1903, and the record of interrogation by Gortthardt Schubert, TR.10/1146Z, vol. 15, pp. 3094–3097; and Georg Werk, TR.10/1291, vol. 28, pp. 4885–4887. Statements by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp in Majdanek, are held in the investigation files of the Hamburg Sta. (today in ZdL at BA-L) under record groups 141 Js 1957/62 (Interview Hoffmann, Wohlauf and others) and 141 Js 128/65 (Investigations into G. and others).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LUBLIN (ALTER FLUGHAFEN) (WOMEN)

The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp first came into existence in July–August 1940 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). It was located at the airfield of the former aircraft manufacturer T. Plage/T. Laskiewicz near Lublin, on Fabryczna Street, 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) north of Majdanek.

The reasons for the camp's massive growth from 1942 are economic and political and are connected to the intrigue of two protagonists, Oswald Pohl, of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and Odilo Globocnik, the local SS and Police Leader (SSPF). Globocnik, who was in charge of the exploitation of Jewish forced labor in the Lublin area, was interested in the most profitable recycling of the property of Jews who had been deported and murdered. Pohl, on the other hand, who consolidated his control over the SS economic enterprises in the first half of 1942 and who coordinated the various economic enterprises in the SS domain, wanted the SS enterprises to function profitably and, as with Globocnik, to consolidate his position. As a result of negotiations between Pohl and Globocnik, a process began in 1942–1943 to increase the concentration of Jews in the Lublin area under the control of the WVHA. At the same time, a joint WVHA and SSPF economic enterprise was established, Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti). Pohl secured for himself control over the Jewish forced labor, including the sorting, packing, and distributing of Jewish property. On the other hand, Globocnik held the functional control over the camp, above all because his personally chosen confidants were placed in key positions. German firms that already profited from the exploitation of Jewish forced labor were enmeshed in this power distribution.

One of the camps that was established on this basis was the sorting camp for Jewish property (*Sortierlager für jüdisches Eigentum*) at the former airport Lublin (Alter Flughafen). Historian David Silberklang states that this camp, for which there is little reliable information, was the main Jewish site for forced labor in Lublin. Jewish property was handled here en masse and sold to local interested Germans. It was also sent back to Germany. Large storage halls were erected in the former airport's hangar for this purpose. It was mostly Jewish women who were used to sort, clean and disinfect, repair, fold, and pack the clothing, which originated from the concentration and extermination camps of Majdanek, Bełżec, and Sobibór and also from the dissolved ghettos and camps. In 1942, there were 300 women, and in 1943 between 5,000 and 6,000 women, in the camp. There was also a camp for male prisoners.

The women who worked in Lublin (Alter Flughafen) initially came from the ghetto at Majdan Tatarski, which existed from April 20 to November 9, 1942. Later they were also to come from other liquidated ghettos and camps in Germany, Austria, and other countries. The women worked in the SS-owned clothing factories in the Fabrik Plage-Laskewicz, which was under the control of the WVHA Amt B II/2. The close cooperation between the various enterprises shows that the subcamp was an integral part of a complex system at the airport, which was also the site of the Nachbaulager Russland-Süd (for the Wehrmacht's southern front) and the main supply depot for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Russland-Süd und Kaukasien. This would also explain why the female prisoners not only reprocessed Jewish property but also worked in Wehrmacht-owned supply establishments and why from 1942 around 4,000 women from Majdanek were engaged in heavy physical labor such as laying asphalt on the runways.

Conditions in the camp were difficult: there was no running water, there was no sewerage system, and only the workshops had light. The female guards in the Lublin-Majdanek camp, including Charlotte Mayer, one of the accused in the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial, guarded the prisoners.

A letter from the WVHA dated October 22, 1943, ordered the transfer of the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp to the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp system. This change could not have had any significance, as the prisoners in Lublin (Alter Flughafen) had been murdered during the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*). Between 5,000 and 6,000 women in the camp were brought to nearby Majdanek, accompanied by the female guards on bicycles, where they were shot on the morning of November 3 from 7:30 A.M. According to historian Christopher Browning, the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries, while the SD did the shooting. Silberklang states that the SS-Division "Wiking" took part in the massacre. Music roaring from loudspeakers masked the salvos from the machine guns and the prisoners' screams. However, the murders did not go unnoticed: Silberklang, relying on witness statements, reported that people from nearby Lublin climbed onto the roofs of their houses to watch the "theater." The murder of the Jews in Lublin (Alter Flughafen)—and simultaneously in Lublin-Majdanek, Poniatowa, Lemberg-Janowska, and other camps—marked the end of Osti.

About 300 women from the camp as well as 300 men were spared from this massacre. They had to clean the camp and remove the traces of the murder. The fate of these prisoners is unknown.

Helge Grabitz stated that at the beginning of 1943, when the Warsaw ghetto was evacuated, Jews were brought from Warsaw to Lublin (Alter Flughafen). It is not known what they had to do there. Witnesses stated that the camp was liberated on July 24, 1944.

SOURCES There is little information on the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp. One of the richest sources is David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003). The camp is described here following p. 316, with the economic prehistory of the camp at pp. 312–315. Dieter Pohl refers to the camp in "Die 'Aktion Reinhard' im Licht der Historiographie," in *"Aktion Reinhardt": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musial (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004), pp. 15–48, at p. 26; as does Helge Grabitz in Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Ghetto Warschau, SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki, Aktion Erntefest; Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), p. 323. The entry "Lublin," s.v., in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, n.d.), pp. 13–38, refers to the camp Lublin (Alter Flughafen) several times but without reference to Aktion Erntefest in November 1943. Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), p. 138, describes the participation of Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 in the murder of the camp's Jews. Biographical information on Charlotte Mayer, wardress in Ravensbrück, Lublin, and Auschwitz, nicknamed by the prisoners as "Perełka" ("Little Pearl"), is to be found in Ingrid Müller-Münch, *Die Frauen von Majdanek: Vom zerstörten Leben der Opfer und der Mörderinnen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1982), pp. 107–111. According to survivors, Mayer treated the prisoners decently, gave them drinking water, and now and then allowed the smuggling of potato pieces and conversations between the male and female prisoners. Mayer did not carry a whip and refused to administer corporal punishment. Mayer was acquitted by the court in the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial between 1975 and 1981. Her role in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp played only a minor role in the trial. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:168; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1822.

Background information on the Lublin region during World War II is contained in the following collections at USHMMA: RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944). Statements on the murder of the inmates at the Lublin-Alter Flughafen camp and the reaction of the Lublin population are held in VA under signature TR.10/815, pp. 127–128. See also statements by Wolf Antoni, JM/3536b, Friedrich Ruppert, NO-1903, and the record of interrogation by Gortthardt Schubert, TR.10/1146Z, vol. 15, pp. 3094–3097; and Georg Werk, TR.10/1291, vol. 28, pp. 4885–4887. Statements by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Lublin-Alter Flughafen subcamp in Majdanek, are held in the investigation files of the Hamburg Sta. (today in the ZdL at BA-L) under record groups 141 Js 1957/62 (Interview Hoffmann, Wohlauf and others) and 141 Js 128/65 (Investigations into G. and others).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PONIATOWA

Poniatowa was located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the west of Lublin.

At the end of the 1930s, shortly before the outbreak of war, the Polish government had planned a telephone and telegraph center in Poniatowa, which was never completed. In July 1942, Amon Göth inspected Poniatowa and recommended it as a site to hold Jewish labor, a suggestion that was followed by Heinrich Himmler when, on October 9, 1942, he issued an order to concentrate all Jewish labor working in the armaments sector in camps under SS administration in the Warsaw-Lublin area. Poniatowa was one of the chosen locations because it was deeply hidden in the forest and had buildings already available and a light railway connection to Nałęczów, a station on the Warsaw-Lublin line. The Schmidt-Munstermann company in Warsaw and the Deutsche Elektro-Unternehmen company in Lublin received the contracts to expand the site. The Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were at this time in the camp at the site (Stalag 359) were executed in the following weeks. The number executed was probably around 24,000. On October 15, 1942, 600 Jews from the Opole Lubelskie ghetto were brought to Poniatowa. Their numbers were increased with Jews from the Staszów and Bełżyce ghettos (the latter included Jews from Saxony, Thuringia, and Stettin), so that by the beginning of 1943 there were around 1,500 prisoners in the Poniatowa forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ).

On January 9, 1943, Himmler directed the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the General Government, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, to transfer the Jews and businesses from the Warsaw ghetto to the Lublin area. Himmler was exasperated about the enormous profit that individual employers such as Bremen coffee wholesaler Walter Caspar Toebbens were making from the exploitation of more than 20,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. Toebbens was directed to immediately transfer his labor force to Poniatowa and to transfer direct supervision to the SS. At the end of January 1943, Toebbens concluded a contract with the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin, Odilo Globocnik, under which the SS assured him the supply of at least 10,000 Jewish laborers.

At the end of February 1943, the first group of Toebbens Jews was sent from the Warsaw ghetto to Poniatowa; another 1,200 followed on March 12; and 450 in April. The last transport from Warsaw arrived in Poniatowa on May 8, 1943. All the prisoners arrived at the Nałęczów railway station, where they were put on light railway trains that took them to Po-



A view of the Poniatowa subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek, shortly before its liquidation by mass shooting of prisoners in Operation "Harvest Festival," November 1943.
USHMM WS #61542, COURTESY OF THE STA. LG HAMBURG

niatowa. A labor detachment was based in Nałęczów to load and unload the trains.

The arrival of the Warsaw Jews, some of whom traveled as family units, gave the camp its own unique structure: men and women mostly slept in the same barracks, and contact between them was largely allowed. Around 700 children lived in the Poniatowa camp. They had their own barracks and kitchen. The Poniatowa inmates did not have their prisoner numbers tattooed on them, and they did not wear either the Star of David or concentration camp prisoner clothing. However, in the autumn of 1943, their shoes were replaced with the usual wooden concentration camp shoes.

The workshops and accommodation barracks were fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners slept in around 35 barracks, each about 35 meters (115 feet) long and 12 meters (39 feet) wide. More than 2,000 prisoners slept in the 80-meter-long (262-feet-long), 40-meter-wide (131-feet-wide), and 10-meter-tall (33-feet-tall) workshop number 3, in four-tiered bunk beds. A 2-kilometer-long (1.2-mile-long) road led from the camp grounds to a settlement (which was referred to by the inmates under the Polish name for settlement, *osiedle*). Here the non-Jewish prisoners, foremen, and those Jews who worked in administration were held. The road was fenced and controlled by machine-gun posts in guard towers. The camp was guarded by 10 German and 50 Ukrainian SS men, the so-called Trawniki men.

The first camp commandant until the end of April 1943 was SS-Oberscharführer Birmes-Schulten; his successor was SS-Oberscharführer Otto Hantke, who in the summer of 1943 was replaced by SS-Hauptsturmführer Gottlieb Hering, the former commandant of Bełżec. The civilian camp commander was Heinrich Gley. Survivors report that all of them brutally mistreated the prisoners.

The number of prisoners in Poniatowa was probably between 14,000 and 25,000. One source states that there were 40,000 inmates in Poniatowa, but this number is probably exaggerated. Poniatowa was the largest Jewish labor camp in the General Government. Around 10,000 to 12,000 of the prisoners worked for the Toebbens company; the others, under much less brutal conditions, worked for the SS, building roads and sewers.

The prisoners were from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, and the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1943, Jews were brought to Poniatowa from the dissolved ghettos in Demblin, Dorchucza, and Smolensk. Between May and October 1943, the camp functioned as a transit camp for Jews, who were required by the SS in other locations.

Until the summer of 1943, enclosure of the settlement, the camp security, and prisoners' working conditions were relatively bearable: during the period of the camp's construction, the labor capacity was set at only 60 percent. Prisoners repeatedly were able to escape, and those who had contact with the outside world were able to smuggle food into the camp. It was only with Odilo Globocnik's visit in June 1943 that the camp was sealed and the exploitation of prisoners intensified.

There are several reported cases of resistance: for example, the Jews from Opole attempted to poison the camp commandant, Hering. All of the members of the kitchen detachment who were involved, including six women, were hanged once the assassination attempt was discovered. The Warsaw Jews had their own resistance movement, which was based on organizational structures and contacts from their ghetto time, aimed to free the inmates at the time the camp was liquidated.

The prisoners' day began with a roll call at 6:00 A.M. Between 7:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. most of the prisoners manufactured products for the Wehrmacht. A note written by Globocnik in the summer of 1943 reports that each week the Poniatowa SS labor camp produced 38,000 blouses and coats, 18,000 shirts and items of underwear, 6,000 caps, 7,200 pairs of socks, 4,200 haversacks, and 2,400 army kit belts. The prisoners also worked at a sorting station, sorting the clothes of executed Jews for dispatch to the Ethnic German Liaison Office (VOMI). In September–October 1943, hundreds of prisoners were deported to work at the airfields at Zamość and Biała Podlaska. In the summer of 1943, Toebbens had made contact with the Armaments Ministry in Berlin, requesting new work orders. As a result, in September 1943, the prisoners who lived in workstation 3 were moved out, and the building was prepared for metal processing machines. At the same time, there began massive construction work for a planned, but eventually unrealized, relocation of part of the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto production facilities to Poniatow: 48 accommodation barracks and 28 barracks for foremen were to be built as part of the relocation. However, administrative changes, including the transfer of the SSPF-Lublin Globocnik to Trieste and the appointment of his replacement, Jakob Sporrenberg, meant that the plans did not come to fruition. During September–October 1943, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) took over the labor camp; Poniatowa was now regarded as a Majdanek subcamp. However, this did not have a large practical effect, as on November 4, 1943, all the inmates of the Poniatowa camp

were murdered as part of the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*).

The directive to murder the prisoners came from Heinrich Himmler to the HSSPF Krakau, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, who directed the command to Sporrenberg. The order probably must be seen in connection with the increasing resistance by prisoners in 1943, including the Warsaw Uprising, the Treblinka rebellion, and the escape from Sobibór. Since the SSPF in their areas of responsibility had the supreme command in ghetto evacuations and larger Final Solution measures (*Endlösungsmassnahmen*), it was only consistent to charge Sporrenberg with that order. Sporrenberg ordered the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Lublin, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz, as well as the head of the Ordnungspolizei (Orpo) and the Waffen-SS to participate in the action. The relevant units came from the Lublin area as well as from the Radom, Kraków, and Warsaw districts. Based upon witness statements by participants, historian Christopher Browning states that the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries around the camp and the barracks and that the executions were done by SD units.

On the morning of November 4, a double security cordon was put around the camp, and the telephone lines were cut. Loudspeakers were set up to broadcast music, in order to drown out the shots and the victims' screams. According to Lea Chanesman, one of only three survivors of the massacre, on the morning of November 4 the prisoners had to assemble for roll call, then assemble in a large building. From here, in groups of 50, naked and with raised hands, they were led to an area where trenches had been dug in the days before, trenches that now served as mass graves. Here the prisoners had to lie down and were shot.

Around 100 prisoners from one block tried to escape the massacre and set several storage and supply buildings on fire. The SS had to call the fire brigade from Opole Lubelskie to put out the fire. The firefighters were witness to the SS's driving the prisoners back into the flames. Members of the labor detachments in Nałęczów and Kazimierz were also murdered after strong resistance. Altogether, around 14,500 prisoners fell victim to the massacre within a few hours.

The Poniatowa camp continued to exist with 100 prisoners who had been brought from Majdanek, and were under Ukrainian and German SS guard, until the spring of 1944. These prisoners had to search the corpses for gold, silver, jewels, and gold teeth. They then had to pull down and burn the workshops and accommodation barracks. Finally, they were murdered, too.

Sporrenberg, as the leader of the Aktion Erntefest, was tried by a Polish court after the war and hanged. Pütz committed suicide after the war, as did Globocnik in June 1945 in Austria. Toebbens was arrested after the war but was able to escape in 1946. In 1949, the Bremen denazification court sentenced him in absentia to 10 years' imprisonment. Hantke was convicted in 1960 in Hamburg and released in 1967. He was arrested again in 1974 and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1967, six Ukrainian guards who were involved in the massacre on November 4, 1943, were sentenced to death in Dnepropetrowsk (USSR).

SOURCES Sam Hoffenberg, a former camp inmate and historian, has written the most comprehensive work on the Poniatowa camp, with Patrick Girard, in *Le camp de Poniatowa: La liquidation des derniers Juifs de Varsovie* (Paris: Bibliophane, 1988), which is available in English (translated into English by Sofia Skipwith and Madeleine Steinberg) as *The Camp of Poniatowa: The Liquidation of the Last Jews of Warsaw* (S.I.: S. Hoffenberg, ca. 1988). Hoffenberg, a Jew from the Warsaw ghetto and Toebbens laborer, left the camp at the request of the Toebbens firm, shortly before the camp's liquidation. Another camp inmate, Ber Baskind, who was in the camp from April to May 1943 and was able to escape, wrote his work on Poniatowa in 1945, *La Grande Epouvante* (Paris: Calmann Levy-Verlag, 1945).

There are only a few academic works on Poniatowa. Worthy of mention are Józef Kermisz, "The Labor Camp at Poniatowa" (Hebrew), *YalMor* 13 (June 1971): 17–27; Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 113; Ryszard Gicewicz, "Obóz pracy w Poniatowej (1941–1943)," *ZM* 10 (1980): 88–104; as well as Thomas Reck and Irmina Stefańczak, *Masowe egzekucje żydów 3 listopada 1943 roku: Majdanek*, *Poniatowa*, *Trawniki; wspomnienia*, ed. Edward Dziadosz (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1988), also published in German as *Judenmassenexekutionen 3. November 1943: Majdanek*, *Poniatowa*, *Trawniki: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1990). Literature on the Aktion Erntefest, which was the conclusion of Aktion Reinhardt and in which within the space of two days, November 3 and 4, 1943, around 40,000 prisoners in Majdanek, Trawniki, and Poniatowa fell victim, has only appeared in the last few years, such as Bogdan Musial, ed., *"Aktion Reinhardt": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004). The work includes a number of interesting essays including Dieter Pohl, "Die 'Aktion Reinhard' im Licht der Historiographie," pp. 15–48; Pohl, "Die Stellung des Distriktes Lublin in der 'Endlösung der Judenfrage,'" pp. 87–110; as well as Peter Black, "Die Trawniki-Männer und die 'Aktion Reinhard,'" pp. 309–352. What also should be mentioned are Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen ereignisse; Ghetto Warschau—SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993). Background information on the Lublin district during the Third Reich is to be found in Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). On the basis of statements by participants of Reserve Police Bataillon 101, Christopher Browning has described the massacre as part of the Aktion Erntefest in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), pp. 139–142. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:169; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

The fate of the Poniatowa prisoners for a long time was overshadowed by the Warsaw ghetto. Three prisoners survived the massacre on November 4, 1943. Two of them, Esther Rubinstein and Lea Chanesman/Ludwika Fiszer, who were given refuge by a female Polish farmer, have provided witness statements. Both statements are reproduced by Hoffenberg with Girard in *Le camp de Poniatowa/The Camp of Poniatowa*. Rubinstein's statement was first published in Józef Kermisz, ed., *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1946), p. 260. There are no details about the life of the third survivor of the camp's liquidation—her name was Roza. Nachmann Blumenthal, ed., *My Life Is Still Before Me . . .*" (Yiddish) (Tel Aviv: I. L. Peretz Verlag and YV, 1962) contains the poignant exchange of letters between Polish medical doctor Lejb Fiszmann, a prisoner of war in Germany, and his daughters Irina and Anna. Both women were murdered during Aktion Erntefest. A similar exchange of letters is held in YVA, Collection O.48.B/19-1: Feliks (Efraim) Rzeczynski, also a Polish officer held prisoner of war in Germany who between August 1942 and February 1945 attempted to correspond with his family held in Poniatowa and later, unsuccessfully, tried to establish their fate. The YVA holds statements on the Poniatowa camp in Collection O.3/3440, which includes a statement by Jerzy Rosenbaum (Ros). The original contract between Walter Caspar Toebbens and Odilo Globocnik dated January 1, 1943, is held in the CDJC, Signature CXC VIII-9. The contract has numerous details including the names of the new companies ("Firma Toebbens Werke Poniatowa GmbH im SS-Arbeitslager") and the daily rates that Toebbens had to pay for the prisoners: 5 zlotys per day for male prisoners and 4 zlotys for female prisoners. Several statements from witnesses and survivors of the camp are part of court files: Jerzy Rosenbaum, who was held at the beginning of 1943 in Poniatowa, made a statement before the Central Jewish Historical Commission, Łódź, as witness no. 107; his statement is to be found in *DiM*, 1: 260–261. Georg Michaelsen describes the camp in his statement of March 4, 1964, to the Sta. Hamburg, Az. 141 Js 573/60 and 161 Js 192/60. The witness statements by Lea Chanesman/Ludwika Fiszer dated November 28, 1966, are to be found in the files of the Sta. Hamburg, Az.141 Js 573/60, p. 12656. Statements by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Poniatowa subcamp, are held in the investigation files (*Ermittlungsakten*) Sta. Hamburg (today in ZdL at BA-L) under Signatures 141 Js 1957/62 (Verhör Hoffmann, Wohlauf und andere) and 141 Js 128/65 (Ermittlungen gegen G. und andere). The collections of the USHMMA that deal with the Lublin region during World War II are RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG -15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PULAWY [AKA PULAWY STADT]

Pulawy (Polish: Puławy, also Pulav, Pulavy) lies in the Lublin district, 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Lublin. A ghetto existed in the city from October or November 1939 to December 1939, after which all 4,000 Jewish inhabitants were deported to Opole Lubelskie. From June 1940 on, there was a Jewish camp (*Judenlager*) in the city, with 100 to 200 prisoners.

In the summer of 1943, Oberscharführer Otto Hantke, who had been in charge of the forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ)/concentration camp in Budzyń until the beginning of December 1942 and afterward in charge of the ZALfJ/concentration camp in Poniatowa, was sent to Pulawy in order to establish a subcamp of Majdanek in the local sawmill. According to historian David Silberklang, more than 400 Jewish forced laborers were employed in the camp; according to historian Józef Marszałek, however, there were only about 50. Although the sawmill operated profitably, thanks to the exploitation of the prisoners' work, the prisoners there—as in other camps of the Majdanek complex—were shot on November 3, 1943, as part of Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*). The murder of the prisoners from Pulawy supports the assumption that blame for the massacre of more than 40,000 Jews within two days during Aktion Erntefest lies primarily with Heinrich Himmler's fear that the series of Jewish revolts and rebellions—Warsaw in April 1943, Treblinka and Białystok in August, Sobibór in October—would continue. Economic principles—the maximal exploitation of Jewish labor—thus fell victim to the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question."

In Pulawy, only a small portion of the prisoners survived the mass execution. The camp operated further on a significantly smaller basis until the retreat of the Germans in July 1944. On July 22, 1944, it was closed, according to an SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) document dated September 30.

SOURCES Sources on the Pulawy subcamp are rare. By far the largest part of the literature that has come down to us deals with the ghetto in the city and with the fate of the local Jews during World War II in general. In "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), pp. 336, 345, David Silberklang conveys a number of details that are based upon statements by survivors and interrogations of German guard personnel. Further information can be gleaned from the article by Eugeniusz Kosik, "Martyrologia i zagłada Żydów w Opolu Lubelskim," *BŻIH* 150 (1989). Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939-1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 110, also mentions the Pulawy camp. Yizkor books exist about Pulawy that are based upon the statements of survivors, such as the *Yizker bukh Pulav* (New York, 1964); and the entry on Pulawy in *Pinkas Hakehillot Polin—Mahozot Lublin—Kielce*, vol. 7, *Lublin*, *Kielce District* (Jerusalem: YV, n.d.), pp. 380–382. Michał Strzemski, *Nasze Puławy. Kolekcja Wspomnień* (Lublin, 1986), provides an overview of the history of Jewish life in Pulawy. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:169; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und

ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Statements of survivors from Pulawy exist above all in the AŻIH and in YVA. Contemporary German documentation can be found in the APL, where the collection "Governor of the Lublin District" (see also USHMMA, RG-15.066M) holds some information about Jews in the Pulawy region. Other material about the situation of Jews in the area, but also mostly concerning the period after the liquidation of the ghetto, can be found in IPN. (At YVA the following collections are of relevance: TR. 10/813 (Michalsen/Hantke indictment); TR. 10/1291, Hantke interrogations, Hamburg, April 7, 9, and 13, 1964); and TR. 10/770, pp. 106–1098.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

RADOM [AKA RADOM (SZKOLNA STREET)]

Radom lies about 95 kilometers (59 miles) south of Warsaw. The first mention of a Majdanek subcamp there is in an official report of January 17, 1944, although the camp existed since 1942 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). At that time the (formerly Austrian) armaments firm Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP) employed Jews from the Radom ghetto at its work site on Szkolna Street.

According to statements by survivors, the work was hard, and the Austrian foremen and masters were guilty of causing the death of many workers, as in the execution of 13 workers in the summer of 1942 and another 13 in the spring of 1943. For the most part, the forced laborers for SDP were excluded from the repeated selections at the Radom ghetto.

After the liquidation of the Radom ghetto in August 1942, the surviving Jews were distributed among two labor camps: one on the Szwarlikowska Street and one on the Szkolna Street. The camp on the Szwarlikowska Street, which was also called the "small ghetto," held about 3,000 prisoners (of which about 700 to 900 were women) who worked at various work sites and facilities in Radom. Again and again, the workers went through selections, as on January 13, 1943, when 1,600 Jews were taken to Treblinka and murdered. On this occasion, the company management of SDP, which was on good terms with the SS, chose 100 of the strongest workers from the 1,500 Jews remaining in the camp.

On November 8, 1943, all the remaining inhabitants of the camp on Szwarlikowska Street were driven, in a two-hour march, to the SDP camp on Szkolna Street, where there were already about 2,000 prisoners. One of the responsible SS officers, SS-Sturmbannführer Blum, allowed women and children to occupy one of the freestanding barracks in the camp after their arrival, due to the cold and their exhaustion. Immediately after that, the barracks was surrounded by Ukrainian guards. Despite protests and attempts at rescue, more than 100 women and children were loaded into trucks the next day and shot on Biała Street. Some dozens of men considered incapable of work were also shot.

In the middle of January 1944, the forced labor camp was taken over as a concentration camp. A group of SS came from Lublin, and the prisoners were clothed in typical camp attire and had to paint the letters *KL* (for *Konzentrationslager*, concentration camp) on the backs of each other's jackets with red paint. Instead of names, the prisoners now had numbers, which were sewn onto their jackets. Nonetheless, as *The Book of Radom* reports, many Jews considered themselves lucky that the concentration camp came to them, in effect, and that they were not deported to another concentration camp, because they greatly feared such transports.

The camp was encircled with double barbed wire, and there were guard posts with machine guns on watchtowers. Men and women slept separately in 20 wooden barracks on three-tiered wooden bunks that were outfitted with straw sacks.

The day began with reveille at five o'clock in the morning, followed by the morning roll call. The majority of prisoners worked for SDP; others worked in furniture and tailor shops in the camp.

An SS officer named Hecker or Haker was reportedly the camp leader (Lagerführer), while the camp commandant (Lagerkommandant) was SS-Hauptsturmführer Sigmann. Chil (also Yechiel) Friedmann was the Jewish camp elder (Lagerältester), and he was assisted by Kapos and other helpers.

In March 1944, there was a selection of several hundred prisoners judged unable to work, who were brought to the Majdanek main camp; only a few of them survived.

There were many escape attempts from the camp. As a rule, these failed. Escaped prisoners usually had to join with the Polish partisans, but these tended to be mostly antisemitic, and they either murdered fleeing Jews or forced them to return to the concentration camp.

In April 1944, a bunker was discovered in the camp through an unfortunate accident. This bunker had held four men and a woman since January, when the camp had been transformed into a concentration camp. As *The Book of Radom* reported, the bunker had been planned as a hideout for an emergency; there was also supposed to be a tunnel out from the bunker to freedom. According to witnesses, the bunker even had secret electric and water hook-ups, and relatives of the five people in it had given them food. However, the tunnelers' inexperience became their undoing: after their venture had progressed outside the camp grounds, they dug the tunnel too close to the surface under a well-traveled road. The wheels of an SS truck sank into it, which led to the discovery of the tunnel and the bunker. The five prisoners were not hanged, however, but only punished with public beatings. Three of the prisoners, Mania Zuckerman-Gelber, her brother Meyer Zuckerman, and Ben Wercheiser, survived the Holocaust; the two others, the Bonk brothers, were shot during another escape attempt.

With the approach of the front in the early summer of 1944, several prisoners were able to flee in the course of the general confusion by going through the wastewater canals of the production hall. For the rest, the situation became notice-

ably worse, since the camp guards were reinforced by soldiers from scattered army units. On July 26, 1944, around 2,450 male camp prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Łódź and presumably further to Auschwitz. SS personnel destroyed the machines and facilities in the camp in order to keep them from falling into enemy hands.

SOURCES There are only a few mentions of the Radom Szkolna Street camp. One important source is *The Book of Radom: The Story of a Jewish Community in Poland Destroyed by the Nazis*, ed. and comp. Alfred Lipson (New York: United Radomer Relief for U.S. and Canada, [ca. 1963]), which reports on the selection of Jews for SDP. The *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: YV, 1999) likewise mentions Radom on pp. 530–543 but concentrates mostly on the camp on Szwarlikowska Street and does not mention the simultaneous existence of the camp on Szkolna Street. Also, it gives the erroneous date of June 26 for the evacuation. Several monographs and articles concern themselves with the fate of the Jews in the Radom region, among others, Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH* 15–16 (1955): 75–182; and "Żydzi dystyktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej. Materiały z sesji popularno-naukowej odbytej w Radomiu 27 września 1997," *BKRTN* 3–4 (1997): 1–95. This subcamp is listed in the ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 170; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

TRAWNIKI

In the three years of its existence, the SS camp at Trawniki in the Lublin District of the General Government underwent four permutations, each of which involved different functions and purposes. From July until September 1941, it served as a holding pen for persons of interest to Nazi Germany. From September 1941 until July 1944, it was a training facility for police auxiliaries who were deployed in Operation Reinhard. From June 1942 until September 1943, it served as a forced labor camp for Jews. Between September 1943 and May 1944, it was a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek. [Because of the complexity of this history, it is being treated here in one entry.—Ed.]

Less than two weeks after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, German SS and police authorities in the Lublin District, acting on the orders of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin, SS-Brigadeführer Odilo Globocnik, established a detention facility on the grounds of an abandoned sugar refinery outside of Trawniki, a small town located just south of the Lublin-Chełm road, 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-southeast of Lublin and about the same distance due east of Chełm. Managed by an officer on Globocnik's staff, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Höfle, the Trawniki camp originally was a holding center for refugees and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), selected by the Security Police and SD either as potential collaborators or as dangerous persons. On July 9, 1941, 676 inmates were incarcerated there.[1]

In September 1941, pursuant to his July 17, 1941, appointment as Commissioner for the Establishment of SS and Police Bases (SS- und Polizeistutzpünkte) in the New Eastern Territory, Globocnik transformed the facility into a training camp for auxiliary police personnel to maintain security in support of German rule over the "wild East." Globocnik's staff recruited captured Soviet POWs who, after being processed in Trawniki, entered the Guard Forces (Wachmannschaften) of the SSPF in the Lublin District.[2] The basis to recruit these "Trawniki men" lay in high-level SS instructions to the Security Police and SD teams screening the POWs to identify from among the captured Soviet soldiers "persons who appear especially reliable and are therefore suitable for deployment in the reconstruction of the occupied territories." Noting on August 5, 1941, that the establishment of SS and police bases before the winter was "an urgent task," SS-Obergruppenführer Kurt Daluege, the chief of the German Order Police, ordered Globocnik and other senior SS and police leaders to give high priority to recruiting indigenous defense units. One month later, the first recruits from the POW camps arrived at Trawniki. On October 27, 1941, Globocnik appointed SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Streibel to command the newly christened Trawniki Training Camp, a position Streibel held until the evacuation of the camp in July 1944.[3]

The first 2,500 auxiliary police guards (Wachmänner) were inducted, processed, and trained between September 1941 and September 1942. Virtually all of them were Soviet POWs. As German military reverses and the murderous treatment of the Soviet POWs dried up the supply of suitable Soviet soldiers in the autumn of 1942, Streibel's men conscripted civilians, primarily young Ukrainians, residing in Galicia, Wolhynia, Podolia, and the Lublin District. When Globocnik left Lublin in September 1943, he reported that 3,700 Wachmänner were serving in the Trawniki system; in fact, more than 4,750 identification numbers had been issued by this time. Approximately 5,082 men were trained at Trawniki between 1941 and 1944.[4] They were organized into two battalions under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Willi Franz and SS-Obersturmführer Johann Schwarzenbacher.

Deployment in the operations of the so-called Final Solution of the Jewish Question became a key function of the Trawniki-trained guards. They provided the guard units for the Operation Reinhard killing centers at Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka II and served for a time as part of the guard detachments at the concentration camps Lublin-Majdanek and Auschwitz. They also provided the guard units for various other forced labor camps for Jews. In addition, German SS and police authorities deployed the Trawniki trainees in the deportations from both large and small ghettos in



SS officers review Ukrainian recruits at Trawniki, a training facility for auxiliary camp guards and a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek, 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #61493, COURTESY OF STA. LG HAMBURG

occupied Poland and as escorts for the transport trains from ghetto to killing center. That the Trawniki trainees implemented their hideous tasks to the satisfaction of their leaders was expressed in Globocnik's recommendation for Streibel's promotion: Streibel had commanded the Trawniki Training Camp "with the greatest discretion and understanding for the special leadership needs of this unit. These units have proved themselves in the best way in many anti-partisan missions, but especially in the framework of the resettlement of the Jews."[5]

In 1942, Trawniki served as a transit camp for local Jews. After an early April "selection" of those incapable of work in the ghetto town Piaski, located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away, Wachmänner escorted several hundred Polish, German, and Austrian Jews from Piaski to Trawniki. Scheduled for deportation to Bełżec the following day, many of the victims were locked up in a large barnlike structure overnight. Between 200 and 500 died from suffocation; their bodies were tossed the next morning into the freight cars destined for Bełżec.[6] During 1942, SS and police instructors also utilized the local Jewish population for "training purposes"; the new recruits received their first practical training in roundups and escort duty. Some zealous instructors reportedly ordered recruits individually to shoot a Jew.[7]

During the summer of 1942, Trawniki also began to serve as a forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ). Under the auspices of Operation Reinhard, the SS and police constructed the labor camp adjacent to the training camp, separated only by the original stone wall that surrounded the abandoned sugar factory.[8] The appearance of a Jewish workforce at Trawniki coincided with the establishment of procedures for disposing of the property of the Jews murdered in Operation Reinhard. Globocnik selected Trawniki to be a storage depot for clothing flowing in from the killing centers; the so-called Clothing Depot (Bekleidungslager) was located just outside the fence of the training camp. In June 1942, three freight cars stocked with baggage taken from Viennese Jews bound for Sobibór were diverted to Trawniki; that same month a Jewish labor detachment of 20 to 40 women was assigned to sort, wash, and repair the clothing.[9]

As his SS and police murdered the last of those Jews in the General Government considered "incapable of work," Heinrich Himmler grew increasingly fearful of resistance, yet was hopeful that the SS could better integrate the surviving Jewish forced laborers into armaments production. On October 9, 1942, he ordered the transfer of all privately owned factories producing armaments and related goods, along with their Jewish forced laborers, from ghettos in the General Government to camps, including Trawniki, where the Jews could be more easily guarded.[10] In the late autumn of 1942, SS authorities moved a brush factory and its laborers from the Międzyrzec-Podlaski ghetto, which had just been liquidated, to Trawniki. On February 8, 1943, Globocnik signed a contract with Fritz Emil Schultz of F.W. Schultz and Co., which produced mattresses and furs and repaired boots and uniforms. The contract provided that the Schultz fur production plant with its 4,000 Jewish workers and a brush-making plant with 1,500 more workers be transferred with all movable equipment and civilian personnel from the Warsaw ghetto to Trawniki. It named Streibel commander of the Trawniki labor camp, with responsibility for distribution of labor, collection of fees for the forced laborers (5 zlotys a day for men and 4 zlotys a day for women), and security. Day-to-day management of the camp, however, was the duty of SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Bartetzko and his deputy SS-Scharführer Josef Napieralla.[11] To manage the provision of forced laborers to the Schultz firm and to other firms located at other labor camps, the SS leadership founded the Ostindustrie GmbH (Eastern Industries, Ltd., Osti) holding company on March 12, 1943.

Initially, the SS encouraged Schultz workers to voluntarily relocate; and on February 16, transports began to leave Warsaw for Trawniki. Despite threats to shoot those who ignored SS incentives, Schultz could only persuade 448 out of 1,500 workers scheduled for transfer by April 14 actually to board the trains.[12] Losing patience, the SS decided to liquidate the Warsaw ghetto. At 3:00 A.M. on the morning of April 19, 1943, SS and police units, including a battalion of 350 Wachmänner, sealed off the ghetto, sparking the famous Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.[13] Between February 15 and April 30, 1943, 2,848 men, 2,397 women, and 388 children were removed from Warsaw to Trawniki in 17 transports via truck and train. By May 1, at least 5,633 Jews, mostly Polish Jews but including German, Austrian, and Slovak Jews, resided in the Trawniki labor camp.[14] Between May 27 and July 24, eight new barracks were constructed to accommodate the influx of prisoners; barracks construction continued until September 1943. The number of prisoners who worked for the Schultz concern at Trawniki hovered around 6,000 from May 1943 until the liquidation of the camp in November. Small detachments of

prisoners worked directly for the SS in barracks construction and camp upkeep. Two transports of Jewish workers arrived in Trawniki from the Minsk ghetto after its liquidation in September 1943.[15]

In the interests of heightened production, Bartetzko initially maintained relatively decent conditions in Trawniki. He reportedly tolerated illicit trade in food and alcohol, permitted Jewish prisoners to form their own musical band, and even offered opportunities to play soccer. After August 1943, however, conditions deteriorated. Medical care after August was nonexistent, and fear of sickness was endemic. Though the weather became cold in October, the workers received no winter clothing. Violations of camp regulations, such as theft or an attempt to escape, brought swift and brutal retribution. One day in May or June 1943, Bartetzko shot a prisoner for attempting to escape. As a deterrent, the body was left where it fell for 24 hours. When three Jews were caught stealing equipment, Bartetzko assembled all available guards, prisoners, and Schultz executives to watch each of the three prisoners receive 25 lashes with a bullwhip. Frequent violators risked transfer to a subcamp located at Dorohucza, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Trawniki. Under command of SS-Unterscharführer Robert Jührs, Dorohucza's "industry" was digging peat—dangerous and difficult work for approximately 100 ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-equipped prisoners.[16]

For a variety of reasons, including Globocnik's quarrels with the civilian District Governor in Lublin and Osti's failure to secure Wehrmacht contracts, the SS leadership transferred the Trawniki complex to the jurisdiction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in September 1943; Trawniki thus became a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek.[17] In the following months, 1,000 Trawniki-trained guards were transferred to concentration camps in the Reich, while 150 members of the WVHA's SS-Death's Head Units arrived in Trawniki.[18]

In late October 1943, stunned by the Sobibór prisoner uprising, Himmler ordered the murder of the remaining Polish Jews in the Lublin District. As part of the cynically christened Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), SS and police units shot at least 6,000 Jewish inmates of Trawniki and Dorohucza on November 3, 1943, virtually eliminating the entire workforce.

After the massacre, the Trawniki SS and police staff imported a small detachment of Jewish laborers from Milejów to burn the corpses on massive grills made from rail track, then to disperse the ashes and bone fragments into trenches, which they covered with dirt. After completing this dreadful work, the Jewish laborers were shot and their bodies burned. For weeks after the massacre, Trawniki trained guards searched the camp grounds for hidden Jews. Those who were found within the first few weeks were shot. Zina Czapnik and her niece, Raja Mileczina, were able to hide for nearly two months before the Wachmänner discovered them. To Czapnik's astonishment, both women were permitted to live. They joined a detachment of approximately 40 Jewish women of Austrian and Dutch origin who had been brought to Trawniki after the massacre to perform domestic tasks inside the camp complex, such as laundry and cleaning the barracks for the SS staff and the Wachmänner. They also sorted and recycled Operation Reinhard booty and the clothing of the recently murdered Trawniki inmates. In May 1944, the SS transferred this small detachment to Lublin-Majdanek, and the Trawniki labor camp was dissolved.[19]

Most of the key officials at Trawniki either failed to survive the war or were later brought to trial. Globocnik committed suicide upon capture by the British in Carinthia on May 31, 1945. The Allies extradited his successor, Jakob Sporrenberg, to Poland, where he was convicted and executed in 1950. Christian Wirth was ostensibly killed by partisans near Trieste on May 26, 1944; Höfle was arrested by Austrian authorities in 1961 and committed suicide in his cell on August 21, 1962. Neither Trawniki battalion commander survived the war: SS-Untersturmführer Willi Franz went missing on July 31, 1944; while SS-Obersturmführer Schwarzenbacher was killed by partisans near Trieste on June 2, 1944. Although Bartetzko was killed at the front in January 1945, Trawniki camp commandant Karl Streibel, Bartetzko's deputy, Josef Napierella, and four Trawniki company commanders were indicted by a West German court in Hamburg in 1970. Since the prosecution could not prove that they had played a role in deciding upon and implementing Operation Harvest Festival at Trawniki or that they had foreknowledge of or control over the murderous field assignments on which the men that they trained were deployed, all six defendants were acquitted in 1976. Hundreds of, possibly as many as a thousand, Trawniki trainees were tried either by Soviet military tribunals or Soviet civilian courts after the war: virtually all were convicted, and some were executed. A handful of Trawniki-trained guards were tried in the West. Franz Swidersky, a Treblinka labor camp guard, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court in 1971. The United States initiated denaturalization proceedings against 16 former Trawniki guards, including 3 who served at killing centers, several who were deployed in 1943 deportation operations in Warsaw and Białystok, and virtually all of whom guarded Jewish prisoners at Trawniki itself. Most of these proceedings ended in denaturalization—a handful of proceedings are still pending. In August 2006, two Canadian courts recommended denaturalization after proceedings against two former Wachmänner who found refuge in Canada after the war.

SOURCES Little has been written about the Trawniki camp or the police auxiliaries trained there. On the camp itself, the major work is Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Getto Warschau—SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest. Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahn im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993). On the Trawniki-trained guards, there is Peter Black, "Die Trawniki-Männer und die 'Aktion Reinhard'" in *"Aktion Reinhard": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement, 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musial (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2004), pp. 309–352; and Maria Wardzyńska, *Formacja*

Wachmannschaften des SS- und Polizeiführers im Distrikt Lublin (Warsaw: IPN, 1992).

Records relevant to Trawniki are located at the CAFSSRF in RGs K-779 and "20869 Guards." The former contains the internal administrative correspondence of the Trawniki training camp from January 1943 until July 1944 (unfortunately, the records for 1941 and 1942 appear to have been destroyed during the war). The latter contains approximately 800 personnel files of Trawniki-trained guards along with postwar investigative material related to Soviet efforts to identify and locate former Trawniki men. Neither of these record groups is open to scholars at the time of writing, but the USHMMA has secured agreement to receive copies of most of this material and will be able to make it public for the first time. Of equal significance, but not centrally located, are the records of trials of hundreds of former Trawniki trainees at locations throughout the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and other former Soviet Republics. The files remain in the custody of the security organs of the respective regimes, for example, the FSB in Russia and the SBU in Ukraine. The most important of these trials include: Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko, et al., 158/57252, GASBU-L; Proceedings against E.G. Shul'ts et al., 66437/14, GASBU (available in the USHMMA, RG 301.018M); Proceedings against A.A. Zuev et al., 44/32132, GASBU-D; and Proceedings against N.G. Matvienko et al., 4/100366, GASBU-Dn. Additional groups of Trawniki personnel files found their way into TsDAVO (Fond 3676, Opis 4, Dela 327, 328, 329, and 331);A-W-W (Fond 1173, ap. 4, b. 51); and LVVA (Fund 129, s. 1390). Perhaps the most important source on the Trawniki labor camp is the record of the proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., File 147 Js 43/69, located in the StA-HH. Some published documents on Trawniki are available in *DiM* (Łódź, 1946), vol. 1, *Obozy*; and vol. 2, *"Akcje" i "Wysiedlenia."*

Peter Black

NOTES

1. Memorandum from Section Population and Welfare [initialed by Türk] to Lublin Department of Internal Administration, July 14, 1941, with attached "Report on the Inspection of the Reception Camp in Trawnicki" [*sic*], published in *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy* (Łódź, 1946), pp. 258–259.

2. Service Obligation, June 23, 1942, W. Amanawitschus Trawniki Personnel File, 1173/4/55, p. 3, LCVA.

3. "Guidelines for the Selection of Civilians and Suspect Prisoners of War from the Eastern Campaign [who are] in Prisoner of War Camps in the Occupied Territory, in the Area of Operations, in the Government General, and in Camps on the Territory of the Reich," appendix No. 1 to Deployment Order No. 8 of the Chief of Security Police and SD, July 17, 1941, NARA, RG-238, NO-3414; circular of the Chief of the Orpo [signed Daluege], August 5, 1941, 1323/1/50, RGVA, copy in USHMMA, RG-11.001M.15, Reel 80; Commander of Trawniki Training Camp [signed Streibel] to Commander of Security Police and SD in Thorn [Toruń], January 19, 1943, K. Schubrich Trawniki personnel file, RG 20869, vol. 11, p. 141, CAFSSRF; SSPF Lublin, "Recommendation for Promotion for Karl Streibel," March 6, 1942, K. Streibel SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A-3343/SSO, Reel 166B, frames 220–221.

4. Globocnik to von Herff [Chief of SS-FHA], October 27, 1943, J. Schwarzenbacher SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A3343/SSO, Reel 123B, frames 408–410; "Company List of the 1st Company" [Streibel Battalion], April 6, 1945, File 114-242-6, p. 7, SÚA, Prague.

5. SSPF Lublin [signed Globocnik] to HSSPF East, May 15, 1943, K. Streibel SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A3343/SSO, Roll 166B, frames 206–207.

6. Interrogation of A.G., March 22, 1965, pp. 11–12, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., File 147 Js 43/69, vol. 55, pp. 10878–10879, StA-HH; interrogation of T.P., November 22, 1972, pp. 3, 5, ibid., vol. 93, pp. 17697–17715; interrogation of Jan Zielinski, January 15, 1969, Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko et al., vol. 5, pp. 20–23, 158/57252, GASBU-L; interrogation of Viktor Ivanovich Bogomolov, July 10, 1948, Proceedings against Y.M. Iskaradov, pp. 130–131, 5734/37834, GASBU-Do; interrogation of Andrej Semenovich Vasilega, July 12, 1948, ibid., pp. 176–177, verso; interrogation of Ivan Efimovich Churin, September 30, 1950, Proceedings against I.E. Churin, 892/PU-6375, pp. 67–68, CAFSS-V.

7. Interrogation of S.M. Prishch, April 25, 1941, Proceedings against E.G. Shul'ts et al., 14/66437, vol. 14, pp. 1–5, GASBU; interrogation of J.E., August 21, 1975, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., 208 AR-Z 673/41, BA-L; interrogation of Y.T. Klimenko, May 19, 1968, Proceedings against V. N. Litvinenko, vol. 7, pp. 259–272, 158/57252, GASBU-L. On reported individual shootings, see interrogation of A.I. Moskalenko, November 24, 1947, Proceedings against A.I. Moskalenko, 2871/11991, pp. 62–89, GASBU-L; interrogation of Y.T. Klimenko, May 19, 1968, Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko, vol. 7, pp. 259–272, 158/57252, GASBU-L; interrogation of V.Y. Churikov, August 4, 1953, Proceedings against V. Y. Churikov, 7789/05360, pp. 64–67, CAFSSRF; excerpt from interrogation of A.P. Tikhonov, September 11, 1946, Proceedings against I.A. Tarasov, Case No. 941, p. 134, CAFSS-Ka.

8. Note for the personnel file of Gali Achunow, June 19, 1942, RG 20869, vol. 4, p. 176, CAFSSRF; sketch of the camp and plant at Trawniki drawn by the Central Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police, June 21, 1942, Proceedings against K. Streibel et al., Map Folder, 147 Js 43/69, StA-HH.

9. Globocnik to Höfle and Wippern, July 15, 1942, published in *DiM*, vol. 2, Part I, p. 183; SSPF Lublin [signed Globocnik], "Decree on the Management of a Card File Index in the Camps Trawniki, Chopin Street 27, Chelm, Clothing Works of the Waffen-SS and Department IVa on [the staff of the] SS and Police Leader," September 16, 1942, ibid., pp. 188–189; interrogation of T.P., November 22, 1972, p. 6, Proceedings against Streibel, 147 Js 43/69, vol. 93, pp. 17697–17715, StA-HH; interrogation of F.F., January 4, 1962, Streibel Proceedings, 147 Js 43/69, vol. 14, pp. 2604–2605, StA-HH; Activity Report of the 152nd Police Precinct in Vienna, June 20, 1942, 051/63-DN/27-3, YVA.

10. Secret Circular of Himmler, October 9, 1942, NARA, RG-238, NO-1611.

11. Contract signed Globocnik and Schultz, February 8, 1943; facsimile appears in Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Getto Warschau—SS-Arbeitzslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest. Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahn im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), pp. 184–185.

12. Report to Schultz and Co., "Activity Report from the Period from February 16 until May 1, 1943," May 3, 1943, reproduced in ibid., p. 210; Business Diary of Schultz and Co. entries for April 10 and 14, 1943, Proceedings against Georg Michalsen, 8 AR-Z 74/60, Documents, vol. 2, pp. 4493–4494, BA-L.

13. Jürgen Stroop, "Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr!" May 16, 1943, p. 3, 1061-PS, *TMWC* 26:628–694.

14. Report to Schultz & Co., "Activity Report for the Period from February 16 until May 1, 1943," May 3, 1943, reproduced in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, p. 210.

15. Notice of Schultz & Co., August 27, 1943, reproduced in ibid., p. 220; sketches of the Trawniki labor camp, July 23, 1943, and June 21, 1942, ibid., pp. 221, 222–223; excerpt from Diary of Helene Chilf, September 16–19, 1943, ibid., pp. 252–253; report on Osti by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Fischer, June 21, 1944, NARA, RG-238, NO-1271.

16. Interrogation of K.Z., May 25, 1963, Proceedings against Michalsen., 141 Js 573/60, pp. 9157–9158, 9162–9163, StA-HH; excerpts from the Diary of Helene Chilf, September 12–15, 1943 and September 25 to October 8, 1943, and October 9–14, 1943, in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 249, 251, 253–255; statement of G.K., May 8, 1963, Proceedings against Michalsen., File 141 Js 573/60, pp. 6886–6889, 6902, StA-HH; interrogation of R.N., September 20, 1962, StA-HH; 147 Js 43/69, Proceedings against Ludwig Hahn, 147 Js 7/72, vol. 36, p. 7027, StA-HH; interrogation of C.G., May 7, 1969, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., 147 Js 43/69, vol. 82, pp. 15735–15737, StA-HH; report of Fischer, June 21, 1944, NARA, RG-238, NO-1271.

17. Notation of Pohl, September 7, 1943, NARA, RG-238, N0-599.

18. Waffen-SS/SS-Guard Battalion Sachsenhausen, "Changes in Manpower Levels in the Month of January 1944," February 3, 1944, 1367/1/79, p. 98, RGVA; Waffen-SS/SS-Guard Battalion Sachsenhausen, "Changes in Manpower Levels in the Month of November 1943," December 2, 1943, ibid., pp. 100–101.

19. Interrogation of Zina Czapnik, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., March 28, 1966, 147 Js 43/69, pp. 13016–13019, StA-HH; interrogation of Surry and Suze P., October 20, 1947, ibid., Dokumentenband, Zeugenaussagen, N-P, pp. 20246–20253; interrogation of Raja Mileczina, July 30, 1975, ibid., p. 28045, excerpts reproduced in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 269–270, 271–272.

MAUTHAUSEN

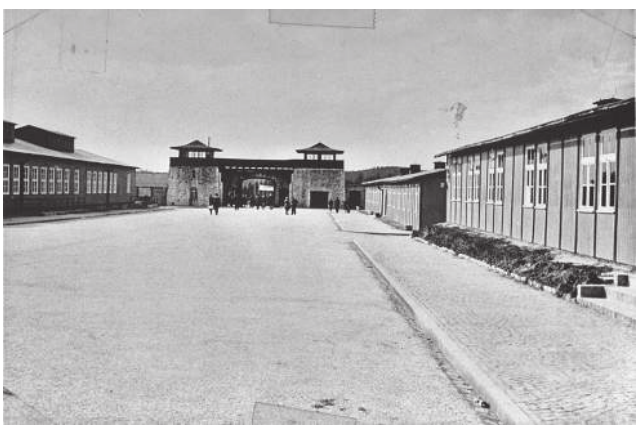


Mauthausen entrance gate.
USHMM WS #74451, COURTESY OF COL. P. ROBERT SEIBEL

MAUTHAUSEN MAIN CAMP

In May 1938, Theodor Eicke, Oswald Pohl, and a technical staff chose a site on a high plateau near the small town of Mauthausen, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Linz, Austria, for a new concentration camp. The Mauthausen location was chosen because of the proximity to stone quarries and the need for a facility to hold political detainees in occupied Austria. A detail of several hundred prisoners from Dachau began construction there, and by the end of September, they had completed barracks for prisoners and the SS-guards. On February 17, 1939, SS-Obersturmbannführer Franz Ziereis took over as commandant, a position he held until the end of the war.[1]

Granite walls, built by the prisoners and topped with barbed wire charged with a high-power electric charge, enclosed the "protective custody" camp, a rectangular area 85×210 meters (279×689 feet). The street leading into the camp passed through two massive stone towers at the southeastern corner and led to the roll-call square. To the right of the entrance were the wash barracks, kitchen, confinement bunker, crematorium, and infirmary. To the left prisoners had constructed 24 barracks, each 45 to 50 meters (148 to 164 feet) long. Block One housed the camp clerk and, beginning in 1943, a brothel. Prominent prisoners were assigned to Block Two. Most of the construction at Mauthausen had been completed by late 1941, but a year later work began on a cluster of barracks for prisoners of war (POWs) outside of the stone walls. At night and on Sundays, prisoners remained in the protective custody camp, and guards staffed the towers along the stone wall. On the other days, shortly after the morning roll call and as the prisoner work details left the protective custody camp, the sentry chain of guards moved outward and was set up around the entire complex. Most of the prisoners worked in the quarry, northwest of the protective custody camp, and by May 1942, their number reached 3,844. Each day they marched down the 186 steps under SS guard into the quarry. Prisoners carried large blocks of stone up the steps: excruciating work in conditions of unimaginable difficulty, because of the inadequate food and clothing and the brutality of the guards and Kapos.



Post-liberation view of the Mauthausen roll-call plaza and interior of the entrance gate.
USHMM WS #74452, COURTESY OF P. ROBERT SEIBEL

The transfer of large numbers of prisoners from Dachau began in the fall of 1938, and by November, Mauthausen held more than 1,000 inmates. Transports continued to arrive over the next year, and by late September 1939, the number of prisoners reached 2,995; almost all of them came from Germany or Austria. The first large group of foreign prisoners, 448 Polish political detainees, arrived on March 9, 1940. During 1940, when more than 11,000 new prisoners were registered, transports came from Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald and included many "Red Spaniards," prisoners who had fought in the Spanish Civil War on the Republican side. In 1941, an additional 18,000 prisoners arrived at Mauthausen, and in 1942, that number rose to 21,000.[2]

Mauthausen held large numbers of Soviet POWs, beginning in the fall of 1941. Separated from the other prisoners, they lived in extremely poor conditions, with minimal or no shelter and little food. One of the first transports of POWs, some 2,000, arrived on October 21, 1941. An additional 5,000 more Russian POWs came to Mauthausen by the spring of 1942. The fatality rate among them remained very high, and by March 1942 only 80 remained alive. According to the official record of the number of POW deaths (maintained in a separate death book beginning on October 21, 1941), 4,588 POWs had died by December 1942. A large number had starved to death or were executed. Many others died of typhus, which swept through the camp in late 1941 and early 1942. The number of POW fatalities at Mauthausen remained low for the remaining years of the war, largely because most had been killed already, with only 15 POW deaths in 1943, 246 in 1944, and 225 in 1945.[3]

In the fall of 1941, a large number of Czech Jews arrived at Mauthausen. Although not separated from the other Czech prisoners, the Jews were targeted for especially brutal treatment. Beatings, starvation, inhuman work conditions, or electrocution on the barbed-wire fences greatly reduced their number. Throughout the war, Jews continued to be sent to Mauthausen. For example, about 8,000 Hungarian Jews came from Auschwitz in May and June 1944. An additional 4,600 Polish Jews arrived in August. Because at this stage of the war the need for manpower in war-related work was so great, all those Jews who survived the initial selection were sent to subcamps.

In January 1945, as Auschwitz was being liquidated, more than 9,000 of its prisoners, mostly Jews, were shipped to Mauthausen. Many died of malnutrition or exposure before reaching the camp, and others perished during the selection process when, regardless of the weather, they stood along the stone walls for most of the day and night. The last large transport of prisoners to Mauthausen was a group of Hungarian Jews who



Prisoners drag earth-laden carts for the erection of the "Russian camp" at Mauthausen, April-May 1942.
USHMM WS #12352, COURTESY OF NARA

arrived in March 1945. Because the camp was already filled beyond capacity with prisoners evacuated from other concentration camps, a tent compound was erected, and by April 9, it held more than 8,500 prisoners; an estimated 3,000 died there. In March, two more large transports arrived, the first with 2,055 prisoners from Gross-Rosen, of whom 2,047 were Jews, and another transport of 1,799 female prisoners from Ravensbrück.

Daily life at Mauthausen and its subcamps was characterized by continuous brutality at the hands of the SS guards and the Kapos and the deliberate lack of the most fundamental elements of human existence. Palatable food and rudimentary sanitary facilities were lacking, and disease ran rampant. The brutalization of the inmates began upon their arrival at Mauthausen and continued throughout their imprisonment. The first stop was the Political Section, where beatings and killings were routine. Once in the camp, daily life was characterized by deprivation and mistreatment. Each morning and evening the prisoners had to stand, sometimes for hours and regardless of the weather, on the roll-call square and be counted. From there, they were assigned at the start of the day to work details, many of which took them outside the camp. Because of the nature of work at the quarry, where the weakened and malnourished prisoners did strenuous manual labor and hauled heavy rock, a large number of prisoners died or were killed there. Such treatment was in line with Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) chief Reinhard Heydrich's January 2, 1941, decree classifying the concentration camps into three levels, grading them by the severity of conditions. Only Mauthausen was in level three, and it was reserved "for the heavily burdened, especially those with a criminal record, and asocials, that is, those who have hardly any chance for rehabilitation."[4]

Death books recorded the fatalities at Mauthausen and its subcamps (except Gusen, which maintained its own death books), listing in detail the causes of death (with date and time of day) and biographical information on the victims. These provide information on the patterns of deaths, even though some prisoners were killed before ever being registered at the concentration camp and therefore were not recorded.[5] The victims of the Mauthausen system came from virtually all of the nations of Europe. According to the death books, 30 prisoners died in 1938, with the number increasing to 445 during 1939. Following the outbreak of war, fatalities rose sharply, with 2,312 registered in 1940; 1,494 in 1941; 4,392 in 1942; 3,209 in 1943; 7,076 in 1944; and 15,630 for the first four months of 1945.[6] The bodies of those who died were taken to a crematorium in the city of Steyr until May 1940, when the camp's own crematorium began operations.

The patterns of death reflect the changing policies and Nazi conquests. Between May and October 1941, for example, most of those who died at Mauthausen were Jews, the first time large numbers were represented there, and the patterns of death indicate a deliberate policy of annihilation. In May and June 1941, almost every recorded death was that of a Jew, and from June to October, most were Dutch Jews, recent arrivals at Mauthausen. In the last two months of 1941, there was once again a marked shift in deaths; now mostly political detainees from Spain, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were killed. Numerous executions also took place in late 1941 at Mauthausen.

During 1942, most recorded deaths were of political detainees, many of whom were Czechs. Most had died of natural causes, but the incidence of those killed during an escape attempt or by execution rose. A mass execution took place on October 24, 1942, when 263 Czech prisoners were shot. According to the record of the execution in the death book, the killing began at 8:30 A.M. and ran through 5:42 P.M., a victim every two minutes. In November, more than 30 prisoners were shot during escape attempts; most were Dutch Jews.

In 1941, an installation for shooting prisoners with a small-caliber pistol was set up in a building just off the roll-call square. Prisoners accused of specific offenses were hanged or executed by firing squad. Those prisoners unable to work were killed by lethal injection of benzine or phenol to the heart. Prisoners were killed by poisonous gas in the gas chamber constructed in the crematorium building in late 1941, in the gas vans that carried victims to and from the Gusen subcamp, or at Hartheim, a "euthanasia" center. Invalids, the chronically ill, and prisoners unable to work were selected by

a team of physicians at Mauthausen and Gusen beginning in August 1941, part of the so-called *Aktion 14f13*. An additional killing program, *Aktion K* (*K* meaning *Kugel*, or bullet), included POWs who had attempted to escape and officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) who were unable to work. They were to be sent to Mauthausen and executed shortly after their arrival.[7]

In late 1942 and 1943, work in the quarries slackened as war-related industrial production grew in importance. At the same time, there was a massive increase in the number of prisoners sent to Mauthausen. For example, in March 1943, Mauthausen and Gusen held about 14,800 inmates. By December, that figure had risen to 26,000, and by the spring of 1945, it had reached 45,000. The increase in 1943 resulted in large measure from mass arrests in Poland, France, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Additional prisoners came from Greece and Belgium. In 1943 alone, more than 21,000 new prisoners arrived at Mauthausen. In 1944, more than 58,000 new prisoners were registered at Mauthausen, mostly individuals evacuated from concentration camps in the Balkans and Poland.

The final year of the war was catastrophic for the prisoners held at Mauthausen. Because of the camp's location well behind the advancing front lines, large numbers of prisoners were evacuated from other concentration camps and sent to Mauthausen. Between July and December 1944, the number of inmates rose by more than a third, and the gain continued into March 1945. Most of those arriving were in desperate condition, having hiked for several days or even weeks or having been transported in open railway cars.

Even though many of these prisoners were dispatched directly to the subcamps, conditions at Mauthausen remained seriously overcrowded. In 1944, a tent camp of 14 military and circuslike tents was set up outside of the main camp. Here, the prisoners slept directly on the ground, and sanitary facilities were virtually nonexistent; disease and death were rampant. Many of these prisoners, especially those who died shortly after arrival, were never recorded in the death books. Of the 6,000 prisoners who survived the trek from Sachsenhausen to Mauthausen in January, only several hundred made it through the first couple of days. Upon arrival the prisoners had been forced to strip and remain outside of the main camp for several days, exposed to the elements and beatings from the SS.



New arrivals stand at the "wailing wall" (*Klagemauer*) after a weeklong trip in open railway cars, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #76317, COURTESY OF NARA



The Mauthausen prisoner orchestra, with conductor Karl Maierhofer in the lead, accompany recaptured prisoner Hans Bonarewitz (shown elevated above the performers with head down) to his execution, July 30, 1942.
USHMM WS #18371, COURTESY OF AG-M

On May 3, 1945, members of the SS guard units fled, and a police unit from Vienna and a military unit from the Vienna fire department took over as guards. On May 5, 1945, units of the U.S. Army arrived at Mauthausen and Gusen, liberating about 21,000 prisoners. Former commandant Ziereis fled but was captured later in May by American troops. He died of gunshot wounds inflicted during the capture. Investigations into the crimes committed in Mauthausen began almost immediately after liberation and culminated in a series of U.S. Army trials held in 1947–1948 at Dachau. Beginning in the 1960s, West German prosecutors initiated dozens of investigations into crimes committed at Mauthausen, and several major cases went to court.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary and primary sources related to Mauthausen. The newest secondary account is Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, "Mauthausen—Stammlager," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 293–346. See also Hans Maršálek's comprehensive account, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österrreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995). Gisela Rabitsch, "Das KL Mauthausen," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), pp. 50–92, provides a good overview; as does the collection of documents in the DÖW's *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich 1934–1945: Eine*

Dokumentation, 2 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982), 2:540–592. Florian Freund's articles—"Mauthausen: Zu Strukturen von Haupt- und Aussenlagern," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 254–272; and "Der Mauthausen-Prozess: Zum amerikanischen Militärgerichtsverfahren in Dachau im Frühjar 1946," *DaHe* 13 (December 1997): 99–118—provide excellent surveys of the Mauthausen system and the postwar Mauthausen trials, particularly the parent case against Hans Altfuldisch.

Several dozen of the U.S. Army trials held at Dachau involved crimes committed at Mauthausen and its subcamps, and these records are available at the NARA, RG 338, Files 000-50-5-Mauthausen through 000-50-5-51. On June 17, 1945, U.S. Army Major Eugene Cohen submitted a report on the crimes committed at Mauthausen, and this report, composed largely of survivor accounts and wartime documents, is an important source (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-1176). Other documents captured at the end of the war, such as the Personnel Cards of Inmates (eight microfilm rolls) and Numerical Register (two microfilm rolls, NARA, RG 242, Arolsen, and in 000-50-Mauthausen), the Death Books, Prisoner of War Death Book, and Unnatural Death Book (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 493-A-G-PS, which is available on microfilm, T-490), provide details on individual prisoners. The records of the West German cases, especially the case against Karl Schulze and Anton Streitwieser in LG Köln, include hundreds of survivor statements that begin to reveal the horror of daily life at Mauthausen and the treatment of prisoners by the guards. Commandant Ziereis fled and hid from the liberating American forces that captured him. Wounded, Ziereis dictated a statement (Nuremberg document PS-1515) and was handed over to former prisoners. He died on May 24, 1945, his body stripped and hung on the barbed-wire fence.

Robert G. Waite

NOTES

1. BDCPF, "Franz Ziereis" file, NARA, RG 242.

2. "C.C. Mauthausen Num. Entry Register" and "Häftlinge Personal Karte," Film Nos. 1–8, NARA, RG 242, Arolsen microfilm.

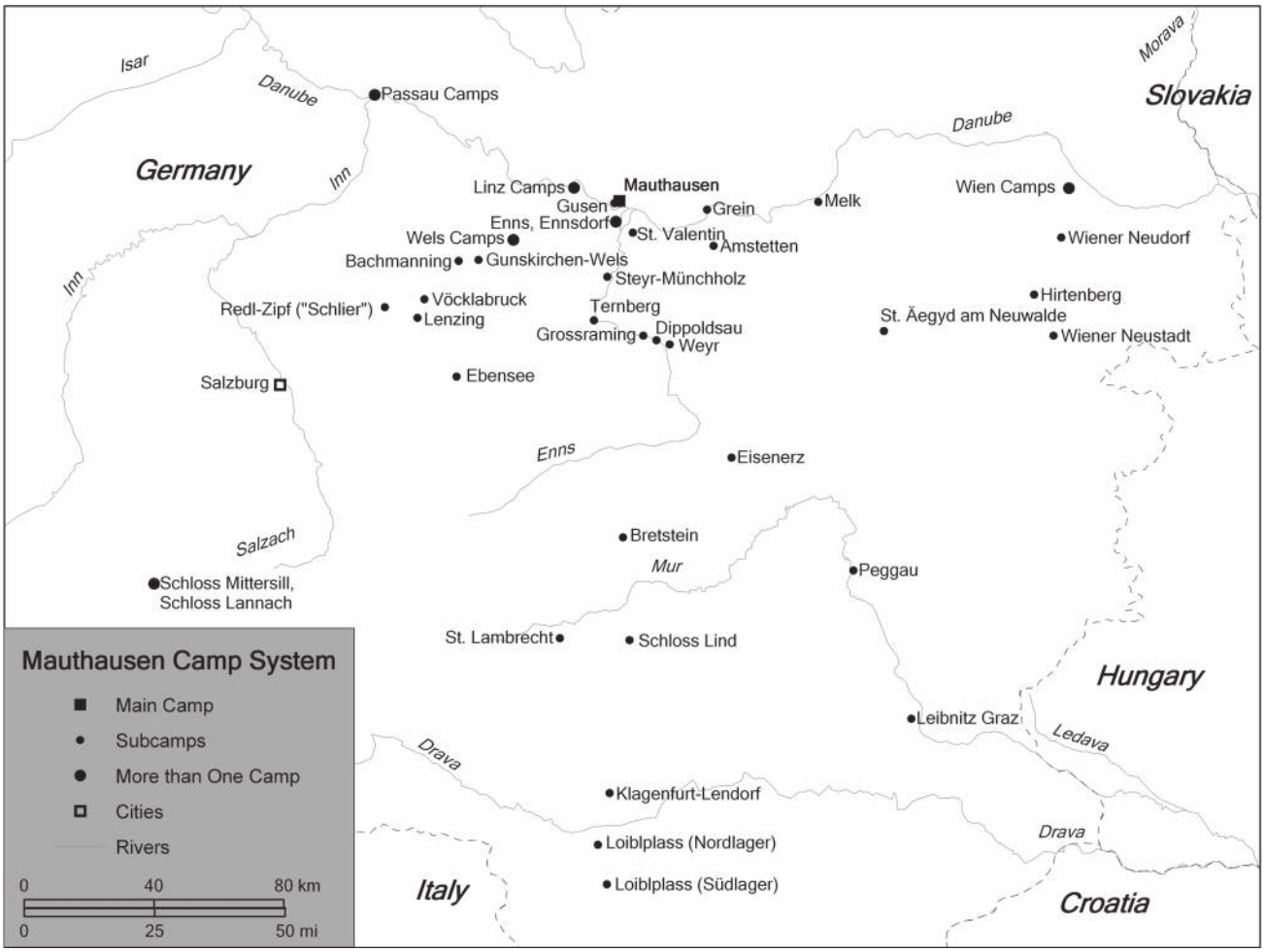
3. "Totenbuch Kgf," National Archives, Nuremberg document, 495-PS, records the deaths of POWs from October 21, 1941, to March 31, 1945, a total of 5,588 persons.

4. Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, Berlin, January 2, 1941, "Betr.: Einstufung der Konzentrationslager," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 1063-A-PS.

5. The seven volumes cover the period from January 7, 1939, to April 1945. There are, in addition, separate volumes for prisoners of war and those who died "unnatural deaths," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 493-A-G-PS. "Unat. Todesfälle," NARA, Nuremberg document P-22, identifies those who died at Mauthausen and the subcamps through accidents, suicides, execution, or escape attempts, from October 1, 1942, to April 6, 1945; they numbered 1,023 individuals.

6. These figures come from the seven volumes of death books. The overall number of fatalities at Mauthausen and its subcamps are compiled in Nuremberg document 499-PS. Hans Maršálek estimated that an additional 16,000 unregistered prisoners died in the Mauthausen system in 1945 (*Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* [Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995], p. 158); and Gisela Rabitsch puts the number of those who perished at Mauthausen, including POWs, at 85,259 ("Das KL Mauthausen," in *Studier zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970], p. 89).

7. Gestapo—Staatspolizeistelle Köln, "Betr.: Massnahmen gegen wiedergriffene flüchtige Kriegsgafangene Offiziere und nichtarbeitende Unteroffiziere mit Ausnahme britischer und amerikanischer Kriegsgefangener," March 4, 1944, NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 1650-PS.


Isar
Danube
Passau Camps
Germany
Inn
Inn
Morava
Slovakia
Danube
Linz Camps
Mauthausen
Gusen
Grein
Melk
Wien Camps
Enns, Ennsdorf
St. Valentin
Amstetten
Wels Camps
Wiener Neudorf
Bachmanning
Gunskirchen-Wels
Steyr-Münchholz
Hirtenberg
Redl-Zipf ("Schlier")
Vöcklabruck
Lenzing
Ternberg
St. Äegyd am Neuwalde
Grossraming
Dippoldsau
Weyr
Wiener Neustadt
Salzburg
Ebensee
Enns
Eisenerz
Salzach
Bretstein
Mur
Peggau
Schloss Mittersill,
Schloss Lannach
St. Lambrecht
Schloss Lind
Hungary
Leibnitz Graz
Ledava
Drava
Klagenfurt-Lendorf
Drava
Loiblplass (Nordlager)
Italy
Loiblplass (Südlager)
Croatia
Mauthausen Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0
40
80 km
0
25
50 mi

MAUTHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

A few days after the *Anschluss* of Austria with the German Reich, Gauleiter August Eigruber announced that a concentration camp would be established in the Gau Oberdonau.

The choice of the site was dictated largely by the existing granite quarries in Mauthausen and Gusen and their close proximity to the "Führerstadt" Linz. The Granitwerke Mauthausen, (Mauthausen Granite Works) owned by the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) was established in St. Georgen an der Gusen. Its purpose was to exploit the quarries.[1] Even before the Mauthausen concentration camp was opened on August 8, 1938, the DESt had leased the quarries at Mauthausen and Gusen. It would later assume complete ownership.[2]

The first commandant of the Mauthausen concentration camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer. He was commandant until February 1939. He was followed by Franz Ziereis, who held the position until the camp was liberated on May 5, 1945. He reached the rank of SS-Standartenführer. From March 1940, Georg Bachmayer was the first Schutzhaftlagerführer. He reached the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer. Until the end of 1941, the guards were mostly German SS members, but later their number was increased by ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche). Members of Wehrmacht units were based in several subcamps to guard the prisoners, as were members of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police) and Ukrainian volunteers.

For several years the prisoner-functionaries were mostly German and Austrian BV (career criminal, or *Berufsverbrecher*) prisoners. From 1944, political prisoners took over the critical functions in the camp and began to develop a secret resistance committee.

The expansion of Mauthausen from a single camp into a system of camps was certain when in May 1938 it acquired the right to quarry in Gusen. In December 1939, expansion of the Gusen camp began. The Gusen subcamp was officially opened on May 25, 1940.[3] Until January 1944, the camps operated as two camps with two relatively independent administrations. Toward the end of the war, Gusen grew into the largest camp in the Mauthausen subcamp system.

In 1940, the Chief of the Sipo and the SD declared the two camps Mauthausen and Gusen to be Category III camps, which in effect turned them into "camps for murder."[4] Prisoners from other concentration camps were sent for punishment to Mauthausen and Gusen, where they served out their imprisonment under more severe conditions. At least 3,500 prisoners were murdered between 1942 and 1945 in the Mauthausen gas chambers. A minimum of approximately 1,000 prisoners were gassed in the subcamp Gusen as well as in the so-called gas van (*Gaswagen*). About 5,000 prisoners who were incapable of work were murdered in the gas chambers of the former "Euthanasia Institute" in Schloss Hartheim near Linz. The death rate among prisoners in Mauthausen/Gusen was until the end of 1942 the highest of all National Socialist concentration camps.

A labor shortage meant that from 1941 there was a gradual change in the camps' function. Prisoners increasingly worked on construction projects and for the armaments industry, which resulted in a slight and gradual improvement of conditions and a decrease in the death rate. At the same time, the Mauthausen concentration camp developed into the organizational center of a camp complex of more than 40 camps. During a period of seven years more than 200,000 prisoners were held in the camps and used as forced laborers. Mauthausen also became the death camp for those prisoners in the subcamps who were sick or physically weakened.

In 1942, there were 5 Mauthausen subcamps; in 1943, 10 more were established; and in 1944, another 21 became part of the system. The number of prisoners in the Mauthausen camp system increased steadily until 1942, decreased slightly due to the high death rate, and then began to climb again toward the end of the year. From 1944 on, the number of prisoners in Mauthausen and its subcamps dramatically increased. In December 1944, there were 72,825 prisoners registered in Mauthausen, of whom more than 62,000 were in its subcamps. In March 1945, the high-water mark was reached with 84,472 prisoners.[5] Poles and Soviets were the two largest national groups in the camps (among the Soviet prisoners, there were, until the beginning–middle of 1943, 15,000 prisoners of war [POWs] who were both administratively and physically separated from the other prisoners).[6] Particularly in 1940 to 1941, Spanish Republicans as well as political prisoners from occupied countries such as France, Yugoslavia, and Italy were brought to Mauthausen. From the middle of 1944, tens of thousands of Jewish prisoners, mostly from Poland and Hungary, were brought to Mauthausen to work as forced laborers in the underground armaments factories or as part of the evacuation transports.

The majority of the subcamps established until the middle of 1943 were used for construction purposes—be it road construction such as in Vöcklabruck, building tunnels such as Loiblpass, or power stations in Grossraming, Ternberg, Dippoldsau, and Passau. The construction of power plants was connected with the planned expansion of the central region of Upper Austria to a center of the German armaments industry. The systematic establishment of armaments firms in the greater areas of Linz and Vienna meant the establishment of subcamps in the same locations. The prisoners were initially used to construct the production facilities and later were used in the production process. The first Mauthausen subcamp



Polish prisoner "BIM" produced this sketch as part of a three-drawing cycle, "Report Leader Kellermann and Camp Führer during an Interrogation in Gusen," 1944. The caption reads: "Hauptsturmfürer (sic) Seidler during an interrogation at Gusen, 1944."
USHMM WS #27663, COURTESY OF AG-M

established for the armaments industry was Steyr-Münichholz in March 1942. Other subcamps for the armaments industry were established in the Vienna region (Wien-Schwechat, Wien-Floridsdorf, Wiener Neudorf, Wiener Neustadt, Hirtenberg, Wien *Saurerwerke*) and in the Upper Austrian central area (Linz III, armaments production in the Gusen subcamp, Gunskirchen-Wels, St. Valentin).

From the middle of 1943, strategically important armaments industries began to be relocated underground as a result of the increase in air raids. The SS and armaments industry agreed that concentration camp prisoners would be used to excavate the underground caverns. Underground facilities with associated subcamps were established in Melk, St. Georgen, Redl-Zipf, Ebensee, Leibnitz, Peggau, and Wien-Hinterbrühl. Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz were transferred to Mauthausen to do this physically demanding work. The death rate in such camps was correspondingly high.

Toward the end of the war, prisoners in Amstetten and in Attnang-Puchheim were used to clean up after air raids. Subcamps were also established that, in the main, were used to accommodate evacuated Jewish prisoners. The conditions in the camps deteriorated dramatically with the dissolution of most of the subcamps, the evacuation marches, and the death marches from camps further to the east. Between January and May 1945, close to 50,000 Mauthausen prisoners died. It is estimated that in Mauthausen overall more than 100,000 prisoners died.[7]

SS units left the Mauthausen and Gusen camps before the arrival of troops of the U.S. Third Army. Security had been left to the Viennese Fire Protection Police (Feuerschutzpolizei). On May 5, 1945, U.S. soldiers liberated the camps in Mauthausen, Gusen, Linz, Gunskirchen, Lenzing, and Steyr. The next day the Ebensee subcamp was liberated.

The camp commandant, Franz Ziereis, was shot while trying to escape and died shortly thereafter in U.S. military

custody. The first Schutzhaftlagerführer Georg Bachmayer killed his family toward the end of the war and then committed suicide. There were more than 70 trials involving Mauthausen subcamp staff before a U.S. military court in Dachau. More than 300 members of the SS and other guards' units as well as several prisoner-functionaries were tried. The main trial against 61 of the accused occurred between March 29 and May 13, 1946, in Dachau and ended with 58 death sentences and 3 sentences of life imprisonment. After the appeal process had ended, 48 prisoners were hanged at the end of May 1947. In addition to the U.S. military trials, there were several civilian trials against perpetrators from the Mauthausen concentration camp. After 1955, there were several criminal trials outside Austria.

SOURCES Many of the Mauthausen subcamps, as well as the main camp, are covered in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006). The earlier standard work on Mauthausen is by former camp clerk Hans Maršálek: *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). The first dissertation on the camp was by Gisela Rabitsch, *Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen* (Vienna, 1967). In the 1970s, there appeared in English the book by Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London, 1971). Another complete history was published by Michel Fabreguét, *Mauthausen: Camp de concentration nationalsocialiste en Autriche rattachée (1938–1945)* (Paris, 1999). All of these works deal with the subcamps as part of the Mauthausen camp system. The relationship between the main and subcamps stands in the center of the essays by Florian Freund, "Mauthausen: Zu Strukturen von Haupt- und Aussenlagern," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 254–272; and Bertrand Perz, "Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:533–557. Freund, Perz, and Karl Stuhlpfarrer have published a bibliography on the history of the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps: *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1998). The research on the various subcamps varies. The most researched subcamps are those involved with the rocket industry and the SDP; particularly the Ebensee, Melk, and Wiener Neustadt studies by Freund and Perz cover certain subcamps: Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989); Freund and Perz, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987); Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna, 1991). The Gusen, Linz, Loiblpass, Red/-Zipf, Steyr, and Wiener Neudorf subcamps have also been relatively well researched. The remainder of the camps have, in part, been researched in unpublished academic works or in part in unpublished, local historical works.

The principal primary source collections for documenting Mauthausen subcamps are held at AG-M. The BA-B holds the business records of DESt. The numerous U.S. Army war crimes trial records for Mauthausen subcamp staff may be found in NARA, RG 338, cases 000-50-5-Mauthausen to 000-50-5-51.

Ralf Lechner and Christian Dürr
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For sources on DESt (Bilanzen, Geschäftsberichte, Prüfberichte, etc.), see Best. NS 3, BA-B.

2. For the lease of the Mauthausen quarries, see ASt-Wien, MD 1849/38 and MD 921/39; for the Gusen quarries, Prüfbericht der DESt 1938–1940 (NS 3-756, pp. 14–17); as well as Bilanzunterlagen 1938/39 (NS 3-756, p. 29).

3. Liste der "Stammbelegschaft" des K.L. Gusen vom 25. Mai 1945, AG-M, B/12/9.

4. Einstufung der Konzentrationslager, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu31, p. 1r, AG-M, A/7/1 und A/7/2.

5. There are a number of sources on the prisoner numbers in the AG-M, E/6/1 bis E/16/17. Also there are various Häftlingszugangsbücher that have survived: AG-M, Y/36, Y/43, Y/44.

6. Totenbuch Sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, AG-M, Y/31.

7. Totenbuch des Standortarztes Mauthausen, AG-M, Y/46; "Operationsbuch Gusen" (Totenbuch des Krankenreviers Gusen), AG-M, Y/47.

AMSTETTEN [AKA BAHNBAU I] (MEN)

The Amstetten subcamp was located in present-day Niederösterreich (Lower Austria), about 114 kilometers (71 miles) west of Vienna and 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Mauthausen. Until 1945 it was part of the Reichsgau Niederdonau. Although the camp held its own camp police—members of which were sent back to the main camp early in April 1945—Florian Freund argues that Amstetten perhaps was not a real subcamp with its own administrative structure but a work detachment only. However, the camp was established on March 19, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 1, 1945), with the arrival of a large transport of male inmates. On March 23, another 1,500 inmates arrived in the camp. The maximum number of inmates in the camp was 2,966, among them 715 Jews.

Prior to the establishment of the Amstetten subcamp, trains had brought prisoners daily from Mauthausen to Amstetten, where they were used by various companies in the Amstetten district. Among other tasks, prisoners helped construct air-raid trenches and clean up the railway station; they were also used by the Flotte und Hopferweiser company, a local sawmill.

The subcamp was located on Grillparzer Strasse in the suburb of Allersdorf. According to Gerhard Zeilinger, the prisoners were accommodated in the lodgings of the Military Camp II (Militärlager II). Leopold Redlinger, a former inmate of the subcamp, reports that the inmates were accommodated in a former industrial building; perhaps these were also garages.

The inmates were mostly used to clean up and repair the bombed-out Amstetten railway station, which was an important stop on the line between Vienna and Linz. The Amstetten railway station had been attacked by Allied bombers repeatedly, as on March 16 and 20, 1945.

Polish prisoner Rudolf Starowie, who was in Amstetten, said the following: "We were given one meal (.75 liters [1.6 pints] of watery broth without any fat and about two hundred grams [seven ounces] of bread) during our twenty-hour shifts. We had one break of forty-five minutes. We were told in Amstetten that we would be fed in Mauthausen and in Mauthausen we were told that we would be fed in Amstetten. We could only sleep during our trip—we were not allowed to enter our block and sleep during the day. People were dying everywhere. The lack of food, the inhuman work conditions, sleeplessness, [and] overtiredness were the main reasons for the deaths of the prisoners."[1]

Many prisoners were killed on March 20, 1945, when there was an air raid on Amstetten. Since they were not allowed to enter the air-raid bunkers for the civilian population, the prisoners fled into the forest between Eisenreichdornach and Preinsbach as the aircraft approached. It was here, however, that the U.S. planes dropped their first bombs. In the chronicles of the Parish of St. Stephan, Amstetten, there is a report on the recovery of the bodies that followed: "While we were rescuing the victims . . . in a touching procession full of disturbed, exhausted, and unhinged people, men and women, captured Poles, Greeks, interned foreign workers who were not allowed during the bombardment to go into the air raid shelters but were forced into the forests to the east . . . we saw trucks on which there were the corpses—layered between straw hung their hands, feet and heads."[2]

On April 3, 38 inmates were returned to the Mauthausen main camp; 20 more followed soon thereafter. They had formed the camp police of the Amstetten subcamp, and the majority of them were criminal and "asocial" inmates. On April 6, 1945, the general transfer of inmates back to the main camp began; it concluded on April 18, with the removal of the last 1,496 prisoners. Via the Steyr subcamp, they were taken to the camps in Mauthausen, Gusen, and Ebensee.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the Amstetten men's camp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation*, *Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995), p. 71; as does Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945: Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), pp. 65–66. See also the book by Leopold Redlinger, *Erlebtes—Erdachtes. So war es—so ist es* (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1998). On the Web site of the Ebensee memorial, there is also a report on Redlinger's time at the Amstetten subcamp: http://bob.swe.uni-linz.ac.at/Ebensee/Betrifft/46/redlinger46.php. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, 1787, and the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 172, refer to the Amstetten subcamp (male). Florian Freund describes the Amstetten subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 347–349.

In AG-M are the following file collections that relate to the history of the Amstetten subcamp: B/2/1, B/60/11, e/6/7, and Mikrofilm Auschwitz. The interview with Rudolf Starowie is held in KA-SG-Amts.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Recording of a former prisoner in Mauthausen and Amstetten, Rudolf Starowie (original in KA-SG-Amts), cited by Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945: Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), p. 66.
2. Cited by Zeilinger, *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945*, p. 66.

AMSTETTEN II [AKA BAHNBAU II] (WOMEN)

The Amstetten subcamp was located in present-day Niederösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), about 114 kilometers (71 miles) west-southwest of Vienna.

The women's camp was established on March 20, 1945, the day after the opening of the men's camp in Amstetten. As with the men's camp, it lasted until April 18, 1945. There were around 500 women held in the camp who were used to clean up after bombing raids in the vicinity of the destroyed

Amstetten railway station. The railway station had been destroyed in a heavy bombing raid on March 19, 1945.

Andreas Baumgartner has verified the nationalities of 495 of the women held prisoner as follows: 110 French, 107 Soviets, 91 Hungarians, 77 Belgians, 41 Poles, 34 Germans, 7 Italians, 7 Dutch, 7 Czechs, 5 Slovaks, 3 Yugoslavs, 1 Briton, 1 Latvian, 1 Norwegian, 1 Romanian, 1 Spaniard, and 1 American. Some 374 women were political prisoners; 69 were Jews; 34 were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies); 13 were "asocials"; 2 were Jehovah's Witnesses; 1 was a "Red Spaniard"; and 1 woman was under "security arrest" (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*).

As with the male prisoners, women died during a renewed and devastating bombing raid on Amstetten on March 20, 1945. They died because they were not permitted to enter the air-raid shelters, which were reserved for Germans. Baumgartner stated that 34 women died directly from the bombing raid, and 10 died in the following days on the return transport to Mauthausen.

Hans Maršálek, a survivor of the Mauthausen camp, states that following the raid the women were transferred back to Mauthausen, where they collectively refused to return to Amstetten on March 23, 1945. Several representatives of the women, including French women and the British woman, were arrested but released on the same day from the prison's jail. Baumgartner states that the women were only released from the bunker after several days. Maršálek describes this incident "as the first open and successful refusal by prisoners to work in KLM [Konzentrationslager Mauthausen], which did not result in any adverse consequences."[1] The women stated that they were prepared to resume work after they were told that the Amstetten subcamp would be reopened and that if they did not return, other women would be taken to Amstetten. Most likely, the women returned on March 23 to the Amstetten subcamp.

As with the men's camp in Amstetten, the women's camp was dissolved on April 18, 1945. The women were evacuated to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Andreas Baumgartner in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 174–178, has provided the most detailed description of the subcamp. On the nationalities of the inmates, see p. 225 of Baumgartner's book. For further information on the Amstetten women's subcamp, see Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner, *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabrück 1938–1945; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). Other essays are to be found in Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945*: *Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), p. 65; and Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 71, 319. "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1787, refers to the subcamp. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:172, also refers to the Amstetten subcamp.

The collections in AG-M contain the following files on the Amstetten women's subcamp: K/4a/1 (Liste der nach Amstetten überstellen Häftlinge) and V3/64 (Witness statements by former prisoners Georgette W. and Simone D.).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 319.

BACHMANNING

At the end of 1941, the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) suggested a joint venture to the SS in the establishment of the Holzverarbeitungsbetrieb (woodworking factory) Mauthausen. With the investment of 1,542,000 Reichsmark (RM), the enterprise was to have a yearly turnover of 2 million RM by producing window frames and spindles. The RWHG offered to finance the project completely, provide the technical equipment, and procure delivery of raw materials, machines, and management. According to calculations by the RWHG, 60 skilled workers and around 300 concentration camp prisoners were required. According to estimates by Kurt May, head of Amt W IV (Holzbearbeitungsbetriebe) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and manager of the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW), at least 500 were required.[1]

Probably because Oswald Pohl wanted the enterprise to be completely under the control of DAW, the venture between the RWHG and the SS did not take place. There was also no final determination of whether Mauthausen could supply the required number of prisoners.

The failure of the joint venture must be seen in connection with the acquisition of the Forst- und Sägewerk GmbH Bachmanning by the DAW (two-thirds) and the Deutsche Erdmöbel AG in Butschowitz, owned by Kurt May (one-third).[2] May was arrested in the summer of 1942, and the DAW merged with the Forst- und Sägewerksbetrieb GmbH, Bachmanning so that by 1943 the operation was a solely owned DAW factory. The Sägewerk production was then undertaken almost exclusively by the DAW-Werk Dachau.

In 1942, an average of 20 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were used in the Bachmanning factory. The prisoners of the Dachau subcamp at Bad Ischl had to cut timber for the sawmill until the end of the year.

There are scarcely any documents on the Mauthausen camp at Bachmanning. The camp administration documents refer only once to Bachmanning, on September 14, 1943, when it is mentioned as an independent subcamp. On the following day the camp is referred to as a work detachment of the Grossraming subcamp. Further confirmation on the status of Bachmanning as a Grossraming work detachment is provided by the fact that on September 15, 1943, the number

of prisoners in Grossraming increased from 918 to 937.[3] The Bachmanning work detachment was apparently closed simultaneously with the Grossraming work detachment at the end of August 1944.[4]

The only surviving change report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) stated that on September 13, 1943, 20 prisoners were transferred to Bachmanning, of whom 18 were Spanish Republicans and 2 were of Polish nationality.[5] There was 1 other named prisoner—a Yugoslav political prisoner.[6]

SOURCES Gisela Rabitsch compiled the first information on the Bachmanning camp in "Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1967). Details of the attempted joint venture between the SS and the Reichswerke are to be found in Walter Naasner's *Neue Machtzentren in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1942–1945: Die Wirtschaftorganisation der SS, das Amt des Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz und das Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition/reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Boppard am Rhein, 1994); and Bertrand Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938–1945*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), vol. 1, *Zwangsarbeit—Sklavenarbeit: Politik-, sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien*, pp. 449–590; and Perz, "Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:533–557. Hermann Kaienburg has evaluated the documents in the BA-B on the Sägewerk Bachmanning in *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003). Details on the use of Dachau concentration camp prisoners in Bachmanning are taken from Albert Knoll, "Bad Ischl (Sägewerk Bachmanning)," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau und Emslandlager* (Munich, 2005), p. 292. The listing of Bachmanning as a Grossraming work detachment can be found in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:146.

Business reports and documents from the Forst- und Sägewerksbetriebe GmbH Bachmanning are located in BA-B, Best. NS 3 (SS-WVHA). Copies of the documents on the Mauthausen prisoners are to be found in AG-M.

Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Hans Hohberg, December 12, 1941, Nuremberg Document NID-12324.

2. Geschäftsbericht der Forst- und Sägewerksbetrieb GmbH Bachmanning 1942, BA-B, NS 3/887, fol. 52.

3. Arbeitsbericht des Arbeitsdienstführers, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, September 14, 1943, AG-M, F/2/15.

4. This is supported by entries in the Häftlingspersonalkarten (prisoner file cards) of two Polish prisoners. These support the use of their concentration camp labor from September 13, 1943, to August 25 or 28, 1944, from "Bachmanning," AG-M.

5. Veränderungsmeldung für den 13 September 1943, AG-M, Y/49.

6. Häftlingszugangsbuch der Politischen Abteilung, AG-M, Y/36.

BRETSTEIN

The Mauthausen subcamp at Bretstein was situated in the community of Bretstein in the Niedere Tauern in the Steiermark (until 1945: Reichsgau Steiermark), in a side valley of the Pöls river about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of the present-day district city of Judenburg.

The camp was established on August 1, 1941, and was part of the SS economic enterprise Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd.). This company in 1939 and 1940 acquired three alpine farms—Krahberger, Koini, and Hauserbauer—in Bretsteingraben and created an experimental farm for the breeding of sheep and horses. Experience gained here was to be put to use in the future Wehrbauernhöfe (fortified farms) der SS in the conquered territories, mainly in the East. Also, according to Bertrand Perz, the SS experimented with a biological-dynamic way of farming (*biologisch-dynamische Landwirtschaft*). During the war, the products harvested there served to supply the SS with agricultural products.

The male prisoners in the Bretsteingraben subcamp were mostly Spanish Republicans who had been arrested after their escape to France. There were also some Germans, the majority of them so-called Bibelforscher (Jehovah's Witnesses). The maximum number of prisoners was around 170. After the first prisoners had arrived in June 1941, smaller transports followed in the months thereafter. The camp consisted of four barracks for the inmates, surrounded by a fence and watchtowers, and two barracks for the SS. The camp was guarded by about 50 members of the 2nd Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen (Death's Head Battalion Mauthausen). The first Kommandoführer was an SS member named Schneider, followed in November 1941 by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Schöpperle. Schöpperle was succeeded in August 1942 by Fritz Miroff.

The prisoners were used for a multitude of tasks: they looked after a poultry farm, bred sheep, and worked in the market garden and on an experimental weaving mill. Their main task, however, was to build a road for goods traffic through Beitsteingraben. Hans Maršálek refers to several unsuccessful escape attempts by the prisoners: on June 30, 1942, two prisoners were shot while trying to escape (the euphemistic expression could also refer to the willful murder of these prisoners); on August 5, 1941, a group of five Spanish Republicans were recaptured and murdered after attempting to escape. In total, seven prisoners were murdered in the camp.

On December 10, 1942, the camp was evacuated, mainly because of the climatic conditions in this alpine valley. The inmates were taken to the Steyr-Münichholz camp. Probably because of the priority of the employment of concentration camp inmates in armament production, no new inmates were taken to Bretstein in the spring of 1943. Only on June 5, 1943, 10 inmates—6 Jehovah's Witnesses and 4 Spanish Republicans—were taken to Bretstein. Their task was to dissolve the camp. On June 25, these inmates were transferred back to Mauthausen. The empty grounds of the subcamp were handed over to the Agrarbezirksbehörde (local agricultural authorities) Leoben, and on August 30, 1943, the camp ceased to exist.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the camp in his book *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 73, 230, and 260. The latter pages refer to the escape attempts. A short description of the camp is found on the Web site of the Verein KZ-Nebenlager Bretstein, www.gedenkstaette-bretstein.at. Additional information can be gleaned from the academic work by Thomas Mayer, *Wirken und Handeln der SS im oberen Pölstal, dargestellt am Beispiel des Mauthausen-Nebenlagers Bretstein* (Judenburg, 2001). Bertrand Perz wrote a detailed study on the subcamp, *Das KZ Bretstein und die Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung. Landwirtschaft im Dienste der nationalsozialistischen Eroberungspolitik* (Graz, 2006). He is also the author of the essay on Bretstein in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 351–353. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1794, refers to the camp; as does the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:172.

The existence of the Bretstein camp is confirmed by AG-M, file Signatur E/13/2.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DIPPOLDSAU

Set up by a work Kommando from Grossraming, Dippoldsau was located 20 to 30 kilometers (12.4 to 18.6 miles) farther up the Enns River. Established on a steep slope above the road between Grossraming and Weyr in the summer of 1943, it held prisoners who worked on the road flooded by the dam being constructed downriver. During the first several months of its existence, prisoners worked on the site and constructed five barracks that housed about 120 German and Spanish prisoners. The entire site was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence with two or three guard towers. Approximately 15 ethnic German guards were assigned there, and they resided in a barrack outside the camp. A number of civilian workers were also employed at Dippoldsau. In addition to road maintenance, a detail of an estimated 45 prisoners, led by a detachment leader and 4 guards, worked in a nearby quarry.

SOURCES There are no separate sources on Dippoldsau. Readers should refer to the source section for Grossraming.

Robert G. Waite

EBENSEE

In mid-September 1943, representatives from the SS, the Armaments Ministry, and the War Office selected a wooded area about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the village of Ebensee in southeastern Austria for a new concentration camp that would be tied to armaments production. Construction of the Cement Labor Camp (SS-Arbeitslager Zement) began in November. Situated in a dense forest and close to a rock formation where tunnels could be dug, the camp was well sheltered from Allied air attacks, and here Nazi authorities expected to test the newly designed A9 rockets. Prisoners excavated and constructed the tunnels under the direction of civilian workers from a handful of firms. The extent of the network of underground tunnels was second only to those at the Dora (Mittelbau main camp) concentration camp, and plans called for 12 factories in the 428-meter-long (1,404-foot-long) tunnels.

The first sizable transport of concentration camp prisoners came from Mauthausen on November 19, 1943. Almost half were political detainees from Poland, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. The prisoners immediately began construction of barracks, and they started digging the tunnels, working 12 hours a day in snow and rain. The camp was laid out so that only a minimum of trees was destroyed, with the barracks scattered among the trees. The layout of the "protective custody" camp was rectangular, and it was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers. Just inside the main gate were the roll-call area and the barracks holding the clerk's office.

Many of the prisoners working in the tunnels did so under the direction of civilian construction firms and under the supervision of civilian workers and Kapos. The plan was to employ large numbers of prisoners and to get the project done quickly. By the end of 1943, the number of prisoners at Ebensee had climbed to 511. With the completion of additional barracks in early January 1944, more prisoners were sent from Mauthausen, and the number quickly reached about 1,000. For these early transports to the new site, the SS carefully selected prisoners who had technical skills, had been in Mauthausen for a long time, and had already obtained some position of authority among the other prisoners. Most of the following transports to Ebensee held prisoners who had only recently been sent to Mauthausen, most from Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. In the spring of 1944, large numbers of French and Italian prisoners, and in June about 1,500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived. They were followed in July by a large number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and in the fall by Polish prisoners from Auschwitz. The prisoner population rose to more than 6,000. A massive increase in the number of prisoners came in January 1945, as large numbers of prisoners arrived from concentration camps evacuated in the east. Later in the spring, as



Aerial photograph of the Ebensee subcamp of Mauthausen, nd.
USHMM WS #04164, COURTESY OF NARA

subcamps of Mauthausen were emptied, thousands more came to Ebensee, and the number of prisoners held there reached 18,500 housed in 32 barracks. During its brief existence, an estimated 27,000 prisoners were incarcerated in Ebensee.

Living conditions for the prisoners were severe, with the essentials for personnel hygiene lacking, the food inadequate, and the prisoners working long hours at exhausting and dangerous jobs, mostly excavating tunnels, for a number of privately run construction firms. Conditions worsened during the last six months of the war, when the number of prisoners soared. Those unable to work perished through disease or starvation in the camp's infirmary or were sent back to Mauthausen. The death rate was high, and more than 8,200 prisoners died there. Of this figure, about 38 percent were Jews, 32 percent political detainees, and 14 percent Soviet POWs, the next largest group. Until the end of July 1944, when the crematorium at Ebensee began operation, the bodies of those who died there were transported back to Mauthausen. Discipline within the camp was harsh and brutal. Those prisoners who attempted to escape from Ebensee were brought back to the protective custody camp and hanged during the evening roll call.

The first commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Georg Bachmayer, played a critical role in the construction of the Ebensee subcamp, but he remained there only a few weeks. The next two successors, Anton Bentele and Otto Riemer, did not serve long there either before Obersturmführer Anton Ganz took over in late May 1944. Ganz served as commandant until the abandonment of the camp a year later. Prisoners remember him as a brutal commandant whose sole concern was the excavation of the tunnels.

Faced with a shortage of guards at Ebensee, the SS-9th Guard Company assigned there from Mauthausen used a barbed-wire corridor leading from the barracks to one of the tunnels, with guards posted at sizable distances from each other, to control the prisoners and to direct them to the work sites. Guards were stationed in the 22 guard towers and in the outer sentry chain, which was posted during the day around the entire work site. As the number of prisoners rose sharply, two other guard companies were assigned to Ebensee. They were replaced in the summer of 1944 by members of the Wehrmacht.

The last roll call took place on May 5, 1945, and the commandant ordered the prisoners into the tunnels where, it



A view of the Ebensee subcamp of Mauthausen, May 1945.
USHMM WS #06133, COURTESY OF AGNES W. STRUBEL

was rumored, the Nazi guards had set up explosives to destroy them and the prisoners. The prisoners refused to leave the roll-call area. That night the approximately 600 guards fled from the camp, and the next day American forces arrived. The U.S. military identified, arrested, and prosecuted several former guards in 1947, and West German authorities prosecuted and convicted former commandant Anton Ganz.

SOURCES Florian Freund's *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989) is a comprehensive history of Ebensee that places its development within the German effort to produce rockets.

Former prisoner Jean Biondi provides an overview in his statement "The Camp of Ebensee" (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Document PS-2176). West German prosecutors initiated several criminal investigations. The most extensive court records come from the prosecution of former commandant Anton Ganz in Munich; he received a sentence of life in prison. Several U.S. Army trials prosecuted former guards, including *USA vs. Geiger* (NARA, RG 238, Case No. 000-50-5-6) and *USA vs. Horst Goennemann* (Case No. 000-50-5-34). The report of war crimes in the Mauthausen system prepared by Major Eugene Cohen contains prisoner statements on Ebensee (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Document PS-2176). YVA has a box of cards recording the deaths of prisoners in the camp infirmary from February to April 1945 (YVA 041-19), and each card has the prisoner's name, date of birth, date of death, and cause of death. A list of 193 guards is held in YVA (M-9/E-12-8). A copy of the Lagerstandbuch is in the AG-M, BMdI, Vienna (B5/35).

Robert G. Waite



"Liberation in Ebensee," a sketch by Ebensee survivor Leo Haas from the cycle, "From the Concentration Camps," 1947.
USHMM WS #60862

EBENSEE/WELS II [AKA WELS]

The Wels II subcamp was located approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Linz, in the village of Wels, whose railway tracks and station had been destroyed by Allied air raids.

About 1,000 male inmates arrived at Wels from Mauthausen on March 24, 1945. The majority of them were metalworkers by profession—which could indicate that they were meant to be employed with the Flugzeug- und Metallbauwerke Wels (Aircraft and Metal Construction Company, Wels). The next, day, 1,000 more inmates arrived from the Ebensee subcamp. All the inmates worked in 12-hour shifts, cleaning the railway station of Wels. They were accommodated in a big factory hall, which was not fenced and had no kitchen and no sanitary installations. The inmates were guarded by SS and Home Guard (Volkssturm). On April 6, 400 inmates unable to work were sent to the Ebensee camp and replaced by 400 new inmates—an indication of the exhausting conditions under which the inmates worked and lived.

In 1979, the International Tracing Service (ITS) stated that the prisoners were also used to construct emergency accommodations. The ITS also reported that the companies Dyckerhoff and Widmann as well as the Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Oberdonau used the prisoners for labor.

According to an official report, the camp was closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated to Ebensee, where they arrived on April 14. Within two days of these evacuation marches, according to a report by the Ebensee camp doctor, at least 54 inmates died.

SOURCES Florian Freund describes the Wels II subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 444–445. The Wels II subcamp is mentioned in Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 78, who includes it as the continuation of a part of Wels I. Jean Majerus, a former inmate of the camp, wrote down his memoirs in "Vom Rad ins KZ," in *Letzeburger zu Mauthausen*, ed. Maicale de Mauthausen (Luxembourg, 1970). Investigations regarding the Wels II subcamp were conducted in the following court cases: *US vs. Geiger et al.* (NARA, RG 338) and *US vs. Gogl et al.* (NARA, RG 338). But there was never a trial dealing with

events at this subcamp. The camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:173; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

EISENERZ

The Eisenerz subcamp was located in Reichsgau Steiermark, part of the present-day district city of Leoben, about 85 kilometers (53 miles) northwest of Graz.

Before the Anschluss with Austria, the Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (ÖMAG) had exploited the iron from the local Erzberg. In 1938, with the Anschluss, the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) took over the ÖMAG, including its iron and steelworks, and the Erzberg became part of the Reichswerke AG Alpine Montanbetriebe "Hermann Göring." Since Germany worried that Sweden could stop the delivery of iron ore (as actually happened in 1944), production was increased significantly. While in 1936, 1,638 people had been employed at the Erzberg, in 1938, 4,707 were working there and approximately 6,000 in 1941. Beginning in 1941, foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were also employed there.

Following negotiations between Paul Pleiger, the head of the supervisory board of the RWHG, Wilhelm Schilken, the head of the Linz branch of the RWHG, Franz Ziereis, the Mauthausen commander, and the leaders of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Eisenerz subcamp was opened on June 15, 1943. The camp was probably located in the "Gsollgraben" and remained rather small—the number of inmates never exceeded 500. The majority of prisoners were probably of Polish nationality. In early September 1943, about 400 prisoners were in the camp; the number dropped to about 300 in February 1944 and reached 469 in July 1944, after the arrival of a transport with 172 prisoners. But sick inmates incapable of work were very often sent back to the main camp, which clearly indicates the exhausting work and living conditions in the camp. Florian Freund states that between February 1944 and the dissolution of the camp in mid-March 1945, 12 inmates died in Eisenerz—but since most sick inmates were sent back to Mauthausen, the number of inmates who fell victim to the conditions at Eisenerz no doubt was much higher. Hans Maršálek also lists the numerous killings of prisoners and suicides by the inmates. Polish prisoners were "shot trying to escape," respectively, on the dates of July 8, 1943; July 13, 1943; July 29, 1943; September 10, 1943; January 3, 1944; January 11, 1944; and April 11, 1944. On November 4, 1943, a Polish prisoner committed suicide by hanging himself.

The camp existed until March 14, 1945. On March 2, 230 prisoners were transferred to the Peggau subcamp and from there to Mauthausen. Of the remaining 10 inmates, 9 were taken to Peggau on March 14 and the last one the following day directly to Mauthausen. However, the files of the Mauthausen concentration camp refer to the continued existence of the Eisenerz subcamp until April 29, 1945—with 1 prisoner only.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the Eisenerz camp in his monograph *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 73. Florian Freund is the author of an article on the Eisenerz subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 360–362. Information on ÖMAG and the RWHG can be found in the following publications: Helmut Fiereder, *Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" in Österreich (1938–1945)* (Vienna: Geyer, 1983); Oliver Rathkolb, ed., *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der "Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin" 1938–1945*, vol. 1, *Zwangsarbeit—Sklavenarbeit: Politik, sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001). See here especially the articles by Bertrand Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Goring,'" pp. 449–590; and by Oliver Rathkolb, "Am Beispiel Paul Pleigers und seiner Manager in Linz—Eliten zwischen Wirtschaftsräumen, NS-Eroberungs und Rüstungspolitik, Zwangsarbeit und Nachkriegsjustiz," pp. 287–322. For further information, see also Andrea M. Lauritsch, *Mauthausen-Süd: Die Aussenlager des KZ Mauthausen in Kärnten und der Steiermark mit Berücksichtigung der Todesmärsche ungarischer Juden durch die Steier Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:174; as well as "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1801.

Documents on the Eisenerz subcamp are located in AG-M under call numbers B/6/2, B/6/3 and E/6/11. In USHMMPA, there are two photographs showing the transport of Jewish prisoners through Eisenerz (photographs N04948 and 96438).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENNS, ENNSDORF

As far as the history of Mauthausen subcamps in Enns and/or Ennsdorf is concerned, not many details are known. Enns and Ennsdorf are located in close proximity to each other on the banks of the Enns river. It is not known if camps existed in both places or if all references refer to one camp only. In fact, it is not clear if a subbcamp existed at all in Enns/Ennsdorf or just a work detachment.

Enns and Ennsdorf are located in the present-day district of Linz in Oberösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau). According to Hans Maršálek, a subcamp existed here for only 10 days between April 10, 1945 (the date it is first mentioned), and April 19. About 2,000 male prisoners were held in the camp and were most probably used by the Gauleiter and Reichsverteidigungskommissar (Reich Defense Commissar) August Eigruber in constructing bunkers to strengthen the



Prisoners at the Enns subcamp of Mauthausen erect a power station, nd.
USHMM WS #78547, COURTESY OF DÖW

last lines of defense against the advancing Allied troops. In the official records of the Mauthausen main camp, two escape attempts are reported: 9 inmates tried to escape on April 14, another on April 20.

SOURCES The Enns/Ennsdorf subcamp is described by Hans Maršálek in his *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 80. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:174, mentions the subcamp. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1801, refers to the camp. There is also an article on Enns/Ennsdorf in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 363.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GREIN

The community of Grein in Reichsgau Oberdonau is in the present-day district city of Perg in Oberösterreich. A Mauthausen subcamp was located in Grein between February 2 and February 20, 1945. The camp was probably the continuation of an earlier camp in this location, which is mentioned for the first time in the Mauthausen concentration camp documents on March 22, 1944, and was closed on November 29, 1944.

A maximum of 120 men were used by the construction company Koller, which had a contract from the company Voigt & Haeffner AG, Werk Linz, to convert the cellars of the castle to machine halls, to construct living quarters, and to assemble prefabricated barracks. These installations were to be used by Voigt & Haeffner (under their code name Fa. Leopold Freundlich AG) for the production of electronic installations for air armament, including parts for the V-1. The majority of the inmates were skilled laborers; most of them came from the Soviet Union and Italy.

The camp was dissolved on February 20, 1945, and the prisoners transferred to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz delivers some information on the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Hans Maršálek refers to the Grein subcamp in his monograph *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 73. There is not much further information on the subcamp available, but a research project on Grein in the era of National Socialism is forthcoming; see Karl Hohensinner and Stefan Mandlmayer, "Das zeitgeschichtliche Forschungsprojekt über Grein im Nationalsozialismus," *JDÖW* (2000), pp. 87–115. Information on the Voigt & Haeffner Company (aka Fa. Leopold Freundlich AG) can be found in Helmyt Lackner and Gerhard A. Stadler, *Fabriken in der Stadt. Eine Industriegeschichte der Stadt Linz* (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 1990). Both the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:175, and the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1807, refer to the Grein subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GROSSRAMING [AKA ASCHAU]

In September 1942, SS-Untersturmführer Karl Schöpperle and a detachment from the 5th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (5th Death's Head Battalion) Mauthausen concentration camp took a group of prisoners to a site near the town of Grossraming, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Mauthausen above the banks of the Enns River on the road from Steyr, and established a small labor camp. During the fall of 1942, the prisoners began constructing the barracks for a concentration camp, sometimes referred to as Aschau after a nearby quarry, on a flat piece of land above the road. Prisoners also built an access road to the site. They completed 6 barracks by early 1943, and the number eventually grew to 14, with a capacity of 1,000 prisoners. Nearby, they constructed barracks for civilian workers employed by the firm of Kunz and Rell. The prisoners worked on a dam and power plant on the Enns River for the Ennskraftwerke AG and in a quarry, taking out stone for road use.

By early 1943, a double barbed-wire fence with a guard tower in each corner enclosed the rectangular site. Spotlights in the guard towers illuminated the barracks and roll-call area by night. The main entrance opened from the Grossraming road onto the camp street, which ran inside the fence.[1] SS guards monitored the traffic in and out of the site, especially the work details, from the office building (*Jourhaus*) at

this gate. Inside the fence, to the right of the camp street, were the prisoner barracks. At the far corner of the concentration camp was the roll-call area, where three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, the prisoners were assembled, stood at attention, and were counted. The barrack closest to the entrance housed the camp clerk, camp elder, and other functionaries. Behind this barrack was the prisoners' infirmary. Prisoners built the headquarters' buildings and three barracks for the SS guards opposite the camp, across the main road. The commandant lived in a house some 100 meters (328 feet) from the camp.

Schöpperle directed the initial growth of the camp and the assignment of the prisoner work details to the construction of a hydroelectric plant and roads. In August 1943, SS-Untersturmführer Julius Ludolph replaced him, and in May 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Hans Altfuldisch took over command from Ludolph. The Schutzhaftlagerführer was SS-Scharführer Franz Kofler, and, later Hans Riegler. The 5th Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen continued to guard Grossraming, supplemented by at least three dog handlers.[2]

The Grossraming concentration camp expanded rapidly in early 1943, as more prisoners and 136 "East workers" (*Ostarbeiter*) arrived there. Many of the prisoners came after several weeks in the quarantine barracks at Mauthausen. Grossraming held individuals from most of the European nations, as the transfer lists and status reports document, with very few Jews among them. The largest contingent at Grossraming was Yugoslav nationals, most of whom had been arrested for political reasons. There were also Germans, Poles, Russians, Czechs, Spaniards, and "Gypsies" (Sinti and Roma) incarcerated there.[3]

As work in this region intensified, the SS set up three subsidiary Kommandos, Weyr, Dippoldsau, and Bachmanning, each within 20 to 30 kilometers (12.4 to 18.6 miles) of Grossraming, each one working on one or two projects. The Kommandos at Weyr and Dippoldsau developed into subcamps, with barbed-wire fences and barracks for the prisoners and guards. At nearby Bachmanning, a detachment of 20 prisoners worked in a sawmill that belonged to the German Equipment Works (DAW). A detail rebuilt a road damaged by high water, while others, called "Wahler Strasse," "Aschau," and "Wahler Brücke", worked on road improvement or construction projects.

Throughout Grossraming's existence, arbitrary beatings and punishments compounded the hardships and lessened the prisoners' chance of survival. Penalties included reprimands, punitive labor, or calisthenics during nonwork hours, forfeiture of meals, or standing at the parade grounds for hours, regardless of the weather conditions, sometimes for a day or two. Hunger was a constant problem for the prisoners, who barely survived on potatoes. Prisoners attempted to organize or steal potatoes from the kitchen, and those caught received 20 to 25 lashes.

Although the beating of prisoners was officially not permitted, the punching and slapping of prisoners were common at Grossraming. Usually such blows accompanied orders to work harder or walk faster, and they were administered by guards and Kapos. A former prisoner-functionary recalled only three to four escape attempts. Those who escaped and were recaptured came back wearing signs announcing their return, and most were executed.

Grossraming maintained separate registers of prisoner deaths, and the reports of deaths were forwarded to the Political Department at Mauthausen. Because of the fragmented nature of these records, they offer only partial insight into the patterns of death. The existing records identify the shooting death of a number of prisoners and the death of additional prisoners on the electric fence surrounding the Grossraming camp. Accounts of prisoner deaths resulting from beatings and/or shootings can be found in postwar trials of former Grossraming guards. Many prisoners, too ill to work, were sent back to the main camp at Mauthausen, sometimes as many as 13 to 17 per week. A list of deaths registered at the nearby Reichraming registry office for the months of January to June 1943 identifies 63 individuals who died, all but 5 from natural causes. On January 30, a prisoner hanged himself, and in May and June 1943, 4 prisoners were shot while trying to escape. The so-called "Unnatural Death Book" from Mauthausen identifies an additional 19 deaths—11 shot while trying to escape, 2 by suicide, 3 on the electric fence, 2 in accidents, and 1 by hanging. Most of these prisoners were Yugoslav political prisoners. The Mauthausen death books list 164 additional individuals who perished at Grossraming, of whom 117 were Yugoslavs.[4] The Grossraming concentration camp was evacuated on August 29, 1944, when the SS guards took the remaining prisoners back to Mauthausen. The commandants of Grossraming and several guards were prosecuted in the postwar U.S. military trials at Dachau during the fall of 1947.

SOURCES Some published information on Grossraming may be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich, 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982).

The records of the trials of the staff of the Grossraming concentration camp, now held in NARA, RG 153, include a number of witness statements on Grossraming. The cases include *USA v. Altfuldisch, et al.*, case 000-50-5; *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*, case 000-50-5-1; *USA v. Kaspar Goetz et al.*, case 000-50-5-4; *USA v. Johann Haider, et al.*, case 000-50-5-13; *USA v. Friedrich Kurbel, et al.*, case 000-50-5-37; and *USA v. Fabian Richter, et al.*, case 000-50-5-40. A sketch of the site is in the records of case 000-Mauthausen-15 (NARA, RG 338). The guard roster of the 5th Company, the SS unit posted to Grossraming, dated July 26, 1944, was attached to the "Report of Investigation of Alleged War Crimes, prepared by US Major Eugen Cohen," Nuremberg document 2176-PS, and it contains 126 names. The BDC (now at BA-BL and NARA, RG 242) has files on each of the commandants and many of the guards listed on this roster. The Zentrale Stelle in North-Rhine Westphalia developed a case against Josef Hilger (24Js21/69 Z), and these records, held in the NWHStA-(D) (Rep18/1529), contain a large number of statements from for-

mer prisoners, guards, civilian workers, and local residents. In May 1965 the Office for Vital Statistics in Reichraming prepared a list of 63 individuals whose deaths in Grossraming were recorded there. The IPN has a number of change-of-status reports and death reports from the summer and fall of 1943.

Robert G. Waite

NOTES

1. "Map of the concentration camp, 'Arbeitslager Grossraming,'" NARA, RG 338 000-Mauthausen-15.

2. "Namenliste," 5./SS Totenkopfsturmbann, K.L.M., Grossraming, July 26, 1944, NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-2176.

3. Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, Lagerschreibstube, "Veränderungsmeldung für den 15 Juli 1943," July 16, 1943, IPN; "Aus: Chronik des Gendarmerierpostens Reichraming, O.D.," in *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich, 1934–1945*: *Eine Dokumentation*, ed. DÖW (Vienna: Osterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982), 2: 548.

4. "Totenbuch Mauthausen vom 27.3.42 - 8.XI.43," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-493.

GUNSKIRCHEN-WELS I [AKA WALDWERKE, WELS, NOTBEHELFSHEIMBAU, SS-ARBEITSLAGER GUNSKIRCHEN]

Wels is located in the community of Edt, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Linz, in Upper Austria (Oberösterreich; until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau), and Gunskirchen is a part of the community of Wels. The history of the Gunskirchen-Wels camp is especially complex, and research on it is complicated by the fact that the camp was referred to under a multitude of names. Hans Maršálek, one of the early experts on Mauthausen, states that the camp was opened in the Noitzmühle mill on Traunaustrasse on December 27, 1944. Under the code name Waldwerke (forest factory), prisoners—whose number reached its peak at 397—were to construct a gigantic supply depot, probably for the Flugzeug- und Metallwerke Wels. The mentioning of this company indicates that there could be a mix-up with another camp located in Wels, the Wels II subcamp, which was established only in late March 1945.

Florian Freund, on the other hand, states that the Mauthausen inmates who arrived in Wels in December 1944 were placed in the former school of the Gunskirchen. Here they were employed under the control of the Organisation Todt (OT) in cutting trees and transporting them to the nearby sawmill Hochhuber. With the boards and planks produced there, the prisoners had to erect temporary homes. But very soon the camp had to change its purpose: While it is unclear if it ever was planned to be a real production site, it was quickly transformed into an assembly camp to accommodate the always increasing numbers of concentration camp inmates evacuated from the East. This interpretation is also confirmed by Wiebke van Ijken, who states that preparations for the later assembly camp for evacuated prisoners had already been made in December 1944 when around 400 Polish and Soviet prisoners were transferred to Gunskirchen-Wels to erect 10 barracks. Due to military developments in the last months of the war and the overwhelming prisoner evacuations, the original plans had to be changed quickly: Gunskirchen-Wels became a much larger camp than expected.

Already from fall 1944 on, more and more prisoner transports had arrived in Mauthausen, and the situation worsened early in 1945 with the evacuation of Hungarian Jews who had been exploited in erecting the so-called Südostwall (Southeast Wall) against the advancing Red Army. Since the Mauthausen main camp was already completely overcrowded, arriving inmates were forced to move on to Gunskirchen after that camp had been converted into a temporary camp (*Notbehelfslager*) in the first half of March 1945, on orders of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Transports of inmates left Mauthausen for Gunskirchen on April 16, 18, and 24, 1945; other transports probably arrived directly from southeast Europe, from Auschwitz, and from other camps without passing through the Mauthausen main camp. On April 28, 1945, for example, 2,808 male Hungarian Jewish men and 300 Jewish women were taken to Gunskirchen-Wels. The capacity of the camp was established at between 12,000 and 15,000 prisoners. While the camp mostly held Jewish prisoners of both sexes, there were also increasing numbers of smaller groups of political prisoners from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia taken to Gunskirchen-Wels.

The Gunskirchen-Wels camp was located in a forest area in Edt near Lambach, a small village to the south of Gunskirchen. It was hidden deep in a young pine forest, invisible from the nearby Wels Autobahn, and almost invisible from the air. The camp was opened on March 12, 1945, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Heger (later SS-Untersturmführer Werner). Florian Freund states that there is not much known about the guards at Gunskirchen and that probably a certain SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Schulz was the commander of the camp. It was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) barbed-wire fence; the guard towers were equipped with machine guns and manned by the SS and Wehrmacht. Of the 10 planned barracks, only 6 were finished. The floors in the barracks were compressed earth. Originally planned to hold 300 prisoners each, the barracks soon held between 2,500 and 3,000 prisoners each. At the end of April, there were between 15,000 and 17,000 prisoners in the camp. They had only the minimum of sanitary facilities: the toilets had seats for only 12 men and 16 women, and they could only be used six hours each day. This was an unbearable torture for many of the prisoners who suffered from dysentery. A water tank delivered around 1,500 liters (396 gallons) of water each day.

The character of the assembly camp meant that the prisoners were not used for labor. They remained in their barracks each day, other than for roll call, which took place three



Survivors of the Gunskirchen subcamp of Mauthausen shortly after liberation, May 6–15, 1945.
USHMM WS #12768, COURTESY OF THOMAS SWEENEY

times a day. The daily rations consisted of a piece of black bread and a little soup. Often no food was handed out. The malnourished prisoners suffered from diarrhea, lice, typhus, and dysentery. Some 200 to 300 prisoners died on average each day. Morris Stark, one of the survivors of Gunskirchen-Wels, said after the war: "They took us on a forty-kilometer [25-mile] march to Gunskirchen, where pictures and books were not made or written that could describe the horror of the brutalities that were going on. Hefflingener [*Häftlinge*, inmates] survivors were hurting each other; they got tremendously sick. Maybe that was the purpose of Gunskirchen, seeing human flesh being cut out and sold as food stock, a horrible scene."[1]

The countless dead were buried first in mass graves outside the camp. Later on, corpses were buried inside the camp. During the last weeks of the existence of the camp, they were not buried at all. David Ichelson, one of the first U.S. soldiers to enter the camp, described the scenes that confronted him:

> By the late morning we entered the woods around the camp and saw dead, emaciated, partly clothed bodies, as far as the eye could see. Between the bodies were huge piles of feces. A strong fecal stench permeated the cool, damp air of the woods. Inside the dim barracks, lying on straw, were the dead, alongside the dying, who could not muster the strength to walk away when the SS guards had deserted three days previously. The skin of the dead was loose and wrinkled, their cheeks hollow, the skin shrunken from their open, hollow, sightless eyes. Their teeth were rotten snags, protruding from their open mouths. Their limbs were extremely thin and the bones appeared to almost poke through the joints that were bent into weird contortions that conveyed the horror of the agony of death. Their clothing was ragged patches held together by filth. Many had part of their clothing missing, probably taken by their living, suffering comrades. Even the lice seemed to have abandoned the dead.[2]

Soldiers of the 71st Infantry Division, Third U.S. Army, reached the camp on May 5, 1945. The SS had left the camp on May 4, and employees of the Red Cross had arrived to hand out food supplies. A few days before this date, food supplies to the camp had ceased, as is revealed in a U.S. Army report dated May 6, 1945:

> After living for many months on a slice of bread and a bowl of soup per day, this was a death sentence imposed on many, over 200 dying of starvation and disease in 2 days. The only doctors available were inmates themselves, forced to live under the same conditions as the others; with no medicine they were powerless to help, in fact when they would go any further they would lay themselves on the ground and resign themselves to death. . . . Human beings lay side by side with not enough room to turn over; those too weak to move defecated where they lay. Lice crawled from one to another. Outside, the people were pleading in pitifully broken English for water, food, cigarettes, and chewing gum.[3]

Major Cameron Coffman, Public Relations Officer (PRO), 71st Infantry Division, reported at the same time to one of his commanders:

> Row upon row of living skeletons, jammed so closely together that it was impossible for some to turn over, even if they could have generated enough strength to do so. . . . A pair of feet, black in death, protruded from underneath a tattered blanket, just six inches from a haggard old Jew who was resting on his elbow and feebly attempting to wave to us. A little girl, doubled with the growing pains of starvation, cried pitifully for help. A dead man was rotting beside her. . . . Few of those remaining in the building could stand on their feet. The earth was

> [illegible] and a chilled wind . . . [carried] the smell of death and filth [*sic*]. Small fires of straw added to the revolting odors that filled the air. One man crawled over several prostate bodies and patted the toe of my muddy combat boot in child-like manner.[4]

Some 3,000 prisoners who could still walk left the camp when the American troops arrived. The U.S. Army registered and cared for 5,419 survivors. Estimates of the number of dead in the camp vary between several hundred and several thousand. Florian Freund states that probably 15,000 prisoners survived the camp, while more than 3,000 died. In the following months, at least 1,000 prisoners, who were looked after in civilian and military hospitals in Wels and surroundings, were to die from the deprivations they suffered in the camp.[5] After the war, mass graves with 1,227 corpses were found in the camp's vicinity. The archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, list 877 survivors of the camp.

SOURCES Details on the Gunskirchen-Wels subcamp are to be found in Sinai Adler, *Your Rod and Your Staff: A Young Man's Chronicle of Survival* (Jerusalem, 1996); Peter Kammerstätter, *Der Todesmarsch ungarischer Juden vom KZ Mauthausen nach Gunskirchen, April 1945* (Linz, 1971); Eleonore Lappin, "Todesmärsche durch den Gau Oberdonau," in *Oberösterreichische Gedenkstätten für KZ-Opfer*, ed. Siegfried Haider and Gerhard Marckhgott (Linz, 2001), pp. 77–92; Lappin, "Die Todesmärsche ungarischer Juden durch Österreich im Frühjahr 1945," www.gedenken.org/german/archive_text_hg2.htm; Lappin, "The Death Marches of Hungarian Jews through Austria in the Spring of 1945," *YVS* 28 (2000): 203–242; and Lappin, "Das Schicksal der ungarisch-jüdischen Zwangsarbeiter in Österreich 1944/45," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich*, ed. Martha Keil and Eleonore Lappin (Bodenheim: Philo-Verlag, 1996). Florian Freund describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 368–370. Doris Fath-Gottinger has researched Gunskirchen-Wels in "Die Ungarischen Juden auf ihrem Todesmarsch in das KZ Gunskirchen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Linz, 2004). Hans Maršálek mentions and describes the camp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 73, 292, 339. An exhaustive description of the history of the camp, which is heavily based on reports of U.S. liberators, is by Wiebke van Ijken, "Gunskirchen Extermination Camp," at www.gusen.org/dok/gk/gk05x.htm, resp. http://linz.orf.at/orf/gusen/dok/gk/gk01x.htm. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:176; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1808.

There are numerous documents on the Gunskirchen-Wels camp held in AG-M under collections B 5, B 11, B/11/12 (Nebenlager Gunskirchen, Planskizze der Gräberanlage von Gunskirchen), B 12 and 13, B 24, and H 14. Transport lists to Gunskirchen-Wels are held under collection E 64 and E 10/6. The USHMMA holds survivors' reports including Acc.1995.A.554, John P. Ivany; RG-10.370, Georg Friedman Papers; RG-02.149, Józef V. Czarski collection; and RG-02.115, essays relating to Holocaust survivor Morris Stark. There are also reports from members of the U.S. Army who liberated the camp. The most compelling are RG-09.024 (Acc.1994.A.0228, 71st Infantry Division documents) with two reports of the 71st Infantry Division on events leading up to and during the camp's liberation; RG-09.005 (International Liberators Conference Gunskirchen) with eyewitness accounts by members of the U.S. Army RG-006*01 (David Ichelson, "The Graves at Gunskirchen") consists of the reflections of one of the liberators of Gunskirchen on the camp and its subsequent history. RG-17.002*01 is a list of former inmates of the concentration camp who died after their liberation from prison and were buried at the Wels city cemetery. In the USHMMPA there are several photographs that were taken at the Gunskirchen-Wels subcamp at the time the camp was liberated (WS # 41323, 77164, 78230, 77158, 77163, 77156, 76029, and 45036). There is an extensive literature written by former inmates and the U.S. liberators. Worthy of mention are: *The Seventy-First Came - - to the Gunskirchen Lager* (repr., Atlanta: Emory University, 1979); Gerald McMahon, *On Guard: The Fourteenth Infantry Regiment in Bavaria, 1945–46* (Fairfax, VA: Yaderman Books, 1990); Gerald McMahon, *A Corner of Hell: A Military History Report* (Fairfax, VA: Yaderman Books, 1990); Therese Müller, *Från Auschwitz till Günskirchen* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1993); Edward Zebowski, *My Brother Hail and Farewell!* (Tampa, FL: Woodstock Books, 1994), esp. chap. 13; and Martin Gilbert, *The Day the War Ended* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 76–77.

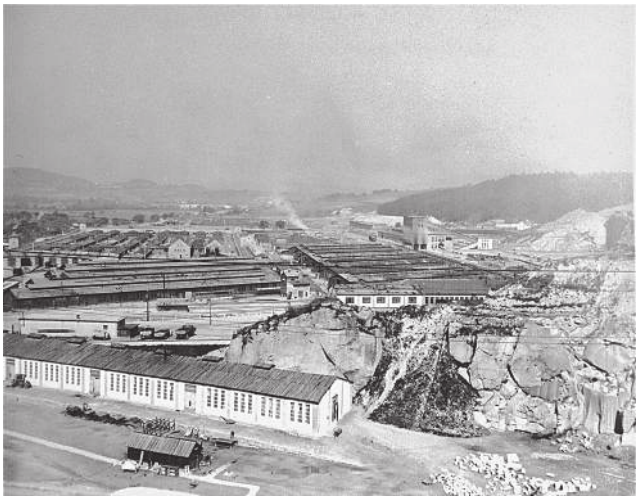
Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-02.115 (Acc.1994.A.0015)—essays relating to Holocaust survivor Morris Stark.
2. USHMMA, RG-09.006*01, David Ichelson, "The Graves of Gunskirchen."
3. USHMMA, RG-09.024 (Acc.1994.A.0228), 71st Infantry Division documents relating to the liberation of Gunskirchen 1945: unsigned report dated May 6, 1945.
4. Ibid., Report Major Cameron Coffman, p. 2.
5. See USHMMA, RG-17.002*01, list of former concentration camp inmates buried at Wels, Austria, in 1945; a list of the former concentration camp prisoners buried in the Wels city cemetery.

GUSEN (WITH GUSEN II AND GUSEN III)

In December 1939, a detail of 10 to 12 prisoners from Mauthausen began constructing barracks at a new subcamp about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away, between the villages of Langenstein and St. Georgen, at Gusen. By January 1940, the number of prisoners working there rose to about 200.



Post-liberation view of the Gusen subcamp of Mauthausen, June 27, 1945.
USHMM WS #83816, COURTESY OF NARA

Prisoners and guards occupied the concentration camp on May 25, 1940. The selection of Gusen as the first subcamp of Mauthausen and its rapid growth were due initially to the nearby Gusen, Kastenhof, and Pierbauer stone quarries. In the spring of 1940, a professional quarry worker was placed in charge of the quarries, which produced freestone, paving stone, and gravel for distribution and sale throughout Austria. Two railway spurs ran to the quarries. Beginning in 1943, Gusen played an important role in armaments production.

After completion of the first barracks, Gusen grew rapidly to 32 prisoner barracks laid out in neat rows, a large complex for the SS guards, and several large industrial enterprises. The "protective custody" camp, about 180 by 400 meters (590 by 1,312 feet), held the prisoners' barracks, prisoners' kitchen (in the far northeastern corner), a brothel (in the southeastern corner, operational since July 1942), a crematorium (near the rear line of barracks and in use since the spring of 1941), several workshops, an infirmary, and a quarantine barrack. Prisoners assembled twice daily at the roll-call area at the eastern end and were counted. The main entrance to the camp was at the office building (*Jourhaus*), at the southeastern corner of the camp, and prisoner details passed through it each day on the way to and from work in the quarries, on a nearby railway line, or in one of the munitions plants. Wooden guard towers, equipped with floodlights and machine guns and later replaced by more permanent structures constructed out of granite, were placed along the barbed-wire fence that enclosed the perimeter of the rectangular-shaped protective custody camp. A second parallel fence, 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and constructed out of stone, was added in 1941. Guards patrolled the path between the fences. Later in the war, an outer barbed-wire fence extended around the entire Gusen complex, including the quarries and factories. The SS barracks were located south of the camp, along the Langenstein–St. Georgen road.[1]

Located immediately north of the main camp was a cluster of factories built in 1943 for war-related industrial production. Messerschmitt AG operated two large buildings where prisoners assembled airplanes and manufactured parts, and the complex extended farther north at the site, with several more buildings and two large tunnels. Late in the war, much of the airplane construction and assembly took place underground. Steyr-Werke had a facility at Gusen composed of 16 large buildings located northeast of the concentration camp where prisoners worked manufacturing parts for rifles, machine guns, and airplane motors. A spur from the railway line went through this site. In the spring of 1944, construction began on seven tunnels, each planned to extend a kilometer (0.6 mile) into the granite, where the assembly of airplanes took place for Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP) and Messerschmitt AG.

Gusen's original capacity of 4,000 to 5,000 prisoners was quickly exceeded. The first large transport of prisoners came from Poland, and a large number of Poles were held in Gusen throughout the war. Also numerous were the "Rotspanier," those who had fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Later, a large number of French prisoners, held under the Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) Decree, were sent to Gusen, as were some Allied fliers, shot down nearby. In late January 1944, Gusen held 7,312 prisoners, mostly political offenders, and the figure continued to rise. On May 4, 1945, that number had swelled to 20,487, as many prisoners arrived from other concentration camps in the east that were being evacuated.

The pattern of deaths at Gusen reflected the severity and brutality of the treatment of the prisoners at the hands of the Kapos and guards, the starvation rations, the lack of basic sanitary facilities, and the forced labor under the most difficult of circumstances. Officials kept detailed records of prisoner deaths in four death books that recorded the following fatalities: 1940: 1,522; 1941: 5,570; 1942: 3,890; 1943: 5,116; 1944: 4,004; and until early April 1945: 7,740—a total of 27,842 individuals, identified by name, prisoner category, prisoner number, date and place of birth, cause of death, and



A view of the main gate and roll call square at the Gusen subcamp of Mauthausen, May 5–15, 1945.
USHMM WS #11456, COURTESY OF HJALMER LAKE

date and time of death.[2] Those unable to work because of injury, illness, or fatigue and weakness were typically killed, in 1940–1941, in the so-called death baths where they were drowned and during the latter years of the war in Block 31, the *Bahnhof*. Some victims, killed shortly after their arrival, were not registered at Gusen, and the actual number of those who perished there numbers at least 35,000.

The operation of Gusen was directly connected to Mauthausen. SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Chmielewski, who directed the establishment and construction and was in charge until January 1943, and his successor SS-Hauptman Friedrich August (Fritz) Seidler, who directed the massive growth in the number of prisoners and the shift to war-related industries, held the position of Schutzhaftlagerführer and were responsible for the daily operations of the camp. Both answered directly to SS-Obersturmbannführer Franz Ziereis, the commandant of Mauthausen. The four companies of guards assigned to Gusen were part of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen (Death's Head Battalion Mauthausen). In 1944, their number reached an estimated 3,000. In late January–early February 1945, a number of guards from Gusen went to the Kampfgruppe Oberdonau, and their positions were filled by firemen from Vienna. Gusen was liberated by American soldiers on May 5, 1945, and investigations into crimes committed there began. These investigations by U.S. forces resulted in the prosecution of at least 16 former guards and Kapos at the Dachau Trials. West German authorities investigated more than 70 individuals. Several resulted in trials including the conviction of Chmielewski, who was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

GUSEN II AND GUSEN III

During 1944, as armaments production grew in importance and the number of prisoners sent to Mauthausen soared, Gusen added two subcamps, Gusen II and Gusen III. Gusen II was located on the St. Georgen road and opened on March 9, 1944; it came to hold some 10,000 prisoners, many of whom worked in the Steyr-Daimler-Puck AG and Messerschmitt AG munitions plants. Gusen III, located north of St. Georgen at Lungitz, opened on December 16, 1944, and it held about 260 prisoners who made bricks or worked in a Messerschmitt parts depot.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek's *Konzentrationslager Gusen: Ein Nebenlager des KZ Mauthausen* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1987) provides an overview of the Gusen subcamp.

Biographical data on Chmielewski and Seidler come from their BDCPFs, which are available at BA-BL and NARA, RG 242, and which also reveal their experience at a number of concentration camps. Detailed biographical information on those individuals incarcerated there can be found in Mauthausen's register of prisoners (NARA, RG 228, Microcopy P-12) and the Gusen death books, which give the prisoner's name, date/place of birth, date of incarceration and reason, date/cause of death. Changes in the numbers of prisoners are identified in "Aussenkommando," Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, NARA, RG 242, Film 3, vol. 2. A list of 673 guards is held at YVA, M-9/E-12-8. The most extensive and revealing sources on the horrible conditions at Gusen are the postwar trials held by the U.S. Army at Dachau and those held later by West German courts. More than a dozen of the U.S. Army trials involved former Gusen guards and Kapos, including *USA v. Erik Schuettauf* (000-50-5-3); *USA v. Georg Bach* (000-50-5-10); *USA v. Andreas Batterman* (000-50-5-11); *USA v. Giovanazzi* (000-50-5-12); *USA v. Karl Bertsch* (000-50-5-29); *USA v. Karl Glas* (000-50-5-31); *USA v. Karl Horcicka* (000-50-5-32); and *USA v. Georg Pirner* (000-505-5-42). The statements given by former prisoners, particularly in the trial of Chmielewski in the LG Ansbach, begin to reveal the horror inflicted upon prisoners. West German prosecutors initiated more than 70 criminal investigations involving Gusen, and the records of many are held at the ZdL (now BA-L).

Robert G. Waite

NOTES

1. A detailed wartime map, "Lageplan Gusen I u II," is in *USA v. Bach*, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-5-101, Box 374.

2. "Totenbuch Gusen vom 1.6.40–26.2.42," "Totenbuch Gusen von 27.2.42 bis 20.2.43," "Totenbuch Gusen vom 21.2.43 bis 2.12.1944," "Totenbuch Gusen vom 2.12.1944 bis 25.4.1945," NARA, RG 238, 000-50-5, Boxes 337 and 338.

HIRTENBERG [AKA WAFFEN-SS-ARBEITSLAGER HIRTENBERG, *GUSTLOFF-WERKE*]

The Hirtenberg women's subcamp was located in Niederösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), 38 kilometers (24 miles) to the south of Vienna, close to Baden at the foot of Triesting Valley. It existed from September 28, 1944 (the date of its first mention), April 15, 1945, according to Hans Maršálek; following the *Bundesgesetzblatt* and other sources, it lasted until April 16, 1945. Recent research by Andreas Baumgartner stated, however, that the evacuation of the camp must have taken place earlier, as Hirtenberg was occupied by Allied troops on April 6, 1945. Bertrand Perz accordingly puts the date of the evacuation at April 1, 1945.

The opening of the subcamp occurred when 391 women arrived from Auschwitz via Mauthausen (9 of the women in this transport from Auschwitz stayed at Mauthausen). A part of the fenced-in forced labor camp, the so-called Weinberglager, that already existed at Lindenberg hill, above the city area to the east of the cemetery at the entrance to the town, was separated. After the erection of some barracks for the inmates, the "Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, Gustloff-Werke," as it was officially called, was opened.

The camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schröder. There were 24 male SS guards who were responsible for external security. Female guards operated inside the camp, as was usual in women's camps.

The Hirtenberg Patronenfabrik (Cartridge Factory) had originally been Jewish property and was taken over by the Weimar-based Wilhelm-Gustloff-Stiftung following the Anschluss of Austria by Germany in 1938. In the years thereafter, the company became one of Austria's leading manufacturers of ammunition. The majority of its employees were women, including Ukrainian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

After the initial 391 women, another 11 prisoners arrived via Mauthausen on November 23, 1944: 3 came from Auschwitz and 8 from Ravensbrück. The Auschwitz women were the Slovakian Jew Irene Janowitz, a medical doctor, and 2 Hungarian Jewish nurses.

Different sources state the highest number of prisoners was 459. Baumgartner lists the composition of 402 verified female prisoners as follows: 194 Soviet "protective custody" prisoners, 101 Italians, 95 Poles, 5 Yugoslavs, 3 Hungarians, 2 Croats, 1 German, and 1 Slovak. Some 393 women were held in the camp for political reasons; 3 were Jewish, and 6 were "asocials." The youngest female in the camp was age 16; the average age of the women was 23, a relatively young age. The women worked in two 12-hour shifts. Officially, there was only one death during the camp's existence. There are no records of any return transports with women who were incapable of working. On March 23, a Russian female prisoner tried to escape.

The women were evacuated from Hirtenberg early in April 1945 and arrived at Mauthausen on either April 18 or 19. During the evacuation march, women tried to escape again: on April 7, 4 Soviet prisoners, and on April 16, 40 Soviet and 8 Polish women. On April 10, 7 young Russian women were shot while trying to escape from the evacuation march; it is also possible that the women were executed because they could no longer march.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz describes the Hirtenberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 382–384. See also references to the camp in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 140–148, 223; for Baumgartner's dating of the evacuation, see p. 145, and for the prisoner composition, p. 223. Hans Maršálek sketches Hirtenberg in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 74. See also France Filipiè, *Slowenen in Mauthausen* (Vienna: Bundesministerium fur Inneres, Referat iv/7/4, 2004). For the history of the Hirtenberger Patronenfabrik including its takeover by the Gustloff-Stiftung, see Marie-Theres Arnbom, *Friedmann*, *Gutmann*, *Lieben*, *Mandl und Strakosch. Fünf Familienporträts aus Wien vor 1938* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), especially pp. 19–62. See also Klaus-Dieter Mulley, "Arbeiterschaft und Rüstungsindustrie im Triestingtal," in *Geschosse—Skandale—Stacheldraht. Arbeiterschaft und Rüstungsindustrie in Wöllersdorf, Enzesfeld und Hirtenberg*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Mulley and Hans Leopold (Ebenfurth: Eigenverlag der Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner, Ortsgruppe Ebenfurth, 1999), pp. 264–292. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:172; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1812.

Documents referring to the Hirtenberg subcamp are to be found in the AG-M under references K C/1 to 4 (copies of entrance lists, correspondence of the Gustloff-Werke, a change report from April 17, 1945, about the shooting of seven female Soviet citizens "for escape"), E 20/17 (SS list of prisoner status of all camps and standing of guard personnel from March 19, 1945, to April 30, 1945, inclusive); 4c/3 (prisoner commitment of November 23, 1944), K 4 A1 to K 4 F 1 (copies of various reports about female prisoners in the subcamps), K/11/01 (memoirs of six female prisoners from France), as well as under references Y30 and K5/6.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KLAGENFURT-LENDORF

Gauleiter of Kärnten Dr. Friedrich Rainer was exactly what the leadership in Berlin expected of a loyal follower in the Ostmark. Rainer was a local power source in that region (Gau Kärnten), which since 1920 had been built by German nationalists as a "German-border bulwark" (*grenzdeutsches Bollwerk*) against the Slavs, the hereditary enemy in the Balkans.

After the *Anschluss* with Austria in 1938 and the invasion by Germany of Yugoslavia in 1941, Kärnten became even more geopolitically important. This region was no longer borderland but a bridge to the areas conquered by the Nazis in southeastern Europe.

After the Anschluss, the capital city in the Gau, Klagenfurt, commenced construction of a prestigious building: the barracks (*Kaserne*) for the Waffen-SS in the Klagenfurt suburb of Lendorf. To the Gau capital, the July 1938 groundbreaking (*Spatenstich*) ceremony was a great honor. While the construction contractors were local, the architect, Gerhard Weigel, hailed from Bavaria.

When the first battalion of the SS-Division Nordland occupied the barracks at the beginning of 1940, plans were well advanced to operate an SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School) there. Close to the barracks for the men were planned and built garages, sports facilities, stables, a shooting range, air-raid shelters, a "Führerheim," and homes for officers—later known as the "Koglsiedlung."

Rudolf Kuntzsch, a former member of the SS who is familiar with events, states that the SS-Junkerschule in Klagenfurt-Lendorf commenced regular lessons on July 31, 1943, but was not officially declared a "SS-Waffen- und Junkerschule" until June 1, 1944.

A Mauthausen subcamp was planned for the barracks as support for its planned expansion. According to former Mauthausen camp recorder Hans Maršálek, the Klagenfurt-Lendorf

concentration camp was established on November 19, 1943, at the request of the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) Klagenfurt.

The Klagenfurt-Lendorf prisoners worked on building accommodations for the SS-Junkers, the stables, and air-raid shelters (underneath present-day Koglsiedlung). They also excavated the ground for a pond for firefighting and for a swimming pool and worked on repairing bomb damage, mostly in the area of the Klagenfurt main railway station.

Surviving Mauthausen transport lists confirm that the number of prisoners in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf subcamp varied between 80 and 130, with the high point being 130 between August 31, 1944, and December 31, 1944. The strength lists both before and after those dates give the number as 80 Mauthausen prisoners. There were 15 SS men, 1 SS officer, and 14 SS guards from Mauthausen who were transferred to Lendorf. This is at least the number that is documented for the period between March 19 and April 30, 1945.

The prisoners' barracks were located in the inner sanctum of the barracks, most likely close to the workshops. They included the camp's office and the infirmary. The barracks were surrounded with a barbed-wire fence (not electrified) and two guard towers (outside the fence). As was customary, the SS guards' barracks were located outside the concentration camp area. There were labor detachments in addition to the construction detachments: small detachments worked in the kitchen and workshops; they also removed bomb rubble and worked on the SS settlement (*Siedlungsbau*) outside the barracks.

The prisoners deported to Klagenfurt-Lendorf were overwhelmingly Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Russians, Spaniards, French, and Yugoslavs. They were "political" prisoners. The camp commandant was an Austrian named Konradi, with the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer. He is said to have committed suicide before the partisans or the British entered Klagenfurt.

The camp elder, a German political prisoner, was Erich Brose. He was later replaced by a Czech, Stefek (a soldier for the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War), when Brose was returned to Mauthausen. Brose and the camp recorder Stepanik are alleged to have betrayed their comrades for listening to an enemy radio station (*Feindsender*). Stepanik hanged himself on June 26, 1944, because he feared he would be sent back to Mauthausen.

German political prisoner Kaspar Bachl, who was part of the settlement construction detachment (Siedlungsbaukommando), was able to escape on November 15, 1944, dressed in an SS uniform, which he had hidden on the construction site. He and another prisoner, also dressed as an SS man, were soon recaptured and returned initially to the barracks and then to Mauthausen. Another prisoner, possibly the Soviet Russian Julius Zirowka, was shot on April 15, 1945, while "trying to escape."

Postwar statements by camp survivor Franz Nikola are that Klagenfurt-Lendorf was "a relatively good camp" and should not be compared with the Mauthausen main camp. This is confirmed by Otto Vostarek, who stated in an interview that the SS men in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf concentration camp were not so "zealous" (*diensteifrig*). The beds even had their own bed linen. The food was almost the same as that of the SS—but smaller portions without meat. There was, despite orders to the contrary, contact and conversations with civilian workers in the barracks, for example, with the barracks or the sewerage workers. The latter are thought to have been in contact with the partisans.

Statements on the dissolution of the camp show the chaos in giving and implementing orders at the end of the war. In April 1945, a large transport of prisoners from Klagenfurt-Lendorf was to be evacuated to the Dachau concentration camp. Those prisoners who remained in the barracks were to pull down the prisoners' barracks and the SS guards' barracks by May 6, 1945. On May 7, these prisoners were taken by truck to the Loibl Süd subcamp, as an evacuation to Mauthausen was no longer possible. It is also thought that the commandant of the SS-Junkerschule Klagenfurt-Lendorf refused to carry out a Mauthausen order to murder all the prisoners before they fell into enemy hands.

The Yugoslav prisoners were released in the Loibl Süd subcamp; a group of Austrians and Germans were collected by the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp commandant, Konradi, and taken back to the camp, where they were put in SS or Wehrmacht uniforms. They were to kill the camp's SS who tried to flee.

Another group of prisoners, Poles, French, and Luxembourgers, among others, who remained in the Loibl Süd subcamp, "accompanied" SS guards through the Loibl Tunnel. They were living shields, protection against partisans who controlled the Loibl Valley. This group also returned to Kärnten from the Loibl Süd subcamp, where they were liberated from their "companions" by partisans in Rosental.

Although Klagenfurt had been heavily bombed by Allied aircraft on January 16, 1944, and was attacked from there many times after that, the SS caserne was never hit. It is true that a bomb landed nearby, but the damage from the shock waves of the bomb was only slight.

The conditions in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp offered the prisoners better survival chances than they would have had in the Mauthausen main camp. Individual strategies for survival could be planned and had more chances of success. These camp prisoners "profited" from the easily comprehensible and regular command structures of the military environment. There were scarcely any excessive beatings or other arbitrary acts of violence. The death rate in Klagenfurt-Lendorf was low. Unlike other Mauthausen subcamps, for example, the subcamp in the Loiblpass, the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp did not have the reputation for "death through work" (*Tod durch Arbeit*).

The prisoner's greatest threat to life was a return to the Mauthausen main camp, which was equivalent to a death sentence. The constant uncertainty about survival and the suffering caused by social isolation and deprivation of rights

were, however, part of the daily life in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp.

SOURCES Research on concentration camps in Kärnten is sparse. There has been little research on the Mauthausen subcamp in the SS-Kaserne Klagenfurt-Lendorf. The author published a first collection of witness interviews and provided an overview of the camp in "Der Gauleiter, die SS und das vergessene KZ in Klagenfurt-Lendorf," *KäJP* (2001): 224–252. Also useful are the books by Janko Tišler and Jože Rovšek, *Mauthausen na Ljubelju* (Klagenfurt, 1995); and August Walzl, *Zwangsarbeit in Kärnten im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Klagenfurt, 2001). This subcamp is listed in Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995).

The essay is based upon interviews conducted by the author and also collected from a variety of publications and from unpublished protocols and witness archives, example, Janko Tišler's private archive.

Peter Gstettner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LEIBNITZ GRAZ [AKA AFLENZ, KALKSTEINWERKE]

As with the establishment of the Peggau subcamp, the establishment of the Leibnitz subcamp near Graz (also known as Aflenz on the River Sulm or the Kalksteinwerke [Limestone Works]) was connected to the increased production of fighter aircraft following the German defeat in the air war against Britain. A large project was planned for Thondorf near Graz in addition to the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke (Aircraft Motor Works) Ostmark in the suburb of Wiener-Neudorf close to Vienna. It was intended to build in Thondorf a Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) factory that would manufacture parts for the Daimler Benz aircraft engines. The official order for the construction of the factory was issued on June 3, 1941. As with all sectors of the armaments industry, there was an acute shortage of labor, and this resulted in the massive use of foreign labor at the Steyr factory in Thondorf. As early as April 1942, more than one-half of the labor force was foreign. These forced laborers were accommodated by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG in Graz in the Eastern labor camps (*Ostarbeiterlager*) "Murfeld I and II."

From the middle of 1943 on, more and more projects were developed for underground relocation as a result of the increasing threat to the strategically important armaments industries in the Ostmark by Allied air attacks. By the end of 1943, a suitable site had been found for the Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf: in the so-called Römer Quarry at Aflenz on the River Sulm near Leibnitz, where tunnels already existed. According to plans by the industrial architects Lattal and Tritthart, the production area could be increased by July 1944 to 8,000 square meters (9,568 square yards). The code name for this increased area was "Salm." The expansion of the tunnels for Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG was a cooperative project with the SS-owned German Earth and Stone Works (DESt). The use of concentration camp prisoners in Leibnitz, as with just about all underground relocation projects, probably resulted from the good understanding that the general director of the Steyr factory, Georg Meindl, had with the highest officials of the SS.

The first transport of 201 prisoners left the Mauthausen main camp in the direction of Leibnitz on February 8, 1944.[1] A second transport followed on March 11, 1944, with 300 prisoners from Mauthausen. This transport increased the camp strength to 500 prisoners. An additional 200 prisoners arrived from the subcamp Wiener Neudorf on July 9, 1944. By mid-September, the camp reached its maximum strength of 711 prisoners. The prisoner numbers subsequently decreased, as sometimes prisoners from Graz were transferred to the Peggau subcamp. On December 6, 1944, the Leibnitz detachment was reinforced with another 100 prisoners from Mauthausen.[2]

The overwhelming majority of the Leibnitz subcamp prisoners were Soviet citizens and Poles. There were small groups of other nationalities—Yugoslavs, Frenchmen, and Italians. There was even a Chinese citizen imprisoned in Leibnitz. All prisoners were accommodated in four prisoner barracks that were built on a cornfield close to the village of Aflenz. The prisoner-functionaries were almost exclusively German and Austrian prisoners and wore the green triangle. There were three camp leaders—the first was SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Altfuldisch. He was transferred to the Grossraming work detachment, and later he was ordered back to the main camp. He was then replaced in Leibnitz by SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Riecken. Riecken was replaced in June 1944 by SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Miroff, who was ordered from Linz I to Leibnitz. Riecken took command again in the autumn of 1944 when Miroff was transferred to the newly created camp at Peggau. The guards, according to statements by the former prisoner Robert Grissinger, numbered between 40 and 50 and were SS ethnic Germans coming from outside the Reich.[3]

The prisoners had to cover a distance each day of 500 meters (1,640 feet) to reach their work site in the tunnels. This way was fenced in by a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence, called by the prisoners the "Lion's Path" (Löwengang). Initially, the prisoners were solely involved in excavating the tunnels. As with most subcamps in which there was to be relocation underground of armaments industries, the death rate in Leibnitz was relatively high. The working conditions and thereby survival chances, however, improved in the summer of 1944 when the production of aircraft engines and truck parts began. The relocation of production from Graz-Thondorf was accompanied by 2,000 civilian workers and 1,000 machines. The former prisoner, Grissinger, spoke of shifts between 10 and 11 hours that were reduced to 9 hours in winter because of the increased possibilities of escape.[4]

Grissinger also mentioned that the Leibnitz subcamp since the summer of 1944 had relatively good living conditions when compared with other detachments. The improved

survival chances are reflected in the death statistics in the roll-call books. Between February 1944 and April 1945, about 75 prisoners died in the Leibnitz subcamp. About 50 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, presumably because they were ill or weak. The roll-call book records that 7 prisoners escaped at different times, with no indication of recapture.

In the beginning, the dead were taken to Mauthausen or to the Graz crematorium for cremation. Later, the camp command decided to bury the corpses in a mass grave close to the camp. After the war, 20 corpses were exhumed from the grave; 12 were buried in the Ehrenhausen cemetery, and the mortal remains of 8 French prisoners presumably were taken back to France.

In March 1945, as part of preparations to dissolve the camp, the SS guard, consisting mainly of the ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), was replaced with Hungarian members of the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). On April 2, 1945, the camp was dissolved but only after the order was given to destroy all official documents. Then 467 prisoners were sent on foot from Leibnitz via Judenburg, the Phyrn Pass, and Gmunden in the direction of the Ebensee subcamp.[5] On April 18, 1945, 407 arrived.[6] Some 49 prisoners escaped when they were near Judenburg on April 6, 1945.[7] According to Grissinger, many of them, however, were captured and killed by the local population and left lying along the route as a deterrent. And 8 prisoners who were no longer capable of walking were shot by the guards.[8]

The three camp commandants at Leibnitz were tried after the war before a U.S. military court in Dachau. Hans Altfuldisch, the first Leibnitz Lagerführer, was convicted during the main trial of Mauthausen war criminals, sentenced to death, and hanged.[9] The camp leaders Fritz Miroff and Paul Riecken were sentenced in a subsequent Dachau Trial. Miroff was executed in 1948.[10]

SOURCES Secondary sources contain little on the Leibnitz-Graz subcamp. References to the Leibnitz subcamp as part of the armaments production by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG are to be found in Bertrand Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna, 1991). Barbara Stelzl in an essay on National Socialist camps in Graz and the surrounding area also refers to the Peggau subcamp; see "Lager in Graz: Zur Unterbringung ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener und KZ-Häftlinge 1938–1945," in *Graz in der NS-Zeit 1938–1945*, ed. Stefan Karner (Graz, 1998), pp. 353–369. Anita Farkas has written on the Mauthausen subcamps in Styria: "Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark: Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind" (Ph.D. diss., Klagenfurt, 2001). The essence of her work has now been published in the article "'Erinnerungsbedarf' an die Konzentrations-Nebenlager von Mauthausen in der Steiermark," in *Die Mühen der Erinnerung: Zeitgeschichtliche Aufklärung gegen den Gedächtnisschwund*, ed. Peter Gstettner et al. (Vienna, 2002), 1:62–78. An unpublished collection of interviews with local inhabitants has been put together by Herbert Harb, "Das KZ im Dorf Aflenz: February 1944-April 1945" (n.p., n.d.).

Source material on the Leibnitz-Graz subcamp is to be found in AG-M. In addition to names' lists, transport lists, and reports, there is a copy of the Leibnitz Evidence Book, the original of which is located in the IPN. Besides that, there is an interview with the former prisoner Robert Grissinger as well as those of other survivors. Further scattered material is to be found in IPN. The trial files against Hans Altfuldisch as well as Fritz Miroff and Paul Riecken are held in NARA, RG 549. Files regarding the plans by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG to be relocated underground are held in the BA-B collection of RmfRuK. Finally, the short memoirs of survivor Edmund Glazewski should be mentioned: "Das KZ-Lager Aflenz," in *Ehrenhausen: Festschrift*, ed. Stadtgemeinde Ehrenhausen (Graz, 1990), pp. 332–333.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport list of February 8, 1944, AG-M, Y/44.
2. Details on prisoner movements are taken from the Roll Call Book of the Work Detachment, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. Record of interview with Robert Grissinger, October 20, 1967, AG-M, V/3/23.
4. Ibid.
5. Report of the Lagerschreibstube on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
6. Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
7. IPN, Mauthausen Concentration Camp 24, k.81 (Escape Report April 6, 1945); see also Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
8. Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
9. NARA, RG 153, *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch, et al.*, Case 000-50-5.
10. NARA, RG 153, *USA v. Eduard Dlouhy, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-14.

LENZING

The Lenzing subcamp was located in Lenzing (part of the community of Pettighofen) on the banks of the Ager River near Lake Atter in Oberösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau). It began on October 30, 1944 (other sources: November 3, 1944), with the arrival of a transport of about 500 women from Auschwitz via Mauthausen. The women were accommodated in two buildings of the Zellwolle und Papierfabrik Lenzing (also Lenzinger Zellwolle-AG), both of which were fenced in with barbed wire. The factories produced synthetic products, including uniform pieces for the Wehrmacht. The factory, which had a long tradition, was originally owned by Jews. Immediately following the Anschluss of Austria with Germany, the factory burned down in circumstances that were never explained and was then "aryanized." An extensive rebuilding program began, but it was



A group of female survivors stands outside the barracks of the newly liberated Lenzing subcamp of Mauthausen.
USHMM WS #62764, COURTESY OF ARNOLD SAMUELSON

not finished by the end of the war. In the last years of the war, around 50 percent of the inmates were forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) from Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Greece, and France. The workforce was accommodated close to the factory.

According to historian Andreas Baumgartner, there had been close connections between the synthetic wool factory and the Mauthausen concentration camp since 1943. The factory produced the so-called Biosyn-Wurst or Mycel-Wurst, which was produced from albumen, with the help of a fungal culture from the wastewater arising from the production of the synthetic wool. The sausage was tested on the Mauthausen prisoners. Production ceased when the sausage caused severe inflammation in the digestive organs of the prisoners.

The women who arrived in Lenzing constructed their own two-tiered bunk beds in the former paper mill's large factory hall. Their quarters were separated into four "Blocks." SS officers arrived on November 3. On that date the camp officially began operations. There were 20 SS men, including camp leader Karl Gieseler. They were responsible for outside security. There were also female SS in the camp whose mistreatment of the prisoners has been recorded.[1] By the end of January 1945, two additional transports of female prisoners had arrived at Lenzing from Auschwitz. According to Baumgartner, there were now 577 women in the camp. Older accounts state that there were 565 women in the camp, but this figure now appears to be superseded. Baumgartner states that among the women there were 323 Hungarian Jewish women, 65 Poles, 58 women from the Reich Protectorate of Böhmen und Mähren, 38 Russians, 39 Germans and Austrians, and 35 Slovaks; 528 women were Jewish, and 49 were political prisoners. The youngest female in the Lenzing subcamp was 12 years old. There was at least one pregnant woman who at the end of January 1945 was forced to abort her baby in the Mauthausen infirmary.

The women worked in the camp; they built roads and air-raid bunkers and worked in a synthetic wool factory. Despite the highly toxic nature of their work, including exposure to hydrogen sulfide, the women were given neither protective clothing nor protective glasses. Many women suffered temporary blindness. Hella Wertheim, one of the prisoners, has written the following about the work that damaged her health:

> I worked mostly at the spinning wheel, where a three-meter [almost ten feet] wide machine with fifty-five nozzles on either side was immersed into the spinning bath and then forced the material that was to be spun through its many arms into the nozzles. Then the threads were extruded through the nozzles. We were threatened with death if we made a mistake. Sometimes the nozzles did not work; they were clogged. If I could not unclog them, then all I could do was summon my courage and go to the foreman and ask for help. . . . [O]ften the clouds of sulfur got into my eyes so that I could not see for hours. All had been forced here, but at least the foreign workers [*Fremdarbeiter*] were given protective glasses and clothing. We were given nothing to protect our eyes. When I could not see and could not work, I was taken to the sick bay on the first floor. There I had to wait until the effect of the sulfuric acid wore off.[2]

The women had to get up each morning at 3:00. They then marched for half an hour to work at the paper factory, accompanied by male and female SS with dogs. The daily work began at 5:00 A.M. The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours for three weeks without a break. Then they had two days off. The strict working conditions and the extreme lack of food resulted on January 5, 1945, in the first prisoner death. Three more deaths followed. According to Baumgartner, many of the women suffered from hunger edemas (mostly on the eyelids and legs), skin diseases, and tuberculosis. On the other hand, many women did not report their illnesses because there was a directive from the main Mauthausen camp that no more than 50 women could be simultaneously sick in the subcamp. The camp doctor, Dr. Bauer, threatened the sick women with transport back to Mauthausen (which probably would have meant their deaths). The files do not reveal,

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

however, any return transports from Lenzing to Mauthausen. There is a record that on April 17, 1945, four Soviet prisoners escaped.

On January 11, 1945, there was a serious incident when the prisoners were on their way to work. The female SS forced the column of women to cross railway tracks immediately in front of an oncoming train. Five women, all Hungarian Jews, were killed by the train. Shortly after the incident the factory ceased production, probably because there were no longer supplies of raw materials. The women were then occupied in cleaning, repairing, and painting. The SS guards fled the camp on May 4, 1945, as Allied troops approached. Only the factory security guards remained. The subcamp was liberated by U.S. troops on May 5, 1945.

SOURCES Andreas Baumgartner describes the subcamp in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 148–159. See also Florian Freund's article on the Lenzing subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 389–391; and Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 75. For further information, see also Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner, *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabrück 1938–1945; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 179; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1821. For investigations against female guards at the Lenzing camp (not one was ever put on trial), see Jeanne Touissant, "'Unter Ausnutzung ihrer dienstlichen Gewalt.' Österreichische Volksgerichtsverfahren gegen ehemalige SS-Aufseherinnen aus Oberdonau: 1945–1950," in *Frauen in Oberdonau. Geschlechtsspezifische Bruchlinien im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Gabriella Hauch (Linz, 2006), pp. 399–423.

The AG-M includes documents on the Mauthausen subcamp under references K 4 D/1 to 6 (copies of Rectification of 36 false names of female inmates from various prisoner reports); K5/6, E20/17 (SS list of prisoners' and guard personnel status from March 19 to April 30, 1945); K4d/4 (English-language statutory declaration by five prisoners on April 18, 1945, before Major Eugene Cohen, the investigating officer of the liberating army); K 4 A1 to K 4 F 1 (copies of various reports on female prisoners in the subcamps); K/11/01 (memoirs of six French female prisoners); and K 4d/4 (statutory declarations by five prisoners on April 18, 1945). The ZdL investigated the Lenzing subcamp. Its investigations here are held in file record IV 419 AR-Z 287/77 at BA-L. Hella Wertheim, a former Lenzing prisoner, describes the camp in Hella Wertheim and Manfred Rockel, eds., *Immer alles geduldig getragen: Als Mädchen in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Lenzing, seit 1945 in der Grafschaft Bentheim* (Nordhorn: Museumsverein für die Grafschaft Bentheim, 1993), pp. 61–67.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See the statements by prisoners in the AG-M, K4d/4 (statutory declaration dated April 18, 1945, by five prisoners before the YS investigating officer of the liberating army, Major Eugene Cohen).

2. Hella Wertheim and Manfred Rockel, eds., *Immer alles geduldig getragen: Als Mädchen in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Lenzing, seit 1945 in der Grafschaft Bentheim* (Nordhorn: Museumsverein für die Grafschaft Bentheim, 1993), p. 63.

LINZ I

Following the successful cooperative venture in the construction of the aircraft engine factory in Steyr in 1941 between the SS, on the one hand, and the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) and its subsidiary company Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), on the other, the RWHG looked for other cooperative ventures in which concentration camp labor could be used. A venture between RWHG and the SS for processing timber in Bachmanning failed in the autumn of 1941 because the SS did not want to participate in armaments industries external to the concentration camp system. However, a few months later, in May 1942, there was a "successful" cooperative venture in the construction of a hydroelectric power plant at Ternberg, where on May 15, a Mauthausen subcamp was erected. It was also in 1941 that the SS-owned German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) in Prambachkirchen wished to construct a large brick mill, which—with the exploitation of concentration camp prisoners—was intended to produce 30 million bricks per year. However, Reich Minister for Armaments and Munitions Albert Speer stopped the project because it was not important enough for the war effort.

The blast furnace ovens at the RWHG commenced operation in Linz in the autumn of 1941 and produced large quantities of clinker (or slag). At this point, both the RWHG and DESt became interested in cooperating with each other to recycle the clinker into building materials. In July 1942, the RWHG's managing board chairman, Paul Pleiger, suggested to the SS that they should cooperate in constructing a plant to process the clinker. While agreement was quickly reached between chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Oswald Pohl and Pleiger, pursuant to which the RWHG was "to hand over the processing of the clinker to the SS in a generous way," there followed long and difficult negotiations in settling the contract for the establishment of the undertaking and the distribution of profits.[1]

It was only the pressure of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler that resulted in a conclusion—"for all undertakings

Pleiger-SS, fifty-fifty is to be the sacred rule."[2] A contract was then signed on November 7, 1942, to establish the DESt Hochofenschlackenwerk (Blast Furnace Oven Slag Factory), Linz/Donau. This contract provided that the DESt on behalf of and at the cost of the Hütte Linz (metallurgical plant) was to construct a clinker processing facility and a labor camp, both of which were to be leased from the Hütte Linz. The DESt processed the slag produced by the Hütte Linz's blast furnaces.[3]

The construction of the factory and the camp was managed by the construction team headed by engineer Fischer, who originally was to supervise the construction of the large brick factory at Prambachkirchen. Until 1944, the operation was directed from Prambachkirchen. Beginning in the middle of December 1942, a work detachment consisting of 30 prisoners was taken daily from Mauthausen to Linz, where at first they built four prisoner barracks.[4] Once the first two barracks had been finished, 100 Mauthausen prisoners were transferred on January 11, 1943, to the "SS-Labor Camp Linz."

The prisoners were first busy constructing the factory buildings. The production of building material began on July 1, 1943. Despite the ongoing production, the majority of the prisoners continued to be occupied with construction work. Pohl inspected the clinker processing facilities and the concentration camp on May 25, 1943, and promised additional prisoners for the construction work. In July 1943, the WVHA allocated an additional 400 prisoners to complete the exit road for the clinker works facility and for the construction of an entrance road to the facility. Approximately 100 of these prisoners were transferred to Linz I on July 31, but the transfer of the remainder was delayed due to the limitations of the camp's capacity to house the prisoners. The lack of building material meant that construction of the fourth barrack began only in January 1944.

Other organizations not directly involved also requested the use of concentration camp prisoners. The local Nazi group Spallerhof was successful in obtaining labor for the construction of air defense facilities at Bindermichl.

The RWHG intended from the spring of 1944 to extend the use of prisoners to the ever more important task of tank production at its subsidiary Alpine Montanbetriebe Hermann Göring Linz, the iron works factory Oberdonau GmbH, and the steel factory Stahlbau GmbH. The general director of the RWHG in Linz, Wilhelm Schilken, successfully negotiated the allocation of 6,000 prisoners for this task. As a result, on May 22, 1944, the construction of a second subcamp for the RWHG began in Linz. This camp is known as Linz III. A large number of prisoners destined for this camp were temporarily held in Linz I.

On July 25, 1944, Linz I was largely destroyed in an Allied air raid on the Linz industrial area. A large number of prisoners, at least 73, died during the bombing raid, but many corpses or body parts could not be identified. As a result of the destruction, Linz I could no longer be used. It was dissolved on August 3, 1944, and the remaining 631 prisoners were transferred that day to Linz III.

Altogether, 1,756 prisoners were transferred to Linz I. Between August 1943 and April 1944, the number was between 520 and 569 prisoners. After April 14, 1944, the number of prisoners increased constantly because the prisoner tasks were always being extended. On July 14, 1944, the high-water mark for prisoner numbers, 958, was reached.

It is possible to reconstruct the prison composition for 1943: 39 percent of the prisoners were Poles, 30 percent were Yugoslavs, 13 percent were from the Soviet Union, and 12 percent were from the German Reich. Some 72 percent of the prisoners were political prisoners. Another 19 percent were being held in limited "preventive custody" or as "Reich forced labor" (AZR). In Linz I, there were also a smaller number of "Russian civilian workers" (6 percent), prisoners of war (POWs), and Wehrmacht members.

Even though the prisoners who were in both Linz Reichswerke camps state that they preferred Linz I, the conditions there were poor. Food was inadequate, as were the accommodations in stone barracks. The camp was overcrowded from the spring of 1944. The prisoners had to do heavy physical work. The so-called clinker detachments were feared by the prisoners—the prisoners had to work in the clinker pits, located in the open air, and there were often accidents. From the camp's inception, SS-Obersturmbannführer Fritz Miroff was its leader. Miroff was not only Lagerführer in Linz I, but he served also at the main camp and the subcamp of Gusen. He also was camp leader of Bretstein, Leibnitz, and Peggau. Miroff was sentenced to death in proceedings against Eduard Dlouhy and others. He was executed on November 26, 1948.[5]

The Dachau war crimes trials, conducted by the U.S. military judicial authorities, were proceedings against 31 people who were accused of having committed crimes in Linz I or Linz III. Three of the proceedings related predominantly to events in the RWHG subcamps in Linz: the proceedings against Hans Bergerhoff and others, which included the camp Lagerführer of Linz III, Karl Schöpperle, three members of the camp guard, and block and work detachment leaders. Of the 12 accused, 5 were sentenced to death, and 1 was acquitted.[6] Proceedings against Josef Bartl and others included 4 members of the camp guard as well as 2 civilian skilled workers. Prison terms of between 3 and 25 years were handed down.[7] There was a proceeding solely against the Rapportführer of Linz I and Linz III, Hermann Sturm. He was sentenced to a 25 year imprisonment.[8]

Linz I, Linz III, and the RWHG were the subject of proceedings in the main Nuremberg Trials. The RWHG's managing board chairman, Paul Pleiger, was sentenced to 15 years in jail in the subsequent United States Nuremberg Trial No. 11.

SOURCES A comprehensive history of the RWHG subcamps in Linz, on which this article is based, is to be found in Bertrand Perz's publication "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann*

Göring AG Berlin, 1938–1945, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), pp. 449–590. The same author has also published "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager in Linz," in *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, ed. Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster (Linz, 2001), 2: 1041–1094. The first academic study of the Linz subcamps was by Helmut Fiereder, "Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen in der Hütte Linz der 'Reichswerke Hermann Göring,'" *HJSL* (1986): 95–113; at a later date he contributed to a catalog for an exhibition in Linz on the camps—see Betriebskörperschaften der Voest-Alpine Stahl Linz GmbH und Jubiläumsfond, eds., *50 Jahre Voest* (Linz: Gedenkstätte KZ Linz I/III, 1999). Reference should also be made to the contribution by Fiereder in the volume *Der Nationalsozialismus in Linz* (as above) which includes the prisoner statistics referred to: "Die Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Linz I/III und Linz II," 2: 1095–1106. Hans Maršálek's *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995) should also be mentioned. Information on the high-temperature-oven clinker factory can also be found in Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963); and Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen" und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The AG-M holds the report of survivor Ottokar Merinsky. This archive contains numerous lists of names, transport lists, and roll-call reports. Material on the Reichswerke camps is to be found in numerous locations, some of which are as follows: in Austria, in the ASt-Ln, IfZ-UW/ÖGZ, and the Oö.La; in Germany, in BA-B, the ASt-N, and the IfZ; in Poland, at APMO and IPN. The NARA and the BA-L (formerly ZdL) also hold relevant documents relating to postwar trials. The NARA reference is RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959. Christian Bernadac, "Linz I–Linz III, in *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976), pp. 149–205, has published reports of French survivors. Pio Bigo was a prisoner in both Reichswerke camps and reported on his experiences in *Il triangolo di Gliwice: Memoria di sette Lager* (Alessandria, 1998).

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Telex, Pohl to Wolff dated July 28, 1942, Nuremberg Document NID 12833.

2. Copy Telex, RFSS to Generaldirektor Pleiger, February 29, 1942, copy dated October 23, 1942, Nuremberg Document NID 12829.

3. DESt Composition and Analyis of the Examination Reports for 1941–1943, BA-B, NS 3/719; Agreement between Pohl and Pleiger, November 7, 1942, Nuremberg Document NG 2915.

4. Memoir by Ottokar Merinsky, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

5. NARA, RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959; hereafter NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-14, *USA v. Eduard Dlouhy, et al.*

6. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-1, *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*

7. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-24, *USA v. Josef Bartl, et al.*

8. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-41, *USA v. Hermann Sturm.*

LINZ II

The region of "Ostmark" became a target within reach of the Allied air forces after the American and British troops had captured North Africa and Sicily. The first air raid on the Ostmark was carried out on Wiener Neustadt on August 13, 1943. The city of Linz was an important target for the Allied air raids because of the numerous industrial concerns, first of all, the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG). Since the beginning of 1943, the city of Linz had taken measures to protect the civilian population. However, there were delays in the expansion of the existing air-raid shelters. From March 1944 at the latest, all available resources from the construction sector were committed to the extension of the "Stock Cellar" (*Aktienkeller*)—the steel rolling mill (*Wälzlagerwerk*) of the Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) was transferred there after the air raid on Steyr-Münichholz. Therefore, there was almost no workforce or work material left available for antiaircraft defense construction for the civilian population.

Adolf Hitler paid special attention to this city where he spent his youth and personally looked into issues regarding the antiaircraft defense for the civilian population. He appointed the Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler to look into this matter.[1] With the involvement of the SS and Hans Kammler, head of the Office Group C in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was responsible for the construction done by the SS—the responsibility for antiaircraft defense as a rule belonged to the city administration and the police—the use of prisoners became obvious at the time. The head of the WVHA, Oswald Pohl, could report to Himmler on February 7, 1944, that the deployment of 300 concentration camp prisoners, 30 percent of whom were skilled construction workers, was secured.[2] With the extension of the existing tunnels in the vicinity of downtown Linz, the capacity of these anti-aircraft defense facilities should have been considerably expanded.

The role of the SS in the construction of antiaircraft defense in Linz was limited mainly to the "lending" of concentration camp prisoners to construction companies. It is known from the testimony of a survivor that the companies Karl Pöchtrager, Karl Schwarz, and Asphalt und Dackdeckungsgesellschaft GmbH (Asphalt and Roofing Company, Ltd., ASDAG) used prisoners for the work done in the air-raid shelters. Documents from the Pöchtrager company show that the prisoners were used for reinforcing, digging, assembling, and plumbing work as well as for transport.[3]

On February 21, 1944, 100 prisoners from Mauthausen were transferred to Linz for antiaircraft defense construction.

Since the camp in the RWHG in Linz already functioned as a subcamp, the newly established one was called Linz II.

Over the course of the subcamp's existence, a total of 380 prisoners were transferred to Linz II. The highest occupancy at any one time was reached on August 21, 1944, when it had 285 prisoners. From 240 prisoners whose names are known, about 49 percent came from the Soviet Union, 33 percent from Poland, and 7 percent from the German Reich; 40 percent of these prisoners were listed under the category of political prisoner, 37 percent as Russian civilian workers, and 7 percent each were Soviet war prisoners and prisoners "watched over in secure conditions."[4]

The conditions of imprisonment in the Linz II camp were extremely bad. On the one hand, this is explained by the hard physical work the prisoners had to do underground during the daytime. On the other hand, it is explained by the fact that the prisoners were housed directly in the shelters and spent most of their imprisonment time without daylight or fresh air. However, the food provided by the city of Linz was better than in other camps. Eight prisoners died in the Linz II camp, which would correspond to a death rate of approximately 2 percent. But with this number, one has to take into consideration that the prisoners from this camp who were critically ill and unfit for work were transferred back to the main camp. Moreover, Linz II did not have its own infirmary. The camp was served by the medical personnel from the Linz III camp.

There is almost no documentation about the guarding of the camp. There is also only a little information from memoirs. The camp was guarded by approximately 50 guards belonging to the SS. SS-Oberscharführer Christoph Werner was in charge of the camp. Members of the theater orchestra of Linz became responsible for the guarding of the camp on instructions of Nazi Gauleiter August Eigruber in April 1945. They were described as "very friendly" by a survivor.

SOURCES This essay is based mainly on Bertrand Perz's account of the Linz II camp, "'Auf Wunsch der Führers . . .': Der Bau von Luftschutzstollen in Linz durch Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Linz II," 22: 9–10 (1995): 342–356. Perz subsequently published this essay in a slightly changed version in Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster, eds., *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, 2 vols. (Linz, 2001), 2: 1041–1094. The only text about this subcamp before this publication was the short presentation in Gisela Rabitsch's "Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen "(Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1967). Information about the air-raid defense measures in Linz can be found in Richard Kutschera, "Die Fliegerangriffe auf Linz im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (Linz, 1966).

To a larger extent, there is material on the construction measures regarding the air-raid defense in the ASt-Ln. Most likely because the prisoners in Linz were mainly Soviet citizens and Poles, only a few accounts about this camp are known to exist. One account comes from the German prisoner Fritz Grabowski, June 1, 1945, ITS, Arolsen Historic Section (Historical Documents Concerning Various Concentration Camps, File 279); another can be found in the private archive of Bertrand Perz (Letter by Stefan Szulborski, Piaseczno, Poland, to Bertrand Perz, August 19, 1985). Documents on the negotiations at the leadership level of the SS can be found in the BA-B.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Telex, Himmler to Pohl from January 4, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1900.

2. Telex, SS-WVHA Pohl to Himmler concerning the air-raid defense constructions in Linz from February 7, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1900.

3. Construction company Karl Pöchtrager, invoices regarding performed management work and missed hours at the shelter construction Märzenkeller, ASt-Ln, B 29a, "Luftschutz 1944–1963, Part 1."

4. Roll-call book of the outside details, daily reports from February 21, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in the KL Mauthausen in the month of April 1945, E/6/7, both AG-M; or AG-M, Data Bank Project "Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen." Data bank questionnaire for prisoners from the subcamp Linz II (unfinished project, as of July 30, 2003).

LINZ III

As a result of the expansion of the prisoner deployment at the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) in Linz, another camp had to be set up in addition to the already existing Linz I camp. Prisoners were deployed to the RWHG's weapon-producing subsidiary businesses Alpine Montanbetriebe Hermann Göring, Linz; metal plant Eisenwerk Oberdonau GmbH; steel enterprise Stahlbau GmbH; and Hütte Linz (to support the expansion of this iron and steel work). The space for imprisonment was too small in the Linz I camp for the housing of additional prisoners.

The prisoners of the Linz III camp were deployed initially mainly in the weapons production business at the Oberdonau metal plant and Stahlbau steel factory. As a result of the closure of the Linz I camp, the prisoners from Linz III also had to work for the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) in the blast furnace slag processing plant (*Hochofenschlackenwerk*) Linz/Donau. The work at the iron and steel work became the most important deployment location, and the prisoners were used for different jobs there; 60 percent of the prisoners were deployed at Hütte in March 1945.[1] In addition to the prisoners deployed at the Hütte iron and steel work, a large number of prisoners were also included who actually had to work outside the RWHG at clearing up operations for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), for the construction of air-raid shelters, or for the post administration. The deployment at the railroad in particular became more and more important. As a whole, 49 percent of the prisoners were engaged in the extraction of raw material for the Hütte Linz and DESt.

Another 39 percent of the prisoners were deployed for weapons production at the Oberdonau metal plants and at the Stahlbau steel factory.[2]

Because of a lack of construction material as a result of the war conditions, the location chosen for the subcamp, Linz III, was the already existing Camp 54. Italian military internees (IMIs) had been housed there earlier. The camp was located on an island between the Traun and the Mühlbach rivers and was consequently easy to guard, though exposed to flooding. On May 22, 1944, an advance party (Vorkommando) consisting of 30 prisoners was transferred to Linz to modify the existing Camp 54 into a subcamp of Mauthausen. The actual opening of the camp took place on May 26, 1944.[3] The occupancy of the camp rose very fast. On June 6, 398 prisoners were transferred to Linz III, and on June 30, there were already 1,402 prisoners in the subcamp.

In the course of Allied air raids on the Linz industrial zone on July 25, 1944, the subcamps existing in the area were hit. After this air raid, 19 prisoners from the Linz III camp were reported dead and 97 missing. The large number of missing prisoners can be explained by the fact that many corpses could no longer be identified—it can be assumed that the majority of the ones reported missing were actually dead. The Linz I camp was damaged to such an extent during this air raid that it could not be used anymore. This was the reason why the remaining 631 prisoners were transferred on August 3, 1944, to the Linz III camp. The number of prisoners in Linz III went up to 2,817 after this transfer.

The highest occupancy was reached on October 6, 1944, with 5,660 prisoners. A total of 6,787 prisoners were brought to the Linz III camp,[4] of which 5,037 are known by name.[5] The evaluation of that data concerning the prisoners known by name reveals that people from 21 nations were deported to this subcamp. About 38.2 percent of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union, 37.1 percent were from Poland, 7 percent were from France, 5.6 percent were from the German Reich, 4.7 percent were from Italy, 4.1 percent were from Yugoslavia, and a smaller number came from other European nations. If classified in categories, the largest group of prisoners were the political prisoners (49.2 percent); 35 percent were "Russian civilian workers," 8.9 percent were Jews, and 2.4 percent were prisoners "watched over in secure conditions." There were a smaller number of prisoners belonging to the following categories in the Linz III camp: "§ 175" (homosexuals), "Forced Labor Reich" (AZR), "Bible Students" (Jehovah's Witnesses), "Limited preventative incarceration," prisoners of war (POWs), "Red Spaniards," members of the Wehrmacht, and French and Polish civilian workers.

As can be seen from the number of prisoners, the conditions of imprisonment in the Linz III camp were totally different from those in the Linz I camp, where there were at most 958 prisoners. Survivor Ottokar Merinsky compared the two RWHG camps as follows: "Camp III was in comparison to camp I like a home for the poor and the Hotel Sacher. Instead of stonewall blocks there were old wooden huts. When there was high water the streets were under water. Along the huts were boardwalks. There were no toilets in the huts; the latrines were 20 to 100 m (66 to 328 feet) away from the blocks. The camp was filled above its capacity, and the block leaders were like raging dogs. Nobody could be sure that he could not be pushed into the water from the boardwalk simply because of a leader's moody impulse and shot dead with a revolver."[6] The different living conditions in the two camps cannot be explained only by the much higher number of prisoners, by the inferior construction material used for the Linz III camp, and by the fact that the camp was located near high water. The difference also has to be seen in connection with the existence of the Linz III camp at a later moment in time. As the war progressed, the increasing pressure on weapons production as well as the deterioration of the supply of basic goods for everyday use had a detrimental effect on the prisoners' working conditions. In the last weeks before the liberation of the camp, getting supplies to the camp broke down completely. These conditions generated a large number of illnesses. For this reason, Linz III set up its own infirmary and, later on, also a second hut for the critically ill.[7] On March 21, 1945, 998 of the 5,324 prisoners were reported sick, about 20 percent.[8]

The different imprisonment conditions can be noticed when comparing the death rates in the two camps. While 129 deaths were recorded in the Linz I camp, 701 were recorded in Linz III—these numbers do not include the prisoners who were unable to work and who were transferred back to the main camp. If one leaves aside the victims of the Allied air raid from July 25, 1944, then it can be concluded that the death rate for Linz I was about 0.5 percent in the time span of one and a half years; for Linz III, it was about 9 percent. Most deaths in Linz III were recorded in the weeks before liberation; 314 prisoners died in April 1945 alone. In this phase, the camp leader, Schöpperle, is supposed to have given the order to kill the prisoners in the infirmary by lethal injection, by starvation, and by electric chair (*elektrischen Stuhl*).[9] About 50 sick prisoners were killed in May 1945 by alternating hot and cold showers. Between 110 and 112 Jewish prisoners were isolated in a hut in order to kill them by starvation. According to the statement of one of these prisoners, five days later, only 60 prisoners in the hut were still alive.[10]

The prisoners from Linz III were liberated on May 5, 1945, by U.S. forces. The accounts of the liberation diverge from one another. While the sick remained in the camp, the rest had been evacuated to the surrounding area of the city of Linz. One account states that these prisoners were liberated there, while according to other accounts the prisoners disarmed the guards and started to march back to the camp.

The guarding of the camp was done by the 6th Guard Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Guard Battalion) Mauthausen as well as by members of the Wehrmacht and probably also the 10th SS-Totenkopf Guard

Company.[11] Up to 370 members of the SS guarded the Linz III camp. In addition, members of the RWHG's plant protection (*Werkschutz*) were also assigned to guard prisoners. Civilians recruited for the Volkssturm (German Home Guard), "men sixty years and older," were also assigned to guard duty toward the end of the war. This circumstance was perceived as a relief by the prisoners.[12]

The leader of the camp from its opening until May 1945 was SS-Obersturmbannführer Schöpperle. His civilian profession was that of an architect; for this reason, he was deployed to some camps for camp construction, starting in May 1941, in the subcamps Vöcklabruck, Bretstein, Grossraming, Wiener Neustadt, Schwechat, and Redl-Zipf. Schöpperle was sentenced to death in one of the trials against war criminals run by the U.S. Army in Dachau and executed in 1948.[13]

In addition to the postwar trials mentioned in the entry for Linz I, two succeeding trials run by the U.S. military court in Dachau are to be mentioned. In both trials the death sentence was pronounced against members of the SS who had performed duties in the Linz III camp. SS-Sanitätsdienstgrad Christian Wohlrab was sentenced to death for the murder of sick prisoners by injecting them with gasoline and executed on May 15, 1948.[14] The temporary Rapportführer in Linz III, Franz Kofler, was executed after being given the death sentence on May 24, 1948.[15]

SOURCES This article relies essentially on the outstanding essay by Bertrand Perz on the subcamps of the RWHG in Linz: "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938-1945*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), pp. 449–590.

The AG-M and NARA hold primary sources useful for this essay. Svatá Jarmila published the report of the camp clerk from Linz III, Vaclav Vaclavik, *Milenci SS smrti* (Plzen, 1945). Vaclavik also wrote an unpublished report from memory, probably in 1963. See Mauthausen/Linz I for additional resources.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Bertrand Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der standort der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938–1945)*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), p. 506: The utilization of various resources from the file Reichswerke Alpine Montanbetriebe "Hermann Göring" Linz, KZ-H Häftlinge ab I.III. 44, 1944-1945, NARA, T83, Roll 226.

2. Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," p. 509.

3. Report of the activity of the administrative department of the concentration camp Mauthausen, entry from May 26, 1944, French translation published in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976), p. 363.

4. Roll-call book, daily reports from May 22, 1944, until March 15, 1945, E/6/11; movements in the KL Mauthausen in the month of April 1945, E/6/7, both AG-M.

5. AG-M, Data Bank Project, "Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen." Data bank questionnaire for prisoners from the subcamp Linz III (unfinished project, as of July 30, 2003).

6. Ottokar Merinsky memoirs, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

7. Letter by Karl Kaufmann to the Supreme Allied Court of Appeal, Munich, October 2, 1947, NARA, RG 338. Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959 (hereafter cited as "NARA, War Crimes"): Case 000-50-5-41, *USA v. Sturm*.

8. List of the sick prisoners in Mauthausen and subcamps from March 21, 1945, AG-M, H/14/1.

9. Vaclav Vaclavik memoirs (unpub. MSS, Plzen, ca. 1963), p. 56; testimony Dr. Josef Pla from February 5, 1947, NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-1, *USA v. Karl Schöpperle, et al.*

10. Courtroom examination of Markus Grieber, NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-1, *USA v. Karl Schöpperle, et al.*, record of the court proceedings, p.29.

11. Roll-call list of the 6th Company KLM; Labor camp Linz III and roll-call list of the Unterführer and men detailed to the KL Mauthausen, labor camp Linz III, both July 28, 1944, Nuremberg document PS 2176.

12. Ottokar Merinsky memoirs, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

13. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-51-1, *USA v. Schöpperle, et al.*

14. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-21, *USA v. Josef Kattner, et al.*

15. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-23, *USA v. Franz Kofler, et al.*

LOIBLPASS

During 1943, two connected camps were established on the Loiblpass: from June 3, 1943, at an altitude of approximately 950 meters (3,117 feet) above sea level, a concentration camp located on the southern side of the territory of present-day Slovenia; and from November 29, 1943, at an altitude of 1,100 meters (3,609 feet), a concentration camp on the northern side in Carinthia. According to the official terminology, they were "Waffen-SS labor camps." The main concentration camp at Mauthausen supplied the labor camps with approximately 1,650 prisoners in the period from 1943 to 1945.

Following the German invasion of Yugoslavia, the first preparations commenced in 1941 for improving the Loiblpass road and constructing a tunnel 1,561 meters (5,121 feet) long through the highest section. The first planning contracts were signed in May 1941 between civilian construction firms and the relevant Nazi department responsible for construction based in Klagenfurt. Soon thereafter, the state construction company, Organisation Todt (OT), started the surveying and road construction work.

During 1943, the following camp facilities were installed on both sides of the Loiblpass: a camp for civilian workers,

intended for state employees overseeing the construction work and those belonging to the private construction companies; an SS and police camp to house the concentration camp guards; and the actual concentration camp intended for prisoners from Mauthausen. The first prisoner transport arrived from Mauthausen on June 3, 1943, comprising 330 prisoners, including 316 French prisoners, who had been selected in Mauthausen for the "Detachment X" at Loibl.

The concentration camp guards were recruited from men of the 3. SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Guard Battalion) based in Mauthausen. They were supplemented and reinforced by police guards from the SS-Alpenland unit.

New prisoner transports arrived in Loibl almost every month: Poles, Soviets, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Germans, Norwegians, Luxembourgers, Spaniards, Hungarians, and prisoners of other nations.

In the summer of 1943, the northern Loibl concentration camp was also established, to which initially the prisoners were taken every day from the southern Loibl camp on the old road over the pass. Transfer to the northern camp on the Carinthian side was seen as an additional punishment. On account of the extreme conditions (cold temperatures and deep snow in winter, heat and lack of water in summer), and due to the special brutality of the guards, the northern Loibl camp became known as "hell in the mountains."

On August 1, 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Siegbert Ramsauer became the camp doctor. Dr. Ramsauer was responsible for all three camp facilities, including the concentration camp on the Carinthian side.

In the southern Loibl concentration camp, SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakob Winkler served as commandant; in the northern Loibl concentration camp, SS-Hauptscharführer Lemmen was in charge until the end of April 1943; he was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Paul Gruschwitz. His deputy, SS-Oberscharführer Walter Brietzke, was in charge of the work detachments.

By December 4, 1943, the breakthrough linking up the two ends of the tunnel was achieved in the presence of Gauleiter Rainer, SS-General Edwin Rösener, camp commandant Winkler, and numerous senior officials of the state construction administration (all high-ranking members of the Nazi Party).

During 1944, the number of prisoners in both concentration camps reached its peak, with a total of 1,274 prisoners. In the years from 1943 to 1945, the in- and outflow of prisoners fluctuated considerably. The prisoner transports, which went back to Mauthausen, were full of worn-out, exhausted, and sick prisoners. Some prisoners were also returned to Mauthausen as a punishment.

Dr. Ramsauer was responsible for selecting the prisoners to be sent back to the main camp. Excluded from the return transports were the prisoners that Ramsauer deemed "unfit for travel," who he killed himself.

In the northern camp as well as the southern camp, there was a "crematorium" in which the corpses were burned. The crematorium consisted of a ditch constructed with brick walls, upon which an iron grid was placed. On top of this a bonfire was built for burning the corpses of the prisoners. Generally, Dr. Ramsauer was present when corpses were burned at the southern Loibl concentration camp.

On December 4, 1944, exactly one year after the two ends of the tunnel were linked, the first Wehrmacht vehicle was able to drive through the Loibl tunnel.

On April 15, 1945, the Germans started to dissolve the northern Loibl subcamp, which had become unsafe due to the increased partisan activity in the area. The dissolution of the southern Loibl subcamp started on May 7, 1945: about 100 Yugoslav prisoners and some 20 sick prisoners remained behind in the southern camp. Approximately 950 prisoners set out through the tunnel on foot toward the north. Their aim was to reach the bridge over the Drava River close to Klagenfurt, which had already been taken by the British. Since the Loibl Valley and the bridge over the Drava were already controlled by the partisans, the SS guards marched "under the protection" of the prisoners. On account of the heavy fighting between the German forces streaming back from the Balkans and the partisans, the prisoners had to divert their march into a side valley. Here the partisans finally liberated the prisoners from the clutches of their SS guards.

In Loibl itself, 33 prisoners lost their lives. Of these, 15 were shot "while trying to escape": that is, the prisoners were selected due to inadequate work or other "transgressions" and sentenced to death. In most cases, on the way to the work site the prisoner was forced through the cordon of guards and then shot. The camp commandant would then order an "investigation" after the shooting and write in the report that the prisoner had tried to escape.

At least eight prisoners died in the infirmary or were murdered there by Dr. Ramsauer. In other cases, the prisoners died of exhaustion, starvation, disease, or as a result of the tortures and beatings they received from the guards. Especially feared were the "Corridas": the prisoners were forced to load up wheelbarrows with heavy stones, and the SS guards and Kapos then forced them to run back and forth, driving them on with cruel beatings from whips and rubber truncheons, until the prisoners collapsed. The first "Corrida" was conducted on July 14, 1943, that is, on Bastille Day, the French national holiday. It lasted from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Also feared were visits by the "dentist," usually an unqualified dental technician or even a mechanic who simply ripped or broke out all the teeth of some of the prisoners. Like the SS doctor, Dr. Ramsauer, he did not use any medicine, and he sent the badly injured prisoners immediately back to work.

Although the SS constantly invented new punishments for their sadistic entertainment, otherwise they had absolutely no imagination with regard to organizing the prisoners' free time. In both camps, there were boxing matches, which were also popular with some Kapos and prisoners. In the southern Loibl subcamp, there was also for a while a soccer field, where "national" teams made up from the ranks of the civilian workers and the prisoners played against each other.

As in almost every camp, there was also a flourishing black market in Loibl, although the range of items traded remained very modest: cigarettes, bread, sweets, and other food products. Occasionally, clothing or medicine was also exchanged. Letters and parcels, which officially should have been passed on to the prisoners by the camp leadership, only started to reach their intended recipients on a regular basis in 1944. Deliveries smuggled into or out of the camp through contacts to the civilian workers were a rarity. With respect to this type of "post," the Slovenian civilian worker Janko Tišler was the most important link to the outside world. As early as September 1943, he posted the first prisoner letter in Neumarktl marked with an address in France.

The political organization among the French prisoners, who had mostly been members of the resistance in France, began in the southern Loibl subcamp immediately upon the arrival of the first transport in 1943; it started at the end of April 1944 in the northern Loibl subcamp. Later on, the Polish prisoners also organized a resistance cell. For all groups, Tišler was the contact to the outside world, especially to the partisans who were active in the area.

From the diary entries of Tišler, it can be deduced that 29 prisoners escaped from the two Loibl camps, or at least made escape attempts. Most of them were Frenchmen, the others being Poles, Russians, Italians, Slovenes, and 1 German; 24 prisoners probably succeeded in escaping. This large number is most likely due to the assistance of civilian workers, who as members of the resistance working undercover had contacts with the partisans, and also to the courage of the (Slovenian-speaking) population in the villages and on the farms both north and south of the Loiblpass.

All the escapes were planned and carried out from the work details on the way to the work sites or from the tunnel. No escape was possible from the camp sites, as they were heavily guarded and surrounded by several layers of tall barbed-wire fencing. After an escape became known, there were the usual collective punishments; for example, the prisoners were made to stand the whole night in front of the camp gate in the deep snow. Escapees that were recaptured were in most cases beaten terribly and then sent back to Mauthausen.

During an escape by 3 Soviet prisoners, one guard was killed and two others seriously wounded. In consequence, more than 100 Soviet prisoners were arrested and physically punished for a day and a night, before being sent to the gas chamber in Mauthausen.

In 1946 and 1947, a British military tribunal in Klagenfurt investigated the events in the concentration camps on the Loiblpass. On November 10, 1947, it issued these verdicts: the SS men Winkler and Brietzke, who were found to have been the main persons responsible for numerous cases of murder, were sentenced to death by hanging. (These verdicts were carried out on March 10, 1948.) The commandant of the northern camp, Paul Gruschwitz, was sentenced to 12 years in prison, and the SS-Rapportführer of the northern camp, Karl Sachse, received 20 years. Six additional SS men who had held senior positions as guards at the camp were sentenced to prison terms of from 3 to 9 years. All of those sentenced who did not receive the death penalty were released after only a few years, in most cases before 1955.

Three other SS men who served at Loibl were only arrested and tried years later. Two of them were acquitted, although they were adjudged to have committed murder or to have severely maltreated prisoners. One was sentenced (not in Carinthia but before a local court in Slovenia) to 10 years in prison.

The verdict of the British military tribunal in the case of Dr. Ramsauer attracted much public attention. Most people, including the accused himself, expected that he would get the death sentence, as the euthanasia killings were clearly documented. The sentence, however, was "life imprisonment." Dr. Ramsauer was released in March 1954 and soon thereafter was employed again as a doctor in the regional hospital and had his own private practice in the center of Klagenfurt. Until his death in 1991, he was viewed as a highly respected doctor and citizen of Klagenfurt.

SOURCES The history of the two subcamps on the Loiblpass has scarcely been touched by academic research. Until now, the only monograph on the Loibl camps in German was authored by Josef Zausnig, *Der Loibl-Tunnel: Das vergessene KZ an der Südgrenze Österreichs*, foreword by Peter Gstettner (Klagenfurt, 1995). The book is based on interviews conducted by the author personally and source materials made available by Janko Tišler. Certain detailed aspects of the history of the Loibl camps have been discussed in various publications, including, for example, Josef Nischelwitzer, "Loibl—Baustelle des Todes," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit* (Klagenfurt, 1988), pp. 91–93; and Florian Freund, "Wieviel 'kostet' ein KZ-Häftling? KZ Loibl-Pass," *JDÖW* (1989): 31–51. The groundbreaking work of Hans Maršálek, *Mauthausen*, 3rd and exp. ed. (Vienna, 1995), which has also been translated into German, English, and Italian, contains a number of references to the subcamps on the Loiblpass. Maršálék was a camp clerk in Mauthausen, and after 1945 he played an important role in the establishment of the museum at the Mauthausen memorial site and in making the history of the camp public.

It was initially, above all, former prisoners from France, Poland, and Yugoslavia who collected information and recorded their experiences about Loiblpass. The autobiographical novel of André Lacaze, *Le tunnel* (Paris, 1978), attracted some attention on its publication (but has since been largely forgotten). All of these early sources have been used by Janko Tišler and Jože Rovšek in the book *Mauthausen na Ljubelju* (Klagenfurt, 1995). This work only appeared in the Slovenian language. It comprises the most important primary source, since Tišler has processed a wide variety of authentic sources: testimonies and reports of former prisoners, letters, protocols, and transport lists, which he has gathered—and above all his own personal experience as a civilian worker on the Loiblpass and, from July 1944, as a resistance fighter with the partisans.

Peter Gstettner
trans. Martin Dean

MELK ("QUARZ") [AKA KOMMANDO "QUARZ"]

In January 1944, a Mauthausen subcamp was established in the abandoned Wehrmacht Freiherr-von-Birago pioneer barracks in the lower Austrian city of Melk (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), about 100 kilometers (62 miles) to the east of Linz. An advance detachment of around 500 prisoners arrived at the camp on April 11, 1944. They were to prepare part of the barracks for around 7,000 prisoners. The camp was then opened on April 20–21, 1944. The prisoners were accommodated in 18 blocks, which, in part, were furnished with Wehrmacht equipment. The company, Quarz GmbH, which used the prisoners, supplied beds, sacks of straw, and blankets. The camp was better equipped than most concentration camps; however, this was soon to change as a result of the overcrowding and catastrophic hygienic conditions.

Altogether there were 14,390 prisoners from at least 26 countries held in Melk. It was only in the middle of September that the planned prison capacity of 7,000 inmates was reached. From September 1944, prisoners evacuated from the Natzweiler main camp began to arrive in Melk and, from January 1945, prisoners from Auschwitz. According to historian Hans Maršálek, the camp reached its maximum capacity on January 30, 1945, with 10,352 prisoners. The larger national groups included Poles, Hungarians, French, Soviet citizens, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and Yugoslavs. However, there were also in Melk prisoners from Albania, Egypt, Denmark, Portugal, Turkey, the United States, and other countries. Around 30 percent of the prisoners in Melk were Jews. The last prisoner transport reached the camp on January 29, 1945: among the 2,000 prisoners from Auschwitz were 119 children between ages 9 and 15.

A camp crematorium had been erected in the autumn of 1944. Between December 1944 and April 1945, more than 3,500 deceased prisoners were cremated in it. According to transport reports, 1,440 sick and injured prisoners were returned to Mauthausen as "unable to work" (*arbeitsunfähig*). The Standortarzt (garrison doctor) recorded in the register of deaths 4,802 prisoners who died in Melk, including 1,019 in January 1945, or more than 30 per day. One-third of the prisoners who were brought to Melk died within the first six months of the camp's existence. SS statistics list the nationalities of the dead: 1,575 Poles; 1,432 Hungarians; 546 French; 388 Soviet citizens; 302 Italians; 174 Yugoslavs; 150 Germans and Austrians; 101 Greeks; 36 Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians; 26 Dutch; 22 Czechs; 17 Norwegians; 12 Spaniards; 9 Belgians; 3 Swiss; 4 Luxembourgers; 2 Turks; 1 Portuguese; 1 Albanian; and 1 stateless person.



New arrivals assemble for roll call at the Melk subcamp of Mauthausen, 1944–1945.
USHMM WS #02009, COURTESY OF NARA

According to statements by Jean Varnoux, a former prisoner, there were fewer than 10 SS members in the camp. The remaining guards consisted of around 500 Luftwaffe soldiers who had been put under the command of the SS. The first camp leader, Hauptsturmführer Anton Streitwieser, was replaced in May 1944 by Obersturmbannführer Julius Ludolph. The Rapportführer was SS-Oberscharführer Curt Jansen, and the Arbeitsdienstführer was Oberscharführer Ernst Schindler. Hauptscharführer Otto Striegel was in charge of food transports.

A barracks for the sick was established in June 1944 in the camp; a second was established in September 1944. First, SS-Unterscharführer und Sanitäter Gottlieb Muzikant was in charge of medical care. The prisoners have described him as brutal and without feeling. He is responsible for countless cases of prisoner mistreatment and deaths. It was only months later that a Luftwaffestabsarzt, Medizinalrat Dr. Josef Sora, was to take up duties in the camp. French camp doctor Guy Lemordant stated that from January 1945 there were 2,000 seriously ill prisoners in the infirmary, which had a capacity for only 100 prisoners.

Quarz GmbH, a subsidiary of the armaments company Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP), employed the prisoners. As part of the program of the SS-Sonderstab Kammler, Quarz GmbH excavated in Roggendorf near Lossdorf underground caverns to be used as sites for the production of ball bearings. The prisoners worked three shifts around the clock, excavating six caverns in the mountain, each several hundred meters long. They also laid rails, poured concrete for the approaches to the cavern, constructed barracks for equipment and machines, laid cables and water pipes, and transported building equipment and machines from the Lossdorf railway station to the construction site. Despite the enormous effort, by the winter of 1944–1945, only a fraction of the planned cavern could commence production. Two-thirds of the planned cavern of 65,000 square meters (700,000 square feet) was not complete when the camp was dissolved in April 1945.

In addition to working underground and producing armaments, the prisoners built houses for Luftwaffe members as well as barracks for SDP employees and laborers. They worked in a munitions factory in Merkendorf, constructed a high-water barrier, and worked for the company Hopferwieser in Amstetten, preparing timber and posts to support the cavern. The prisoners were often leased to local construction companies including Braun & Boveri; Czernilofsky; Himmelstoss & Sittner; Hofmann & Maculan; Philipp Holzmann AG; Lang & Manhoffer; Latzel & Kutscha; Mahal & Co.; Mayreder, Kraus & Co.; Bau AG Negrelli; Rella, Stigler & Rous; Strassenbauunternehmen AG (STUAG); Schachtbau Wayss & Freytag; and Überland AG.

Maršálek stated that there were several prisoner executions in Melk. For example, on May 11, 1944, a prisoner was shot while "trying to escape." During an air raid on July 8, 1944, 250 camp inmates were killed and 197 were injured—the injured were probably murdered in the next few days with injections into the heart. A similar event occurred on February 19, 1945, when a transport of 250 Slovakian prisoners from Melk was attacked by Allied fighters; 7 prisoners managed to escape, and 20 died; 49 injured prisoners were murdered in Melk. Prisoners in the labor detachments in the "Quarz" construction area often tried to escape: according to the SS, there were 29 escape attempts; it is known that 9 of these attempts failed and 1 was successful.

According to Maršálek, there was an international prisoners' organization in Melk whose members had contact with civilian workers and individual members of the guards. At the beginning of 1945, Hungarian Jewish prisoners, with the assistance of civilian workers, smuggled seven pistols into the camp from the construction site. The camp doctor at Melk, Dr. Josef Sora, also had close connections with the prisoners. He passed on news from the BBC to specific camp inmates, boycotted the order by the camp commandant to allow 50 prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to starve to death, and in April 1945 negotiated with the Melk district president (Landrat) and Niederdonau Gauleiter Dr. Hugo Jury to prevent the planned murder of the camp inmates at the Roggendorf cavern.

Production ceased on April 1, 1945, as a result of the advance by Soviet troops. At this time, there were around 7,500 prisoners in the camp. On March 12, 1945, a group of 34 Scandinavian prisoners were transferred by the Red Cross back to their home countries via Mauthausen and Neuengamme. The remaining camp prisoners were then evacuated to Ebensee, Mauthausen, and Gusen. On April 11, a transport to Mauthausen of 1,500 youths and sick prisoners was put together, and Muzikant murdered 30 to 40 seriously ill prisoners in the infirmary. Two more transports left Melk on April 13, with 1,440 prisoners in total sent to Ebensee. They went by goods train and barge. The last transport of 1,500 prisoners left the camp on April 15 in the direction of Ebensee. According to documents from the Mauthausen main camp, the Melk subcamp existed officially until April 19, 1945.

Members of the Melk guards were convicted after the war in the Dachau military trials. Camp leader Julius Ludolph was executed in July 1947. The head of the infirmary, Muzikant, was sentenced by the Fulda Landgericht (regional court) in 1960 to life imprisonment in a penitentiary for the murder of 90 seriously ill prisoners by phenol injections and for strangling at least another 100 prisoners. Streitwieser, the first camp commandant, who at first escaped successfully, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1967 and died in prison in 1972. Leading members and employees of the SDP were never brought before the court.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz describes the Melk subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 405–408. Perz is also the author of the most detailed and well-researched work on the Melk camp and its role in the National Socialist armaments program: *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1991). There is an appendix to the work with a detailed list

of sources. Perz also published a brochure on this camp that lists the nationalities of the prisoners. See Perz, *Konzentrationslager Melk*, *Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992), p. 52. Hans Maršálek in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995) describes the camp at pp. 76, 92, 145 (executions), 241 (executions and death), and 316 (international prisoner organizations). Descriptions on the camp are found in Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, ed., *Kurzgeschichte Mauthausen*, *Gusen*, *Ebensee*, *Melk* (Vienna, n. d.). The entanglement of SDP personnel with the Third Reich, which was decisive for the Melk subcamp, has been researched by Bertrand Perz in "Nationalsozialistisches Management: Zur Person des Generaldirektors der Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG Dr. Georg Meindl," in *Glübrendrot/ Krisenbleich: Zeitmontagen zur Arbeit und Kultur in der Industrieregion Steyr*, ed. Reinhard Mittensteiner and Brigitte Kepplinger (Steyr, 1998), pp. 168–176; and in "Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern: Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 95–112. Claims that in the cavern facilities at Roggendorf heavy water was produced by means of "fractioned distillation" as part of the process to construct an atomic bomb have not been substantiated. On these claims, see Markus Schmitzberger, *Was die US Army in der Alpenfestung wirklich suchte: Eine Theorie zum Decknamen der Anlage 'Quarz' in Roggendorf bei Melk* (Schleusingen: Amun-Verlag, 2001). For more detail on the intervention by the Luftwaffe medical doctor for the prisoners, see Erika Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938 bis 1945* (Graz: Styria-Verlag, 1997), p. 178. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 181; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1824.

The AG-M holds documents on the Melk subcamp including the following: Signaturen F 4/1 (Angaben des im Arbeitseinsatz eingesetzten Häftlings Wolfgang Sanner); B 40/1 to 40/10; B 30/1 to B 30/16; B 12/36 (Berichte und Kopie von Transportlisten, u.a. von Melk); E 6/11 (Rapportbuch, Gesamtstand der Häftlinge in den Nebenlagern, Tagesaufstellungen); B 60/11 (Aufstellung der Lagerschreibstube vom 9. April 1945 über die Nebenlager-Häftlinge); E 10/6 (Veränderungsmeldungen April 1945); B 60/5 and 6 (Todesmeldungen von Evakuierten); B/30/09 (Skizze des Lagers Melk mit Beschriftungen); B/30/12 (Lagepan mit Beschriftungen der einzelnen Objekte, mit einer Aufstellung der Funktionshäftlinge); and B/30/13a (Lagerplan). There are also held here microfilms from the collection of the ZBoWid, VHU, and the ITS on Melk. Numerous archival documents according to Betrand Perz are held in the A-SDP, including the collections "History of the Company, Ownership and Descriptions of the Balance Sheets of the Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG," dated April 19, 1947 (with two supplements), as well as the files of the Darlehensvertrag OKH, Führungsaufbau Walzlagerwerk, Führungsaufbau, Statistische Informationen, Unter-Tag Quarz, Verlagerungen Quarz, and others. There are also documents on the camp in A-BMdI, Abt. IV/4, and in the DÖW. The USHMMA holds the following original documents on the Melk camp: Acc.1995.A.077—Andrew Woolrich (prisoner report) and Josef V. Czarski, RG-02.149, Acc.1994.A.171 (prisoner report), as well as several oral history interviews with camp survivors, for example, Bernard Weinstein (RG-50.002*0047; 1993.A.0088), Cedomir Markovic (RG-50.030*0308), and Norman Belfer (RG-50.030*0367). Other collections, including those relating to the role of the U.S. Army in Melk are held in the NARA, Collections T-990 (Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes KL Mauthausen), T 83 (Records of Private Austrian, German and Dutch Enterprises), M-1100 (Records of US Army War Crimes Trials, Case 000-5-5-2, *USA v. Ernst Dura*, *et al.*), M-1191 (Records of US Army War Crimes Trials, Case 000-50-5-6, *USA vs. Hans Joachim Geiger*, *et al.*), M-1019 (including *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch*, *et al.*, Case 000-50-5, *USA v. Josef Kattner*, *et al.*, Case 000-50-5-21), as well as RG 243 (including damage assessments photo intelligence reports, III.1.1835 Melk, USSBS Records, Section 4, European Target Intelligence, and Plant Report on Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, Wälzlagerwerk Steyr, Austria, USSBS Records, Section 1, European Documents, report 53 c/2). In RG 165, Entry 179, Box 376, there are two detailed interrogation reports on SDP dated 28. December 1945 and 16. February 1946.

The YVA holds statements by Dr. Hirsch Simon (O3/3399) and Dr. Alexander Puder (O2/1030). Other documents particularly relating to SDP are held in the IWM in the collections German Underground Installations (CIOS Section Intelligence Division Office, chief engineer, USFET, Washington, DC, 1945), FD 787/46 (Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, company organization, meetings of boards of directors and working committees . . .), as well as FD 784/46 (Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, Vienna—data on contracts with directors and senior personnel . . . , 1937–1945). Investigations by the ZdL are held in File 419 AR-Z 4/64 at BA-L. Trial documents relating to the Melk subcamp are held in the following archives and collections: LG Wien (VG 5d Vr 211/48, Strafsache gegen Franz Judmann, and VG 12 Vr 5709/47, Strafsache gegen Hermann Schultze), Sta. LG Fulda (Ks 1/60, Strafsache gegen Gottlieb Muzikant), Sta. LG München 1 (Ks 1/58, Strafsache gegen Wilhelm Reischenbeck), and Sta. Köln (24 Ks 1/66, Strafsache gegen Karl Schulz and Anton Streitwieser). Other descriptions of the camp, some by former prisoners, are to be found in Jean Varnoux, *Sonderschrift über das SS-Arbeitslager Melk (Niederösterreich)*, *Konzentrationslager von Mauthausen* (deutsche Sonderschrift des französischen Originals, 1991); Moshe Ha-Elion, *The Straits of Hell: The Chronicle of a Saloniki Jew in the Nazi Extermination Camps Auschwitz*, *Mauthausen*, *Melk*, *Ebensee* (Cincinnati, OH: Bowman & Cowdy, 2005); Pierre Saint Macary, *Mauthausen*, *percer l'oubli* (Paris: Harmattan, 2004); Alexander Marton, *186 ha-madregot: korotav shel na'ar Yehudi bamahanot Oshvits*, *Ma'utha'uzen*, *Melk ve-Ebenzeh* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999); Jeremia P. Eisenbauer, "Die vergessenen Toten von Melk: Das Melker Konzentrationslager und die Roggendorfer Stollenanlage," *MeM* 146 (July

1984), p. 33; and the DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PASSAU I (WITH PASSAU III)

Plans were in place by the end of the 1930s to improve the Passau electricity supply by constructing an additional hydroelectric power station on the River Ilz. The proposed site, called Oberilzmühle (Upper Ilz Mill), was handed over to the Arno Fischer Research Institute in May 1942. Arno Fischer, a senior civil servant in Munich, had been active in the Organisation Todt (OT) and was the founder of the aerodynamic research institute named after him. At that time, he was the head of Rhein-Main-Donau AG. With political assistance and technical innovation, Fischer wanted to construct in Passau a new type of underwater power plant, a plant safe from air raids. By the end of the war, the development of the power station had not progressed beyond its infancy. After the war, what had been built underwater was dynamited.

The Passau I camp was established as a Dachau subcamp on October 19, 1942. Only one month later, on November 19, 1942, the administration of the camp, together with the Dachau subcamps St. Lambrecht (men's camp) and the castle Schloss Lind, was taken over by the Mauthausen concentration camp administration.

In addition to working on the construction of the underwater power plant, the prisoners had to clean up Passau after air raids. Another labor detail worked at the saw plant "Upper Ilz Mill." The prisoners also worked in quarrying and on the construction of a road.

Of all the prisoners at Passau I, only 39 prisoners are named, the majority of whom were Polish political prisoners.[1] Initially, Passau I was said to have been comprised of mostly political prisoners. Later it was allegedly to hold "temporary preventive custody" (*Befristete Vorbeugehaft*) prisoners. Prisoner strength is only documented from September 2, 1943, onward. On October 3, 1943, the prisoner numbers climbed from 38 to 88, reaching the highest documented number. Transfers back to the main camp reduced the numbers so that by February 2, 1945, there were 67 prisoners in the camp. On February 3, 1945, 47 prisoners were transferred to the main camp so that only 20 prisoners remained in Passau I. For the month of April 1945, there were 35 prisoners.[2] A letter from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to Fischer indicates that 50 of the 70 prisoners in Passau I in September 1944 were employed as skilled construction workers.[3]

On August 10, 1944, three Polish prisoners were shot "trying to escape," and on September 27, 1944, a German political prisoner was shot in "self defense" by camp leader Wilhelm Werner.[4] One witness stated that it was a planned murder. There is no other evidence of cases of death in the camp.

At the end of April or the beginning of May 1945, the 26th Infantry Division of the U.S. Third Army liberated the camp without a fight. The SS had left the prisoners to themselves. Details on the guards' strength vary considerably: probably the camp was initially guarded by 7 to 8 SS men; later there were 14. Most of the SS were ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia. The camp leader was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Werner.[5] Werner was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in a Dachau trial. Fischer was sentenced in absentia by a denazification court in Munich to 6 years in jail.

PASSAU III

There was another camp—Passau III—that was dependent on Passau I. This subdetachment existed from March to May 1945 and was comprised of between 18 and 50 prisoners who worked during the day at the Passau Danube port at Jandelsbrunn for the inland shipping company Bayerischer Lloyd. They loaded and unloaded ships.

SOURCES The secondary sources on the Passau I camp are limited. There are few documents, and they contain limited information. Despite this, Elmar W. Eggerer and Anna Elisabeth Rosmus have attempted to write on the camp's history: Elmar W. Eggerer, "'Waldwerke' und 'Oberilzmühle': Die Passauer KZ-Aussenlager und ihr Umfeld," in *Passau in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Ausgewählte Fallstudien*, ed. Winfried Becker (Passau, 1999), pp. 527–542; and Anna Elisabeth Rosmus, *Out of Passau: Von einer, die auszog, die Heimat zu Finden* (Basel, 1999).

SS documents that deal with the prisoners and Passau I are very scarce.

A survivor, Johann Kunei, has had his recollections published in "Nationalsozialismus in Passau. Die Inszenierung des Alltags," in *Mahnmal für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Dokumentation und Aspekte zur Geschichte des "Dritten Reiches" in Passau*, by Stefan Rammer with Peter Steinbach Jr. and Herbert W. Wurster (Passau, 1996), pp. 107–136. The ASt-Lht holds two further witness statements. Documents from the trial against camp leader Wilhelm Werner are located in NARA, RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942– , Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959, Case 000-50-5-5, *USA v. Wilhelm Werner, et al.*

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-M, Data Bank Project: "Recording of all documented prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Databank inquiry regarding prisoners of Passau I subcamp" (project unfinished as of July 30, 2003).

2. Arbeitsberichte des Arbeitsdienstführers, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, F/2/15; Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, Tagesmeldungen from February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945,

E/6/11; re Mauthausen concentration camp movements April 1945, E/6/7, AG-M.

3. Copy of a letter from WVHA to Arno Fischer, September 28, 1944, AG-M, B/33/2.

4. The book "Unnatürliche Todesfälle," M/1/9; re Häftlingszugangsbuch der politischen Abteilung. Y/36, AG-M.

5. NARA, RG 338 Case 000-50-5-5, *USA v. Wilhelm Werner, et al.*

PASSAU II

The construction of the forest factory (*Waldwerke*) and the resultant erection of the Passau II subcamp have to been seen in light of the demand by the Army High Command (OKH) for a massive increase in the production of tank gear boxes. The Zahnradfabrik (Gear Wheel Factory) Friedrichshafen, a subsidiary of Luftschiffbau Zeppelin (Airship Construction Zeppelin), which manufactured gear wheels for heavy trucks and tanks, needed an additional production site for this purpose. The construction of the factory was planned as a cooperative enterprise between the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen and the OKH. The latter, to be precise, the army-owned company Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company, Montan), made available the site; the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen made available the technical equipment and the personnel. The site was a parcel of land on the northern bank of the Danube near Passau. The final phase of construction of the Waldwerke would consist initially of 2,000 workers, growing to between 3,000 and 4,000. Even before the commencement of production in June 1943, the Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions had demanded of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on September 13, 1942, the establishment of a concentration camp at the Waldwerke.[1] However, the Passau II subcamp was not established until March 9, 1944.

The first transport of 100 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived at Passau II on March 9, 1944. On September 12, 1944, the camp recorded its highest number of prisoners—340. Altogether, 353 prisoners were transferred to the Passau II camp. Of these, only 1 would die in the camp. However, 15 prisoners were transferred back to Mauthausen. Most likely those that were transferred back to Mauthausen were seriously ill and could no longer work. It can be concluded from the low death rate that the prison conditions were better than in other subcamps.

Of the 353 prisoners deported to the subcamp, 329 are known by name.[2] The names in turn give a relatively accurate description of the composition of the prisoners: the majority came from Poland (36.2 percent), the Soviet Union (27.6 percent), and France (26 percent). There were smaller groups from Italy (5.7 percent), the German Reich, Spain, and other countries. The majority of prisoners were political prisoners (71.4 percent), and 20.7 percent were "Russian civilian workers." Another 5.8 percent were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The other categories were "temporary preventive custody" (*Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), "Red Spaniards" (*Rotspanier*), "security custody" (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*), and "Reich Forced Labor" (*Arbeitszwang Reich*).

Ten prisoners tried to escape from the camp. The name of the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Vogelsang, is only known because his name was mentioned in a report to the main camp following the escape of a Soviet prisoner on September 14, 1944.[3]

On October 29 and November 7, 1944, 150 and 177 prisoners, respectively, were transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The Passau II camp was then closed.[4]

SOURCES Elmar W. Eggerer has written a history of the camp, "'Waldwerke' und 'Oberilzmühle': Die Passauer KZ-Aussenlager und ihr Umfeld," in *Passau in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Fallstudien*, ed. Winfried Becker (Passau, 1999), pp. 527–542.

The prisoners of the Passau II subcamp are relatively well documented in AG-M. Documents on the history of the Passau "Waldwerke" and the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen are said to be held by the Passau Zahnradfabrik but have not been released to researchers. There are a few documents in ASt-Lht.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter of the Technisches Amt of the RMfBM to SS-WVHA, Oswald Pohl, September 13, 1942, BA-BNS, 19/1542.

2. AG-M, Data Base Project "Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen," Data Base Questionnaire to Prisoners at the Passau II subcamp.

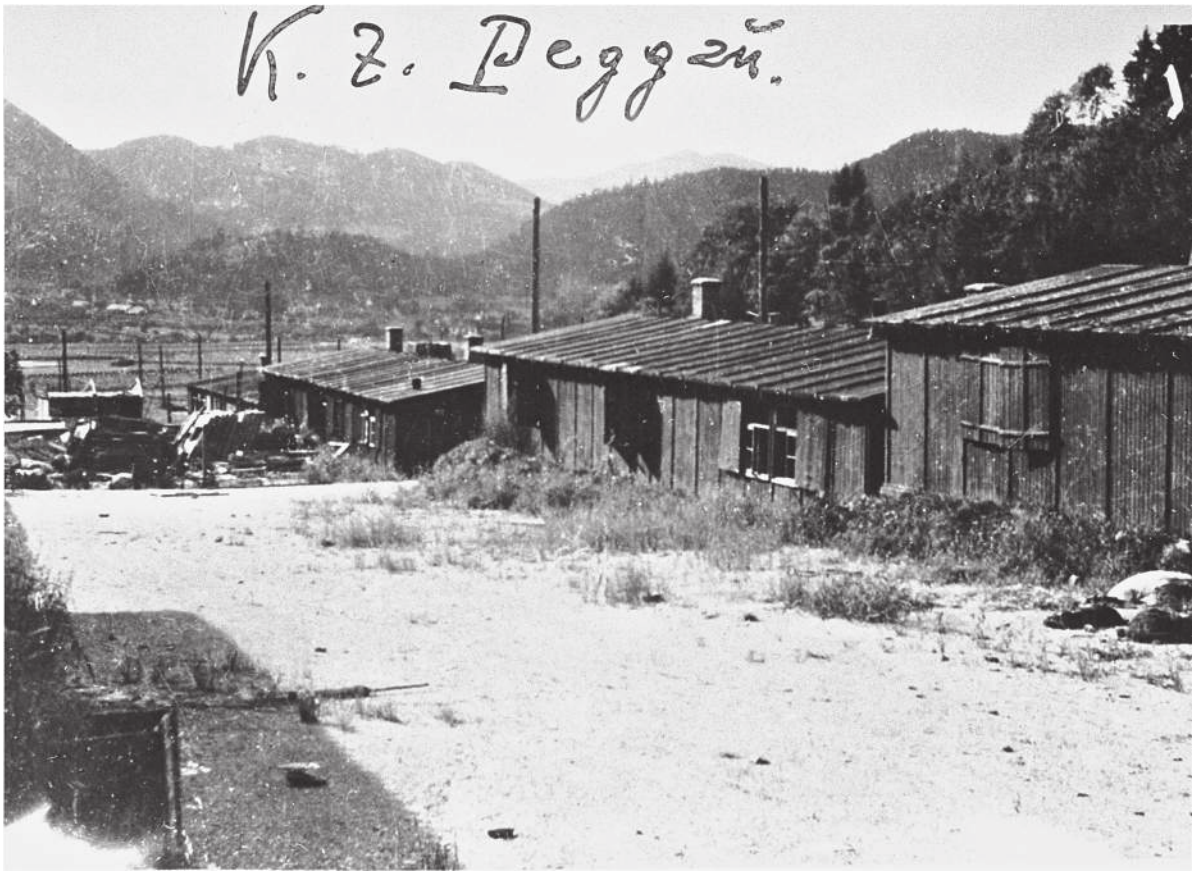
3. AG-M, B/33a/1.

4. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, Tagesmeldungen, October 29, 1944, and November 7, 1944, AG-M, E/6/11.

PEGGAU

The establishment of the Peggau subcamp is connected with the accelerated production of fighter aircraft due to Germany's inability to prevail in its air war against the Allies. As in Wiener Neudorf, close to Vienna, the construction of a large Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) aircraft engine factory began in August 1941 on the southern edge of Graz. Daimler-Benz aircraft engines were to be manufactured under license. There was an acute shortage of labor, so—as in all areas of the armaments industry—the Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf largely used foreign workers. In April 1942, more than half of the Thondorf factory workers were foreign. These forced laborers were accommodated by SDP in the labor camps for Eastern workers, "Murfeld I and II."

As the "Ostmark" was increasingly under threat of Allied air attacks from the summer of 1943 onward, the armaments



View of the Peggau subcamp of Mauthausen.
USHMM WS #17597, COURTESY OF DÖW

industry saw itself forced, where feasible, to relocate its most important strategic production sites underground. The Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf was also to be relocated underground. Following an air raid on the Steyr factory on July 26, 1944, the village of Peggau, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) in the north from Graz, as well as the finished site at Leibnitz were chosen as suitable locations for the establishment of an underground facility for the manufacture of aircraft engines for the Graz-Thondorf factory. In Peggau, as with most of the underground relocations, concentration camp prisoners were to be used to construct the facility.

The so-called Peggau Wall is a steep mountainside close to Peggau. Several tunnels were excavated in the wall so that parts of Daimler-Benz aircraft engines could be manufactured there, together with parts for tanks and trucks. Each of the tunnels was about 7 meters (23 feet) high, 6 meters (20 feet) wide, and about 200 meters (656 feet) long. There were connecting caverns between each of the six main caverns. The tunnels for SDP were a cooperative enterprise with "ARGE Marmor" (a code word), being a subsidiary of the SS-owned Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). The managing director of the Steyr factory, Georg Meindl, had a good relationship with the highest SS functionaries. It was probably for this reason that prisoners from the concentration camp at Mauthausen were provided.

The first transport of 400 prisoners from the main camp reached Peggau on August 17, 1944.[1] Another transport of 200 prisoners from Mauthausen arrived on September 3, 1944.[2] The number of prisoners thus reached nearly 600.[3] On October 20, 1944, another 100 prisoners were transferred from Leibnitz. As some prisoners had already died in Peggau or had been transferred back to Mauthausen, altogether about 670 people were now imprisoned in Peggau. Additional prisoners were sent to the Peggau subcamp on December 5, 1944 (50 prisoners), December 26, 1944 (30 prisoners), and January 6, 1945 (50 prisoners), all from the subcamp at Leibnitz Graz. Following the dissolution of the Eisenerz camp and the evacuation of its 220 prisoners, the number at Peggau increased again.[4] Another 9 Eisenerz prisoners who had remained behind followed on March 14, 1945,[5] with the result that the camp reached its maximum number of prisoners of 888.

The majority of the Peggau prisoners came from the Soviet Union and Poland. In addition, there were Yugoslavs, Italians, and Frenchmen. They were accommodated in 10 barracks about 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) from the tunnels where they worked. The site had been expropriated

from the Catholic Vorau Convent. The prisoner-functionaries were selected from among German and Austrian prisoners who wore the green triangle. The Peggau subcamp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Miroff, who had been sent from the Leibnitz subcamp. Besides him, there were another four to six SS members in Peggau. The remainder of the guards comprised around 15 members of the Municipal Police (Schutzpolizei) and about 80 Ukrainian guards who had deserted from the Wlassow Army to the Wehrmacht. All were under the command of the Revier-Leutnants der Schutzpolizei Franz Weber from Graz.

The prisoners had to march each day to the tunnel factory, thereby passing the periphery of the village of Peggau. The work, for the most part, was the excavation of the caverns, a task that was particularly exhausting. The type of work coupled with the merciless drive set by the guards led to many deaths and injuries. Allegedly, the prisoners would later be directly involved in production. Almost 3,000 workers and more than 1,000 machines had been relocated from Graz-Thondorf to Peggau. The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. The severe working conditions were typical for camps such as Peggau. Besides this, the prisoners' survival chances were also diminished by the particularly brutal treatment by the guards. In addition to the working conditions, the victims were shot for "trying to escape"; the guards used this reason as an evasion. Several cases of prisoners being shot are documented in survivors' reports. Survivor Jean Germaneau reported cases in which prisoners were killed in the infirmary with an injection into the heart.

There is one case of an attempted group escape from Peggau: on December 24, 1944, several Soviet prisoners successfully crossed the electrified fence. Their absence was only detected at roll call the following morning. The prisoners were nevertheless caught and forced to stand at attention for 48 hours at the camp fence. They were then driven by the guards onto the electrified fence and killed.

The Mauthausen concentration camp roll-call book gives evidence that between the date that Peggau was established to the middle of March 1945 at least 63 prisoners died in Peggau. Initially, the dead were cremated in the Graz crematorium. Some 117 other prisoners, the majority probably because they were ill or physically weak, were sent back to the main camp.[6] Toward the end, when the number of dead dramatically increased, a mass grave was dug close to the camp. After the war, 138 bodies were exhumed from it (82 would remain in the grave, on which later was placed a tombstone). Altogether it can be assumed that between 150 and 200 prisoners died in Peggau alone.

The Eisenerz work detachment was transferred almost in toto to the Peggau camp at the beginning of March 1945. Peggau was evacuated on April 2, 1945. Before the evacuation march began, 15 prisoners who could no longer walk were shot in the tunnels. The remaining 850 prisoners were driven at first on foot to Bruck an der Mur. There, they were loaded onto cattle wagons and transported to Mauthausen, where they arrived on April 7, 1945.[7] Another 21 prisoners died during the evacuation, and 9 were officially recorded as successfully escaping.[8]

After the war, the camp leader Miroff was sentenced to death by hanging by a U.S. military court in Dachau.[9] Weber, the commander of the guards, was tried before a People's Court (Volksgericht) in Graz and sentenced to 20 years in prison.[10]

SOURCES Peggau has been the subject of little attention. Barbara Stelzl has touched on the Peggau subcamp in an essay on National Socialist camps in Graz and its surroundings, "Lager in Graz: Zur Unterbringung ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener und KZ-Häftlinge 1938–1945," in *Graz in der NS-Zeit 1938–1945*, ed. Stefan Karner (Graz, 1998), pp. 353–369. Anita Farkas wrote her dissentation on Mauthausen subcamps in the Styria, "Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark. Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind" (Ph.D. diss., Klagenfurt, 2001). The results of the research are also published in the article "Über den 'Erinnerungsbedarf' an die Konzentrations-Nebenlager von Mauthausen in der Steiermark," Schtl 1:105–106 (2002): 62–78. Anita Farkas has recently published a work on the culture of memorial sites with emphasis on Peggau as an example: "*Sag mir, wer die Toten sind!*" *Personalisierung des Opfergedenkens—ein Beitrag zur Gedenkstättenarbeit in der Steiermark am Beispiel der NS-Opfer von Peggau* (Klagenfurt, 2002).

The AG-M and the IPN hold primary but scattered sources on the Peggau subcamp—mostly lists of names, transport lists, and roll-call reports but also interviews with survivors. The files relating to the trial against Fritz Miroff are in NARA; those against Franz Weber are in the LG Graz. The underground relocation plans of SDP are to be found in the files of the RmfRK held in BA-B. For testimonies, worth mentioning is Jean Germaneau's "Konzentrationslager Peggau (Peggau Concentration Camp)," which appeared as an attachment to *BAM* 210 (1982): 4–37.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport List, August 17, 1944, AG-M, Y/45.
2. Transport List, September 3, 1944, AG-M, Y/45.
3. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. All details are from Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
5. Transport List, March 15, 1945, AG-M, Y/45.
6. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, Memorial E/6/11.
7. Meldungen der Lagerschreibstube über Häftlingsbewegungen während der Evakuierungsmärsche from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
8. Meldungen der Lagerschreibstube über Häftlingsbewegungen während der Evakuierungsmärsche from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
9. *USA v. Eduard Dlouhy, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-14, NARA RG 153.
10. LG Graz, File Franz Weber 1962/727.

REDL-ZIPF ("SCHLIER")

The subcamp in the Upper Austrian town of Redl-Zipf had the code name "Schlier." It is connected with the acceleration of production of the "miracle weapons" that were the result of the ever-increasing threat of German defeat. Beginning in June 1943, work began on the construction by concentration camp prisoners of a factory for the serial production of the so-called A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets in Wiener Neustadt. However, at the end of August 1943, the decision was made, due to the increasing air bombardment on factories where the A4 rockets were produced, to relocate underground and to separate the areas of research and development from production. The serial production of the A4 rockets would be centralized in the underground facilities of the Mittelwerk GmbH in Nordhausen. Simultaneously, a subterranean rocket research facility would be constructed in Ebensee.

As a result of the relocations, it was decided on August 30, 1943, to transfer the production of liquid oxygen required for the rocket development program from the "Rax Factory" in Wiener Neustadt to the brewery cellars at Redl-Zipf. This required renovation work, which included an expansion of the facility. The work at the cellars was managed by the SS-Sonderstab Kammler. Work commenced within a few days after the decision was made to begin. As with most of the Kammler projects, concentration camp prisoners were required to do the work.

The first documented transfer of 68 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived on October 11, 1943, at the Redl-Zipf subcamp. Several more prisoner transports from the main camp and the Wiener Neustadt subcamp quickly followed in short intervals. Prisoners were not only busy working for the dummy company Steinbruchverwertungs GmbH, Betrieb Schlier (Quarry Processing Ltd., Schlier Branch). Behind the Steinbruch company were the Army High Command (OKH) and the Armaments Ministry. Prisoners also worked for, among other places, Mayreder & Co., Ferro Betonit Werke AG, Rella, and the Fiebinger engineering office, which was responsible for the preparations for the excavation of the underground tunnels. The prisoners were primarily used to expand the brewery cellars, establish a bunker to hold the testing equipment for a rocket propulsion chamber, and construct a transformer bunker and a connecting railway line. Plans were also prepared to use concentration camp prisoners to produce fuel and to inspect the rocket propulsion chambers.

The construction of the facility was delayed by accidents in the factory, partly caused by prisoners' sabotage. An explosion in one of the tunnels on February 28, 1944, resulted in the death of 14 civilian engineers and technicians working at the Schlier factory. None of the prisoners were injured or killed. A Slovenian prisoner was suspected of being the saboteur; he was murdered by the Gestapo while being interrogated.

There was another large explosion on August 29, 1944, when an oxygen tank blew up; 28 people were killed, all of whom were civilian engineers or skilled tradesmen. Investigations could not determine whether this was an act of sabotage or an accident.

During this period of expansion of the underground facility, the living conditions in the camp were the worst possible. The death rate in Redl-Zipf was at its highest between December 1943 and February 1944. The very heavy labor in the tunnels filled the infirmary with the wounded and seriously ill. The infirmary was under the command of SS-Medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Christian Wohlrab. As in many other subcamps, there are documented cases where the SS killed those prisoners from the infirmary designated as "incurable" by means of a benzene injection into the heart.

The highest number of prisoners in the Redl-Zipf subcamp was more than 2,000, recorded in the middle of December 1943.[1] The largest national groups were from France, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain (these included prisoners from the so-called Caesar detachment from Vöcklabruck, who were initially transferred to Ternberg and later to Redl-Zipf via the Mauthausen main camp). Due to the high death rate and the transfer of prisoners back to the main camp as well as large transports of prisoners to the Ebensee subcamp (on May 11, 1944, about 499 prisoners were transferred to Ebensee),[2] the prisoner numbers had fallen by the middle of May 1944 to about 600.

Following the commission of the fuel factory in the summer of 1944, the prisoner numbers were reduced to about 160 as a first step (a report from June 5, 1944, states that there were 163 prisoners in the Redl-Zipf subcamp, 500 fewer than on June 1). At the end of 1944, there were again about 1,000 prisoners in the camp, however.[3] These remaining prisoners were mainly involved in production. There are many indications that from this point on the subcamp living conditions in Schlier dramatically improved.

The camp command was again changed in connection with the reduction in prisoner numbers. The first leader was Georg Bachmayer. He was succeeded in November 1943 by Karl Schöpperle, who was later transferred to the newly established Linz III subcamp. On June 3, 1944, Alfons Bendele took command of the Redl-Zipf subcamp.

As a result of prisoner transfers to the Gusen and Ebensee subcamps as well as the Mauthausen main camp, prisoner numbers at the Redl-Zipf subcamp had fallen by April 1945 to about 330.[4] Toward the end of the war and as a result of the collapse of the Eastern Front, prisoners from the so-called Operation Bernhard, also known as the Forgery Detail, were transferred from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp via the Mauthausen main camp to Redl-Zipf. It was only on April 13, 1945, after the prisoners had been in the Mauthausen camp for several weeks, that the 142 Jewish prisoners in this detachment became the responsibility of the Mauthausen main camp.[5] The detachment was sent to the Redl-Zipf subcamp, where it resumed production of, inter alia, counterfeit pound banknotes.

The order to evacuate the Redl-Zipf subcamp was finally given on May 3, 1945. At this point, there were about 470

prisoners remaining in the camp.[6] Some of the prisoners were evacuated by truck and others on foot to the Ebensee subcamp. Several prisoners were able to escape on the march to Ebensee.

The subcamp's register of deaths, which was protected from destruction, provides a victims' ledger for the Redl-Zipf subcamp.[7] There are 266 entries (however, it should be remembered that large numbers of prisoners who were no longer capable of working were regularly sent back to Mauthausen; many of them died from illness or wasted away in the main camp).

Some of the principal perpetrators at the Redl-Zipf subcamp were tried in various trials before the U.S. military court in Dachau. According to statements by former prisoner Paul Le Caër, the last camp leader, Bendele, was handed over to the Americans by the prisoners. He and his predecessor Schöpperle were sentenced to death in Dachau.[8] In two other trials the medical orderly Wohlrab, who was accused of murdering many prisoners, and former roll-call leader Franz Kofler both received the death sentence.[9] The first camp leader in Redl-Zipf, Bachmayer, who had been at the Mauthausen main camp since March 1940 and was the first Schutzhaftlagerführer there (he also was responsible for the construction of Redl-Zipf and Ebensee), committed suicide in May 1945. Before he committed suicide, he killed his family.

SOURCES References to the Redl-Zipf subcamp and its connections with the rocket development program in the "Ostmark" are to be found in Florian Freund's work on the Ebensee subcamp, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989); as well as in the work by Freund and Bertrand Perz on the "Rax factory" in Wiener Neustadt, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987).

Original sources on the Redl-Zipf subcamp are scattered among several archives, including IPN (transport lists) and the AG-M (among them, records of interviews of survivors). The AG-M holds the official memorial record prepared by a former prisoner of "Detachment Bernhard," Kurt Lewinsky. The original Redl-Zipf subcamp death register was handed by former prisoner Paul Le Caër to the French Camp Association. It is held in the AN. The files of the military proceedings against Schöpperle, Wohlrab, and Kofler are to be found in NARA. The memoirs of former French prisoner Paul Le Caër are particularly important for the history of the Redl-Zipf subcamp: *Schlier: Redl-Zipf 1943–1945* (Paris, 1984); Paul Le Caër and Etienne Le Caër, *K.L. Mauthausen: Les cicatrices de la memoire* (Paris, 1996); Paul Le Caër, *Ein junger Europäer in Mauthausen 1943–1945* (Vienna, 2002). In 1945, former prisoner and camp secretary in Redl-Zipf, Vaclav Vaclavik, published his memoirs in Czech, *Milenci SS Smrti* (Pilsen, 1945). The memoirs of Adolf Burger, a former member of the "Bernhard Detachment," are important for the history of this detachment: *Unternehmen Bernhard: Die Geldfälscherwerkstatt im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1992).

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Arbeitsberichte des Arbeitsdienstführers KLM, AG-M, F/2/15.
2. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. All details come from the Rapportbuch, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. Ibid.
5. AG-M, B/36/5.
6. Verzeichnis der Bewegungen im K.L. Mauthausen, April 1945, AG-M, E/6/7.
7. A copy is to be found in AG-M, Collection B/36/15.
8. *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-1, NARA RG 153
9. *USA v. Josef Kattner, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-21; and *US v. Franz Kofler, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-23; both in NARA RG 153.

SCHLOSS LIND

The Schloss Lind subcamp is closely connected to the camps at the St. Lambrecht Monastery, which was also administered by Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht (Admont and St. Lambrecht Manor Administration), which was under the direction of Hubert Erhart.

The prisoners at the Schloss Lind subcamp did agricultural and construction work. They were accommodated on the third floor of the castle. There were also French and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at Schloss Lind. For a Mauthausen subcamp, the prison conditions at Schloss Lind were relatively bearable. This in part was due to the small size of the camp. Working on a farm also meant that there was sufficient food for the prisoners.

The Schloss Lind subcamp was established on June 22, 1942, when 20 prisoners were transferred from the Dachau concentration camp. The subcamp was administered by Dachau until November 19, 1942. On November 20, it, together with the subcamps Passau I and St. Lambrecht (men's camp), came under the administration of the Mauthausen concentration camp. At Schloss Lind there was also presumably a change in the guards, which resulted in a considerable increase in the mistreatment of the prisoners and in a deterioration of the detention conditions.

Between September 1943 and April 1945, there were 19 or 20 prisoners at any one time in the subcamp at Schloss Lind.[1] The names of 24 of the Schloss Lind prisoners are known,[2] 19 of whom appear on a list dated November 26, 1942, of prisoners who had been transferred from Dachau to Mauthausen.[3] Of those whose names are known, 9 were Poles, 6 came from the German Reich, 4 were Spaniards, 3 were Czechs, and 1 was French. Other than the 4 Red Spaniards (Rotspaniern), all were categorized as "protective custody" prisoners.

It is not known if any prisoners died at the camp. As part of events that took place at the male camp at St. Lambrecht on July 5, 1943, three prisoners from Schloss Lind, two Poles and a German, were transferred to the concentration camp at Gusen.[4] Three Red Spaniards from St. Lambrecht were transferred to Schloss Lind to replace them. There were then

occasional transfers of individual prisoners back to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

On May 3, 1945, Erhart is said to have given the order to evacuate the prisoners to Mauthausen. However, due to the rapid advance of the Allied forces, the prisoners on the evacuation march had to return to the camp. Schloss Lind was liberated on May 5 by members of the Austrian Freedom Movement (Österreichischen Freiheitsbewegung). British units reached the camp on either May 11 or 12.

Survivors reported that at Schloss Lind there was only a small SS detachment. When the camp was administered from Dachau, it was said that an SS-Unterscharführer named Fritz was in charge. When the camp was administered by Mauthausen, there were presumably three different camp leaders, the last being SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schmidt, described as someone who "brutally beat" the prisoners.

SOURCES Dietmar Seiler has published a detailed description of the camp at Schloss Lind, "Abgelegen: Anmerkungen zum KZ-Aussenlager Schloss Lind," in *AEIOU: Drausst bist du, drausst bist du noch lange nicht . . .* , ed. Aramis (pseud.) (Neumarkt, n.d. [1996]), pp. 47–65; and "*Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind*" (Graz, 1994). A short history of the subcamp is also to be found in a work by Barbara Distel, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten: Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Anita Farkas's dissertation focuses on the culture of memory in Styria, "'Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark' Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind." (Ph.D. diss., Universität Klagenfurt, 2001).

The Oral History Archive at the IfWSg holds an interview with former prisoner Tadeusz Korczak. Dietmar Seiler's private collection on Schloss Lind holds, among other things, the reports of two camp survivors.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Work Report of the Work Leader, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, F/2/15; Roll Call Book Work Detachment, Daily Reports, February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in Mauthausen concentration camp April 1945, E/6/7—all in AG-M.

2. AG-M, Data Bank Project: "Recording of all documented prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Databank inquiry regarding prisoners of Schloss Lind subcamp" (project unfinished as of July 30, 2003); as well as variation report for July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89.

3. Dachau concentration camp list for Lind subcamp: St. Lambrecht and Passau transferred 124 prisoners to Mauthausen, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, November 26, 1942, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 7, k. 244–246.

4. Variation Report, July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90.

SCHLOSS MITTERSILL, SCHLOSS LANNACH

As part of the massive expansion of the concentration camp system, the Ravensbrück female concentration camp established over 60 subcamps; 2 of these subcamps were established in the Ostmark (Austria). One of them, established in 1944, was located in Mittersill, Salzburg.

In Schloss Mittersill, the SS established a research institute called the Reich Institute Sven Hedin. This institute required labor, and a prisoner work detachment consisting of Jehovah's Witnesses was sent from Ravensbrück. The institute was part of the Ahnenerbe association, which specialized in Asian research with emphasis on pseudoscientific studies on race and ethnology. The Ahnenerbe's goal was to prove the superiority of the Germanic race and culture. In 1942, war shortages and its poor scientific reputation caused the Ahnenerbe's activities to be suspended, and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's personal staff took over control of the association. The Sven Hedin Institute in Mittersill was involved not only in race research but also in pseudo-archeological research. Himmler demanded female concentration camp prisoners from Ravensbrück. In addition, two male prisoners from the Bernau penitentiary and two female Ukrainian forced laborers were requisitioned to work at the Schloss Mittersill subcamp.[1]

A female prisoner detachment of 15 Jehovah's Witnesses was transferred on March 24, 1944, from the Ravensbrück main camp to Mittersill.[2] All the female prisoners were accommodated in Schloss Mittersill. A 52-year-old female SS overseer accompanied the transport. She would be responsible for security inside the subcamp. There were also 13 male SS guards allocated to the subcamp; they were commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Geer. The camp commandant had his quarters in a Mittersill inn. The remainder of the SS guards were most probably accommodated in the castle.

A prisoner subdetachment, consisting of nine female Jehovah's Witnesses, was transferred from Mittersill to Styria a few days after the establishment of the subcamp at Schloss Mittersill. At the end of March 1944, the SS established at Schloss Lannach, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southwest of Graz, a Schloss Mittersill subcamp. The transport to this new subcamp consisted of nine female prisoners, the SS female warden and an SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Vareschi, and one other SS member. Six German female Jehovah's Witnesses remained at Mittersill.[3]

Schloss Lannach was leased by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Here there was a plant genetics department for research and teaching. Its main task was the development of heat- and drought-resistant grains to be used by the settlements in the east. Furthermore, the department was preoccupied with the development of a particular type of plant that could be used for cooking oil.[4] In addition to the 9 female concentration camp prisoners, there were also 17 prisoners of war (POWs) who were used as forced laborers at Schloss Lannach.[5]

At 45 years, the average age of the female prisoners at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach was relatively high. When the camp was established in 1944, the youngest female prisoner was age 32 and the eldest was almost 60. Four of the Jehovah's Witnesses had behind them long years of imprisonment and had already been held in early concentration camps such as Moringen and Lichtenburg.[6] The prisoners included 12 Germans, the largest national grouping. There were 2 female Poles and 2 female Jehovah's Witnesses from the so-called Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (present-day Czech Republic). The female prisoners were used for cleaning and other domestic duties. They also worked in the fields and the gardens.[7] As the women lived and worked mostly within the castle walls, they had almost no contact with the local population.

The female prisoners were apparently fed from the common SS kitchen. There is an invoice for food for the prisoners from May 1944.[8] The female Jehovah's Witnesses probably received food that had a higher nutritional value than prisoners received in other concentration camps.

Historian Andreas Baumgartner provides three explanations why the prisoners received increased rations at the rate of 2 Reichsmark (RM) per day—the costs may have been higher than those of the large kitchens in the concentration camps or the Jehovah's Witnesses in fact received better and more costly meals at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach. The most probable explanation is that the camp administration in fact calculated a rate of 2 RM per day per prisoner but only used part of that for the prisoners and pocketed the rest.

What is known about the female prisoners' treatment is that there were neither killings nor deaths in the Schloss Mittersill or Schloss Lannach subcamps. There was practically no change in prisoner numbers. Baumgartner states that there was probably an exchange of prisoners whereby the eldest Jehovah's Witness was returned to the main camp and a Jehovah's Witness from Ravensbrück was sent to Schloss Lannach as her replacement.[9] The woman sent back to the main camp survived more than five and one-half years in the concentration camps and was liberated in Ravensbrück. Another female Jehovah's Witness was transferred from the Schloss Mittersill subcamp to Mauthausen. She almost did not survive her time in Mauthausen but was finally liberated.[10]

The living conditions in the camps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach are estimated to have been much better than in the female concentration camps at Ravensbrück and Mauthausen.

Both subcamps, originally part of the Ravensbrück camp system, were taken over by the Mauthausen camp for administrative reasons in September 1944.[11] This organizational measure did not result in any personnel changes. There are also no reports of any changes in the guards.

In the final phase of the Third Reich, obviously no consideration was given to the evacuation of the camps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach, because of the long distance from the Mauthausen main camp and the collapsing transport network. The female prisoners at Schloss Mittersill were liberated by American troops on May 8, 1945. A U.S. infantry division pushing east from the Tyrol in the direction of Pinzgau, where Mittersill is located, liberated the Jehovah's Witnesses at the Schloss Mittersill subcamp.

The women at Schloss Lannach were liberated a little later. On May 9, a motorized unit of the Red Army reached the area to the west of Graz, where Schloss Lannach is located. The guards had most probably fled by this time.

Details on the SS guards are lacking. There was only a general investigation into acts of homicide in the Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach camps. The investigation did not proceed due to a lack of evidence.[12]

SOURCES A scholarly publication on these subcamps was written by Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), which forms the basis of this essay. Some details were taken from a work by Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995). Hermann Kaienburg's detailed study *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003) contains details about how Schloss Lannach fitted into the SS economy.

Archival sources used by Baumgartner mostly come from the AG-M and from Baumgartner's private archive. A collection of data relating to the Jehovah's Witnesses who were imprisoned in these two subcamps is to be found in GAZJ. There are few documents in AG-R. Material on the SS economy in relation to Schloss Lannach is to be found in the BA-B. The BA-L (formerly ZdL) holds a report on possible criminal acts in the subcamps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach.

Anita Farkas
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-M, K4e.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. BA-B, NS 19-773, NS 2583.
5. BA-B, NS 3-722.
6. GAZJ, Collection KZ Mittersill/ KZ Lannach.
7. BA-B, NS 3-722.
8. AG-M, K4e.
9. AG-M, K5/6.
10. GAZJ, Collection KZ Mittersill/ KZ Lannach.
11. AG-M, K5/6.
12. BA-L, B 162 AR 6901606.

ST. ÄGYD AM NEUWALDE

The St. Ägyd am Neuwalde subcamp was located in the village of St. Ägyd am Neuwalde in southern Niederösterreich (Lower Austria; until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau). It was opened on November 2, 1944, and closed on April 1, 1945, according to historian Hans Maršálek (or according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], on April 4, 1945).

Usually, this camp is seen in connection with the Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle

Technical Education Institute [SS], KTL), which had its headquarters in Vienna. But Bertrand Perz argues that the employment of the inmates could perhaps also be seen in connection with a larger construction project such as the erection of a production site for car engines, a giant facility for the production and storage of fuel, or a production site for V-weapon components. Whatever project was planned, the isolated location of St. Ägyd, hidden deeply in the mountains of Lower Austria, would have provided ideal conditions. However, due to the advancing front line, none of these plans was ever realized, and until April 1945 the prisoners were only used to construct the camp, to expand a cavern, and to prepare the planned construction work. Probably some inmates were indeed employed by the KTL to maintain and repair truck engines. Other employers of prisoners from the St. Ägyd camp were the companies Schmitt & Junk (a construction company from Munich) and the Stephansdach Holzbau GmbH, which operated a sawmill and a carpenter shop.

The camp was located on a property that had been confiscated from the Catholic Church in the summer of 1944. It consisted of two barracks for the inmates, as well as some administrative and technical buildings, and was surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers. Next to the camp, there were a number of barracks in which the guards were accommodated. They consisted of about 30 to 40 Volksdeutsche SS men. The camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Willi Auerswald, who had earlier been on duty at the Steyr-Münichholz camp. The roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Anton Perschl.

On November 2, 1944, the first 300 prisoners arrived. More than half of them were Poles; the others were Yugoslavians, Soviets, and Germans. Of this group, 125 were considered skilled laborers, and 14 were assigned to be prisoner-functionaries. Due to the severe work and living conditions in the subcamp, there was a high fluctuation of inmates. Repeatedly, prisoners from St. Ägyd were sent back to Mauthausen. Until January 8, the number of inmates dropped to 268—about 10 percent of the inmates had died within the first two months of the camp's existence, and some had been sent back to the main camp. On January 8, more than 90 prisoners who were incapable of working were sent back to Mauthausen; on February 20, 50 more. On February 21, 184 inmates were brought from Mauthausen, mostly Soviets but also Italians, Poles, and Germans. Out of 497 inmates that had been transferred in total to St. Ägyd, about 46 died.

The 391 remaining prisoners were evacuated on April 1. They had to walk to the railway station in St. Ägyd and were taken by train to St. Pölten. From there, they walked to Krems an der Donau and continued by train to Mauthausen. On April 4, 1945, 297 prisoners arrived there; 4 had died.

Camp commander Willi Auerswald was sentenced to death in the Dachau Trials. In 1948, his sentence was reduced to life, then early in the 1950s to 10 years of imprisonment. Anton Perschl was sentenced in Vienna in 1952 to seven months of imprisonment.

SOURCES A detailed description of the camp by Bertrand Perz can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 426–429. A further decription can be found by Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 77. For more information, see Christian Rabl, "Vergessen oder verdrängt? Das Mauthausen-Aussenkommando St. Ägyd am Neuwalde und seine Rolle im NS-Lagersystem" (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 2006); and Hans Heppner and Friedrich Enk, *Chronik der Marktgemeinde St. Ägyd am Neuwalde* (St. Ägyd, 1998). Also see the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:183. This camp is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1842.

Files on the subcamp St. Ägyd am Neuwalde are located in the AG-M under call numbers B/60/11 and B/42/01 (Nebenlager St. Ägyd am Neuwalde: Lage- und Höhenplan).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

STEYR-MÜNICHHOLZ

The ball-bearing factory Münichholz, "one of the most important specialist industries for German air armaments," according to Hans Maršálek, was located in the Münichholz district of the city of Steyr in Oberösterreich (Upper Austria) during World War II.[1] Guidance equipment and later aircraft engines were produced in the facility. The rolling mill in Steyr-Münichholz had been founded in 1941 and quickly became the third-largest producer of ball bearings in the German Reich; almost half of the labor force consisted of male and female forced laborers from all European countries. The rolling mill belonged to Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP).

By no later than September 1938, the city of Steyr had close relations with the nearby Mauthausen concentration camp. As Karl-Heinz Rauscher states, from that time the corpses of prisoners who died in Mauthausen were cremated in the Steyr crematorium. Until 1945, victims of Mauthausen and its subcamps comprised 86 percent of all people cremated at the Steyr crematorium.

From the end of 1941, prisoners from Mauthausen were required to work for SDP. At first they were sent on a daily basis to Münichholz on buses and later on trains, but this approach turned out not to be efficient enough for the SDP managers. According to Rauscher, from January 1942, following the initiative of the managing director of the SDP, Meindl, prisoners were required to construct a temporary barracks camp in Steyr-Münichholz that was to accommodate Mauthausen prisoners who were to work in the SDP's new aircraft engine factory. From January 1942 on, about 300 inmates, the majority of them Spaniards, worked on erecting this camp. It was intended that permanent accommodation would be the Steyr-Garsten prison. However, due to political intrigue, the

prison was not made available for the concentration camp inmates. The result was that on March 14, 1943, the temporary camp in Steyr-Münichholz was opened as the new Mauthausen subcamp. The camp consisted of six accommodation barracks, an infirmary, stores barracks, toilet barracks, kitchen, one barracks for the camp command, and one for the guards.

Not only the SDP but also the Steyr community benefited from the prisoners' labor. Prisoners were used to construct the camp and various air-raid defense buildings, to build aircraft engines and perform quality control on them, to produce ball bearings, and to assemble aircraft engines and tank components. They worked in two 12-hour shifts. The city of Steyr used the prisoners in building streets, cellars, and bunkers. Initially there were 300 male prisoners in the camp. By the end of February 1944, there were 1,022 prisoners, and by the end of 1944, about 2,000 prisoners. Rauscher states that the prisoners were mostly of Russian, Yugoslav, and Polish nationality. In Steyr-Münichholz, there were also Spanish International Brigadists and French resistance fighters. From fall 1944 on, there were also Jewish prisoners in the camp. Otto Heess was the camp commander from August 27, 1943, to May 6, 1945. The roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Willi Auerswald.

After reviewing the city of Steyr's record of the number of cremations, Rauscher estimates the number of prisoners who died in the Steyr subcamp or who were returned to Mauthausen as "unable to work" (*arbeitsunfähig*) and probably murdered there as 900. Several prisoners died while trying to escape, while others—with the help of the local Münichholz parish—appeared to have succeeded. During a heavy air raid on Steyr on April 2, 1944, prisoners were killed. Even before that raid, the ball-bearing factory had been repeatedly bombed, as, for example, on February 23 and 24, 1944.

A group of prisoners from the camp Wiener Neustadt arrived in the camp on April 9, 1945. A few days later, these prisoners and a first group of prisoners from the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp marched to Gusen; those who could not walk were taken to Mauthausen and murdered. These measures reduced the almost 2,000 prisoners to around 1,200. Evacuation marches from other camps meant that the last officially recorded number of prisoners in the camp at the end of April 1945 was 2,918, but when the camp was liberated on May 5, 1945, there were 3,090 prisoners.

A number of postwar trials dealt with events at the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp. For killing an inmate, Czech SS guard Franz Kautny was sentenced to death in a case that dealt with crimes committed at the Mauthausen main camp and its subcamps. Heess was sentenced to life in prison; Auerswald (who later became the camp commander in St. Ägyd), to death by hanging. The sentence was later reduced to 10 years of imprisonment. The Austrian inmate Franz Steurer who had been the block elder of Block 4 in Münichholz was sentenced to a life term in a penitentiary.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz is the author of a description of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 437–440. A detailed and comprehensive description of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp is by Karl-Heinz Rauscher, *Steyr im Nationalsozialismus: Politische, militärische und soziale Strukturen* (Gnas: Weishaupt-Verlag, 2003), pp.197–202. On p. 196, the author describes the long history of the relationships between the city of Steyr and the Mauthausen concentration camp, which predated the camp. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 7, 9, 77, describes the Steyr-Münichholz camp. Further references to the subcamp are to be found in Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsproduktion in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1987); Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976); Bertrand Perz, "Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 533–557; Perz, "Steyr-Münichholz. Ein Konzentrationslager der Steyr-Daimler-Puch A.G.," *JDÖW* (1989), pp. 52–61; Perz, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager in Linz," in *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, ed. Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster (Linz, 2001), 2:1041–1094; Perz, "Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern. Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1996), pp. 95–112; David Wingeate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror on the Danube* (London, 2000); Martina Schröck, *Vom Spanischen Bürgerkrieg ins Konzentrationslager: Die republikanischen Spanier im KZ Mauthausen* (Passau, 1996); Waltraud Neuhauser-Pfeiffer and Karl Ramsmaier, *Vergessene Spuren: Die Geschichte der Juden in Steyr* (Linz: Edition Sandkorn, 1993); Helmut Retzl, "Sadismus und qualvoller Tod," *ABSS*, March 9, 1988; the published dissertation of Gisela Rabitsch, *Die Konzentrationslager in Österreich 1938–1945: Überblick und Geschehen* (Vienna, 1967); and *Konzentrationslager Melk: Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992). See also the report of former inmate Josef Felsberger, "Erlebnisse meiner Schutzhaft im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (Münichholz, Gusen I), dated Dec. 13, 1945; the radio feature "Ehemalige KZ-Häftlinge erzählen (DöW, 1803); and a video documentation from 2001 by Leo Weidinger, *Das KZ-Nebenlager Steyr-Münichholz. Zwangsarbeit für die Steyr-Werke*. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:186; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1842.

Details on the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp are held in AGM under references B/38/03 (Nebenlager Wien-Saurerwerke: Evakuierungsliste von Wien-Saurerwerke nach KL Steyr, 1282 Namen, 2.4.1945–23.4.1945); and V/03/45 (Interviews und Häftlingsberichte: Bericht des Franz Kalteis, ehemaliger Häftling im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen sowie im Nebenlager Saurerwerke, September 15, 1969). The use of the

prisoners by the city of Steyr is documented in various construction files held in the ASt-Sty; in the DÖW under reference 112111; and in the IfZ-UW under reference T 83/77. Records regarding the trial against former personnel of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp can be found at the following sources: *US vs. Kurt Otto* (NARA, 000-Mauthausen-5); *US vs. Wilhelm Kauffeld* (NARA, 000-Mauthausen-10); *US vs. Laurianc Navas* (NARA, 000-50-5-25); *US vs. Hubert Frisch et al.* (NARA, 000-50-5-38); *US vs. Fabian Richter et al.* (NARA, 000-50-5-40); Franz Steurer trial (People's Court of Vienna, I d Vr 4845/48.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 77.

ST. LAMBRECHT (MEN)

The St. Lambrecht Monastery was the first Austrian monastery to be confiscated by the National Socialists. This occurred in May 1938, and the Gau Steiermark (Styria) became the registered proprietor. Together with other monasteries, St. Lambrecht was administered by the Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht), which was under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer (later SS-Standartenführer) Hubert Erhart.[1] The Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht in turn was controlled by the German Association for the Care of Ethnic Germans and Settler Assistance (Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V., Berlin). This association originated from the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt, RuSHA), and in 1942 it came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The association's chairman at this time was Oswald Pohl, head of the WVHA. The association was originally established with the main task of resettling Germans in non-German border areas of the German Reich so as to strengthen the ethnic Germans within those areas. It also managed church confiscated property.[2] The association was unsuccessful in its attempt to gain ownership of the monastery assets, and so a lease was negotiated with the Gau Styria over the monastery lands.

In St. Lambrecht, the Deutscher Reichsverein aimed to restructure the ownership of 10 percent of the monastery grounds so that it became so-called hereditary farms. They would be leased on favorable conditions to farmers. One further goal at St. Lambrecht was to establish a farm laborer settlement. To establish the settlement, the association demanded concentration camp prisoners. The first transport of 80 to 100 Dachau prisoners arrived in St. Lambrecht on May 13, 1942. The camp was administered until November 19, 1942, by the Dachau concentration camp. On November 20, 1942, St. Lambrecht, together with the subcamps at Schloss Lind and Passau I, came under the administration of the Mauthausen concentration camp.

At first the prisoners were put to work within the monastery, constructing the camp and the SS accommodations. After that work was done, the majority of the prisoners had to construct the farmer settlement, and up to 30 prisoners were put to work on the farm and in the forests. Some also worked in the kitchens and as cleaners. From the winter of 1942–1943 onward, the prisoners were also used by Erhart to build a villa for his family not far away from the monastery. At the beginning of 1944, the Office for Publications, Vienna (Publikationsstelle Wien) was relocated to the St. Lambrecht monastery. A few prisoners then worked for this institution.

In the summer of 1943, there was a rotation of almost all the prisoners. On June 29, 1943, 15 German and Polish prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. On July 1, 1943, 14 of these prisoners were reported as having been shot while "trying to escape." A few days later, on July 5, 1943, 79 prisoners, mainly Polish and German political prisoners as well as Red Spaniards (Rotspaniern), were forced to march to the Gusen camp; 3 Red Spaniards were forced to march to the Schloss Lind subcamp, and 1 Red Spaniard to the main camp.[3] At the same time, 99 Red Spaniards and a Polish "protective custody" prisoner were transferred from the main camp.[4] The 79 prisoners who were transported to Gusen were allocated to a punishment company. Only a few are said to have survived. The reasons for this action are not documented, but survivor Josef Nischelwitzer thinks that the leader of a construction detail, who came from Upper Silesia, had overheard Polish prisoners discussing escape plans.[5]

Little can be said about the composition of the prisoner population in the period when the camp was administered from Dachau. According to one report, the prisoners in the first transport were mostly Poles, but there were also Germans and people from the former Czech Republic.[6] The names of 103 prisoners sent to the St. Lambrecht subcamp before July 1943 are known:[7] 45 came from the German Reich, 33 were Poles, 19 were Spaniards, 5 were Czechs, and 1 was a Yugoslav; 73 were categorized as political prisoners, 19 as Red Spaniards, 7 as "asocials" (*Arbeitszwang Reich*), and 2 as temporary preventive custody (*Befristeter Vorbeugungshaft*) prisoners.

The names of 129 prisoners transported to the subcamp after July 2, 1943, are also known.[8] These names allow one to discern the nationalities of the prisoners: 109 (84.5 percent) were Spaniards, 6 Poles, 5 Italians, 3 Soviets, 3 Frenchmen, 2 Reich Germans, and 1 Hungarian. In addition to the Red Spaniards, there were 13 political prisoners (10.8 percent); 2 percent were in security arrest (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*); there was 1 Soviet prisoner of war (POW); the remainder were (1 each) categorized as a Russian civilian worker, or rather a civilian worker, as "Jewish," and as a temporary preventive custody prisoner.

It can no longer be determined how many prisoners in total were sent to St. Lambrecht. The first strength report was dated from September 2, 1943, when 121 prisoners were sent from

the main concentration camp to the subcamp; 44 of these were sent back to the main camp, including 31 Red Spaniards, in a transport on December 1, 1943. These Red Spaniards apparently were not sent back to the main camp for punishment or to die. Rather, as skilled workers, they were reallocated to another work detachment. Between September 1943 and May 1945, there were on average 80 prisoners in the camp. The highest documented number of prisoners was on October 2, 1943, when there were 101 prisoners in the camp. No prisoners died in the camp after September 1943, but it should be noted that in addition to the Red Spaniard transport another 13 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp.[9]

Conditions in the camp deteriorated considerably when the Mauthausen concentration camp took control. Mistreatment of prisoners increased with the new camp guard. Nevertheless, the food was better than in other subcamps—if only for the reason that the Manor Administration operated its own farm.

Unlike the subcamp at Schloss Lind, which was also administered by the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht, the evacuation of St. Lambrecht was not attempted. However, in its last days, there were allegedly no guards in the camp. It was liberated shortly after Schloss Lind, after May 11 or 12, by British forces.

The camp leader was initially SS-Unterscharführer Remle.[10] He was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Angerer, who came from Munich. According to a report by Josef Nischelwitzer, who enjoyed privileges as a construction detachment Kapo, Angerer was not "an oppressor and not a murderer . . . he was basically different from the others. The detachment was relatively bearable."[11] Angerer is said to have been arrested because he gave favors to the prisoners. He is said to have been convicted and punished by being transferred to the SS-Sondereinheit Dirlewanger for probation.

When the Mauthausen administration took over, Angerer was replaced as camp commander by SS-Untersturmführer Erich Schöller. The camp guard, which consisted of between six and eight men, was also replaced.[12] A member of the guard was convicted in proceedings before a U.S. military court in Dachau for mistreating prisoners and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.[13]

SOURCES A history of the three camps administered by the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht has been written by Dietmar Seiler: *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz, 1994). Barbara Distel has also written about the camps: "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Stefan Jagoschütz concentrated on the St. Lambrecht Monastery in his theological diploma "Das Benediktinerstift St. Lambrecht im Nationalsozialismus: 1938–1945" (Diplomarbeit, Salzburg, 1990). Information on the Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V., Berlin, can be found in a work by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen" und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The report by survivor Josef Nischelwitzer has been published as "St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt, 1988), pp. 55–74. Dietmar Seiler's interviews with local inhabitants and persons who were in contact with the camp are held by the Oral History Archive of IfWSg. The AG-M holds copies of the transport list, the subcamp roll-call book, statements by Josef Nischelwitzer, and 71 prisoner cards. The IPN holds a few transport lists. There is further information in the Sti-A-StLam and the Seiler private archive collection St. Lambrecht. For the trial of an SS guard from the St. Lambrecht camp, see NARA, RG 338, Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1942, Records of Headquarters, USAREUR, War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959, Case 000-50-5-8, *USA v. Willi Auerswald et al.*

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 3/900 and 1462.
2. BA-B, NS 3/312, fol. 19.
3. Variation Report for June 29, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office. KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 85; Variation Report for July 5, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90, both in IPN.
4. Variation Report for July 2, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office, AG-M, B/44/3.
5. Josef Nischelwitzer, "St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt; 1988), p. 65; AG-M, B/44/5.
6. Jan Kosinski, Report and List of fifty-six prisoners of the first transport to St. Lambrecht on May 13, 1942, AG-D, 23.387.
7. Variation Report July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office Mauthausen Concentration Camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90; AG-D, 23.387.
8. Variation Report for July 2, 1943, Camp Record Office Mauthausen Memorial Concentration Camp, B/44/3; Report of the St. Lambrecht Town and the St. Lambrecht Police Office, list of seventy-one prisoners in the camp at its liberation B/44/1/1, AG-M; as well as AG-M, Data Project, List of All Documented Prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp, Data Bank Questionnaire to St. Lambrecht Prisoners (project incomplete as of July 30, 2003).
9. Work Leader Report Mauthausen Protective Custody Report F/2/15; Subcamp Daily Reports, February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in Mauthausen Concentration Camp, April 1945, E/6/7—all in AG-M.
10. Jan Kosinski, Report, AG-D, 23.387.
11. Nischelwitzer, "St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos," p. 60.
12. Ibid. Copies of a record of interview of Josef Nischelwitzer by the Federal Police Office Klagenfurt, State Police Department, March 6, 1970, AG-M, B/44/5.
13. NARA, RG 338, Case 000-50-5-8, *USA v. Willi Auerswald et al.*

ST. LAMBRECHT (WOMEN)

As with the men's subcamp, the female prisoners at St. Lambrecht worked for the Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht), part of the German Association for the Care of Ethnic Germans and Settler Assistance (Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V. Berlin). The work was forestry work, cleaning, and working in the kitchens. At the beginning of 1944, the Office for Publications, Vienna (Publikationsstelle Wien) was relocated to the monastery at St. Lambrecht. Some of the prisoners also had to work for this organization.

In February or March 1943, 30 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp are said to have been transferred to St. Lambrecht. The St. Lambrecht subcamp for women, erected with the arrival of these prisoners, was physically and organizationally separate from the subcamp for men. It remained under the administration of the Ravensbrück concentration camp until September 15, 1944. When the camp was transferred to Mauthausen, the remaining 23 prisoners were entered into the Mauthausen prisoner register. The prisoners, together with some prisoners from the main camp and the Schloss Mittersill subcamp, were given the first prisoner numbers ranging from 1 to 58.

All the women at St. Lambrecht were Jehovah's Witnesses. The members of the International Association of Bible Researchers (Internationaler Bibelforscher-Vereinigung) had been persecuted by the National Socialists since 1933. They were persecuted because they refused to undertake military service, to swear allegiance to the state, and to obey the rules of state institutions. This group of Jehovah's Witnesses remained incarcerated in St. Lambrecht until the subcamp was liberated. This is noteworthy because in September 1943 the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) gave a directive that Jehovah's Witness groups in the concentration camps were to be scattered, and the individuals were to be separated from each other.

Of the 23 women, 12 were from the German Reich; there were 5 Poles, 5 Dutch, and 1 Belgian. The eldest was born in 1889. The women had an average age of 41 years when they were liberated.[1] There are no documented cases of any deaths or of any transfers back to the main Mauthausen concentration camp after September 15, 1944. This suggests that the prison conditions were bearable in the St. Lambrecht female subcamp.

Toward the end of the war, the International Committee of the Red Cross was able to negotiate the release of the Belgian, French, and Dutch prisoners. A list of prisoners to be handed over to the Red Cross included the names of St. Lambrecht prisoners from the Netherlands and Belgium.[2] However, the rapid advance of Allied forces prevented the evacuation of the subcamp or prisoner transports to the main camp. As with the subcamp for men, the subcamp for women is likely to have been liberated by British units shortly after Schloss Lind was liberated, after May 11 or 12, 1945.

According to a statement by a prisoner from the subcamp for men, the female guards were just as bad as the male guards.[3] According to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, Jane B., a female St. Lambrecht overseer, appears in a number of proceedings relating to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[4]

SOURCES Dietmar Seiler describes the history of the three subcamps assigned to the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht in *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz, 1994). Probably because of the dearth of documents, only a small chapter is devoted to the subcamp for women. Based largely on Seiler, a short history of the subcamp is to be found in Andreas Baumgartner's work on the female prisoners of the Mauthausen concentration camp, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997); as well as in an essay by Barbara Distel on the Dachau subcamps in Austria, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65.

Only a few documents on the subcamp for women at St. Lambrecht are known. They are held in the AG-M, the Sti-A-StLam, and the Seiler private archive, collection St. Lambrecht. Dietmar Seiler has conducted interviews with the local population and with people who had contact with the camp. These interviews are kept by the Oral History Archive of the IfWSg. A report of a former prisoner of the St. Lambrecht subcamp for men mentions the subcamp for women: Josef Nischelwitzer, "St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt; 1988), pp. 55–74.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. A copy of the Admissions Register of the female Mauthausen Concentration Camp, AG-M, K/5/6; original held by ITS.
2. AG-M, K/6/2.
3. AG-M, B/44/8.
4. AG-M, K/10/09/06A.

ST. VALENTIN

St. Valentin is located in the district of Amstetten in Lower Austria (Niederösterreich; until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau). The Nibelungenwerke, one of the largest tank production sites during World War II, was located in St. Valentin. Hans Maršálek states that during the war mostly Type IV tanks were built here: 4,340 of the 8,209 Type IV tanks that were produced during World War II came from St. Valentin, or more than 50 percent of the total production in the German Reich.[1] Of the 3,366 Type IV tanks manufactured in Germany in 1944, 2,809 originated from St. Valentin. Even in April 1945, 65 tanks were delivered to the Wehrmacht's Heeresgruppe Süd.[2] The *Jagdtiger* and *Elefant*

tanks were also manufactured in St. Valentin but in lesser numbers.

Already in 1938 the Army High Command (Oberkommando des Heeres) had prepared plans to increase the capacities for the production of tanks in the Ostmark, the former Austria. Thus, the production site for tanks was created in St. Valentin, in close proximity to the iron production sites in Linz (Hütte Linz) and the Eisenwerke Oberdonau, both managed by the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring." Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), a former Austrian and then, from 1938, German armaments manufacturer, was first a leaseholder of the production site through the Nibelungenwerke, a subsidiary solely created for this purpose. In 1942, SDP finally acquired the company. At the same time, production was upgraded from repairing to producing tanks. The close cooperation of SDP with the SS also included the use of slave labor: between March 1942 and the autumn of 1943, the SDP engaged around 10,000 prisoners in different sites. Later, the number would increase to 14,000.

The St. Valentin camp was opened on August 21 (other sources: August 22), 1944, with the arrival of 500 male prisoners, among them 481 Jews. The latter had arrived in Mauthausen only one day earlier from Krakau-Plaszow. On August 28 and September 7, two more transports followed, each with 500 prisoners. Due to deaths on-site and transports back to the main camp, the subcamp never exceeded a maximum number of 1,480 inmates. The inmates were kept in approximately 10 barracks that were located about 300 meters (984 feet) behind the company grounds, close to the testing area for the assembled tanks. The camp was guarded by about 110 SS men under the command of a certain Heidingsfelder; the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Johann Schiller. During the existence of the camp, at least 150 inmates died, and six attempts to escape were reported.

The inmates were used in the vital war industry of tank manufacture. They worked within the company where they were kept in specific areas, separate from other employees. and they erected the testing area for assembled tanks and an air-raid bunker. In April 1945, when parts of the tank production were relocated to Ebensee, 695 inmates from St. Valentin were also relocated, between April 19 and 23. Then the camp was closed as Allied forces approached. But the exact date of its closure differs according to various sources: the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp probably closed on April 19, 1945—the date when the first prisoners were evacuated to Ebensee. This information is based on the files of the Mauthausen camp and eyewitness statements. The German *Bundesgesetzblatt* gives April 21 as the closure date, whereas Maršálek puts the date as April 23—after the transports of prisoners to Ebensee had ceased.

After the war, a number of trials dealt with events at the St. Valentin subcamp, among others the U.S. Mauthausen military tribunals that took place in Dachau. For the severe mistreatment of inmates, leading to death, Rapportführer Schiller was sentenced to 30 years in prison. Former camp clerk Hans Carl von Posern was sentenced to life imprisonment for the mistreatment and killing of inmates. The Landgericht (Regional Court) Vienna sentenced Ferdinand Polsterer, former leader of the factory security force in the Nibelungenwerke, to 12 years in a penitentiary. The Landgericht Munich I sentenced Wilhelm Lipinsko, a former prisoner-functionary, to 6 years of imprisonment for the mistreatment of prisoners.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz is the author of the essay on St. Valentin in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 433–436. Hans Maršálek mentions St. Valentin in his *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 19, 78. References to the camp are also found in *Konzentrationslager Melk: Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992); DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987); and Bertrand Perz, "Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern. Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 95–112. On St. Valentin's role in armaments manufacturing, see Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich: 1938 bis 1945* (Vienna, 1970). On SDP, see Bertrand Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1991). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 184; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843.

The AG-M holds information on the St. Valentin subcamp under the references B 45/1 and 2 (Berichte über das Nebenlager St. Valentin); M F 4/1 (Angaben des im Arbeitseinsatz eingesetzten Häftlings Wolfgang Sanner); B 40/1 to 40/10, B 30/1 to B 30/16, B 12/36 (Berichte und Kopien von Transportlisten); as well as E 6/11 (Rapportbuch, Gesamtstand der Häftlinge in den Nebenlagern, Tagesaufstellungen). Information on postwar trials regarding the events at St. Valentin can be found at the following sources: *US vs. Johann Schiller* at NARA (Case 000-50-5-39; *US vs. Hans Carl von Posern* at NARA (Case 000-50-5-46). At NARA, see also *US vs. Peter Baerens et al.*, (Case 000-50-5-22), which contains details about Ebensee. For the trial against Polsterer, see LG Vienna, Vg I a Vr 6923/46; for the case against Lipinski, see LG Munich I, 1 Ks 17/49. The USHMMA lists the names of 25 prisoners who survived the St. Valentin subcamp. The account of former prisoner Nathan Gutman, "The Angel of St. Valentin," is under the reference Acc.1996.A.0373. It describes his last weeks of the war in St. Valentin.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich: 1938 bis 1945* (Vienna, 1970), p. 197.

2. Hans Maršálek,, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 87.

TERNBERG

The Reichsgau Oberdonau underwent a phase of rapid industrialization immediately following the *Anschluss* of Austria to the German Reich. This resulted in an enormous demand for electrical energy. The National Socialists turned to an idea developed in the 1920s and 1930s to supply electricity to the Gau Oberdonau. The idea was to construct a series of hydroelectric power stations along the River Enns. Following resolution of some disputes concerning responsibility for the construction of the Enns power station, the Österreichische Kraftwerke AG (Austrian Power Generator) was chosen to construct power stations at Grossraming, Staning, and Mühlrading. The Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG), Linz, was chosen to build the power station at Ternberg. Its subsidiary Deutsche Bergwerke und Hüttenbau GmbH (German Mining and Steelworks Construction) was the general contractor. In turn, it contracted with Allgemeine Hoch- und Ingenieurbau AG (AHI-Bau) for the construction of the Ternberg hydroelectric power plant.

Construction in Ternberg began in the autumn of 1939 with the installation of the infrastructure necessary to construct a power station. Actual construction began in October 1941. By this time, there was a shortage of labor in Oberdonau. To make up for the shortage, foreign civilians, prisoners of war (POWs), penal prisoners, and concentration camp prisoners were used. With a peak in February 1944, there were around 2,000 such people working on the construction of the Ternberg power plant. The Wohnlager 75 (Accommodation Camp 75) was established to accommodate about 1,200 workers including Polish and French POWs, Eastern workers, penal prisoners, and civilian workers. The camp included six prisoner barracks that were separated from the other barracks by barbed wire.

The camp was established on May 15, 1942, to deal with the labor shortage. The Mauthausen concentration camp was unable to provide the number of prisoners required. It dissolved the Vöcklabruck subcamp on May 14 and transferred all of its concentration camp prisoners to Ternberg.[1] On May 16, 1942, according to a local police report, there were 320 Red Spaniards in the camp. They were guarded by 45 SS men and worked at the AHI-Bau.[2]

The Mauthausen concentration camp categorized veterans of the Spanish Civil War, that is, Spanish Republicans and members of the International Brigades, as Red Spaniards. Initially, these prisoners were placed by the SS at the lowest level in the Mauthausen hierarchy. Some 4,200 of the approximately 7,000 prisoners brought to the camp had been killed by the end of 1942. The Red Spaniards rose in the camp hierarchy as newer prisoners arrived, prisoners who were even more discriminated against. In time, their work discipline enabled them to assume a privileged position.

From June 1941, the "Cäsar Detachment," which consisted exclusively of Red Spaniards and was named after its Kapo, César Orquín Serra, was sent to the subcamps at Vöcklabruck and Ternberg and eventually on to Redl-Zipf. Very few prisoners in this detachment died despite the heavy physical work. This was in large part due to the strong solidarity among the Red Spaniards. According to one prisoner report, Orquín Serra was able to get the SS to provide adequate food supplies; other reports state that Serra was duplicitous. The Kapos ensured that when the work details were put together, there was a combination of the physically weak with the healthy prisoners.

It can be assumed that the Red Spaniards were the majority of Ternberg's prisoners. Only 13 of 408 prisoners died in the camp, a relatively low number when one considers the large size of the construction camp. In the nearby subcamp at Grossraming, where the prisoners were also constructing a power plant on the Enns, 227 of the 1,013 prisoners died between January 14, 1943, and August 29, 1944.

The majority of the Ternberg prisoners worked on the construction site. The excavation for the foundations, where the prisoners had to break up the hard rock with heavy hammers and carry it, was physically draining work. Some of the prisoners are said to have worked in the nearby quarry. Not only did the Deutsche Bergwerke require the prisoners to construct the power plant; the construction firm Hummel and Baumann used them to reroute Reichstrasse 95. The Reich Road Administration (Reichsstrassenverwaltung) paid the Deutsche Bergwerke for the use of the prisoners.

On September 18, 1944, 395 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, and the subcamp at Ternberg was dissolved.[3] Although well advanced, work ended on the power plant. The project was no longer important enough for the war effort.

When questioned after the war before the state criminal court, SS-Scharführer Josef Schiller stated the "company commander" [Kompaniechef] was an SS-Obersturmführer Kieserle.[4] SS-Hauptsturmführer Anton Ganz was the camp leader (Lagerführer) at Ternberg from the end of 1942 to May or June 1943. He was later commander at Wiener Neustadt and Ebensee.[5] Ganz was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1972. He was particularly noted for his brutality in Ebensee—a survivor described him as arbitrary, dictatorial, and brutal.

SOURCES The history of the Ternberg camp has been described in two publications: Florian Freund, "Zwangsarbeit beim Bau der Ennskraftwerke," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit in der Elektrizitätswirtschaft der "Ostmark" 1938–1945: Ennskraftwerke—Kaprun—Draukraftwerke—Ybbs-Persenbeug—Ernsthofen*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb and Florian Freund (Vienna, 2002); and Adolf Brunnthaler's *Strom für den Führer: Der Bau der Ennskraftwerke und die KZ-Lager Ternberg, Grossraming und Dipoldsau* (Weitra, 2000). Information on Spanish Republicans at Mauthausen can be obtained from Martina Schröck, *Vom Spanischen Bürgerkrieg ins Konzentrationslager: Die republikanischen Spanier im KZ Maut-*

hausen (Passau, 1996); David Wingeate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror on the Danube*. (New York, 2000); Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995).

As with just about all subcamps that were dissolved toward the end of the war, there are scarcely any SS documents other than the scattered transport lists. This camp was not the subject of postwar trials. There is a relatively large amount of material dealing with the construction of the Enns power station in the BA-B and in the Oö.La. Additional primary sources may be found in BA-L and a published document, translated into French, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976).

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Mauthausen Administration Activity Report, May 15, 1942, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III*, (Paris, 1976), p. 334.
2. Report of the Ebenboden near Ternberg Police Station to the Steyr District Council, May 23, 1942, Oö.La, BH Steyr, Sch. 190 AZ 10/13-1942.
3. Subcamp Roll Call Book, Daily Report, September 18, 1944, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. Copy of a letter from the Landesgerichts für Strafsachen Wien to the KZ-Verband, November 10, 1948, AG-M, B/46/3.
5. BA-L, ZdL, Ludwigsburg, AZ 419 AR-Z 4/64.

VÖCKLABRUCK

The subcamp at Vöcklabruck opened in June 1941 in the Wagrain district of the city of Vöcklabruck. It was the third subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp after Gusen and Bretstein. The prisoners were generally not used in armaments production in the early stages of the founding of the camp. The assumption was made that the camp was opened at the instigation of the SS-owned company German Earth and Stone Works (DESt). Its prisoners were engaged mainly in road construction work.

The first transport of about 300 prisoners was transferred to Vöcklabruck on June 6, 1941. The prisoners—with the exception of 2 prisoners from the German Reich and 1 Moroccan—were said to have been exclusively so-called Red Spaniards.

The camp's prisoners were deployed to different labor details in the surrounding area of Vöcklabruck. The two biggest details, Strassenbau I and Strassenbau II, were assigned to do road construction work in the south of the city. Three smaller labor details, Vöcklabrücke, Agerbrücke, and Tiefenweg, were engaged in bridge construction. Other small labor details worked on the construction of a water pipe, in a stone quarry, in the nearby town of Attnang-Puchheim, and at demolition work.

The labor details were supposedly led by one or more civilians.

According to the statement of a survivor, a so-called gas van (*Gaswagen*) was used repeatedly for the killing of prisoners who were unable to work anymore. Two Spaniards and a Moroccan tried unsuccessfully to flee the camp on April 5, 1942. The Spaniards were supposedly recaptured; the Moroccan froze to death.

The Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) asked for concentration camp prisoners to be deployed at the construction of the power station Ternberg in the spring of 1942. Because the commandant's headquarters of the Mauthausen concentration camp were not in a situation to provide the requested number of prisoners, the Cäsar Detachment, which consisted of Red Spaniards and was named after its Kapo, César Orquín Serra, and its guard force were transferred to the newly opened subcamp Ternberg on May 14, 1942. Consequently, the camp Vöcklabruck was closed.[1]

The Vöcklabruck subcamp was supposedly guarded by 30 SS men.

SUBKOMMANDO VÖCKLABRUCK OF THE REDL-ZIPF SUBCAMP

Between September 30, 1943, and March 24, 1945, a subcommando of the subcamp Redl-Zipf also existed in Vöcklabruck.[2] From a transport list it can be concluded that 48 prisoners were transported from the subcamp Wien-Schwechat to this detail on October 13, 1943. The majority of these prisoners were of Polish, Spanish, and Soviet origin.[3]

SOURCES The fact that there is no extensive account of the Vöcklabruck subcamp is explained mainly by the poor documentation. The first one who attempted to write a history of the subcamp is Christian Hawle. His account is based essentially on the interview with a survivor: "Vöcklabruck-Wagrain," in *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabruck 1938–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner (Vienna, 1995), pp. 21–35. The Vöcklabruck subcommando of the Redl-Zipf subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 154.

As is the case with most of the camps that were closed before the end of the war, almost no SS documents about Vöcklabruck have been preserved. Pictures of the camp as well as the record of an interrogation of former prisoner Bernardo Martinez Castillo can be found in the AG-M. The most important source for the representation of the Vöcklabruck subcamp is the interview with prisoner B. The interview was conducted in 1985. In the collection of the ITS, there are documents about Vöcklabruck as well as about the subcommando of the Redl-Zipf subcamp. There is also some documentation in IPN. Christian Bernadac's *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) reproduces some documentation for this camp in French translation.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Report of activity of the administrative office of the Mauthausen concentration camp, entry from May 15, 1942, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III*, (Paris, 1976), p. 334.

2. Report of activity of the administrative office of the KZ Mauthausen, entry from September 30, 1943, published in ibid., p. 351.

3. Change of status report for October 13, 1943, camp orderly room Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 160.

WEYR

Weyr was located approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the Grossraming subcamp, and it dates from the spring of 1943, probably mid- or late April. At that time, a detail of about 30 prisoners from Grossraming began clearing the forest land, leveling the ground in preparation for the construction of barracks. During the first few weeks at the Weyr site, the prisoners returned daily to Grossraming. After the site was enclosed with a barbed-wire fence and four barracks had been constructed, the prisoners stayed there. Additional barracks were built outside of the compound for the SS guards and the civilian workers. Weyr held about 100 prisoners, perhaps as many as 250, from various European nations, as well as 20 SS guards. Prisoners did road work and labor for civilian firms and were supervised by German Kapos. The Weyr subcamp was evacuated in October 1944, and the prisoners were returned to Mauthausen.

SOURCES There are no separate sources on Weyr. Readers should refer to the source section for Grossraming.

Robert G. Waite

WIEN (*SAURERWERKE*) [AKA SAURERWERKE, WIEN-WEST]

The subcamp Wien (Saurerwerke) was located in District IX, Simmering, in Vienna. Here the prisoners worked for the former Austrian Saurerwerke AG in the Heidequerstrasse (sometimes also referred to as Haidestrasse).

The Austrian Saurerwerke performed production under license of the Swiss Company Adolph Saurer, which produced trucks and buses. Until 1938, the company employed approximately 1,000 people. By 1944, this number increased to about 5,000 including a high percentage of foreign forced laborers. In 1938, after Germany's *Anschluss* with Austria, the production site in Vienna-Simmering had been expanded, and a new factory building had been erected. Here, mainly armored reconnaissance vehicles, tank transporters, and tank engines were produced.

The camp was established on either August 20 or 21, 1944, with the arrival of the first 500 prisoners from Mauthausen. They had to erect the camp, which was established in a now-separated part of the camp for foreign forced laborers. Also, according to Bertrand Perz, they had to build the roll-call grounds and the work site for the inmates who were mainly employed in the tank transporter production. For that purpose, they had to block the doors of Hall C to make sure that the concentration camp inmates remained as separate from the general workforce as possible.

On September 24, 1944, after the camp was finished, 850 more inmates arrived from Mauthausen. The company now employed prisoners exclusively. In February 1945, the number of inmates reached its peak, at 1,489. The majority of inmates were Poles, Soviets, Czechs, Yugoslavs, French, and Italians; about 150 inmates were considered Jews. According to Perz, in the course of the existence of the camp, 136 prisoners were transferred back to Mauthausen because they had become incapable of working; at least 35 died, and 12 inmates tried to escape. Hans Maršálek also states that several small groups of prisoners, comprising 3 to 5 prisoners each, managed to escape from the subcamp. Austrian prisoner Josef Lauscher succeeded in escaping with the assistance of an illegal prisoner organization, which had been operating in the Melk and Saurerwerke subcamps from the autumn of 1944 on. This illegal prisoner organization worked very efficiently—it was one of its largest successes to install Franz Kalteis, a Communist from Vienna, as the camp elder. Kalteis succeeded in establishing contacts with civilian workers at the company, individual members of the guard, and members of the resistance movement outside the camp.

The camp was guarded by members of the Wehrmacht who had been taken over by the SS and by members of the Austrian Home Guard (Landesschützen). Their number was about 130. The camp commander was Wehrmacht captain Johann Gärtner, then an SS-Hauptsturmführer.

The evacuation of the Saurerwerke subcamp began on April 2, 1945, when there were 1,466 inmates in the camp. The camp elder was able to convince Gärtner not to follow orders by the Mauthausen commander to kill all the inmates that were considered too ill to be evacuated. Thus, 190 prisoners were left behind at the Saurerwerke, to be liberated a few days later by the Red Army. The other inmates, together with prisoners from other Mauthausen subcamps such as St. Ägyd, Hirtenberg, Melk, and Amstetten, were evacuated and arrived on April 18, 1945, in the Gusen camp. From there they marched on to Steyr-Münichholz, where, on April 23, 1,076 survivors of the death march from the Saurerwerke were registered. Since 16 inmates had died during the march, and 25 had escaped, at least 157 inmates disappeared without a trace.

In 1949, the Landgericht (Regional Court) Wien put former camp commander Gärtner on trial. The former acting commandant, Wittkowski, a German, escaped trial in Austria in 1946 by fleeing to Germany.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz wrote the essay on Wien (Saurerwerke) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg*, *Mauthausen*, *Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 445–448. Hans Maršálek has documented the Wien (Saurerwerke) subcamp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 76, 260 (escape of Josef Lauscher), 293, and 316

(international prisoners' organization). See also Herbert Exenberger, "2. April 1945—Evakuierung des KZ-Nebenlagers Saurer-Werke," MDÖW Folge 171 (April 2005), pp. 5–8. For information on the Saurerwerke, see Franz Mathis, *Big Business in Österreich. Österreichische Grossunternehmen in Kurzdarstellungen* (Vienna: Verlag für geschichte und Politik, 1987), 1: 252–253; and Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1987), p. 204. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:189; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849. For trials at the LG Vienna, see LG Vienna, Vg GE Vr 2156/49 (Härtner) and Vg 3c Vr 1626/45 (Wittkowski).

The AG-M contains documents on the Wien (Saurerwerke) subcamp under references V/03/45 (Interviews und Häftlingsberichte: Bericht des Franz Kalteis, ehemaliger Häftling im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen sowie im Nebenlager Saurerwerke, September 15, 1969); and B/38/03 (Nebenlager Wien-Saurerwerke: Evakuierungsliste von Wien-Saurerwerke nach KL Steyr, 1282 Namen, April 2, 1945–April 23, 1945), B 38/04 (Bericht Kalteis), and B 38/6 (Evakuierungslisten).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WIENER NEUDORF

The founding of the subcamp Wiener Neudorf is directly related to the increasing demand of the aircraft industry in the German Reich as a consequence of the emerging defeat in the aerial warfare against Britain. Special importance was given to the construction and further development of aircraft engines. These were to be produced in a modern assembly line and with the use of special machine tools, in the mode of production developed by Henry Ford. The Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark were founded as an enterprise of the Reich Air Ministry and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works, Inc., JFM) in April 1941 as a license factory for the production of the Junkers aircraft engine (Jumo 222). Another factory for injection pumps in Brünn (Brno) and a propeller factory in Marburg on the River Drau (Maribor) were to be built next to the main factory in Wiener Neudorf. The choice for the location was supposedly explained by the protected location of Wiener Neudorf from Allied air raids. The construction of the factory was to be carried out in the shortest possible period of time in accordance with the so-called Göring Program. The goal of this program was the quadrupling of the armament production for the German Luftwaffe. The production of 500, later of 1,000, engines a month was planned to commence by March 1943.

Because it soon became obvious that the Junkers engine Jumo 222 had not reached the point where it could be manufactured by serial production, the plans were switched to a license production of Daimler-Benz (DB) engines initially of the type DB-603, later of the type DB-605, at the end of the year 1943. The further construction of the plant and, as a result, also the production of aircraft engines were to be carried out, because of a growing lack of workers, by foreign prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian forced laborers. However, the assignment of workers did not fulfill the high demands of the planning for the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark. The lack of labor was responsible for the fact that the construction works fell behind the given time schedule. As a consequence, there were changes in the management personnel at the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark in August 1943. The general director of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), Georg Meindl, was named the new managing director.

Meindl's good personal relationship to high-ranking SS officials was also probably behind the decision for the setting up of a concentration camp in Wiener Neudorf. He asked Heinrich Himmler in a personal letter dated July 14, 1943, for about 2,000 concentration camp prisoners for the further construction and operation of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark.[1] This request was granted immediately by Himmler. A first transport of 201 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived on August 2, 1943.[2] The prisoners' task was to remodel a former hut camp for construction workers into a concentration camp for future prisoners. The production of aircraft engines finally began at the end of 1943, and the number of concentration camp prisoners in Wiener Neudorf grew close to 2,000 by January 1944. The subcamp arrived at its maximum capacity in November 1944 with almost 3,000 prisoners. The majority of the people imprisoned in the camp were Poles; other larger national groups included prisoners from the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, Italy, Germany, and Austria.

The Wiener Neudorf subcamp was first located in the village of Guntramsdorf (a few kilometers south of Vienna) and consisted of 17 huts for the housing of the prisoners, 2 infirmary huts, and 9 administrative huts. As was common for subcamps set up for the armament industry, the guarding of Wiener Neudorf was taken over by that branch of the Wehrmacht that benefited from the respective production. That is why, to a large extent, the guard force included soldiers from the Luftwaffe subordinated to a smaller permanent staff of the SS guard force. The camp leader was SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Schmutzler. The function of Rapportführer was assigned to SS-Scharführer Rudolf Lamm. Hauptmann Ludwig Stier was the commander of the Luftwaffe soldiers.

Several cases of torture and deliberate killings of prisoners are detailed in the eyewitness report of the former prisoners' physician, Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck.[3] They were performed and ordered by different members of the SS and the Luftwaffe guard. It is believed that a total of about 400 to 450 prisoners died in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp as a result of undernourishment, illness, and ill-treatment.

The Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark became more and more the target of Allied air raids, starting in the early summer of 1944. The subcamp was hit and mostly destroyed during one of these raids on July 26, 1944. A total of 31 prisoners were

supposedly killed.[4] The surviving prisoners were transferred the following day to a new camp in the village of Wiener Neudorf (Mitterfeld) because of the wide destruction of the subcamp.

Due to the intensified Allied air raids on strategically important factories of the armament industry, the decision was made in November 1943 to decentralize and move sections of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark underground. The partial transfer of the production from Wiener Neudorf to an underground factory in Dubnica, Slovakia, started in the summer of 1944. In spite of the reduced production, the Wiener Neudorf subcamp continued to operate.

The subcamp was evacuated on April 2, 1945, before the approaching Soviet troops. At this point, 2,517 prisoners were in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp.[5] Supposedly 38 prisoners who were unable to march were left behind in the camp and murdered. The remaining prisoners were sent on a 13-day march in the direction of the Mauthausen main camp. The report of Busch-Waldeck mentions 243 deaths; other sources cite almost 150 deaths during the march.[6] A minimum of 70 prisoners must have managed to flee during the march.[7] The survivors finally arrived at the Mauthausen concentration camp on April 14, 1945.

The persons responsible for the violent crimes committed in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp were called to account in several trials. A few members of the SS guard as well as the captain of the Luftwaffe unit sat on the bench before a U.S. military court in Dachau in June 1947.[8] The trial ended with the death penalty for the camp leader, Kurt Schmutzler; the captain of the Luftwaffe guard, Ludwig Stier; and the block leader, Alois Höllriegl. The executions took place in Landsberg. Another member of the guard unit, Franz Doppelreiter, was sentenced to death in 1946 before the Vienna state court.[9] This sentence was then changed to lifetime imprisonment. Doppelreiter was granted amnesty in 1955. The block leader, Karl Lehnert, was sentenced to death in Poland in 1947. The last known trial concerning Wiener Neudorf took place before the Duisburg regional court in 1993. Accused were the SS canine officers Bruno Blach and Dominik Gleba. Blach, who had emigrated earlier to the United States and had been expelled after his real identity became known, was acquitted because of lack of evidence. Gleba was sentenced to two years of limited confinement.

SOURCES From the literature on the Wiener Neudorf subcamp, one can point especially to the articles published by Bertrand Perz: "Die Errichtung eines Konzentrationslagers in Wiener Neudorf. Zum Zusammenhang von Rüstungsexpansion und Zwangsarbeit von KZ-Häftlingen," *JDÖW* (1988): 89–116; and "Der Todesmarsch von Wiener Neudorf nach Mauthausen. Eine Dokumentation," *JDÖW* (1988): 117–137. The publication of the Neu-Guntramsdorf parish about the history of the camp is interesting from the point of view of local history: André Grossberger, *Das ehemalige Konzentrationslager in Guntramsdorf 1943/44* (Pfarre Neu-Guntramsdorf, 1995). Christian Bernadac, too, dedicates a larger chapter to the Wiener Neudorf subcamp in *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976).

A 180-page report from personal experience comes from the former prisoners' physician in the infirmary, Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck. The typewritten original can be found in the DÖW. Other scattered accounts on Wiener Neudorf can be found, among other places, in AG-M, where interviews with survivors are also available, as well as at the IPN. NARA, RG 153, Records of the US Army War Crimes Trials holds the trial against Mauthausen/Wiener Neudorf personnel. Extensive resource material on the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark can be found in BA-MA.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Letter from Meindl to Himmler, AG-M, B/49/7.
2. Transport list from August 2, 1943, AG-M, B/49/5.
3. AG-M, B/49/1 and 2.
4. See also the report of Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck, AG-M, B/49/1 and 2.
5. The number of prisoners in the subcamps, list from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
6. The number of 150 would coincide also with the information that can be gathered from the list of the prisoners' movements in KLM in the month of April 1945 (AG-M, E/6/7).
7. Changes of status report from April 12, 1945, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 24 k. 79–80.
8. NARA, RG 153, Case 000-50-5-2, *USA v. Ernst Dura, et al.*
9. Proceedings against Franz Doppelreiter, LG Vienna, Vg l e Vr 1140/49.

WIENER NEUSTADT

Following the annexation of Austria by Germany in March 1938, the German company Henschel & Sohn took over the Austrian company Wiener Neustädter Lokomotivfabrik and manufactured up to 1943 mostly locomotive tenders. In 1942, the factory was given a new name, Rax-Werke Wiener Neustadt (Rax Factory Wiener Neustadt) and was restructured as an independent subsidiary of Henschel GmbH. Plans to expand production to include armaments (initially flak guns) made necessary an expansion of the factory. The Army High Command (OKH) gave a factory to the Rax-Werke that had been seized during the Balkan campaign in Kraljevo, Yugoslavia, dismantled, and rebuilt in Wiener Neustadt. This factory was known as the Serbenhalle.

Plans for the production of flak guns by the Rax-Werke were abandoned, and in April 1943, the Special Committee A4, established a short time before by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions to accelerate the production of rockets, chose the Rax-Werke as one of three locations (the others being the testing grounds at Peenemünde and the Zeppelin factory at Friedrichshafen—later there was also the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG [Demag] at Falkensee, Berlin) for the mass production of the A4 (Aggregat 4, otherwise known as V-2) rockets.

The decision to use concentration camp prisoners in the A4 project had been made as early as the spring of 1943. A camp was built on the Rax-Werke site to hold prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp. The first transport of approximately 500 prisoners arrived on June 20, 1943. The prisoners were first used to complete the assembly halls and to install the machines. Only later was it decided to involve the prisoners in the production of the rockets. On August 8, 1943, an additional 722 prisoners were transferred to Wiener Neustadt.[1]

During the first phase of the Wiener Neustadt subcamp, from June to November 1943, the prisoners were mostly Frenchmen. There were also large groups of Polish and Soviet prisoners. The number of prisoners reached a peak at 1,200. The majority of the prisoners were political prisoners.

During the first phase, it was planned to have about 70 SS men as guards under the command of the camp leader SS-Hauptsturmführer Anton Ganz, who later was to serve at Ebensee. As in some of the other camps that formed part of the armaments industry, the treatment of the prisoners in the Wiener Neustadt subcamp was relatively good. Nevertheless, there are several reported cases of mistreatment. There was a minimum of medical care in the infirmary. The infirmary was under the control of the Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) Gottlieb Muzikant, who served also in Melk and Grossraming as well as in the Mauthausen main camp. During the first period of the camp (June–November 1943), 30 prisoners died.

The Rax-Werke was bombed for the first time on August 13, 1943, and the subcamp was also hit. As the serial production sites of the A4 were the target of such raids, the decision was made in August 1943 to separate the production of the rockets from their development and to establish a central subterranean production plant, namely "Mittelwerke" in Nordhausen in Thuringia, which resulted in the establishment of the concentration camp at Mittelbau.

At the end of August 1943, the facilities for the production of fuel and examination of the propulsion chambers were transferred from the Rax-Werke to the Redl-Zipf beer cellars in Upper Austria. This was the beginning of the step-by-step dissolution of the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt. A bombardment on November 2, 1943, so severely damaged the Rax-Werke that not even minimal production could continue. As a result, all equipment, building parts, machines, and the skilled workers were transferred to the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen. The prisoners were transferred in a number of transports to the newly established subcamps at Redl-Zipf (transport dates October 26, 1943,[2] and November 9, 1943)[3] and Ebensee (November 17, 1943).[4] The last transport left Wiener Neustadt on November 20, 1943. It headed to the Mittelbau main camp (Dora) via the Buchenwald main camp.

The Rax-Werke resumed the production of tenders after the relocation of the manufacture of rockets from Wiener Neustadt and the dissolution of the subcamp. Attempts to get back into the armaments business were soon successful. The Rax-Werke received an order to produce naval artillery barges (*Marine-Artillerie-Leichter*) as part of the naval construction program. Production began at the end of May 1944, and concentration camp prisoners were requested as laborers. A new Mauthausen subcamp was thus established in Wiener Neustadt.

A transport of 300 prisoners arrived in Wiener Neustadt on July 5, 1944;[5] other transports followed on July 31, with 204 prisoners, on September 18, with 150, and on September 28, with 50 prisoners. All the transports originated in Mauthausen. On December 26, 1944, 150 prisoners were transferred to the subcamp at Floridsdorf in Vienna.[6] During the second phase of the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt, prisoner numbers fluctuated between around 500 and 700. Most of the prisoners were from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Italy. Between July 1944 and April 1945, 42 prisoners died in the subcamp. This number incorrectly distorts the death rate, as there were a number of transports of prisoners who were no longer capable of working or who were seriously ill back to the main camp.

As was common with subcamps established for the armaments industry in Wiener Neustadt during this phase, security was provided by that branch of the Wehrmacht that benefited from the production. During the second period of the subcamp's existence, from July 1944 to April 1945, the majority of the 120 to 140 guards were naval soldiers under the command of the camp leader Prchal.

On April 1, 1945, the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt was finally dissolved in the face of advancing Soviet troops. The prisoners were first marched in the direction of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp. According to the camp records, 25 prisoners died on the march, and 10 went missing.[7] On April 6, 1945, 496 of the former Wiener Neustadt work detachment reached the Steyr subcamp as their first destination.[8] On April 10, 1945, 494 prisoners presumably arrived at the Mauthausen concentration camp.

After the war, indictments were laid against several SS members at the Wiener Neustadt subcamp. The first Lagerführer, Anton Ganz, was only sentenced by a Memmingen court in the 1970s to life imprisonment for crimes committed at the Ebensee subcamp.[9] The Rapportführer during the first phase, Hans Bühner, was sentenced to death by a French military court for crimes committed in Hinterbrühl and Ebensee. He was executed.[10] His successor, Heinz Bollhorst, was sentenced by a U.S. military court to life imprisonment.[11] The SDG, Gottlieb Muzikant, who saw service in several other subcamps, was arrested in the 1960s and received 21 life sentences from a court in Fulda in Germany, especially for crimes committed in Melk, Lower Austria.

The Rapportführer from August 1944, SS-Scharführer Paul Tremmel, was convicted by a U.S. military court in Dachau for crimes committed on the evacuation march to Steyr. He was also sentenced to death.[12] Prchal, the camp leader during the second phase, disappeared after the war. Proceedings commenced in the 1970s but soon stopped.[13]

SOURCES The most detailed work on the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt is by Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz: *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987). Further details can be found in the works by Freund on the planned rocket industry in Ebensee,

Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung (Vienna, 1989); as well as the use of concentration camp prisoners in rocket production, "Die Entscheidung zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Raketenrüstung," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin, 1994), pp. 20–35.

There are scattered original sources of the camp administration such as transport lists or variation reports. They are held in the APMO, IPN, and the AG-M. The latter archive also holds some survivors' reports. Material on the postwar trials of the camp's SS members is located in NARA, ZdL (now BA-L), and LG Vienna.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Variation Report, August 8, 1943, AG-M, B/50/4.
2. Variation Report, October 26, 1943, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 36.
3. Transport List, November 9, 1943, AG-M, B/50/2 and B/50/6.
4. Variation Report, November 17, 1943, AG-M, B/50/5.
5. Transport List, July 5, 1944, AG-M, B/50/5.
6. All details are from the Roll Call Book Mauthausen Concentration Camp, AG-M, E/6/11.
7. List of the Camp Record Office re Prisoners' Movements following the Evacuation of the Subcamps of April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
8. List of the Camp Record Office re Prisoners' Movements following the Evacuation of the Subcamps of April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
9. BA-L, ZdL, AZ 419 AR-Z 4/64.
10. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl) Bd.1, fl. 375.
11. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Heinz Bollhorst*, Case 000-50-5-48.
12. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Paul Tremmel*, Case 000-50-5-44.
13. BA-L, ZdL, AZ 419 AR 48/79.

WIEN-FLORIDSDORF AND JEDLESEE [AKA FLORIDSDORF I AND II]

The history of the two subcamps in Wien-Floridsdorf is closely connected with the Schwechat work detachment. The subcamp at Schwechat was closed and evacuated on July 13, 1944, following a heavy aerial bombardment that resulted in the destruction of the camp. The prisoners were at first taken to Wien-Floridsdorf; later, many went on to the subcamps at Hinterbrühl and Santa I, II, and III near Schwechat. The prisoners who remained in Floridsdorf were distributed to two detachments, one at Hofherr & Schrantz or Akkumulatoren Fabrik AG (AFA) and one at Jedlesee. The prisoners from the first detachment were accommodated in a subcamp in Shuttleworthstrasse on the site of Hofherr & Schrantz, which served as a production site for AFA, while the prisoners of the Jedlesee detachment were accommodated in what is the present-day Hopfengasse. The detachment Floridsdorf I (Hofherr & Schrantz) operated as the command for the large Wien-Floridsdorf complex, which included the Jedlesee detachment and the Hinterbrühl subcamp. The Jedlesee camp was established on July 13, 1944, and the Floridsdorf I camp on July 14, 1944.

The history of the subcamps at Wien-Floridsdorf has generally not been the subject of research and in part still lies in the dark. What is known is that the prisoners in Floridsdorf, as in Schwechat, were used to produce parts for various types of Heinkel (He) aircraft. During the years 1942 and 1943, the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke had relocated large parts of its production and eventually its management from Rostock to Schwechat. Due to the increasing labor shortage, concentration camp prisoners were made available for the production of several aircraft types, among them the He 219 and He 280. Following the aerial bombardment of Schwechat, part of this production was relocated to Jedlesee in the 21st Viennese district (Floridsdorf) and continued there. The detachment AFA (or Hofherr & Schrantz, respectively) has to be seen separately from Heinkel. Before the war, Hofherr & Schrantz had specialized in the manufacture of agricultural machinery. During the war, it produced armaments. It has been suggested that its operation in Floridsdorf produced directional components for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets, but the possibility has not been verified. Originally based in Hagen, Germany, AFA was a specialized battery producer that during the war supplied batteries for different types of submarines. After bombardments of the AFA fabric in Hagen, the production had been relocated to Vienna and was accommodated in the facilities of the company Hofherr & Schrantz.

As in the other subcamps at the various Heinkel factories, it can be assumed that, as in Schwechat, the guards were at least in part members of the Luftwaffe.

It is difficult to determine how many prisoners were actually held in the Floridsdorf subcamps, how many died there, and how many were transferred to other subcamps in Vienna. The difficulty with the empirical data is that Floridsdorf was a camp complex comprising several subcamps. When the Schwechat subcamp was closed, the prisoners were distributed among several new camps, all of which were under the command of the former Schwechat camp leader Anton Streitwieser. He moved his headquarters from Schwechat to Floridsdorf, and it was from here that he commanded the camps at Floridsdorf, Jedlesee, Hinterbrühl, Schwechat (the remainder of the original subcamp at Schwechat), and the work detachments Santa I, II, and III. All these work detachments are classified in the documents of the Mauthausen main camp administration under "Floridsdorf," thus making it almost impossible to separate out data about the individual detachments.

The Floridsdorf detachment reported on July 14, 1944, the day that it was established, that it had 1,993 prisoners. Over the succeeding months, the prisoner numbers remained more or less constant. The peak for the whole Floridsdorf complex was reached in the final months. In January 1945, there were more than 2,700 prisoners.[1] The majority of them were from Poland and the Soviet Union. There were other large groups

from Italy and France. When the Floridsdorf complex was dissolved, there were 829 prisoners alone in Floridsdorf I and Floridsdorf II,[2] of whom about 450 were in Floridsdorf I and the rest in Floridsdorf II.[3]

Both Floridsdorf subcamps were evacuated on April 1, 1945. The prisoners were not evacuated via the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, which was used as a collecting point for several other detachments in the area around Vienna, but via the subcamp of Steyr. The evacuation march reached the Mauthausen concentration camp on April 11, 1945. According to a list prepared by the camp clerk, 121 prisoners were killed on the march; 22 were reported as missing or as having escaped. Floridsdorf I reported 45 dead and 12 missing or escaped prisoners; Floridsdorf II had 76 dead and 10 reported as missing or escaped.[4]

The Lagerführer of the Vienna-Floridsdorf camp complex, Streitwieser, was initially held captive by the Americans. He was able to escape and assumed a false identity. In 1953, he was officially declared dead. However, he was subsequently identified and was arrested for the first time in 1956. Streitwieser was arrested and released several times again, but in 1967 he was sentenced by the Cologne state court to life imprisonment.[5] He died in prison.

SOURCES The publications on the subcamps at Wien-Floridsdorf reflect the state of research—there are scarcely any. Worth mentioning is a local history of Floridsdorf by the youth branch of the SPÖ, Junge Generation Floridsdorf, ed., *Braune Jahre in Floridsdorf 1938–1945: Eine Broschüre der JG Floridsdorf* (Vienna, 1988). Christian Bernadac's book *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes one large chapter to the subcamps at the Heinkel factories, including Floridsdorf and Jedlesee.

Some source material on Floridsdorf is to be found in AG-M. Interviews with survivors are also held here, as in the IPN. Sources on the Ernst Heinkel factories are to be found in the BA-MA.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The prisoner numbers are from the Roll Call Book, AG-M, E/6/11.
2. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
3. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
4. Ibid.
5. LG Cologne, 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.

WIEN-HINTERBRÜHL ("LISA")

The history of the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, near Mödling, is closely connected with that of the work detachments at Schwechat and Floridsdorf. The subcamp at Schwechat was closed and evacuated on July 13, 1944, following the destruction of the camp caused by Allied bombing raids. As a result, the Ernst Heinkel factory relocated parts of its aircraft production facilities underground, first to Floridsdorf and later also to Hinterbrühl and to the brewery cellars at Schwechat.

The so-called Sea Grotto in Hinterbrühl was an ideal underground location for the Heinkel operation. The cave system, which is a present-day tourist attraction, was a former gypsum mine, which had been closed in 1912 after groundwater had flooded the mine. In the early 1930s the mine, which was still partly submerged, became a tourist attraction and was developed as such.

Once the Armaments Inspectorate became aware of the grotto, it was requisitioned for the Ernst Heinkel group. This was in May 1944, before the evacuation of the Schwechat subcamp. Expansion of the grotto started to allow for the subterranean production of the Heinkel (He) 162 aircraft known as the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). As the grotto was affected by groundwater, it was necessary to install a permanent pumping system to keep the underground area dry. A heavy Allied air raid on the Sea Grotto on May 24, 1944, during the construction period, also hit the village of Hinterbrühl and killed several civilians.

The decision to establish a Mauthausen subcamp at Hinterbrühl was probably made shortly after the Sea Grotto had been requisitioned for the Heinkel factory. Nevertheless, the camp was only established later. The first prisoner transport is said to have arrived at the camp in September 1944.

The subcamp at Hinterbrühl was part of the camp system administered from Wien-Floridsdorf that comprised several camps for Heinkel factories in the area around Vienna. Once the Schwechat subcamp was closed, its prisoners were distributed among several newly erected camps, all of which remained under the command of the former Lagerführer at Schwechat, Anton Streitwieser. He had moved his headquarters from Schwechat to Floridsdorf, and from there he commanded the following camps: Floridsdorf, Jedlesee, Hinterbrühl, and Schwechat (what was left of the former subcamp at Schwechat) and the work detachments Santa I, II, and III. As in the other subcamps at the various Heinkel factories, the guards at the subcamp at Hinterbrühl were at least in part members of the Luftwaffe.

The documents of the Mauthausen main camp administration group all the subcamps of the Wien-Floridsdorf camp complex together using the term "Floridsdorf." It is nearly impossible, therefore, to analyze the sources by reference to each individual work detachment. Verified statements regarding the prisoner demographics can be made only for the whole camp complex. When considering the average prisoner numbers in the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, it is only possible to rely on statements by prisoners. Marian Siczyński, a Polish survivor of the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, refers to an average number of 800 prisoners.[1] The majority of the prisoners came from Poland and the Soviet Union. There were also large groups of Italians and French prisoners.

The total number of prisoners in the Floridsdorf complex varied only slightly during the period in which the subcamp

at Hinterbrühl was established.[2] One can, therefore, assume that the majority of prisoners from Floridsdorf and Jedlesee were transferred to Hinterbrühl. At least one transport of prisoners came from the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt in the middle of December 1944.[3]

The camp was given the code name "Lisa." It was only a few meters away from a vertical pit through which the prisoners passed daily to their work in the underground production area. During the first weeks, before production started, the prisoners were involved in excavating the underground production facility and in constructing the subcamp. Mass production began in November. The underground factory was known as Lobster (*Languste*). The grotto had two levels, which were divided into a number of sections. In these sections, parts for the fuselage of the aircraft He 162 were produced. The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. Once the fuselage had been assembled and fitted out with the complete technical equipment, it was shipped from the Hinterbrühl Sea Grotto to Schwechat, where the final assembly of the aircraft took place.

In comparison with the working conditions in other underground armaments production sites, the conditions for the prisoners in Hinterbrühl were presumably somewhat better. There was an existing cave system that did not, as in St. Georgen, Melk, Ebensee, or Peggau, require excavation. Nevertheless, the 12-hour shifts and the lack of rest and nutrition made the conditions difficult. In addition, there are documented cases of torture, mistreatment, and murder of the prisoners carried out by the SS, in particular by camp leader Anton Streitwieser and Rapportführer Hans Bühner. The documented treatment of the subcamps in the Wien-Floridsdorf complex, mentioned above, makes it impossible to determine how many prisoners died in Hinterbrühl. One can assume that repeatedly sick prisoners and those incapable of working were transferred back to the main camp, with the result that the number of victims of this subcamp exceeds the number of those who actually died in Hinterbrühl. Some of the prisoners who died in Hinterbrühl were cremated in the Vienna city crematorium.

The order to evacuate all camps within the greater Vienna area was given at the end of March 1945 as the Red Army approached the city. The subcamp at Hinterbrühl functioned as a collection camp for prisoners from the Schwechat-Heidfeld detachments and presumably also for those from the Santa I, II, and III detachments in Schwechat. On March 31, 1945, 1,884 prisoners from these detachments[4] were concentrated in the Hinterbrühl subcamp. On April 1, 1945, the prisoners were sent in the direction of Mauthausen.

The day before the march to Mauthausen began, there was one of the largest mass killings of prisoners in the various subcamps: on the order of Streitwieser, the Lagerführer, a list was prepared of all prisoners in the infirmary who could not walk. There were originally 80 names on the list. The SS intended to kill them with an injection to the heart; 51 prisoners were actually murdered and their remains buried in a mass grave on the camp grounds; 1 prisoner was shot by Bühner. According to the former prisoner doctor, Josef Krakowski, the remaining 29 prisoners from the infirmary were saved at that occasion but died later on the evacuation march to Mauthausen.[5] The prisoners' corpses were exhumed in 1946 and reinterred at the Vienna central cemetery.[6]

The evacuation march that left Hinterbrühl on April 1, 1945, reached the Mauthausen main camp on April 7. In addition to the 52 prisoners who were murdered the day before the march started, another 152 died on the march, and 56 were reported as either missing or escaped.[7]

After the war, Lagerführer Streitwieser was held by the Americans as a prisoner of war (POW). He was able to escape. He assumed a false identity, and in 1953, he was officially declared dead. His real identity was later discovered, and he was arrested again in 1956. After being arrested and released several more times, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Cologne state court in 1967.[8] He died in prison. Rapportführer Bühner was sentenced to death by a French military court for crimes committed in Hinterbrühl and Ebensee and executed.[9] SS-Rottenführer Willy Brünning, SS-Unterscharführer Franz Huber, and the Kapo in the infirmary, Georg Gössl, were convicted by a U.S. military court in the first Mauthausen trial held at Dachau.[10] The former orderly Karl Sasko and the Kapo Franz Dieplinger were tried before the Vienna state court.[11] Sasko was accused of the murder of 51 prisoners in the infirmary and died during the trial. Dieplinger was sentenced to six months in jail for mistreating prisoners.

SOURCES There are only a few references to Hinterbrühl in the literature, such as in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976); or in the essay by Werner Eichbauer, Florian Freund, and Bertrand Perz, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Mauthausen in Niederösterreich," in *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich*, ed. DÖW (Vienna, 1987), 3: 602–608. Alfred Hiller, who has written on the history of the development of the He 162, also refers to the subcamp at Hinterbrühl in *Heinkel He 162 "Volksjäger": Entwicklung, Produktion, Einsatz* (Vienna, 1984). Finally, reference should be made to two articles that are the result of a school oral history project on Hinterbrühl: Karin Eichberger, Andreas Freisinger, Monika Halbritter, John Morrissey, and Christian Rauscher, "'Vergangenheitsbewältigung': Die Hinterbrühler Seegrotte 1944/45 als KZ-Nebenlager und Flugzeugwerk, Teil I," *BzFdd* 3 (1987): 1–6; and Eichberger, Freisinger, Halbritter, Morrissey, and Rauscher: "'. . . dann soll er zu einem Psychiater oder sonst wo hingehen!' 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung': Die Hinterbrühler Seegrotte 1944/45 als KZ-Nebenlager und Flugzeugwerk, Teil II," *Beiträge zur Fachdidaktik* 2 (1988): 1–6.

There are some documents on Hinterbrühl in the AG-M, including the memoirs of former prisoner Marcello Martini as well as survivor interviews. The trial files of Anton Streitwieser are held by the LG Cologne. Those of the trial against Hans Bühner are held by LG Vienna. The files to the first Mauthausen trial held at Dachau, which include the Hinterbrühl perpetrators, are held in NARA, RG 338. Files on the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke are in BA-MA.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-M, B/16/13.
2. See Roll Call Book Subcamps, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. See the memoirs of former prisoner Marcello Martini, AG-M, B/16/11.
4. Report of the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
5. Statement by Dr. Josef Krakowski, AG-M, B/16/7.
6. Correspondence between Anton Mayer and Hans Maršálek, AG-M, B/16/5.
7. Report of the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
8. LG Cologne, 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.
9. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl), vol.1, p. 1375.
10. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch, et al.*, Case 000-50-5; see also the statement by Rudolf Halaba to LG Vienna available at AG-M, B/16/7.
11. LG Vienna, Vg 8e Vr 781/55.

WIEN-SCHÖNBRUNN [AKA SONDERKOMMANDO WIEN]

The establishment of the Schönbrunn subcamp, also known as the Sonderkommando Wien (Vienna Special Detachment), is connected to the hopeless situation of Hitler's Germany and the utopia of "miracle weapons" that were to turn Germany's impending defeat into victory. The Austrian forester Viktor Schauberger, who since the 1920s had been a researcher of the optimal use of kinetic energy (*Bewegungsenergie*), presumably met Hitler in 1934 in Berlin in an attempt to convince Hitler of the benefits of his plans for an alternative source of energy.

The looming defeat of Germany and the belief in a turn of the course of events through miracle weapons gave even esoteric projects such as those promoted by Schauberger a chance that they would not otherwise have had. The motive behind that was the desperate hope to change the course of the war in Germany's favor. In the late summer of 1944, Schauberger was given an opportunity to undertake physical experiments at the Mauthausen concentration camp. Although his records do not explain what they exactly involved, Schauberger talked about "implosion," and various sources refer to the development of alternative methods of propulsion. Schauberger himself has referred to "flying submarines." Schauberger was first given five prisoners (two Czechs, two Germans, and one Pole) who had technical skills for the experiments. Originally, the experiments took place at Mauthausen. However, at Schauberger's insistence, the detachment was transferred to Wien-Schönbrunn on September 28, 1944.[1] The detachment was accommodated in a separated room at the SS-Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt (Motor Vehicle Technical Education Institute), located within the area of present-day Maria-Theresien-Kaserne. The date that the Schönbrunn subcamp was established is the date of the transfer.

As early as October 28, 1944, one of the prisoners was transferred back to Mauthausen. The prisoner was replaced the next day, October 29, by a prisoner from the main camp.[2] There is one reported case where a prisoner guarded by one SS man slept overnight at his wife's apartment. As punishment, he was transferred back to Mauthausen in January 1945.[3] It is likely that in January 1945 another prisoner was sent back to the main camp. As a result, the detachment only consisted of three prisoners. During its existence, there were a total of six prisoners (two Germans, two Czechs, one Pole, and one Austrian). The treatment of the prisoners was relatively good. According to the report of one former prisoner, he and his comrades were not exposed to any mistreatment.[4] On Sundays it was even possible occasionally to leave the barracks accompanied by one of the SS guards.

The head of the SS-Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt, also known as the SS-Engineer's School, where the detachment Wien-Schwechat was accommodated, was SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Hermann Schröder. Military supervision was under the command of Hauptsturmführer Lindner. Schauberger was the scientific head of the detachment. According to his own statements, he had to pay a use fee to the SS for the prisoners.

The SS barracks in Schönbrunn were bombed several times. As a result, the remainder of the detachment, three prisoners, was transferred to a requisitioned scythe factory at Leonstein in Upper Austria. The experiments continued there until early May 1945.[5] The detachment is said to have been dissolved shortly before the liberation of the Mauthausen main camp, and the remaining three prisoners were sent back to Mauthausen. All six prisoners of the Wien-Schönbrunn subcamp are said to have survived imprisonment.

Proceedings against unnamed perpetrators suspected of National Socialist crimes carried out in the Wien-Schwechat subcamp began at the Vienna state criminal court in the 1960s but ceased after a short time.

SOURCES It is Viktor Schauberger's memoirs and various biographical studies that are focused on his life and his scientific work, which largely provide the details of the history of the detachment at Schönbrunn. The biography by Siegbert Lattacher should also be mentioned: *Viktor Schauberger, Auf den Spuren des legendären Naturforschers* (Steyr, 1999); as should the magazine *Implosion* 113 (1995), which published Schauberger's memoirs.

Variation reports and the transcription of an interview with a former prisoner are held in the AG-M.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Variation Report, September 28, 1944, AG-M, B/39/1.
2. Variation Reports, October 28–29, 1944, AG-M, B/39/2.
3. Transcription of an interview with Anton Cerny, AG-M, B/39/3.
4. Ibid.
5. A list of movements in the Mauthausen main camp during April 1945 (AG-M, E/6/7) refers to three prisoners from the detachment "Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt" on April 29.

WIEN-SCHWECHAT-HEIDFELD

In the summer of 1942, the Ernst Heinkel factory, following a series of massive Allied air raids, relocated part of its aircraft production from Rostock in northern Germany to the air base at Schwechat, close to Vienna. A delegation from the factory inspected the site in June 1942, whereupon the fighter training school based at Schwechat was relocated and the air base was handed over to the Heinkel factory. Initially, only the departments for construction, plans, and samples were transferred to Schwechat. Civilian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were used to construct a runway, assembly halls, and administrative buildings. In the late spring of 1943, the Heinkel main office was transferred to Schwechat.

The growing labor shortage and increasing Allied air superiority, which accelerated the production of fighters, resulted in an increasing use by the armaments industry of concentration camp prisoners as labor. In August 1943, a subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp was erected at Schwechat next to the existing forced labor and POW camps. The prisoners were to produce different types of Heinkel (He) fighter aircraft.

The first verifiable transport of 92 skilled workers from the Mauthausen main camp, the majority of whom were Republican Spaniards, arrived at Schwechat on August 30, 1943.[1] Successive transports quickly increased the numbers of prisoners. One of the largest transports consisting of 600 prisoners from the main camp arrived at Schwechat on September 19.[2] In April 1944, there were 2,600 prisoners in the camp, the maximum that would be reached.[3] Poles were the largest national group, followed by Soviet prisoners. Italians were also a large percentage of the prison population.

The guards in Schwechat, as in most subcamps that were connected with armaments production, were from the section of the Wehrmacht that profited most from the production. The majority of the guards were Luftwaffe soldiers commanded by a small group of SS. The first camp leader was SS-Obersturmführer Erich Engelhardt. He died during a bombing raid on the camp on April 23, 1944. His successor was SS-Untersturmführer Anton Streitwieser. Other than for a few short breaks, Streitwieser had served at the Mauthausen concentration camp since 1938. He had been work leader and a roll-call leader at the Gusen subcamp and third detention camp leader at the main camp. Between March and April 1944, he was Lagerführer at Melk. He then assumed command in Schwechat. One of the roll-call leaders was Rapportführer Hans Bühner, who had seen service at Wiener Neustadt.

The prisoners' living conditions in Schwechat, as in many of the other subcamps that served the armaments industry, were relatively good. However, there are indications that the camp was overcrowded from the spring of 1944, which must have made the conditions worse. There are also numerous documented cases of torture and murder by the guards. A particularly gruesome form of torture and murder practiced at Schwechat was to lock a prisoner in a wooden box, hammer long nails into the box, and then roll the box for several hours around the roll-call square. Lagerführer Streitwieser and Bühner often set their dogs on the prisoners who were severely injured and in several cases died.[4]

It can be assumed that more than 200 prisoners died at the Schwechat subcamp, the majority during Allied air raids on the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke. As small groups of prisoners or individual prisoners were constantly being sent back to the main camp at Mauthausen,[5] it can be assumed that the ill and those who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Mauthausen to die and were replaced by healthier prisoners.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, the Heinkel factory at Schwechat was subject to repeated Allied bombing raids. One of the heaviest was on April 23, 1944. At least 47 concentration camp prisoners died during this raid, together with 16 guards and the camp commander Engelhardt. There was another raid on the factory on June 26, 1944, which again hit the camp and killed 140 prisoners.[6] The Heinkel factory was completely destroyed. The Schwechat subcamp was therefore evacuated on July 13, 1944, and the prisoners were transferred to the camps at Wien-Floridsdorf or Jedlesee. Later they were transferred to Hinterbrühl, where they resumed work for Ernst Heinkel in manufacturing aircraft. The camp command was also transferred from Schwechat to Floridsdorf.

From this point, the history of the Schwechat subcamp is less clear. It is not completely certain that all the prisoners were evacuated on July 13, 1944, only later to be brought back to Schwechat, or whether some remained in Schwechat. What is certain is that from July there was a small work detachment in Schwechat that was under the command of the camp administration now based in Floridsdorf. There are also indications that on August 15, 1944, 350 prisoners from the detachments Santa I, II, and III based in the brewery cellars at Schwechat were sent back to the Schwechat camp.[7] The prisoners who remained in Schwechat worked on the final assembly of the He 162 jet fighter. The fuselages for these aircraft were delivered from the Hinterbrühl subcamp.

The remaining prisoners of the Schwechat detachment were marched on March 31, 1945, to the Hinterbrühl subcamp and then evacuated to Mauthausen. On April 1, 1945, 1,884 prisoners from the detachments at Hinterbrühl and Schwechat (possibly also the inmates of the camps Santa I, II, and III) marched from Hinterbrühl in the direction of the Mauthausen main camp. On April 7, 1945, 1,624 prisoners reached Mauthausen.[8] On the march, 204 prisoners were killed, and 59 escaped.[9]

Lagerführer Streitwieser was captured by the Americans but was able to escape. He assumed a false identity and was officially declared dead in 1953. However, Streitwieser's cover identity was detected. He was arrested again in 1956 (the first of several arrests), released several times, and in 1967 sentenced by the state court in Cologne to life imprisonment.[10]

He died in prison. Rapportführer Bühner was sentenced by a French military court to death for crimes committed at Hinterbrühl and Ebensee. He was executed.[11] Former Kapo Franz Dieplinger was tried before the Vienna state court.[12] Dieplinger was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners.

SOURCES The Schwechat subcamp is still one of the least-researched Mauthausen subcamps. There is hardly any published material on the camp. Christian Bernadac's *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes a large chapter to the Schwechat work detachment. The ASt-Schw published a collection of documents on the subcamp: Adolf Ezsöl, "Das KLM-Arbeitslager Wien-Schwechat 2," *Schw ANach* 2 (1995).

Adolf Ezsöl has collected a considerable number of source documents for the ASt-Schw. The AG-M also holds a collection on Schwechat, including interviews with survivors. There is also a collection in the IPN. Source material on the Ernst Heinkel group and the construction of the factory at Schwechat are kept by the BA-MA. Some documents involving Schwechat may be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich, 1933–45: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987).

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport List, August 30, 1943, AG-M, B/53/2.
2. Variation Report, September 19, 1943, AG-M, Y/49b.
3. Subcamp Roll Call Book, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. See the documents on the subcamp at Schwechat in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934–45: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987), 3:620–623.
5. Various Variation Reports, AG-M, Y/45.
6. List of Prisoners Killed during the Bombing Raid on June 26, 1944, AG-M, B/53/4.
7. Report by Marian Kryszak, AG-M, B/53/3.
8. List of the Evacuation Transports from the Subcamps, AG-M, B/60/11.
9. List of Prisoners' Movements during the Evacuation, AG-M, B/60/13.
10. LG Cologne 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.
11. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl), vol. 1, 375.
12. LG Vienna,Vg 8e Vr 781/55.

WIEN-SCHWECHAT–"SANTA" KOMMANDOS

The work detachments Santa I, II, and III, which were located in the cellars of the brewery in Schwechat, a village a few kilometers east of Vienna, are some of the least researched subcamps of the Mauthausen concentration camp. For that reason, there is scarcely any reliable information on these camps. However, the history of these work detachments is presumably closely connected with the history of the work detachments at Schwechat-Heidfeld and Floridsdorf. The Schwechat-Heidfeld subcamp was heavily damaged during an Allied air raid on July 13, 1944. As a result, the camp was closed and evacuated, and parts of the Ernst Heinkel factory producing airplanes were relocated underground first to Floridsdorf and later to Hinterbrühl and also to the brewery's cellars in Schwechat. The entire complex of camps was referred to as Wien-Floridsdorf.

A report by former Polish prisoner Marian Kryszak refers to the detachments known under the code name "Santa."[1] Kryszak mentions the bombing and the following transfer of the detachment Schwechat-Heidfeld to Floridsdorf. Some of the prisoners transferred to Floridsdorf, according to Kryszak, were transferred partly to the subcamp at Hinterbrühl and partly to the work detachments Santa I, II, and III at Schwechat.

Different dates are given for the establishment of the Santa detachments. The former camp recorder Hans Maršálek states in his book on Mauthausen, the standard work on the camp, that the detachments were formed in December 1944. Some hints given by Kryszak, on the other hand, allow the conclusion to be drawn that prisoners were allocated to the Santa I, II, and III detachments even before August 15, 1944.

The discrepancies presumably are a result of the confusion of the various detachments. This is the result of the imprecise and contradictory recording of the subcamp names in the camp administration records. For example, the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists Wien-Floridsdorf II and III with the code names Santa, whereas some camp administration documents, when referring to Floridsdorf I and II, are obviously referring to the detachments at Floridsdorf and Jedlesee.

The prisoners were presumably involved in the manufacture of aircraft parts for the Ernst Heinkel group. However, there are suggestions that the Santa detachments were connected somehow to the Flugmotorenwerke (Aircraft Motor Works) Ostmark, which was located in Wiener Neudorf. It is very likely that the detachments Santa I, II, and III were part of the Wien-Floridsdorf camp complex and were under the direction of its commander Anton Streitwieser.

At the end of March 1945, when the Red Army was getting close to Vienna, the order was given to evacuate all camps from the Vienna region. There is no direct evidence when the Santa detachments were evacuated or the manner of their evacuation. Reports on prisoner movements suggest that it is most likely that these detachments were evacuated on March 31, 1945, via the subcamp at Hinterbrühl to Mauthausen.[2] Hinterbrühl served as a collecting point. On April 1, 1945, 1,884 prisoners were sent from Hinterbrühl on a death march in the direction of Mauthausen; 204 prisoners died on this march, and 56 were reported as either missing or having escaped.[3]

SOURCES There is no concrete information on the Santa I, II, and III detachments in the literature. Christian Bernadac's book *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes a chapter to the Mauthausen subcamps established for the Ernst Heinkel group.

There are hardly any archival sources that explicitly refer to the Santa I, II, and III detachments. Marian Kryszak's report and some survivor interviews are held in the AG-M. The ASt-Schw also holds a few documents referring to these detachments.

Christian Dürr and Ralf Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-M, B/53/3.

2. List of the Evacuation Transports from the Subcamps, AG-M, B/60/11.

3. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.

MITTELBAU



Camouflaged entrance to the underground rocket factory at Mittelbau concentration camp, April 12, 1945.
USHMM WS #66285, COURTESY OF NARA

MITTELBAU MAIN CAMP [AKA DORA]

The Mittelbau (Central Construction) concentration camp was the last main camp created by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the only one not named after a specific place. It officially came into being on October 28, 1944, but its origins stretched back to the founding of a subcamp of Buchenwald, code-named "Dora," on August 28, 1943. On that date, the SS trucked 107 Buchenwald prisoners to tunnels in the southern Harz Mountains, near the small central German city of Nordhausen. These unlucky individuals were to pave the way for the thousands of their comrades tasked with converting a central petroleum reserve for the Reich into a secret factory for the A4 (*Aggregat 4*) ballistic missile, later christened the Vengeance Weapon (*Vergeltungswaffe*) 2, or V-2. While Dora was far from the first location where prisoners were sent out of a main camp to be used in the armaments industry, rather than exploited in SS camp industries, it also proved to be highly influential—a model for the many new and often grotesquely unrealistic underground projects that the Nazi leadership ordered into existence in response to the Anglo-American strategic bombing offensive. The Nordhausen region got a number of such projects, and Mittelbau emerged as the camp system that embodied in its purest form the final phase of the SS concentration camps: that of large-scale exploitation of prisoners for work in the war economy.

In the end, Mittelbau proved true to its name. In a system of up to 40 subcamps attached to Dora, most of the prisoners worked in the construction of underground and aboveground facilities under murderous conditions. Other than the V-2, and later V-1, missiles that came out of the underground plant, very few weapons were actually produced in Mittelbau camps. Thus, the emphasis on Mittelbau as a weapons production complex in much of the historiography is certainly exaggerated, as German scholar Jens-Christian Wagner has pointed out. In fact, out of the approximately 40,000 prisoners in Mittelbau in March 1945 (of whom approximately 16,000 were in the main camp), under 6,000 at the main camp and those at a few small subcamps were actually employed in production. The majority were construction workers and miners, supplemented by thousands of utterly ill and exhausted survivors of the evacuations of Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen since the beginning of the year.

The first seven months of Dora's existence were devoted entirely to the conversion into a V-2 factory of tunnels owned by the Wifo (Wirtschafliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, Economic Research Co., Ltd.), a state-owned enterprise devoted to strategic underground war reserves. A British air raid against the German Army rocket research center at Peenemünde on the Baltic on August 17–18, 1943, had provoked precipitate action on the part of Adolf Hitler, Albert Speer, and Heinrich Himmler to evacuate rocket production to an underground site. The assembly-line machinery had to be moved to the Nordhausen region from Peenemünde and also from two other unfinished V-2 assembly plants at Friedrichshafen and Wiener Neustadt. Along with them eventually came the SS prisoners who had been in subcamps at Peenemünde and the Rax-Werke in Wiener Neustadt, along with civilian personnel. On September 21, Speer's Armaments Ministry created a state-owned firm, Mittelwerk GmbH (Central Works Ltd.—a veiled reference to the geographic location) to assemble the missiles and, together with the army, struggled to maintain the upper hand vis-à-vis the SS. During the discussions at Führer headquarters immediately after the Peenemünde raid, Himmler had named as his key man SS-Brigadeführer Dr.-Ing. Hans Kammler, the head of WVHA Amtsgruppe C, Construction. Kammler was an exceedingly energetic, ambi-



Mittelbau prisoners work on the tail assembly of the V2 rocket, possibly in Hall 35, 1944.
USHMM WS #31596, COURTESY OF ULLSTEIN BILD

tious, and ruthless man. While the Mittelwerk company would never formally leave the control of Speer's ministry, and the camp reported to Buchenwald and later directly to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), WVHA Amtsgruppe D, Kammler would be the decisive personality throughout the history of Mittelbau.

Camp commandant throughout most of the short history of Dora and Mittelbau was SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Förschner, who had served in subsidiary positions at Buchenwald since February 1942, after service on the Eastern Front. Förschner was a noncommissioned officer (NCO) in the Reichswehr before transferring to the SS in 1934 as a military instructor. He was thus not of the cadre of long-serving camp SS officers schooled at Dachau and elsewhere and was not noted for particular cruelty—but neither did he care much about the horrendous suffering at Dora in the early months. On the Buchenwald model, he relied on "red triangle" German political prisoners in non-SS administrative positions, notably Communists like Albert Kuntz, who supervised camp construction; Georg Thomas; and Ludwig Szymczak, the camp elder (Lagerältester). When the latter two refused to carry out an execution of a prisoner in March 1944, they were removed from their posts and thrown in the Bunker, and a "green triangle" criminal prisoner, Willi Zwiener, was briefly put in their place. But Thomas and Szymczak were released back to the barracks, and Förschner put other political prisoners, notably Christian Beham, into the position of Lageräl-teste again in the summer and fall of 1944.

During the first phase of Dora, Kammler placed little emphasis on the aboveground camp on the south side of Kohnstein Mountain, next to the tunnel exits, because it diverted labor from the building of the infrastructure and the conversion of the tunnels, both subcontracted through the local Wifo office. Thus, the unfortunate inmates of Dora were forced to sleep and live underground, in some cases, not to see daylight for months. Early arrivals from Buchenwald lived in tents near the entrance to main tunnel B, but by the end of September 1943, the ever-growing number of prisoners were bedded on straw on the bare rock of cross-tunnel 39 until wooden bunks four levels high were built into dead-end tunnels 43 to 46 at the south end of main tunnel A. (The tunnel system formed a ladderlike network connecting the north and south sides of the mountain, with 46 cross-tunnels between the two main tunnels.) Tunnel A had not been completed when Mittelwerk took over, so mining and blasting operations to break through to the south side of the Kohnstein continued right next to the "sleeping tunnels" (*Schlafstollen*).

The noise, dust, and noxious gases from the blasting and from trains hauling rock exacerbated an already catastrophic health situation for the prisoners. Water was in short supply; the only toilets were oil barrels cut in half with boards over them, but they were too few in number; many relieved themselves in the tunnels. The stench became intolerable, and disease and vermin proliferated. Soon cases of pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, and dysentery took a dreadful toll, combined with total exhaustion inflicted by 12-hour days of backbreaking labor with poor sleep and minimal equipment. Registered deaths shot up from 5 in September 1943 to 669 in January 1944. By the end of January, there were 12,682 registered prisoners, the highest total in the early history of Dora; and 8,000 to 10,000 of them still lived underground. The catastrophic death rate continued in February and March 1944, and three transports, each of 1,000 extremely ill and dying prisoners—to Lublin-Majdanek on January 15 and February 6, and to Bergen-Belsen on March 27—raised the de facto death toll to nearly 6,000 by the beginning of April. The camp population in these months was all male and non-Jewish; the predominant prisoner groups in order of size were Soviet, Polish, French, German, Belgian, and Italian.

From the standpoint of Kammler, Speer, and others, however, the catastrophic working conditions of the winter of 1943–1944 served their purpose: V-2 assembly began in late December. But production numbers only rose slowly in the spring, and quality was poor. "Sabotage" inevitably became a great concern; prisoners were hanged for it, often with little proof. It appears, however, that the mostly individual attempts at sabotage do not explain the frequent failures of the V-2s, which were riddled with technical problems.

With the arrival of better weather, the evacuation of the remaining prisoners from the tunnels into the barracks camp, and the beginnings of V-2 production in the Mittelwerk, the situation in Dora much improved; the death rate fell dramatically. At the same time, Kammler's many new underground projects in the Harz region necessitated the creation of new subcamps, the largest of which were Ellrich ("Erich") and Harzungen ("Hans"). Although subordinate to Buchenwald, they increasingly came under the control of Dora, to which they were closely tied, in part because they gave Förschner a new mechanism for ridding Dora of exhausted and unskilled inmates. The best educated and technically qualified prisoners, primarily from Western Europe, were selected to serve on the missile assembly line, while the others were put on the harsher outdoor, transport, and construction Kommandos. In the words of Wagner, the SS in Mittelbau-Dora developed a system of "mobile selection," where inmates who were worn out or less valuable were transferred to Kommandos, subcamps, infirmaries, or "death blocks" of increasing harshness, so that the weakest died off.

In this system, the best-treated inmates, other than the mostly German and Czech "reds" and "greens" in administrative and Kapo positions, were the assembly-line workers for the Mittelwerk company, which employed between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners (and 2,000 to 3,000 German civil workers) on two 12-hour shifts, six days a week. (A roughly equal number of Dora prisoners worked on Wifo construction projects.) In an effort to secure better labor, Mittelwerk supplied shoes and other items to the SS camp and instituted a premium wage system, where chits could be earned for use in the camp canteen. Yet however much the factory came to resemble a modern high-technology enterprise, as demonstrated in color propaganda photos from mid-1944, it remained a fundamentally barbaric production site. In June, the company

Table 1

Prisoner Population and Deaths in Mittelbau-Dora August 1943 to March 1945

Month	Number of Dora Prisoners	Deaths in Dora	Number of Sub-Camp Prisoners	Deaths in Sub-Camps
Aug. 1943	107	0	0	0
Sep. 1943	3394	5	0	0
Oct. 1943	6918	22	0	0
Nov. 1943	9887	170	0	0
Dec. 1943	10475	630	0	0
Jan. 1944	12682	669	0	0
Feb. 1944	12242	570	0	0
Mar. 1944	12263	721	200	0
Apr. 1944	10948	240	1663	10
May 1944	12386	136	4787	21
June 1944	11757	101	8161	18
July 1944	11804	89	9349	38
Aug. 1944	12537	54	14387	105
Sep. 1944	14643	56	15729	56
Oct. 1944	13816	160	18659	120
Nov. 1944	14226	48	19067	235
Dec. 1944	14959	64	18838	507
Jan. 1945	14867	129	16144	634
Feb. 1945	19360	306	22714	1035
Mar. 1945	18398	300	20280	2250

Source: Jens-Christian Wagner, Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), Anlage 5, p. 647, based on sources in Yad Vashem, National Archives microfilm M-1079, Haupstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf/Zweigarchiv Kalkum, and Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar. Prisoner numbers are totals at the end of the month.

directors found it necessary to issue a confidential decree to the German civilian workers forbidding them from beating the prisoners and even stabbing them "with sharp instruments"![1] Cold, hunger, accusations of sabotage, and the threat of violence were constant companions for the Mittelwerk prisoner workforce.

As time went on, and subassembly production was evacuated into the tunnels because of Allied air attacks, the number of prisoners working for companies other than Mittelwerk GmbH increased to several hundred in number. Askania was among the firms with Kommandos. V-2 production was disrupted, however, by political interventions because of the slowness of the weapon to develop technically and also by a takeover of 40 percent of the tunnel area by the state-owned Junkers Aircraft Co., which set up the Nordwerk (North Works) aircraft engine plant in the northern part of the tunnel system in late spring. With a tiny number of exceptions, Junkers did not employ SS prisoners but, rather, moved its civilian forced laborers to the Nordhausen area. Mittelwerk then consolidated its V-2 production line into tunnels 21 to 42 and, in August 1944, accepted a contract for production of the V-1 cruise missile. The former "sleeping tunnels" (43 to 46) were outfitted for this purpose, and 300 skilled Hungarian Jewish SS prisoners were transferred from the Volkswagen company, which ultimately lost the V-1 lead contractor role to Mittelwerk in October. Earlier in the summer, Dora got 1,000 other Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz via Buchenwald, but these Jews were employed primarily in the worst construction jobs in Dora, Harzungen, and Ellrich.

The creation of the Junkers Nordwerk and the rise of the Mittelbau subcamps beginning in March 1944 were provoked by the same phenomenon: near panic in the Nazi leadership as a result of American daylight assaults on the aircraft industry in late February. On March 1, Speer created a "Fighter Staff," led by the Armaments and Air ministries, with its primary goal the rapid increase in fighter production for air defense. This gave powerful backing to plans already under way to transfer aircraft production underground; SS-General

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Hans Kammler thus came to play a central role through his new position as Sonderstab Kammler (Special Staff Kammler). He supervised a number of underground projects given "A" or "B" numbers, as well as some of the SS-Construction Brigades (Baubrigaden) that were transferred to the region beginning in May 1944 for various road and railroad-building projects. The prisoners of the Baubrigaden were subordinated to Dora/Mittelbau until January 1945, at which time they were put under the jurisdiction of Sachsenhausen. The largest and most important underground projects in the Nordhausen region were on either side of the valley on the northeast side of the Kohnstein, especially B3, near Woffleben, and B11 and B12, on the other side of the existing Mittelwerk tunnels. On April 1, 1944, the SS founded Harzungen, which supplied laborers to B3 and later also to B11. It was originally built as a civilian labor camp and was thus better outfitted; the SS guard force was also supplemented with transfers from the Luftwaffe, which lessened the brutality but certainly did not eliminate it. The main camp for B3, however, was founded on May 2 at the town of Ellrich in the Juliushütte, an abandoned gypsum factory that had processed the anhydrite rock mined from the original tunnels. The conditions in this camp were especially disastrous and the treatment of the prisoners especially brutal. Further subcamps in the region proliferated to the end of the war, for the Mittelwerk and for the Geilenberg program of underground oil production but mostly for Kammler's various projects.

The formal subordination of these new camps to Buchenwald did not prevent the growing centralization of authority under commandant Förschner in Dora in order to save resources and gain flexibility. On June 8, the main camp received the designation "Mittelbau I," while Harzungen and Ellrich-Juliushütte were grouped as "Mittelbau II"; in mid-July the SS guard force at the various subcamps in the region was unified into one Mittelbau Kommando under the supervision of the Buchenwald Death's Head Unit. On September 10, Förschner renamed Ellrich "Mittelbau II" and Harzungen "Mittelbau III" and reorganized the subordination of various Kommandos. The official WVHA order creating Mittelbau, which was made on September 30 and which came into effect on October 28, 1944, was thus almost a formality. On November 1, the SS counted 32,471 prisoners in the system, of which 13,738 were in the main camp still informally known as Dora; over half were Russian or Polish.

During the last phase of Mittelbau's existence, the production lines in Mittelwerk continued to run smoothly almost to the last day before evacuation, but the persecution and suffering of the prisoners in the main camp, not to mention the subcamps, dramatically increased. Although Mittelwerk never reached its specified output of 900 V-2s per month, beginning in September it produced between 600 and 700 monthly—over 20 complicated ballistic missiles per day. Between November and March, the company also assembled 6,000 much simpler V-1s, about equivalent to its total production of V-2s during the war. The death toll in Dora did not begin climbing again until after the beginning of the year, when large numbers of evacuated prisoners from Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, and other eastern camps began arriving, but November marked a significant change in atmosphere. An alleged plot among the Soviet prisoners to stage an armed uprising on the anniversary of the October Revolution provoked the Gestapo not only to arrest alleged ringleaders but also to smash the informal resistance leadership in the camp, which included the German Communists Thomas, Kuntz, Szymczak, and Beham, as well as prominent French prisoners. Those arrested were thrown in the Mittelbau-Dora Bunker and other local Gestapo prisons and tortured. The pace of executions increased. Förschner and his SS subordinates now permanently installed "green" criminal prisoners in positions of responsibility, including Roman Drung as Lagerältester.

The repression was ratcheted up yet further when on February 1, 1945, Himmler replaced Mittelbau commandant Otto Förschner with Richard Baer, the last commandant of Auschwitz. The Gestapo-SD security apparatus had criticized Förschner for his reliance on Albert Kuntz and other "Reds" who turned out to be resistance leaders, but the last straw was the discovery that he failed to report a 10,000 Reichsmark (RM) bonus he had received from Mittelwerk. The evacuation of Auschwitz in late January left many hardened SS camp officers without posts, and Baer promptly installed his former subordinates throughout the Mittelbau hierarchy. Yet the great increase in executions in February and especially in March, including a number of mass hangings in the camps and in the tunnels, was largely the responsibility of SS-Obersturmbannführer Helmut Bischoff, the head of security for Mittelwerk and the V-weapons program. Effectively Bischoff reported directly to Kammler. The executions reached grotesque proportions after an attempted breakout of about 20 Soviet prisoners in the Mittelbau-Dora Bunker on the night of March 9. Two days later, 57 Soviets were hanged, and on March 21 and 22, 30 again each day. The German Communist leaders who had survived torture were shot in the last days of the camp.

At about the same time as Baer became commandant, evacuation trains began arriving from Auschwitz and later from Gross-Rosen, which had the most profound impact on the Mittelbau camp system of all events of the last few months. Over 16,000 inmates, many in disastrous condition, were dumped into the Mittelbau system by the end of March, 10,000 of them from Gross-Rosen alone and a large percentage of them Jewish. These trains also had many dead who were not even registered; the corpses were piled up, and when the crematoria could not handle the load, they were burned outside. Dora's population temporarily shot up from 14,000 to 21,000 in February, before many were transported to Ellrich-Juliushütte and other subcamps, including a new location for mass suffering, the former Luftwaffe base in Nordhausen, Boelcke-Kaserne. The seriously ill were dumped onto straw laid out in the airplane hangers and left to die. Even before the final evacuation, 2,250 from there and Ellrich were shipped off to Bergen-Belsen in an "annihilation transport."[2]

The end came at the beginning of April. On April 1, work stopped in Mittelwerk. On April 3 and 4, the Royal Air Force burned down much of Nordhausen in two raids that also killed up to 1,500 at Boelcke-Kaserne. Baer and the camp leadership began the evacuation on April 4 by train and foot, abandoning only several hundred seriously ill in Dora and Boelcke-Kaserne. The ensuing death marches and trains had the same catastrophic and senseless pattern seen elsewhere; surviving Mittelbau inmates ended up at Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück, and many other places as far away as Austria, with a death toll in the thousands. The most infamous crime of the evacuation took place at the village of Gardelegen, where 1,016 marchers from Mittelbau and Neuengamme subcamps were locked in a barn and burned alive or shot if they tried to escape. Only 20 to 25 prisoners survived. Wagner estimates that over 8,000 died during the evacuations, raising the final Mittelbau toll to over 20,000.

On April 11, 1945, elements of the U.S. 3rd Armored and 104th Infantry Divisions reached Nordhausen and discovered the horrific situation at Boelcke-Kaserne, where sick and dying survivors lay with the corpses of the prisoners burned in the air raids. Not much later, the liberators also found the Mittelwerk tunnels and Dora. The scene in Nordhausen provoked outrage among the occupiers; the U.S. Army made a propaganda film that made the name of the city briefly infamous. But soon afterward came a different set of U.S. Army personnel who were only interested in the technology. Before the Soviets could move forward into their prescribed occupation zone, U.S. forces removed large numbers of missile parts and personnel. The operation to exploit German science and technology that came to be known as Operation Paperclip had one of its most important origins here. After the Soviets moved forward on July 5, they too were eager to grab the fruits of German rocket and missile technology and used some Mittelwerk facilities to assemble and refurbish some V-2s and later sent many German engineers and technicians to the USSR.

The first SS functionaries from the camp to be tried were 12 charged by the British in the Bergen-Belsen trial of fall 1945; 3 were hanged, including the last Mittelbau Schutzhaftlagerführer, Franz Hössler, better known for his role at Auschwitz. The longtime commandant, Otto Förschner, was



US prosecutors Captains John J. Ryan and William F. McGarry listen to testimony during the Nordhausen trial, September 19, 1947. In the background is a map of Mittelbau-Dora.
USHMM WS #43067, COURTESY OF NARA

executed in May 1946 by the U.S. Army for his actions in the Dachau subcamps at the end of the war. At Dachau in late 1947, the army also held the only dedicated Allied trials for Dora/Mittelbau; of the 18 SS members and 5 Kapos tried, 1 was executed, and 18 received prison terms. Also tried was the general director of Mittelwerk from May 1944 to the end, Georg Rickhey, but he was acquitted because of the narrow focus on individual mistreatment of prisoners. In the Soviet Zone and German Democratic Republic (GDR), 1 SS officer was sentenced to 20 years, another executed, but during most of the 1950s, little further interest was paid to the issue on either side of the border. After the founding in 1958 of a central authority in West Germany for investigating war crimes, however, renewed investigations were made into Mittelbau. Ultimately, they led to the "Dora Trial" in Essen from 1967 to 1970. Richard Baer had earlier been discovered living under an assumed name during the investigations for the Auschwitz Trial, and he committed suicide in prison in 1963. So the court tried Helmut Bischoff, security chief of the Mittelbau region; Erwin Busta, an infamous SS guard; and Ernst Sander, a Gestapo officer. Just before the announcement of the sentencing on May 8, 1970, Bischoff was released on grounds of poor health (yet somehow lived to 1991); Busta and Sander got terms of 7.5 and 8.5 years, respectively, but also were allowed on health grounds to avoid further imprisonment.

Thus ended the last trials on this subject, but the name Dora has lived on because of its connection to the group of German rocket engineers around Dr. Wernher von Braun who became so prominent in the U.S. space program. The case of Arthur Rudolph, a close subordinate of von Braun and a key figure in the Apollo lunar landing project, attracted particular attention; he left the United States in 1984 rather than fight a denaturalization hearing initiated by the Justice Department for his role as production manager for Mittelwerk. Rudolph settled in Hamburg, but the German prosecutor decided that there was no longer sufficient evidence to make a case; he died at the beginning of 1996. One thing definitely came of the Rudolph case: the story of Mittelbau-Dora can no longer be left out of the history of the German rocket program, as it was for much of the Cold War.

SOURCES The first person to take a scholarly interest in the Mittelbau camp was a native of the Nordhausen region, Manfred Bornemann. His article with Martin Brozsat, "Das KL Dora-Mittelbau," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Martin Broszat (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), pp. 154–198, and his book *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau* (1971; repr., Bonn: Bernhard & Graefe, 1994) focus on the underground plant, V-2 production, and Dora, the primary emphasis of most historians until recently. The literature on the rocket program is large; see especially Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich* (New York: Free Press, 1995). For V-1 production in the Mittelwerk, see the relevant sections in Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996). Recently discovered stunning color photographs of the underground plant and French prisoner art from Dora are featured in the exhibition catalog of Yves Le Maner and André Sellier, *Images de Dora 1943–1945* (St. Omer: La Coupole, 1999). Recently three new histories of the camp and camp system have ushered in a new era of scholarly work on Mittelbau. Joachim Neander's *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur*. (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997) is strongest for the evacuation of the camps. A French survivor of Mittelbau-Dora, André Sellier, has published *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998), which emphasizes the experience of French workers in the Mittelwerk. In English, it is available as *A History of the Dora Camp*, trans. Steven Wright and Susan Taponier, foreword by Michael J. Neufeld, afterword by Jens-Christian Wagner (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2003). But the standard scholarly work on the camp is that of Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001), which is superbly researched and for the first time sets the whole Mittelbau camp system in balanced perspective. This book is based upon the author's dissertation, "Verlagerungswahn und Tod: Die Fiktion eines Rüstungszentrum und der KZ-Komplex Mittelbau-Dora 1943" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999).

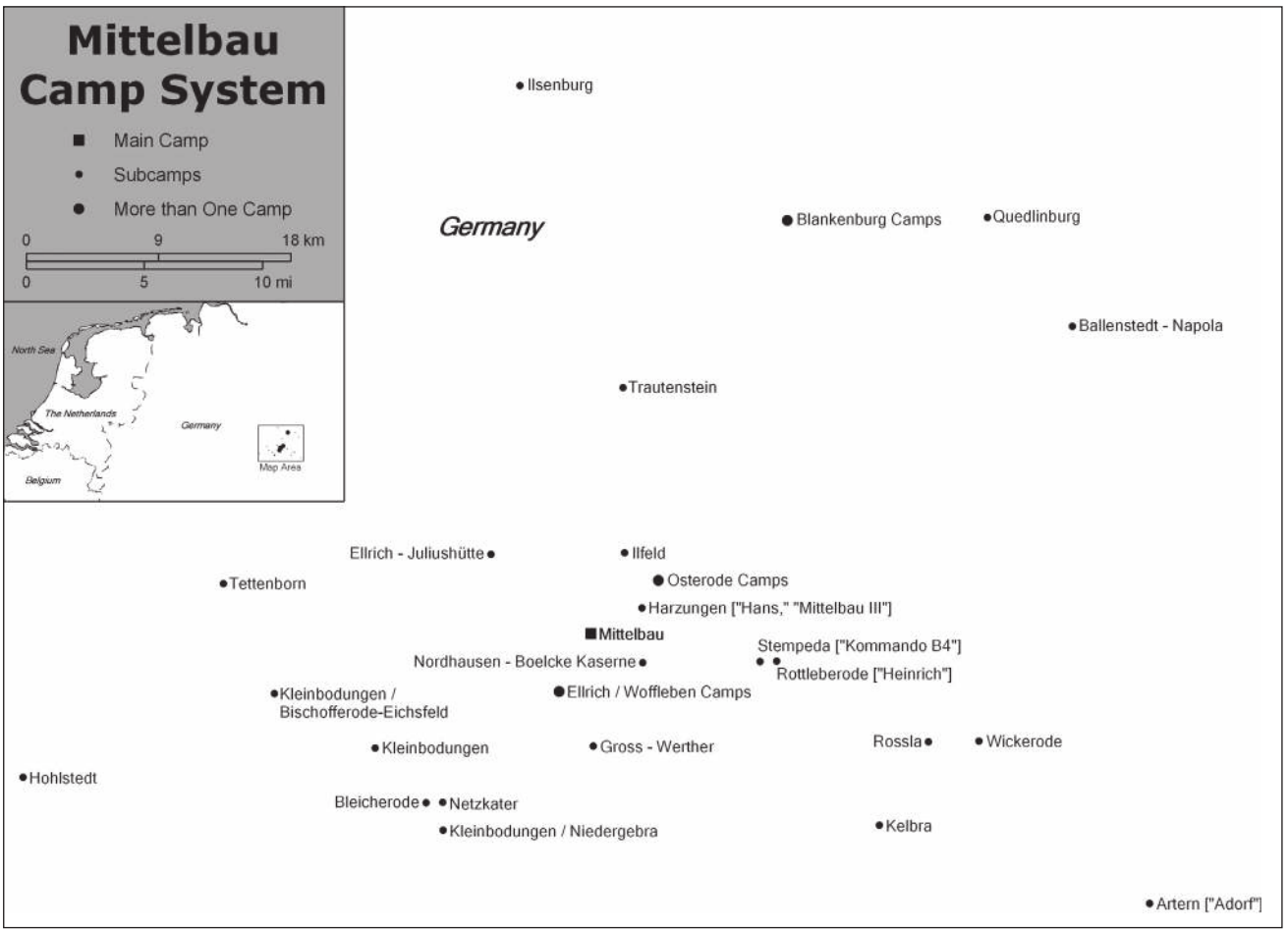
Only remnants of KL Mittelbau and Mittelwerk GmbH records survive, most notably in the BA-BL in RG NS 4 Anhang but also in R 121, Industriebeteiligungsgesellschaft, which includes Mittelwerk GmbH, and R 125, Wifo. There are also Mittelbau-Dora records in the THStA-W, RG NS 4/Bu, in the Buchenwald records. For the Nordhausen trial at Dachau in 1947, see NARA, *United States of America vs. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels (originals in RG 238, NARA); and for the Essen trial of 1967 to 1970, NWHStA-(D), Zweigarchiv Kalkum, Gerichte Rep. 299; duplicates of the latter are in the ZdL (now BA-L). Also useful are the Peenemünde correspondence with Mittelwerk GmbH, in the DMM, Peenemünde records, File GD 638.8.2, and ITS records on Buchenwald and Mittelbau in the YVA, Microfilms BD3-Bu19-44 and BD11-Do1-6.

Michael J. Neufeld

NOTES

1. Rickhey and Kettler, "Sonder-Direktions-Anweisung," June 22, 1944, BA-BL, NS 4 Anh./3.

2. Jens-Christian Wagner, "Verlagerungswahn und Tod: Die Fiktion eines Rüstungszentrum und der KZ-Komplex Mittelbau-Dora 1943" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999), p. 223.


Mittelbau Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
0 9 18 km
0 5 10 mi
North Sea
The Netherlands
Germany
Belgium
Map Area
Germany
Ilsenburg
Blankenburg Camps
Quedlinburg
Ballenstedt - Napola
Trautenstein
Ellrich - Juliushütte
Ilfeld
Tettenborn
Osterode Camps
Harzungen ["Hans," "Mittelbau III"]
Mittelbau
Stempeda ["Kommando B4"]
Nordhausen - Boelcke Kaserne
Rottleberode ["Heinrich"]
Kleinbodungen / Bischofferode-Eichsfeld
Ellrich / Woffleben Camps
Kleinbodungen
Gross - Werther
Rossla
Wickerode
Hohlstedt
Bleicherode
Netzkater
Kleinbodungen / Niedergebra
Kelbra
Artern ["Adorf"]

MITTELBAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Mittelbau concentration camp is regarded as the last National Socialist main concentration camp. It was established in the autumn of 1944 from a dense system of Buchenwald subcamps in the area around Nordhausen, the center of which was the Dora camp. This camp was established in the late summer of 1943 for the purpose of expanding the subterranean Mittelwerk. Rocket production began in January 1944. The Mittelbau concentration camp was known to the public as a rocket concentration camp (Raketen KZ). The establishment of the majority of the other camps in the Mittelbau complex was only indirectly connected with the assembly of rockets. Using the subterranean rocket factory as a model, countless new underground facilities were to be established for Junkers, which was to relocate its various factories underground, and for the development of subterranean facilities for the oil industry. The SS, whose construction arm was under the command of SS-General Dr.-Ing. Hans Kammler, gathered tens of thousands of concentration camp prisoners, for which subcamps would be established close to the planned subterranean facilities. The name of this gigantic construction project was formulated in March 1944 at the headquarters of the Junkers company: Unternehmen Mittelbau. In October 1944, it became the name for a concentration camp complex independent of Buchenwald. Dora, on the other hand, was the name of a Buchenwald subcamp that later became the main camp of the Mittelbau concentration camp (the name "Mittelbau-Dora" encompasses both phases of the camp's development: the Dora subcamp and the independent Mittelbau concentration camp).

From March 1944, as part of the relocation of the Junkers sites, several Buchenwald subcamps were established in the vicinity of the Dora camp. The camp at Rottleberode (code name "Heinrich" or "Kommando A5") was established in the middle of March 1944. There followed at the beginning of April the Harzungen camp (code name "Hans") and, at the beginning of May 1944, the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp (code name "Erich"). The latter was the largest and most feared camp in the subcamp complex. Here, on the site of an unused gypsum factory, an average of 8,000 prisoners labored under catastrophic conditions, packed together very tightly, until they were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945. In Harzungen there was an average of 4,000 prisoners, and in Rottleberode, around 1,000 prisoners.

The camps established after April 1944 were a little smaller in size. Their inmates were used on construction work to improve the infrastructure for the armaments center that was being established in the Nordhausen area, for example, the construction of the Helmetalbahn (the railway at Helme Valley). Along this planned railway line, which was to improve the connection from Nordhausen to northwestern Germany, there arose in the summer and autumn of 1944 several smaller subcamps, whose inmates were the 1,000 prisoners that were assigned to the SS-Baubrigaden (Construction Brigades) III and IV.

Although the newly established camps were part of the Buchenwald main camp, there was from the very beginning a tendency to centralize administrative matters in the Dora camp. This was especially so for the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps, whose prisoners were used to excavate the shafts for the new underground facilities close to the Mittelwerk. The Labor Deployment (Arbeitseinsatz) Office in the Dora camp made the decision to send newly arriving prisoners or prisoners who had been in the Dora camp for a longer period of time and who, because of their physical constitution or lack of skills, did not seem usable in the rocket production that had begun in January 1944 to the surrounding camps. In the seven months from April 1944 to the time when the Mittelbau-Dora complex became an independent concentration camp, more than 17,000 prisoners were transferred in this way to the camps at Ellrich, Harzungen, and Rottleberode. The Arbeitseinsatz office in Dora was given extra tasks, which if the guidelines of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA) had been followed should have been allocated to the Arbeitseinsatz office in the main concentration camp. The WVHA took this development into account when in the summer of 1944, at the insistence of the camp commandant Förschner, it assigned to the Dora camp SS-Untersturmführer Alois Kurz, from Auschwitz, as Arbeitseinsatzführer.[1]

Gradually, the Dora camp took over other administrative areas of the main camp. For the SS this was a saving in time and cost, as it could forego the establishment of facilities in the new subcamps, as they were already in the Dora camp. Seriously ill prisoners were treated, if they were treated at all, not in the subcamps but in the Dora camp's infirmary or they were transferred back to the main Buchenwald camp. Here were located arrest cells in which prisoners from the subcamps were incarcerated. From no later than the autumn of 1944 the administration at the Dora camp took over the distribution of food and clothing. Altogether there were countless cases of interdependence and interplay beween the Dora camp and the other subcamps in the region.

It was not only functional factors that prompted the Südharz (south Harz) subcamps to strive for independence but the fact that the SS camp leadership, despite its formal connection to the Buchenwald concentration camp, was under the direct command of SS-Gruppenführer Kammler. This meant that as early as June 1944 there was an organizational shift. The Dora camp was named "Mittelbau I," and the surrounding camps were all named "Mittelbau II." This change was of short duration, as the strong growth of the Ellrich and Harzungen camps meant that the Mittelbau complex was again reorganized on September 10, 1944: the Dora camp was known as "Mittelbau I," the camps in Ellrich and Harzungen were now known as "Mittelbau II" and

"Mittelbau III."[2] At the same time, the guards from the SS and the Lufwaffe in the Mittelbau garrison were put under the command of the five companies of the SS-Wachkommando of the Standortführung Mittelbau, which included the guards for the camp of the Baubrigaden III and IV in Wieda, Nüxei, Mackenrode-Tettenborn, Osterhagen, and Ellrich. A little later the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade I in Berga and the SS-Baubrigade I in Sollstedt became part of the Mittelbau garrison.[3]

The independence of the Mittelbau concentration camp in October 1944 was therefore a purely formal act. In addition to the already mentioned camps, on October 28, 1944, the Buchenwald subcamps of Klosterwerke Blankenburg, the camp at the company Curt Heber in Osterode, the Heinrich camp in Rottleberode, and the SS-Baubrigade V were transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp.[4]

After Mittelbau became an independent concentration camp, it established other subcamps, many of them as part of subterranean construction projects, for example, the camps "Dachs IV" near Osterode (November 1944) and Regenstein near Blankenburg (February 1945), which with 400 to 900 inmates were part of the medium-sized Mittelbau camps. Other camps were much smaller. The first camp established in March 1945, Ilsenburg, whose inmates had to construct a high-voltage power line, had only 15 Italian military internees (IMIs). When the SS, at the beginning of April 1945, evacuated the Mittelbau camps in the face of the approaching U.S. troops, the Mittelbau concentration camp with its 40 subcamps had more than 40,000 inmates. This includes the SS-Baubrigaden stationed in the Nordhausen region, which in January 1945 were formally under the command of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They remained based at their garrisons even though functionally they were part of the Mittelbau concentration camp.

The SS established its most horrid Mittelbau camp in January 1945 in the Nordhäuser Boelcke-Kaserne. Initially planned as accommodations for prisoner detachments at the Nordhäuser armaments manufacturers, it developed into the main sick and death camp for the Mittelbau concentration camp. This development occurred no later than after the arrival of the evacuation transports from the dissolved Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps at the end of January 1945. At the end of March 1945, there were almost 6,000 prisoners in the camp. During its three-month existence, it was the place of death for almost 3,000 people.

The subcamp at Boelcke-Kaserne reflects the character of the Mittelbau concentration camp as a system. Contrary to most other main concentration camps, the Mittelbau concentration camp was a camp system that was given specific functions within the overall camp system. It was the totality of camps that made the Mittelbau concentration camp, a camp that stretched over the whole of the Harz. The towns and villages in the region, in one sense, formed islands of civilian life in a dense landscape of concentration camps.

SOURCES The first academic publication to deal with the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp subcamp system was by Manfred Bornemann and Martin Broszat in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1970), pp. 154–198. The most important of the more recent studies of the whole Dora concentration camp, including the development of Mittelbau concentration camp, include works by Joachim Neanderm, *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im "Dritten Reich" gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997); André Sellier, *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). The latter has contributed the only work that focuses solely on the subcamp system: "Das Aussenlagersystem des KL Mittelbau-Dora," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), pp. 707–729. The work by Erhard Pachaly and Kurt Pelny, *Konzentrationslager Mittelbau-Dora: Zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf im KZ Dora 1943–1945* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1990), contains long passages on the genesis of the subcamp system but is not recommended due to trade defects and factual errors.

The most important source on the prisoner transports to the Mittelbau concentration camp and individual camps within the system are the Veränderungsmeldungen der Lagerverwaltung as well as transport lists and prisoner lists from the Mittelbau camps (*Transportliste* and *Häftlingsaufstellungen*), which are, however, only fragmentary and held in a variety of archives (including the ITS: Mittelbau-Ordner und Sachdokumentenarchiv; THStA-W: Bestände, NS 4 Bu, and KZ und Haftanstalten Buchenwald; YVA: Microfilms BD3-Bu19–BD3-Bu44 and BD11-Do1–BD11-Do6). An important documentary collection is the files from the U.S. military trial of those responsible for the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp that took place in Dachau in 1947 (NARA, RG 238, Microfilm Publication M-1079, United States Army Investigation and Trial Records of War Criminals, *USA v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, 16 Reels).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, frame 239, *USA v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Interrogation of Wilhelm Simon (former SS member in the Dora camp Arbeitseinsatzbüro).

2. The final reorganization of the camp was ordered in a "Sonderbefehl der SS-Standortführung Mittelbau," September 10, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.4.3/3.

3. Schreiben der "Zentralverwaltung der SS-Kantinen im Standortbereich Mittelbau" an die Standortkantine Buchenwald, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/229.

4. Verfügung des SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungs-Hauptamtes zur Verselbständigung des KZ Mittelbau, October 28, 1944, StA-N, NO-2317. As with the subordination of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden VII and VIII, the incorporation of SS-Baubrigade V, based in Stuttgart, was of a purely formal nature. Functionally, there was no connection between these mobile prisoner detachments deployed in parts of Germany and the German-occupied areas in the autumn of 1944 and the Mittelbau concentration camp.

ARTERN [AKA ADORF, REBSTOCK NEU]

As part of the underground relocation of rocket production in the autumn of 1943, the steel construction firm Gollnow und Sohn, originally based in Stettin, commenced production in an unused railway tunnel near Dernau in Ahrtal (Rheinland-Pfalz). The underground facility was used to produce the ground-based mounts for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket. Formally, the facility, called "Rebstock" or "Vorwerk West," was owned by the Mittelwerk GmbH. From the end of August 1944, Gollnow und Sohn used a few hundred concentration camp prisoners from the nearby Buchenwald Rebstock subcamp, established to support the underground production facilities.

The Rebstock camp did not last long. In the face of an advancing front, the Gollnow company relocated its machines and personnel in stages in the autumn of 1944 to Artern, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Nordhausen. It recommenced production, under the code name Fa. Geyer und Sohn, in facilities confiscated from the Kyffhäuserhütte and the Malzfabrik "Goldene Aue" AG. Even though the relocation of the machines had begun in October 1944, the production of A4 ground facilities in Artern did not get beyond the initial phases by the end of the war.

The Gollnow/Geyer firm relocated not only its machines from Ahrtal to Thüringen but also its personnel, including the concentration camp prisoners in the Rebstock camp. At the end of November 1944, the first transport left Dernau with just 100 prisoners. With the transfer of the remaining 199 prisoners to Artern, the SS finally closed the Rebstock camp in December 1944. At the same time, the Artern camp (also known as "Adorf" or "Rebstock neu") was then under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp. On November 20, 1944, 30 prisoners and, five days later, 20 prisoners were sent from Mittelbau to Artern as an advance work detachment.

The Gollnow or Geyer civilian employees were quartered in a number of private dwellings. The SS initially accommodated the prisoners in temporary facilities in a gymnasium. Later, they were transferred to a newly established barracks camp close to the Malzfabrik (malt factory), which had a barbed-wire fence and guard towers.

For the prisoners, the relocation to Artern meant a dramatic reduction in the quality of their living conditions. They were no longer used primarily in production but in the physically draining work of construction and transport in building the production halls. In addition, the sanitary conditions in the gymnasium and later in the incomplete barracks camp were extremely poor, and the prisoners were crammed into the barracks. At the beginning of 1945, there were around 350 male prisoners in the camp, who had been transferred to Artern from Dernau and the Mittelbau camps at Dora and Kleinbodungen. Overwhelmingly, the prisoners were Polish, French, and Russian. The number of prisoners decreased in the middle of January 1945, when around 80 prisoners were transferred to Mittelbau, but increased a month later when more than 100, mostly Jewish, prisoners, some of whom were severely injured, were taken into the camp from a rail transport. The prisoners had left Buchenwald in the middle of February 1945. They were moving in the direction of Halberstadt when, while close to Artern, they were attacked from the air. The SS left a few of the injured in the Mittelbau infirmary. At least 18 died in Artern, where there was scarcely any chance of medical care for the injured.

The SS recorded 30 deaths in the camp for February and March 1945. They were victims not only of inadequate medical care but also of the poor sanitary conditions in the camp and mistreatment by SS members and Kapos. The camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Schmidt, was feared by the prisoners. From 1943–1944, he had been in command of the infamous Buchenwald subcamp "Laura." His deputy, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Klerch, who had arrived in Artern in January 1945 from Auschwitz, was also feared. The SS installed as prisoner-functionaries mostly German prisoners who wore the green triangle of the "criminals." The camp elder was Gustav Hartmann. An exception was the camp recorder, Dr. Hans Wolff, a political prisoner.

At the beginning of April 1945, both camp leaders ordered the evacuation of the camp in the face of the approaching U.S. Army. Around 100 prisoners left the camp by rail in the first days of April in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. On April 5, 1945, the remaining prisoners in Artern were forced by the SS to march in two columns from the camp. They marched for three days to the Buchenwald subcamp at Rehmsdorf (Tröglitz). A few days later, they were loaded into open goods wagons. Thus began a journey by rail that lasted for a week, as they wandered through Saxony and Czechoslovakia. The journey ended on May 8, 1945, when the survivors were freed by Czech partisans close to the Austrian border.

After the war, the Gollnow und Sohn firm relocated to West Germany, where it was later taken over by Rheinmetall. None of the SS perpetrators in the Artern camp were tried. Several investigations that took place in the 1970s and 1980s into members of the SS, including the former camp leader Schmidt, were discontinued. However, the statements by former prisoners and Gollnow civilian employees, which were taken as part of the investigation, today form the basic source for the camp's history.

SOURCES Uli Jungbluth published the most comprehensive history of the Artern camp, *Wunderwaffen im KZ "Rebstock": Zwangsarbeit in Dernau/Rheinland-Pfalz und Artern/Thüringen im Dienste der V-Waffen* (Briedel: Rhein-Mosel-Verlag, 2000). A former German Gollnow civilian employee published in a local magazine a documentary report on the company and the Artern camp: Willi Bleisteiner, "Zur Geschichte der 'Geyerfirma,'" *Aratora* 5 (1995): 88–92. A few years later, the same magazine published a short article by Joachim Neander on the camp's evacuation, "Dreiunddreissig Tage 'auf Transport': Die Evakuierung des Konzentrationslagers 'Adorf,'" *Aratora: Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Schutz von Artern e.V.* 8 (1998): 137–148. Finally, there are references to the Artern camp in a study by Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000);

and the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001).

The most important source for prisoner transports to and from Artern are the Mittelbau-Dora Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Extensive collections of the investigation files on the history of the Rebstock and Artern camps are held at the ZdL (now BA-L), which has file 429 AR-Z 191/72; and the Sta. Koblenz, which has Aktenzeichen 101 4 Js 268/86. Files on the Kyffhäuserhütte and Malzfabrik "Goldene Aue" are held in the postwar Demontageakten in the LHSA-Ma (Rep. K 6 MW, Nr. 5951).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BALLENSTEDT (*NAPOLA*)

Very little information is available on the Ballenstedt subcamp established on March 17, 1945, in the building of the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution of National Political-Education, Napola) on the Ziegenberg near Ballenstedt. Its purpose, the date it was closed, and the fate of its inmates remain to be uncovered.

According to a former Napola student, the camp's almost 60 inmates were accommodated in the assembly hall of the main Napola building. The assembly hall was separated from the rest of the building.[1] The SS guards were accommodated elsewhere on the Napola grounds. A few prisoners are said to have worked on constructing a pond for firefighting on the Napola grounds. It is possible that the camp was established for the Junker firm's construction department, which for air-raid protection reasons had been based in Ballenstedt since 1944, where it administered the Junkers construction projects of the Mittelbau firm.

SOURCES There is no published research on the history of the Ballenstedt camp, and there are no known prisoner memoirs. The establishment date of the Ballenstedt camp is based on the Mittelbau concentration camp strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) that are held in the THStA-W (KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Eyewitness reports are held in the collection on the Ballenstedt camp located in AG-MD.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Bericht Ulrich G., Mai 2003, AG-MD, Materialsammulung Ballenstedt.

BLANKENBURG-OESIG ("KLOSTERWERKE")

The two camps close to Blankenberg, "Klosterwerke" and "Turmalin," were an exception within the Mittelbau complex: unlike most of the other Mittelbau camps, they were not in Südharz. These subcamps were located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Nordhausen on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains, and their inmates did not have to work on the Kammler Staff construction sites but were employed by the Organisation Todt (OT). However, their labor was used exactly the same: the prisoners had to excavate underground caverns for the construction of planned subterranean factories.

Planning for both of the Blankenburg underground projects began in March 1944 when representatives of a number of Magdeburg armaments manufacturers traveled with geologist Professor Fritz Dahlgrün from the Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research, RABF) to the north Harz to inspect sites that could be suitable for relocating armaments factories underground. They were successful in Blankenburg and other areas, particularly in the sandstone area at Regenstein and in the area around the ore-processing plant at Braunesumpf. After the trip, the representatives of the Magdeburg firms Krupp-Gruson and Schäffer und Budenberg announced that they wished to commence with excavation for underground factories. Shaft work began in May 1944 for the Blankenburg projects "Porphyr" (also known by the code name "Klosterwerke") and "Turmalin" (also known by the code name "Odawerke").

The files that have survived do not clearly reveal for which company the "Porphyr" caverns, excavated on the mine shaft entrance of the Braunesumpf mine under Michaelstein Mountain, were excavated. It was probably for the Krupp factory in Hamburg-Glinde, which planned to relocate the manufacture of crank shafts into the caverns, but it could also have been the Magdeburg Krupp-Gruson-Werk, which in the spring of 1944 planned to relocate its production facilities to another underground facility in nearby Hoppelberg near Halberstadt (subcamp Langenstein-Zwieberge).

German and civilian workers were first employed on the site, and later 60 Italian penal prisoners were used in construction. Concentration camp prisoners were not allocated to the construction site despite repeated requests to the SS. It was only in the summer of 1944 when the labor shortage increasingly hindered construction that the SS gave into the demands of the OT. On August 24, 1944, the SS transferred around 500 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald to Blankenburg, where they were accommodated in the newly established "Klosterwerke" subcamp close to the Blankenburg suburb of Oesig. Around three-quarters of the camp's inmates were from Belgium. They had only recently been deported from Belgian prisons to Buchenwald in the face of the advancing Allies. Initially, the new subcamp was under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp, but on October 28, 1944, it was transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp.

As often happened when subcamps were first established, the prisoners initially had improvised accommodations. Albert van Hoey, who arrived with the first 500 prisoners in Blankenburg at the end of August 1944, later described the

camp as a "desolate place, secured with a three-meter [almost ten feet] high barbed-wire fence and high guard towers. There was a wooden barracks for the SS and forty-two Hitler Youth tents. Twelve prisoners slept in each tent. We slept on straw with our heads facing out and our feet to the middle."[1] A prisoner detachment of which van Hoey was a member had the task to construct barracks for the prisoners in the following months. The first barracks was occupied in October 1944, but it had no doors or windows. The other five accommodation barracks as well as a kitchen and infirmary barracks were ready by the winter.

All prisoners, with the exception of the functionaries and those constructing the camp or engaged in transport duties, were forced to work on the Porphyr construction site, either above or below ground. Another work detachment was for a time involved in the construction of the nearby Gestapo camp for "Half Jews and Jewish Relatives." Those prisoners were also forced to work on the OT construction site at the Porphyr project.

Many prisoners quickly fell ill due to the harsh working conditions, chronic hunger, and the completely inadequate sanitary conditions in the Klosterwerke camp. There were no bathing or shower facilities. From the autumn of 1944, the death rate in the camp increased. Initially, the corpses were taken to the Quedlinburg city crematorium for cremation. Later, the SS had the corpses hurriedly buried in a trough outside the camp fence. After the end of the war, local citizens were ordered by U.S. soldiers to exhume the corpses and reinter them in the Blankenburg cemetery.

By the winter of 1944–1945, the number of prisoners had not increased in the Klosterwerke camp, initially controlled by Buchenwald and from the end of October 1944 by Mittelbau. In February and March 1945, the SS transferred more than 100 prisoners from the main camp and Boelcke-Kaserne to Blankenburg. Included in the transfer were many Polish Jews who shortly before had arrived in Nordhausen from Auschwitz. They, in particular, suffered from the terror and mistreatment by the SS and Kapos.

The treatment was to get worse when, in March 1945, the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Dieterich, was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth from Auschwitz. The end of the Klosterwerke camp began on April 4, 1945, when 48 sick prisoners were transferred to the main camp. Two days later, the remainder of the camp's inmates, as well as the inmates from the nearby camp at Turmalin, were forced to set forth on foot under SS supervision toward the Elbe River. The survivors of both camps (dozens of exhausted prisoners had been shot by the SS along the way) were loaded onto a river barge to the north of Magdeburg. The barge took them to Lübeck. From there the prisoners of the Klosterwerke subcamp began a march on April 13, 1945, in a northwesterly direction toward the Glasau Manor. Upon their arrival, they were put in a barn while the SS guards under the command of Mirbeth established themselves in the manor house. Around two weeks later, on April 30, 1945, the West European prisoners, who were the majority, were liberated. They were taken away by truck by the Swedish Red Cross to Lübeck and then were taken by ship to Sweden. All the remaining prisoners, including the Polish Jews, were taken on the same day by the SS on foot in the direction of Neustadt on the Baltic, where they were put onto two ships, already laden with thousands of Neuengamme concentration camp prisoners that were at anchor in the bight. One of the ships, the *Cap Arcona*, sank a few days later when attacked during a British air raid and became the tomb for an unknown number of prisoners from the Klosterwerke subcamp.

There has never been a judicial investigation into the Klosterwerke camp and the crimes committed on the death marches. The last camp leader, Mirbeth, was sentenced by the Bremen Landgericht (Regional Court) in 1953 to six years in prison, but only for crimes he committed in Auschwitz.

SOURCES Details on the camp and the Porphyr construction project are to be found in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001).

Besides the relevant files left behind by the SS, and which are held in microfilm in the YVA (Microfilms BD11-Do1-6, ITS records on Mittelbau), there are documents on forced labor held in the collection of the ASt-Blb. The judgment of the Bremen Landgericht on the camp leader Hans Mirbeth of November 27, 1953, has been published in the documents contained in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 11:497–658. The memoir by a surviving prisoner, Albert van Hoey, "Todesmarsch und Befreiung," is included in Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz, eds., *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit: Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig Holstein* (Alveshohe, 1988), pp. 7–12. Van Hoey published a second memoir: "Das Aussenlager 'Klosterwerk'—Blankenburg/Harz," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2002), pp. 12–18.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Albert van Hoey, "Todesmarsch und Befreiung," in *Verschleppt zur Stlavenarbeit: Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig Holstein*, ed. Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz (Alveshohe, 1988), p. 9.

BLANKENBURG-REGENSTEIN ("TURMALIN")

At the end of October 1944, the "Klosterwerke" camp in Blankenburg, established two months earlier, was put under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp. At the beginning of February 1945, a second subcamp was established in Blankenburg, "Turmalin."

The Turmalin project was the excavation of a subterranean facility under the Regenstein Mountain, a unique rock formation and popular excursion destination to the east of Blankenburg. Measuring devices were to be manufactured

here for the Magdeburg armaments producer Schäffer und Budenberg GmbH under the code name "Odawerk." These were probably manometers for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets, which the company Schäffer und Budenberg had long been delivering to the Mittelwerk. This would probably explain why in February 1945 a Mittelbau subcamp was established close to the construction site.

The 400 prisoners in the camp, together with around 500 German and 300 foreign laborers, which at times included 200 Italian penal prisoners, were to excavate the caverns and construct the external facilities. The Turmalin project began in the spring of 1944 but was not completed by the end of the war. However, according to an American Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee (CIOS) team, the production of measuring devices did begin in part of the facility shortly before the arrival of U.S. military forces in April 1945. There were around 120 people producing the devices.[1]

An essential reason for the slow progress in construction was the labor shortage. In the summer of 1944, the Grossdeutsche Schachtbau AG, which had been contracted by the construction department of the Armaments Ministry to excavate the cavern system, repeatedly demanded additional labor from the Einsatzgruppe IV of the Organisation Todt (OT), whose construction management oversaw the project. The construction firm was particularly keen in being allocated forced laborers. However, except for the 200 Italian penal prisoners, which were obtained through the firm Schäffer und Budenberg in July 1944 and who worked temporarily on the construction site, hardly any forced laborers were allocated to the site. It remains unclear why, unlike many other construction sites in the region, no concentration camp prisoners were used. For example, in the caverns only a few kilometers away at the Malchit underground project, several thousand prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp at Langenstein-Zwieberge were used, and a few armaments firms in the Blankenburg area had used concentration camp prisoners since the spring of 1943—in Halberstadt and Wernigerode. That the OT Turmalin project was not allocated prisoners for a long time can only be put down to rivalry between the OT and the SS construction organization under SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler.

It was only at the beginning of 1945 when thousands of prisoners arrived in Nordhausen from the evacuated concentration camps at Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen that the SS acceded to the demands of the OT. On February 1, 1945, it relocated 400 prisoners, mostly Jews from the dissolved Auschwitz subcamp at Fürstengrube with their SS and Wehrmacht guards, from the main camp to Blankenburg. Here they occupied an OT barracks camp in a forested area at the foot of the Regenstein Mountain. The camp had been used by the OT, but it had never been finished. It was close to the so-called Lessingplatz and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Blankenburg suburb Heers. For this reason, the camp was called by the local population the "Lessing camp." As was customary with the establishment of a new subcamp, the SS camp command had the prisoners put a fence around the camp and erect guard towers. After that, most of the camp inmates were used at the nearby construction site for project Turmalin in excavating the caverns.

The Mittelbau concentration camp appointed SS-Oberscharführer Max Schmidt as camp leader. He had previously been in command of the camp at Fürstengrube, working closely with German political prisoner Hermann Joseph, the camp elder. Schmidt led the evacuation of the camp, which began on the morning of April 6, 1945. With the exception of the inmates in the infirmary, who presumably were left in the camp, the SS drove the prisoners by foot past Magdeburg, where the survivors—a few dozen exhausted prisoners had been shot by the guards along the way—together with inmates from the second Blankenburg Mittelbau subcamp, Klosterwerke, were loaded onto a river barge on April 8. After the barge arrived in Lübeck, Schmidt marched the prisoners to the small village of Siblin, where the majority were crammed into a barn. Around 20 privileged prisoners, including members of the Fürstengrube camp orchestra, were taken by Schmidt to his parents' nearby farm. Schmidt's prisoners remained in the Siblin barn and on the farm between April 13 and 30. They were then marched to Neustadt on the Baltic, where, with the exception of West European and Czech prisoners who were put under the care of the International Red Cross, they were loaded onto ships, including the *Cap Arcona*. The *Cap Arcona* was attacked by British fighters on May 3, 1945, and became the tomb for more than 4,000 prisoners from the Neuengamme and Mittelbau concentration camps.

It is scarcely possible to determine how many prisoners survived the deportation from the Turmalin camp and the evacuation to the Baltic. What is certain is that many prisoners died in Blankenburg while suffering from the harsh working conditions in excavating the caverns. Finally, for many prisoners, their stay in Blankenburg was a murderous interlude on a monthlong death march from Fürstengrube to the Baltic, where many drowned with the sinking of the *Cap Arcona*.

The crimes committed in Fürstengrube, in Blankenburg, and on the death march to the Baltic were the subject of at least two proceedings. In 1948, the Ansbach Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced former camp elder Hermann Joseph to several years' imprisonment. Former camp leader Max Schmidt lived at first undetected on his parents' farm near Siblin. In 1964, the Kiel state prosecutor commenced investigations into his wartime activities, but they were discontinued in 1973 without any convictions.

SOURCES Important passages on the history of the Turmalin camp are contained in a publication by Gerhard Hoch on the long death march of the prisoners from Auschwitz/Fürstengrube via Blankenburg to Schleswig-Holstein: *Von Auschwitz nach Holstein: Der Leidensweg der 1200 Häftlinge von Fürstengrube* (Hamburg, 1990). Joachim Neander summarized the most recent research in a short essay, "Die Aussenlager 'Turmalin' (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2000), pp. 1–11. Details on the camp and

the Turmalin construction project are to be found in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001).

The relevant sources left by the SS have been microfilmed and are held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do1-6, ITS records on Mittelbau). There are other documents relating to forced labor in the collection of the ASt-Blb. Details on the Turmalin Relocation Project are contained in a report prepared by Allied experts after the war: CIOS, "Report on Underground Project Turmalin, 1945," Report No. XXXIII-38.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. CIOS, "Report on Underground Project Turmalin, 1945," Report No. XXXIII-38, p. 49.

BLEICHERODE

From the autumn of 1944, prisoners from the Mittelbau concentration camp were forced to construct power lines in Bleicherode. Initially, they were not accommodated in Bleicherode but in the main camp. At the end of each shift, the SS brought them back to the camp. In October 1944, the SS established a small labor detachment of 15 inmates in the cellar of the Bürgerhaus Hotel (the present-day city cultural center), all of whom were Italian military internees (IMIs). They worked for the construction and excavation firm Ohl & Vattrodt. There are contradictory statements about the nature of their work; it is possible that the Italians felled timber and transported materials, but they also could have been used to construct the power line from Frose to Bleicherode. The latter possibility is supported by the fact that in other sectors IMIs were forced to work on overland power lines (*see* Mittelbau/Trautenstein) but also because of the allocation of the camp to the SS-Baustab B-13, which coordinated all important infrastructure projects for the Mittelbau enterprise (Unternehmen Mittelbau).

There are no records of any deaths in the camp. The last time the camp is mentioned is in a surviving SS file from March 5, 1945; the camp most likely was in operation until April 1945. Its inmates were probably not evacuated by the SS but liberated by the Americans when they entered Bleicherode on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES The AG-MD holds a few reports on the Bleicherode camp.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ELLRICH ("ERICH," "MITTELBAU II") [AKA ELLRICH-JULIUSHÜTTE]

Founded May 1 or 2, 1944, Ellrich began as a subcamp of Buchenwald but was always intimately linked to the Dora subcamp in the southern Harz Mountains near the city of Nordhausen. On October 28, 1944, Dora became the Mittelbau main camp. Ellrich was officially named "Erich" and later "Mittelbau II," designations that were scarcely used outside SS correspondence. It has also been called Ellrich-Juliushütte by later historians to distinguish it from other, much smaller camps in and around the town that gave it its name. It quickly became the largest subcamp of Mittelbau—and its most infamous. Health conditions were disastrous in the abandoned gypsum factory, the Juliushütte, that provided the main buildings for the camp, and the suffering caused by the exhausting construction work and long hours getting to and from the main work sites were further compounded by a particularly callous SS camp leadership.

The SS founded the camp to absorb part of the rapidly growing number of forced laborers needed for its many new underground projects in the region, which were created in the wake of great concern in the Nazi leadership over the Anglo-American bomber offensive. A particularly concentrated series of attacks on the German aircraft industry in late February 1944 led Armaments Minister Albert Speer to create a joint government-industry "Fighter Staff" on March 1 to promote a rapid buildup in fighter production. On the model of the Mittelwerk, the underground V-2 rocket factory moved to Dora, where much of this production was to be evacuated to tunnels, retrofitted or dug out by concentration camp prisoners, with construction leadership given to SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C (Construction). Kammler initiated a number of new tunnel projects in the soft anhydrite rock of the Harz Mountains near Dora, the most prominent being B-3, between the towns of Ellrich and Woffleben, and B-11 and B-12, on either side of the Mittelwerk tunnels. After taking over a camp intended for civilians, creating subcamp Harzungen ("Hans") on April 1, and a large estate house at Bischofferode, where a small camp, "Anna," was set up at about the same time, the SS decided to make use of the Juliushütte buildings for another large camp. But these facilities were in such poor condition that they had to be repaired for some weeks in April. Even so, when the first 300 prisoners arrived on May 1, 1944, from "Anna," there were not even roofs over some blocks housed in the abandoned factory, and the washroom and toilet facilities were disastrously inadequate.

Ellrich's first commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans Joachim Ritz, but he is little mentioned in survivor accounts. In about August, he was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Fritzsch, an infamous sadist who had served as the first Schutzhaftlagerführer of Auschwitz from 1940 to 1942. After allegedly being removed from that position for incompetence at the behest of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, the SS sent Fritzsch to Flossenbürg and then Ellrich. Fritszch, who was an early Nazi Party and SS member, had been trained in Theodor Eicke's school of terror as a camp guard in Dachau in mid-1933. Survivors stated that Fritzsch personally murdered and tortured prisoners and also harassed the guard force, which was largely drawn from the

Luftwaffe and officially transferred to the Waffen-SS only on September 1, 1944. At some point in the fall, Mittelbau commandant SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Förschner sent Fritzsch to the Eastern Front and replaced him with Wilhelm Stötzler, who, like Ritz, made little impression on the prisoners, in large part because shortly thereafter SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Brinkmann was transferred from Mittelbau as de facto Schutzhaftlagerführer. Brinkmann rapidly acquired a reputation for sadism and brutality as appalling as Fritzch's. Stötzler and Brinkmann served until the dissolution of the camp on April 5, 1945. Also infamous for his indifference to the suffering of the prisoners and for the poor condition of the makeshift infirmary was the camp physician, Dr. Günther Schneeman, originally from the Luftwaffe. The vicious, arbitrary, and sometimes incompetent camp leadership was rounded out by a series of "green triangle" (criminal) prisoners who served in prisoner administrative positions; although Förschner ran Mittelbau on the Buchenwald model, using educated Communists, Ellrich became a dumping ground for both SS men and prisoners that Förschner did not want. Ellrich often received the most ill and exhausted prisoners from Mittelbau and other camps, apparently on the assumption that they would have low chances of survival.

The impact of the bad sanitary and living conditions on the prisoners' health was greatly exacerbated by the work in outdoor construction and tunneling at B-3, B-11, B-12, and other sites but also by the incredibly long hours of work, plus travel times by rail and foot and the roll calls that had to take place before and after each activity. A typical schedule in the summer and fall of 1944 was awakening at 3:30 A.M., "breakfast" and roll call, march to the train station at 5:10, and labor from 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M., with a one-hour break. With luck the train would come on time to return the exhausted prisoners to Ellrich, followed by another roll call and watery soup that passed for dinner. All that was left was about five hours for sleep, assuming that there were no lengthy delays with train transport and roll calls. Chief SS physician Professor Dr. Joachim Murgowsky, later hanged in 1948 after the Nuremberg "Doctors Trial" for his role in human experiments, warned Kammler that with this schedule "many prisoners [were dying] without any acute cause, only out of exhaustion. In no other camp does this appear so often."[1]

Ellrich's all-male prisoner population grew rapidly from 1,696 at the end of May 1944 to 4,104 at the end of July, to 6,187 at the end of August, and to 8,189 by the end of September. During the last months of 1944, it stabilized at around 8,000. The camp population paralleled that of Mittelbau, the predominant groups being Soviet, Polish, French, Belgian, and German, but Ellrich did receive a large number of the 1,000 "qualified" Hungarian Jews that arrived in Dora from Auschwitz at the end of May, many of them scarcely more than boys. Also in evidence were a number of Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), some of whom served in positions of authority. The SS registered only 17 deaths in Ellrich up to the end of August, in part because very ill prisoners were transferred to the Mittelbau and Harzungen infirmaries, but the situation then deteriorated catastrophically, despite further transfers: 29 deaths in September, 107 in October, 144 in November, 381 in December, 498 in January 1945, 541 in February, and 1,021 in March.

A particularly appalling manifestation of the disastrous health and living conditions were the presence in late 1944 of over 1,000 "unclothed." With no wash facilities, either for inmates or their clothes, the Ellrich camp population soon became filthy, infested with lice, and dressed in rags. When an emergency delousing of uniforms was attempted in about October, many disintegrated, leaving a significant fraction of prisoners with nothing. The camp leadership showed its usual indifference and lack of initiative; the ample supplies of civilian clothes confiscated from prisoners were not touched until after new transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen began arriving in January–February. Many of the "unclothed" had to spend the entire day in bed shivering under thin covers in filthy, unheated blocks, and some had to make outdoor roll calls in their underwear. Because these prisoners did not work, their rations were eventually cut in half, accelerating starvation and death. As the clothing situation improved in early 1945, the food situation deteriorated further to an episodic state of outright famine. There were even cases of cannibalism, and organized bands of prisoners stole from and terrorized the weak. As the transports from the east arrived with their utterly exhausted, mostly Jewish prisoners, overcrowding and disease only grew worse—hence the massive death toll in March. Yet this toll did not even include the 1,602 in bad condition who had been sent to the dumping ground of the Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen on March 5.

As with the other Mittelbau camps, evacuation took place on April 4 to 5, 1945, with the approach of U.S. forces. Most of those evacuated were sent by rail in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. One survivor report stated that the last SS man shot a dozen sick prisoners in the head just before leaving, so that no one was liberated at Ellrich—the camp was empty when the U.S. 104th Infantry Division occupied the town on April 12. Soon thereafter the camp fell into almost complete obscurity; it straddled an old political boundary that became the demarcation line between West and East. Only the survivor groups remembered Ellrich, especially the French, who constituted a disproportionate fraction of the dead. Justice was also scarcely served. In the Mittelbau-Dora trial at Dachau in 1947, only 2 of the 17 convicted were singled out for their role in Ellrich: Otto Brinkmann, who received a life sentence, later commuted, and Richard Walenta, a camp elder (Lageräl tester) noted for his collaboration with the SS in denunciations, who received a 20-year sentence, also later shortened. It was only with the increased attention paid to Mittelbau-Dora in the later 1980s, as a result of growing interest in rocket production in the Mittelwerk, that Ellrich finally began to be more widely remembered.

SOURCES Other than Manfred Bornemann's chronology, *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45: Ein vergessenes Konzentra-*

tionslager wird neu entdeckt (Nordhausen: Landratsamt Nordhausen, 1992), there are no significant secondary publications that focus exclusively on this subcamp. All scholarly work on the topic has taken place within the general studies of the Mittelbau camp system cited in the main camp bibliography, most notably Jens-Christian Wagner's *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001), which is based on his "Verlagerungswahn und Tod" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999).

Similarly, what little is left of the Ellrich archival record must be sought in the Mittelbau records discussed above, especially those in Weimar and the ITS microfilms at YV. A Dutch memoir, Edgard Van de Casteele, *Ellrich* (1946; bilingual ed., Bad Münstereifel: Westkreuz, 1997), is the only other significant publication.

Michael J. Neufeld

NOTE

1. Murgowsky to Kammler, July 20, 1944, BA-BL, NS 48/26, quoted in Jens-Christian Wagner, "Verlagerungswahn und Tod" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999), pp. 315–316.

ELLRICH/WOFFLEBEN (LAGER B-12)

Woffleben was a spin-off of Ellrich, the largest subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. On January 3, 1945, the SS moved 242 Ellrich prisoners from the night shift of tunnel project B-12 to a barracks outside the tunnel entrance, near the village of Woffleben. This project to dig out a new underground factory was just to the west of the north entrances of the Mittelwerk/Nordwerk underground complex, in which Junkers Aircraft assembled aircraft engines and parts in the north section using civilian forced laborers, and Mittelwerk GmbH assembled V-2 missiles in the south section using SS prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp. The new tunnels of B-12 were to be used by Junkers for the assembly of last-minute weapons such as the Heinkel (He) 162 fighter but were never finished, as was the case with virtually all of the new tunnel projects launched in the spring of 1944.

For the prisoners, the January 1945 move was an immediate improvement, as conditions in Ellrich had been catastrophically bad, and the long transport by train to and from the work site, with accompanying marches and roll calls, made life even more miserable and cut significantly into their time to sleep. A further transport of 102 prisoners from Ellrich on February 4 and 650 from the main camp on February 21 greatly enlarged the camp, ushering in a period of overcrowding in spite of the addition of new barracks. The camp fluctuated in size from about 800 to 900 prisoners through the end of March. The first camp commandant is unknown; in mid-March, SS-Oberscharführer Kleemann, a Waffen-SS veteran who had been transferred in 1941 to camp duty after a war injury, took over Woffleben. He had been camp commandant at Bismarckhütte, a subcamp of Auschwitz. The camp elder (Lagerältester), Bruno Brodniewicz, was also a veteran of Auschwitz, and both contributed to a further brutalization of prisoners in the camp. The death toll is unrecorded, as the dead were sent to Ellrich for cremation; some severely ill were transported to the infirmaries at Ellrich and the Mittelbau main camp. On April 1, immediately before the evacuation of the camp, Mittelbau transferred around 700 very ill survivors of transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to the Woffleben subcamp, where they were scarcely able to work. The camp was dissolved on April 4 with an evacuation of prisoners by train in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. In 1951, Kleemann was tried in Itzehoe in Schleswig-Holstein for his barbaric behavior at Woffleben and during the evacuation but was set free because of insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Virtually nothing has been published on the Woffleben subcamp other than passages in Wagner's and Sellier's books (cited in the Mittelbau main camp bibliography) and a section in Manfred Bornemann's chronology *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45* (Nordhausen: Landratsamt Nordhausen, 1992), pp. 63–68.

The trial of Kleeman is to be found in Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1972), 8: 333–350. Transports to and from Ellrich can be found in the YVA microfilm of ITS records (see the Mittelbau entry). See also the THStA-W Record Group NS 4/Bu., Buchenwald and Mittelbau records.

Michael J. Neufeld

GROSSWERTHER

On Thursday, March 15, 1945, 294 women prisoners arrived at the Mittelbau-Dora main camp. They came from Morchenstern, a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, in the Sudetenland east of Gablonz. After registration, 290 of them were marched to the nearby village of Grosswerther. There, the SS had requisitioned the dance halls of two neighboring inns situated in the village center, Gaststätte Nolze and Zur Weintraube (aka Schönemann), to set up a new concentration camp—Aussenkommando Grosswerther, a subcamp of Mittelbau. The women were divided into two groups of roughly equal size, and each took up quarters in one of the dance halls.

All the women were Jewish, and all had started their odyssey through the gamut of Nazi concentration camps at Auschwitz: 248 of the prisoners were from Hungary and had been arrested in the course of the *Judenaktionen* during the spring and summer of 1944; 44 were of Polish origin; 1 came from France; and 1 from the Soviet Union. Most of the women were between 20 and 25 years old, and many of them had worked in textile manufacturing before their arrest.

There is evidence that during the three weeks of Grosswerther camp's existence, only one single work detail of about 30 women was sent to a—still unidentified—factory at Nordhausen. No sooner had they begun work when they were interrupted by heavy air attacks of Nordhausen by Allied aircraft.

The Grosswerther camp's provisional character was clearly evident by both its appearance and the living conditions.

From the outside, nothing particular indicated the existence of a concentration camp: no barbed wire, no watchtower, no people in the characteristic blue-and-gray-striped prisoner outfit. Both "blocks," the former dance halls, were situated on the second floors of the inns, accessible to the prisoners only by the fire escapes, narrow flights of stairs that led into the courtyards, whose entrances were guarded by the SS.

The SS personnel were billeted in neighboring private homes and in the schoolhouse. These included SS-Oberscharführer Werner Beest, the camp leader (Lagerführer); 4 SS guards, elderly Wehrmacht soldiers who had been drafted into concentration camp service; and 18 SS wardresses, who were responsible for "garrison duty" (*Innendienst*). Only the men carried firearms; the SS women had sticks with which they occasionally beat the prisoners.

The detail leader and chief of the female SS was Erna Petermann. "She was a sympathetic but stern woman," a survivor testified, "hated the Jews in particular, however, but never beat us," quite in contrast to her alternate, Gertrud Sieber.[1] Villagers still tell stories about the orgies the SS women had with men from the neighborhood, probably SS men from the Mittelbau concentration camp.

The prisoners at the Grosswerther camp, however, had nothing to celebrate. In the halls there were neither beds nor even pallets. The women slept on the bare ground, wrapped in their blankets. The stage of one of the halls had been transformed into an infirmary, where a Ukrainian prisoner doctor took care of her sick comrades. Sanitary conditions were appalling. There was no water and no toilet upstairs. Provisional toilets had been installed on the edge of the manure pit, and water had to be pumped from a well in the courtyard, which did not yield enough for so many people.

There were also no cooking facilities for the prisoners. Every day around noon a truck would arrive from Boelcke-Kaserne, Nordhausen, one of the big subcamps of Mittelbau, and would bring food in large, uncovered tubs. "It was kind of slop in which only a few pieces of carrots, potatoes, or rutabagas were floating. If one of the Jewish prisoners would jump the line . . . she would be beaten on her hands by the female SS, her mess tin would be knocked out of her hands, and she would get nothing to eat."[2] The thin soup that the German eyewitness remembered so precisely still 43 years later surely was the infamous *Judensuppe* (Jew's soup), which was absent of any nutritive value toward the end of the war.

The poor living conditions, however, apparently did not undermine the prisoners' morale. Eyewitnesses from the village reported that the women were busy knitting sweaters, gloves, socks, and similar articles, which they offered to the villagers in exchange for food—not at all an easy task, as it had to be done secretly, unseen by the SS. We have also read about prisoners, probably Polish, who used to sing melancholy Yiddish songs in the evening, alone or in a group. These tunes occasionally even touched an SS woman's heart. As the weather was fine that spring, the prisoners were even granted a walk in the open air—under SS guard, of course.

On the morning of Wednesday, April 4, 1945, the evacuation order from the Mittelbau main camp arrived at Grosswerther, and in the afternoon, the entire Grosswerther camp, 290 prisoners together with their camp leader, SS guards, and SS wardresses, started marching westward. In the morning of April 6, 1945, at Bischofferode, the prisoners refused to march further. The SS guards called Wehrmacht soldiers for help. Together they rounded the women up at the village square. There, the prisoners collectively fell down on their knees and complained bitterly "that they could not go ahead because they had no food. . . . [T]hey were too weak and not able to go on any more."[3] SS and soldiers gave in. They had the women stand up again. The Wehrmacht soldiers even arranged for a meal[4] and also for trucks, which brought the whole group to Herzberg, the next railway station. Some 35 women had taken advantage of the general confusion at Bischofferode and had managed to escape. Some of them were caught and arrested. Those who hid successfully—among them at least 1, who was hidden by a German farmer's wife—were liberated by the Americans on April 10, 1945.

At Herzberg station the remaining 255 Grosswerther prisoners were crowded into three boxcars, which were connected to an evacuation transport of the Dora camp. On April 7, 1945, U.S. fighter bombers attacked the train. Some courageous German prisoners opened the women's cars in defiance of the orders of the SS. They paid a high price for this humane act, because the SS fired on those prisoners: 1 was killed, another severely wounded.[5]

When the evacuation train had reached Austria, the cars with the Jewish women were disconnected and directed toward Mauthausen. Some 221 former Grosswerther prisoners were registered as "intakes" (*Zugänge*) for the women's camp on April 15, 1945, 33 fewer than had been present at Herzberg. At least 1 of the missing had died in the air attack; the others had died en route or had managed to escape, as survivor testimonies suggest.

At Mauthausen, 44 women of the Grosswerther group still were put on work details. They were liberated by the Americans on May 5, 1945. Most of the former Grosswerther inmates, however, were marched off in a terrible death march toward Gunskirchen at the end of April 1945. The few survivors were liberated there also on May 5, by U.S. troops. No exact calculation can be made of the number of victims of the evacuation. If we estimate the number of dead until arrival at Mauthausen at 20, and the number of those who died in this camp, on the death march to Gunskirchen, and in that camp to half of the intake, we arrive at about 130 dead. This means that nearly every second woman who had left Grosswerther on April 4, 1945, was already dead four weeks later.

SOURCES On the Grosswerther camp, see Paul Lauerwald, "Das Aussenlager Grosswerther des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora," *BHSKN* 15 (1990): 26–31. The author, a local amateur historian, describes the living conditions in the camp, based above all on an interview with the daughter of one of the inns' owners. Situating the Grosswerther camp within the framework of the forced labor concentration camps

of the last phase of World War II is Joachim Neander's "Auschwitz—Grosswerther—Gunskirchen: A Nine Month's Odyssey through Eight Nazi Concentration Camps," *YVS* 28 (2000): 287–310.

The main sources referring to the Grosswerther camp are the records of two war crimes trials: "The Belsen Trial," Lüneburg, September 17 to November 17, 1945: evidence of former female SS guards: Klara Opitz, Ilse Steinbusch, Hildegard Kahlbach, and Gertrud Naumann, PRO WO309/1699; excerpts in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949); and "The Nordhausen Case," Dachau, August 7 to December 30, 1947: Niederschrift der Vernehmung des Johann Demange (former SS guard), examination of Vira Gombosova [i.e. Vera Gombosová-Oravcová; former inmate (camp clerk)] by Major Fulton C. Vowell, War Crimes Investigating Team #6822, U.S. Army, April 18, 1945, at Nordhausen; and list of inmates of the Grosswerther camp, as given by Vera Gombosová-Oravcová; *USA vs. Kurt Andrae et al.*, NARA Microfilm Publication M 1079; and the testimonies of Hungarian survivors, kept in the *Magyar Auschwitz Alapítványi—Holocaust Dokumentációs Központ* (Budapest, n.d.). Other documents as well as sources referring to the evacuation train, the "Taifun-Express" from Dora to Fischbach, can be found in the trial transcripts of the Nordhausen Case, in AG-MD, and in Nuremberg document PS-2222. Survivor testimonies can also be found in the Stm.-MöWa.

Joachim Neander

NOTES

1. NARA, M-1079, Examination of Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, War Crimes Investigating Team #6822, U.S. Army, April 18, 1945, p. 8.

2. Paul Lauerwald, "Das Aussenlager Grosswerther des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora," *BHSKN* 15 (1990): 29.

3. Examination of Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, p. 8.

4. Testimony of Helena Halperin (née Helén Blobstein; former inmate) by Herbert J. Oswald, 1978, Stm.-MöWa.

5. Testimony of Oskar Büschler and Theo Webers, given before a U.S. commission on April 24, 1945, at Leipzig, Nuremberg Document PS-2222.

GUT BISCHOFFERODE ("ANNA")

The history of the "Anna" subcamp at the Gut (Manor) Bischofferode near Woffleben (not to be confused with the Bischofferode/Eichsfeld subcamp) is closely connected with the history of the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps. These three camps were established in April–May 1944 to accommodate concentration camp prisoners who were to work in the nearby construction sites B-3a and B-3b in the villages of Woffleben and Niedersachswerfen. SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler's construction organization was in charge of the B-3 construction project, which envisaged the creation of a cavern system where, in underground aircraft factories, the Junkers company would produce aircraft. As with most of the other subterranean construction projects run by Kammler's organization, the B-3 project was never completed.

The Anna camp was close to the B-3a construction site, at the foot of the Himmelsberg on the Bischofferode Manor. It was probably established on April 2, 1944. The approximately 300 male prisoners were held, according to surviving Czech prisoner Rotislav Ministr, in a barn.[1] It would appear that the camp from the beginning was regarded as a temporary camp, as it was dissolved on May 9, 1944, when the inmates were transferred to the newly established camp at Ellrich-Juliushütte.[2] The manor's buildings in Bischofferode from then on served as the base for Kammler's SS-Sonderinspektion II, which coordinated all the Mittelbau construction projects.

At times the prisoners were probably accommodated a few hundred meters away in the Mittelwerk civilian labor camp. This camp was located on the north edge of Woffleben and had not been completed in April 1944. It was intended that this camp would hold up to 2,500 prisoners while the Harzungen camp was being expanded. It is possible that this was the Anna camp.[3]

The SS operated the Anna camp together with the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps as "Arbeitslager B-3." The three camps had a common SS camp administration, which initially was headed by 21-year-old SS-Untersturmführer Hans Ritz. The trained bank officer had been transferred from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in the winter of 1943–1944 to Dora, where he served as adjutant to camp commandant Otto Förschner. In September 1944, he was removed as camp leader of the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps and transferred to the SS-Führerreserve at Bad Tölz.[4]

It can be assumed that the temporary camp scarcely differed from the horrendous accommodations and sanitary conditions at the infamous Ellrich-Juliushütte camp.

SOURCES No secondary literature is available that specifically deals with the Anna camp. The camp is mentioned in the chronicles of the Ellrich camp by Manfred Bornemann, *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45: Ein vergessenes Konzentrationslager wird neu entdeckt* (Nordhausen: Landratsamt, 1992); and in Jens-Christian Wagner's Mittelbau monograph *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

The establishment and dissolution of the Anna camp is referred to in the Veränderungsmeldungen des "Kommandos B 3," the original of which is held in the ITS (Mittelbau-Ordner 22). A microfilm copy is held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2). A few additional documents are held in BA-B and BA-L.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aussage R. Ministr, April 28, 1967, BStU, ZM 1625, Bd. 61, p. 219.

2. Veränderungsmeldungen der Lager Bischofferode und Ellrich, April 2–June 15, 1944, YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2.

3. Aktenvermerk Dr. Schiedlausky (Standortarzt KZ Buchenwald) about a "Besuch des Werkes B III" on April 8, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.5; as well as Aktenvermerk Dr. Ding (SS-Sonderinspektion II) about a meeting in Ellrich on April 18, 1944, BA-B, NS 48/26, n.p.

4. Aussage Hans Ritz, April 2, 1963, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 224/72, fr. 554.

HARZUNGEN ("HANS," "MITTELBAU III")

The history of the "Hans" subcamp in Harzungen, which initially was part of the Buchenwald concentration camp and later the Mittelbau concentration camp, is connected with the history of the camps at Ellrich-Juliushütte and Gut Bischofferode. The three camps were established in April–May 1944 to accommodate concentration camp prisoners who were to work on the nearby construction sites B-3a and B-3b near the villages of Woffleben and Niedersachswerfen.

The initials B-3a (code name "Anhydrit") concealed a plan under which 5 drivable and 30 traversable tunnels would be excavated under the Himmelsberg Mountain. They would be excavated in accordance with the Mittelwerk model and used as a subterranean facility for the Junkers AG. The SS brought the first 40 concentration camp prisoners from the Dora camp to the construction site on March 1, 1944.[1] The numbers rapidly increased after commencement of the preparatory work: at the end of March, there were almost 1,000 prisoners, and by the end of May, just over 3,000 prisoners were working on the B-3a construction site. This number remained constant until the beginning of April 1945.[2] Two almost complete traversable tunnels were occupied by electronics firms in March 1945. They produced the steering mechanisms for the air defense rocket Hs 117. The facility, which was planned to have an area of 10,000 square meters (11,960 square yards), was never completed despite the extensive deployment of prisoner labor.[3]

The neighboring facility B-3b (code name "Anhydrit-Ost") was even larger, with an area of 12,000 square meters (14,352 square yards). However, it was not until the end of July 1944 that the first shaft work began for what was most likely a Junkers AG underground facility in Mühlberg near Niedersachswerfen. Work stopped in November 1944. Although there were on average 700 prisoners from the Harzungen camp at work when the project ceased, only a few meters had been excavated at the entry into the cavern.[4]

The construction project manager, Wifo (Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, or Economic Research Co., Ltd.), and Junkers AG planned to accommodate the prisoners working on the B-3 project close to the proposed underground factory. This was in accordance with the example set by the Dora camp on the northern edge of the Himmelsberg. A camp for at least 5,000 concentration camp inmates was planned, together with an adjoining SS camp. The plan was soon given up. Instead, the SS established on April 1, 1944, the Harzungen camp and a little later a small provisional camp at the Gut Bischofferode ("Anna"). At the beginning of May 1944, the camp Ellrich-Juliushütte ("Erich") was established.

The SS referred to the three camps initially as "Arbeitslager B-3." There was one camp leader for the three camps, SS-Untersturmführer Hans Ritz. In the early summer of 1944, other projects—B-11, B-12, and B-13—were added to the overall plan. As a result, the SS administratively separated the camps and established for each camp its own camp administration. At first the camps were administered from the Buchenwald concentration camp. However, in the summer of 1944, the Dora camp and other camps in the area were combined together as the "SS-Standort Mittelbau," and two Mittelbau subcamps became known as Mittelbau II (Ellrich) and Mittelbau III (Harzungen).

The concentration camp prisoners occupied an unfinished barrack camp in Harzungen that was originally planned as accommodation for 1,000 German Mittelwerk civilian workers. Dora prisoners had been constructing the camp from the autumn of 1943. Once the camp had been surrounded by guards' towers and a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified fence, the SS transferred around 4,000 prisoners to the camp. At the beginning of 1945, there were about 5,000 prisoners. At first they worked on the B-3 construction project and later on the B-11 construction site, where they did excavation work for an underground facility in Kohnstein.[5]

In Harzungen, sanitary facilities for bathing and a second toilet block had to be constructed, but overall all the conditions were not so bad when compared to the other Mittelbau camps, especially the infamous Ellrich-Juliushütte camp. The SS also made sure, at least until February 1945, that the number of prisoners in Harzungen did not exceed the camp's capacity.

The relatively good sanitary conditions in Harzungen also meant that the camp was less feared by the prisoners than most of the other construction camps in the Mittelbau concentration camp complex. The Harzungen prisoners, unlike their fellow sufferers in Ellrich, worked in three shifts a day of 8 hours each in the caverns of the B-3 project and not 12 hours a day. The SS construction managers had an obvious interest in preserving the prisoners, who had not yet quite wasted away, unlike in the Ellrich camp, where the prisoners, already very weakened, were literally worked to death.

Finally, the comparatively "humane" Harzungen camp administration had a favorable effect on camp conditions. The camp was initially commanded by SS members Ritz and Eduard Hinckelmann. They were followed for a short time by former Wehrmacht officers, and from the autumn of 1944, the camp was administered by a former Luftwaffe Hauptmann who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Frohne. As Schutzhaftlagerführer he was assisted by a Luftwaffe sergeant who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Oberscharführer Josef Fuchsloch. According to reports by surviving prisoners, they both contributed to an improvement in the camp's conditions.[6]

However, in evaluating prisoners' reports on Frohne and Fuchsloch, there is an important problem to be addressed.

Fuchsloch was one of the accused in the Dachau Dora Trial and faced a heavy sentence. During the trial, his defense lawyers named a number of former German and Czech political prisoners as witnesses for the defense, all of whom had held the important prisoner-functionary positions during their time in Harzungen. Their reports, which had obviously been planned with the defense, dominated the trial and the subsequent history of the Harzungen camp. Former prisoner and camp elder Jupp Wortmann played a significant role, speaking out at the trial in defense of Fuchsloch.[7]

Another choice of witnesses could have put the conditions in the Harzungen camp in a totally different light. Reservations are also justified when the statements of Wortmann's group are considered. Notwithstanding this, it is correct to say that under Frohne and Fuchsloch, the treatment of prisoners in Harzungen was essentially better than the feared Mittelbau camps, Ellrich-Juliushütte and Rottleberode, which were under the command of the SS. This is at least correct for the political prisoners and, among these, for the Germans and Czechs who stood at the apex of the SS racial hierarchy.

The ethnic composition of the exclusively male prisoner population at Harzungen in essence corresponded with the composition of the Mittelbau concentration camp complex. Around 33 percent of all prisoners came from the Soviet Union, 25 percent from Poland, and 12 percent from France. Until February 1945, there was a disproportionately high number of Belgians, more than 18 percent. However, this number declined due to a high number of deaths and transfers in other camps. By the beginning of April 1945, it had been reduced to 6.5 percent.[8] There are features that distinguished the camp from other Mittelbau camps: the number of Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in Harzungen, 10 percent of the entire camp population, was unusually high. The first large group of Gypsies, around 200 prisoners, was transferred in the middle of April 1944 from Buchenwald to Harzungen. In the middle of May 1944, a second larger Gypsy transport of 600 prisoners was transferred via Buchenwald and Dora to the camp.[9] Just about all of the prisoners from these two transports—including many children and youths—had been held in the Gypsy family camp (*Zigeuner-Familienlager*) in Birkenau before being transferred via Auschwitz to Buchenwald. There were also a few hundred Hungarian Jews who were transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald, before being transferred via Dora to Harzungen in May 1944.

For a long time, the Harzungen camp, with its 4,000 inmates, was not so tightly packed as most of the other Mittelbau camps. This changed at the end of February 1945, when the SS leadership, in the face of the arrival of evacuation transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen, transferred countless sick and dying prisoners from the camps at Mittelbau and Ellrich-Juliushütte to Harzungen. Not only did the total number of prisoners increase (at the beginning of April 1944, the camp held more than 4,700 prisoners), but so did the death rate. According to SS files, 350 prisoners died in March 1945 in Harzungen alone. Altogether at least 600 prisoners did not survive the camp.

The camp was evacuated on April 4, 1945. The SS took around 4,500 prisoners in two rail transports to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived a week later. Another 2,000 inmates were driven by the guards under the command of Frohnes and Fuchsloch by foot through the Harz Mountains to Blankenburg. Here the transport separated into several marching columns, the majority of which headed in the direction of Schönebeck an der Elbe, from where they headed along the Elbe in a southeasterly direction. The Americans liberated many survivors in the area of Schönebeck. The last 1,000 inmates in the Harzungen camp, who after a three-week march arrived in the Czech town of Rabenstein on April 26, were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

The Dachau Dora Trial in 1947 included the accused Josef Fuchsloch, a central figure in the Harzungen camp administration. The exculpatory statements by former political prisoners from the camp administration helped in his acquittal. There have been no other proceedings against perpetrators in the Harzungen camp.

There is located in the Harzungen cemetery a grave in which 27 concentration camp prisoners are buried. They were discovered after the U.S. liberation in a grave on the site of the subcamp. Most of these prisoners were from France, Belgium, and Italy. They probably died shortly before the camp's evacuation as a result of the forced labor and of malnutrition but possibly also because they were killed by the SS as resistance members.

SOURCES André Sellier devotes a large part of his Mittelbau monograph to the Harzungen camp, *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998); as does Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). Joachim Neander describes the evacuation of the camp briefly in his Mittelbau study, *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im "Dritten Reich" gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

The BA-K (Bestände NS 4 Anhang und R 121, Industriebeteiligungsgesellschaft) holds documents on the construction projects on which the prisoners were forced to work. The archive also holds the remaining Mittelwerk files and those of the Mittelbau concentration camp. Also in the BA-K are the files of the Wifo (Bestand R 125), which contracted for the construction of the Harzungen camp. A useful source of information is the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, *United States of America v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*; Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels. Originals in RG 238, NARA). Prisoners' reports on the Harzungen camp are mostly held in the AG-MD. The original files of the construction administration for the B-3 construction project are also held here. Other important SS camp files (Stärkemeldungen, Transportlisten, and others) are held in the collections NS 4/Bu in the THHStA-A and the microfilms BD3-Bu 19 to 44 and BD11-Do 1 to 6 in YVA (they are files microfilmed from ITS, which until recently was closed to researchers). A member of the Luftwaffe who had been transferred to the SS and was a guard at Harzungen published his memoirs after

the war. They were published after his death and give a detailed account of daily life in the camp from a guard's perspective. See Willy Mirbach, "*Damit du es später deinem Sohn einmal erzählen kannst . . .": Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmann (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern und Umgegend, 1997).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Bericht März 1944, Kostenstelle Anhydrit, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 52, p. 403.

2. Ibid.; as well as Arbeitseinsatzmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, 1944/45, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/230.

3. Zusammenstellung der in der Entwicklungsgemeinschaft Mittelbau zusammengefassten Entwicklungsgruppen, March 16, 1945, BA-MA, RH 8/v.1265; Letter Dir. Wagner (Stab Dornberger) to v. Braun bez. "Stollenbelegung B" 3, 15.3.1945, ibid.

4. For the planning and cessation of work on project B-3b, see Protokoll einer Besprechung bei der Wifo Niedersachswerfen on April 21, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.2.1; Schreiben Zentral-Arbeitseinsatz Mittelbau an Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald, July 28, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 45, S. 263; Arge Woffleben, Baubericht 1944, February 20, 1945, AG-MD, 50.1.2.1, sowie KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Bericht B 3b, Oktober 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 54, p. 168.

5. Aktenvermerk Wifo Niedersachswerfen bez. Lager Harzungen, October 2, 1944, BA-B, R 125/241; as well as ITS-Material, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3.

6. Numerous former prisoners testified in favor of both camp leaders in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947: Ludwig Schiller is representative of those prisoners.

7. Statement Jupp Wortmann, NARA, microfilm publication M-1079, Roll 10/7252.

8. Stärkemeldungen der Einzellager des KZ Mittelbau, November 1, 1944, and April 1, 1945, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3.

9. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

ILFELD

There are sparse details on the short history of the Ilfeld camp. According to the existing SS files, the camp was established on January 9, 1945, when 4 prisoners were transferred from the Mittelbau main camp. By the end of March 1945, as a result of further transfers, the numbers had increased to more than 260.[1] According to an SS guard, there were between 350 and 400 prisoners in the camp.[2]

Concentration camp prisoners were part of daily life from the autumn of 1943 onward for the citizens of Ilfeld. Around 100 prisoners from the Dora camp, about eight kilometers (five miles) away, constructed a barracks camp on the so-called Schafswiese (sheep's field) between October 1943 and the spring of 1944. The work was done for the Wifo (Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, Economic Research Co., Ltd.) construction management firm in Niedersachswerfen. The Schafswiese was an unimproved parcel of land in the center of the village of 2,000 inhabitants. The barracks camp was initially for accommodation for around 450 Wehrmacht soldiers and another 450 German laborers and technicians who worked for the Mittelwerk GmbH. After a prisoner detachment from the Dora camp had put a barbed-wire fence around the camp, the German inmates of the community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) were replaced by foreign forced laborers, who worked in the "Nordwerk" in Kohnstein, where they assembled aircraft engines for the Junkers company.[3]

During the course of 1944, other prisoner detachments from the camps at Dora and Harzungen were forced to expand the Mittelwerk infrastructure in several locations in Ilfeld, including the laying of water pipes in the main street (Adolf-Hitler-Allee), the construction of air-raid shelters on the eastern edge of the village (Herzberg), and the construction of a waterworks (Kommando Rosensteg). There were to be other labor detachments, especially in Mittelwerk's tailor shop based in the Ilfeld Kloster school, which since the autumn of 1943 had been the seat of the Mittelwerk GmbH administration, and the Günther paper mill, where prisoners worked for the Mittelwerk in establishing an assembly hall for the "Volksjäger" (People's Fighter) He 162.[4]

Initially, the prisoner detachments working in Ilfeld marched daily from the Dora and Harzungen camps to their work sites. Later, they were transported on the Harz narrow gauge railway. However, because of the fuel shortage and the constant Allied air attacks, there were more and more disruptions to the train service in the winter of 1944–1945. For this reason, the SS established at the beginning of January a subcamp in Ilfeld, where all the prisoners from the various work detachments were gradually transferred.

The location of the subcamp cannot be exactly determined. The witness statements contradict each other. Several reports state that the prisoners were accommodated in part of the barracks on the Schafswiese. What is more likely is that the camp was located above the paper mill in an empty two-story storehouse of the former hotel Talbrauerei. The prisoners were housed on the first floor, while the guards' accommodation was on the ground floor. At the beginning of the 1940s, foreign forced laborers had been held here, and they were transferred to other camps before the concentration camp prisoners were transferred here.

Compared to other Mittelbau camps, the number of Jewish prisoners in Ilfeld was comparatively high. At the end of March 1945, there were around 60 Hungarian and Polish Jews in the camp. There were large groups of non-Jewish prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. In all probability, the living and working conditions were no different from the catastrophic conditions in the other Mittelbau camps.

There are hardly any survivors' reports because the camp's inmates were the victims of the massacres that occurred dur-

ing the death marches of April 1945. As with most of the other Mittelbau camps, the Ilfeld subcamp was evacuated by the SS at the beginning of April 1945 in the face of the approaching U.S. forces. On either April 4 or 5, the prisoners were driven by their guards on foot to Niedersachswerfen and from there in a northwesterly direction. In Walkenried or Osterode in the Harz Mountains, the survivors of the march joined a railway transport of prisoners from the Rottleberode camp. This transport ended for many Ilfeld prisoners in the Gardelegen massacre. The SS shot others in the vicinity of Estedt and Jävenitz in the county of Salzwedel.

At the end of March 1945, there were around 30 members of the guard. For the few weeks prior to the dissolution of the camp, they were under the command of 47-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Werner Wachholz. He had been transferred in the summer of 1944 from the Wehrmacht to the SS. Wachholz commanded some of the guards from December 1944 to March 21, 1945, in the "Dachs IV" subcamp near Osterode in the Harz. Wachholz was questioned as a witness in the middle of the 1960s during a trial regarding the death of prisoners in the Dachs IV camp. He himself was never charged. It would seem that all the other members of the guard in Ilfeld were never tried.

SOURCES Manfred Bornemann from Ilfeld, in addition to his study on the Mittelbau concentration camp, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn, 1994), has put together two works that deal explicitly with the war and Ilfeld: *Ilfeld 1940–1950: Beiträge zu einem Jahrzehnt Heimatgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1984); and "Zwanzig Tage im April: Die Kriegsereignisse bei Ilfeld vor 50 Jahren—eine Chronik," *BHSKN* 20 (1995): 107–130, which have sections that deal with the subcamp. Bornemann's work is based on his own experiences and witness reports.

An Ilfeld Transport- und Arbeitskommandoliste, dated March 25, 1945, is held in the Mittelbau-Ordner 18 of the ITS (a copy is held in YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2). References to the prisoner transport to the Ilfeld subcamp are to be found in the Veränderungsmeldungen des KZ Mittelbau (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The Ilfeld A/245 file in the AKr-N contains correspondence on the Schafswiese camp in Ilfeld from the years 1943 to 1945. The record of interview of the former SS camp leader Werner Wachhold is contained in the files of the trial against Gerhard Herdel, who replaced Wachhold as commander of the Dachs IV camp in Osterode before he was transferred to Ilfeld (Statements W. Wachholz, April 28, 1965, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, Bl. 4 ff., u. 16.8.1965, NHStA-H, Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41, p. 24).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau, January 9, 1945, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, as well as Transportliste Ilfeld, March 25, 1945, YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2.

2. Statement Wilhelm Syskowski, April 28, 1947, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 3, fr. 20.

3. Wifo Niedersachswerfen, Bauunterlagen Gemeinschaftslager Ilfeld, 1943/44, BA-B, R 125/241; Bürgermeister Ilfeld, Korrespondenz zum Lager Schafswiese, 1943–1945, AKr-N, Ilfeld A/245.

4. Aktenvermerk Albin Sawatzki (Planungschef Mittelwerk GmbH) bez. Programm Schildkröte, October 19, 1944, BA-B, NS 4 Anh./31, p. 61.

ILSENBURG

Little information is available about the history of the Ilsenburg subcamp in the North Harz Mountains. As with a number of other smaller Mittelbau subcamps, it was exclusively occupied by Italian military internees (IMIs). It was established on March 1, 1945, when 16 Italians were transferred from the Mittelbau main camp.[1] There are no records of other prisoner transports.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked in a paint and varnish factory run by the firm Drube. However, it is more likely that the prisoners had to do the same type of forced labor as the inmates of the camps at Trautenstein, Quedlinburg, and Wickerode, which also were camps that used IMI labor exclusively. There the prisoners had to construct electricity and gas lines that provided the energy supplies to the Mittelbau armaments complex.

SOURCES The reference to the Drube firm as the work location originates from a Lagerverzeichnis held by ITS; see *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), which in turn is probably based on information in the original documents held in ITS (but only recently opened to historians).

Except for an entry in the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395), there is no known document that refers to the Ilsenburg camp.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

KELBRA

The Kelbra camp was one of a number of smaller Mittelbau camps whose inmates were forced to work in branch factories of the Mittelwerk GmbH. From the autumn of 1944, Mittlewerk stored parts for the construction of the A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket, including fuel tanks, in the expansive cellars of the former Kelbra brewery. As in all other Mittelwerk branch factories, concentration camp prisoners were used here.

According to witnesses, a prisoner detachment was dispatched at first daily from the Rottleberode camp to work in Kelbra. On November 2, 1944, the SS established its own subcamp in the city. Eventually, around 60 mostly Soviet and Polish inmates from the Mittelbau main camp and Rossla subcamp would be transferred to Kelbra.[1] Finally, it should be mentioned that the Rossla camp was administratively responsible to the newly established Kelbra camp.

The prisoners were accommodated in the so-called *Sängerhalle*, a hotel with an assembly hall and dance room, about a kilometer (0.6 miles) from the brewery's cellars, where the prisoners worked. The dayrooms and the sleeping rooms for the prisoners were on the ground floor of the building. The hastily erected washing facilities and toilets were located in the fenced-in rear courtyard. The windows were covered with barbed wire, and at both doors stood armed guards.

The guards were also accommodated in the Sängerhalle in a separate room. There were around 15 Wehrmacht and SS members under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Walter Christoph. They guarded the prisoners while they were in their quarters and on the way to work. At work, German technicians and civilian employees of the Mittelwerk GmbH trained while the Kapos supervised their work.

Food for the prisoners and the guards was delivered from the Mittelbau main camp and prepared by the cooks in the Sängerhalle. Because the food was for prisoners who had to work on the production line, it was not as bad as in other camps where the prisoners had to work on construction sites. The improvised sanitary conditions in the former hotel were also not as bad as those in other Mittelbau camps, and the prisoners' survival chances were higher. It is thought that one prisoner died of malnutrition during the four months of the camp's existence.

As with most of the other Mittelbau camps, the SS evacuated the Sängerhalle at the beginning of April 1945 when U.S. forces approached from the west. Shortly before the evacuation, on the night of April 4–5, 1945, four Soviet prisoners managed to escape from the camp. On the morning of April 5, 1945, the camp leader Christoph gave the order to evacuate the camp. The prisoners were driven by the guards in a daylong march across the Harz Mountains to Blankenburg and from there to Wittenberge an der Elbe. Exhausted prisoners were shot or beaten to death by the guards. After they crossed the Elbe River, Christoph directed the march in a northerly direction to avoid the approaching Soviet troops. The Kelbra death march ended in the middle of April 1945 in the Wöbbelin subcamp in Mecklenburg, where the survivors were liberated by U.S. troops on May 2.

Christoph had to answer for the murders committed on the death march before a West German court in Krefeld in 1976. He was acquitted due to a lack of evidence. There were no other trials connected with the Kelbra subcamp.

SOURCES There is no single work devoted to the Kelbra camp. The camp is referred to in a work by Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000); and in an older doctoral dissertation by Brigitte Müller, Eva-Maria Proske, and Günther Weick, a chapter in "Die Aussenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald im Bezirk Halle" (Ph. D. diss., University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1979), pp. 72–91: "Das ehemalige Aussenkommando des KZ Buchenwald in Kelbra." However, the value of the latter is limited due to numerous factual errors (beginning with the title because the Kelbra camp was never part of the Buchenwald concentration camp).

The Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395) allow the reconstruction of the prisoner transports to and from Kelbra. There are no known prisoner reports on Kelbra. The only known eyewitness report is that of a German who lived in the area from 1997, which is located in the AG-MD (Zeitzeugenbefragungsprojekt, Bericht 42: Bericht Fritz Rössler). The verdict in the proceedings against Walter Christoph is to be published in a new publication: (*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, ed. von C.F. Rüter: Verfahren Nr. 837.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

KLEINBODUNGEN ("EMMI") [AKA WERK III]

The production areas in the underground Mittelwerk factory at Kohnstein were inadequate by far. As a result, the Mittelwerk managers established a branch factory in June 1944 in an unused potash factory in Kleinbodungen, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) west of Nordhausen. Defective rockets were stored and repaired in Kleinbodungen. At the beginning of October 1944, the repair factory, known as "Werk III," commenced operations.[1] A little later the branch factory established its own branches in Bischofferode and Niedergebra, where individual parts of the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets were stored.

The SS and works' administration used concentration camp prisoners in expanding the repair works. Initially, a subcamp was not established. Instead, from June 1944 the SS transported to Kleinbodungen up to 140 prisoners daily by truck from the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp. It was only after the repair works began operations that the SS established on the factory grounds a Mittelbau subcamp, which had the code name "Emmi." It was not for the prisoners from Ellrich—they had to work on other construction sites—but for 510 inmates from the Mittelbau main camp, who arrived on October 3, 1944, in Kleinbodungen. Until their arrival at Kleinbodungen, they had been working at the Zeppelin factory in Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance, from where they were deported to the South Harz Mountains.[2]

The prisoners had worked on the assembly of rockets at the Zeppelin factory. As skilled workers who could not be

easily replaced, the SS and works' administration in Kleinbodungen took care to ensure that their strength was preserved as much as possible. The reports by former prisoners state that the work and living conditions in the camp were markedly better than in most of the other Mittelbau camps. That the racial hierarchy of prisoner groups and the economic aims of forced labor often went hand in hand is shown by the ethnic composition of the prisoners in Kleinbodungen: German prisoners constituted more than 21 percent of the camp inmates—this included political as well as "criminal" prisoners—a percentage that was much higher than in other Mittelbau camps. Even higher were the proportions of Polish and Soviet prisoners—they each constituted about a third of the inmates. The remaining prisoners came from France, Czechoslovakia, and other German-occupied countries. Most of the foreign prisoners wore the red triangle of political prisoners. Two Hungarian inmates were classified as Jews.[3]

The approximately 650 prisoners in the camp were accommodated in two three-story buildings in the former potash factory, which were surrounded with an electrified barbed-wire fence. On the ground floor of both buildings there were sanitary facilities and the dayrooms. The prisoners' sleeping dormitories were on the two upper floors. The rocket repair factory was located in one of the two buildings, which was connected to the German railway. The proximity of the accommodation to the work sites may be another ground for the comparatively bearable prison conditions in Kleinbodungen, as in other camps the prisoners usually had a long and exhausting march to work.

Around 50 SS members, including many so-called Volkdeutsche, guarded the camp. The camp leader was SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Stärfl, who was born in 1915. His deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Dörr (born 1921).

The SS evacuated the camp on April 4, 1945. Driven on by the guards, the camp's inmates marched via Herzberg, Seesen, and Salzgitter to the Bergen-Belsen barracks camp. They arrived there on April 11. Of the original 610 prisoners who started out on the march, there were only around 570 alive when they reached Bergen-Belsen at midday on April 11. A few days later, on April 15–16, the survivors were liberated by British soldiers.

The camp leader Stärfl and his deputy Dörr were soon taken into British custody. They were both sentenced to death during the British Bergen-Belsen Trial, which took place in the autumn of 1945, for the crimes they committed in Kleinbodungen and on the death march to Bergen-Belsen. On December 13, 1945, they were hanged in Hameln. A third person accused, a member of the Kleinbodungen guards, SS member George Kraft, was acquitted by the court. During the 1960s, the West German state prosecutors conducted a number of investigations into former members of the SS guards at the Kleinbodungen camp. Each investigation ceased without any further action. However, in the German Democratic Republic in 1962 the Gera District Court (Bezirksgericht) convicted the former camp elder, Max Lell, who had been a "criminal" prisoner in the concentration camp. He was sentenced to eight years in prison.

After the Americans occupied Kleinbodungen on April 10, 1945, they removed the rockets that had been left behind by the Germans. After their withdrawal, the Soviet Army in the summer of 1945 established a branch of the "Zentralwerk" on the site. German engineers under Soviet supervision rebuilt the V-2 rockets, whose blueprints had been taken by the Americans into the Western occupation zone or to the United States. In the autumn of 1946, the Soviet military relinquished the site and took its material and personnel to the Soviet Union.

SOURCES To date there is no single work devoted to the history of the Kleinbodungen subcamp. Frank Baranowski's *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000) contains a number of longer passages on the camp. Important details on the evacuation of the camp are contained in documents published by Raymond Philipps on the Bergen-Belsen Trial, *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others [The Belsen Trial]* (London: William Hodge & Co, 1949). Mathias Uhls' study on the transfer of German rocket technology to the Soviet Union contains important details on the use of the Kleinbodungen production facilities in 1945–1946, *Stalins V-2: Der Technologietransfer der deutschen Fernlenkwaffentechnik in die UdSSR und der Aufbau der sowjetischen Raketenindustrie 1945 bis 1959* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe, 2001). Joachim Bornschein's brochure *Raketenschmieden und KZ-Aussenkommandos im Eichsfeld und Südharz 1944–1945* (Weimar, 2003) is not recommended because it lacks academic rigor and contains numerous factual errors.

Prisoner lists of individual labor detachments and the total composition of the Kleinbodungen camp are held in the ITS (YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2 ([ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20]). References to prisoner transports to and from Kleinbodungen are contained in the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Statements by former prisoners and German civilian workers are held in the AG-MD and in the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 4, fr. 166, Statement Günther Haukohl, October 14, 1947); as well as in the collections of the ZdL (BA-L, 429 AR-Z 216/72, Bl. 196 ff., Aussage Emil B., June 13, 1973) and the PRO (WO 309/423, Statement Otto Tempelmann, April 28, 1945).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement by Günther Haukohl (former engineer in Peenemünde and Kleinbodungen), October 14, 1947, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 4, fr. 166.

2. Häftlingsliste Kdo. "Emmi," n.d. (probably October 21, 1944), YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2 (ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20).

3. Ibid.

KLEINBODUNGEN/BISCHOFFERODE-EICHSFELD

Established at the beginning of November 1944, the Bischofferode-Eichsfeld subcamp was about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of the Mittelbau main camp, on the Bischofferode manor near Woffleben. It should not be confused with the Woffleben subcamp. There were about 60 inmates who were probably held in a tent camp close to the Bischofferode railway station and worked in a Mittelwerk factory that used forced laborers. The factory stored defective A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets and repaired them ("Kommando 48a").

The branch factory in Bischofferode was part of the Mittelwerk "Werk III," which was based in Kleinbodungen about 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) away. Mirroring the company structure, the Bischofferode subcamp was a subcamp of the Kleinbodungen subcamp (also known as "Emmi"), which in turn was controlled by the Mittelbau main camp.

It is possible that the Bischofferode prisoners were forced to work not only in the above-mentioned Mittelwerk branch factory but also in a stores depot of the SS-Sonderinspektion II, which was established in the autumn of 1944 on the grounds of the nearby Wintershall AG potash factory. The Elektromechanische Werke Karlshagen, which specialized in the development of rockets, had been evacuated from Peenemünde at the beginning of March 1945. It had a weapons depot and assembly-line facilities in Bischofferode. It is possible that the prisoners from the local concentration camp worked there.

The few surviving sources provide no details on whether there were any deaths in Bischofferode. The Mittelbau concentration camp files refer to the camp for the last time on March 23, 1945. Its inmates were probably evacuated on April 4, 1945, with other prisoners from the Emmi camp in Kleinbodungen in the direction of Bergen-Belsen.

There were no postwar trials involving Bischofferode-Eichsfeld personnel.

SOURCES The history of the camp was considered for the first time in the 1980s by Paul Lauerwald in a short essay, "Das Arbeitskommando Bischofferode/Eichsfeld des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora," *EfHb* 25 (1985): 225–231.

The most important source for prisoner transports to and from the camp are the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The camp's prisoner lists are held in ITS (Mittelbau-Ordner 20); and as microfilm copies in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KLEINBODUNGEN/NIEDERGEBRA ("KOMMANDO 48A")

From the beginning of November 1944, around 40 Polish, Soviet, and Dutch concentration camp prisoners were held in a forced labor camp on the site of the Fiesel factory, which had been relocated to Kassel. The SS files name the camp as "Kommando 48a." It was administered by the Kleinbodungen camp, which repaired defective A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets.[1] It is therefore likely that the inmates were used to maintain and repair stored A4 rocket parts for the Mittelwerk GmbH. On the other hand, Frank Baranowski suspects that the prisoners were forced to work on the Fiesel factory's aircraft production line.

It is possible that the Niedergebra prisoners, together with the inmates of the Kleinbodungen camp, were sent on the evacuation march on April 5, 1945, in the direction of Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES The Niedergebra subcamp is scarcely mentioned in the literature. It is only Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000), p. 116, who devotes a few lines to the camp.

The Niedergebra subcamp is mentioned in lists of work detachments of the Kleinbodungen subcamp file (Kommando "Emmi"), which are held in ITS. Microfilmed copies of these documents are held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Unterlagen zum Kdo. Emmi (Kleinbodungen), ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20.

NORDHAUSEN (*BOELCKE-KASERNE*)

American soldiers made a gruesome discovery when they entered the Thüringen city of Nordhausen on April 11, 1945. In the ruins of the Luftwaffe barracks, destroyed during a British air raid, they found the corpses of more than 1,000 emaciated concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers. A few hundred lay dying among the corpses. For these people, help had come too late. In the following weeks and months the photographs and film that were taken in the courtyard of the barracks of the dead laid out in rows (they included many young children and babies) went around the world. In many places they became the defining image of National Socialist camp terror.

The barracks (*Kaserne*) in which the dead were found was named after a fighter pilot, Oswald Boelcke. The dead came from a number of forced labor camps and prison camps that had been established on the barracks grounds during the last year of the war. The Boelcke-Kaserne showed in microcosm the varied hierarchy of the National Socialist camp system: SS labor camps (*Arbeitslager*) directly adjoined Gestapo special camps (*Sonderlager*) and forced labor camps for local industry and relocated industries. Altogether, there were at the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 forced laborers and prisoners of various categories held on the expansive barrack grounds. The gruesome kernel of this National Socialist camp system was the Mittelbau subcamp, a death zone.



Post-liberation view of the Boelcke-Kaserne (Nordhausen) subcamp of Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, April 11–20, 1945.

USHMM WS #13384, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYZANOWSKI

The Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp was established on January 8, 1945 and lasted for only three months. It was originally planned as a collection camp (*Sammellager*) for prisoner detachments, which had to work on the B-11 construction site near Niedersachswerfen and in more that 20 Nordhausen factories. They had been previously held in the Mittelbau main camp.[1] From the end of January 1945, countless transports with exhausted, sick, and dead concentration camp prisoners arrived from the dissolved Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps in the South Harz Mountains. At the same time the number of sick in the Mittelbau camps dramatically increased. As a result, the SS administration changed the function of the camp to become the central Mittelbau camp for the sick and the dying. In the middle of February 1945, more than 3,500 totally exhausted and emaciated prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. With this arrival, increasingly large numbers of inmates could not be used for labor, even according to SS standards. In the end, the camp held thousands of dying prisoners who were provided no amenities. Dozens died daily, and toward the end, they died in the hundreds.

The "accommodation" in the Boelcke-Kaserne was, even according to concentration camp standards, completely inadequate. It consisted of two long two-story garages on the northern edge of the barracks area, which were bordered by an electrified fence. The first garage held Blocks 1 to 4 and the kitchen. The prisoners who could "work" were held here in comparatively bearable conditions, at least when compared to the conditions in the second garage. The second garage, isolated from the rest of the camp by a second barbed-wire fence, was the location for the infamous Blocks 6 and 7 on the ground floor. They held the ill and the dying. The first floor held the infirmary and Block 5, which from March 1945 became the central infirmary for those prisoners from the main camp and other Mittelbau subcamps who were suffering from tuberculosis. Death occurred by organized neglect. Those classified as incapable of working were regarded as useless and were allowed to die.

It is difficult to describe in words the conditions in this building. At times the SS forced more than 3,000 dying prisoners into Blocks 6 and 7, which together had an area of not even 1,800 square meters (2,153 square yards). There were no beds in these blocks. Instead, the prisoners were forced to lie one next to the other on the concrete floor on which there was a thin layer of sawdust. There was a toilet area, but it could not be used because there was no water. In any event, many of the weakened prisoners, because of their condition, would not have been able to get to the toilets. The dying lay on the concrete floor. Every now and then, they would be hosed down to clean them from the worst of the human excrement.

According to the SS files 1,662 prisoners died in this camp between January 8 and April 2, 1945.[2] An additional unknown number of deaths must be added to this official record as well as the 2,250 sick and dying prisoners who were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to the Boelcke-Kaserne around March 8, 1945.[3]

The Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp had the largest proportion of Jewish prisoners in the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp system. The reason for this was because a large number of exhausted Jewish prisoners arrived in Mittelbau in January 1945 from Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz. The exception to this was the Gross-Werther camp, which held only Jewish women. However, while there are no exact numbers, it can be assumed that the large majority of Polish prisoners, who from April 1, 1945, accounted for more than 40 percent of the total numbers in the camp, were Jews. There were also relatively large numbers of Russian and French prisoners as well as Hungarian Jews.[4]

As the camp only lasted for three months, the survivors were able to report little on the behavior of the SS camp administration. The camp leader was 50-year-old SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Josten, who had arrived in Nordhausen from Auschwitz. His deputy was SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Kestel, who had been the Rapportführer in the Dora main camp.[5] Both men do not figure in survivors' memoirs, which is hardly surprising, as the SS scarcely entered the camp. This also applied to SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Heinrich Schmidt, who was the camp doctor for a few weeks. His presence is most noted for his inactivity. The catastrophic conditions in the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp can largely be attributed to him. The SS installed mostly German prisoners as prisoner-functionaries in Boelcke-Kaserne. They wore the green triangle of the "criminals." Their appointment worsened the conditions in the camp.

There were around 5,700 inmates in the camp on April 1, 1945. The camp's dissolution began on April 2–3, 1945, when around 3,000 prisoners were transferred to the camps at Mittelbau and Ellrich-Juliushütte. British bomber squadrons attacked Nordhausen on the afternoon of April 3 and on the following day. The garages in Boelcke-Kaserne were heavily damaged. Although a prisoner infirmary, it had not been

marked with a Red Cross symbol. The garage that held Blocks 6 and 7 suffered heavy damage and was almost completely destroyed. The guards had sought refuge in the air-raid shelters, but the prisoners were left where they were to the mercy of the bombs. On April 3, there were 450 dead during the first attack in the afternoon in the block for those suffering from tuberculosis.[6]

The SS evacuated Nordhausen after the air raid, leaving the survivors behind, most of whom were more dead than alive. Hundreds lay dying in the rubble in the garages; no one cared for them. Some prisoners had managed to escape during the air raids, hiding in the rubble of Nordhausen and the nearby forests until they were liberated by the Americans on April 11, 1945.

The Americans immediately established a hospital after they entered Nordhausen. They brought in additional medical units, who treated the sick and injured in the barracks. For more than 1,300 prisoners, this help came too late. Many of those who survived the air raids died in the days that followed from starvation and exhaustion. On April 16, 1945, five days after liberation, the U.S. military administration had the Nordhausen local population bury the corpses from Boelcke-Kaserne, including women and children, in the city's main cemetery.

At the same time, the U.S. Army began investigations into those responsible for the crimes committed in the Mittelbau concentration camp. The former camp doctor, Dr. Schmidt, was tried in the 1947 Dachau Dora Trial, as was one other SS member from Boelcke-Kaserne. Schmidt was acquitted for lack of evidence. Likewise, he was acquitted for lack of evidence in the 1979 Majdanek Trial in Düsseldorf. There were no other trials regarding crimes committed in the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp.

SOURCES Jens-Christian Wagner has written two essays on the history of the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp: "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors: Die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen (1944/45)," *SOWI* 29 (2000): 152–158; and "Gesteuertes Sterben: Die Boelcke-Kaserne als zentrales Sterbelager des KZ Mittelbau," *DaHe* 20 (2004): 127–138. Brigitte d'Hainault and Christine Somerhausen refer to prisoner accounts of Boelcke-Kaserne in their complete history *Dora 1943–1945: 2500 prisonniers politiques belges fabriquent dans l'usine souterraine de la mort, annexe du camp de concentration de Buchenwald, les premiers missiles de l'histoire pour Hitler*, (Brussels, 1991); as does André Sellier in *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998). In Manfred Schröter's local study on the last months of the war in Nordhausen, there are a number of references to events in Boelcke-Kaserne: *Die Zerstörung Nordhausens und das Kriegsende im Kreis Grafschaft Hohenstein 1945* (Nordhausen, 1988).

The most important sources on the prisoner transports to Boelcke-Kaserne are the camp administration's Veränderungsmeldungen as well as individual Mittelbau Transportliste and Häftlingsaufstellungen. However, they are incomplete and held in various archives (including ITS: Mittelbau-Ordner und Sachdokumentenarchiv; THStA-W: Bestände "NS 4 Bu" und "KZ und Haftanstalten Buchenwald"; YVA: Microfilms BD3-Bu19–BD3-Bu44 and BD11-Do1–BD11-Do6). An important source is the files from the U.S. military trial against those responsible for the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp that took place in Dachau in 1947 (NARA: *United States of America vs. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels; originals in RG 238, NARA). Several survivors after the war wrote about their imprisonment in National Socialist concentration camps. The Boelcke-Kaserne is referred to in only a few passages in these accounts. See Léon-E. Halkin, *À l'ombre de la mort* (Brussels: Pauli, 1965), p. 168; Emile Samyn, *Mijn naam was een nummer* (Izegem: Uitgeverij Hochepied, 1995), pp. 95–109; and Jules Hofstein, "D'évacuation à évacuation," in *De l'Université aux Camps de Concentration. Témoignages Strasbourgeois* (Paris, 1947), pp. 511–518.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini



US troops view corpses at the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp of Mittelbau-Dora, April 11–15, 1945.
USHMM WS #04544, COURTESY OF DONALD S. ROBINSON

NOTES

1. Befehl SS-Hauptsturmführer Staupendahl (Führer des SS-Totenkopfsturmbanns Mittelbau), January 4, 1945, reproduced in Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn, 1994), p. 217.

2. NARA, M-1079, Roll 11, p. 627, Prosecution Exhibit P-81A.

3. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, March 8, 1945, and March 13, 1945, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

4. Übersicht über die Zusammensetzung der Lagerbelegschaften in den Lagern des KZ Mittelbau, April 1, 1945, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3 (files from ITS).

5. Josten was sentenced to death in 1947 in the Polish Auschwitz Trial in Kraków and executed on January 24, 1948—see Einstellungsverfügung Zentrale Stelle Köln, April 29, 1964, NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Gerichte Rep. 299/26, p. 6255. Kestel was tried in 1947 in the U.S. Buchenwald Trial in Dachau and executed on November 19, 1948, in Landsberg—see Harry Stein, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999), p. 308.

6. See the report by former prisoner doctor Jules Hofstein, "D'évacuation à evacuation," in *De l'Université aux Camps de Concentration. Témoignages Strasbourgeois* (Paris, 1947), pp. 511–518.

OSTERODE-FREIHEIT (*FIRMA CURT HEBER*)

The suburb of Freiheit in the Harz district city of Osterode was the site of a subcamp for the company Curt Heber. In retrospect, in many ways it represents a unique type of Mittelbau subcamp. It was, for a start, around 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from the Mittelbau main camp, outside the core area of the Mittelbau camps. On the other hand, its inmates did not have to work on construction sites but in a working factory that had nothing to do with the production of rockets for the Mittelwerk. The most important products produced by the Heber company were bomb-release devices. A section of the company from 1944 was working on the development of a cannon for fighter aircraft, including the jet fighter Messerschmitt (Me) 262, whose engines were produced in Nordwerk, which was not far from the Mittelwerk. The development of this weapon and the fact that the head of the company, Curt Heber, had close connections to the Reich Air Ministry could have led to the establishment of a Mittelbau camp.

September 25, 1944, is regarded as the date the camp was established. On this day, 10 prisoners from Buchenwald were sent as an advance detachment to Osterode.[1] In October, another 300 prisoners from the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps arrived in Osterode.[2] In order to accommodate the prisoners, the company's management cleared four wooden barracks on the factory's grounds, which had been a forced labor camp, and fenced them in with barbed wire. A fifth barrack served as accommodation for the guards.[3]

Initially, the camp was administered from Buchenwald. At the end of October 1944, it was transferred to the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp. However, by all accounts, the transfer to Mittelbau was purely of a formal nature. The Osterode-Freiheit subcamp did not develop close connections with the Mittelbau main camp or the Mittelbau "Dachs IV" subcamp in Osterode-Petershütte, which was only a few kilometers away. In December 1944 and January 1945, members of the Heber company inspected concentration camp prisoners in Buchenwald who were to be sent directly to Osterode.[4] It was only at the end of February 1945 that the first prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp were transferred to Osterode.[5] As a result, the number of prisoners increased to more than 400, of whom more than half came from Poland.

The prisoners were production prisoners (*Produktionshäftlinge*). If they were unable to work, this would mean economic loss for the Heber company. As a result, the prisoners in the Osterode-Freiheit camp were exposed to less arduous working conditions than were to be found in the numerous Mittelbau-Dora construction camps. Work in a production detachment also offered a certain degree of protection from the terror and mistreatment. Nevertheless, an unknown number of prisoners died, especially in the last few months of the camp's existence. Most of the dead were cremated in the Mittelbau crematorium, but a few were buried in the Osterode cemetery.

At first the subcamp was commanded by a Wehrmacht noncommissioned officer who had been transferred to the SS. Survivors later stated that he treated the prisoners acceptably. In January 1945, he was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Petz (the correct spelling of the name is not certain), who treated the prisoners in an extraordinarily brutal way. The prisoners nicknamed the 25-year-old the "Tiger." He personally beat the prisoners and encouraged his subordinates and Kapos to do the same.[6]

The terror introduced to the camp by the new SS camp leader and the declining rations increased the rate of illness among the camp inmates from January 1945. In March 1945, more than 70 debilitated prisoners were sent to the main camp and the death camp in the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne. The dissolution of the Osterode-Freiheit camp followed on April 5, 1945, when the prisoners were driven by their guards along the western edge of the Harz in a northerly direction. After four days of marching, the survivors of the death march were separated into several groups in Gifhorn and were marched in a northerly and easterly direction. Most of the survivors were liberated by the Americans between April 9 and 13, in the area between Gifhorn and Salzwedel.

SOURCES A short sketch on the history of Firma Heber appeared in an essay by Hans-Heinrich Hillegeist, "Die Firmen OIGEE und HEMAF in Osterode/Harz," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit* (Mannheim: Verlag Peter Wagener, 1993), pp. 119–141. The essay also deals with the subcamp. The work and living conditions in the camp are dealt with in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). Joachim Neander has researched the evacuation of the camp in his work on the Mittelbau death marches in *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im "Dritten Reich" gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

Details on the prisoner transports to and from Osterode can be obtained from the almost complete Stärkemeldungen and Transportlisten, which are held in ITS (copies are held in the YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu20) and in the THStA-W (Bestand NS 4 Bu). The BA-L holds the files from the investigation conducted in 1972 by the ZdL into former guards from the Osterode-Freiheit camp (Bestand IV 429 AR-Z 241/72). Transport lists for this camp were published in *BADRDE* 6–7 (June–July 1946): 23.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 295 (YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu-43).

2. Ibid.; and Transportliste October 5, 1944, NARA, Microfilm Buchenwald 34, p. 31109; and Transportliste October 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-04.006M, Reel 18.

3. See the statements by the former prisoner Leopold B., December 17, 1969, and Zygmunt S., September 29, 1967, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, pp. 72, 105.

4. THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/231: "Facharbeitermusterungen Firma C. Heber" im KZ Buchenwald, December 14, 1944, and January 1, 1945, as well as Transportlisten Buchenwald-Heber, December 19, 1944, and January 9, 1945. It was mostly mechanics and electricians and those from similar professions who were chosen.

5. KZ Mittelbau Transport Lists for February 26, 1945, and March 28, 1945, reproduced in *BADRDE* 6–7 (June–July 1946): 23.

6. Statements of the surviving prisoners Stefan T., July 20, 1967, Mieczislaw D., June 27, 1967, and Marian M., June 30, 1967, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, pp. 86, 95, 98.

OSTERODE-PETERSHÜTTE ("DACHS IV")

The subcamp "Dachs IV," which was established rather late, was in some ways different from the other camps and construction sites in the Mittelbau-Dora complex: it lay outside the core geographical area of the concentration camp complex (the camp was located around 50 kilometers [31 miles] to the northwest of the main camp). Its inmates did not have to excavate underground facilities for the Junkers company, as was mostly the case in other Mittelbau concentration camp construction projects. Instead, they were to excavate an underground oil refinery for the Hamburg oil company Rhenania-Ossag. It was for this reason that the construction project, unlike most of the other Mittelbau projects, was not controlled by SS members from the Kammler-Stab but by the Sonderstab (special staff) of the Armaments Ministry, which was under the control of Edmund Geilenberg. Geilenberg's special staff was to secure the production of petroleum in Germany. His staff appointed the Organisation Todt's (OT) Einsatzgruppe IV as construction project manager.

The Geilenberg staff initially planned to locate the underground refinery Dachs IV in the Heimkehle caves near Rottleberode. In March 1945, concentration camp prisoners from the Heinrich camp, which was under the control of the Kammler-Stab, had commenced converting the caves into a store depot for the Junkers branch factory Schönebeck. Following a dispute between both special staffs regarding responsibilities, the Geilenberg staff abandoned its plans and acquired the gypsum quarry owned by the Schimpf company at Osterode-Petershütte in September 1944. The underground oil refinery would be located there.

This was a relatively small project when compared to the other construction projects around Nordhausen. Construction began in October 1944. As with most other construction projects in the last year of the war, there were constant changes to the plans for Osterode. Even the use of different groups of workers showed all the hallmarks of improvisation. There were German civilian laborers on the construction site as well as several thousand foreign laborers and prisoners of war (POWs), a few hundred German and Czech "half Jews and those with Jewish blood" from the Gestapo camp located close to the construction site, and—from the end of November 1944—also concentration camp prisoners. From the winter of 1944–1945, there were around 3,000 laborers on the site. Despite this, the facility was not completed. It is true that the Rhenania-Ossag was able to locate part of its machinery to Osterode. However, the machines could not be installed into the first cavern that had been excavated.

The beginnings of the Dachs IV subcamp can be traced to November 20, 1944, when an advanced detachment of 100 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp was transferred close to the construction site in Osterode-Petershütte. A little later, the camp, which had been under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp, was transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp. At the beginning of February 1945, the numbers in the camp increased with the arrival of a transport of 412 prisoners, almost all of whom were Jews. They had been sent from Auschwitz via the Mittelbau main camp to Osterode. There were now more than 500 inmates in the camp. There were more transfers from the Mittelbau main camp (on February 21, more than 200 mostly Polish prisoners and, a few days later, another 100 prisoners from a number of different countries were transferred). By the beginning of March 1945, the number in Dachs IV had increased to around 800 inmates.[1]

The camp consisted of six makeshift barracks and was surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. It was severely overcrowded. Hunger and poor sanitary conditions accelerated the prisoners' loss of strength as they undertook forced labor in the caves. Emaciated prisoners and those no longer capable of working were regularly transferred to the main camp infirmary and later to the camp for the dying in the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne.

There was one thing above all that distinguished this camp from other Mittelbau camps: the SS did not evacuate the camp at the beginning of April 1945 but on March 21, when its inmates were transferred to the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne. The evacuated subcamp was then for a short time occupied by 1,000 Soviet POWs who continued the work on the subterranean Dachs IV project. Very few prisoners transferred to the Boelcke-Kaserne are likely to have survived.

SS-Oberscharführer Werner Wachholz (born 1898), who had been transferred from the Wehrmacht, was in command of the camp. The prisoners have described him as "correct" in his command. The camp regime, however, dramatically worsened when Wachholz was replaced in February 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Gerhard Herdel.[2] Wachholz remained in command of the 70-man-strong guards, who were also Wehrmacht members who had been transferred to the SS. The camp command was now under the control of the 34-year-old Herdel who had previously occupied the posts of deputy Arbeitseinsatzführer and Rapportführer in the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp and was apparently well adapted to his role. He was sentenced in 1953 to one year's

imprisonment by a jury court in Göttingen for crimes committed in Auschwitz and Osterode. He did not have to serve time, however.[3] It would seem there were no other criminal proceedings relating to criminal acts committed in the Dachs IV camp.

SOURCES Hans-Heinrich Hillegeist's essay on the Dachs IV armaments project, "Dachs IV—ein Projekt des Geilenberg-Programms in Osterode/Harz," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde e.V. (Mannheim: Verlag Peter Wagener, 1993), pp. 317–333, is a little old. In Jens-Christian Wagner's Mittelbau monograph, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001), the camp is mentioned in several places, and there are additional source references. Those who are interested in the technical details on the Dachs IV construction project should refer to Jürgen Müller's *Dachs IV—der Bau des unterirdischen Hydrierwerkes Dachs IV bei Osterode im Harz zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 2004).

Details on prisoner transports between the Dachs IV subcamp and the main camps at Buchenwald and Mittelbau are to be found in the transport lists compiled by the administration in the Buchenwald concentration camp (ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 165), as well as the Mittelbau Stärkemeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The ZdL (today BA-L) holds the investigation files into the Dachs IV subcamp from 1972 (IV 429 AR-Z 193/72). The 1953 files regarding the trial of former SS camp leader Herdel before the Landgericht Göttingen are held in the NHStA-H (Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41). The judgment on Herdel has been published in C.F. Rüter's collection of documents, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 10: 515–524. For details on the Dachs IV construction project, see the files in the AOCZ (Akte W 7705: Bauprojekt Dachs IV, 1944/45); as well as CIOS, *Report on Underground Factories in Central Germany, 1945*, Report No. XXXII-17.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Transportliste Dachs IV, November 20, 1944, ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 165 (YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu20), as well as Veränderungsmeldungen Mittelbau-Dora, 1944/45, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. Statement Hugo G. (former member of the OT-Bauleitung), August 24, 1950, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, Bl. 17 f.

3. Judgment against G. Herdel, March 4, 1953, in C.F. Rüter, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 10: 515–524; as well as statement Herdel, August 16, 1965, NHStA-H, Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41, p. 25.

QUEDLINBURG

One of five Mittelbau subcamps that held only Italian military internees (IMIs) was located in Quedlinburg. The district city in the northern Harz plain was well-known during the National Socialist regime for its Gothic cathedral, which Heinrich Himmler wished to convert into an SS cult site.

The Quedlinburg camp was about 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from the Mittelbau main camp and was the most distant of the subcamps. It was probably established on September 17, 1944, when 21 IMIs were transferred from the main camp. A second transport with 19 Italians followed on September 28.[1] There are no records of any other transfers. An undated camp list (it could have been created on November 1, 1944) lists the names of 58 prisoners.[2] The same number is also recorded on a list dated March 31, 1945.

Gregorio Pialli wrote the only known report by a survivor of the camp. He was transferred from the main camp to Quedlinburg in the late summer of 1944.[3] According to Pialli, the prisoners were at first shifted from one building to another in the city. Later, a camp was established in a dilapidated building on the edge of the city, which was fenced in with barbed wire.

The prisoners, as with the inmates of the Trautenstein subcamp, which also exclusively held IMIs, worked in Quedlinburg on the construction of the planned high-voltage power line at Frose-Bleicherode, which was to provide additional electricity to the Mittelwerk industrial complex near Niedersachswerfen in the northeast Harz region.

According to a set of directions from the Mittelbau main camp labor administration office, the IMIs were allowed to work without guards from the summer of 1944.[4] It is probably for this reason that the Quedlinburg and Trautenstein camps, whose prisoners worked solely on the construction of the high-voltage power line, were occupied by Italian military internees. In this way, the SS could spare the use of guards. There was no construction work done in January and February 1945 due to severe frost. During this period, the prisoners cleared away the snow.

Concerning deaths at Quedlinburg, what is known is that Giovanni Tomei probably died after being sent back to the main camp.

As with the other Mittelbau camps that held only IMIs, the Quedlinburg camp was not evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 when the Americans approached. Pialli stated that the prisoners were still cleaning up rubble in the streets of Quedlinburg following an air raid on April 11, 1945. The following night, the SS guards disappeared. Fearing attacks, he and his fellow prisoners approached the Americans only on April 14. With that, the Quedlinburg camp was closed.

SOURCES Joachim Neander contributed an essay on the Mittlebau/Quedlinburg subcamp located in the North Harz Mountains, "Die Aussenlager 'Turmalin' (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2002), pp. 1–11.

Except for the Mittelbau Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395), and a few prisoner lists (AG-MD, Microfilm B 1), there are no written records that have survived on the Quedlinburg subcamp. Gregorio Pialli, a concentration camp survivor, has

published his memoirs on his concentration camp imprisonment in Quedlinburg, *Una voce da Buchenwald. Campo Dora Buchenwald* (Vicenza, 1973).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, September 17, 1944, and September 28, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. List Kommando Quedlinburg, n.d., AG-MD, Microfilm B 1.

3. Gregorio Pialli, *Una voce da Buchenwald. Campo Dora Buchenwald* (Vicenza, 1973).

4. See Schreiben Arbeitseinsatzbüro Mittelbau an Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald, June 30, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 53, p. 179.

ROSSLA

The Junkers company had been allocated the northern section of the Kohnstein underground production facility. As a result, the Mittelwerk facilities were insufficient for production and storage in Kohnstein, and the company established several branch factories in the summer of 1944 in the Nordhausen area, where the parts for the Aggregat 4 (A4) rockets were stored. One of these branch factories was established at the beginning of August 1944 in the factory buildings of a unused sugar factory in Rossla, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southeast of Nordhausen.

As with all Mittelwerk branch factories, concentration camp prisoners were initially deployed in Rossla. Initially, from August 1, 1944, around 100 prisoners were taken daily by rail from the Mittelbau camp to Rossla. Here they had to load and unload rail wagons that arrived from the main factory in Kohnstein. At the same time, the SS had the prisoners convert two barracks of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service) camp, which had been constructed in 1936, into accommodation for the concentration camp prisoners. One of the two barracks was fenced in with barbed wire and a security fence. On August 31, 1944, the new camp was opened when 82 prisoners from the Mittelbau camp moved in. The kitchen and infirmary were located in the second of the two barracks. There were around 20 SS guards accommodated in the barracks as well.

Scarcely any SS documents have survived that relate to the Rossla camp. The memoirs of Max Dutilleux, a French prisoner in Rossla, provide a striking report on the camp. Statements by the camp Kapo, Wilhelm Schmidt, have also survived. The statements were made to American officers a few days after the camp was liberated in April 1945. Finally, around the year 2000, a former Ukrainian prisoner reported on his time in the Rossla camp. According to the survivors' reports, the prisoners were held in the fenced-in accommodation barracks. There were two sections in the barracks: the "Noble Quarter," as Dutilleux named his section, was where the prisoner-functionaries as well as Polish, Czech, French, and Belgian prisoners were held, while in the "Proletarian Quarter" very young Russian prisoners were squeezed together tightly. The morning and evening roll call took place on the 10-meter-square (33-feet-square) area between the two barracks.

There were on average between 110 and 120 prisoners in the camp, the overwhelming majority of whom came from the Soviet Union, France, and Poland. The prisoner-functionaries were Germans. There was also a German medical doctor who looked after the infirmaries. Officially the infirmary was under the control of a local doctor, who was contracted to the infirmary. The sparse SS files refer to one death. It concerned a prisoner who was shot between December 21, 1944, and January 20, 1945, while "trying to escape."[1] This prisoner could be German Communist Hans Merker, who is said to have been a member of a resistance group in the Mittelbau camp.

The prisoners who were transferred to Rossla did not find the living and working conditions too bad when compared to the exhausting cavern excavation work that they had to do in Kohnstein. Loading and unloading rocket parts was very difficult work, but not as murderous as in the subterranean construction sites of many of the other Mittelbau-Dora camps. In addition, the arbitrary mistreatment by the guards and Kapos was kept within limits.

The camp leader was initially an SS noncommissioned officer. He was replaced in February 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Welzel.

According to the former camp Kapo, on April 4, 1945, the day before the camp was evacuated, 30 prisoners who had been injured in an air raid on the Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen arrived in Rossla. On the next morning, April 5, the SS camp leader ordered the camp's evacuation. By foot in a column the prisoners marched via Rottleberode and Stolberg into the Harz. Between 8 and 10 prisoners each had to push 10 small flat trolleys that had been used in the camp to move rocket parts and that were now laden with supplies for the march and SS baggage. Marching via Halberstadt and Magdeburg, covering about 30 kilometers (19 miles) a day, they reached the Heinkel factory in Oranienburg. Prisoners who could not keep up or who tried to escape were shot by their guards, the first being shot on the first day of the march near Stolberg. The survivors arrived in Oranienburg on either April 17 or 18. They did not stay there for long, as the Oranienburg camp was evacuated on April 21. This time the prisoners from Rossla, who the SS maintained as a group, were forced to march in a northwesterly direction. After nine long and exhausting days, the guards disappeared just to the south of Schwerin—on May 1, 1945, the surviving Rossla prisoners were free.

The Rossla camp played no role in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947, and even later there were no investigations or criminal proceedings in connection with the Rossla camp. In the local cemetery, there is the grave of a Pole who died in Octo-

ber 1944 in Rossla. Most likely the deceased was not, despite public speculation, a concentration camp prisoner.

SOURCES The Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen produced by the SS administration refer to the transports to and from Rossla (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). A copy of an undated list of all of the camp's inmates, possibly created on November 1, 1944, is to be found in the AG-MD (Microfilm B 1). Details on the work and living conditions in the camp, such as the death march route from Rossla via Oranienburg to Schwerin, are to be found in survivors' memoirs (Report Viktor Tumizkij, 5.9.1996, AG-MD, EB/H Ukr 1; Statement Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, 20.4.1945, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 2, fr. 751). Max Dutilleux, a former prisoner, published his memoirs in France on his imprisonment in the concentration camps in Dora and Rossla: *Le camp des armes secrètes Dora-Mittelbau* (n.p., 1993).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Monatsbericht Häftlingskrankenbau Lager Rossla, December 21, 1944, to January 20, 1945, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 563.

ROTTLEBERODE ("HEINRICH")

As with many other Mittelbau camps, the camp "Heinrich" near Rottleberode was established as part of the plan to relocate part of German air armaments underground. In the spring of 1944, the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) authorized the Junkers aircraft factory at Schönebeck to convert the Heimkehle caves, close to the villages of Rottleberode and Uftrungen (present-day Sachsen-Anhalt), into an underground facility for the assembly of aircraft frames. SS-Führungsstabe A5 was in charge of the construction work. It was part of SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler's construction organization.

On March 13, 1944, 200 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp commenced excavation in the caves, which until then had been a favorite destination for day trips by tourists. In the following months, the number of men increased from 500 to 700 prisoners. To accommodate the prisoners, the SS established the Heinrich subcamp on the edge of Rottleberode. It was at first administered from Buchenwald, but from October 1944, it became part of the Mittelbau concentration camp.[1]

The Junkers company had leased a three-story building owned by the porcelain factory Max Schuck. The prisoners were held in this building, which was surrounded with an electrified fence and guard towers. A courtyard, about 50 meters (164 feet) long, between the building and the electrified fence served as the roll-call square. The ground floor of the building held the kitchen, washrooms, and storerooms. The prisoners' sleeping and day quarters were on the two upper floors. The prisoners had to march 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the Heimkehle caves, which was a relatively long way to the production site. It would seem that Junkers and the SS in this case preferred that the prisoners were held in a relatively large stone building rather than establish a barracks camp closer to the Heimkehle caves.

The A5 construction project, with an area of 7,400 square meters (8,850 square yards), was a relatively small construction project. The "Thyra Werk" (the name given to it for purposes of secrecy) could soon commence operations, as the underground facilities were essentially in place except for the ventilation and the entrances to the caverns. From the end of July 1944, the Junkers (Ju) concentration camp prisoners and civilian workers were producing springs and parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 188 aircraft.[2]

Preferred were prisoners who had already worked in the factory at Schönebeck before it was relocated. They were used to working with the machines that were moved to Rottleberode. Prisoners were also preferred whom Junkers had examined in Buchenwald or who were transferred from the Junkers branch factory in Mühlhausen to Rottleberode. The prisoners who had wasted away in constructing the production facilities for the Thyra factory in the Heimkehle were then used on Project B-4, another construction project in nearby Stempeda. In August 1944, work began here in caverns for another Junkers relocation project. Unlike the A5 facility, this project would not be completed by the end of the war.

The Thyra Werk's production prisoners (*Fertigungshäftlinge*), as they are called in the SS documents, and the Project B-4 construction prisoners (*Bauhäftlinge*) were at first accommodated together in the Heinrich camp in Rottleberorde. The prisoners' poor working conditions in the Project B-4 caverns and the resultant poor health in turn affected the camp conditions in Rottleberode: the infirmary was filled with exhausted prisoners from the detachment B4, and the camp was threatened with an outbreak of epidemics. Junkers then pressed for the separation of the Project B-4 Bauhäftlinge from the Thyra Werk Fertigungshäftlinge, because if they could not work, there would be economic consequences: there was not an unlimited supply of qualified and physically fit prisoners in the concentration camp to replace those prisoners who could not work.

At first, Junkers tried to get the SS to separate the Bauhäftlinge from the Fertigungshäftlinge in the porcelain factory. At the beginning of 1945, the SS finally established a separate camp in Stempeda for the construction project. From February 1945, an increasing number of Bauhäftlinge were permanently accommodated here.

However, the number of prisoners held in Rottleberode remained fairly constant. After production commenced in the Thyra Werk, 800 additional prisoners were sent by October 1944 to Rottleberode from Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, and Buchenwald. During this period, the SS moved around 230 Bauhäftlinge as forced laborers to the underground Project B-3, the Mittelbau main camp, and other subcamps. However, by the autumn of 1944, there were around 1,000 prisoners in the Heinrich camp. Additional transfers from

Schönebeck increased this number by the beginning of January 1945 by another 100 prisoners.

A decisive point in the history of the Heinrich camp occurred at the end of January 1945 when around 450 Jewish prisoners, whom the SS had evacuated in the face of the advancing Red Army from Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) via Buchenwald and the Dora camp, arrived at Rottleberode. Until this time, the camp prisoners were mostly non-Jewish Poles (in November 1944, they comprised around 45 percent of the camp inmates), Russians, French, Czechs, and Germans. Until January 1945, there were no Jewish prisoners in the camp. Most of the new Jewish prisoners were sent as forced labor to the caverns at the B-4 construction project near Stempeda. Here they were the victims of brutal mistreatment by SS, Kapos, and German civilian workers. Many Jews drowned in a pool at the entrance to the cavern.[3]

Until the end of 1944, the Heinrich camp was regarded by the concentration camp prisoners as relatively bearable, as a large number did not have to work on the debilitating construction work but were used in production at the Thyra factory. There are no deaths recorded in the camp up to the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945. However, this changed with the murder of the Jewish camp inmates: alone in February and March 1945, the SS files record 50 deaths.

The dramatic worsening in conditions was also a result of a change in the camp leadership's personnel. At first the camp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Heinz Grabowski. There are no known negative reports on him. His removal in the autumn of 1944 probably had to do with a change of direction in his life and internal SS disputes.

The 30-year-old SS-Hauptscharführer Erhard Brauny was Grabowski's replacement. He had previously been Rapportführer in the Dora camp. Brauny himself rarely appeared alone. The reports of surviving prisoners always refer to him in the company of his official deputy, the 40-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Lamp. In Heinrich, Brauny and Lamp established a reign of terror that was based on corrupt and brutal Kapos and prisoner-functionaries. The Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau especially suffered under both. Brauny and Lamp were often drunk and, according to former Kapo and camp recorder Walter Ulbricht,[4] shot at the prisoners every night. Other prisoners have accused Ulbricht himself of involvement in the mistreatment and murder of Jewish prisoners.[5] Brauny and Lamp not only covered up the antisemitic outrages of their Kapo Ulbricht but were themselves particularly brutal toward the Jewish prisoners. As camp leader in the Stempa camp, Lamp was also responsible for the terror and murder in that camp.

Conditions worsened even more in the camp when Fritz de la Cour arrived. He had been sent to a concentration camp because he was a homosexual. He replaced the camp elder, Robert Hagen, who wore the green triangle of the criminals, on March 22, 1945. Hagen is said to have treated his fellow prisoners properly. De la Cour had been a feared Kapo in the Mittelbau-Dora camp before he was transferred to Heinrich. It is possible that he was transferred as a result of the approaching front to take over security measures as a prisoner-functionary.

The Heinrich subcamp was evacuated on the night of April 4–5, 1945. The 1,500 inmates from the Heinrich and Stempeda camps were marched in two columns in the direction of Niedersachswerfen, which was not far from the Mittelbau main camp. Only the smaller column led by Brauny arrived. Lamp turned his group around following an air attack and commenced to march the next day across the Harz. Both groups were to meet dreadful fates: Lamp drove his 1,100 exhausted prisoners in daylong marches and by rail to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. A few days after their arrival, the survivors were driven on a new march, this time in a northwesterly direction. Only a few prisoners survived this death march.

Brauny's evacuation transport of around 400 prisoners ended at Gardelegen, where most of them died in the massacre at the Isenschnibber barn. Around 1,000 prisoners from different concentration camps, including many from the SS-Baubrigade III and the Heinrich camp, were driven on the evening of April 13 not far from the city into the barn by members of the SS, Wehrmacht, and Volkssturm. The murderers then set the barn on fire and shot anyone who tried to escape the burning building. Only 20 to 25 prisoners were able to escape, using the darkness as protection, and stay hidden until they were rescued on the evening of the following day by the Americans.

A few of the survivors of the massacre came from the Heinrich camp, including Jewish prisoner Romuald Bak, who would be an important witness in the 1947 Dachau Dora Trial. He would seriously incriminate camp leader Erhard Brauny. Brauny was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in prison in 1950 in Landsberg. The former camp recorder, Walter Ulbricht, was also tried in Dachau. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Brauny's deputy Lamp was never called to account before an Allied or German court. At the beginning of the 1980s, Hermann Ebender and a former Kapo were tried in the Rottleberode trial in Fulda: Lamp was a witness in the preliminary investigations. Ebender was acquitted.

SOURCES The Rottleberode Heinrich subcamp is not only well documented in the sources but in academic works. Worthy of mention are Mittelbau monographs by André Sellier, *A History of the Dora camp* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2003); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), which devote several passages to Rottleberode. Two publications deal with the death marches from Rottleberode to Gardelegen: Joachim Neander, *Gardelegen 1945: Das Ende der Häftlingstransporte aus dem Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau"* (Magdeburg, 1998); and Diana Gring, "'. . . immer zwischen zwei Feuern': Eine Annäherung an die Biographie des kommunistischen Funktionshäftlings Karl Semmler," *BGNSVND* 4 (1998): 97–105. Jens-Christian Wagner concentrates on the conditions of Jewish prisoners in Rottelberode in "Noch einmal: Arbeit und Vernichtung.

Häftlingseinsatz im KL Mittelbau-Dora 1943–1945," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung Öffentlichkeit. Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich: Saur, 2000), pp. 11–41.

There are numerous detailed witness statements from former prisoners and SS perpetrators in the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau in 1947 (*U.S.A. vs. Arthur Andrae et al.*, NARA, RG 549. Microfilm Copy M-1079, Rolls 1–16). Documents from the SS camp administration (Transportlisten, Belegschaftslisten des Lagers, Stärkemeldungen, Rechngen der SS an Firmen, die KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter einsetzten) are to be found in the THStA-W (NS 4 Bu/136, Überstellungsmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, 1943–1945; KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, October 1, 1943–March 27, 1945). The surviving Junkers documents relating to Schönebeck and that contain references to the number of concentration camp prisoners used as forced labor are in the LASA-DO (Bestand Junkers-Werke). Finally, there are the judicial files: proceedings against Hermann Ebender are well documented in the files held by the BA-L (429 AR-Z 192/72). In his autobiography, Willy Mirbach, a former Luftwaffe soldier and concentration camp guard in Rottleberode, provides the perspective of a perpetrator, "*Damit Du es später einmal deinem Sohn erzählen kannst . . .": Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmanns (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern, 1997).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Aufstellung der Transporte in Aussenlager, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/136a u. NS 4 Bu/136b, as well as Arbeitseinsatzmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, March to July 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/230. For the integration into the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp, see "Bericht zur Übergabe der Dora Betriebe [*sic*] als selbständiges Konzentrationslager am 28.10.1944," Nuremberg Document NO-2317. Initially, only the Rottleberode prisoner detachments A5 and B-4 were subordinated to the Mittelbau concentration camp, that is, only the prisoners working on the Kammler staff construction sites, whereas those prisoners working for Junkers remained part of the Buchenwald concentration camp. On November 23, 1944, the prisoners from this detachment came under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp; see KZ Buchenwald, Stärkemeldungen der Aussenlager, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/210, Bl. 403 ff.

2. Verlagerungsübersicht Junkers Flugzeugwerke Schönebeck, March 15, 1945, LASO-DO, Junkers-Werke 1375, Bl. 10 u. 15.

3. Several survivors from the camp at Tschenstochau and Rottleberode later made statements in investigations into the Rottleberode camp, for example, statements by the former prisoners Hersch J., May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Abraham E., May 23, 1968, ibid., p. 86; and Romuald Bak, September 25, 1947, ibid., p. 103.

4. Statement Walter Ulbricht, May 13–15, 1947, NARA, Microcopy M-1079, Roll 11, fr. 518.

5. Statement Roman Drung, 1947, NARA, M-1079, Roll 6, fr. 570; and Romuald Bak, 1947, ibid., Roll 7, fr. 1408.

STEMPEDA ("KOMMANDO B-4")

The history of the Stempeda camp is closely connected with the nearby Heinrich camp in Rottleberode, whose inmates had to work in a Junkers subterranean aircraft factory, which had been relocated from Schönebeck an der Elbe in the South Harz Mountains. In the summer of 1944, the Junkers AG decided to relocate its branch at Schönebeck to Stempeda in the Harz, where three main shafts and seven cross-shafts with a total area of 12,000 to 14,000 square meters (14,352 to 16,744 square yards) in the Stolberg were to be excavated.[1] The construction work was undertaken by the SS-Führungsstab B-4 commanded by SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, whose Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) was responsible for so-called *Sonderbauvorhaben*, or special construction projects, including securing the relocation of production of fighter aircraft underground.

The construction of the Project B-4 (code name "Lava") began in August 1944. On August 25, the first 50 concentration camp prisoners from the Heinrich camp arrived at the construction site.[2] This number remained constant during the autumn of 1944. At the end of January 1945, the number increased to more than 700 with the arrival of around 450 Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau (Częstochowa).[3] As with most Jägerstab construction projects, the construction project B-4 was never completed, despite the ruthless exploitation of the prisoners. At the beginning of April 1945, the three caverns for vehicles had reached a length of between 150 and 200 meters (164 and 219 yards). Together with the completed cross-tunnels, there was a surface area of 3,700 square meters (4,425 square yards).[4]

The prisoners working on the construction site B-4 were at first accommodated in the Heinrich camp at Rottleberode. After repeated protests from the Junkers company, which operated Heinrich as a prisoner camp for its branch factory relocated from Schönebeck (the Thyra Werk) and not as accommodation for the construction prisoners (*Bauhäftlinge*) of the Arbeitskommando B-4, the SS decided to establish at the end of 1944 a barracks camp close to the construction site, which from January 1945 was gradually occupied by concentration camp inmates.

The prisoners feared the Arbeitskommando B-4 for its murderous work conditions in the caverns. The Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau, in particular, suffered from mistreatment by the guards, Kapos, and civilian foremen. Some of those working in the caverns were beaten and died from their injuries.[5] Surviving prisoners reported later that in the winter of 1944–1945 SS members repeatedly drove Jewish prisoners into the ice-cold water in a pool at the entrance to the caverns, killing them.[6] The SS described these murders of Jewish prisoners as "baptisms" (*Taufe*).[7] This was obviously an indication of violent antisemitism, instigated by SS-Untersturmführer

Hermann Lamp, who was in command of the work detachment from the autumn of 1944. From January 1945, he was also in command of Stempeda. Many of the Jewish prisoners died working in the caverns. Foremen and Kapos in the caverns beat them to death in the caverns or drove over them with heavily laden tip carts.[8] The SS-Bauleitung (Construction Management) and the building companies lost a large number of its workforce in this way but apparently did nothing to prevent these actions. It can be assumed that at least 50 prisoners did not survive working in the caverns B-4 and imprisonment in the Stempeda camp. It was possibly more.

Due to the debilitating work conditions, most of the prisoners from Stempeda were totally exhausted when the Americans approached the camp at the beginning of April 1945. In the night of April 4–5, two groups of prisoners were marched from Heinrich and Stempeda to the Niedersachswerfen railway station. However, only one of the groups arrived. The approximately 500 inmates of the Stempeda subcamp were in all probability part of the second group under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Lamp. Along the way, they were caught in an air raid and turned around. After spending the night near Rottleberode, the 1,000 prisoners on this death march were driven on April 5 by foot through Stolberg and Güntersberge through the Harz Mountains to Quedlinburg and from there across the Elbe to Genthin, where they arrived on April 12. The 800 survivors were loaded onto a train. Four days later, they arrived at the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Heinkelwerken in Oranienburg. From there the SS drove the few remaining prisoners still capable of walking on April 21 on a new death march—this time in a northwesterly direction. The last camp survivors from the Stempeda camp were liberated by the Red Army at the beginning of May 1945 near Schwerin.

Lamp, who led the death march until its arrival in Oranienburg and after the war lived near Lübeck, was never the subject of judicial proceedings. In 1984, former Kapo Ebender was tried before a Fulda court on the charge that he drowned Jewish prisoners from the work detachment B-4 in the Heinrich camp. He was acquitted for lack of evidence.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources on the history of the Stempeda subcamp. The Stempeda camp takes up a relatively large section of an essay by Jens-Christian Wagner, who compares the conditions of Jewish and French prisoners in Stempeda and Heinrich in "Noch einmal: Arbeit und Vernichtung. Häftlingseinsatz im KL Mittelbau-Dora 1943–1945," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 11–41. Joachim Neander has reconstructed the course of the death march after the camp's evacuation in *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der NS-Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

This essay is largely based on statements by surviving prisoners before the U.S. military court in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947. The files are in NARA (RG 549) and were published on microfilm in 1979 (Microfilm Publication M-1079, Rolls 1–16, Dora Trial at Dachau, 1947). Other statements by surviving prisoners are to be found in the files of the trial of the former prisoner-functionary Hermann Ebender (BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72). Remnants of the files of the SS administration in Stempeda and the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora concentration camps are held in the THStA-W (NS 4 Bu/136, Überstellungsmeldungen KZ Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, October 1, 1943–March 27, 1945). Finally there is the company file of the Junkers-Werke in Schönebeck, which is part of the Junkers collection in the LASA-DO. Passages on the prisoners' work and living conditions from the perspective of a guard are to be found in the autobiography of Luftwaffe soldier Willy Mirbach, *"Damit Du es später einmal deinem Sohn erzählen kannst . . .": Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmanns (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern, 1997).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Verlagerungsübersicht Junkers Flugzeugwerke Schönebeck, March 15, 1945, LASO-DO, Junkers-Werke 1375, Bl. 10 u. 15.

2. KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Abrechnung Kdo. B-4, August 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 53, S. 414.

3. Figures from the Buchenwald concentration camp administration exist for the period until the camp was transferred to the newly formed Mittelbau concentration camp on October 28, 1944 (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/221). At the end of January 1945, 400 Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp and the Dora camp to Stempeda. At this point, there were supposed to have been 200 to 300 prisoners. Therefore, the estimated number of up to 700 prisoners is probably realistic—see the statements by former prisoner Hersch J., May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Abraham E., May 23, 1968, ibid., p. 86; and Romuald Bak, September 25, 1947, ibid., p. 103.

4. Rat des Kreises Sangerhausen, Bericht über den Stollen Stempeda, n.d. [1947], LHSA-Ma, Rep. K 6 MW Nr. 5951, p. 51.

5. Statement by Boruch Seidel, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 6, fr. 489.

6. Surviving prisoners estimate the number of dead murdered in this way as up to 170—see statement by B. Seidel, 1947, ibid., fr. 483; Statement by J. Hersch, May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Statement by Romuald Bak, 1947, NARA, M-1079, Roll 7, p. 1406.

7. Statement by Josef S. (former Kapo in Rottleberode), June 25, 1947, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, Bl. 312.

8. Statement Max L., May 21, 1968, ibid., p. 39.

TETTENBORN

Little is known about the subcamp in the small village of Tettenborn, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of Nordhausen. There are only two sources that refer to the camp: the Mittelbau concentration camp variation report

(*Veränderungsmeldung*) of February 27, 1945, refers to the transfer of 2 prisoners from Tettenborn to the Mittelbau camp's infirmary;[1] and in the British Bergen-Belsen Trial of 1945, former Tettenborn camp elder Oskar Schmitz gave evidence. His statement provided nothing more than that the camp existed and that it had 28 inmates.[2]

According to the former camp elder, some of the prisoners loaded the Aggregat 4 (A4) rockets at the Tettenborn railway station. The others probably, like their fellow prisoners in the SS-Baubrigade III camps at Nüxei and Mackenrode, worked at the construction sites for the planned Helmetalbahn.

It is possible that there were two subcamps in Tettenborn. The two prisoners transferred on February 27, 1945, to the Mittelbau camp's infirmary came, according to the Veränderungsmeldungen, from different camps: a "Kdo. Tettenborn" of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp—this can only refer to a Sachsenhausen subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III, which came under the command of Sachsenhausen on January 15, 1945, and a "Kdo. Tettenborn" of the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp. This could only have been a small camp that had held Schmitz since March 1945.

The camp in which Schmitz was the camp elder was evacuated on the evening of April 5, 1945, when its inmates were loaded onto the wagon of a railway transport that had shortly before left the Mittelbau main camp and that, after wandering through the Lüneburge Heide, arrived on April 10, 1945, at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp's "barracks camp" (*Kasernenlager*).

Some years after the war's end, in April 1960, a mass grave with the human remains of 26 concentration camp prisoners was found close to the Tettenborn railway station. The death of these people had nothing to do with the subcamp in the village. They were prisoners who attempted to escape from an evacuation transport from the Mittelbau main camp on April 7–8, 1945, as it was standing at the Tettenborn railway station, two days after the evacuation of the Tettenborn camp. At least 26 prisoners were shot by the SS guards, and their bodies were hastily buried by a prisoner detachment close to the railway embankment. In 1961, the dead were reinterred at the cemetery of honor at Holzen near Holzminden.

SOURCES The Tettenborn camp is mentioned only in two sources—the Mittelbau concentration camp D Veränderungsmeldung of February 27, 1945 (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395); and in the witness statement by former camp elder Oskar Schmitz in the British Bergen-Belsen Trial in the autumn of 1945 and reprinted in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (the Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949), p. 286.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. Witness statement by Oskar Schmitz, October 19, 1945, in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (the Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949), p. 286.

TRAUTENSTEIN

Even before it became the independent Mittelbau concentration camp, the Dora camp had a number of subcamps that held only Italian military internees (IMIs). One of these camps was in Trautenstein, a small village in the Harz, about five kilometers (three miles) to the west of Hasselfelde.

The camp was established on either September 17 or 18, 1944, when 20 Italians were transferred from the Dora camp.[1] Among them was a soldier, Antonio Bortot, whose memoirs of the camp constitute the only known survivor's report.[2] According to Bortot, the camp inmates were accommodated in barracks in which there were two-tiered wooden bunk beds. The guard was the sole SS member, with the rank of SS-Scharführer, who, in comparison to others, treated the prisoners as human beings.

However, the working conditions were hard. Without sufficient winter clothing and feet covered only with wooden clogs, the prisoners spent the autumn of 1944 and the following snowy winter cutting a trail planned for a high-voltage electricity line through the forest. This section near Trautenstein was part of a line planned to extend from Frose to Bleicherode, but it was never completed. It was planned to supply energy to armaments factories around Mittelwerk near Niedersachswerfen. Formally, the clearing of the forest was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Hünefeld of the SS-Führungsstab B-13. The SS-Führungsstab B-13 had engaged local sawmiller Wenneis und Tippe to process the timber.

The camp lasted for seven months. During that time, the number of prisoners greatly fluctuated. On December 12, 8 IMIs were transferred from the Mittelbau camp.[3] With that, there were just 30 prisoners in the camp. Surviving records for the whole of the Mittelbau camps indicate that on April 2, 1945, there were only 11 prisoners in the Trautenstein camp.[4] The files do not reveal what happened to the other prisoners. There are no records of any deaths.

Unlike most of the other Mittelbau camps, the Trautenstein camp was not evacuated in April 1945. According to Bortot, the camp inmates were forced to march to a large city in the area (most likely Blankenburg or Wernigerode) but returned the same day with their guards to Trautenstein. The SS guards disappeared, and the prisoners were freed by the Americans on April 16 or 17. Trautenstein was the last Mittelbau camp to be liberated.

SOURCES The only secondary source on Trautenstein is an essay by Joachim Neander, "Die Aussenlager 'Turmalin' (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe*, *Chance*, *Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2000), pp. 1–11.

The sole surviving SS documents on the Trautenstein

subcamp are the Mittelbau-Dora Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). For details on the construction of the high-voltage power line from Frose to Bleicherode, see the files from the ASt-Blb. (Akte Fo II, Korrespondenz der Herzoglichen Forstverwaltung Blankenburg, 1943–45), the LASO-DO (Akte Kreisbehörden Blankenburg 6378, Bau der Starkstromleitung Frose-Niedersachswerfen, 1944/45), and the THStA-W (Akte Landesplanungsgemeinschaft Thüringen 261, Bau der Starkstromleitung Frose-Bleicherode, 1944/45). Prisoner Antonio Bortot published his memoirs as *Oltre il tunnel la sprenza: Raccolta da Luciano Tentonelle* (Silea Treviso, 1994).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau-Dora, September 18, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. Antonio Bortot, *Oltre il tunnel la sprenza: Raccolta da Luciano Tentonelle* (Silea Treviso, 1994).

3. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau-Dora, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

4. In his memoirs, Italian Antonio Muscaritolo also refers to 12 prisoners in Trautenstein. Muscaritolo escaped from the death march from the Dora camp across the Harz near Trautenstein. He was liberated with other Trautenstein inmates whose guards had already fled. See Bericht Antonio Muscaritolo, November 2003, AG-MD, P1, vol. 28.

WICKERODE

The Wickerode subcamp is one of a number of smaller Mittelbau subcamps that were solely occupied by Italian military internees (IMIs). The people of the small village, which had around 300 inhabitants and which was located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Nordhausen, could clearly distinguish the IMIs from other Mittelbau prisoners. They did not wear the usual blue-gray prisoners' uniform but olive drab military uniforms.

The Wickerode camp was established in the middle of January 1945 when 30 Italians were transferred from the main Mittelbau camp to improvised accommodations most likely in the Herbig Inn.[1] According to German eyewitnesses, the IMIs worked for the Dietrich company based in Calbe doing earthworks for the construction of an aboveground gas pipeline. This corresponds with a postwar statement by the Mittelbau "Arbeitseinsatzführers," according to which the Wickerode camp was part of the SS-Führungsstab B-18, in turn, part of the SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler construction organization.[2] The Bauvorhaben B-18 most likely functioned to improve the infrastructure in the Nordhausen armaments centers.

The daily Mittelbau change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) do not refer to any other prisoner transports to the Wickerode camp. It is therefore likely that the camp had no more than 30 inmates. There are no records of any deaths.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Hübner.[3] According to German eyewitnesses, the prisoners worked without guards, which, as reports from other Mittelbau camps show, was not unusual for IMIs. It is possible that in Wickerode there was in addition to SS-Unterscharführer Hübner another one or two SS members who were guards.

It still remains unclear whether the Wickerode subcamp was evacuated at the end of the war and the prisoners sent on a death march. Taking into account the small subcamps at Trautenstein and Quedlinburg, which also held internees and were not evacuated, it is likely that the prisoners were liberated by American troops while still in the camp. If this is so, the camp would have existed on the morning of April 12, 1945, when units of the U.S. Third Armored Division took the village.

SOURCES SS sources refer to the camp twice, once in an Überstellungsmeldung of 30 prisoners from January 16, 1945 (Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395); and the other in a note from February 20, 1945, which refers to the camp leader as an SS-Unterscharführer Hübner (NARA, M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 796). Finally, there is a list of the SS-Baustäbe and camps within the Mittelbau concentration camp area, prepared in 1947 by former Mittelbau concentration camp Arbeitseinsatzführer Wilhelm Simon for the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, fr. 251).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau, January 16, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395; as well as Thilo Ziegler, *Auf Spurensuche: Der Kreis Sangerhausen 1939–1945; Eine Dokumentation über die Ereignisse der Kriegszeit 1939–1945, die Rüstungsindustrie und den Einsatz von Arbeitskräften sowie das Ende des NS-Regimes* (Sangerhausen, 1999), p. 119.

2. See Zusammenstellung der Lager und SS-Baustäbe im Bereich des KZ Mittelbau-Dora, compiled in 1947 by former Mittelbau "Arbeitseinsatzführer" Wilhelm Simon, NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, fr. 251.

3. Vermerk "1. Lagerführer SS-Kommando Wickerode," February 20, 1945, NARA, M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 796.

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF



French resisters guard the entrance to the newly liberated Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, December 2, 1944.
USHMM WS #77581, COURTESY OF NARA

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF MAIN CAMP [AKA NATZWEILER, STRUTHOF]

The Natzweiler concentration camp (Le Struthof-Natzwiller) is the only one to have been built by the Nazis on French territory. It was set up in Alsace, whose two departments had been annexed to the Reich in July 1940. The occupiers considered Alsace and Moselle to be German lands destined for radical Germanization. Alsace was joined with the Nazi Party province (Gau) of Baden, whose Nazi Party provincial chief (Gauleiter) was Robert Wagner, and Moselle was joined with that of the Palatinate, under the leadership of Gauleiter Josef Bürckel. A civilian administration was installed in Strasbourg, and an internment camp was created as early as July 2, 1940, just two weeks after the entry of German troops into Strasbourg. Doctor Scheel, the first commandant of the SS and of the SD in Alsace, organized the construction of a small camp able to handle the internment of 150 people. The construction order gave a list of people to be held in the camp: (1) Germans who had fought in the international brigades; (2) Alsatian insubordinates; and (3) opponents of the German army.

The first camp was built next to a small town in the Vosges, Schirmeck, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) from Strasbourg, and received the name of Schirmeck-Vorbrück (French: Schirmeck-La Broque). Some 60 Alsatians who had led anti-German activities before the war or who had deserted the German army during World War I were immediately interned. The camp functioned throughout the entire war but never became a concentration camp. It was more of a local work camp, labeled education camp (*Erziehungslager*) or detention camp (*Sicherungslager*). During the entire annexation period, the Schirmeck camp was used for the internment of Alsatians who had attempted to cross the new border with France, Jehovah's Witnesses, those accused of black market activity, and family members of the opposition. The camp was guarded by Germans of the Order Police (Ordnungspolizei, Orpo). The SS tried to obtain control of the camp but never managed to do so. Some Schirmeck inmates were transferred to Natzweiler.

Some months after the creation of the Schirmeck camp, the SS created a second camp, not far from the first. The official date for the establishment of a second camp is May 1, 1941. The chosen site was Natzweiler, in the Bruche valley, because of the existence of a granite quarry there. The construction order for the camp came from Heinrich Himmler himself. The SS-Deutsche Erd und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt) enterprise expropriated the site and organized the exploitation of the quarry. They founded an office in Rothau, a village in the valley, where the train station nearest to the camp was located. The mayor of Schirmeck was SS-Standartenführer Blumberg. Before the war, Struthof was known throughout Alsace. A small ski and winter sports resort had been installed there (the site's altitude is 720 meters [2,362 feet]). There was a hotel where the SS guards stayed, as well as a farm. Work on the construction of the camp began in April 1941. Some prisoners from the Schirmeck camp were used to build the first barracks.

The first convoy of prisoners, around 150 men, arrived on May 21, 1941, at the Rothau station. They came from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were initially lodged in the farm's pigsty. The second convoy arrived three days later. On June 28, the first French prisoners arrived in the third convoy. These men worked to complete the construction of the camp. The first four buildings were not finished until November 1941. The inmates soon worked in the quarry as well. Until the spring of 1942, the Natzweiler concentration camp remained small, only amounting to around 200 prisoners. They built the structures for the administration of the camp. The number of inmates then increased rapidly and considerably. At the end of 1942, 2,000 inmates had already been registered. The construction of the camp was not completed until the beginning of 1943. There were 17 blocks within its confines and 12 other buildings outside it. On March 12, 1942, a large convoy of German Communists arrived in Rothau. On June 15, 1943, a convoy of 71 Norwegians arrived. They were resisters who had been imprisoned in the Grini camp or in the Akershus fortress. They had been sent by boat as far as Aarhus in Denmark and, from there, sent by train to Strasbourg, via Hamburg. Nine convoys of Norwegians, with a total of 504 men, arrived in Natzweiler, the last day in August 1944. All of these were classified under the prisoner category Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*).

In June 1943, a total of 4,430 prisoners had been registered at Natzweiler. In 1944, their numbers fluctuated between



A section of the Natzweiler concentration camp, December 2, 1944.
USHMM WS #10102, COURTESY OF NARA



A view of the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, November 30, 1944.
USHMM WS #77583, COURTESY OF NARA

6,000 and 7,000. In total, 52,000 prisoners were registered in the camp or in the exterior subcamps. The mortality rate at Natzweiler was quite high, and it is estimated that around 20,000 prisoners died there of exhaustion, hunger, illness, and maltreatment. The inmates came from many different countries. There were many Alsatians and Mosellans imprisoned for insubordinate conduct or acts of resistance. Others were Alsatians or Mosellans who had resisted forced enlistment in the German army (*Malgrénous*), starting in 1942. Also numerous were French, Dutch, Luxembourgers, Germans, and Eastern Europeans. There were Sinti and Roma (Gypsy) prisoners. Not one inmate was recorded as Jewish in the main camp; Jews who were sent to the Natzweiler complex went directly to the subcamps. There were no women prisoners in Natzweiler. In the interior of the camp itself, there was a Nacht-und-Nebel section, as well as a political branch of the Gestapo. The majority of inmates were political opponents or resisters.

The camp had several commandants. The first was Hans Hüttig, replaced first by Egon Zill, then by Heinrich Schwartz. Josef Kramer, an SS-Obersturmführer, stayed in the post for the longest time, from June 1942 to April 1944. He had previously been posted to Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, and Auschwitz. He had worked in the concentration camps since 1934. In April 1944, he was named commandant of the camp at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. It was under his command that Natzweiler became a large concentration camp. His replacement, Fritz Hartjenstein, had previously worked in Birkenau. The camp's surveillance was provided by 200 SS, of which 150 were wardens and 50 handled administrative tasks. The commandants lived in a requisitioned villa, which was located in the mountains above the camp.

The Natzweiler camp had at least 42 subcamps at any given moment (and up to 92 in total, according to some sources), located in Alsace, Moselle, and southwest Germany. Certain subcamps were not created until the autumn of 1944, in Germany, when the main camp had been evacuated. In Natzweiler, the majority of inmates worked in the quarry. They also built a road between Rothau and the camp. In the autumn of 1943, the quarry was enlarged toward the east, and a wide esplanade was cleared. It was on this plot that two buildings and 13 barracks were built to serve as workshops for the Junker airplane manufacturing firm of Dessau, which had previously taken over workshops in Alsace. In Natzweiler, inmates worked to strip down and repair airplane motors. There were also civilian employees in these workshops.

Inmates' corpses were burned first in a mobile crematorium, until a permanent structure was built outside the camp, in October 1943, next to the hotel. All of the deaths, except those of the Nacht-und-Nebel inmates, were recorded at the city hall of the village.

The inmates could only establish contact with the valley's residents with difficulty. During the marches to the work sites, some residents would try to give a little food to the inmates, sometimes by leaving it along the roadside. The Rothau station was also a place where fleeting contacts could be made. It appears that during the last period of the camp, in 1944, discipline was somewhat less severe, and contacts were easier. The large number of inmates also prevented the possibility of constant surveillance. The locals may have even bribed certain SS guards to be able to feed the inmates.

There were medical experiments performed at the Natzweiler camp, on the effects of mustard gas, typhus, and hereditary diseases. A gas chamber was built for this purpose, outside the camp, in an outbuilding of the hotel where the camp administration was based. It was used from the summer of 1943. The experiments took place at the research center of the University of Strasbourg (Versuchabteilung der Reichsuniversität Strassburg). The director of this center was August Hirt, professor of anatomy at the Reichsuniversität. Another scientist, Professor Eugen Hagen, head physician of the Luftwaffe and professor of hygiene at the University of Strasbourg, was responsible for research for a vaccine against typhus. Dr. Bickenback led studies on urotropine, used as an antidote for phosgene gas, and Dr. Eusele practiced vivisection. Gypsies



A snow detail at the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, 1944.
USHMM WS #13011, COURTESY OF ECPAD

were sent particularly from Auschwitz to Natzweiler to serve as guinea pigs in these experiments. However, the only murders in the gas chambers that can be regarded as certain are described in testimony at one of the trials of Nazi doctors at Nürnberg: 86 Jews, including 30 women, arrived from Auschwitz in August 1943; they were gassed on August 11, 13, 17, and 19, with potassium cyanide. It took them 30 to 60 seconds to die. Their bodies were sent to the anatomy institute at the Medical University of Strasbourg, where they were reduced to a skeletal state. At the liberation of Strasbourg, in November 1944, 17 bodies, 3 of which were women, were discovered. The dissection work had barely been started.

There were escapes from the camp, with the goal of reaching the border that separated Alsace from the rest of occupied France, which was not far away. In March 1942, some Czech and Polish inmates organized a resistance network, led by Communist leaders. They succeeded in establishing a liaison with Communist militants in the Bruche river valley. The three leaders of the group were Pole Joseph Cichusz, who had fought in the Spanish Civil War; German Edwald Motzkat, a Communist from Wiesbaden; and a Czech, Mautner. Only one escape succeeded, organized by Alsatian inmate Martin Wintenberg. He had arrived at Natzweiler on November 12, 1941, from the Schirmeck camp. He was put to work in the garage of the SS guards, then in a detention commando, and then in the SS laundry. With a German inmate, Alfons Christmann, he set about preparing his escape. He obtained the help of an inmate named Karl Haas, who worked in the SS garage and reserved some gasoline for an escape by car. Since they worked in the laundry, Wintenberg and Christmann got hold of two uniforms left to be washed. On July 4, 1942, they were both able to leave the camp, in a car, dressed in the uniforms. There were three other inmates hidden in the vehicle. The five men succeeded in reaching France, then the unoccupied zone. They left Christmann, quite weakened after his imprisonment in the camp, at the home of some of his family members who lived in the south of France. The Gestapo found him there in October, arrested him again, and sent him back to Natzweiler, where he was hanged in front of the other inmates. The four other escapees succeeded in reaching Spain.

Another resistance group, French Communists led by the FTP (Franc-Tireur Partisan), organized ties with the valley. A massive escape was planned, but the German guards found the plan in a satchel where one inmate had hidden it. The members of this network were executed. Some were hanged, others shot. A similar escape attempt by Russian prisoners was harshly suppressed in June 1943: 15 men were killed after a long public punishment.

The Natzweiler camp was evacuated on August 31, 1944, before the advance of the Allied armies. There were still 7,000 men at Natzweiler at that time. Some trucks took the weakest inmates to the Rothau train station, but the largest number made the journey on foot. At the station, freight trains took them into the interior of the Reich. The evacuation operation was completed on September 4. Only a few SS men remained at Natzweiler. Convoys of inmates from Natzweiler arrived at Dachau, where they were redistributed to different commandos in southwest Germany, either attached to Natzweiler or not. On September 7, the 1,127 patients from the infirmary (*Revier*) arrived there. The camp administration was reinstalled at Guttenbach, in Germany, on the Neckar.

The administration of Natzweiler continued its work of managing prisoners who were spread out in many subcamps, several of which had just been created, and it even continued to register new inmates. In April 1945, all the prisoners were transferred to the control of the administration of the Dachau concentration camp.

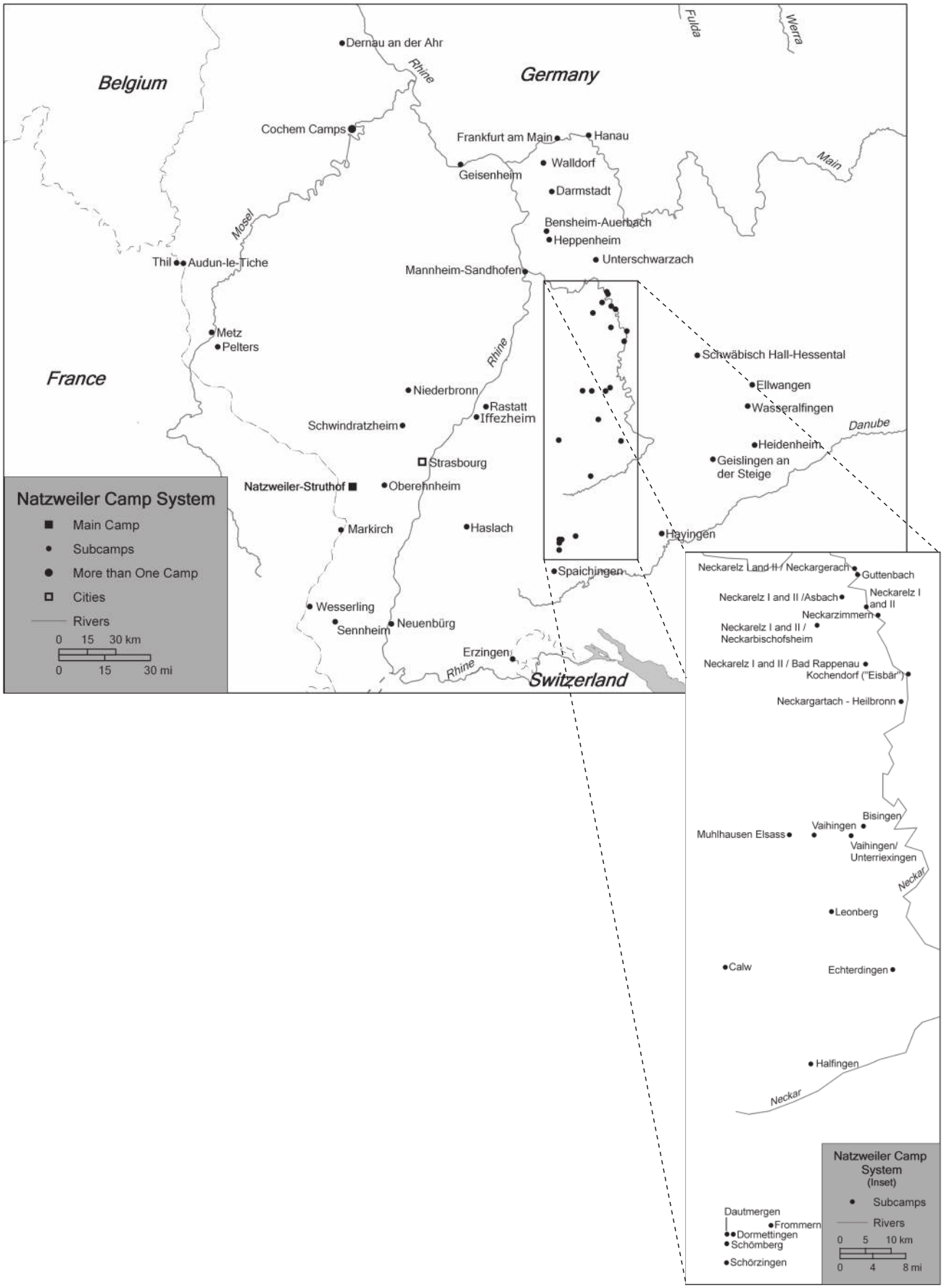
Those principally responsible for the Natzweiler camp were judged at Wuppertal by a British military tribunal, from May 29 to June 1, 1946. The main charge was only the execution of four women, three of whom were identified as members of the SOE (the British Special Operations Executive): Denise Borrell, who was French, Diana Rowden and Vera Leigh, and a fourth woman whose identity remained unknown. They were killed in the camp on July 6, 1944. Among the nine accused were Magnus Wochner, head of the Political Department (Politische Abteilung), and the head of the camp, Fritz Hartjenstein. The latter was sentenced to life in prison. Werner Rohde, the camp physician who administered at least one of the fatal injections, was sentenced to be hanged. SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Buttner, who directed the quarry commando, was sentenced to death by a French military tribunal and to forced labor for life by a Soviet tribunal. He was pardoned in 1956.

SOURCES Only two complete works on the history of the Natzweiler concentration camp have been published: Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005); and Kristian Ottosen, *Nuit et Brouillard. Histoire des prisonniers de Natzweiler-Struthof*, trans. from Norwegian by Elisabeth and Christine Eydoux (Brussels: Le Cri éditions, 1994); original Norwegian edition: *Natt og tâke. Historien om Natzweiler-fangene* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1989). The other existing literature about the camp, listed below, can be divided into two parts: memoirs of prisoners and the works of Alsatian historians about their region under the German occupation. A few articles deal specifically with medical experiments in the camp.

See: Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France: La vérité sur le seul camp d'extermination nazi en France, le Struthof* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1974); Floris B. Backels, *Nacht und Nebel: Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern*, trans. from Flemish (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1982), pp. 182–262; Charles Béné, *Du Struthof à la France libérée* (Raon-l'Etape: Fetzer, 1971); Béné, "Le camp de concentration du Struthof (Bas-Rhin) et l'activité de l'Institut d'anatomie de Strasbourg pendant l'occupation," *NÉd* 140 (1950); National Committee for the Erection and the Preservation of a Memorial of the Deportation to Struthof, with the collaboration of the Committee on the History of the Second World War, *Natzwiller-Struthof* (Paris: Imprimerie municipale, 1955); Udo Dietmar, *Häftling X in der Hölle*

auf Erden! (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1946); Emile Erhard, *Un lieu d'épouvante. Le Struthof tel que je l'ai vu* (Mulhouse: Imprimerie Union, 1945); Jacques Granier, *Schirmeck, histoire d'un camp de concentration* (Strasbourg: Editions des Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1970); Jean-Paul Haas, "A l'ombre d'un crématoire," *Sd'A* 127 (Spring 1995): 257–269; Jacques Héran, "Les sinistres expériences médicales du Struthof," *Sd'A* 121 (Fall 1993): 65–73; Albert Hornung, *Le Struthof, camp de la mort* (Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle revue critique, 1945); Frederik H. Kasten, "Unethical Nazi Medicine in Annexed Alsace-Lorraine: The Strange Case of Nazi Anatomist Professor Dr August Hirt," in *Historians and Archivists: Essays in Modern German History and Archival Policy*, ed. Georges O. Kent (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1991), pp. 170–208; Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Institution totalen Terrors: Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); François Kozlik, *Der Berg des Grauens. Streiflichter aus dem Lager Struthof* (Strasbourg: SEDAL, 1945); Joseph de La Martinière, *La procédure nuit et brouillard, tome III, 3ème liste alphabétique, Natzweiler, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, nomenclature des déportés NN: Matériaux pour l'histoire des prisons et des camps, des tribunaux* (Lignières-de-Touraine: J. de La Martinière, 1997); F. Marcoux, "Un aspect des crimes contre l'humanité. L'extermination nazie au Struthof," *Sd'A* (1977): 64–69; Jean-Claude Pressac, *The Struthof Album: Study of the Gassing at Natzweiler-Struthof of 86 Jews Whose Bodies Were to Constitute a Collection of Skeletons: A Photographic Document* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985); Jean-Claude Richez, "Struthof-Natzwiller," in *Encyclopédie d'Alsace*, pp. 7164–7165; Aimé Spitz, *Struthof, bagne nazi en Alsace, reportage, mémoires du déporté patriote n° 4596* (Sélestat: Imprimerie Alsatia, 1945); Anthony M. Webb, *Trial of Wolfgang Zeuss. The Natzweiler Trial* (London: Hodge, 1949); Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1978); Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns: Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA, 1986).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke


Belgium
Germany
France
Switzerland
Dernau an der Ahr
Rhine
Fulda
Werra
Cochem Camps
Frankfurt am Main
Hanau
Walldorf
Geisenheim
Darmstadt
Main
Mosel
Bensheim-Auerbach
Heppenheim
Thil
Audun-le-Tiche
Mannheim-Sandhofen
Unterschwarzach
Metz
Pelters
Rhine
Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental
Niederbronn
Ellwangen
Rastatt
Iffezheim
Wasseralfingen
Schwindratzheim
Danube
Heidenheim
Strasbourg
Geislingen an der Steige
Natzweiler-Struthof
Oberehnheim
Markirch
Haslach
Hayingen
Spaichingen
Wesserling
Sennheim
Neuenbürg
Erzingen
Rhine
Natzweiler Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 15 30 km
0 15 30 mi
Neckarelz I and II / Neckargerach
Guttenbach
Neckarelz I and II /Asbach
Neckarelz I and II
Neckarzimmern
Neckarelz I and II / Neckarbischofsheim
Neckarelz I and II / Bad Rappenau
Kochendorf ("Eisbär")
Neckargartach - Heilbronn
Bisingen
Muhlhausen Elsass
Vaihingen
Vaihingen/ Unterriexingen
Neckar
Leonberg
Calw
Echterdingen
Halfingen
Neckar
Natzweiler Camp System (Inset)
Subcamps
Rivers
0 5 10 km
0 4 8 mi
Dautmergen
Frommern
Dormettingen
Schömberg
Schörzingen

NATZWEILER SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Natzweiler concentration camp's subcamps stretched across all of southwestern Germany and occupied Alsace (France) but were primarily located in the areas of northern Baden and Württemberg. Several camps were located in the southern areas of Hessen.

The first Natzweiler subcamps were established at the beginning of 1942. The majority were to follow much later, mostly in 1944, with a few at the beginning of 1945 after the Natzweiler main camp had been abandoned in September 1944 due to the approaching front. The command was not dissolved after the camp was abandoned but relocated to Guttenbach in northern Baden. The subcamp administration was based here as well as the administration responsible for the labor demands of regional firms and the preparation of statistics, which served as the basis for the SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WHVA) accounting of labor use. The administration and storage offices of the former main camp were relocated to Schloss Binau, the vehicle pool and its maintenance to Neunkirchen, and the mail service to Rothau. The establishments in these locations should not be seen as actual subcamps but rather as installations where the leadership and administration of the Natzweiler main camp and its satellite system of subcamps were located.

The use of prisoners in the Natzweiler subcamp system was mostly for armaments purposes. There were two basic uses for prisoner labor: on the one hand, subcamps were attached to existing or newly established armaments firms; on the other hand, the prisoners were used to relocate production underground as a result of the increasing Allied bombing raids. The prisoners in the subcamps in the caverns, tunnels, and mines were often not used in armaments production per se but in the creation of the means necessary to commence production. Here they had, as a rule, the heaviest physical labor to perform under extreme conditions—for instance, by being detained for long periods underground in an atmosphere of high humidity and insufficient ventilation—which necessarily resulted in a high death rate.

Although the existing and newly created subcamps continued to be under the control of the Natzweiler camp administration after the main camp was dissolved, they were, because of their specific roles, often connected to the projects and their command structures, such as the Geilenberg Staff, the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab), and the Kammler Staff. For example, the Natzweiler subcamps of the Gruppe Wüste in present-day Zolleralb district were subordinated to the Geilenberg Staff, which drove forward the extremely important war project of excavating shale oil rock. The camps of Gruppe Wüste were infamous for the extreme work and living conditions that prevailed and the resultant mortality rates. (A more extensive discussion of the Gruppe Wüste camps follows separately.)

Many Natzweiler subcamps were subordinated to the Jägerstab, founded in March 1943, which with a rigorous exploitation of labor set the foundations for a manifold increase in the production of fighter aircraft. The Jägerstab worked closely with the Kammler Staff, which, under the command of Hans Kammler, chief of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) of the WVHA, was entrusted with the task of protecting armaments production from Allied bombardment and relocating the armaments firms underground. By January 1945, the Kammler Staff was using tens of thousands of prisoners in the most inhumane conditions, preparing around 425,000 square meters (508,296 square yards) of subterranean production areas.[1] Natzweiler subcamps were also integrated into the Kammler Staff. Within the Jägerstab, many enterprises, such as Daimler-Benz, Heinkel, Junkers, Messerschmitt, and Siemens-Schuckert, profited from the use of prisoner labor. The camps of the Jägerstab represented the largest camp complex within the system of Natzweiler subcamps. They included the "Unternehmen Goldfisch" camps (also called Neckarelz camps), the site of the underground relocation of armaments production to the gypsum mine "Friede" near Obrigheim. The Reich Aviation Ministry chose this pit with an area of about 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) to relocate the Presswerk Sindelfingen and the airplane motor production of the Daimler-Benz AG in Genshagen near Berlin in the spring of 1944. From March 1944 on, Natzweiler inmates worked on this project, code-named "A8" by the SS and "Goldfisch" by the Reich authorities. In June 1944, the Goldfisch camps around Neckarelz already held more than 2,500 inmates.

The subordination of subcamps to the various project commands has meant that the Natzweiler subcamp system is largely difficult to analyze and is inadequately researched due to the lack of source material. The later a subcamp was established—and this applies to the majority of the Natzweiler camps—the worse it is documented; many camps, such as Thionville, for example, appear never to have left the planning stage due to the rapidly advancing front.

The prisoners in the subcamps also worked in constructing roads and airfields; by the war's end, the prisoners were often involved in removing rubble or were lent to local manufacturers. Two Natzweiler subcamps, the death camp (*Sterbelager*) at Vaihingen and the auxiliary hospital (*Hilfskrankenhaus*) Unterschwarzach lacked any productive function. They were used solely, or at least most likely in the case of Unterschwarzach, to hold prisoners who were no longer capable of working.

The subcamps' leadership and guards were as a rule, even after the main camp was dissolved, selected from the pool of men at the main camp. As a result, the subcamps most often did not have their own command offices, which due to the reduction in personnel costs led to an increase of profit from

the use of prisoner labor. The subcamps were commanded by camp leaders (Lagerführern) and work detachments (Arbeitskommandos) by detachment leaders (Kommandoführern). The guards were members of the SS, the Organisation Todt (OT), and the Wehrmacht or the Luftwaffe. Male guards secured the female camps, while the supervisory personnel within the camp and during working hours were often a company's female employees assigned to guard the prisoners. These women were usually trained as overseers in Ravensbrück before they took on their new roles.

The number of Natzweiler subcamps cannot be exactly stated. Some of the camps never went beyond the planning stage; the existence of others can only be surmised; and with others one cannot be certain that they formed part of the Natzweiler system. Altogether, Natzweiler, the smallest and most westerly of the German concentration camps, had around 50 subcamps. A few sources mention up to 80 subcamps, but this number is probably too high, even if one includes all the indirect connections of subcamps and all the work details, that is, work sites without accommodations for the prisoners. More than 40 of the Natzweiler subcamps held male inmates. There were no females in the Natzweiler main camp. However, there were a few subcamps, including Calw, Geisenheim, Geislingen an der Steige, Hayingen, and Walldorf, that did hold women. There are a few camps where the sex of the occupants is either unknown or uncertain. In a few other camps, for example, the Hilfskrankenhaus Unterschwarzach and the Sterbelager Vaihingen, prisoners of both genders may have been held.

On average, there were in the subcamps around 20,000 prisoners, including 1,000 to 2,000 women. By the end of 1944, the prisoner numbers reached their high point of 22,587. Thereafter, the numbers declined despite new admissions. Documented numbers for January 15, 1945, for the Natzweiler subcamps are 20,961 male and 1,209 female prisoners.[2]

West European Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) prisoners, who represented a dominant category of prisoners within the main camp, due to security reasons were hardly represented in the subcamps. Around 70 percent of the prisoners in the Natzweiler subcamps were from Eastern Europe: they were forcibly evacuated Soviet civilian workers, deported Poles who had been arrested after the extensive roundups in Poland, or Jewish prisoners from Eastern Europe, so-called Arbeitsjuden, who were mostly from the work camps at Radom and Płaszów, but some also came from Auschwitz. In addition, especially in the last phase of the war, there were contingents of prisoners from other concentration camps: the women were mostly transported from Ravensbrück and Auschwitz, the men from Dachau, Flossenbürg, Lublin, and other concentration camps. In addition, there was a constant exchange of prisoners between the Natzweiler subcamps caused by the need to evacuate the camps as the front approached but above all by the specific labor demands of individual subcamps, both quantitative and qualitative.

French prisoners, who constituted 10 percent of the prisoners, were the largest group of Western European prisoners. The Reich Germans (Reichsdeutsche) represented 5 percent of the prisoners. Many of the prisoners in the subcamps did not go through the main camp, which was dissolved in September 1944; when the prisoner numbers were handed out in the subcamp, however, the number system of the main camp continued to be used. As in the main camp, there was also in the subcamps a limited prisoner administration.

The dissolution of the Natzweiler subcamps took place in stages in the last two months of the war as a result of the front moving from east to west. Many of the prisoners were sent on death marches, whose destination, as a rule, was Dachau and its subcamps. The last of these evacuation marches took place at the end of April or beginning of May 1945. The concentration camp command relocated from Guttenbach via Stuttgart to Dürmendingen in Saulgau, where it dissolved itself. Members of the Natzweiler camp administration as well as the guards were tried toward the end of the 1940s in the Rastatt Trials.

SOURCES The history of the Natzweiler subcamp system remains largely unresearched. This is primarily because many files were destroyed when the camp was evacuated. A second difficulty is the dual nature of the languages of the sources: too few works have attempted to deal with both German and French sources so as to provide a comprehensive review of the Natzweiler camp complex including the subcamps. Above all, one must note Christine Glauning, Konrad Pflug, and Georg Fischer, *Arbeit und Vernichtung. Das Aussenlagersystem des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004). Important German works that investigate individual subcamps or subcamp complexes within regional and time-specific contexts are Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig, *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005); Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1978); Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns: Natzweiler-Struthof; Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986) (the camp in Neckartal); and Karl Giebeler and Christoph Schubert, eds., *KZ-Aussenlager der letzten Kriegsphase in Baden-Württemberg* (Bad Boll: Evang. Akademie Protokolldienst 22, 1997). In addition, there are a few German works that attempt to deal with the history of the Natzweiler concentration camp and all of its subcamps or at least parts of it. The most important works include Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Instrument totalen Terrors: Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); Bernhard Brunner, *Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler; Forschungsstand, Quellen, Methode* (Stuttgart, 2000), available at www.lpb.bwue.de/publikat/natzweiler/natzweiler.htm; and Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen-und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof*, ed. LPB-BW (Stuttgart, 2002). For further information, see also Michael Schmidt and Hellmuth Bauer, "'Wir waren ja niemand.' Ein ehemaliger Zwangsarbeiter berichtet über die Jahre 1942 bis 1945 in Genshagen-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Obrigheim," in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch. Ein Rüstungskonzern im Dritten Reich* (Nördlingen, 1987), pp. 471–481; Rainer Fröbe, "'Wie bei den alten Ägyptern.' Die Verlegung des Daimler-Benz-Flugzeugmotorenwerkes Genshagen nach Obrigheim am Neckar 1944/45" in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch*, pp. 392–470; Michael Schmid," Goldfisch. Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung. Eine Lokalhistorie zum Umgang mit Menschen," in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch*, pp. 482–513; Neil Gregor, *Stern und Hakenkreuz. Daimler-Benz im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1997); and Birgit Weitz, "Der Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen und jüdischen Zwangsarbeitern bei der Daimler-Benz AG (1941–1945). Ein Überblick," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996).

The first comprehensive French work on the Natzweiler concentration camp appeared in 1988, Arnod Kientzler, ed., *Le camp de concentration du Struthof. Konzentrationslager Natzweiler: Témoignages* (Collection Documents—Tome III) (Schirmeck, 1988). The most comprehensive monograph on the Natzweiler concentration camp system is Robert Steegmann, *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005). However, the subcamp system is not comprehensively dealt with in the book but is dealt with as part of the camp's history, with a focus on the formation of the camps in each relevant chapter. Steegmann lists the camps not under their German names at the time (the most relevant names for researchers) but under today's French names, which adds a layer of difficulty to the work. However, his monograph provides a good overview of the state of research on individual subcamps.

Archival sources on the Natzweiler subcamps are listed with the individual subcamps. For the Neckarelz (Goldfisch) camps, the Imperial War Museum London holds a collection of records at FD 2228/45. This includes Daimler-Benz correspondence regarding the relocation of production from Genshagen to Obrigheim. Also, BA-BL holds material on the Neckarelz camps under 419 AR-1831/67 Obrigheim.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), Teil 1: "Das Lagersystem," pp. 68–69.

2. BA, Sammlung Schumacher 1329.

GRUPPE "WÜSTE" COMPLEX

The code name "Wüste" was used for the extraction of oil from Württemberg shale oil, which was part of the Geilenberg project from July 1944 onward. However, the use of shale oil has a longer history. As part of the rearmament and autarky program from 1936 onward, engineer Freiherr Hans Joachim von Kruedener (employed by the Benzin-Benzol-Verband and Reichsstelle für Mineralöl Berlin) promoted the economic exploitation of shale oil. The "Amt für den Vierjahresplan" rejected this idea, as it thought that fuel production would be met by the construction of hydrogenation plants.

During the war, shale oil was the cause of many disputes between different agencies, initially between Carl Krauch (chairman of IG Farben, Generalbevollmächtigter für Chemie [GeBeChem], and head of the Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau), who was in charge of fuel production, and SS-Brigadeführer Walther Schieber (head of the Rüstungslieferungsamt in the Rüstungsministerium). Schieber, who was always getting involved in the affairs of GeBeChem, pushed Krauch in 1942 to use shale oil more intensively.[1] This resulted in the formation of the first of three shale oil companies in Württemberg, which experimented with different ways to extract shale oil and which conducted practical tests based on those experiments: the Lias-Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft Frommern in September 1942.[2]

At the beginning of 1943, Erhard Milch (Generalinspekteur der Luftwaffe) ordered the recall of engineer Kruedener to Berlin from the front and instructed him to continue working on the shale oil question and appointed him as the shale oil expert in the Reichsluftfahrtministerium. The reason for this decision was the inadequate supply of fuel, coupled with the almost hopeless order by Hermann Göring in January 1943 to supply by air the Sixth Army trapped in Stalingrad. The ambitious Kruedener, who in the meantime had become an SS-Führer in the SD-Hauptamt,[3] together with Schieber, whom he had appointed as his consultant on questions of oil extraction, drove the issue forward.[4] A second shale oil exploration company was established in July 1943: the Kohle-Öl-Union based in Berlin, which at the end of October 1943 began construction of a subterranean carbonization facility.[5] The most important company was the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (DÖLF) based in Schömberg, which was established on October 20, 1943: it was to scientifically research and test all issues regarding shale oil, and it developed the primitive "Meilerschwelverfahren," the process that later would be the technical foundation for the Wüste Project.[6] Kruedener, Schieber, and Krauch were among those who occupied key positions in the management and board of the company.[7]

In August 1943, Kruedener, at the request of Schieber, made contact with the Reichsführer-SS Himmler to bring the SS into the project. Up to this point of time, attempts by the SS to take control of armaments industries had failed due to resistance by Albert Speer and private industry. Driven by Himmler, who was still searching for suitable armaments projects for the SS, the south Württemberg shale oil project quickly developed into a prestigious SS project, but where profitability was not the key focus. Himmler, who had the absurd idea to secure "the oil supply for the Waffen SS and the Heimatarmee from shale oil," instructed the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Oswald Pohl at the end of October 1943 to secure shale oil for the SS.[8] Kruedener was to be the SS-WVHA's consultant on shale oil questions, and he was the only person who was able to strengthen his position within the chaos of competing interests.[9]

Pohl, who traveled several times to the Württemberg shale oil area, agreed to supply the shale oil companies with labor. This resulted in the establishment of three concentration camp subcamps: in Schömberg (October 1943), in Frommern (January 1944), and in Schörzingen (February 1944). There were several attempts by the SS to take over test factories that were in the course of being established. The SS then decided to establish its own shale oil plant near Erzingen.[10] Pohl, in order to more effectively represent the interests of the SS, established on May 2, 1944, the Deutsche Schieferöl (German Shale Oil) GmbH Erzingen—which was the only SS company established and operating in 1944 within the "Altreich."[11]

The economic aims of the SS had long collided with the goals of the Armaments Ministry (Rüstungsministerium). Rüstungsminister Speer really only began to take an interest in the production of shale oil for fuel after a dramatic reduction in fuel production following the Allied air raids on German hydrogenation plants in the spring of 1944. Speer conferred with Hitler on July 5, 1944, "to get a decision on questions regarding shale oil," as an unsettled Pohl noted on the same day.[12] A week later during a meeting in the Rüstungsministerium Planning Office (Planungsamt), it was decided that the Wüste Project would be part of the Geilenberg-Program. A new crisis office (Krisenstab), based on the Jägerstab, equipped with almost unlimited power, was to be established. It was to rebuild the damaged hydrogenation plants and to construct new fuel plants.[13]

Edmund Geilenberg, who was appointed at the end of May 1944 as Generalkommissar für Sofortmassnahmen, immediately ordered the construction of 10 plants to extract shale oil in Württemberg. Some 5,000 prisoners were to be used in the construction. He appointed the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG), a subsidiary of the Hermann-Göring conglomerate, as head contractor, which

with the assistance of the Organisation Todt (OT) and countless other firms would construct the factories.[14]

The Wüste Project was a special case because even though this armaments project was under the auspices of the Armaments Ministry, the SS had an option to take over the 10 shale oil plants once construction was complete. This did not come to fruition because of the eventual course of the war. The production of shale oil was doomed from the start because of the poor technology and the high death rate among the concentration camp prisoners. Only 4 of the 10 plants were ready by the end of the war. The Wüste-Werk 2 in Bisingen was the first shale oil plant to commence production on February 23, 1945—but only in a makeshift way.[15]

Despite doubts by some individuals that the plans could be realized, and despite the numerous difficulties (e.g., transport of machines and materials), those involved remained wedded to their decision until the end. Competing interests added to the chaos that reigned in the last stage of the war. Those involved followed their own interests: construction firms focused on securing machines, materials, and labor for the postwar period; technical personnel in the shale companies, chemists, and engineers attempted to promote and secure their future careers.

It was with this background that the employees in the many firms and research organizations closed their eyes to the public suffering of the prisoners and did nothing to change the situation in the camps, which from a production perspective should have been done. It is true that there are some reports, which were sent to Berlin and resulted in Pohl traveling to the shale oil area. However, in the end, all that happened in light of the disastrous physical conditions of the majority of the prisoners was that those who could no longer work were selected and sent to so-called camps for the dying (*Sterbelager*) such as Bergen-Belsen.

The number of prisoners in the existing four subcamps increased dramatically once Project Die Wüste began in the summer of 1944. The largest Wüste camps were established in August 1944 in Bisingen and Dautmergen, with the last camp being established in Dormettingen in 1945. Altogether, there were around 15,000 concentration camp prisoners involved in this armaments project with an unknown number of Italian and Russian prisoners of war (POWs) as well as civilian forced laborers.

SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss was in charge of the Wüste camps in the initial phase. He was executed in Landsberg after the end of the war. From the middle of October 1944, SS-Haupsturmführer Franz Hofmann was the overall camp commander and was responsible for the largest camps at Bisingen and Dautmergen. He was a long-serving member of the concentration camp elite. SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wurth took on this role for the other Wüste camps. After Hofmann was removed from his position in February 1945, Wurth, as the highest-ranking SS leader, was responsible for all the shale oil camps.

There are around 3,500 dead buried in the three concentration camp cemeteries at Bisingen (1,158), Schömberg (1,773), and Schörzingen (549). It must be assumed that the number of dead is significantly higher when one considers that initially the corpses of the victims were cremated in the crematoria in Reutlingen, Schwenningen, and Tuttlingen and that there were many transports of seriously ill prisoners to other camps. The death marches from the Wüste camps resulted in an unknown number of victims. Those prisoners who could not march were relocated to Dachau/München-Allach, and after the evacuation of that camp between April 16 and 18, 1945, the prisoners were moved in a southerly direction. The survivors were liberated in Oberschwaben, Bavaria, or in Austria. There are numerous graves of the victims of the death marches in Upper Swabian villages.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author's doctoral thesis on the "Wüste" Project and the Bisingen concentration camp, which was published by the Metropol-Verlag, Berlin, in the spring of 2006. The author also published a number of essays that deal with the use of shale oil during World War II in the context of the war economy, forced labor, and the concentration camp system: "Schieferöl und Zwangsarbeit. Das Unternehmen 'Wüste' und das Konzentrationslager in Bisingen," in *Konzentrationslager. Geschichte und Erinnerung. Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Haustein, Rolf Schmolling and Jörg Skriebeleit (Ulm: Klemm u. Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 153–164; "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste'—Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager in Baden, Württemberg und Hohenzollern 1943–1945" and "KZ Bisingen (Unternehmen 'Wüste')," both essays in *Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns. Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollernalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil* (Hechingen: Alte Synagoge Hechingen, 1997), pp. 43–59. A general overview of shale oil and SS interests is by Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1963). Immo Opfermann deals extensively with the shale oil project in "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste.' Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil," in *Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Selbstverlag, 1997). Michael Grandt brings together the current state of research in *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg, 2002). Other information on shale oil is in "Ölschiefer und Konzentrationslager. Das Unternehmen "Wüste," in Heinrich Haasis, *Der Zollernalbkreis* (Stuttgart und Aalen: Theiss, 1989), pp. 157–165; and Andreas Zekorn, "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste,'" in *Verblendung, Mord und Widerstand. Aspekte nationalsozialistischer Unrechtsherrschaft im Gebiet des heutigen Zollernalbkreises von 1933–1945* (Hechingen: Zollernalbkreis-Jugendring, 1995), pp. 55–70. Immo Opfermann provides further details on shale oil, including the postwar period, in his essay "Kriegsfolgen. Ölschieferabbau in Frommern 1943–1949," in *1200 Jahre Endingen*, *Frommern*, *Heselwangen*, *Weilstetten*, *Zillhausen* (Balingen: Stadtarchiv, 1993), pp. 422–431.

The BA-B holds extensive file collections on the topic of shale oil: the files of the SS-WVHA, the RFSS, the RWA, and the RMFRK. The BA-DH holds the files of the DBHG. The AKr-Bal holds an even larger collection regarding the

Wüste Project. The AOC also holds numerous documents on shale oil. The large collection of investigation and trial files in the StA-L also holds much information on the Wüste Project.

Christine Glauning
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 19/1386.

2. The planned experimental facility was financed by the RWA but for "formal reasons" was operated by Lias. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Kehrl, Oktober 1943.

3. BA-BL, Schreiben RFSS/Chef der SS-Personalkanzlei an das RuSHA, January 31, 1939, ehem, BDC, Personalakte Kruedener. Spätestens Ende August 1943 war Kruedener SS-Obersturmführer. Vgl. Vermerk über einen Besuch Kruedeners beim persönlichen Stab Himmlers, August 31, 1943, in BA-BL, NS 19/1386.

4. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Schieber an Himmler, September 16, 1943.

5. Charakterisierung der Kohle-Öl-Union, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AEF, c. 1855 d. 36 a.

6. BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Pohl an Grimm, May 26, 1944. Work by the DÖLF was financed by the RWA. For technical matters, the DÖLF was subordinate to the Planungsamt.

7. Organisation der DÖLF, June 8, 1944, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15 bis, d. 4, S. 51. Die "Wüste"-Ölschieferwerke in Württemberg, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15/4, S. 10.

8. BA-BL, NS 13/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Pohl, November 24, 1943.

9. BA-BL, NS 13/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Milch, ende November 1943.

10. The factory was to be constructed by DÖLF, operated by it, and then transferred to DESt. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, December 21, 1943. Die "Wüste"-Ölschieferwerke in Württemberg, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15/4, S. 16.

11. BA-BL, NS 3/823.

12. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Telegramm Pohl an Himmlers Referenten Brandt, 5.7.1944.

13. BA-BL, R 3/1635, Erlass Hitlers, May 30, 1944. Erläuterungen zum Organisationsplan des Geilenberg-Vorhabens "Wüste," 19.4.1946, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1252, Bl. 3155.

14. BA-BL, R 3/1907, Bericht Nr. 43—"Wüste" (Besprechung des Arbeitsstabes Geilenberg), July 28, 1944. Vgl. BA-BL, D-H, R 121 (zahlreiche Akten zur DBHG).

15. BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Jacobi an Pohl [vermutl. 20].3.1945. StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250: Bericht Dönitz über das Unternehmen "Wüste," Februar–März 1946. Vgl. auch BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, March 29, 1945.

AUDUN-LE-TICHE ("ROWA") [AKA DEUTSCH-OTH]

The Natzweiler subcamp at Audun-le-Tiche lay in the former Gau Westmark, the present-day district of Moselle, France. The camp's opening is dated as somewhere between August 24 and 30, 1944. There were a maximum of 100 male prisoners in the camp who worked for Minett GmbH and in abandoned ore mines near Longwy. Parts for the V-1, produced at the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg, were stored in the mine. Robert Steegmann states in *Struthof* that the Bosch facilities from Stuttgart were to be relocated in Audun-le-Tiche at an underground facility of 60,000 square meters (71,759 square yards). The plan was to have 1,300 laborers at work there.

Transfer records from the Audun-le-Tiche subcamp to other camps have survived; for example, there was a transfer of prisoners to the Kochendorf subcamp on January 9, 1944.

Audun-le-Tiche was probably closed in September 1944 as the front was getting ever closer. (Antoine Greffier offers a date of February 1945, but this is highly unlikely.)

SOURCES The camp is not mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979). A collection *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler*, compiled by Antoine Greffier and published in 2002 by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, refers to Audun-le-Tiche as a secured Natzweiler subcamp.

Robert Steegmann describes the camp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005), p. 279.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BENSHEIM-AUERBACH

The Natzweiler subcamp in the Hessian town of Bensheim-Auerbach is mentioned, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), for the first time on September 11–12, 1944. According to a witness report, the prisoners had been held in the Darmstadt subcamp and following the bombardment of that camp were brought to Bensheim-Auerbach. Horst Riegert, in his detailed report, states that the Bensheim-Auerbach camp is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler files on October 10, 1944.

There were 45 male prisoners in the camp—Germans, Czechs, and French. They worked in the underground factory of Dr.-Ing. Frank H. Heymann, Darmstadt, located in a former marble mine in Hochstätten, 125 Mühltal Strasse. The caverns in this mine were excavated and outfitted for armaments production. Stabilizers for the V-2 manufactured in Peenemünde were produced here. The prisoners worked mostly as technical draftsmen; 4 prisoners worked in Darmstadt.

The prisoners in the Bensheim-Auerbach subcamp were accommodated in wooden barracks near the mine. They worked each day of the week. In October 1944, there was an average of 25 prisoners attached to the subcamp. The Natzweiler camp office charged 6 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day for each prisoner, of which 0.80 RM was deducted as costs for rations. Prisoners who died were buried in the Bauerbach cemetery. Their number is not known.

According to a witness report, the camp was dissolved by the guards on March 25 and 26, and the prisoners were driven away from the camp in a southeasterly direction, reaching Dachau on April 3, 1945.

SOURCES The *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, published by the ITS (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), mentions the subcamp at Bensheim-Auerbach in vol. 1, p. 199.

Horst Riegert mentions the Bensheim-Auerbach subcamp in his article in Lothar Bembenek, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht. Verdrängt und vergessen. KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, but describes it as a work detachment.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

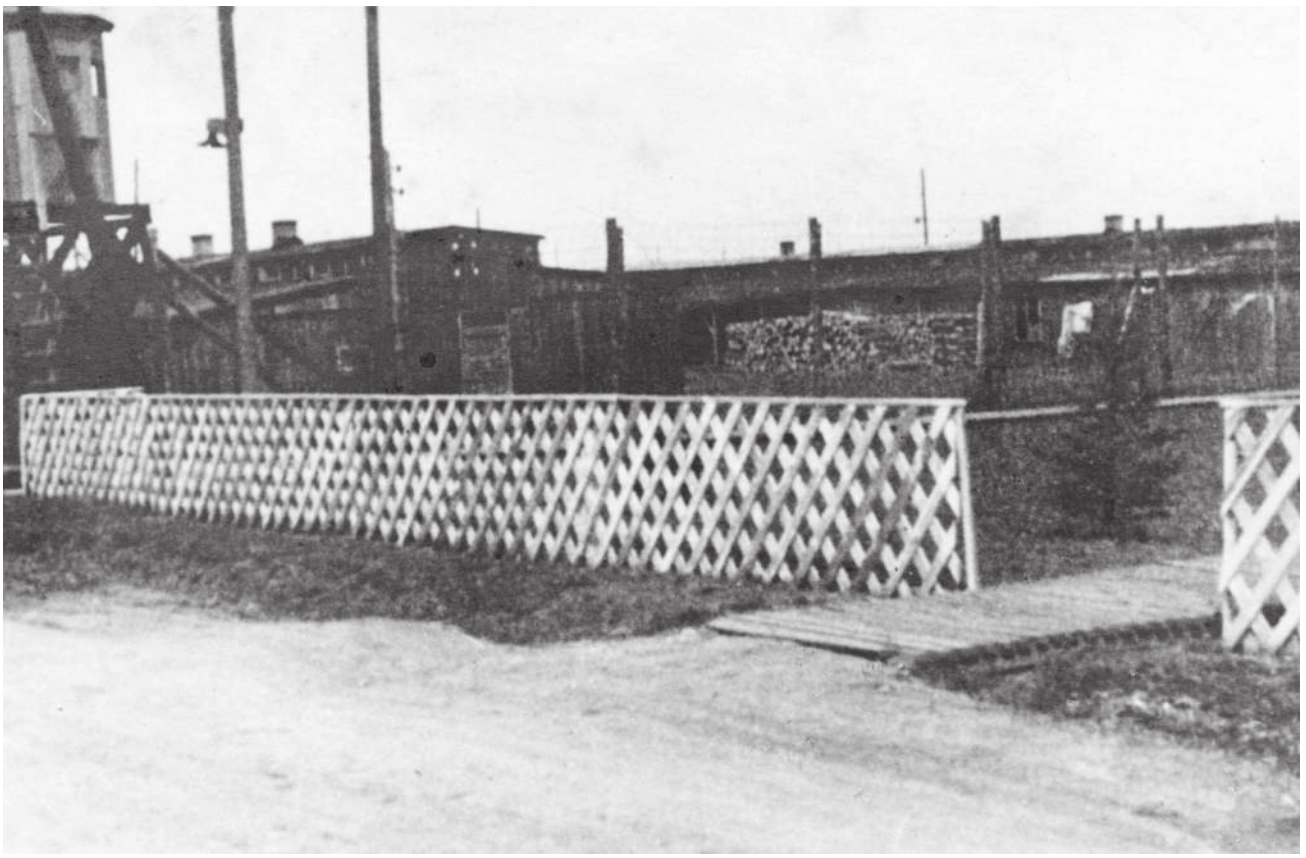
BISINGEN

Bisingen was the second largest of the "Wüste"-Lager. Between August 24, 1944, and March 1945, at least 4,163 prisoners, including no less than 1,250 Jews, were sent to the camp in five large transports and several individual transfers from other camps. There were approximately 1,000 Poles from Auschwitz; 1,500 East European prisoners from Stutthof; 250 Polish Jews from Vaihingen/Enz; 400 prisoners most probably from Dachau, including Sinti and Roma (Gypsies); and 1,000 Jews from Buchenwald.[1]

The camp was not ready when the first transport arrived. The prisoners were accommodated in tents that were later replaced by horse stables. Contrary to all SS security requirements, the camp site had neither guard towers nor barbed-wire fences. The prisoners' first work was to construct and secure the camp under the direction of the Organisation Todt (OT).[2]

The camp inmates worked primarily in the shale oil plant Wüste 2 in Bisingen but also in Wüste-Werk 3 in Engstlatt and Wüste-Werk 1 in Dusslingen/Nehren. These temporary production facilities also had to be constructed by the prisoners. Bisingen was a typical construction camp where the prisoners had to do physically exhausting work on construction sites and in quarries. The replaceable auxiliary labor had far worse survival chances than the generally better qualified skilled workers in the factory camps (*Fabriklagern*).

In Bisingen, around 1,200 prisoners (about 38 percent) died: 1,158 were hastily buried in a mass grave outside the town; 10 prisoners were cremated in the Reutlingen crematorium, and around 30 victims were buried on the



A view of the factory at the Bisingen subcamp of Natzweiler, 1944–1945.
USHMM WS #98829, COURTESY OF GFH

construction sites in Bisingen. The actual number is higher, as prisoners who were no longer capable of working were transported to the so-called camps for the dying (*Krankenlager*). At the insistence of companies using the labor and the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF), the SS, between the end of October 1944 and the beginning of April 1945, transferred several hundred seriously ill prisoners to the concentration camps at Vaihingen/Enz, Dachau/München-Allach, and Bergen-Belsen, where an unknown number of prisoners died.[3]

The head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, who pushed the SS to quickly establish shale oil plants, inspected the Bisingen concentration camp at the end of 1944 because of its high death rate. Pohl publicly and sharply criticized the senior camp commander Franz Johann Hofmann because of the catastrophic conditions in the camp and transferred him to the Natzweiler main camp. Pohl's appearance is interpreted as an act of "publicity." No one could imagine that he disapproved of the conditions in the subcamp "which he must have known from other areas."[4] The average death rate increased from December 1944, to the middle of April 1945, being almost double that of the preceding months.[5]

The high death rate had little to do with the chaotic conditions toward the end of the war. What was critical was the behavior of the SS camp command, which had little interest in the economic necessity of maintaining the prisoner labor. The SS camp command was more fixed on ideological matters. The senior camp commander of Bisingen and Dautmergen, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hofmann, was a long-serving SS man and, according to statements by his superior, a "fanatical National Socialist." His SS career had begun as early as 1933 in Dachau and had led him to the position of Schutzhaftlagerführer in the "Gypsy Camp" in Auschwitz II-Birkenau and finally to Schutzhaftlagerführer at the Auschwitz I main camp.[6] These experiences greatly influenced his brutal behavior in the Bisingen subcamp, behavior described by survivors and other witnesses.

One of the most decisive changes in the final phase of the concentration camp system was the mass transfer of Wehrmacht soldiers into the camps from the spring of 1944. Countless former Wehrmacht soldiers now served as camp personnel with long-serving SS men. The Wehrmacht soldiers were transferred either from the Luftwaffe or Landesschützenbataillons to the SS. This was not a temporary phenomenon but the result of a lack of personnel and was widespread in the many new concentration camps that were

established from the summer of 1944. The guards company in Bisingen, which escorted the prisoners to the shale oil plant and guarded them while they worked, consisted almost exclusively of members of the Wehrmacht.[7] These men did not play by any means a subordinate role in the concentration camp system but took over central positions in the camp administration as block leader (Blockführer), work detachment leader (Arbeitskommandoführer), or camp doctor (Lagerarzt).[8]

The camp commander and SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Pauli came from the Wehrmacht. This was not an isolated case. Pauli's behavior toward the prisoners was no different from that of the long-serving concentration camp functionary elite. His career shows that the use of violence in a society over a long period of time, together with a long period of portraying the same groups as enemies, determined his behavior. Serving at the front during World War I, Pauli was a member of a Freikorps whose fighting in the east was motivated by antisemitic and anti-Bolshevist motives. In 1941–1942, Pauli was a member of the Feldgedarmerie in Ukraine, taking part in the murder of the civilian population, murder disguised as "partisan warfare."[9] As Bisingen camp commander, he was not a follower but a driving force in the excess of violence. Pauli shot a prisoner who was accused of stealing food after an air raid and gave the order to kill two other prisoners.[10] He mistreated the camp inmates not only within the camp but also on the construction site.[11]

At least 10 prisoners managed to escape. A few were shot by the police not far from Hechingen. An accounts clerk, forester, and two policemen shot, on the orders of the Sigmaringen Police Commander, 4 prisoners in the area around Gammertingen/Neufra. Two of the perpetrators were later praised by the head of government in Sigmaringen.[12] Some of the dead prisoners were hastily buried in Neufra; others were brought back to the Bisingen concentration camp and left to lie at the camp entrance as a deterrent.[13] Several prisoners were hung on the roll-call square after their escape attempts failed.[14]

The concentration camp was located on the edge of the town and was not cut off from its surroundings; on the contrary, the civilian world was closely intertwined with the camp world. The daily presence of the prisoners meant that the camp's existence was not hidden from the local population. The prisoners marched daily through Bisingen to the nearby town of Engstlatt, laid water pipes through Steinhofen and Bisingen to the shale oil plant, and removed rubble after air raids, repaired the church roof, and were leased out as labor to local firms. The SS men were friendly with the local women and visited the local pubs; the deputy mayor played cards with the camp commander. The SS did not hide the terror and violence from the population and openly mistreated the prisoners on the public roads. The camp dead were recorded in the civilian death registers; owners of horse-drawn carts had to transport the corpses to a mass grave.[15] The borders between a concentration camp and its civilian surroundings were never so blurred and the local population was never so confronted with the concentration camp system as in the last phase of the war.

Behavior toward the camp ranged from indifference, individual acts of help, and profit making to participating in tracking down escaped prisoners. However, in the collective consciousness, acts of assistance stand out most.[16] The Bisingen myth arose as a result of an article that appeared in the French newspaper, *Le Figaro* in 1946. The author of the report stated that the Bisingen population had systematically supported the prisoners and protested against their treatment—"an undoubtedly unique act in Germany."[17] However, the acts were those of individuals motivated by humanitarian or religious grounds. There was no systematic support, and there is no evidence of a strong protest.

The evacuation of the Bisingen concentration camp occurred in the middle of April 1945. Prisoners who could not walk, the majority, were taken by rail to Dachau/München-Allach or by truck to the Natzweiler subcamp at Spaichingen. The remainder of the camp inmates marched to Schörzingen or Dautmergen, where they joined a death march to the south. A few prisoners were shot along the way; several mass shootings were planned, but none took place. The survivors were liberated in Oberschwaben, Oberbayern, or Austria.[18]

In 1947, a French military tribunal sentenced three SS men and an OT member to death; three were hung on August 26, 1947. The sentence of the fourth was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment. He was released in 1962. Another SS man was sentenced to life in prison, two to 20 years, one to 8 years, and one to 18 months. Another OT member was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.[19] Camp commander Pauli fled to Switzerland, where in a unique trial he was sentenced on February 11, 1953, by the Basel Criminal Court to 12 years' hard labor.[20] The Schwurgericht Hechingen acquitted Hofmann in 1966.[21] Many other investigations of SS men or the camp elders were stopped largely as a result of the passage of time. None of the perpetrators were found guilty by a German court.

The concentration camp cemetery was consecrated in 1947. A memorial with an exhibition and history recalls the Bisingen concentration camp.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author's doctoral dissertation on the "Wüste" Project and the Bisingen concentration camp, which was published in the spring of 2000 by Metropol-Verlag Berlin. The author has also written a few additional essays on the Bisingen concentration camp and the use of shale oil during World War II: "Schieferöl und Zwangsarbeit. Das Unternehmen 'Wüste' und das Konzentrationslager in Bisingen," in *Konzentrationslager. Geschichte und Erinnerung: Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Haustein, Rolf Schmolling, and Jörg Skriebeleit, (Ulm: Klemm u. Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 153–164; "'Schwierigkeiten des Erinnerns': Das Heimatmuseum Bisingen als KZ-Gedenkstätte," *GeRu* 92: 12 (1999): 3–12; "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste'—Ölschieferwerke" and "Konzentrationslager in Baden, Württemberg und Hohenzollern 1943–1945 sowie KZ Bisingen (Unternehmen 'Wüste')," both essays in

Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns. Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollernalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil (Hechingen: Alte Synagoge Hechingen, 1997), pp. 43–59. The earliest study on the Bisingen subcamp is by Wolfgang Sörös, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager und Kriegswirtschaft im regionalgeschichtlichen Unterricht, dargestellt am Beispiel des Konzentrationslagers Bisingen" (unpub., Ludwigsburg, 1977). The Juso-AG Bisingen published the first work on the camp that was taken seriously in Bisingen and that was the subject of discussion: *Das KZ Bisingen* (Bisingen: Selbstverlag, 1996).

There are several survivors' reports on the Bisingen camp including Otto Gunsberger, *Berufswahl: Botschaft eines Überlebenden an die nachfolgende Generation*, trans. Ines Mayer, Horst Prautzsch, and Ilona Schneider (Bisingen: Selbstverlag, 1998); Alfred Korn, "Ich glaube, die Hölle ist ein Paradies im Vergleich zu dem, was wir mitgemacht haben," in Bettina Wenke, *Interviews mit Überlebenden. Verfolgung und Widerstand in Südwestdeutschland* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1980), pp. 196–214; Stanislaw Sagan, *Food Carriers Out!* (Toronto: S.J. Sagan, 1982); and Isak Wasserstein, *Ich stand an der Rampe von Auschwitz* (Norderstedt: Horst Prautzsch, 2001).

There are numerous but scattered archival materials on the Bisingen concentration camp. The largest collection is the numerous investigation files and trial files in the StA-L. A few files relating to the preliminary investigations are held in the ZdL (Aubenstelle des Bundesarchivs), now at BA-L. Prisoner lists are held in the archives of the memorials Auschwitz and Danzig-Stutthof. The Natzweiler concentration camp Nummernbuch 6, which has the names of the prisoners in the transports including to Bisingen, lies in the AN in Paris. The BA-B holds SS files and Reich authority files with numerous details on the camp and the shale oil project, documents on the SS economic interests in armaments firms, and the particular role of Bisingen (Pohl's visit). In YVA, there are records of interviews and written statements by survivors. The same are also to be found in the archive of the Bisingen Concentration Camp Memorial. The AOC in Colmar has an extensive collection of files on the camp, mass grave, shale oil, the institutions involved, and the behavior of the civilian population (questionnaires after 1945). The files of the Kreisernährungsamt in the StA-S deal with the prisoners' food supplies and provide details on the troops in the camp. The investigation files as well as the trial files of the Bisingen camp commander are held in the BAR as well as the StA-KBS and can be easily accessed.

Christine Glauning
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Lagerstärke des KZ Bisingen, zusammengestellt nach Dokumenten der historischen Abteilung des Internationalen Suchdienstes in Arolsen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 379, Bl. 68.

2. Stanislaw Sagan, *Food Carriers Out!* (Toronto: S.J. Sagan, 1982), p. 41.

3. Liste der Opfer des KZ Vaihingen, in ASt-Va/E. Transportliste Bisingen-Allach, April 6, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 379, Bl. 148–151. Weitere Krankentransporte vgl. Aufstellung über das KZ Bisingen, [nach 1945], in AGe-Bi, Flattich 12309.

4. Vernehmung Haenlein (Betriebsführer DÖLF) vor dem Schwurgericht Hechingen, August 2, 1965, S. 8, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1328.

5. Schreiben Jacobi an SS-WVHA (Stab W) mit einem Schaubild über die Sterberate von Oktober bis Anfang Dezember 1944, December 4, 1944, in BA-BL, NS 3/823.

6. SSO Hofmann, in BA-BL, ehem. BDC.

7. Vernehmung Giese (Wachmann), November 30, 1953, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1362, Bl. 36f.

8. Mappe Mahlerwein, in StALB, EL 317 III Bü 347. Vernehmung Rühle, October 7, 1960, in ibid., Mappe Ehrmanntraut, Bl. 77–79. Vernehmung Bruder, August 2, 1956, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1238, Bl. 8f. Vernehmung Steinicke, July 15, 1959, durch die Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, in ibid., Bü 1240, Bl. 549–553.

9. Vernehmung Pauli vor dem Strafgericht Basel, February 9, 1953, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1262, Bl. 754.

10. Vernehmung Pauli in Basel, March 15, 1951, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1262, Bl. 741–747. Vernehmung Pauli in Basel, October 25, 1961, in ibid., Bl. 749–752.

11. Vernehmung Müller, July 30, 1956, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1238, Bl. 7.

12. Schreiben Staatskommissariat für die politische Säuberung Tübingen an Bürgermeister Bisingen, April 26, 1951, in AGe-Bi, Flattich 12404. Verfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, November 9, 1961, in ZdL (BA-L), 419 AR-Z 33/61 Bd. 3.

13. Vernehmung Ehrmanntraut in Rastatt, July 4, 1947, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1260, Bl. 4869–4870.

14. Z.B. Vernehmung Win vor dem Schwurgericht Hechingen, August 26, 1965, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1328, Bl. 1–7. Verfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart, November 3, 1966, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 378, o. Bl.

15. Interviews mit Bisingern und Überlebenden, geführt von d. Verf. Zahlreiche Aussagen von Zeugen, die im Zuge der Ermittlungsverfahren und während des Prozesses in Hechingen vernommen wurden, in StALB, EL 317 III.

16. Vernehmungen von Bewohnern und Bewohnerinnen aus Bisingen und Steinhofen durch die französische Militärregierung, in AOC, W-H, c. 1184, p. 2a. Zeitzeugeninterviews, geführt von d. Verf.

17. *Fig*, November 30, 1946, veröffentlicht im Heimatbuch Bisingen.

18. Zahlreiche Aussagen von Überlebenden und anderen Zeugen, in StALB, EL 317 III.

19. Badische Neueste Nachrichten, Ausgabe Karlsruhe, May 31, 1947. Einstellungsverfügung, November 16, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

20. Urteil Strafgericht Basel, February 11, 1953, in StA-B, Gerichtsarchiv KK 2. Pauli had both German and Swiss citizenship.

21. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, March 18, 1966, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236. Hofmann was sentenced to life imprisonment in the parallel-running Auschwitz Trial.

CALW

The International Tracing Service (ITS) puts the opening date for the Natzweiler subcamp in Calw, Württemberg, as

January 14, 1945. This date is confirmed by the files of the former concentration camp and an eyewitness report.

The camp probably held between 135 and 200 women. They worked on the night shift at the Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Lufag), manufacturing parts for airplanes. They were accommodated on the second floor of a building directly under the roof. Wash and shower facilities were located in the basement of the building. It is possible that the camp also held French and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) later.

On April 1 and 2, 1945, the healthier women and those capable of walking were evacuated in the direction toward Bavaria. The sick were taken to the Dachau subcamp at München-Allach, arriving on April 11, 1945. They were liberated by U.S. troops at the end of April–beginning of May 1945.

SOURCES The Calw subcamp is mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1: 200.

A short description of the camp, from which details for this essay are taken, is to be found in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung; Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass.* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer-Verlag, 1978), p. 11.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

COCHEM-BRUTTIG ("ZEISIG") [AKA KOCHEM-BRUTTIG]

Cochem-Bruttig, in the former Prussian Rhine Province, was the site of a Natzweiler subcamp, which administratively was connected to the Cochem-Treis subcamp. Some sources, among them the International Tracing Service (ITS), state that the Cochem-Treis subcamp was a subdetail of the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp. Sometimes both camps are generically described as Cochem (also known as Kochem).

Bruttig and Treis were connected by a disused railway tunnel that had been constructed at the end of World War I. In 1944, it was integrated into the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) project. The Bauinspektion Reich-West (Building Inspectorate Reich-West), part of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe C, was in charge of the tunnel and operated it as "Project A7" (code name "Zeisig").

According to files from the Natzweiler concentration camp, the camp in Cochem-Bruttig was established on March 10, 1944. The ballroom of the Zum guten Onkel hotel, which was on the outskirts of the town, was requisitioned by the SS to accommodate the first prisoners. The prisoners remained there until they had constructed the new subcamp located at "Auf der Kipp" (i.e., on the railway embankment constructed from fill obtained when the tunnel was excavated).

The first prisoner transport left Natzweiler on March 5, 1944. There were 300 French prisoners, 232 of whom were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners, who for security reasons actually should not have been permitted to work outside the main camp. After four weeks it was realized that these prisoners should not have been there, and the Frenchmen were removed from the camp and replaced by more than 700 new prisoners—417 Poles, 286 Russians, 5 Croats, 2 Frenchmen, 1 Italian, 5 Germans, and 2 stateless persons. An additional 850 Polish and Russian prisoners from Auschwitz arrived on May 3, 1944. Prisoners were also sent from Buchenwald and in July 1944 from Hinzert to the camps at Bruttig and Treis. The Zeisig construction project involved Frenchmen, Poles, Russians, Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Greeks, Norwegians, and a few Germans. Most probably there were no Jewish prisoners. The prisoners were from just about all prisoner categories—convicts transferred from the judicial system to a concentration camp (Security Custody, SV), temporary and preventive remand, asocials, foreign civilian workers, prisoners of war (POWs), prisoners for political reasons, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Special Section Wehrmacht (SAW)—and all types of trades and professions: tradesmen, laborers, farmers, technicians, officers, teachers, traders, white-collar workers, a few apprentices, pupils, students, and doctors. The youngest prisoner in Cochem turned 16 on April 2, 1944. A Frenchman, aged 61, was the oldest. On July 24, 1944, there were 1,527 prisoners in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. There was a regular exchange of prisoners between the Natzweiler main camp and the subcamps. It is not known how the prisoners were distributed between the two camps at Bruttig and Treis.

The railway tunnel Bruttig-Treis, with an area of 21,000 square meters (25,116 square yards), was to be expanded by the prisoners for use by Bosch, Stuttgart, so that spark plugs could be produced in the tunnel. To expand the tunnel, the SS-Führungsstab (Command Staff) A7 listed the following materials: 550 metric tons (606 tons, short U.S.) building iron, 275 metric tons (303 tons, short U.S.) machine iron, 145 cubic meters (190 cubic yards) raw timber, 610 cubic meters (798 cubic yards) cut timber, 1,500 metric tons (1,653 tons, short U.S.) cement, and 200 metric tons (220 tons, short U.S.) bricks. The total cost of construction was 3.5 million Reichsmark (RM). The lead construction company was Fix from Dernau.

The names of some members of the Führungsstab (management) of Project A7 are known: it was first led by SS-Obersturmführer Meyer from March 1944. In May 1944, he was replaced by SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis, also known as "Oldenbuhr," who also was head of the Special Inspectorate (Sonderinspektion) III in Bad Wimpfen on the Neckar River. By the end of the war, Oldeboershuis was the camp commandant at Ohrdruf. The deputy commander was SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Burkhardt (who was given the special task of supervising the construction site in the Bruttig-Treis tunnel). Other names of men who served there are Wachtmeister Funke and SS-Mann Felder. The local representative of the Amtsgruppe D with the A7 project was SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer (also spelled "Bär"). SS-Sturmscharführer and Kreissekretär (District Secretary)

Friedrich Schulze was given security responsibility by the Koblenz Gestapo.

The commander in the Bruttig and Treis subcamp was initially SS-Obersturmführer Beer. He was followed by SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe and later SS-Untersturmführer Wicker. The prisoners were guarded by a Luftwaffe detachment commanded by Hauptmann Rückert. However, some sources state that SS members or Wehrmacht members constituted the guard.

Working conditions in the tunnel were catastrophic. Ernst Heimes wrote:

> Everyone goes into the tunnel. That is the worst of the work columns. It is really mean. The dead are no longer counted. . . . The old water drainage system is to be removed and a larger ditch is to be constructed. At the entrance civilians supervise the work; insults are in German, the baton at the ready. . . . And the hunger. . . . The prisoners never get even the smallest portion of sausage or margarine. Packages arrive, but the SS takes them. Even most of the bread is stolen from them. The prisoners eat only weeds and white snails. . . . There are four water cans for 400 prisoners. It is impossible to get to them.[1]

There were constantly attempts to escape, which generally failed because of the local geography—close settlements, hills, and the Mosel River loop. There are more than 20 documented escape attempts from the camps at Bruttig and Treis. In general, the recaptured prisoners were executed in the camp at Cochem-Bruttig on a gallows located on the camp grounds. As the camp was located in the middle of the village, the villagers were daily witnesses to the crimes committed on the prisoners. They were also required to be present at executions. At the Bruttig cemetery are the grave stones of 12 prisoners from the year 1944. Not all the prisoners were buried in Bruttig; some corpses were cremated in the Mainz crematorium. The death toll is therefore likely to be much higher—at least 50 but more likely much more.

A few prisoners were used outside the tunnel in local workshops or households, at a blacksmith's at Cochem, or loading goods at the railway yard. Supplies for the subcamp most probably came by rail to Karden (present-day Treis-Karden), and the machines required by Bosch most likely arrived at the Cochem railway station.

Bombing raids began at the end of August 1944 and were probably the reason why the camps in Bruttig and Treis were dissolved. The Cochem-Bruttig camp is mentioned for the last time in the files of the Natzweiler concentration camp on September 29, 1944. According to a report from the Protective Detention Camp, dated September 30, 1944, 1,081 Cochem prisoners were transferred on September 29, 1944, to Buchenwald. According to Natzweiler records, the prisoners were transferred in the middle of September. A member of the guard wrote in his diary that the evacuation of approximately 600 Bruttig prisoners took place on September 14–15, 1944. They were taken via Nordhausen to Ellrich in the southern Harz region. The ITS records the dissolution of the camp as occurring on September 29, 1944.

In July 1947, a trial began before the Tribunal Général in Rastatt against eight former members of the camps at Cochem-Bruttig and Cochem-Treis. SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor for the cruel crimes he had committed personally. SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe, occasional camp commander, who had 13 prisoners hung for trying to escape, was sentenced to death. On November 8, 1947, the sentence was commuted to 15 years' hard labor. Scheffe was pardoned and released from prison on July 9, 1956.

SS-Untersturmführer Burkhardt, who was under Oldeboershuis's direct command to supervise the construction work in the tunnel, was sentenced to 10 years in jail. Oswald Allhäuser, a senior foreman in charge of some of the prisoners, was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Mathias Schneider, a bricklayer and office worker at the Treis construction site, together with the foremen Anton Zimmer and Oskar Kröber, received sentences of less than 5 years. The former mayor and Nazi Party local group leader at Bruttig, Alois Mentenich, was acquitted.

SOURCES The Cochem-Bruttig subcamp is described by Robert Steegmann in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 274. Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992, Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996), provides a detailed description of the research on the camps at Treis and Bruttig and includes numerous photographs. Two Bruttig and Treis prisoners have written their memoirs: Bert Aerts, *Advokaat en Nacht en Nevel* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1972); and Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1987). Albert Pütz describes Cochem in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945. Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (The SS Special Camp/Concentration Camp Hinzert 1940–1945. Proceedings against Paul Sporrenberg) (Frankfurt: Ministerium der Justiz Rheinland-Pfalz, 1998) as a subcamp of Hinzert and a Natzweiler work detachment (map at p. 277). In *Schattenmenschen* (Shadow men) (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes and Apsel, 1996), Ernst Heimes relates the events in the Cochem camp and in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis.

Archival records on Cochem and the subcamps Treis and Bruttig are to be mostly found in the archival collections of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Incomplete details on the victims in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in *Nachweisung über Grabstätten von Angehörigen der Vereinten Nationen im hiesigen Amtsbezirk VG Cochem-Land, Kreis Cochem*, and *Nachweisung über Todesfälle von KZ-Häftlingen in der Gemeinde Bruttig, Kreis Cochem, Amtsbezirk Cochem—Cochem Land*. There are also two newspaper articles about the proceedings against commanding officers of the Natzweiler subcamps before the Tribunal Général 1947 in Rastatt: "Die Verbrechen von Treis und Bruttig," *Tr-Vo*, August 5, 1947; and "KZ-Lager Treis und Bruttig vor Gericht,"

Tr-Vo, July 22, 1947. Reinhold Schommers has published two articles on Cochem: "Die Last drückt immer noch," in *RzC*, ca. 1985; and "Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit," *St. Ald*, ca. 1985. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp at 1:200.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. The French inmate Henry Allainmat, quoted from Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölback, 1996), pp. 58–59.

COCHEM-TREIS ("ZEISIG") [AKA KOCHEM-TREIS]

Cochem-Treis on the Mosel River in the former Prussian Rhine Province was the site of a Natzweiler subcamp that organizationally was connected to the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp. Some sources, among them the International Tracing Service (ITS), state that the Cochem-Treis subcamp was a subdetail of the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp, whereas other sources describe both camps as Natzweiler outside details usually known under the common term "Cochem" (also known as Kochem).

Bruttig and Treis were connected by a disused railway tunnel that shortened the Mosel loop between both locations. The tunnel had been built at the end of World War I. In 1944, it was integrated into the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) project and was known as "Project A7" (code name "Zeisig") and administered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe C, Building Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) Reich-West.

The Cochem-Treis camp is mentioned for the first time in an official report dated March 27, 1944. Confirmation of that report is to be found in the files of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Thus, Cochem-Treis is about two weeks younger than the Bruttig camp. According to a prisoner statement, the Treis camp existed in 1942, but this cannot be confirmed by official documents or from other witnesses.

As temporary accommodation for the prisoners, the SS had requisitioned some rooms in the Treis Wildburg hotel on the Mosel River. The hotel's hall was separated from the rest of the hotel by barbed wire, and the first 150 prisoners were held there. Presumably, business continued as normal in the rest of the hotel. The prisoners stationed at the hotel constructed the subcamp that was located in Treis "Auf der Kipp" (i.e., on the railway embankment constructed from material excavated from the tunnel). It was to this camp that the prisoners were transferred at the end of March–beginning of April 1944.

Initially, the Treis camp consisted of a two-level prisoner barrack and three other barracks (one for the kitchen and two barracks for the guards) as well as a kennel. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, and at each of the four corners, there was a watchtower with a height of approximately 4 meters (13 feet). The guards in the towers were armed with machine guns, and searchlights were mounted on the towers. Another six or seven prisoner barracks were very quickly added, the foundations in part being on the railway embankment. It is probable that, as a result, a number of the barracks even had cellars. Outside the camp there were other barracks for the guards, and further up the Mosel, there were three stone buildings, whose purpose remains unclear (most probably they were administration buildings and garages).

The first transport of prisoners from Natzweiler to Bruttig and Treis left on March 5, 1944, and consisted of 300 French prisoners, 232 of whom were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners. For security reasons, these prisoners usually were not permitted to work outside the main camp. Once this error was realized, four weeks later, the French prisoners were withdrawn and replaced by more than 700 new prisoners—417 Poles, 286 Russians, 5 Croats, 2 French, 1 Italian, 5 Germans, and 2 stateless persons. Another 850 Polish and Russian prisoners arrived from Auschwitz on May 3, 1944. Prisoners were also sent from Buchenwald and, in July 1944, from Hinzert. French, Poles, Russians, Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourgers, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Greeks, Norwegians, and a few Germans (but most likely no Jews) were the prisoners who made up the construction project Zeisig. They were from just about all prisoner categories—convicts transferred from the judicial system to a concentration camp (Security Custody, SV), temporary and preventive remand, asocial, foreign civilian workers, prisoners of war (POWs), prisoners for political reasons, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, SAW (Sicherheits-Abteilung/Security Section Wehrmacht), and all types of trades and professions: tradesmen, laborers, farmers, technicians, officers, teachers, traders, white-collar workers, a few apprentices, pupils, students, and doctors. The youngest prisoner in Cochem turned 16 on April 2, 1944; a French prisoner aged 61 was the eldest. On July 24, 1944, the Natzweiler documents recorded 1,527 prisoners in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. There was a constant exchange of prisoners between the main camp and these subcamps. It is not possible to determine for every individual whether they were sent to Bruttig or Treis.

The prisoners' task was to expand the Bruttig-Treis railway tunnel with its 21,000 square meter (25,116 square yards) area. Once complete, the tunnel was to be used by Bosch, Stuttgart, to manufacture spark plugs. The SS-Führungsstab A7 listed the following material for construction: 550 metric tons (606 tons, short U.S.) building iron, 275 metric tons (303 tons, short U.S.) machine iron, 145 cubic meters (190 cubic yards) raw timber, 610 cubic meters (798 cubic yards) cut timber, 1,500 metric tons (1,653 tons, short U.S.) cement, and 200 metric tons (220 tons, short U.S.) bricks. The total cost of the construction work was 3.5 million Reichsmark (RM), and the construction firm Fix from Dernau had primary responsibility for the work.

From March 1944, Project A7 was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Meyer and, from May 1944, by SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis, who was known as "Oldenbuhr" and who simultaneously was head of the Special Inspectorate (Sonderinspektion) III at Bad Wimpfen on the Neckar River. At the end of the war, Oldeboershuis was in command of the camp at Ohrdruf. The second in command was SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Burkhardt (he had the special task of securing the Bruttig-Treis tunnel construction work). Noncommissioned officers included Wachtmeister Funke and SS-Mann Felder. The regional representative of Amtsgruppe D was SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer (also spelled "Bär"). SS-Sturmscharführer and Kreissekretär (District Secretary) Friedrich Schulze was given responsibility for security by the Koblenz Gestapo.

The commanders of the Bruttig and Treis details were SS-Obersturmführer Beer, followed by SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe and finally by SS-Untersturmführer Wicker. The guards were supplied by a Luftwaffe detachment under the command of Hauptmann Rückert, although some sources refer to SS or Wehrmacht members.

The working conditions in the tunnel were disastrous. Belgian prisoner Albert Aerts, a former lawyer, describes his time in Treis as follows: "The Germans felt that it had become a race against time, and although we only had picks, they drove us with kicks and blows to a hellish working tempo. The road had to be constructed within one week, and that's the way it happened. Practically, we received no food at all. The guards sold off our rations to the local population, who themselves suffered from hunger. For the first time, we were starving day and night."[1] There were constant escape attempts that, due to the geography, close settlements, hills, and the Mosel loop, as a rule failed. More than 20 escape attempts are documented for the Bruttig and Treis subcamps. The official documents reveal that the local Treis gendarmerie actively participated in the hunt for the escapees. Recaptured prisoners were regularly executed—in the subcamp at Cochem-Treis, the prisoners were hanged from the acacia or linden trees. Aerts reports that on Good Friday 1944 two inmates were crucified for their attempt to escape. The camp inmates had to watch their death struggles for hours. Only at the very end, after many hours, one guard shot them to death.

The punishment was just as severe for those who tried to assist the prisoners. Two civilian forced laborers from Luxembourg working in the tunnel for Bosch, Johann-Peter Wilwert and Wilhelm Braun, gave information, money, and food to some Italian prisoners in the Treis subcamp. They were detected and held as concentration camp prisoners in Treis. Wilwert was later sent to the so-called Education Camp at Neuwied. He died in Buchenwald at the end of 1944–beginning of 1945.

A few prisoners were used outside the tunnel by local tradesmen or in homes, at a smith in Cochem, or for unloading goods at the railway station. Supplies for the subcamps probably came via the Karden railway station (present-day Treis-Karden). The Bosch machines probably came via the Cochem railway station.

Bombing of the camps began at the end of August 1944, and this probably resulted in the decision to close the subcamps. The Cochem-Treis camp is mentioned in official documents for the last time on October 7, 1944. The Treis and Bruttig prisoners were transferred to Buchenwald. A trial began in July 1947 before the Tribunal Général in Rastatt of those in charge of the subcamps at Cochem-Bruttig and Cochem-Treis. SS-Sturmbannführer Oldeboershuis was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor for aggravated crimes committed by him personally. SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe, occasional camp commander, who ordered 13 prisoners to be hung for trying to escape, was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted on November 8, 1947, to 15 years' imprisonment with hard labor. Scheffe was released early from prison on July 9, 1956.

SS-Untersturmführer Burkhardt, who, pursuant to Oldeboershuis's direct order, was responsible for supervision of the construction in the tunnel, was sentenced to 10 years in jail. Oswald Allhäuser, a foreman of some of the prisoners, also received a sentence of 5 years in jail. Mathias Schneider, a mason and office worker at the Treis construction site, and foremen Anton Zimmer and Oskar Kröber received sentences of less than 5 years.

SOURCES Ernst Heimes provides a detailed report on his research into the camps at Treis and Bruttig as well as numerous photographs in *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996). Robert Steegmann describes the Cochem-Treis subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 274. Two Bruttig and Treis prisoners have written their memoirs: Bert Aerts, *Advokaat en Nacht en Nevel* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1972); and Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1987). Albert Pütz describes Cochem in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945. Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt: Ministerium der Justiz Rheinland-Pfalz, 1998) as a subcamp of Hinzert and a Natzweiler work detachment (map at p. 277). In *Schattenmenschen* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes and Apsel, 1996), Ernst Heimes relates the events in the Cochem camp and in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. Incomplete details on the victims in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in: *Nachweisung über Grabstätten von Angehörigen der Vereinten Nationen im hiesigen Amtsbezirk VG Cochem-Land, Kreis Cochem*, and *Nachweisung über Todesfälle von KZ-Häftlingen in der Gemeinde Bruttig, Kreis Cochem, Amtsbezirk Cochem—Cochem Land*. There are also two newspaper articles about the proceedings against commanding officers of the Natzweiler subcamps before the Tribunal Général 1947 in Rastatt: "Die Verbrechen von Treis und Bruttig," *Tr-Vo*, August 5,1947; and "KZ-Lager Treis und Bruttig vor Gericht," *Tr-Vo*, July 22, 1947.

Reinhold Schommers has published two articles on Cochem: "Die Last drückt immer noch," *RZC*, ca. 1985; and "Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit," *St. Ald*, ca. 1985. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-*

SS (1933–1945) (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the camp at Cochem-Treis, 1:200.

The archives at the Natzweiler concentration camp hold documents on the Cochem subcamp and the Treis and Bruttig camps.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Quoted from Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996), p. 55.

DARMSTADT

The Natzweiler subcamp at Darmstadt was opened on August 31, 1944, according to the files of the main camp. The prisoners were accommodated in Darmstadt and taken daily to Bensheim-Auerbach, where they worked supposedly as draftsmen in a decommissioned tunnel of a marble quarry used by the company Dr. Hans Heymann of Darmstadt. They worked on the gyro stabilizers for the V-2 rocket produced in Peenemünde.

Following the heavy bombardment of Darmstadt on September 11–12, 1944, the Darmstadt subcamp was closed, and the prisoners were permanently transferred to Bensheim-Auerbach.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes the Darmstadt subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 92, 263. Horst Riegert refers to the subcamps at Bensheim-Auerbach and Heppenheim in Lothar Bembenek's book *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht. Verdrängt und vergessen: KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, and briefly mentions the Darmstadt subcamp. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:200, refers to the Darmstadt subcamp.

Information regarding the Darmstadt subcamp and the work of the inmates at Bensheim-Auerbach can also be obtained from NWHStA-(D), RG H 13 Darmstadt (Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landgericht Darmstadt), 1124—here especially AZ: 2 Js 263/72, the records of the investigations undertaken in 1970 to 1972.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DAUTMERGEN

Dautmergen was the largest of the seven Wüste camps, with an average of around 3,000 prisoners. On February 1, 1945, the camp reached its peak number with 3,181 prisoners.[1] In addition to the Lithuanian Jews, survivors of the Warsaw Uprising, and resistance members from France, Holland, and Norway, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were also held there. There are records that confirm the following transports: August 23, 1944, 1,000 Poles from Auschwitz; August 31, 1944, 1,000 Poles from Bisingen; September 19, 1944, 15 prisoners from Sachsenhausen; September 27, 1944, 400 prisoners from Dachau; at the beginning of October 1944, 1,000 Jews from Wilna (Vilnius), who had previously been working in Estonian shale oil plants; November 8, 1944, 250 prisoners from the Vahingen Krankenlager.[2] The Natzweiler concentration camp Nummernbuch 6 lists three additional transports: 32 prisoners of unknown origin; 599 prisoners who, no later than the beginning of December 1944, arrived at Dautmergen; and 138 prisoners who left Buchenwald on December 21, 1944.[3] The last Buchenwald transport with 280 prisoners reached Dautmergen on March 30, 1945.[4] To these 4,714 prisoners must be added an unknown number of Jewish prisoners who were transferred to Dautmergen in the middle of February 1945.

There were initially 50 to 60 guards; 24 were from a former Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) factory security unit that had been formed in Estonia.[5] At the end of 1944, 188 men guarded around 3,000 prisoners.[6] The camp inmates were mostly deployed at the Wüste 9 construction site in Schömberg. This factory commenced initial operation on March 11, 1945.[7]

According to a list composed after the end of the war but that starts on November 1944, 1,468 men died in the Dautmergen concentration camp.[8] Among the victims (so far as is known) were 356 Jews.[9] The total number of victims is not known, as sick prisoners were shunted off to death camps where most did not survive. On November 9, 1944, 500 prisoners were transferred to the Vaihingen/Enz concentration camp. The first of these died two days later.[10]

SS-Hauptscharführer Lisken was the camp commander from the beginning of October 1944, having been transferred a few months previous from the Territorial Guardsmen (Landesschütze) to the SS. His successor, Braunwarth, also came from a Landesschütze unit.[11]

The last camp commander, SS-Unterscharführer Erwin Dold, took over the leadership of the camp at the beginning of March 1945.[12] The 24-year-old Luftwaffe noncommissioned officer had previously been camp commander at the Haslach concentration camp and is probably the only camp commander who tried to improve the conditions in the camp. He obtained building material, improved barracks and sanitary conditions, and obtained additional food from the black market. Survivors have described Dold as the "Angel of Dautmergen"[13] and as a "great moral support."[14]

SS-Unterscharführer Stefan Kruth, who arrived at the end of August 1944 at Dautmergen via the concentration camps Neuengamme, Lublin-Majdanek, Radom, and Vaihingen/Enz, was at first in charge of the camp office and later became the Rapportführer. Kruth, who had the nickname "hare" or "Hase," because he was constantly hunting the prisoners, engaged in systematic mistreatment of the Jewish prisoners. Survivors have described him as the "prisoners' nightmare" and as a "prototype sadist."[15]

Kruth and Hofmann (commandant of the Natzweiler/Bisingen subcamp) implemented a delousing action in January 1945 that resulted in many victims. The prisoners, including many seriously ill, were forced to bathe in cold water and run back to the camp through the snow either naked or with a minimum of clothing.[16] Kruth, Hofmann, and Wurth ordered the hanging of an unknown prisoner and the shooting of 22 prisoners on April 7, 1945, who had been brought to Dautmergen for their execution. Dold refused to assemble the execution squad. Finally, Wurth led the execution. Among the victims were 20 Russian officers and 2 German clergymen.[17]

Prisoner-functionaries also mistreated prisoners: the feared Polish camp elder and Kapo and his successor, a German prisoner, as well as another Polish Kapo and a young Jewish block elder were all abusive to prisoners.[18]

Dold, the only SS member to face trial, was acquitted by a French military court in Rastatt in 1947 on the evidence provided by survivors. The camp elder and a Kapo were sentenced to death; the Jewish block elder was sentenced to life imprisonment. Six other SS members received the death sentence; there were two life sentences; and two received prison terms of 20 years. An SS member was sentenced to 10 years, two to 5 years, and one to 1 year in prison.[19]

At the trial at the Hechingen Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) in 1966, the court sentenced Rapportführer Kruth to 12 years in prison in a penitentiary for 2 counts of attempted murder. He had originally been charged on 129 counts of murder and 23 counts of accessory to murder.[20] The court took into account that Kruth "since then had not offended" and that "as a Volksdeutsche he was proud to be serving in the SS."[21] Hofmann was acquitted of all charges for crimes committed in the Dautmergen concentration camp.[22] On appeal, the Schwurgericht Ulm reduced Kruth's sentence to 6 years.[23]

SOURCES Information on the Dautmergen concentration camp is to be found in a variety of sources. For example, Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Tübingen: Schömberg, 1997); and Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002). Thomas Seiterich-Kreuzkamp has written an essay on the Dautmergen camp commander, "Der Fall Erwin Dold," in *Widerstand gegen die Judenverfolgung*, ed. Michael Kissener (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1996), pp. 261–283. Johannes Winter is working on Dold's life and has published an article in the *FASz*, "KZ-Kommandant und Lebensretter," October 24, 2004.

Floris B. Bakels has written exhaustively about time in the Dautmergen concentration camp in *Nacht und Nebel. Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979). Norwegian Helge Norseth wrote about the Dautmergen camp in his autobiography *Gefangen und doch frei* (Stuttgart: Neuhausen, 1995).

The largest source on the Dautmergen concentration camp is to be found in the StA-L (Akten der Ermittlungsverfahren und Prozessakten). A few survivors' reports as well as prisoner lists are held in YVA (including a list of Jewish victims), in the NARA, as well as in the ANFP. In the AOC, there are files on the mass grave, the exhumation after 1945, and the shale oil project. In the StA-S, there are the files of the Kreisernährungsamt, which provide detail on the camp troops.

Christine Glauning
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Tägliche Stärkemeldungen für das KZ Dautmergen im Februar 1945, February 28, 1945, in StA-S Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, 1416.

2. Anlagen zum Schutzhaftlagerrapport des KZ Natzweiler vom September 30, 1944, October 14, 1944, October 31, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 219–223. Verschiedene Dokumente über den Transport von 1000 Juden (einschliesslich Transportliste), in AMS, I-IIC-3. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, March 18, 1966, S. 54, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236. Namensliste der von Vaihingen nach Dautmergen überstellten 250 Häftlinge, November 8, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 204–208.

3. Nummernbuch 6 des KZ Natzweiler, in ANFP, 72 AJ 2171. Transportliste Buchenwald—"Wüste," December 19, 1944, in NARA, Target 0011614-0011885.

4. Zugangsliste Buchenwald nach Dautmergen, March 30, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 200–202.

5. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 58.

6. Schreiben 8. SS. Totenkopfsturmbann KL Natzweiler/Dautmergen an das Ernährungsamt Balingen, December 7, 1944, in StASIG, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1416.

7. Bericht über das Unternehmen "Wüste," Februar–März 1946, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 2712–2716.

8. Schaubild der Opfer der KZ Dautmergen und Schömberg, nach 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 2859.

9. Liste der im KZ Dautmergen gestorbenen Juden, in YV, M-1 DN/53.

10. Namensliste der 500 aus dem KZ Dautmergen in das KZ Vaihingen am November 9, 1944, überstellten Häftlinge und der 40 aus Dautmergen nach Vaihingen am November 20, 1944, 40 überstellten Häftlinge, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 200–202. Liste der Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Wiesengrund bei Vaihingen an der Enz (Nachkriegsaufstellung), in ASt-Va/E. Namensliste der von Dautmergen nach Dachau überstellten arbeitsunfähigen 973 Häftlinge, April 7, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 6–24. Namensliste der von Dautmergen nach Dachau überstellten arbeitsunfähigen 101 Häftlinge, April 13, 1945, in ibid., Bl. 25–26.

11. Schreiben SS-Aussenkommando Dautmergen an SS-Hauptscharführer Hubert Lisken, October 5, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1346, Bl. 2. Vernehmung Lisken durch das Landgericht Hechingen, July 13, 1960, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1244, Bl. 1541–1544.

12. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 57.

13. Bericht des Überlebenden Stanislaw Gladyszek in www.laehnemann.de/auschwitz/seite16-1.htm.

14. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 1, 1947, cited in Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), pp. 181–204, 198.

15. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, August 1, 1963, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236, S. 56–60. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 59.

16. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 173–174.

17. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 203–208. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, S. 131–145.

18. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 27, 1947. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 89–90. Floris B. Bakels, *Nacht und Nebel. Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979), p. 269.

19. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 1, 1947, cited in Grandt, *Wüste*, pp. 181–204.

20. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, S. 6f.

21. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 3, 141.

22. Ibid., S. 3.

23. Urteil des Schwurgerichts Ulm in der Strafsache gegen Kruth und Schnabel, September 8, 1969 (rechtskräftig bezüglich Kruth am May 1, 1970), in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1237, S. 2.

DERNAU AN DER AHR [AKA REBSTOCK]

There were several railway tunnels and caverns in the Ahrtal Valley that were of interest to the Reich for the construction of underground munitions plants, especially toward the end of the war. Among other things, the Luftwaffe leadership planned to assemble the V-1 rockets there in underground facilities. One of the participating companies was Volkswagen (VW).

The so-called Rebstock subcamp in Dernau an der Ahr consisted of a number of different camp types and categories. The camp held military internees, forced laborers, German and foreign laborers, and also concentration camp prisoners. Wolfgang Gückelhorn estimates the percentage of concentration camp prisoners in the Rebstock camp was around 20 percent; the camps had been in existence long before the first concentration camp prisoners arrived (that probably took place in 1944) and held prisoners of a number of nationalities: Germans, Poles, Russians, French, Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, Yugoslavs, and one Canadian flyer.

It is difficult to follow the trail of the Natzweiler subcamp in the Dernau camp complex. Most research works focus on the Dernau camp, but they inadequately differentiate its parts according to main camp. In Dernau, there was also a significant Buchenwald subcamp and a concentration camp for prisoners from the Amersfoort concentration camp.

The Natzweiler/Dernau subcamp originally probably consisted of prisoners from the Natzweiler/Thil subcamp, who in August 1944 were brought to Dernau for construction work. They were followed at the beginning of September by a group of 300 Jewish specialists to work in an underground iron ore mine in Tiercelet that would be used to assemble the V-1. However, the machines and tools remained in the Lothringen town of Tiercelet, and the training of these prisoners could not be used in Dernau. It is likely that in the first two to three weeks of their stay in Dernau they were used in general construction work in the tunnels before they were transported to Mittelbau/Nordhausen in September 1944, when plans for armaments production in Ahrtal were abandoned in the face of the incessant bombardments.

Details on work and living conditions in the Natzweiler subcamp cannot be filtered out from the general information on the Dernau camp complex. The same applies for the prisoners' death rate. The Natzweiler subcamp in Dernau is not referred to in the published International Tracing Service (ITS) works, nor was it the subject of investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL).

SOURCES Wolfgang Gückelhorn describes production, camp categories, and the history of Dernau in his *Lager Rebstock. Geheimer Rüstungsbetrieb in Eisenbahntunnels der Eifel für V2-Bodenanlagen 1943–44* (Aachen: Helios-Verlag, 2002), whereas Uli Jungbluth in his *Wunderwaffen im KZ "Rebstock." Zwangsarbeit in den Lagern "Rebstock" in Dernau/Rheinland/Pfalz und Artern/Thüringen im Dienste der V-Waffen* (Briedel: Rhein-Mosel-Verlag, 2000) focuses on the Dernau camps and their later relocation into Thüringen.

General documents on the Dernau camp and its armaments production—most without any specific reference to the Natzweiler subcamp—are held in various archives. The BA-MA holds the following relevant collections: RW 21/34-7, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9; RH 8/1265 and 1267; RH 26/1022 and 1023. The DMM holds documents on Dernau in the collections GD 639.5.13, GD 639.5.18, GD 639.5.21, and GD 639.51.6, Folder 3226 b. At NARA, collection RG 243 is relevant. The "Beschreibung der unterirdischen Tätigkeiten bei Dernau/Marienthal, Deutschland: Aufklärungsbericht Nr. U.16" at PRO, Kew Richmond, Surrey AIR 20/ 5857 (10 pp.), is based on reconnaissance photos taken by the Royal Air Force between the summer and the end of 1944. It holds information on the camp, its geography, geology, size, railway facilities, road connections, facilities, water, and accommodation for the laborers, but there is no specific mention of the Natzweiler subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DORMETTINGEN

The Dormettingen concentration camp was the last "Wüste"-Lager to be opened. It was ready at Christmas 1944, but it was only at the end of February–beginning of March 1945 that the first prisoners arrived.[1] According to the mayor of Dormettingen, the number of prisoners in the camp was 3,000,[2] but this number cannot be confirmed. On September 20, 1944, the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp, Hoppe, suspected that the planned transport of 3,000 prisoners to Dormettingen was a mistake.[3] According to investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), around 500 prisoners were ultimately interned in

Dormettingen.[4] According to statements by two SS men, the camp functioned as a camp for sick prisoners from Bisingen and Dautmergen.[5]

Three slate oil plants were planned for Dormettingen (Wüste 6–8). Only the Wüste-Werk began operation before the war, but it was not fully commissioned. Work on Wüste 6 and 7 ceased at the beginning of March 1945.[6] The camp commander was at first SS-Unterscharführer Fritz Bauer, until he was replaced, probably at the beginning of April 1945, by the Rapportführer and deputy commander of the Bisingen concentration camp, Franz Ehrmanntraut.[7]

The Dormettingen register of deaths records the death of 16 prisoners. The victims were probably buried in Dautmergen.[8] Among the dead were 6 prisoners who attempted to escape after the first air raid on the slate oil plant at the end of March or beginning of April 1945; 2 of them, Hungarian Jews, hid in the house of a leading Dormettingen National Socialist. The camp commander, Ehrmanntraut, was in the house at the time. When he discovered the prisoners in the cellar, he shot them. The other prisoners were held in rooms in the local castle and were probably also shot.[9] The Schömberg gendarmerie daily logbook (*Geschäftstagebuch*) notes the escape of Nikolai Kierew from Dormettingen, his capture, and his "departure" on April 5, 1945, to the Oberndorf Gestapo.[10] Nothing is known of his fate.

The Catholic priest in Dormettingen reported after 1945 that the security at the camp shortly before the end of the war was not tight and that the prisoners entered the village. He visited several times a clergyman from Lothringen who was held in the camp. Directions by the camp commander that during religious services the local population should be told not to give food to the prisoners were ignored by him.[11] The Dormettingen concentration camp was evacuated in April 1945. Between April 6 and 13, 1945, 428 prisoners were evacuated to Dachau. The remainder most probably set forth on a death march. The number of victims is not known.[12]

The Dormettingen concentration camp is anchored less in the collective consciousness of the population than a private, "wild" concentration camp established after the end of the war. This camp was established by former concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers who worked at the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF) in Schömberg. The camp was to intern perpetrators from the local Dormettingen concentration camp and local National Socialist bigwigs. They were to be punished here. However, most of the SS at the Dormettingen concentration camp had long gone. Around 40 Germans from Dormettingen and its surrounding area were arbitrarily imprisoned. Among them were a few women who were raped by the guards. At least 16 people were mistreated and died. Among them was an Organisation Todt (OT) construction leader, the former Ortsgruppenleiter in Dotternhausen, the mayor of Dotternhausen, an SS man, and a builder from Metzingen who had mistreated prisoners at the Schömberg concentration camp. Among these perpetrators was the local Dotternhausen commander installed by the French military government, Alfons Scheerer (also known as Deletre or de Laitre). A Frenchman, he had apparently worked during the National Socialist period for the SD. Also responsible for mistreating the prisoners was a Czech who during the war had worked for a Czech OT labor detachment as well as an engineer and master mechanic Helmer-Sandmann, who had worked for DÖLF in Schömberg.[13]

The French military tribunal in Rastatt sentenced Ehrmanntraut on May 29, 1947, to death for the murder of the two Jewish prisoners who escaped from the Dormettingen concentration camp (as well as for other crimes committed in the Bisingen concentration camp). His sentence was finally commuted to 20 years' imprisonment, and he was released from prison in 1962. Investigations by the Stuttgart state prosecutor into Ehrmanntraut were temporarily halted as the result of a German-French treaty on the exchange of prisoners and were permanently halted after his death in 1974.[14] In 1951, the Rottweil Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), after extensive investigations, sentenced the person most responsible for the wild camp in Dormettingen, Helmer-Sandmann, to 15 years' imprisonment in a penitentiary.[15]

SOURCES There has been little research on the Dormettingen concentration camp. Michael Grandt has devoted part of his book *Unternehmen Wüste: Hitlers letzte Hoffnung: Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002) to the camp.

Most information on this subcamp is to be found in the investigation and trial files held in the StA-L (on the camp commander). A few files, mostly on the topic of shale oil, are held in the AOC, Colmar, as well as the StA-S. In Sigmaringen there are the investigation files (Verfahren der Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil) regarding the time of the wild camp.

Christine Glauning
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 212–216.

2. Charnier de Schömberg, 1947, S. 24, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p 15 bis, d. 5.

3. Telegramm Hoppe an das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt, Amtsgruppe D, September 20, 1944, in AMS, I-IIC-3.

4. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 212–216.

5. Vernehmung Franz Hofmann durch die Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, May 22, 1959, in StASIG, Ho 400 Bd. 2, Nr. 588. Vernehmung Franz Ehrmanntraut durch die Kriminalpolizei, September 11, 1968, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 67–68.

6. Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, March 29, 1945, in BA-BL, NS 3/823.

7. Vernehmung Franz Ehrmanntraut vor dem Cour d'Appel (Oberlandesgericht) in Caen, January 12, 1961, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1248, Bl. 2335–2338. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970.

8. Bericht des Kriminalkommissariats Hechingen, June 8, 1959, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1239, Bl. 428–433.

9. Mappe Strafsache der Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen gegen Ehrmanntraut wegen Mordes im KZ Dormettingen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 347. Verfahren gegen Ehrmanntraut wegen Verbrechen im KZ Dormettingen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

10. Original in StALB, EL 48/2 II, Bü 114.

11. Vernehmung Johannes Haug, February 12, 1968, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 34.

12. Schreiben ITS Arolsen an ZdL, July 6, 1970 (Transportliste in Arolsen), in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 97.

13. Verfahren der Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil gegen Franz Helmer-Sandmann, 1950/51, in StASIG, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048.

14. Einstellungsverfügungen der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart vom November 16, 1970, und November 5, 1974, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

15. Urteil, October 6, 1951, in StASIG, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048.

ECHTERDINGEN

The Echterdingen camp was founded in November 1944 as a subcamp of Natzweiler, under the supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT)-Bauleitung Esslingen am Neckar. On September 23, 1944, the OT required 600 workers from Oranienburg to work on the military airport; at the beginning of October, a member of the Kommandanturstab Natzweiler visited Echterdingen (a town of 3,054 inhabitants in 1939) in order to prepare for the establishment of the camp. The whole administration of the camp was in the hands of the SS; an SS-Untersturmführer who had been active in Natzweiler since January 1942 and later became block leader (Blockführer) was appointed to oversee the guards; he finished the war as head of the women's camp Geislingen an der Steige. All the other guards belonged to the German air force.

As early as November 22, an inmate died in Echterdingen. His death was registered at the Bernhäuser city hall, the neighboring town, which indicates that inmates arrived very shortly after the OT had requisitioned them. Six days later, the first eight inmates were incinerated in the Esslinger crematorium, eight Jews. The inmates arrived from Oranienburg but also from the Konzentrationslager (KZ) Stutthof near Danzig, in one single transport. Some were transported in ordinary passenger trains that split at the Stuttgart train station between Echterdingen and Spaichingen, another Natzweiler subcamp.

Before the arrival of the Jewish inmates from Oranienburg, foreign workers, mostly East European prisoners of war (POWs), had already worked on the airport compound and also on the surrounding farms. They lived in the empty hangar, as the planes were no longer kept in it because of the Allied air attacks. They were provided with minimum furniture, beds, coal heating, and even cupboards and with makeshift quarters for doctors and the camp elder (Lagerältester). Four watchtowers were built to guard the prisoners and were surrounded by a nonelectrified fence. A kitchen barrack and an OT office were built outside the camp. Some 600 inmates, all male Jews, were registered under Natzweiler numbers 42904 to 43503. The main camp kept the records of the death registry.

The camp was widely self-administrated, and four inmates worked in the kitchen. There were three doctors among the inmates. All of the prisoners had been registered for labor on the transport list, most as officially unskilled manual workers. The transport list kept in the Arolsen archives shows that the inmates were of different nationalities, including Dutch, Italian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Estonian, Belgian, and Russian. The largest number came from Poland; some inmates were registered as Spaniards, others as political Jews (*politische Juden*) who were in fact German. Many of the inmates arrived in Echterdingen in poor health, sick and undernourished. They received no food during the transport to Stuttgart. While the conditions of living in the new camp were much better than in Stutthof or Oranienburg, the food supplies remained insufficient. No evidence of ill treatment in Echterdingen is documented due to the composition of the guards and of the prisoner administration; the Lagerältester, a Polish Jew named Jakob, behaved quite decently toward his fellow prisoners. The death rate in Echterdingen was high, though still below many other concentration camps. A maximum of 111 inmates perished of the 600 who arrived in Echterdingen: 8 in November 1944, 49 in December, and 54 in January 1945. The first 19 bodies were burned in the Esslingen crematorium, and the ashes were transported to the Jewish section of the Ebershalden cemetery. The cremations had to be stopped for lack of adequate facilities, and the bodies were then buried in two mass graves in the communal forest, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the camp. In January 1945, a typhus epidemic raged through the camp. The deaths were also registered in a special volume at the city hall, following the instruction of the mayor, but a secretary of the municipality burned it in April 1945 when French troops entered the village.

Doctors treated the ill in the camp. One to three doctors worked at any given time, among them a Doctor Goldberg from Kraków. The German air force, the OT and the Esslinger hospital provided a small amount of medicine.

The inmates had four work assignments: the construction of a road between the airport and the neighboring motorway, so that the planes could be moved to them for takeoff; the camouflaging of planes to protect them from air raids; the cleaning of the airport runways after air attacks; and the mining of rock from a quarry. The quarry was located 6 kilometers away (3.7 miles) from the Echterdingen camp, between Bernhausen and Sielmingen. It belonged to the Bernhausen municipality as well as to several private individuals and had been idle before the war. German civilians worked alongside the inmates, probably as skilled workers. The SS received 6 Reichsmark (RM) a day per skilled worker and 4 RM per unskilled worker.

All contacts between the inmates and the civilian population were strictly forbidden. Nonetheless, the senior inmate met frequently with the mayor of the village, as the municipality was in charge of providing the ration cards for the inmates. Some inhabitants gave food to Jews on their way to work, even though this was forbidden by the head of the camp.

The SS administration dismantled the Echterdingen subcamp at the end of January 1945, following the typhus epidemic. At that time, air raids on the airport were frequent, and the village was almost entirely destroyed. Two transports of 50 men each left the camp on January 9 and 10 and eventually reached the Natzweiler/Vaihingen subcamp. On January 21, a transport of 12 train cars left the Echterdingen train station, taking the remaining inmates to Ohrdruf, a subcamp of Buchenwald. These cars were heated; the transport bore the number 6782554 and took two days to reach its final destination. A fourth transport left Echterdingen, also on January 21; 59 men were sent to Celle/Hannover. They might possibly have arrived in Bergen-Belsen, but their fate remains unknown.

After the war, American forces ordered the bodies of the deceased inmates to be reburied in the Jewish section of the Esslingen cemetery. A ceremony was held there in October 1945. The American air force occupied the airport and took over the still-standing hangar that had housed the inmates.

SOURCES The most complete survey, using many interviews with survivors and bystanders, is Barbara Keuerleber-Siegle, "Das Lager Echterdingen," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978). The Echterdingen camp is also mentioned in Christine Grabinger, *Bernhausen, Ortsgeschichte* (Bernhausen: Gemeindeverwaltung, 1974), p. 344. A book describes the bombings of Echterdingen, with many pictures of the airport, but does not mention the subcamp: Gerhard Schlecht, *Ein Dorf am Rande des Abgrunds, Echterdingen 1939–1945. Eine Dokumentation von Kriegsereignissen in Echterdingen von 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Karl Scharr, 1993).

Documents on the camp can be found at ITS, Hängemappe Akdo Echterdingen, and at BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR 1775/67).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus

ELLWANGEN

A Natzweiler concentration camp for male prisoners was located in the Württemberg town of Ellwangen on Stettin Strasse. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler files on June 28, 1943. Other sources refer to the date that it is first recorded as June 18, 1943. Herwart Vorländer's work states that the camp was probably completed in August 1943 and that it commenced operation then. The number of prisoners exploited in Ellwangen is unclear: in September 1943, it was probably 50, and another 50 arrived at the end of 1944. In March 1945, there were 102 prisoners in the camp, mostly foreigners. There were very few German prisoners. All the prisoners were accommodated in barracks.

The men worked for the SS-Grenadier-Ersatz-Ausbildungs Bataillon 5 (Grenadier Replacement Training Battalion 5) in the Neunheim quarry, the charcoal-fueled power station (*Holzkoblemeilern*) in Schwabsberg, where they produced charcoal for carburetors. They constructed bunkers, roads, and dwellings; repaired military barracks; and did other work in the barracks. Julius Schätzle states that five prisoners died in the Ellwangen camp.

According to an official report, the camp was evacuated on April 6, 1945 (following Gudrun Schwarz) via Hessental to Dachau (other sources conclude that the prisoners were sent to Dachau/München-Allach). The first night of the prisoners' evacuation march was spent in their former work site, the Neunheim quarry. Around 30 of the prisoners lost their lives during the night. The survivors finally joined prisoners from the Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental subcamp on the Hessental death march, reaching Dachau/München-Allach sometime between April 19 and 21.

SOURCES The Ellwangen subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:201. A short description of the camp, some details of which have been used in this essay and which differ from the account in the ITS, is to be found in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *NS Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des KL Natzweiler/Elsass.* Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B: Forschungen, 91. Band (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer-Verlag, 1978), p. 11. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtliche Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Baden-Württemberg I, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart*, vol. 5 (Frankfurt am Main: Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, 1991).

Julius Schätzle lists Ellwangen in his monograph *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslsager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 64. Gudrun Schwarz also mentions the camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 180.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ERZINGEN

The SS-Deutsche Schieferöl (German Shale Oil) GmbH, founded on May 2, 1944, part of the Amtsgruppe (Office Group) W des SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (SS-Business Administration Main Office) and a subsidiary of the SS economic enterprise Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe (German Business Enterprises) GmbH, was responsible for the construction of a factory to process shale oil in Erzingen. The SS wanted to keep open all possible options for the production of oil so that it would be in control of the ever-decreasing supplies. Russian prisoners of war (POWs) were to

provide the labor, and the SS established a camp called Hungerberg for them in Erzingen. The local population called it the Russian camp (*Russenlager*). The factory was to be operational by May 1945.

The SS-Schieferöl and its primitive attempts to extract oil from shale using a charcoal-fired power station became part of Unternehmen Wüste. On May 30, 1944, the Arbeitsstab Geilenberg began construction of Wüste 4 and Wüste 5 in Erzingen. The Erzingen concentration camp was completed on May 22, 1944. It was situated opposite the railway station. The first prisoners arrived a month later.

Although the SS-Schieferöl was officially established in May (meaning that it was then entered into the *Handelsregister*), equipment was being transported by rail to Erzingen from March 1944. A list prepared by the company Ernst König, Magdeburg, which was involved in the construction, makes this clear.

The subcamp was constructed by the 20 prisoners from the Schömberg concentration camp, including Julien Hagenbourger, who later was prisoner recorder (Häftlingsschreiber) in the concentration camps at Erzingen and Schörzingen. They were brought each day by rail to Erzingen from Schömberg: construction took two months, from March to the end of April, taking place during the period that materials were supplied by the König company.[1] The barracks were prefabricated, and the Organisation Todt (OT) was the project manager. Initially, the newly constructed barracks held the work detachments, and later Erzingen became a camp for political prisoners. It existed from May 22, 1944, to April 17, 1945 (331 days). It was the fourth of the seven Wüste camps and was, like the main camp, a *Nacht-und-Nebel* Lager; its prisoners were mainly resistance fighters from the German-occupied states of Western and Northern Europe. The first 200 prisoners arrived in Erzingen on June 22, 1944. In the Natzweiler *Nummernbuch*, the Erzingen concentration camp was abbreviated with the letter *E*, which conforms to the Dutch camp elder Jan Albertus Cleton's prisoner population book (*Häftlingsbestandsbuch*), containing a list of transports. Some 125 prisoners from the transport on August 28, 1944, remained in Erzingen. The highest number of prisoners in the camp was 339, but numbers were reduced as prisoners were transferred to other camps. On September 26, 1944, the camp reached its "ideal" number of 200 prisoners, the number of the first transport. At the beginning of January 1945, the numbers increased for a time to 245. There were two transports from Erzingen to Dachau on April 12, 1945 (33 prisoners) and on April 17 (126 prisoners), so that at the camp's end there were 159 prisoners.

The camp consisted of three large barracks in which the prisoners lived, as did the guards, who were recruited from SS ethnic Germans and Luftwaffe members. There were also a kitchen and a draftsman's office. The largest barracks was divided in two: the barbed-wire fence that surrounded the camp went straight up to the walls of this barracks so that the camp was passable both from the "outside" and the "inside" of the camp: a prisoner drawing "vom 11.XI." refers to "here in the shadows" (*Hier im Schatten*), "there in the light" (*dort im Lichte*), and both areas are separated by a rose, borne by a prisoner's hand. Erzingen was an extremely unusual concentration camp, "aussergewöhnliches KZ," conspicuous from the many other barracks of the OT by its barbed-wire fence and the little guard's house and the camp's entry. Nevertheless, the guards' tower and roll-call square suggested a concentration camp. The Kommandoführer/Lagerkommandant was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Olesch, who, according to Hagenbourger, was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Haas. The deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Rühling. SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakobi is also named as camp leader (Lagerleiter). He was the Chef, Sonderbeauftragter des Wirtschaftshauptamtes Berlin and operational manager (Betriebsführer) of the SS-Deutsche Schieferöl GmbH.

The accused tried in the postwar trial in Rastatt also included SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Rieflin; SS-Aufseher Anton Geisel, nicknamed by the prisoners as "White Glove" (*weisse Handschuhe*); and Simon Kellinger, the "Machine Pistol" (*Maschinenpistole*). Paul Marek, König's head foreman, also played a special role at the camp. He was convicted with the other accused in Rastatt: he had the nickname "Croquignole" (or Nasenstüber).

The SS lived in the village of Erzingen, as did Marek and the other mine inspectors (Schachtmeister). The Erzingen concentration camp is an example of how the SS hierarchical structures meshed with those of the OT and civilian firms who did the construction work: here were the "anarchical gray zones" where the Erzingen prisoners could profit.

The prisoner hierarchy (*Häftlingshierarchie*) included the prisoner-functionaries (Funktionshäftlinge) of the camp, including Dr. Léon Boutbien, who looked after the prisoners as well as the guards. "Thanks to the French prisoner doctor . . . the sick were able to get indispensable care," in reference to the small infirmary in the Erzingen concentration camp.[2] The block elder (Blockältester) was Bernhardus Hemmer, a Dutchman, as was camp elder (Lagerältester) Jan A. Cleton. All three received birthday wishes in the form of cards from their fellow prisoners in 1944–1945. This reveals the unusual character of the Erzingen camp, as the birthday cards were a sign of resistance against the National Socialist regime, which wanted to destroy the Nacht-und-Nebel prisoners. The birthday cards for Cleton's thirty-first birthday on December 15, 1944, were from prisoners of each nationality in the camp—Norwegians, French, Belgians, and Dutch. This was the composition of the Erzingen camp and is confirmed by the Häftlingsbestandsbuch.[3]

There was also a close connection between the prisoners and the civilian employees, as shown in the case of Dr. Bouthbien and Frau Ziebarth. For Christmas 1944, she organized "cakes" that Bouthbien thanked her for with the following note: "I am very much touched that Saint Nicholas did not forget us—and I rejoice at the fine presents! Once again I thank you—Leon."[4] Ziebarth also gave the prisoners a work by Goethe, and in return, Isaak Wirschup, the only Jew in the camp, drew a portrait of her and Cleton; the connection was very strong.[5] All of them, including the SS (it is said that

Olesch was "bearable when he was drunk"), prevented the transfer of Wirschup to Berlin, as he was "urgently needed" in Erzingen.[6]

There were a few prisoners who died. One event makes it clear that this had something to do with the work the prisoners were forced to do. Cleton records the deadly accident (*Unval*) of the Belgian Gastwirt Marcel Groevoet, born on August 8, 1909, prisoner number 17392, on "30–11–44." Paul Marek had to answer for this "accident" after the war in the Rastatt Trials, as he was accused of deliberately loosening the last screw while pipes were being unloaded at the Erzingen railway station. This could not be proven. Marek, as a civilian mine inspector, supervised small groups of prisoners who worked on the supplies for Erzingen including unloading railway wagons, heavy labor for which there were additional rations. Erzingen concentration camp prisoners worked on the construction sites of the Wüste-Werke 4 and 5, at other Wüste construction sites that they reached by traveling by rail, and on building a light field railway that would connect the "Abbaufeld" and "Kondensation."

The prisoners mined shale at the Wüste 4 and 5 construction sites of the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG); worked the shale oil ovens run by the Bossert company; and dug caverns, as the prisoners had to help the Erzingen villagers construct air-raid shelters, which are today remembered by the villagers as "Jakobibau," in memory of the leader (Gefolgschaftsführer) of the operation, Jakobi.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author's third brochure for the exhibition (after Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen "Wüste" Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000) and Michael Grant's *Unternehmen "Wüste"—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002).

There are numerous archival sources on the Erzingen concentration camp in the ASt-Bal. The estate of Frau Ingeborg Ziebarth, who worked in the geological office and who had good contact with the prisoners, also provides a wealth of information.

The author possesses original documents relating to Erzingen, including the birthday cards prepared by the Nacht-und-Nebel prisoners for Cleton's thirty-first birthday.

The StA-S also contains numerous unpublished archival sources including postwar documents from the Zentralverwaltung der Württembergischen Ölschieferwerke and documents from the National Socialist period on the Wüste Project.

Immo Opfermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Julian Hagenbourger, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244*, revised by Gerhard Lempp (Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999), p. 29.

2. "Journal Officiel" vom April 15, 1947, cited in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen "Wüste." Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000), p. 102.

3. This card is displayed in the Natzweiler main camp.

4. A secret message in the estate of I. Ziebarth, Opfermann, "*Wüste*."

5. Verbally by I. Ziebarth.

6. Ibid.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN [AKA KATZBACH]

A Natzweiler subcamp was located in Frankfurt am Main in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. According to concentration camp files, the subcamp was opened on August 22, 1944. The subcamp, which lasted for seven months, held 1,600 prisoners, many of whom were Poles. The prisoners mostly came from the Natzweiler, Dachau, and Buchenwald concentration camps. Many of them were in poor condition and suffered from tuberculosis. It is likely that very few survived the camp.

The prisoners worked at the Vereinigte Dente OTA (VDO, previously known as Heinrich Kleyer), Kleyer Strasse 45, Frankfurt am Main. They manufactured replacement parts for tanks and trucks, but they were also used within Frankfurt in cleanup operations after bombing raids. They were accompanied by SS guards as they were taken to and from work. The camp was cut off from the outside world. There are reports of frequent executions in the Adler factories where skilled tradesmen from Western Europe, laborers from Eastern Europe, prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees (IMIs) all worked. All of them were forced workers.

There were still 474 prisoners in the camp in March 1945, many of whom were suffering from tuberculosis. On March 24–25, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated on foot to Gelnhausen, via Dörnigheim, and on to Hünefeld. More than 80 prisoners died on this death march. From Hünefeld the prisoners were sent on March 30 to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where many of them, because of their weakened condition, were murdered in the infirmary by lethal injection.

There are few witness statements on the subcamp and the prisoners' treatment. Two of those statements were made in 1946 by a former employees' spokesman and by the deputy director of the factory. There are said to have been investigations against the last managing director of the Adlerwerke, but they were stopped in 1949. It is claimed that after the liberation of the subcamp by U.S. forces, 516 urns, marked with wooden crosses and nameplates, were buried in the vicinity of the camp; however, the locations of these graves are no longer known.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Frankfurt am Main subcamp on p. 202 of volume 1. Some details on the camp and the prisoners are to be found in the article "Spurensicherung: Katzbach Frankfurt/Main" in Lothar Bembenek, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen: KZs*, *Lager*, *Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Publishing House, 1984), p. 60.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FROMMERN

At the war's unexpected reversal of fortunes in 1942, certain circles in the Wehrmacht remembered the Swabian shale oil rocks and commissioned geological investigations on the edge of the Albtrauf with the aim of securing a limited degree of self-sufficiency in oil production and so as not to be outdone by the SS, which planned a shale oil plant in Erzingen. Test wells were drilled in Frommern, Endingen, and Rosswangen. Frommern was chosen as the site for a factory that would extract oil from shale using the Lurgi-Schweizter method.

Before the war, there had been planned a shale oil test plant at the Dotternhausen cement factory. In 1936, there were plans for eight shale oil–processing plants on the "Ölschieferplateau Schömberg-Dotternhausen," geologically part of the Frommern location.

The Frommern concentration camp was located close to the Lias factory (one of the 11 facilities that processed oil shale and so loosely connected with Gruppe "Wüste") because it was here that the concentration camp prisoners would work, just as they worked in the Wüste camps. The camp is unusual because it did not have a large number of prisoners: only 120. A "Forderungsnachweis Nr. 34/44 über den Häftlingseinsatz" dated June 1, 1944, and sent by SS-Obersturmführer Ehrmanntraut to the Lias-Ölschiefer-Forschungsgesellschaft (Oil Shale Research Association) in Frommern, documents the origin of the prisoners who came from the Natzweiler main camp.[1] (The invoice differentiated between skilled and unskilled labors. It was for 11,933 Reichsmark [RM], less 1,704 RM costs for food [*Verpflegungskosten*]. It is here that the number 120 prisoners appears for special food costs on May 28, 1944, for Whitsuntide [*Pfingsten*]. From this, one can conclude that on this holy day the prisoners were given special rations.)

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks. A British aerial photograph from March 15, 1945, shows the number of barracks and their location. The Allies could not but see the quickly expanding construction site between the dividing line of the "Ohnra" and "Kohl" fields.[2]

The Frommern concentration camp functioned as a subcamp from March 1, 1944, to April 17, 1945. Its commander was Hartjenstein, the superior to the Forderungsnachweis signatory. On July 14, 1944, he arranged for 20 prisoners from the Frommern concentration camp to be transferred to Ebingen to remove unexploded enemy ordinance. This provides further proof that Frommern was administered by the Waffen-SS and the "KL Natzweiler Elsass" office.[3] In the concentration camp's *Nummernbuch*, which lists all the prisoners that were sent from the main camp to this camp, the Frommern concentration camp is abbreviated with a simple "F."[4]

SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Seith, born March 25, 1896, was the camp commander in Frommern. He headed the camp from March to December 1944. He arranged for the paint that gave the barracks a more friendly appearance, as one has "to be able to see from the outside that the barracks hold humans and not animals."[5] His successor was either SS-Obersturmführer Wurth or Hauptscharführer Driziwicki: this is an indication of the personnel connections with the other concentration camps because Wurth administered Dautmergen and Bisingen as was revealed in the Hechinger trial.

Poles, Russians, French, Italians, Alsatians, Croats, and Germans were used as laborers (*Hilfsarbeiter*). There were skilled workers, for example, three carpenters and two painters: the relationship between the two was about 2:1, as there were around 80 laborers and 40 skilled workers.[6] The skilled workers, as with those higher up the hierarchy, lived in private homes in Frommern.

The Frommern camp infrastructure resembled that of a large concentration camp: an SS squad of 20 to 28 men formed the guards, in part recruited from men from the nearby villages such as Weilstetten; there was an SS cook; and Fritz Böttiger managed the canteen, suggesting a separation between meals for the guards and the prisoners. There was medical care from two local Frommern doctors and later a camp doctor, a Polish prisoner. One of the three barracks was the infirmary, and there was a shower-bath that was adequate, according to eyewitnesses. There is nothing to suggest that there were executions in Frommern or that prisoners died there. It is possible that this had something to do with the camp's prisoner hierarchy. As a German prisoner, Wilhelm Kratt, a salesman in civilian life, born on March 21, 1905, in Trossingen, was for a long period of time the camp elder, Kapo, and camp scribe. His successor, the French prisoner Edmond Heiter from Forbach in Lothringen, was also probably able to prevent the worst in Frommern because of its small size.

Death certificates of the deceased in Frommern were signed by SS-Stabsarzt Dr. Steinicke or the SS-Standortarzt Dr. Rohde, well known in Bisingen and Dautmergen.[7]

There are eight foreign "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*) listed in the Frommern register of deaths. Of these, three died between January and March 1945. Their deaths were listed as the typical causes of death and noted by the doctors on the death certificates, real or otherwise, namely, as "acute heart weakness" or "tuberculosis." The prisoner numbers of these prisoners suggest that they came from the Natzweiler main camp or another large camp.

The Frommern concentration camp was fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) electrified barbed-wire fence.

The Royal Air Force photo shows four rather large barracks. A comparison with other photos from the early days of construction of the Lias factory suggests that it was only the concentration camp area that was fenced in with barbed wire.[8] Three large prisoners' barracks are separated from the SS guards' area and a barracks for mine inspectors (*Schachtmeisterbaracke*) by a double barbed-wire fence.

The prisoners worked daily for 11 hours. The sick were not permitted to remain in the barracks and, on orders issued by the camp command, were forced to stay in the area of the construction site until those who could work returned.

Some 55 concentration camp inmates were taken by rail to Dachau and given Dachau numbers: 17 on April 12, 1945, and 38 on April 13. The remainder of the prisoners embarked on a death march on April 17 with prisoners from the other camps, marching in the direction of Bodensee and Oberland.

SOURCES This essay is based on the brochure for the author's third exhibition (after Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen "Wüste" Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997.* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000); and essays on Frommern: *Ölschieferabbau in Frommern.* (In 1200 Jahre Endingen, Frommern . . . Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Balingen Band 5, Balingen 1993. S. 422–431) and *Die "Lias": Ölschieferverschwelung und das KZ Frommern 1942–1949.* (In Ölschieferwerk Frommern Industriereportage 1947. Schwäbisches Kulturarchiv des Schwäbischen Albvereins (Hg.) Stuttgart und Albstadt-Ebingen 2002, p. 4–15. This publication contains photos from 1947 on the completion of the oil shale plant. The author wrote the foreword. Also of note is *Unternehmen "Wüste"—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen, 2002), by Michael Grant.

There are many archival documents on the Frommern concentration camp in the AKr-Bal. The estate of Frau Ingeborg Ziebarth, who worked in the geology office and who had good contacts with the prisoners, is a source of information.

Original documents from the Dotternhausen cement factory regarding the technology used at the Wüste factories, Lias at Frommern, and Kohle-Busse-KG in Schörzingen, were used, for example, "Technische Forschungen und Verwirklichungen industriellen Massstabes ausgeführt in den Jahre 1945–1948 von der Zentralverwaltung der württembergischen Ölschieferwerke in Dotternhausen," 1948; a "vertrauliches Exemplar," or confidential copy, of a German translation of "Deux ans de Recherches Techniques et de Realisations Industrielles," in the "Sequestre Français de Mines et Usines a Schistes Butimineux de Wuerttemberg," 1945–1948, Tome I-III.

The StA-S holds numerous unpublished archival sources either from the postwar Zentralverwaltung der Württembergischen Ölschieferwerke or original Wüste documents from the National Socialist period.

Immo Opfermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, StA-S, Wü 120 T 4 Nr. 585, "Forderungsnachweis Nr. 34/44," June 1, 1944.
2. University of Keele, Geograph. Abteilung Nr. 4149, Serie G vom March 15, 1945.
3. ZdL (at BA-L), Prozess-Akten gegen Franz Hofmann, Aktenzeichen IV 419 AR 1773/67.
4. "Nummernbuch 1-bis 6499" des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler (copies only).
5. Statement of concentration camp prisoner Schneider.
6. Statement of concentration camp prisoner Schneider. Questioned by Fritz Müller, Nr. 23160.
7. Totenbuch Frommern für 1945.
8. StA-S, Wü 120 T 4 Nr. 585.

GEISENHEIM

Geisenheim, in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau, was a subcamp for female prisoners of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The earliest reference to the subcamp, contained in a prisoner statement, is December 12, 1944. Geisenheim existed only for 100 days and was evacuated as early as March 22, 1945, when the women were transferred via Neckargerach to Dachau.

Lothar Bembenek's research has revealed that the Geisenheim subcamp was established following a special order given by the Natzweiler commandant's headquarters on September 26, 1944. The subcamp comprised three barracks located on the factory grounds. They were to hold 200 female prisoners who were admitted to the camp on December 12, 1944. The prisoners were mostly Polish Jewish women from the Łódź ghetto who had been selected in Auschwitz as "capable of working." There were also a few Hungarian Jewish women. They were all sent to Geisenheim via Bergen-Belsen. It is likely that the prisoners had also been processed through the camp at Ravensbrück.

Bembenek has shown that as early as August 1944 seven female workers from the machine factory, each of whom had just turned 20, were sent to Ravensbrück for training so that they would be ready to assume the roles of female wardens in the subcamp. Of the 200 prisoners, 80 worked for the machine factory Johannisberg GmbH. The remainder, about 120 in number, worked for Krupp. They finished off the seals for flak guns. The female wardens accompanied the prisoners to work and back and guarded them while they were working. The type and the duration of work were determined, however, by the foremen and skilled tradesmen at Krupp. Prisoner statements vary significantly about the type and degree of difficulty of the work.

In the camp there were 10 SS male guards under the command of SS-Lagerführer Schack. In addition, there were seven female wardens in the factory. Prisoners have described the camp as clean, the food as tolerable, and the treatment by the guards as humane. Schack was soon replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Lenzian. He mistreated the women severely.

The prisoners have also stated that, except for Lenzian, no SS male ever entered the camp. The real security was provided by five SS uniformed women in the barracks who, as a rule, properly treated the prisoners and never beat them. Medical care was provided by an SS noncommissioned medical orderly and a Polish Jewish woman. According to the prisoners, when one of the prisoners was suffering from inflammation of the lungs, a senior SS doctor was called. After the war, the Wiesbaden state prosecutor investigated an incident in which a female prisoner and her newly born baby were said to have died because the SS was intentionally negligent in providing the appropriate care. The proceedings were stopped 25 years after the event, as it was not possible to prove the allegation. Overall, there were few deaths in the subcamp.

Following the evacuation of the subcamp on March 18, 1945, the women were forced to march seven weeks via Geislingen and Neckargerach to the Dachau/München-Allach camp. A couple of women were shot along the march (which took place only during the night), and others were mistreated when they arrived in München-Allach.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Geisenheim subcamp at 1:202.

Lothar Bembenek describes the Geisenheim subcamp in detail in his article "AK Geisenheim," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen. KZs*, *Lager*, *Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Publishing House, 1984), p. 50. On p. 51, there is an aerial photograph of the Krupp factory, and the Johannisberg machine factory, both taken by the USAAF on March 13, 1945. The four barracks are clearly visible.

The HAK contains an essay defending the use and treatment of the Geisenheim workforce. It is to be found in the file WA 40/681. It was prepared in June 1948 by lawyer Dr. W. Siemens and presented to the U.S. military tribunal as part of Krupp's defense.

The investigation files of the ZdL (held at BA-L) hold statements by two female wardens and four former prisoners.

Investigations by the Wiesbaden state prosecutor into the negligent death of a female prisoner and her baby are to be found in that court's file 8 Js 232/71.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GEISLINGEN AN DER STEIGE

The Natzweiler Geislingen an der Steige subcamp for women was located in what is Kreis Göppingen in present-day Baden-Württemberg. The women were accommodated in a section of a barracks camp for East European forced laborers on the Heidenheim Strasse/Robert-Bosch-Strasse. The site was leased by the city to Wurttembergische Metallwarenfabrik (WMF). The company, in return for the lease, agreed to accommodate all of Geislingen city's foreign labor force.

In February 1944, the WMF entered an agreement with the Organisation Todt (OT) where an area of 100×100 meters (109×109 yards) on the site was fenced off with a 1.5-meter-high (5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence. On the inside of the fence a ditch was dug. Wooden screens hid the view of the camp from the road. In the camp, there were five (some sources say six) one-level accommodation barracks with a surface area of 8×26 meters (26×85 feet), an infirmary barracks, and an office barracks that held the camp's administration and the guards. In the summer of 1944, the WMF negotiated with regional Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Obergruppenführer Hoffmann for the dispatch of concentration camp prisoners to the new camp. On July 28, 1944, 600 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at the camp; with the arrival of the transport the camp was open. The women were aged between 15 and 45. Their heads had been shaved. They were put in quarantine for a fortnight; this respite may also have been because the WMF had initially not been able to find a sufficient number of its employees (there had to be at least 15) who would volunteer to be wardresses.

The WMF supplied the prisoners' accommodations and food. The women working the night shift received per person an extra liter (4.2 cups) of soup; there was a camp vegetable garden, and the company made tools and seed available. The prisoners stated that the food in the factory was markedly better than that in the camp. This was not because of any philanthropic motive but because of the necessity of preserving the prisoners' strength. Within a few weeks of the camp opening, additional security measures were put in place including rolls of barbed wire, searchlights, guard towers, and probably an electrified fence.

The first camp commander was SS-Oberscharführer Christian Ahrens. He was soon transferred to Natzweiler and replaced by a person named Schopp. In January 1945, Rene Roman took over command of the camp.

With the arrival of transports from Ravensbrück, the prisoner administration came into operation: in October 1944, 6 political and 10 asocial women arrived in the subcamp who were appointed the block elders. On November 29, 1944, 130 women arrived from Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. The total number of women in the camp was at least 800 and possibly as high as 1,050. The women worked in the Württemberg metal factory, producing munitions, engines for jet fighters, machine guns, and empennage (tail assemblies) for aircraft. Mostly, they produced coops for the jet engines and worked on the presses, working in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The women were separated from the other workers both at work and on their route to work by wooden partitions. The SS guards accompanied the women to work, where the wardresses took over. The behavior of the wardresses and the German foremen is described as correct in prisoner statements, and in a few cases, they supported the women with food and medicine.

Nevertheless, living conditions in the camp were hard. There was a lack of food, which, coupled with the long working hours, resulted in many accidents at work. The prisoners

were mistreated, with survivors reporting whippings. In the camp, there was an infirmary that was under the control of a Hungarian female doctor. On average, around 10 percent of the prisoners were ill—and this despite the fact that the women knew that being in the sick bay was accompanied by the risk of being selected. As a rule, women who could no longer work were transported to Auschwitz (which usually meant to the gas chambers). Details of at least two transports to Auschwitz have survived. Pregnant women were also transported—at least one child who was born in the camp died in the camp. At least 8 (some sources say 12) women died in the subcamp and were buried in the local cemetery or cremated.

On March 28, 1945, an evacuation transport of 230 women arrived in Geislingen. It had originated in Auschwitz, traveling via Bergen-Belsen, Neckargerach, and Calw to Geislingen. For a short time, the number of women in the camp climbed to over 1,000, but no more work was being done. The WMF refused to feed the newly arrived women and asked the SS to evacuate the camp. A few days later, on April 4, 1945, the women were taken by train in the direction of Dachau/München-Allach. However, before they arrived at that camp, they were liberated by Allied troops on April 17, 1945.

Arthur Burkhardt, of the WMF, who was in charge of the use of the concentration camp prisoners, was interned by the Allies between 1946 and circa 1948. After that, he was released and was in charge of the WMF for the next 21 years.

SOURCES This essay closely follows a report of the Geislingen city administration at www.geislingen.de/formulare/Aussenlager.pdf. The camp's history is told in several essays including one by Annette Schäfer: "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler in Geislingen/Steige," *1999* 3 (1990). Ullrich Haller describes the camp in his essay on the complex web of forced labor in the city (foreign forced laborers, military internees, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners) in "Zwangsarbeit und Rüstungsproduktion in Geislingen an der Steige, 1939–1945," *ZfwLg* 57 (1998): 305–368. The essay contains numerous statistical details including the WMF turnover between 1939 and 1945 and the total number of people employed by the company including POWs and concentration camp prisoners.

Other depictions of the camp are by Richard Wagner, "Das KZ-Aussenlager in Geislingen," *Gesch-r.* 2 (1982): 98–111; Volker Hecht, "Die Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik Geislingen/Steige 1853–1945. Geschäftspolitik und Unternehmensentwicklung," BsWuSg, 19: 292; and *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart*, *Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften HG, 1991), pp. 180–183. An article by Sönke Iwersen in the *StutZ* of February 15, 2003, "Messer, Gabeln und Patronenhülsen. Der 1853 gegründete Besteckhersteller WMF war einst der grösste Industriebetrieb in Württemberg," contains some detailed information and was used in this essay.

Richard Steegmann describes the Geislingen an der Steige subcamp in several sections of his comprehensive history of the Natzweiler concentration camp: *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 83, 112, 261. The *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler*, comp. by Antoine Greffier and published in 2002 by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, describes the Geislingen an der Steige subcamp on pp. 113–115. The city of Geislingen has a description of the camp on its Web site at www.geschichtsbuero.de/pdf/Stuttgart.pdf.

The subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:203.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GUTTENBACH [ALSO BINAU AND NEUNKIRCHEN (FAHRBEREITSCHAFT)]

Guttenbach is located in Nordbaden, 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) to the northwest of Mosbach in the Neckar River Valley between the cities of Heidelberg and Heilbronn. After World War II, it was incorporated into the town of Neckargerach, which lies to the south of the Neckar River.

It is uncertain whether there was in fact a Natzweiler subcamp in the Baden-Württemberg town of Guttenbach. The village provided accommodation for the guards of the Neckargerach subcamp, which was only 500 meters (547 yards) from the town; the assumption that there was a subcamp in Guttenbach might be the result of this arrangement.

From November 23, 1944, on, the Natzweiler concentration camp administration was transferred, in the face of the advance by Allied troops, to Guttenbach, just opposite Neckargerach, on the opposite side of the Neckar River. The approximately 15 to 20 SS men who worked in the Guttenbach command remained responsible for organizing the guard units for the various subcamps, for assessing labor requests by regional companies, and for preparing information that served as the basis for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) when determining labor allocations. At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, the members of the camp command retreated to Stuttgart and from there farther south.

Between November 23, 1944, and March 2, 1945, 30 to 35 (other sources: 10 to 15) prisoners worked in the command office and on farms around Guttenbach.

Like the prisoners put to work in Guttenbach, the inmates who were employed at Binau were also transferred on a daily basis from the Neckargerach subcamp. At the Binau Castle, in the village of Binau between Neckargerach and Neckarelz, about 10 (other sources: 8 to 17) inmates were employed in the administration and clothing storage depot in auxiliary functions. A last detachment to leave the Natzweiler main camp was the carpool (*Fahrbereitschaft*), which was transferred to Neunkirchen, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Neckarelz. Some 15 SS men were in charge of approximately six

trucks, supported by 3 inmates who were taken to Neunkirchen on a daily basis from the Neckargerach subcamp.

Like the other inmates of the Neckargerach subcamp, also the inmates employed at Guttenbach and Binau were evacuated at the end of March 1945. In Neunkirchen, the SS had already left the premises, and the inmates only had to wait for the arrival of the U.S. troops. Several SS men and inmates who were involved in the administration at Guttenbach, Binau, and Neunkirchen stood trial after the war. Adolf Rieg, who was in charge of food supply, was acquitted in the second case during the Rastatt Military Tribunal. Some prisoner-functionaries were tried and sentenced in the same court trial.

SOURCES There is little information on Guttenbach or on Binau and Neunkirchen. Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig refer to the subcamps/work detachments repeatedly in their study *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslager-aussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). Robert Steegmann does not mention Guttenbach in his history of the Natzweiler concentration camp, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol.5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart*, ed. Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schrifte, 1991), p. 100, has a short description of Guttenbach. Jürgen Ziegler mentions the Guttenbach command office in his *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof. Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), p. 262. Antoine Greffier in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof*, ed. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale, 2002), p. 250, does not refer to Guttenbach as a subcamp but as part of the camp administration and as a production site. There are also short references in Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Institution totalen Terrors. Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); and Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle. Konzentrationslsager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1980). Guttenbach is not referred to in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol.1 (Arolsen, 1979).

At BA-BL, some witness statements and documents have been gathered dealing with events and conditions in Guttenbach. For further information, see BA-BL, 419 AR-1835/67. For information on Binau, see 419 AR-1771/67.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HAILFINGEN

Very little is known on the prehistory of the Hailfingen subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. In 1937, the building of a military airport started near Hailfingen (district Rottenburg, near Tübingen) on a place known as Hailfingen/Tailfingen where land had been expropriated. The Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) started the construction project on a small airport where Messerschmitt planes and about 100 people from the German air force were stationed. It is not known which workforce built the camp itself, whether the Reichsarbeitsdienst or the inmates that were soon to arrive after the war broke out. In the second half of 1941, around 100 Russians were transported to the camp. It is not known if they were prisoners of war (POWs) or civilians submitted to forced labor. As postwar testimonies describe a 12-year-old prisoner and as some inmates were sent to work on surrounding farms, the Russians may have been used as slave laborers. They worked at extending the airport facilities, as did the 350 Greeks who arrived in the camp on September 20, 1944. These Greeks were all men, aged between 14 and 60, and had been arrested in a roundup in Athens on August 9 before they were transported to the Reich as hostages. At least 2 Greek inmates died in Hailfingen. Most of them were sent to other labor camps in December 1944. Only 4 remained and worked as locksmiths.

The Hailfingen subcamp was founded in early December 1944, when 600 inmates were sent there by the Office II in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The transport had been requested two months earlier. All the prisoners were male and Jewish, with numerous different citizenships (Baltic States, Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, Greece, France, Italy, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and Germany), all registered as "political inmates" and most coming from different concentration camps. Inmates of the newly founded subcamp were registered under Natzweiler numbers 40448 to 41047. They wore a Star of David on their clothes, made of a red triangle (political) and a yellow one (Jew).

The camp facilities were simple. Jewish inmates lived in a hangar surrounded by a wired fence. A watchtower allowed an easy view of the prisoners. Outside this area, several buildings were used for air defense, a coal store, the inmates' kitchen, and five barracks for the guards. A street divided the compound into two parts. On the other side of it, the building for the Russians was near the Organisation Todt (OT) building and the Mattes firm office. The head of the camp was an SS-Unterscharführer. He commanded about 60 guards, most of them older air force soldiers who, according to postwar accounts, behaved decently toward the Jews. Testimonies were gathered after the war of ill treatment and killings of inmates by the head of the camp, as well as by the work supervisor (a member of the OT) who received the nickname "Chess Master" (*Schachtmeister*). Some Lithuanian and Ukrainian guards may also have been active in the camp.

Conditions of living were terrible; inmates were undernourished, ill-treated, and beaten. No medical treatment was available. It was almost impossible to wash. On their way to work, prisoners kept trying to steal potatoes or fruits in the surrounding fields. If caught, they could be shot. The death rate was especially high if compared to that of other Natzweiler

subcamps of this region in southwest Germany. Corpses were first transported to the Reutlingen cemetery, where they were burned in the crematorium. After January 31, 1945, the corpses were buried on the airport compound in a mass grave. When the Allies opened it, they exhumed between 72 and 96 bodies (testimonies differ from one another). Between 300 and 390 inmates died, most of them of hunger, which means a death rate between 50 and 65 percent.

Working conditions were extremely hard. Some local firms employed the inmates: Gärtner & Sohn, Härer, Mattes, Meyer, Kirchhoff, and the OT. The Jews continued the building of the airport runway and built streets on the compound, one leading to the neighboring train station at Nebringen. Most of the inmates worked in two quarries, in Hailfingen and Reusten.

On February 14, 1945, the Hailfingen subcamp was dismantled, and all the surviving Jews were evacuated in two transports. One, of about 110 people, arrived in the subcamp Vaihingen; the second, with about 100 Jews, went to the subcamp of Dautmergen and other subcamps of Natzweiler. After the evacuation of Hailfingen, only 4 Greeks and 1 Pole from the previous transports remained at the airport. French troops entered the village and searched the compound. A survivor, a former inmate, is said to have shown them the location of the mass grave. On June 2, 1945, inhabitants of the surroundings villages were forced by the French to gather around the grave. Former Nazi Party (NSDAP) members had to exhume the corpses as the other Germans were watching. Workers were beaten, some were wounded, and two died on this day. The corpses of the prisoners were transported to the Tailfingen cemetery and reburied in a common grave, under a wooden cross.

The head of the camp died in December 1945 as a POW and thus was never put on trial. A historical project conducted in the 1970s in the region of Tübingen revealed that the women of Hailfingen used to sing a song, to the tune of the famous melody "Ich liebte einst ein Mädchen." The words of the song follow:

Es war am 2. Juli,
Ein heisser Sommertag,
Wir standen auf dem Flugplatz,
Bei einem Judengrab.
Und als wir so standen,
Erwachten Reu und Leid,
bekamen wir noch Schläge,
Mit einer langen Peitsch.
Ach Gott, wo sind die Juden,
Die Juden sind ja tot,
Man hat sie ja erschossen.
Ihr Blut floss rosenrot.
(It was on July 2,
A hot summer day,
We stood at the airport,
Near a Jewish grave.
And as we so stood,
Waiting for remorse and grief
We got beaten
With a long whip
O God, where are the Jews,
The Jews are dead,
They have been shot
Their blood streamed rose-red.)

Before leaving the airport, the Wehrmacht blew up some buildings, as did the French occupation troops a few months later.

SOURCES The Hailfingen subcamp is described in Utz Jeggle, "Ach Gott, wo sind die Juden? Tödliche Erfahrungen beim Flugplatz Hailfingen/Tailfingen," in *900 Jahre Hailfingen. Ein Gaudorf und mehr als 900 Jahre Geschichte*, ed. Karlheinz Geppert, (Hailfingen: Heidi Heusch, 1993), pp. 245–253; Monika Walter-Becker, "Das Lager Hailfingen," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 149–174.

Documents on the camp can be found at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Hailfingen), in the BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR-Z 171/69), at the Prosecutor's Office (Staatsanwaltschaft) Stuttgart (16 Js 326/52), and in files pertaining to the Natzweiler-Struthof Trial at the Landgericht Hechingen (Ordner 23 Bl. 5030).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus

HANAU

The Natzweiler subcamp in Hanau is not listed in the International Tracing Service (ITS) list and was never the subject of an investigation or court proceedings.

Lothar Bembenek states that this subcamp was to be established at the Dunlop factory. The only mention of its existence is to be found in a special order of the Natzweiler concentration camp, dated September 26, 1944, dealing with the assignments of the companies of guards. The order stated that the future camp should be guarded by the 2nd Company.

It is possible that a heavy bombing raid on the Dunlop factory toward the end of the war wiped out any trace of the camp.

SOURCES The only mention of the camp is to be found in N.N., "Spurensuche Aussenlager Hanau," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 61.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HASLACH ("BARBE") [ALSO VULKAN, KINZIGDAMM]

In Haslach, located in the Baden district of Wolfach near Offenburg in Baden-Württemberg, three camps were erected in

summer and fall 1944 in connection with the relocation of armaments production underground, using the tunnel system of the Hartsteinwerke Vulkan. The company had been erected in 1902, and until the outbreak of World War II, it had produced large quantities of gravel for streets and railways, paving stones, undressed stone, and other related building materials. With the start of World War II, Vulkan received enormous government contracts, especially in connection with the erection of strategic highways to the east and the construction of the Siegfried Line (Westwall). When these orders ceased in 1943, Organisation Todt (OT) recruited personnel and machinery from the company for employment in the Ukraine. The grounds of the property were confiscated by the Reich Armaments Ministry and came under the control of OT. Plans were devloped to have Mannesmann produce parts of the V-weapons in the underground areas, and the Messerschmitt company was also interested in using the grounds for producing crankshafts for airplanes. The code name of the project was "Barbe," and it was to cover 18,488 square meters (21,111 square yards) of underground area. In June 1944, OT began planning the erection of 14 larger prisoner barracks along the road between Haslach and Mühlenbach.

The first inmates, males only, arrived in Haslach on September 16, 1944. The transport consisted of 450 inmates who had been evacuated from Struthof via Dachau and Allach. Two-thirds of the prisoners were French; the others came from Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and some from Poland and the USSR. They were kept in a wooden shed near the Haslach sports fields that formerly had belonged to the Wehrmacht. From there they had to walk for about one hour to their work sites, the underground area of the former Hartsteinwerke, where they had to prepare the access road to the area. The prisoners were employed by two local firms, Wayss & Freytag and Dohrmann in Mühlheim, which cooperated with OT. Plans to prepare the production of V-weapons and crankshafts for airplanes were quickly changed after the severe bombardment of the Daimler-Benz facilities at Gaggenau on October 3, 1944. Now the Armament Office in Berlin decided to have Daimler-Benz use the underground facilities, and the partial transfer of production began in November 1944.

The living and working conditions of the inmates at the Sportplatz camp were hard. According to survivor statements, they had to be up at 4:00 A.M. Roll call was accompanied by yelling and beatings. Afterward, they marched in long columns through the town. Their work was physically challenging: They had to build roads, lay pipe, break stones, and pour concrete on the tunnel floors. The guards were brutal, and SS-Rottenführer Lindau was considered the most brutal of them all. Survivors report that he killed several inmates.

Due to their poor condition, inmates began to die quickly. There was no medical treatment available, and the food was bad. Inmates also died from mistreatment, were executed after failed attempts to escape, or died as a result of the exploitation at the job site. When, early in December 1944, a transport of 248 inmates from Flossenbürg arrived, the conditions in the Sportplatz subcamp became even worse. Dysentery, typhoid, and tuberculosis began to spread; by the end of the year, more than 100 inmates had died. Many inhabitants of Haslach who witnessed the brutal treatment of the inmates and observed their poor physical condition tried to provide food, especially apples and potatoes. The local minister, Vetter, got in touch with ministers among the inmates and used these contacts to help severely sick prisoners by providing food and medication.

Numerous transports of prisoners incapable of work left the subcamp for other camps. In February 25, 1945, the remaining 265 prisoners—all of them in very weak condition—were sent to the sick camp in Vaihingen/Enz. But since the Sportplatz camp was not the only camp in Haslach, the work on the project "Barbe" was continued by the inmates of two other camps that had also been erected in the fall of 1944. The Sportplatz camp was put to use one final time from March 28 until mid-April 1945, when the remaining inmates of the Vulkan camp were accommodated there.

On December 10, 1944, when 300 more prisoners arrived from the Work Education Camp (AEL) Niederbühl, there was no room left for them at the Sportplatz camp. For one night, the newly arrived prisoners were kept at the Haslach city hall, and immediately afterward they were taken to the premises of the Kaufsmann Co. From there, they were taken in groups to the Kinzigdamm camp, which probably consisted of two barracks near the Arche Inn, between the houses along Fischerbacher Strasse and the Kinzigdamm, not far from the bridge across Kinzig creek. The camp had been erected by Dutch forced laborers in the fall of 1944, and it existed from fall 1944 until March 1945 and is sometimes also referred to as Protective Custody Camp (Sicherungslager) Kinzigdamm. The Kinzigdamm camp was the smallest of the three Haslach camps, but it was notorious for its horrible hygienic conditions, the poor food supply, and the mistreatment of inmates that resulted in several deaths. The inmates of this camp were employed with numerous local companies and craftsmen. On March 1, 1945, most of them were taken to the Sülz camp, where they were put to work again.

The last Haslach camp was the Vulkan camp, which was erected on December 4, 1944, with the arrival of about 700 male inmates, mainly from the Schirmeck-Vorbrück (Elsass) protective custody camp. Many of them were members of the French resistance, about 100 were hostages from Alsace, and about 350 were Soviet prisoners. The Vulkan prisoners lived under inhuman conditions in the former Hartstein tunnels. They slept on the plain floor, which was covered with straw. The straw was never renewed and became saturated with water and waste from the prisoners, who had no toilets to relieve themselves. The prisoners of the Vulkan camp were employed to prepare the Hartstein tunnel for armaments production; their tasks consisted of laying wastewater pipes, digging tunnels, pouring concrete floors, and breaking and cutting stone.

The camp leader was SS-Scharführer Kraus. Survivors report that on a regular basis he had prisoners' excrement from the infirmary poured out over the kitchen waste to prevent the inmates from eating the garbage, but the inmates were so starved that they ate it nevertheless. Kraus also owned a dog trained to attack human beings—at least one inmate was killed this way, and another one was severely injured. In general, the conditions at the Vulkan camp were worse than in the main camp: Lice were everywhere, and many inmates suffered from typhoid. Inmates who tried to escape where shot, among them several Russian prisoners. A plot among Ukrainian inmates was betrayed, and they were all killed; 10 officers, members of the French resistance, disappeared without a trace; it is very likely that they were shot. Despite the arrival of additional inmates, the production in the tunnel never commenced. The poor condition of the prisoners, the lack of materials and supplies (especially of trucks to transport machinery to the tunnel), and Allied air raids made it impossible to reach any of the planned goals.

In September 1944, there were 1,700 inmates in the three Haslach camps, of which the names of 750 are known. Among them were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners, hostages, prisoners of war (POWs) and hundreds of forced laborers. All three Haslach camps were under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Buck, who had a long career as an SS officer: in 1933, he had been the commandant of the Heuberg concentration camp; afterwards, of the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg and Welzheim camps. From July 1940 until November 1944, Buck had been the commandant of the Schirmeck-Vorbrück camp, until he took over command of the Haslach camps. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger state that the guards at the Haslach subcamp were from the Sixth Waffen-SS Guard Company.

There is no clear indication how many prisoners died in the three Haslach camps. Originally there had been plans to transport the dead back to the main camp and burn them there. Very soon, this became impossible: The main camp was dissolved, and no trucks or gas were available to transport the dead to crematoria in other camps. On September 21, 1944, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) therefore issued a decree (*Anweisung*) to bury the dead at local cemeteries: They were to be dressed in a way that they could not be recognized as concentration camp inmates, and they should be buried in a remote area, where usually suicides and forced laborers were buried. No local, outside personnel had to be involved in the burial. Inmates who died at the Haslach camps were buried at the western edge of the local cemetery; their graves were not marked. Inmates who died at the Vulkan camp were buried next to the camp, on the mountain. After the war, 135 corpses were exhumed, identified, and taken back to their home countries. It is estimated that at least 400 inmates died in the three Haslach camps, among them 192 who succumbed to an epidemic of dysentery in the fall of 1944.

In March 1945, the prisoners were evacuated in a number of transports, either by truck, train, or on foot.

In 1946, Karl Buch was sentenced to death by a British court for his killing of four American and two British pilots who had parachuted from their planes. In 1953, he stood trial again, this time for crimes committed at the Schirmeck-Vorbrück camp, and he was sentenced to death again. Later this sentence was reduced to penitentiary for life in Great Britain, but in 1955 he was transferred to the German authorities who released him shortly after. Further attempts by the Office of the District Attorney to put him on trial were not successful.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Haslach camps can be found in "Gedenkstätte Vulkan—Haslach im Kinzigtal," in *Ortenau*, *Jahrsband 2001*, ed. Historischen Verein Mittelbaden, p. 533. There is also information available online at http://gedenk.vulkan@t<->online.de. Robert Steegmann describes the Haslach subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 112, 286. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger refer briefly to the Haslach subcamp in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Friedrichshall: D. Ernst, K. Riexinger, 1996), p. 18. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the Natzweiler subcamp at 1:203.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HAYINGEN [AKA EBINGEN]

The prisoners in the Natzweiler Hayingen subcamp (French: Hayange) in the former Gau of Westmark were deployed to Ebingen (French: Ebange). The camp is sometimes referred to in the literature as Ebingen.

The camp was opened on August 24, 1944. There were around 500 women who entered the camp on August 28. They were employed by the Hüttenwerkverwaltung Westmark GmbH, in a Hermann Göring Reichs factory in Ebingen. The number of prisoners who died in the camp is uncertain: Antoine Greffier estimates the number as five.

According to concentration camp files and prisoner statements, the prisoners were transferred by foot on September 11, 1944, via Saarlautern to the Ravensbrück concentration camp; it is most likely that the camp was then dissolved. Of the 500 women who marched out of Hayingen, only 363 arrived in Ravensbrück on September 29, 1944; 135 women were able to escape along the way, and only a few of them were recaptured.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann focuses on the subcamp in his monograph *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 74, 261.

Antoine Greffier deals with the history of the Hayingen subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Baden Württemberg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002), p. 125.

The subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:203.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HEIDENHEIM

In mid-December 1944, evacuees from the concentration camp Natzweiler were housed in a barrack at the Police School Heidenheim, which in 1941–1942 had already held prisoners from Dachau.

Immediately before that, the Police School had been evacuated from Heidenheim. From the end of November, part of the SS-Signal Intelligence Female Assistants' School Oberehnheim/Elsass had occupied the empty rooms. This school was forced to leave Oberehnheim on November 22–23, 1944, because of the approaching front. The labor detail, which from September 24, 1944, consisted of 20 prisoners, had been assigned to the SS-Signal Intelligence Female Assistants' School Oberehnheim. It was transferred together with the assistants via Geislingen an der Steige to Heidenheim. The labor detail does not appear on the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, perhaps because it has always been known as the evacuated subcamp "Oberehnheim." From January 13, 1945, the school was officially known as the SS-Female Assistants' School Heidenheim.

The labor detail was kept busy with all the work required by the school: hauling boxes of supplies, felling trees in the forests and cutting them into firewood (there was an acute shortage of coal), cleaning, clearing snow, and so on. Under guard, the prisoners acquired supplies in the city and did work there, partly of an official nature and partly as private work for the SS from the school; skilled craftsmen (cobblers, tailors, painters, carpenters) applied their skills in the camp and in the town.

The identity of the 20 prisoners is known; 7 of the 8 Germans were "criminals"; the eighth, a long-standing Communist, was the camp elder. The foreigners (7 from Luxembourg, 3 Poles, 1 Frenchman, and 1 Russian) were all "protective detention" prisoners; the prisoners from Luxembourg had been arrested because of illegal political activity. There were no Jews. There was no nurse, but there was a (German) clerk.

The strength and composition of the labor detail changed—one of the Luxembourgers was transferred to the subcamp Leonberg on December 31, 1944, and on February 23, 1945, two of the German "criminals" escaped. They were able to cut through the fence of the Police School at night. The SS guard intentionally paid no attention to their escape. The prisoners should have been punished for an infringement, according to a relative's statement, possibly with the death penalty. They were not caught, and there were no reprisals against the remaining prisoners. There were no deaths in Heidenheim.

The commander of the SS squad was Oberscharführer, later Hauptscharführer, Hermann Stiefel, born in 1890 in Erfurt. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and the SS only in November 1941. From then until May 1942, he was stationed in Auschwitz; thereafter, until March 1943, he was in the Natzweiler main camp and then in Oberehnheim. Stiefel was relatively old, small, and fat. His behavior was not what one would expect from a member of the SS. The prisoners did not have any difficulties either with him or the other four guards. This could have been because the end of the war was near, plus the personal interest of the SS that the labor detail remained as a unit to avoid being sent to the front.

The prisoners' barrack most probably was the same as the one used by the Dachau prisoners. However, because of their fewer numbers, they were quartered in one room. The SS occupied the other room. Barbed wire covered the windows. Other barracks existed on the remaining vacant land of the school area. Again, the school kitchen provided food for the prisoners. Even cigarettes were distributed to them from time to time. With the help of the guards, it was also possible to obtain additional food supplies in the town.

The Female Assistants' School and the prisoners were evacuated with trucks on April 5, 1945, further to the south. To the south of Ulm, in Altenstadt-Illereichen, another eight prisoners were able to escape with the passive assistance of the guards. Finally, Stiefel simply dismissed the remaining prisoners. The Americans arrested Stiefel on May 1, 1945, as he tried to return home.

SOURCES There is only a Luxembourg documentary report written in the Luxembourg language about the end of a number of Natzweiler subcamps, including the subcamp Oberehnheim: Ernest Gillen, "D'Enn vun den Niewelager vum K.Z. Natzweiler," *Rappel* Nr. 1–3 (1985): 174. Besides that, only Alfred Hoffmann has written about the Natzweiler subcamp at Heidenheim: Alfred Hoffmann, *Verschwunden, aber nicht vergessen. KZ-Nebenlager in der Polizeischule* (Heidenheim: Verlag Hans-Joachim Kopp, 1996).

The subcamp has scarcely been acknowledged until more recent times. It has definitely not been acknowledged in Heidenheim. Hints of its existence were found by chance in a number of denazification court files and through statements made for the ZdL (files held at BA-L). File IV 410 AR 1209/69 is on Heidenheim, and file IV 419 AR-Z 170/69 is on the subcamp Oberehnheim. Other incomplete records are scattered in the BA-B, NS 32 II (SS-Female Signal Intelligence Assistants' School Oberehnheim). NS 4 Na Büschel 81 (Subcamp Oberehnheim) contains a compiled list of the prisoners. Further worthwhile and precise information was obtained in 1995–1996 from former Luxembourg prisoner Marius Pauly and through contacts with another Luxembourger, Ernest Gillen, who had extensively studied the Natzweiler subcamps and conducted interviews with survivors who have subsequently died.

Alfred Hoffmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HEPPENHEIM

Documents from the Dachau concentration camp show that between May 28, 1942, and December 18, 1942, a Dachau subcamp existed in the town of Heppenheim in Hessen.

On June 15, 1943, the camp was reopened and placed under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Horst Riegert has shown that the camp held 66 male prisoners, some of whom were from Yugoslavia. The prisoners constructed the "Trokofa" dried vegetable factory (Trockenkonservenfabrik) and worked there and on the farm of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W V/1 at the German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions (Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH, DVA). During the cold winter, they had to sort, wash, and trim vegetables in unheated rooms. They were accommodated in wooden barracks on the "Trokofa" site. Occasionally, they were assigned to work in the Schriesheim quarries.

The Heppenheim subcamp was evacuated on March 22–23, 1945. Witnesses stated that most of the prisoners were taken to Dachau. The remaining prisoners were liberated on March 27, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions Heppenheim at 1:204.

Horst Riegert, in "Aussenkommandos Bensheim-Auerbach und Heppenheim," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht*: *Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs*, *Lager*, *Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, provides a short description of the camp.

The BA collections, NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refer to the camp in the following subcollections: 49–102: *Häftlingsangelegenheiten*; within that range, number 85—*Errichtung und Besichtigung einzelner AK*—and also number 102—*Kommando Heppenheim: "Häftlingsküche Heppenheim"*; *Kontrollbuch über Zu- und Abgänge bei Lebensmitteln*, *1943*.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

IFFEZHEIM

A Natzweiler subcamp with male prisoners was located at Iffezheim in Baden. The first reference to the subcamp in the Natzweiler files is on October 14, 1943. The Waffen-SS, Baden/Oos, Sandweier Office, Hauptwirtschaftslager (HWL) II employed the prisoners, who put up barracks for the Waffen-SS in Sandweier and Iffezheim and also worked for the Müller Wine Cellars in Rastatt in loading operations.

The camp is mentioned for the last time in the Natzweiler files on April 22, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions Iffezheim at 1:204.

The BA collection, NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refers to the camp in the following files: 72—AK Iffezheim; 83—Namensliste AK Iffezheim; 85—Errichtung und Besichtigung einzelner AK.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KOCHENDORF ("EISBÄR")

A Natzweiler subcamp for male prisoners was located in the Württemberg town of Kochendorf (incorporated into the city of Bad Friedrichshall in 1933) near Heilbronn. According to the Natzweiler files, the Kochendorf camp was opened on September 3, 1944. At first it held 635 prisoners, but by the time it was dissolved in March 1945, between 1,700 and 1,900 prisoners occupied the camp. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger have written that just under half of these prisoners were Jewish, many of them from Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen. Other prisoners were from Poland, France, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Serbia, Croatia, Greece, and Romania. There were also Czechs, Bulgarians, a Spaniard, a Swiss, and probably crew members of American and British aircraft that had been shot down. The youngest prisoners in Kochendorf were most likely the Polish brothers Abram and Lolek Frydmann from Łódź, 16 and 14 years old.

The subcamp, which was constructed just beneath the present-day district hospital in Bad Friedrichshall, was to be a collection point for prisoners evacuated from Natzweiler subcamps in Lothringen, Audun-le-Tiche, and Thil-Longwy. The former commander of Thil-Longwy, SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Walter Büttner, became camp commander in Kochendorf. The guards were from the Waffen-SS Guard Company 6 commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, who had been commander in Vaihingen an der Enz. The German SS guards were complemented by members of the Africa Corps and the Luftwaffe, as well as by Ukrainian SS members. In October 1944, there were 77 guards. Additional armed guards were later supplied by the Organisation Todt (OT).

The first prisoner barracks were erected by the OT, but prisoners who arrived from September 3 onward at the latest continued construction. At the beginning of October 1944, there were just under 1,400 prisoners in the camp, which was surrounded by an electric barbed-wire fence. Inside the camp there were, as described by Ernst and Riexinger, 11 barracks (8 of them for prisoners, including a special barrack for Jewish prisoners), as well as a jail, a kitchen, and an infirmary. At the rear of the camp there were 3 or 4 transit barracks for prisoners who were only temporarily in Kochendorf. Outside the camp were the administration building, guards' quarters, the food warehouse, the commander's blockhouse, the guards' washhouse, and the laundry room.

The camp was set up in the immediate vicinity of a sloping tunnel that led to underground armaments manufacturing sites, the SS construction venture called "Eisbär," which was part of a still-active salt mine. Ernst and Riexinger provide evidence that the construction companies Hochtief AG and Veruschacht, which had constructed these underground facilities, were among the first and the largest recipients of prisoner labor. Another major taskmaster was Ernst Heinkel AG, Werk Hirthmotorenbau (Hirth Engine Construction

Plant), which in this underground location produced prototypes for Heinkel (He) S 011 jet engines (probably only blades and crankshafts). It is not known exactly when production began; the prisoners were initially busy preparing the manufacturing sites. By December 1944 at the latest, other armaments firms, primarily metalworking, had begun production in the mine. Among them were facilities to produce machine guns and gearboxes for the *Panzerkampfwagen* III tank. Ernst and Riexinger list about 40 companies at work in the mining tunnel (*adit*). (It has not been possible to confirm the rumors that the V weapons were produced in Kochendorf. Ernst and Riexinger suspect that such statements arose from prisoners because the slim Heinkel turbine resembled the V rockets and that the production of both required printed circuit boards.)

Kochendorf prisoners also worked under OT construction management in Weinsberg and Kochendorf and for the Kiebitz OT site management in Heilbronn. They were furthermore deployed to work in agriculture, to fill bomb craters at the nearby military airfield in Oedheim, and to work at the Neckarsulm Motoronwerke AG (NSU) factory in Neckarsulm. The prisoners also performed forced labor for the Bad Friedrichshall community, where, among other things, they cut grass, removed rubble from bombed houses, dug graves for bombing victims, cleared snow, and fortified the banks of the Neckar canal.

Sanitary conditions in the Kochendorf subcamp were catastrophic. The camp only existed during the coldest part of the year (September to March), but neither the buildings nor the prisoners were suitably outfitted: cold, constant dampness, infestations of lice, systematic malnutrition, and ruthless exploitation resulted in a high rate of illness and death among the prisoners. According to Ernst and Riexinger, the death rate in the infirmary, where a Czech and a French doctor worked under the supervision of an OT doctor, was 90 percent.

Reports of prisoner abuse, escape attempts, and executions have emerged from the subcamp. Thus, in October 1944, Hungarian prisoner Miklos Klein was executed for alleged sabotage. In November 1944, a Russian prisoner, who had tried to escape with two others, was executed. His companions were apparently successful in their escape attempt, as was a Russian who had already fled in October.

After a U.S. bombing raid in March 1945 destroyed a shaft-head frame and as the front moved steadily closer, armaments production gradually shut down during that month. On March 28, 1945, at least 398 no longer ambulant prisoners were evacuated by freight car to Dachau. On March 30, between 1,200 and 1,500 prisoners started the Kochendorf death march headed by Commandant Büttner. Conservative estimates are that at least 220 people died on this march. The prisoners arrived at Dachau in several batches: the transport of nonambulant prisoners arrived on April 2 (354 prisoners and 44 dead); on April 8, another 753 prisoners; a further 5 prisoners on April 12. Kochendorf prisoners were also joined with the Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental death march to Dachau, while others were sent to Dachau/München-Allach and from there to München-Riem.

The number of surviving Kochendorf prisoners ranges between 1,000 and 1,300; a closer estimate is impossible. Within the camp itself, 234 deaths have been verified, along with a further 213 on the evacuation marches. Nevertheless, the numbers are unreliable because many of the dead could not be identified. In addition, the numbers do not include those prisoners who were selected in Kochendorf and sent to the death camps.

During the Rastatt Trials from October 6 to November 21, 1947, 42 members of the guard and camp command of the Natzweiler subcamps at Hessental, Kochendorf, Vaihingen/Enz, and Unterriexingen were tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Tribunal Général of the French Military Government in Rastatt sentenced 7 of the accused to death. Of the 4 executions that were carried out, 2 involved defendants from Kochendorf: SS-Unterscharführer Richard Maurer, a dog handler who had trained his dog to attack prisoners and tear off their flesh, had also allegedly buried a prisoner alive; the second person to be executed was Obergefreite Joseph Kaiser (nicknamed the "African"), an Africa Corps soldier, alleged to have killed at least three prisoners. Furthermore, the Rastatt Trials imposed one life sentence, and 11 received either maximum or normal-security prison terms.

Subcamp commander Büttner had commanded the Natzweiler Quarry subcamp from the spring of 1941. In the summer of 1944, he became the commander of the subcamp at Thil-Longwy and served from September 3, 1944, as Waffen-SS Oberscharführer commander of Kochendorf. At the end of 1945, a denazification court in Berlin exculpated him as a follower (*Mitläufer*), but in 1949, a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin sentenced him to forced labor for life, which he served in penitentiaries in Berlin and Bautzen. In 1954, a French military court in Metz sentenced him in absentia to death. After he was released from prison in 1956, the Stuttgart state prosecutor began investigations in 1962, during which he was interrogated twice, once in 1962 and then in 1969. The proceedings ceased in November 1970 because of insufficient evidence. Büttner died in 1975.

SOURCES Kochendorf is listed as a Natzweiler subcamp in ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:204.

Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger have described the history of the subcamp and its connections with the German armaments industry in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit. Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall: Welker, 1996). The book contains many reproductions of documents on the camp history, witness reports, and pictures, as well as a comprehensive bibliography.

Collection RG-50.042*0007, Acc. 1994.A.447 of the USHMMA in Washington, DC, contains the witness statements of Shony Braun about his odyssey through German

concentration camps. Among other things, he reports on the death of his father in the Kochendorf subcamp after severe mistreatment by guards and the SS. These archives also contain a report by George Freshman about his experiences as a prisoner at Kochendorf, Vaihingen, and Vaihingen/Unterriexingen in Collection Acc. 1997.A.0829. Furthermore, at USHMMA, Collection Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 44, has the names of 700 prisoners transferred from Sachsenhausen to Kochendorf in October 1944. The BA-MA in Freiburg holds documents on Kochendorf in Collection RW 19/1788, RL 3/1172 and R 3/1757.

Files on Ernst Heinkel AG are held in the ASt-Ros. The files of the ZdL (held at BA-L) on Kochendorf are cataloged as IV 419 AR-Z 180/1969. Other documents are to be found in the ASt-B-Fl, which also holds documents on the camp's cemetery.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LEONBERG

The city of Leonberg is located in Württemberg, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Stuttgart. It was chosen as the site for a large subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp because an airplane parts manufacturing plant (*Presswerke*) for the firm Augsburg Messerschmitt AG was located there. The workshops were built in the Etlingen area. Next to Leonberg ran a section of the Munich-Heilbronn highway, and a double tunnel had been dug before the war. At the end of 1943, the ends of the tunnel were blocked and the factory was relocated there. Production began at the end of spring 1944. All that was needed was a labor supply. A Natzweiler subcamp (*Aussenlager*) was created for that purpose, just a few hundred meters from the tunnel's entrance. The exact date of the camp's creation is unknown, but it appears that the first transport of prisoners arrived on April 10, 1944, bringing 398 inmates from the Dachau subcamps of Haunstetten and Gablingen. They were put in barracks built on a plot on Seestrasse in Leonberg.

New transports of inmates arrived regularly. On June 1, 1944, there were 650 men in the camp; on July 1, 852; July 9, 798; July 12, 1,032; September 30, 1,162; October 31, 1,555. The number of inmates rapidly increased until reaching around 3,000. The largest number of convoys came from Dachau or its subcamps. At least 13 convoys arrived from the Dachau main camp; 5 from Dachau/Augsburg-Pfersee, with a total of 748 men; 2 from Dachau/Kaufering, with 268 inmates; and a single convoy of 129 people from Dachau/Gablingen. At least 1 convoy arrived from Sachsenhausen (216 men) and 1 from Auschwitz (200). It is thus possible to calculate that at least 3,329 inmates were registered at Leonberg. Some were sent back to other camps; for example, 31 of them were sent to Dachau on November 1, 1944; two groups of 60 each to Natzweiler/Vaihingen/Enz, and 258 to Bergen-Belsen on March 11, 1945. The inmates arrived at the train station in Leonberg, and then they had to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the camp. They came from all over Europe, from at least 21 countries (including Switzerland and Spain). The most widely represented nationalities were Polish, Hungarian, French, Russian, and Yugoslav. The categories of inmates present in the camp were also diverse. While the majority were registered as "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*) prisoners, there were Jews, political prisoners, Gypsies, "asocials," and prisoners of war (POWs). The first Jewish prisoners did not arrive until November 1944. There were in total 659 Jews registered in Leonberg.

The camp was made up of five wooden barracks on concrete foundations; one served as an infirmary (*Revier*). The other buildings each included four sections into which prisoners were crowded. The camp, surrounded by electrified barbed-wire fences, was guarded from about four or six towers. The roll-call yard was small. The surveillance of the camp was in the hands of the SS. On July 29, 1944, there were 12 SS noncommissioned officers (Unterführer) and 21 guards assigned to Leonberg. With the number of inmates increasing rapidly, the number of guards was increased to 15 Unterführer and 45 guards. During at least the first few months of the camp's existence, certain wardens were not with the SS but were soldiers in the Luftwaffe. It is even possible during the early period that the head of the subcamp himself might have been an officer in the Luftwaffe. Before the evacuation, the head of the subcamp was an SS-Obersturmführer.

The inmates' sanitary situation was relatively adequate in the camp's first few months but rapidly deteriorated after November 1944 with the arrival of a large number of prisoners. The number of deaths increased beginning in November, and the situation was catastrophic up until the evacuation. A typhus epidemic broke out. Numerous inmates were evacuated to the SS hospital camps (*Krankenlager*). Whereas there had only been 1 or 2 deaths a month until October, there were 6 in November, 21 in December, and 51 in January. In February, 162 inmates died. At least 291 deaths were recorded at the city hall prior to the evacuation (including 99 Polish, 49 Hungarians, 41 French, and 39 Italians), but the actual number of dead was higher. The bodies were buried in a mass grave dug near the camp, in a place called Blosenberg. After the war, the grave was opened, and 374 bodies were found.

Some inmates escaped; 13 succeeded in leaving the camp between May 22 and August 16, 1944, of whom 9 were recaptured. Their fate is not known. Three Russian prisoners were sentenced to 15 baton blows for "preparation to escape" (*Vorbereitungen zur Flucht*). On August 6, Russian prisoner Wladimir Golowin succeeded in fleeing. Recaptured, he was hanged in the camp on September 28. On December 1, 1944, a German prisoner was beaten during an attempted escape.

The Leonberg *Schreibstube* sent daily reports on the inmates' work to the Natzweiler camp administration, which, after the evacuation of the camp from Alsace, was installed at Guttenbach/Baden as of November 23, 1944.

The vast majority of camp prisoners worked in the tunnel, manufacturing airplane parts, in particular, wings for Messerschmitt (Me) 262 series aircraft. The majority of the factory's workers were inmates, but there were also German foremen and foreign forced laborers. For this last group, barracks were built at one of the entrances of the tunnel. Messerschmitt AG sent at least one engineer and several technicians to Leonberg. The inmates worked 12-hour periods, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. In December, a single 18-hour workday was imposed, with stoppages of 48 consecutive hours. Some inmates were also employed outside the tunnel. We know, for example, of the existence of a mine clearance team. Other groups worked on small construction sites in Leonberg; another in a nearby quarry. After the aerial bombardments on the city, some inmates were put to work clearing the ruins.

In mid-April 1945, facing the advance of Allied troops, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Stuttgart. The inmates received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread for the journey. Many among them were beaten during the death march, for example, at Mitterskirchen. At the train station in Stuttgart, they were loaded into freight cars, as many as 100 per car. Some inmates died in the cars. Fights broke out. There was no food distribution. After three days of travel, the train arrived at the Kaufering station, close to Landsberg, about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) from Munich, where there was a Dachau subcamp. According to the testimony of one of the inmates, Ernst Bornstein, one-fourth of the men died on the train. The majority of the inmates, 1,989, remained in this subcamp; a smaller contingent of 724 men was transported to the Mühldorf subcamp, which was also under the control of Dachau.

Before the arrival of the Allied armies, the barracks of the Leonberg camp were burned down. The remains were razed after the war, and apartment buildings were constructed on the site.

In 1953, the mass grave was opened, and the bodies were buried in the municipal cemetery. In addition to the 291 recorded deaths, 82 bodies were found.

On December 28, 1979, an inhabitant of Leonberg, Margarete Stingele, received a Merit Cross (*Verdienstkreuz*) from the president of the Federal Republic of Germany for the help she had given to the camp's inmates.

SOURCES Documentation pertaining to the Leonberg subcamp can be found at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Leonberg; Zuwachsordner KL Natzweiler); the VVN, Stuttgart (Ordner Leonberg); BA-L (AZ IV 419 AR-Z 171/69). Among the few secondary sources on the camp are Jürgen Klingel, "Zur Funktion und Entwicklung der Konzentrationslager. Das Lager Leonberg," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 19–69; Friedrick E. Wolf, ed., *KZ in Leonberg. Eine Dokumentation* (Leonberg: Haus der Begegnung Erwachsenenarbeit der Evang. Kirchenbezirke Leonberg/Ditzingen, 1980). A former Jewish inmate of Leonberg wrote a memoir: Ernst Israel Bornstein, *Die lange Nacht. Ein Bericht aus sieben Lagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

MANNHEIM-SANDHOFEN [AKA MANNHEIM-WALDHOF]

On September 27, 1944, a subcamp of the concentration camp Natzweiler was opened at Sandhofen, a suburb of the city of Mannheim, in Baden. This subcamp was also known by the name Mannheim-Waldhof. A convoy of 1,060 men arrived from Dachau on that September day. Some inmates had only briefly passed through Dachau, like the Pole Zdzisław Siwak, who came from the transit camp of Pruszkow and who left a testimony of his internment at Mannheim-Sandhofen. The journey lasted three days, despite the short distance between the two camps. The inmates were allocated prisoner numbers from 29241 to 30300. Once they arrived at the train station in Mannheim, they went through town on foot, in rows of five, to reach their new camp. On October 7, the camp management asked the administration of the Natzweiler main camp for seven German Kapos and a doctor for the inmates (*Häftlingsarzt*). A doctor arrived at the camp. His name was Andreas Barhard, and he was an Iraqi, born on November 13, 1914. He had internment number 14903. The camp elder (Lagerältester) was Karlus Walter. There were some Jewish inmates in the camp, including survivors of the Warsaw ghetto. A group of Polish prisoners had taken part in the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944.

The camp was established in three schools. The main school was the Friedrich School (Friedrich Schule), located at Kriegstrasse 28 in Sandhofen. The two other schools were on the same street, at numbers 15 and 18. Five supplementary Kapos who spoke Polish were sent to the camp. Surveillance was provided by 40 soldiers from the Luftwaffe and by a few SS men. The main building, the former Friedrich School, consisted of eight classrooms on each of the two floors, each room measuring about 60 square meters (646 square feet). There were 13 toilets on the first floor and two small administrative offices. The inmates were crowded into the classrooms, with more than 60 per room. Behind the building there was a courtyard and a gymnasium (*Schulturnhalle*) where a kitchen was installed for the inmates. Siwak reports in his testimony that a small orchestra was formed around that time, to entertain the guards.

The inmates' sanitary situation was quite poor. They would arrive at the camp already weakened and in poor health. They were frequently beaten. Their uniforms were only washed one time during the camp's entire existence. The prisoners were able to take advantage, however, of a weekly shower or bath, in the school's facilities. The guards carried out death sentences by hanging prisoners from a tree in the camp's courtyard. A box would be placed under the inmate's

feet, and the youngest prisoner, who was 14 years old, would have to push it away. Some children from the neighborhood attended the hangings. For example, inmate Marian Kraiński, born in 1914, was hanged, accused of having sabotaged production at the Daimler-Benz factory where he worked. He was executed on January 4, 1945. The camp's dead were buried in the Mannheim cemetery. Frequently the prisoners faced sadistic treatment from the guards who "amused" themselves with the inmates. Abuse of prisoners declined following intervention from the management of the Daimler-Benz factory where the inmates worked, due to dissatisfaction with low productivity. There were escapes from the camp: a group of three prisoners in November 1944 and an isolated escape, that of one of the Kapos dressed in the uniform of an SS guard.

The majority of inmates worked in the Daimler-Benz factory in Luzenberg, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away from the camp. They went there on foot and returned each night to the camp. The workweek was six and a half days, at a rate of 11 hours a day. One Sunday night in three was idle, but the day was taken up with interminable roll calls in the courtyard, accompanied by forced marches and poor treatment. Daimler-Benz AG paid the SS 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day of work by a skilled laborer and just 4 RM for an unskilled laborer. In October 1944, the company paid 106,181.20 RM to the management of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The inmates of Mannheim-Sandhofen worked in manufacturing crankshafts and trucks. They were employed as lathe operators or on an assembly line. The factory supplied the camp with supplementary food rations, which were frequently stolen by the guards.

A few days before Christmas 1944, Mannheim and Ludwigsburg were bombed. A bomb fell on the camp's kitchen, killing the inmates who worked there and injuring several others. The school was damaged, and some inmates were temporarily housed in a bunker that had originally been intended to serve as a civilian shelter.

Starting in December 1944, on Christmas, several hundred inmates were removed from the camp and sent to Buchenwald. The rest of the prisoners were housed in the building of the preschool next door, which until then had housed Italian forced laborers. Space was lacking. Inmates lived under the roof, where the temperature was terribly low. In mid-March, a selection took place, and inmates deemed unfit for labor were sent to the Vaihingen/Enz camp. About 400 men remained at Sandhofen. They were evacuated on March 20, 1945, to the camp at Kochendorf, another Natzweiler subcamp, located near Stuttgart. They were put to work in an airplane factory built inside a salt mine. The camp was evacuated on March 30, with the 1,500 surviving inmates. The death march lasted eight days, until reaching Dachau. Only 175 men made it there alive. There were a small number of survivors, just a few hundred, from the Mannheim-Sandhofen camp. When American troops entered Mannheim on March 26, 1945, the camp had been entirely evacuated.

SOURCES Little literature exists on the Mannheim-Sandhofen subcamp; see Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), pp. 161–182.

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

MARKIRCH

The Markirch (French: Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines) subcamp is first mentioned in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on March 13, 1944. According to Robert Steegmann, the subcamp was opened with 25 prisoners on this date. Immediately thereafter a transport of 500 prisoners arrived from Dachau, of whom 36.6 percent were Italians, 23.4 percent were Soviets, and 22.6 percent were Yugoslavs. Some 96 percent of the prisoners were political prisoners; 12 were "asocials"; 7 were security prisoners; 1 was a prisoner who refused to serve with the Wehrmacht; 2 were foreign civilian forced laborers; and 2 were prisoners of war (POWs). By the autumn of 1944, 59 of these prisoners are thought to have died in the Markirch subcamp. Initially the camp consisted solely of the Markirch site; later Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) established a second camp in Otto-Hütten, with the camps being known as Camp I and II. From the end of April 1944 to the end of December 1944, the Markirch camp commander was Eugen Wur.; Andreas Göb. was senior Kapo (the abbreviated names have been taken from the court proceedings).

According to Steegmann, a second transport of 500 prisoners arrived at the end of March 1944; 48.7 percent of the prisoners were Italians, 26.4 percent were Yugoslavs, 24.6 percent were Soviets, and 10.1 percent were Germans; but there were also 25 French and 28 Greeks. The overwhelming majority of prisoners, 96.7 percent, were political prisoners. The men from both transports were set to work in Markirch, constructing the camp and preparing a disused railway tunnel as the production site for aircraft engines by BMW. Supplies and production material mostly came from the Dachau/München-Allach (BMW) subcamp, which had been largely destroyed during Allied bombing raids.

Other transports arrived in the following months: 56 prisoners on May 25, 1944; 16 on June 1; 60 on June 17; and 537 on June 18. All the transports originated from München-Allach and consisted mostly of Soviet political prisoners, who had been chosen for their professional skills—construction workers and metalworkers. Two other transports from München-Allach arrived in Markirch between July and August 1944: on July 19, 223 prisoners; and on July 23, 139 prisoners (61.3 percent Italian, 6.3 percent Yugoslav, 18.5 percent Soviet, 8.2 percent Dutch). Documents from the Natzweiler concentration camp reveal that these prisoners were not chosen because of their professional skills. A final, large transport from München-Allach arrived in the camp in August 1944—57.3 percent of the prisoners in this trans-

port were Soviet citizens. The 226 prisoners did not remain in Markirch but were distributed between other Natzweiler subcamps in Neckartal, including camps of the Gruppe "Wüste" and the subcamp in Spaichingen. Steegmann states the source material on the transports to Markirch is generally chaotic and that not all were put together in the Natzweiler main camp.

It is likely that two prisoners were executed in the camp for trying to escape: the execution of Italian prisoner Agsdino Campo (escaped on July 30, 1944; hanged on September 14, 1944) is documented.

On August 14, 1944, there were 1,857 prisoners registered in Markirch as capable of working: 816 for the construction detachment Markirch A9 [Ste Marie A9] and 1,041 for BMW (Elsässische Spezial Grosskellerei). The Markirch A9 work site was a tunnel that was constructed close to Saint-Die. The tunnel was 6,875 meters (about 7,519 yards) long, 6.15 meters (6.7 yards) high, and 7.8 meters (8.5 yards) wide. Under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritsch and SS-Obersturmführer Losacker, a Mannheim architect, railway track laying, electrical, and concreting work was to be done on the surface of 50,000 square meters (538,195 square yards). Ventilation and heating equipment was also to be installed. After the tunnel was constructed, it was to be prepared so that BMW could commence production of aircraft engines. Work in the tunnel was extraordinarily difficult, and the high humidity resulted in many illnesses. At least 100 prisoners died while working in the tunnel. These numbers do not include those prisoners who could no longer work and who were returned to the main camp, where they were exchanged for new prisoners.

At the end of August 1944, there were between 1,600 and 1,700 prisoners in the camp. However, production in the A9 tunnel never commenced due to the advance of the front line. During September, most of the prisoners were evacuated in different transports to Dachau (mostly to the München-Allach subcamp). At least 62 prisoners died while being transported. Other prisoners were taken to the Neckarelz and Neckargartach subcamps.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes Markirch in his history of the Natzweiler concentration camp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 67–69, 276–277. SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wur. was tried in 1965–1966 before the court (Landgericht) in Hechingen for the execution of a foreign prisoner but was acquitted for lack of evidence. The judgment is to be found in *JuNS-V,* vol. 23, lfd. Nr. 625, pp. 369–426.

Archival material on the Markirch camp can be found in the ACCS as well as in the AAC-C (Collection NAT 55: Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, 1 box). Records from investigations by the state prosecutor on crimes committed in the Markirch subcamp are held at the BA-L (419 AR 2191/67; 419 AR-Z 33/61).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

METZ

During the German occupation, from 1940 to 1944, there was a Natzweiler subcamp for male prisoners in the city of Metz, which belonged in that period to the German administrative unit Gau Westmark. The first mention of the camp is on August 6, 1943, and the last, a year later, on August 16, 1944.

The prisoners were used by the Waffen-SS Building Administration as well as by the police and SS-Intelligence School in Metz. They were accommodated in the Fort Göben Casemate I.

SOURCES The Metz subcamp is mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Hafstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:206.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜHLHAUSEN

The Mühlhausen subcamp (French: Mulhouse) was located in the former Reichsgau Bade-Elsass. It came into existence during the liquidation of the Natzweiler main camp, lasting for only a few weeks.

The camp is first mentioned in the Natzweiler files in the period after August 24, 1944. Around 200 male prisoners were taken from Dachau to Mühlhausen on August 30, 1944, to construct a factory for Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Elmag), which was to be used to produce armaments.

Robert Steegmann determined the composition of the prisoners: around 18 percent were Italians, 12.5 percent were Poles, and 48.5 percent were Soviets. The large majority of the prisoners were political prisoners.

The prisoners never commenced work because of the approach of Allied troops. The camp is mentioned for the final time in the files of the main camp on September 29, 1944, when 198 inmates were sent back to Dachau.

SOURCES A description of the Mühlhausen subcamp is provided by Robert Steegmann in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 261. Antoine Greffier states that the Mühlhausen subcamp was a secure Natzweiler subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof,* published by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg in 2002, at p. 157.

The Mühlhausen subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:206.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NECKARELZ I AND II

At the end of the war, as Allied bombardments on the Reich intensified, the production of war equipment went underground.

The gypsum mine in Obrigheim/Neckar was used as the site for Daimler-Benz workshops to manufacture engines for Messerschmitt planes. Previously, the mine had been operated by the Heidelberg company Portland-Zementwerke. Two subcamps of the Natzweiler concentration camp in Alsace were created to supply labor to the subterranean factories. They were built in the town of Neckarelz, located on the other side of the Neckar River. The first subcamp was set up in the Neckarelz school on March 21, 1944, with the arrival of a convoy of 500 inmates from Dachau, where they had been selected for the work. The lack of security installations permitted 3 inmates to escape shortly after their arrival; quickly, however, the grounds of the school were surrounded by barbed-wire fences. The Neckarelz subcamps were built in the following months, as the Daimler-Benz labor demand increased. In April, three other convoys with prisoners arrived from Auschwitz, Natzweiler, and Gross-Rosen. In May, 600 men were sent from Oranienburg. Between July 22 and 24, 1944, 1,100 inmates, all French, arrived from Dachau, where they had been transported from the camp at Compiègne on July 1. A convoy sent from Markirch brought another 600 men in September 1944.

In the Neckarelz I camp and the three subsubcamps there were 2,129 inmates in June 1944 (1,100 in Neckarelz alone) and 2,944 in September. In Neckarelz II, there were an average of 1,400 inmates. The group of five camps included 3,000 inmates at the time of its evacuation. There were some women among them, mostly French prostitutes imprisoned in France and sent to concentration camps by the Germans.

The Neckarelz camp had a rectangular shape. The school yard served as the roll-call area. The barracks were built around it, 12 in all, with several infirmaries (*Revier*), a warehouse for food, two disinfectant rooms, and another for the block leader (*Blockführer*). The inmates were housed in the school building's eight classrooms where trilevel bunk beds were put up. The inmates' office (*Schreibstube*) was in the cellar, along with the office of the "protective custody" camp chief (Schutzhaftlagerführer).

In December 1944, a second camp was built, near the entrance of the Obrigheim mine, designated as Neckarelz II. It was located next to the old Neckarelz train station, beside the tracks. It consisted of one or two housing barracks but depended on Neckarelz I for the rest of its facilities (kitchen, infirmary). Inmates deemed unfit for work were sent to Neckarelz I and replaced by prisoners from there. The camp guard was made up of a few SS men and 300 to 400 Luftwaffe soldiers from the Gotha and Vienna units.

The first commandant, transferred from the Auschwitz camp administration, was SS-Obersturmführer Hössler. He was replaced after two months by SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Hofmann, who also came from Auschwitz. In October 1945, he was put in charge of the Gruppe "Wüste" camps. The protective custody camp chief replaced him.

The commander of Neckarelz II was an SS man with the rank of Rottenführer. The director of labor named Lutz murdered many inmates and was sentenced to death after liberation by a military tribunal in Rastatt. The camp elder (Lagerältester) of Neckarelz I was Max Schwaiger. A former lieutenant in the Wehrmacht, he had been denounced for seditious intentions and sent to a concentration camp. The Lagerältester of camp II was a homosexual, Walter Haufe; according to survivor accounts, he displayed sadistic behavior.

At Neckarelz, there existed the position of Oberkapo to supervise the group of Kapos. The position was held by someone named Hermann, a procurer from Berlin. Some Kapos behaved particularly brutally and killed dozens of inmates. Positions within the camp's administration were held by political prisoners. There was a political department (*Politische Abteilung*) at Neckarelz, directed by a criminal policeman (*Kriminalsekretär*) of the Karlsruhe Gestapo. There were at least six executions, five for attempted escape and one for sabotage.

The prisoners' food was prepared by a group of 11 prisoners in the Neckarelz camp and brought to Obrigheim by truck. The meals at 9:00 A.M. and at noon were taken on the work site. The food was insufficient for the inmates, despite the 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) paid monthly by Daimler-Benz to purchase supplementary rations. Clothing was even scarcer, as the delousing hut at Neckarelz I burned down at the end of August 1944, along with many clothes. The inmates tried to protect themselves from the cold by putting sheets of paper or empty cement sacks under their shirts, even though that was forbidden.

The majority of inmates worked in the old gypsum mine, where they had to enlarge the subterranean chambers to set up workshops. This immense project carried the code name of "A8." The existing subterranean chambers were enlarged, others were dug, the corridors were reinforced with concrete, and electricity was provided. An enormous heating installation, the *Kesselhaus*, was built and fortified to resist bombardments. It was a matter of building workshops for Daimler-Benz to manufacture airplane engines for the Messerschmitt and Heinkel aviation factories. At the end of the war, a floor space of 71,000 square meters (84,915 square yards), together with 34 kilometers (21 miles) of subterranean corridors, had been created underground.

The hardest excavation work was reserved for camp inmates. Forced laborers were employed at the manufacturing plant. They were housed in hospitals and in a requisitioned home for the disabled. In all, 5,000 men and women worked in the mine. Other inmates from Neckarelz were employed in construction work by the SS-Construction Special Inspectorate (Bausonderinspektion) III Obrigheim and by different local public works companies, like Dyckerhoff und Widmann (D & W). One group of inmates worked in the galleries of the mines at Obrigheim and Neckarzimmern; another group was employed in a cement factory, and a third in a pickle plant (*Gurkenkonservenfabrik*). Small labor details, often temporary, existed too. There was one at the train station in Neckarelz where the inmates were unloaded from the train cars. The one at Asbach built barracks. The Mosbach detail worked for an Alsatian company where there were free Alsatian workers who when on leave would run small shopping errands for the French inmates.

The official list of deceased French inmates at Neckarelz I and II and at Neckargerach includes 232 names. The bodies of the dead inmates were first sent to the crematory in Heidelberg. Beginning in mid-October 1944, in order to save the costs of cremation and transportation, they were buried in a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery of Binau, situated between Neckarelz and Neckargerach.

At the end of March 1945, the order to evacuate the camps arrived. The inmates of the sub-subcamps of Asbach, Bad Rappenau, and Neckarbischofsheim were sent to Neckarelz I. From there, all of the prisoners left on foot on March 25 or 26. On March 29, they arrived at Kupferzell, where they stayed two days. The death march continued in the direction of Schwäbisch-Hall, where approximately 2,000 prisoners boarded a freight train that took them to Dachau; 1,655 arrived alive. On April 28, 441 additional Neckarelz inmates arrived at Dachau, having covered the distance on foot. A freight train transported another 287 inmates incapable of walking. Because bombardments had destroyed the tracks, the train stopped at Osterburken. After four days of waiting, the prisoners were liberated by American troops.

The machines that were found in the mine were dismantled and sent to the Soviet Union. In 1952, the bodies in the Binau cemetery were exhumed, and those of the French prisoners, after being identified, were sent to the military cemetery in Strasbourg. The other corpses were buried again, near the entrance of the Jewish cemetery.

SOURCES A complete description of the history of the camp can be found in Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA Verlag, 1986), pp. 183–237. Philippe Bent, a French doctor, wrote a book of memoirs: *L'attente de la mort dans les camps du Neckar* (Montclar-de-Quercy: Dr Philippe Bent, 1957). A member of the Resistance arrested in Toulouse, Bent was first deported to the camp of Compiègne, then to Dachau on July 1, 1944, before July 22, when he was sent to Neckarelz. Another member of the Resistance from Toulouse, Jacques Barrau, was deported on the same convoy. In Neckarelz, with the help of other inmates, he started to make some drawings of daily life in the camp. These drawings were saved and completed after liberation. They are published, with commentaries in both French and German: Jacques Barrau, *Dessins d'un camp. Le camp de Neckarelz*, *Zeichnungen aus einem Lager. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz* (Karlsruhe: Verlag Michael Schmid, 1992). For another survivor testimony, see Alice Landau, *Neuf mois de chirurgie au camp de déportation de Neckarelz* (Toulouse, 1947).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

NECKARELZ I AND II/ASBACH

In the Baden village of Asbach, male Natzweiler concentration camp inmates were stationed to erect barracks for employees of the Daimler-Benz company. The camp was part of the Neckar camp complex, and the work done here was closely connected with the project "Goldfisch," the relocation of the Daimler-Benz production site from Genshagen to Obrigheim, not far from Asbach, and the "Kormoran" project. After the work was completed, the prisoners were to return to the camps they had originally come from, Neckarelz and Neckargerach. In recent literature—for instance, by Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig—the Asbach camp is therefore referred to as Barackenbaukommando (barracks construction detachment).

The original SS plans consisted of erecting 32 barracks for approximately 1,200 Ostarbeiter (Eastern forced laborers), with the construction work to be concluded on August 20, 1944. Due to short supplies of material and slave labor, however, construction work only began on September 14, 1944, when 60 male prisoners from Neckargerach, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Meyer and guarded by 10 SS men, were taken to Asbach, to the camp site in the village forest at Daudenzell. For the first two weeks, the prisoners were taken back to Neckargerach every night. From September 25 on, they were accommodated in the first barracks that was finished in the camp. In the course of fall 1944, the number of inmates increased to 150, now also including inmates from Neckarelz I.

At the same time, other projects within the Neckar camp complex gained a higher priority, and increasing Allied air raids made the construction work harder and harder. In December 1944, the project was mostly complete: The pipeline that brought drinking water into the camp was laid, the kitchen barracks were all but finished, and a wash barracks was under construction, as were 8 to 10 barracks that were to be used as living quarters. Also, the road leading to the camp and the pathways within the camp were completed. By the end of 1944, the plans were reduced: now only 9 barracks were to be erected, and the number of concentration camp inmates in the camp was reduced to 45. Asbach remained a provisional camp. In Janaury 1945, Dr. Jean Andréis, who at that time was the prisoner physician at Neckarzimmern, was called to Asbach to take care of the SS commando leader who had taken a bad fall. As Markowitsch and Rautnig report, Andréis recieved permission to visit the local pharmacy, and while buying the necessary medication for the SS man, he also bought some medication for the inmates, mainly vitamin pills, and surgical gauze. Besides this doctor's visit, there was no medical care in the camp, which apparently had no infirmary.

On March 23, 1945, the work at the camp officially ceased, and the inmates were transferred back to Neckarelz. Afterward, the camp was dissolved.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig deliver detailed information on the role of the Asbach camp within the Neckar camp complex in *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler- Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). Robert Steegmann describes the Asbach subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg:

Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76, 110. Neckarelz I and II/Asbach labor details are mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:207.

A reference in the BA-B (NS 4, KL Na, Catalogue 49-102, Häftlingsangelegenheiten) mentions the camp in Asbach as follows: "93—AL Neckarelz: Prisoners Transferred Back to Natzweiler, 93a—AK Neckarzimmern, Neckargerach, Asbach." At BA-BL, see call number 419 AR-1781/67 Asbach-Daudenzell for information on the Asbach camp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NECKARELZ I AND II/BAD RAPPENAU

A work detachment of the Natzweiler subcamps Neckarelz I and II for male prisoners was located in the Baden town of Bad Rappenau. It was part of the Neckar camp complex and specifically dedicated to the machinery that was to be used by the Daimler-Benz company after its relocation from Genshagen near Berlin to Obrigheim.

According to an official report, the Bad Rappenau camp was opened between September and October 1944 with the arrival of about 15 inmates from the Neckarelz camp in the town of Bad Rappenau, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Bad Wimpfen. Inmates were to prepare a giant machinery park in the old salt pit of Bad Rappenau; therefore, the inmates had to clean the salt pit first to prepare it for storing the machines there. This equipment came from the local SS-Bauhof, which was in charge of paints, engines, machines, air filtration systems, clothing supply, modular barracks, and other items—all of them booty from the occupied areas and evacuated goods from areas that had fallen into the hands of the Allies. Inmates had to unload the arriving equipment and place it in the fabric halls. The prisoners were located in the two former drilling houses of the salt pit: in one of them, they installed two-tier bunk beds; the second building was used as the inmates' kitchen. Most likely, the camp administration and the guards' quarters were also in this second building. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire.

Like the guards, the majority of inmates had come from the Natzweiler subcamp at Wesserling, which had been evacuated in late fall of 1944 to Neckarelz. This transfer is confirmed by the memoirs of Zacheus Pawlak, a Polish inmate first of Auschwitz, then of Wesserling and Bad Rappenau. The criminal inmate Toni, who had been camp elder in Wesserling, also became the camp elder in Bad Rappenau. Pawlak reports that the living and working conditions at the Bad Rappenau subcamp apparently were bearable, depending on the inmates' work assignments. In general, the guards (SS and Luftwaffe) did not mistreat the prisoners, and the local population (including the nuns of the Bad Rappenau orphanage) frequently supplied the inmates with food. Beside the salt pit and the SS-Bauhof, inmates worked at the railway station, where they loaded and unloaded trains; at the Neckar River, where they loaded and unloaded ships and boats; and for local farmers. For the farm work, inmates were sometimes able to receive some extra food rations. On December 5, 1944, one day after the devastating air raid on Neckarsulm (about 15 kilometers or 9.3 miles away), inmates of the Bad Rappenau subcamp were taken to the town to clean up. The Bad Rappenau salt pit itself had been attacked repeatedly from the air, but no inmates had been killed. Only in March 1945 were four inmates killed, when they were sent to clean up after an Allied air raid, and a bomb exploded. There are no reports on the number of inmates who may have died during the camp's existence; most likely, inmates considered too weak to work were sent to other camps such as Vaihingein/Unterriexingen and died there.

At the end of March 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to the Neckarelz subcamp. From there, they were taken only a few days later by foot and train to Dachau and its subcamps. During this evacuation, on Easter Sunday 1945, their train was attacked by Allied planes, and numerous inmates died.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes the Bad Rappenau subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76, 110, 258; also Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig in their *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). An especially important document on the Bad Rappenau subcamp is the memoirs of Zacheus Pawlak, "*Ich habe überlebt.*" *Ein Häftling berichtet über Majdanek* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1979). Only very few survivor statements on this subcamp are available, and Pawlak's memoirs are the only ones of a survivor from Eastern Europe. For further information on the subcamp, see Heinz Tisel, *Das "SS-Arbeitslager Steinbock" in Neckargartach. Augenzeugenberichte—Dokumente—Tatsachen mit Material über Kochendorf und Bad Rappenau* (Heilbronn, 1987). The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 207, refers to the Bad Rappenau labor detail as part of the Neckarelz I and II subcamp.

At BA-BL, see call number 419 AR-1772/67 for more information on the Bad Rappenau subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NECKARELZ I AND II/ NECKARBISCHOFSHEIM

The town of Neckarbischofsheim in Baden was the seat of a labor detail of the Natzweiler subcamp Neckarelz I and II and belonged to the complex of the Neckarlager (camps along the Neckar River). According to a decision by the SS-Führungsstab Ost (Leadership Staff East), inmates from Neckarelz and Neckargerach were to erect a barracks camp that was to house a Daimler-Benz workforce that was to be evacuated from their locations in central Germany due to the increasing number of air raids.

The grounds for this barracks camp at Neckarbischofsheim were located on the edge of the city, next to a field and the Schwarzbach Creek. The close proximity to the railway track between Neckargmünd and Obrigheim was another important factor for choosing the site.

Between September 14 and 25, 1944, every day about 80 prisoners were taken from Neckargerach to Neckarbischofsheim, where they started to work on erecting the camp. On September 25, they moved into the first barrack that was completed. In the plans of the SS-Leadership Staff, the amount of workforce needed to erect the camp was estimated at 90 specialists (construction workers) and about 225 unskilled workers. The plans called for the erection of 12 barracks within 70 days; additionally, barracks for special purposes (administration, kitchen, washing, infirmary, delousing, toilets) were also to be built. The building of roads and pathways, of canals, and of fences was also planned. When finished, the camp was to hold about 1,000 Daimler-Benz laborers.

Since the SS-Führungsstab was not able to provide a sufficient number of inmates, all planning became unrealistic. Neckarbischofsheim always remained a small camp, with approximately 200 male inmates. During the construction phase, the conditions in the camp became unbearable quickly. Prisoners had no chance to shower for months; their bathroom consisted of a tree trunk that was laid across Schwarzbach Creek. Very soon, the inmates started to suffer from typhus and typhoid, and only then were some measures taken to slightly improve the sanitary conditions.

In November 1944, it became obvious that other projects within the Neckarlager complex had a higher priority. Additionally, air raids at a number of the camps delayed the construction work significantly. By the end of the war, only six barracks were completed in Neckarbischofsheim; also constructed were the road leading to the entrance of the camp, a provisional bridge crossing the creek, and some pathways. To accomplish this, SS men mercilessly exploited the emaciated and starving inmates. On March 15, 1945, 30 inmates not able to work were exchanged for new prisoners from Neckarelz II. The small size of the detachment even increased the exploitation of the inmates. Only temporarily, between October 1944 and mid-Febrary 1945, a prisoners' physician was present in the camp: Dr. Joseph Leccia, a French resistance fighter, who afterward was transferred to Neckarelz II.

Presumably, the Neckarbischofsheim inmates came from a number of different nationalities, like all inmates in the Neckarlager complex. Among them were French, Poles, Russians, Italians, Germans, Norwegians, Belgians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Latvians, Hungarians, Luxembourgians, Dutch, Romanians, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, and Greeks. Robert Stein, one of the few German inmates in Neckarbischofsheim, was the camp Kapo.

By the end of March 1945, Neckarbischofsheim was evacuated, and the inmates were sent back to Neckarelz. From there, they joined the evacuation marches of the Natzweiler inmates. On March 29, all prisoners still able to walk were taken via Öhringen to Kupferzell. From there, 2,000 inmates were taken by train to Dachau, where they arrived on April 2. Another group of inmates walked from Neckarelz to Dachau, where they arrived almost a month later, on April 27. Sick inmates who were no longer able to walk were to be taken by train to Dachau, but these plans were never realized, and the inmates were set free on April 2, 1945, after their guards had escaped.

There is no clear information as to how many inmates died in the Neckarlager. According to records, the death rate was about 10 percent. But this death rate is unrealistically low since many inmates who were no longer able to work were sent to Vaihingen/Enz, a camp that within the compound of the Neckar camps served the purpose of a camp solely for the dying. The victims of that camp do not show up in any statistical records.

SOURCES There are two substantial studies available on the Neckarbischofsheim camp based on recent research: Peter Beisel, "Im schönsten Wiesengrund. Das Arbeitslager Neckarbischofsheim," Be-Nbh-Hg 4 (2003); and Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig, *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005), which gives a detailed analysis of all camps in the Neckarlager complex. In addition, there are two publications by survivors on the Neckarbischofsheim camp. Maurice Voutey published his memoirs under the title *Gefangener des Unwahrscheinlichen oder Ein Traum geht ans Äusserste. Vier Jahreszeiten in Dachau und in den Neckarlagern*, trans. Dorothee Roos (Elztal-Dallau, 2002); it is one of the rare reports by a historian who survived the concentration camps. Former Kapo Robert Stein wrote an article titled "Vom Wehrmachtsstraflager zur Zwangsarbeit bei Daimler-Benz. Ein Lebensbericht," published in 1999, 2 (1987), Heft 4, pp. 20–51, in response to *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch. Ein Rüstungskonzern im "Tausendjährigen Reich"* (Nördling: Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1987), to which Stein wanted to add his own experiences. A further source on the Neckarbischofsheim camp is Robert Steegmann's *Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin*, *1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), but information on the camp is scattered throughout the book. The Neckarelz I and II work detachment Neckarbischofsheim is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 207.

There are some archival sources on the Neckarlager in general and on Neckarbischofsheim specifically. The results of investigations by the ZdL on the Neckarbischofsheim camp can be found in BA-L today (419 AR-1778/67). Also, the ACCS holds some further information.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NECKARELZ I AND II/NECKARGERACH

A detachment of the Natzweiler subcamps Neckarelz I and II was established in Neckargerach in Baden on April 7, 1944, on the site of a former Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. In fact, Neckargerach was the first subcamp erected after the establishment of the Neckarelz I and II subcamp. After more and more inmates had arrived at Neckarelz I and II and were to be employed in the construction of accommodations for Daimler-Benz employees, the Neckarelz I and II camp was not able to take in any more prisoners. By the end of April the former RAD camp was confiscated for the purpose of erecting the new subcamp. The camp was located in Neckargerach at Seebach Creek, about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) down the river from Neckarelz. The RAD camp provided barracks and sanitary installations, as well as access to the Neckarelz-Obrigheim train tracks connecting Neckargerach with its superior camp and the project Goldfisch at Obrigheim, the work site of the inmates as well.

Since early April, inmates of Neckarelz I and II had worked on preparing for the opening of the camp. Most likely, the camp was opened on April 27, 1944, already very crowded. Some 400 of the inmates who arrived that day were sent to work in the underground tunnels of the Goldfisch project, while 450 remained in the camp and continued working on its construction; 4 inmates worked in the kitchen, and 19 were prisoner-functionaries. In May 1944, 600 more inmates arrived in the Neckarelz region from Sachsenhausen. Among the prisoners were 370 Soviets, 163 Poles, 36 Germans, 7 Dutch, 7 Czechs, 6 French, 5 Belgians, 2 Lithuanians, 2 Yugoslavs, and 2 stateless persons. Again, most of the prisoners were political prisoners. On the transport, 31 had died. Of the surviving inmates, about 340 remained in Neckargerach, while the others were taken to Neckarelz I and II. With about 1,240 inmates (the peak was reached on June 18, 1944, when 1,321 prisoners were in the camp), Neckargerach between May and December 1944 was the largest camp in the Neckar area. At that time, there were more inmates in the camp than the barracks could hold, and an additional tent was erected to hold 300 inmates.

Originally, the camp consisted of five barracks, each of them divided into nine rooms (*Stuben*); one barrack was used as the kitchen. The rooms were each equipped with two-tier bunk beds, two tables, benches, and a stove—but no fuel was provided. Outside the camp, there were two more barracks, one for the guards and one used as an office building. Open latrines were placed at the outskirts of the camp. For more than 1,200 inmates, there were only five faucets. Franz Hössler, the commander of all the Neckar camps, was initially also in charge of the Neckargerach subcamp. But within a few days he was replaced by a local camp commander: between April 30 and July 12, 1944, this was SS-Oberscharführer Josef Brandauer, followed by Luftwaffe-Feldwebel Zimmermann until early September 1944. Until September 23, 1944, the staff of the guard unit Spangenberg was in charge, and from October 15, 1944, on, SS-Oberscharführer Steinbach. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger state that the guards were part of the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager. The 6th Company was responsible for guarding the subcamps and detachments in Vaihingen, Kochendorf, Neckargerach, Hessental, and Unterriexingen. On the other hand, Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig state that, according to a special order of the commander of the Neckar camps, the 5th Guard Company under Wilhelm Streit was in charge of guarding Neckargerach and some other camps in the area.

Two-thirds of the inmates of the Neckargerach camp worked the day shift at the Obrigheim tunnel, to prepare the underground relocation of the Daimler-Benz production site from Genshagen to Obrigheim. One-third of the inmates worked the night shift, and about 45 inmates worked within the camp. The inmates' day started at 4:45 in the morning; roll call was at 5:15 A.M. At 5:30 the inmates were marched to the Neckargerach railway station and from there taken by train to Neckarelz and Obrigheim, where they started to work at 7:00 A.M. Proof of the severe living and working conditions in the camp can be seen in the fact that already by May 1944, less than one month after the camp in Neckargerach had opened, 70 prisoners were transferred back to the Natzweiler infirmary.

Until October 1944, according to survivor statements, prisoners who tried to escape or were accused of sabotage were executed in the camp. Such executions took place especially during the reign of the second commander of the Neckar camps group, Franz Johann Hofmann. For instance, according to Robert Steegmann, 23 prisoners stated to be Polish partisans were executed in June, and 27 were shot in July—either in Neckarelz or Neckargerach (sources differ). One prisoner, Boleslaw Schesyk, was hanged in June 1944 following an unsuccessful escape attempt. Prisoners Ilja Prokuda (Soviet Union), Rene Brunet (France), and Eugen Florczak (Poland) were shot in August and September 1944, probably while trying to escape.

In December 1944, Neckargerach underwent a transformation: it completely ceased to be a work camp and became a so-called hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) for all camps of the Neckar region instead, while all inmates still capable of work were taken to Neckarelz I and II. In mid-July, a camp physician began to work in Neckargerach; on July 25, 1944, a second physician was sent to the camp; and on August 13, a third one. From November 1944 on, four to five physicians were working at Neckargerach. Thanks to the research of Markowitsch and Rautnig, the names of the inmates-physicians at the Neckar camps are known: they were French inmates Prof. Dr. Francois Rohmer, Dr. Joseph Helluy, Dr. Jacques Garnal, Dr. Stephane Fuchs, and Dr. Jean Bernex, German Dr. Werner Vohl, and Norwegian Dr. Leif Paulson. Originally the *Revier* (infirmary) only held about 25 patients a day—probably because there was no more space or because a larger number of patients were not allowed by the camp commander. In the second half of the year, the number of inmates at the infirmary began to rise to 70 and later 80 to 90 per day.

This number did not significantly increase since sick prisoners were regularly selected and sent to the "dying camp" (*Sterbelager*) Vaihingen/Enz, as happened with 120 inmates on December 20 and a further 2 in March 1945. A local German physician, Dr. Hans Wey, who had been central in saving the lives of inmates in some of the Neckar camps, also helped the prisoners of the Neckargerach camp: by warning them early about upcoming selections, he saved the lives of many prisoners. Markowitsch and Rautnig provide statistical information regarding the number of deaths in the Neckargerach camp: in April 1944, no inmates died; in May, 10; in June, 25; in July, 5; in August, 6; in September, 8; in October, 3; in November, 18; in December, 13; in January 1945, 13; in February, 15; and in March, 21. In total, these are 137 cases of death, not including those Neckargerach inmates who were transported to other camps (like the main camp or Vaihingen) to die or to be killed there.

At the end of March 1945, the evacuation of the prisoners began. By then, the number of inmates in the Neckargerach camp was over 2,000 and included numerous prisoners who had been evacuated from other subcamps to Neckargerach. Those who could walk were taken to Dachau; the last transport with 1,920 prisoners, according to eyewitness statements and files, arrived there on April 10, 1945. Those who could not walk, roughly 900, were taken at the end of March 1945 to Osterburken, where between 250 and 300 of them died. The Allies freed 887 survivors from Neckarelz/Neckargerach, on April 2, 1945.

Hofmann was sentenced in the first Auschwitz trial in 1961 by the Landgericht (Regional Court) München II to life imprisonment with hard labor for 1,938 homicides. The Landgericht Hechingen also sentenced him to imprisonment with hard labor in 1965 for his activities at Neckargerach. The sentence was revoked and the proceedings stayed, as Hofmann had already been sentenced to life imprisonment for killings committed in 1938.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig provide detailed information on the Neckargerach subcamp in *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005), esp. pp. 68–86, 112, 157–161, 178. Information of the Neckarelz/Neckargerach subcamp can also be found in Robert Steegman, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76–81, 110–112. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger refer to details on the guards in their *Vernichtung durch Arbeit. Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf, Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall: D. Ernst, K. Riexinger, 1996). The camp is also mentioned by Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof. Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). The court verdict against camp commander Franz Johann Hofmann is published in *JuNSV* 23, lfd. Nr. 625, pp. 369–426. J.H. de la Teyssonière, one of the few survivors of the Sterbelager Vaihingen who had been an inmate at Neckargerach, published his memoirs under the title *A la mémoire de . . . Témoignage* (Doullens Somme, 1972).

Archival sources on the Neckarelz/Neckargerach subcamp are to be found at the AAC-C (NAT 56: Neckarelz, 21 boxes; NAT 57: Neckargerach, 8 boxes), the ACCS (Neckar Camps' Collection 4046/19, 4088/61, 4089, and specifically on Neckargerach 4092; 3644 Neckargerach and Neckarelz, 3646 Neckarlager, and 3644 Neckarelz and Neckargerach). The ITS archive lists the Neckargerach labor detachment as part of its Natzweiler Collection, Signatur 494. The following files at the BA-L contain witness statements and investigation reports on Neckargerach; see especially call numbers 419 AR 1833/67 and 419 AR 2192/67, as well as Ordner Verschiedenes 301 AAn 121 (Arbeitstagebuch Neckargerach). The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 208, mentions the Neckarelz I and II subcamp Unterkommando Neckargerach.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NECKARGARTACH-HEILBRONN

Neckargartach, a subcamp of the Alsatian concentration camp of Natzweiler, opened in August 1944. Neckargartach is a suburb of Heilbronn in Württemberg. The camp was established next to an athletic field, not far from the Neckar River. The chosen site, outlined by Bollinger and Wimpferer Strassen, was surrounded by vegetable gardens. It occupied an area of 100 meters×150 meters (328 feet×492 feet). About 200 inmates were transferred to Neckargartach on September 4, arriving from Kochendorf, another Natzweiler subcamp. The inmates built the first three barracks in just three days. The work was managed by the Higher-SS Construction Directorate (Oberbauleitung) Kiebitz-Stuttgart. The project carried the code name "Steinbock in Heilbronn." It appears that the Organisation Todt (OT) was not involved in the camp's construction; instead, the work was managed by the SS with the help of civilian foremen.

A second transport arrived around the same time, bringing inmates from the Longwy and Adun-le-Tiche subcamps in Lorraine. As the camp was not yet finished, the convoy was directed to another subcamp. On September 15, a transport of 600 inmates from the Markirch subcamp in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace arrived in Neckargartach. The prisoners had worked in the construction of Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) airplane engines in a factory installed in a railroad tunnel. The convoy was composed of 150 skilled and 450 unskilled laborers. Another convoy arrived from the camp of Wesserling, also in Alsace. Neckargartach thus served as the evacuation link for several of Natzweiler's subcamps under the threat of advancing Allied troops. The exact number of camp inmates is not precisely known; it was probably around 1,200.

The camp's organization included a political department (Politische Abteilung), controlled by the Gestapo. According to oral accounts, included among the inmates were labeled

Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) prisoners, common criminals, political prisoners, Gypsies, and at least one homosexual. One inmate was a former deputy in the German parliament (Reichstag). Jews were probably not very numerous among the inmates; 2 deceased were buried in the Jewish cemetery of Heilbronn-Sontheim. Polish inmates were the most numerous. There were also Italians, Russians, Yugoslavs, Germans, and French, as well as others from Luxembourg and Alsace-Moselle. The number of dead is also not known in detail, but there were at least 295 dead, of which 31 were cremated in the Heilbronn crematorium; others were buried in a mass grave. The highest number of deaths occurred in January 1945. At least two escapes are recorded. The final fate of the escapees is not known, but they were not returned to the camp.

A doctor worked in the camp, a Polish inmate. A German doctor from Neckargartach treated the guards and wrote the death certificates. Sick inmates were sent to the hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) in Vaihingen, another subcamp of Natzweiler, most often to die there. The camp elder (Lagerältester) was a German, a bookseller from Heidelberg. He was later replaced by Vally Greska, a Jehovah's Witness.

The camp's commander was Johannes Gillbert, an SS-Oberscharführer and a native of the Duisburg area. Accounts indicate that he did not beat inmates. He even tried at times to improve the condition of the prisoners' lives, in particular by providing them with shoes. This was a necessity to enable them to report to their work site. The camp was protected by about 80 guards from the SS and soldiers from the Luftwaffe. Many guards were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) who had previously been stationed in the concentration camps of Radom (a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek) and Lublin. About 20 brutal Kapos inflicted cruel treatment on the inmates. There were no regular executions of inmates; instead, they died of weakness and exhaustion. Some residents of Heilbronn attempted to come to their aid by giving them food. For example, apples were left along the path the prisoners had to take to get to work. Their poor physical condition was visible to the residents. It was even possible to see inside the camp from the neighboring streets. The camp had been built in Neckargartach because of its proximity to a salt mine, which was used as a shelter for the workshops necessary to the war industry. The inmates worked at digging a second entry tunnel, then a third, for the mine chamber, where a workshop was built.

Accounts differ on the work carried out in this underground chamber. In any case, it was a matter of war production, perhaps spare parts for airplanes or even for V-2 rockets. Inmates worked there in three shifts of eight hours each. The work took place six and a half days per week. Other inmates were employed in the fields, in groups of 8 or 10. The main employers for manual labor in the camp were the OT and the local excavation company Julius Berger. On December 4, 1944, the city of Heilbronn suffered extensive aerial bombing. The work in the mine was stopped, and the inmates were employed to clear the rubble, to bury the corpses, and to disable unexploded bombs. When the neighboring town of Neckarsulm was hit by bombs on March 1, 1945, the inmates of Neckargartach were sent there as well.

The subcamp was evacuated between March 28 and April 1, 1945. At the time of their departure, the SS burned the camp archives. On April 1, the local management of the OT moved to Rosenheim, in Bavaria, bringing 100 men in seven trucks. On April 2, American troops entered Heilbronn. The inmates had already been evacuated to Dachau, one part by railroad convoy and another on foot. The death march was punctuated by several massacres. The inmates of Neckargartach were registered in Dachau on April 10, 1945. At the end of the month, some had to undergo the evacuation of Dachau to Tyrol. The camp commander Gillbert was arrested by American troops and interned at the camp of Ludwigsburg. Handed over to the French army, he was tried in the Natzweiler trial before the general tribunal of Rastatt and sentenced to death. He was pardoned and returned to settle in Duisburg. Former camp wardens came back to live in Heilbronn, where they had formed relationships with local women.

SOURCES As the camp files were destroyed before the evacuation, only fragmentary documentation remains at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Neckargartach) and BA-L (IV 419 AR-Z 171/69). More has been published on the Neckargartach commando than on other small camps in southwest Germany. A complete description of the camp based on interviews can be found in Heinz Risel, *KZ in Heilbronn. Das "SS-Arbeitslager Steinbock" in Neckargartach. Augenzeugenberichte-Dokumente-Tatsachen mit Material über Kochendorf und Bad Rappenau* (Nordheim: Heinz Risel, 1987). The same author wrote a shorter history of the camp titled "Das Lager Neckargartach," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herbert Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 109–130; as well as articles: Risel, "Die Konzentrationslager Neckargartach und Kochendorf," *LgUr* III-23 (1982): 23–32, 75–88; "Das KZ Neckargartach bei Heilbronn," *SchwH* 1 (1983): 29–33. Information on the camp is also included in Uwe Jacobi, *Das Kriegsende. Szenen 1944/1945 in Heilbronn im Unterland und in Hohenlohe* (Heilbronn: Verlag Heilbronner Stimme, 1985); Michael Schmid, "Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz. Seine Entstehung und Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der kriegswirtschaftlichen Bedingungen und der Funktionserweiterung der Konzentrationslager" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1981). See also the testimony of an inmate from Luxembourg: Jean Nothar, "Die Flucht," *Rappel* 12: 6 (1948): 917–920.

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

NECKARZIMMERN

Few details are known about Neckarzimmern, a Natzweiler subcamp in the Neckarelz complex of camps. Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig confirm that Dr. Jean Andréis, a pri-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

soner physician, was also in Neckarzimmern for a short time to take care of sick inmates unable to work. Despite being the camp physician, he had to work like all the other inmates and had no medical instruments or medication for treatment available.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig provide some information on the Neckarzimmern subcamp in their study *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). The camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 1827.

The camp is not mentioned in the ITS list kept in Arolsen, nor was it the subject of an investigation by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg or any other German prosecutor's office after the war. The German Bundesarchiv in Berlin holds a few documents that verify the existence of the camp: BA-B collection NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refers to the camp in the subgroup 49-102: Häftlingsangelegenheiten. In List 85 there are documents on the creation and inspection of some labor details. The labor detail Neckarzimmern is listed, along with Neckargartach and Asbach, in 93a. At BA-BL, call number 419 AR-1833/67 provides some further information on Neckarzimmern.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NEUENBÜRG

The Baden-Württemberg town of Neuenbürg an der Enz was traditionally the site of iron ore, quartz, and fluorite mined in the Neuenbürger Revier and processed in a nearby IG Farben factory. Toward the end of World War II, these raw materials became vital for the German war effort.

In the spring of 1945, around 170 foreign forced laborers were held in Neuenbürg, but the exact site where they worked is uncertain. Eventually they were put to work in the Neuenbürger Revier mining raw materials; beginning in the autumn of 1944, they were also exploited for the project "Dachsbau" to relocate the Daimler-Benz factory at Gaggenau. For this purpose, a provisional camp was established in a forest near Neuenbürg. It held around 90 prisoners from Natzweiler who were to prepare a permanent camp built by the Organisation Todt (OT). The so-called Waldwerk was not finished by the end of the war. It is not known when this provisional camp was established and dissolved.

Antoine Greffier mentions Neuenbürg as a probable Natzweiler subcamp, as the prisoners could have originated from the Natzweiler Vaihingen I subcamp, while Robert Steegmann does not refer to the camp in his monograph on the Natzweiler concentration camp.

SOURCES A brief description of the camp in Neuenbürg and its significance for the war effort can be found in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften, 1991), p. 22. The question as to whether Neuenbürg was a Natzweiler subcamp remains unanswered. Antoine Greffier deals with the uncertain state of research on Natzweiler in his *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 315.

The camp is mentioned neither in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979) nor in Robert Steegmann's *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NIEDERBRONN

Niederbronn's (French: Niederbronn-les-Bains) status as a Natzweiler subcamp remains uncertain. Niederbronn is located in the French Vogesen in present-day Departement Bas-Rhin. Although Antoine Greffier mentions Niederbronn as a possible Natzweiler subcamp, there is no supporting evidence for this classification.

SOURCES A short essay by Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), pp. 319–320, refers to Niederbronn. However, Robert Steegmann in his *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), does not list Niederbronn as a Natzweiler subcamp. The same applies to the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979); also "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, as well as its 1982 edition.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBEREHNHEIM

The Oberehnheim subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was created in December 1942 in Obernai, a small town of 7,000 inhabitants located in Alsace, west of Strasbourg, in the foothills of the lower Vosges Mountains. Designated as Aussenkommando Oberehnheim, the camp was set up at a small manor, the Oberkirch manor, surrounded by a large park located on the outskirts of town. The plot of land was 30 hectares (74 acres); the proprietors, the Hell family of Oberkirch, had left Alsace, and the manor had been requisitioned. In February 1942, Heinrich Himmler ordered the setup of a school to train female communications assistants for the SS (SS-Nachrichtenhelferinnenschule) on the property. Young German women—3,000 in all—were trained

there, starting in June of 1942. In conjunction with the school, it was seen necessary to renovate the chateau and to build additional structures. The school had a total of 13 requisitioned properties at its disposal in Obernai or in the surrounding villages, including the Leonardsau manor and the city's elementary teacher training college. The labor supply necessary to carry out the construction work explains the creation of the subcamp, which was set up on the construction site itself. Himmler visited the school on June 5, 1943.

The camp itself was established in the manor house, which was surrounded by barbed wire. There was a guard station at the entrance, and the guards had police dogs.

A convoy of 200 inmates arrived at the camp. They were housed in the stables of the manor, where they slept on straw. The living conditions were harsh, due to malnutrition and maltreatment. Over the course of a year, 80 of the prisoners died. New inmates were sent to Obernai at the end of 1943 as part of frequent prisoner transports between the Obernai subcamp and the main camp. The total number of dead is estimated to be around 100. Bodies were sent back to the main camp. There was no doctor or infirmary in the subcamp—only a nurse. The wounded and the ill were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) in Natzweiler. At least 2 prisoners were shot by guards as they were trying to flee. A third was killed at the Obernai train station because, according to testimonies, he had either stolen or received a bottle of alcohol from a local resident.

The inmates were, for the most part, registered as political prisoners. They were from Poland, Russia, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. They were all skilled laborers who worked to move furniture from manors and properties that had been requisitioned for the school. In the courtyard of the manor, they built barracks to house students of the SS school as well as an air-raid shelter. The inmates also worked to repave roads, to clean a river, and to paint and maintain the school buildings. According to one account, they also refurbished individual houses in Obernai. Some inmates who worked outside the camp could establish contacts with the local population.

The Natzweiler construction management (Bauleitung) organized the work. The camp architect was August Schlachter, who was sent to Kiev. His successor was named Heider.

According to one account, the camp elder (Lagerältester) was named Böhler, a German from Mannheim, where he had been a Communist member of the city council.

The camp surveillance was provided by about a dozen SS men who were housed in a building outside the estate. The majority of them were from the southwest of Germany. One of the SS men was a dog handler, an Alsatian by the name of Fuchs.

The first camp commandant was SS-Hauptscharführer Seuss, a native of Nürnberg. He was the brother of Rapportführer Wolfgang Seuss, who was responsible for the administration of the main camp. It was under his direction that the living conditions in the subcamp were at their harshest. He showed sadistic behavior toward the inmates, forcing them to remain standing against a wall for hours, beating them, and commanding his dog to bite them. After his departure in the spring of 1944 took over direction of the Natzweiler subcamp created in Leonberg near Stuttgart, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Nikolaus Busch, a native of Saarbrücken, who only remained in the position for about six or eight weeks. His successor was Herman Stiefel, who came from Erfurt. After Seuss's departure, the living conditions improved somewhat, and mortality rates decreased. The subcamp's workforce was judged to be insufficient, and a camp for Soviet prisoners was set up in the building of the teacher training college. The camp's dead were buried in a mass grave dug in the Jewish cemetery in Obernai.

The subcamp was dismantled in two steps: on September 29, 1944, facing the advance of Allied troops, 91 inmates were sent to the Dachau concentration camp. The remaining inmates, about 20, left the camp on foot on November 22, 1944, just before the liberation of the town. They arrived at the camp of Geislingen, where they stayed several days, then were evacuated to the Heidenheim subcamp, near Ulm. The school of communications was evacuated at the same time and reestablished near Berchtesgaden, where it functioned until the end of the war. Wolfgang Seuss was tried by an American tribunal at Landsberg, sentenced to death, and executed.

SOURCES References to Oberehnheim can be found in the following publications: *Le camp de concentration du Struthof. Konzentrationslager Natzweiler. Témoignages* (Schirmeck: Essor, 1998), 3:245–246; Bernard Le Marec and Gérard Le Marec, *L'Alsace dans la guerre 1939–1945* (Horvarth: Le Coteau, 1988), pp. 107–108; Charles Béné, *L'Alsace dans les griffes nazies*, vol. 5, *Organisations policières nazies, prisons et camps de déportation en Alsace* (Raon-l'Etape: Fetzer, 1980), pp. 203–204. Source material is held at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Oberehnheim) and BA-L (IV 419 AR-Z 170/1969).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

PELTERS

In Pelters, south of Metz (1940–1944: Gau Westmark; present-day Peltre, Moselle department, France), there existed a subcamp of Natzweiler. It was opened at the end of March 1942 and is last mentioned in a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) dated August 17, 1944. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Oberscharführer René Roman. The average number of prisoners in Pelters was 50 (reaching at one point a maximum of 60), and they were initially housed in an ancillary building of a local company and later in another nearby building in the center of the settlement. The main function of the camp and its prisoners was to take care of the horses of the SS-Cavalry Remount School (Remonte-Schule) in Pelters. According to the testimony of one of the prisoners, however, the inmates were also used for digging a large hole in the ground some 12 meters×20 meters (39 feet×66 feet) at an excavation site about 15 minutes away from the camp. It is suspected that this excavation was inten-

ded for use as a swimming pool by the SS, once completed. The work may have been conducted under the authority of the construction department of the Waffen-SS and Police (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). Antoine Greffier suspects that 1 prisoner died while serving in the subcamp.

At the end of August 1944, the camp was dissolved, and the inmates were sent back to the main camp on a forced march that lasted three days.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier summarizes the state of research in his *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 185. Pelters is mentioned in Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), p. 256; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:209.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

RASTATT

It is unresolved whether Rastatt really was a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The male prisoners housed there were possibly attached to the "security camp" at Schirmeck-Vorbrück instead.

According to Antoine Greffier, the Rastatt subcamp could also have been under the dual administration of both Natzweiler and Schirmeck-Vorbrück. Greffier adds that the camp may also have been called Iffezheim, which seems unlikely in view of Iffezheim's location (10 kilometers [6.2 miles] south of Rastatt). The notion that the Rastatt subcamp is the same as the one in Iffezheim probably arises from the fact that—as Robert Steegmann states—at least in the summer of 1944, prisoners from the subcamp in Iffezheim were working for the Wehrmacht, bottling liquor in the Müller spirits factory located in Rastatt. According to the current state of research, however, these prisoners were not housed in a separate subcamp in Rastatt.

The first mention of a subcamp in Rastatt can be found in documents of the Natzweiler concentration camp dated November 6, 1943, and the last reference is on December 30, 1943. No detailed information is known about the camp, such as its location, its layout, the number of prisoners, or their work deployments.

There is a second reference to Rastatt in connection with the Natzweiler concentration camp at the end of 1944. From October 1944, several transports of prisoners were brought to Rastatt for a short period from the security camp in Schirmeck-Vorbrück. The camp in which they were housed was located on parts of the site of the Labor Education Camp (AEL) Niederbühl (established at the end of 1941/beginning of 1942), as well as in redoubt number 12 of the Rastatt fortress, the former fortress prison.

It is very likely that prisoners from various Natzweiler subcamps were also temporarily housed here, since at this time individual Natzweiler subcamps were being cleared before the advancing Allied troops. Rastatt was one of the evacuation points for prisoners coming from the Natzweiler subcamps located in Alsace. For the prisoners from the security camp in Schirmeck-Vorbrück, it is known that they were transferred on to Haslach (Vulkan factory), where they had to work for Daimler-Benz. Haslach was a Natzweiler subcamp, which again demonstrates the close connection between the camps of Schirmeck-Vorbrück and Natzweiler, with respect to the camp in Rastatt.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 355, describes the camp in Rastatt as a Natzweiler subcamp in 1943. The *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften, 1991), pp. 123–128, refers to the use of the AEL Niederbühl and the former fortress prison for housing the prisoners from Schirmeck-Vorbrück and Natzweiler. Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), does not mention Rastatt as a subcamp in his history of the concentration camp but only the subcamp Iffezheim (p. 257). The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:209, lists the subcamp of Rastatt (in 1943).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

SCHÖMBERG

The Schömberg concentration camp, the first concentration camp devoted to the extraction of shale oil, was established only a few weeks after the founding of the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF), at the Schömberg railway station next to the DÖLF administration building. On December 16, 1943, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) made available 120 concentration camp prisoners and promised 180 more to DÖLF for the construction of a test facility for the production of shale oil in Schömberg.[1] However, the chief executive of DÖLF, Fortmann, demanded still more prisoners: at the beginning of February 1944, he requested 540; only three weeks later, 611 workers.[2] In March 1944, there were 230 prisoners in the camp.[3] The number of inmates then increased after the start of Operation Desert (*Unternehmen Wüste*), reaching 788 prisoners by the end of October 1944, as more workers were necessary for the construction of the shale oil factory code-named Wüste 9.[4] At this time, some 50 SS men guarded the camp.[5]

The prisoners mostly came from the Natzweiler and Dachau main camps and from the Natzweiler subcamp at Ste.

Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch), which, like the main camp, was evacuated in the fall of 1944.[6] Among the prisoners there were many from France, Luxembourg, and Alsace-Lorraine but also some East Europeans (above all Russians) and Scandinavians. The prisoners from Luxembourg occupied the central positions in the "prisoner self-administration." During the initial months, the number of deaths was comparatively small: from January 1 until mid-July 1944, 11 prisoners died there. However, the situation deteriorated from the summer of 1944 on, with the start of Operation Desert. In the autumn and winter of 1944, the number of victims at the Schömberg concentration camp climbed rapidly. In total, between mid-July 1944 and April 1945, nearly 300 prisoners died.[7] The first corpses at the Schömberg camp were burned in the crematorium in Schwenningen; most of them, however, were buried in a mass grave, which was exhumed after the end of the war. Alongside the concentration camp prisoners, DÖLF also exploited Eastern forced laborers (Ostarbeiter), as well as forced laborers from Italy and France.[8]

Since the test facility in Schömberg was intended to provide the technical basis for the running of all 10 planned factories of Operation Desert, its completion was accelerated, and the prisoners from the Schömberg camp were primarily deployed there.[9] On the instructions of Edmund Geilenberg, a senior figure in the Armaments Ministry, the Organisation Todt (OT) took over responsibility for construction of the test facility.[10] Among the civilian workers were also members of the Baltic Oil Limited Company, who had been deployed in Estonia producing shale oil and were transferred to DÖLF after the evacuation of Estonia by the Germans in the summer of 1944.[11] From the end of July until the end of December 1944, the DÖLF test facility produced 228 metric tons (251 short tons) of shale oil. The Wüste 9 plant only came provisionally online on March 11, 1945.[12]

Starting on October 20, 1944, the camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Helmut Schnabel. He joined the SA in 1933 as an unemployed workman, entering the SS in 1936. He served initially in the Buchenwald and Fallersleben concentration camps, before being appointed in 1942 as head of the administration (Verwaltungsführer) in the concentration camp and ghetto camp for Jews in Dębica in the General Government. From the summer of 1943 and into 1944, he was a camp commandant (Lagerführer) at the concentration camp at Vaivara, Estonia, and in various of its subcamps (Vivikoni, Ereda, Lagedi), as well as deputy commandant in Narva. In Estonia, Schnabel took part in "selections" of Jewish prisoners and personally murdered countless Jews. In addition, he directed a shooting *Aktion* (operation), in which Jewish children were among the victims.[13]

At the end of 1944, camp commandant Schnabel together with Eugen Wurth ordered and carried out the shooting of at least 2 prisoners who had been captured while attempting to escape. Two additional Russian prisoners who also tried to flee were hanged in the presence of two Gestapo men on the orders of Schnabel and Wurth.[14] This execution is also mentioned by the camp elder (Lagerältester), Roger Hoffmann, who kept a journal of events at the Schömberg concentration camp from March 3, 1944, until April 17, 1945. On January 21, 1945, he recorded: "Two Russians were hanged in front of all the prisoners of the camp."[15] Hoffmann listed other special events in the camp, for example, on March 28, 1944: "Alexandrow Wasili put into the dog pound by SS-man Reichenbach, biting wounds"; on May 31, 1944: "Matwejo shot while trying to escape." Just between September 9 and October 11, 1944, a total of 10 prisoners escaped, of which 2 were brought back to the camp and one "drowned during the escape attempt." A prisoner died following the amputation of his leg; another hanged himself in a shed. On the other hand, 9 Norwegians were released from the camp following the intervention of the Red Cross, on March 22, 1945. According to the records kept by the senior Kapo, 63 prisoners were occupied working within the camp itself; of these, 16 belonged to the "prisoner self-administration," 26 camp inmates worked as craftsmen, 6 as cooks, and 15 as potato peelers. One of the two prisoner doctors was Léon Boutbien, later highly decorated as a French Resistance fighter and doctor, who was interned at Natzweiler, Schömberg, Erzingen, and Dachau.[16]

The prisoners were subjected to chicanery from their supervisors not only in the camp but also on the construction site. The German in charge of construction, Kirchhardt from Metzingen, who arrived in Schömberg in 1943 and worked on behalf of DÖLF, was notorious for the fact that he physically abused the roughly 30 prisoners assigned to him as workers.[17]

At the Rastatt Trial in 1947, a French military tribunal sentenced a block leader (Blockältester), the report leader (Rapportführer), the head of the kitchen, and a craft supervisor (Werksmeister) to death and also gave three SS guards 5 years in prison.[18] In 1966, a German court in Hechingen sentenced Schnabel to 10 years in prison for crimes committed at the concentration camps in Vaivara and Vivikoni; he was not punished for the crimes at the Schömberg concentration camp.[19] Wurth was also acquitted of the killings at the Schömberg camp, as the court assumed in his favor that these were possibly the "implementation of legal verdicts."[20]

SOURCES Several publications contain information on the Schömberg concentration camp, including Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamt Tübingen, 1997); and Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnun. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002).

A considerable amount of documentation regarding the Schömberg concentration camp can be found in StA-L (both investigative and trial files). At the BA-B, BDC records, there are additional details concerning the SS in the camp, while in the BA-DH the documents of the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG) reveal certain aspects of everyday life and forced labor in the camp. Finally, the Schömberg concentration camp is also mentioned in the files of the District Food Supply Office (Kreisernährungsamt), located in StA-S.

Christine Glauning
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Letter of Pohl to Himmler, December 21, 1943, in BA-B, NS 19/1386 (first mention of the concentration camp).

2. Letter of Fortmann to Krüdener, February 24, 1944, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15 bis, d. 4, p. 52.

3. List of supplies provided by the community in Kreis Balingen, 60th distribution period [March 1944], in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1412.

4. Letter of DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt Balingen, November 30, 1944, in StA-S, Wü 65/4, Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft Schömberg/Ostarbeiter, KZ-Häftlinge. Appendix to the camp internment reports of KZ Natzweiler, September 30, 1944, and October 31, 1944, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, pp. 219, 222.

5. Request for supply coupons for 49 SS-Wachmänner for the 68th distribution period (October 1944), in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner SS-Wachkommando Schömberg.

6. Translation of the witness statement of Henri Muller before the Tribunal/District Court in Metz, February 9, 1961, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1249, pp. 2632–2635. Interrogation of an (unnamed) witness, in ibid., Bü 1260, pp. 4974–4978. Journal (Kalendarium) of the Lagerälteste, published in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamt Tübingen, 1997), p. 25.

7. Table on the development of the number of deaths in the Schömberg camp, undated [after 1945], in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 28598 (in total 305 deaths).

8. Letter from DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt Balingen, January 30, 1945, in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner DÖLF. Letter from DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt, May 3, 1945, in ibid., Ordner DÖLF/Mappe Werk Schömberg.

9. File note of DBHG, July 30, 1944, in BA-DH, R 121/1527.

10. Note of DBHG regarding the transfer of the responsibility for the construction of the test facility in Schömberg to the OT, August 5, 1944, in BA-DH, R 121/1523.

11. Interrogation of Wilhelm Baryga, February 23, 1961, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1251, p. 2880. Interrogation of Arno Schreiber by the Landespolizei Balingen, February 1, 1961, in ibid., Bü 1287, pp. 774–775.

12. Report of Dönitz on Unternehmen "Wüste," February–March 1946, in ibid., Bü 1250. Letter from DÖLF to Hauptbergamt Stuttgart, January 2, 1945, Bergamt Freiburg.

13. Verdict of Schwurgericht Ulm, September 8, 1969, pp. 6–8, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1237. Indictment from the Hechinger trial, pp. 60–64, 115–128, in ibid., Bü 1236.

14. Indictment from the Hechinger trial, ibid., pp. 158–160.

15. Journal of the Lagerälteste, in Opfermann, *Wüste*, p. 25.

16. Ibid.; obituary of Boutbién in *JA*, February 26, 2001.

17. Investigation by Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil of Franz Helmer-Sandmann, 1950/51, in StA-S, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048, p. 417.

18. Verdict of February 1, 1947, published in Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), pp. 181–204. The death sentence for the Werksmeister was declared invalid on January 27, 1947, and converted into a life sentence of forced labor. See ibid.

19. Verdict in the Hechinger trial, pp. 3, 130–133, 139, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1236.

20. Ibid., pp. 227–232.

SCHÖRZINGEN

At the end of 1943, the company management of the Kohle-Öl-Union (KÖU), that is, the manager Hübner and his secretary Hagedorn, as well as mining engineer Bockhorst, requested from Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) that concentration camp prisoners be made available for work underground.[1] Around the same time, a KÖU report from the town hall in Schörzingen confirms the work deployment of prisoners there. In his letter to Heinrich Himmler on December 21, 1943, Oswald Pohl stated under point three: "From the middle of January 1944, three hundred prisoners will be directed to the underground facility of the Kohle-Öl-Union von Busse KG (a subsidiary of the Göring Works) in Schörzingen near Rottweil, as the housing facilities will not be completed before this time." Pohl wanted to ensure "that from the start it was clear, how much oil would be available to the SS from the plant's production."[2] In return for providing the concentration camp prisoners, however, the SS demanded for itself the entire future production of shale oil from the plant, so that up to the beginning of February 1944 it still remained unclear how many prisoners would be made available to the KÖU. After a lengthy period of negotiation, in which the KÖU director, von Busse, also intervened, the 300 prisoners that were already in Schörzingen were permitted to remain. The deployment of prisoners was no longer "to be dependent on the benefit accruing to the SS."[3]

From January 1944, between 20 and 50 prisoners were in Schörzingen, so that the "official date" for the establishment of the concentration camp may have been February 1, 1944. The establishment of the Schörzingen subcamp accordingly took place only in connection with the underground carbonization operations of the KÖU, whose management requested prisoners from the SS, although in this factory, which operated like a coal mine, only civilian workers, "including some requisitioned from the mine in Pegnitz," were supposed to be deployed.[4] The Numbers Book (*Nummernbuch*) of the Natzweiler concentration camp, however, indicates for Schörzingen, abbreviated as "Schz," other categories of workers. These were designated on the list as "AZA [foreign civilian worker] Poles," "AZA Russians," and "Kgf Russians (POWs [prisoners of war])" who were sent to Schörzingen from the Natzweiler main camp. It has not been possible to clarify whether the prisoners were treated any differently on account of these separate designations. The reality of work in the underground carbonization plant or on the construction of the camp erases any differentiations indicated by the Numbers Book.

The prisoners constructed the camp on the road to Wilflingen at the end of the village of Schörzingen, first working on the building for the SS, then on the barracks for the prisoners, which were "made from wooden planks" with "floorboards simply laid loosely on the ground." The site of the buildings was adapted to the terrain, as demonstrated by British aerial photographs. The camp was surrounded by a double "security fence;" the inner fence was electrified with high-voltage current, as shown on a sketch of the entire campsite. Outside the fence there was one barrack containing the administration and quarters for the SS; inside, four barracks (Blocks I to IV), each intended for "one hundred prisoners," were planned; of these, Block I housed the camp office and the room of the camp elder (Lagerältester). Directly at the camp gate there was a dog cage, opposite the kitchen and the entrance to the mine.

In the triangle formed between the kitchen and two of the barrack buildings was the parade ground, which was enclosed to the south by the "clothes store." The sketch dated October 29, 1944, indicates four guard towers, one directly by the exit onto the Wilflinger Strasse, on both sides of which today small bunkers still make it possible to discern the former entrance to the concentration camp, as well as the entrance to the mine and air-raid tunnels. The site of the KÖU's above-ground facilities was also protected by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) fence constructed of wood and barbed wire. Located outside, directly on the road in the direction of Schörzingen village, were also an additional "residential camp" and "kitchen," which perhaps confirms that, outwardly and qualitatively, certain distinctions were made between the prisoners and the civilian workers. Perhaps the kitchen located close to the KÖU building also supplied the civilian workers of the factory.

The aforementioned sketch also makes clear one very important change at the Schörzingen camp: it designates an "expansion for Zepfenhan," as the KÖU camp was expanded by a new section for "Wüste 10" (Desert 10), the "external work detail Zepfenhan." Wüste 10 was the most southerly of the Wüste production facilities, which was constructed by Schörzingen concentration camp prisoners from September 1944. Two large barracks in the style of "horse stables" served as housing for the Zepfenhan prisoners: they extended the wedge-shaped concentration camp complex to the southwest. At least 500 of the Wüste prisoners were housed in one of the barracks; the other was subdivided into an infirmary (*Revier*), a quarantine section (*Schonungsblock*), and a section for sick prisoners given up for dead (*Totenblock)*.

The expansion for the Wüste 10 construction site created two classes of prisoners at the Schörzingen concentration camp: one group comprised those who worked underground in the KÖU shale mine, a task that entailed the breaking up and piling up of the shale by hand. These prisoners worked from 10 to 16 hours in two shifts, going down into the tunnels via steel steps. The prisoners assigned to the Zepfenhan work detail had to cover the 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) to the building site at Eckerwald twice a day: the very heavy labor in the mud and cold between these marches cost many prisoners their lives. From the continually rising death rate, it can be seen that the SS implemented its program of "destruction through work." The categories of prisoners also changed over time: out of a transport of 1,000 Polish political prisoners—noted in the Numbers Book as "pol.Pole(n),"—that arrived from Auschwitz on August 24, 1944, 164 were sent to Schörzingen. On September 16, 1944, a transport comprising 500 men of various nationalities arrived in the Schörzingen camp from Dachau.[5] An alphabetical list with the names of 50 men, partly from the French region of La Petite-Raon, demonstrates how real and alleged political opponents were treated, especially in the later period of the Third Reich.[6]

A payment demand (no. 148/44) dated October 1, 1944, issued by the Natzweiler office with regard to the "deployment of prisoners" for the "Fa, D, B, H, G, Balingen/Württemberg" calculates the charge to be made for the use of about 100 prisoners in September 1944, indicating that the SS profited from the exploitation of the prisoners. For this reason, too many deaths would be inconvenient, and therefore the payment demand requested that a new tally be made of how many "sick and non-working" prisoners there were in Schörzingen, also due to a "lack of clothing."

As a Wüste camp, Schörzingen was subordinated to the Natzweiler main camp. The hierarchy within this camp complex can be seen from the signature of the Natzweiler camp commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Hartjenstein. Subordinated to him was SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wurth, who was the commander of the 9th SS-Guard Company in Natzweiler and also the leader of the Operation Desert detachment. Subordinated to Wurth in turn was SS-Rottenführer Herbert Oehler, who became the subcamp commandant in Schörzingen. Oehler and Lagerältester Walter Günther Telschow were the first to be mentioned at the Rastatt Trial, since they both "behaved like real tyrants, tormenting and torturing the inmates."[7] The "Journal Officiel" additionally names the Kapo Lorentz Stach (the head cook in the camp); SS-Sturmmänner Johann Dornauer and Winterbauer (as block leaders); SS-Hauptscharführer Jakob Hermann (head of the guard company); SS guards Rolf Pfefferkorn, Jakob Link, and Wolfgang Danek; and the head of the Zepfenhan work detachment, Josef Patollo, who worked for the Organisation Todt (OT). All of them were accused of having beaten and tortured prisoners.[8]

The Schörzingen camp existed until April 17, 1945; on Wednesday, April 18, the "evacuation transport" of 650 prisoners set off on foot in a southeasterly direction, guarded by about 40 SS men. The death march took them toward Lake Constance in columns varying in size from 50 to 300 men; the SS had carts to transport their own families and the weakest prisoners, which the other prisoners had to drag along. As the front line approached, the SS guards deserted, and the death march was redirected toward Ostrach and Königseggwald, where the prisoners from Schörzingen were liberated.

SOURCES The basis for much of the information in this entry is the brochure prepared by the author for the third exhibition on Operation Desert (after those in Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen "Wüste": Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamt Tübingen, 1997). The book by Michael Grant, *Unternehmen "Wüste"—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), draws partly on the publications of the author of this entry. The findings and recollections of former camp recorder (Lagerschreiber) Julien Hagenbourger have also been incorporated here; see Julien Hagenbourger and Gerhard Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244* (Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999). Other relevant publications include Rudi Holoch, "Das Lager Schörzingen in der 'Gruppe Wüste,'" in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978); and Gertrud Graf, *Gedenkpfad Eckerwald: Das südwürttembergische Schieferölprojekt und seine sieben Konzentrationslager: Das Lager Schörzingen und sein Aussenkommando Zepfenhan* (Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 2001).

The StA-S also contains numerous unpublished sources concerning the "Central Administration for the Württemberg Shale Oil Factories" from the postwar period, as well as original documentation on Operation Desert from the Nazi period.

Immo Opfermann
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Julien Hagenbourger and Gerhard Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244* (Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999), p. 35.

2. Rudi Holoch, "Das Lager Schörzingen in der 'Gruppe Wüste,'" in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 231.

3. Ibid., p. 231.

4. Getrud Graf, *Gedenkpfad Eckerwald: Das Lager Schörzingen und sein Aussenkommando Zepfenhan* (Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 2001), p. 9.

5. Hagenbourger and Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen*, pp. 37–38.

6. Ibid., p. 37.

7. Published in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen "Wüste": Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamt Tübingen, 1997), p. 43.

8. Hagenbourger and Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen*, p. 45; and "Journal Officiel," in Opfermann, "*Wüste*," pp. 107–108.

SCHWÄBISCH HALL-HESSENTAL

In 1936, a military airport was built in the town of Schwäbisch Hall, in an area called Hessental. Schwäbisch Hall is located north of Württemberg, near Heilbronn. A Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp provided the labor for the excavation and maintenance work. On September 13, 1944, the airport was almost entirely destroyed by an aerial bombardment. Its reconstruction was immediately undertaken, and to help the effort, a subcamp of Natzweiler was set up there. The decision to establish the Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental subcamp was made at the same time as the main camp was evacuated to the interior of the Reich. The first major inmate transport arrived on October 14, 1944; it included 600 men who had come from the Radom subcamp, after passing through another camp in Vaihingen an der Enz (other inmates may have arrived earlier, to prepare the barracks, but this has not been confirmed). In November and December, further transports, also coming from Vaihingen, brought an additional 200 men. The inmates were almost all Polish Jews, with a few German and Hungarian Jews. When they arrived, their physical condition was already quite poor. Many had no shoes. On December 8, 1944, 53 inmates who were unfit for work were sent to the so-called hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) at Vaihingen.

The Hessental camp was built on a piece of land belonging to the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), and the prisoners were housed in barracks that had previously been used by the RAD. A new barrack was added at the end of 1944. The camp was in the shape of a rectangle, monitored by four towers. Outside of the perimeter, which was marked by barbed-wire fences, stood several small buildings: the offices of the SS guards, their kitchen, a small warehouse, and an office for three employees of the Organisation Todt (OT), including a Frontführer.

The camp was under the control of the OT initially, but on October 17, 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer August Walling, formerly a Luftwaffe officer, took over as commandant; he would remain in control until the camp's evacuation. The guards for the camp itself consisted of five SS men. According to testimonies, Walling's attitude was rather ambivalent: he made some effort to improve daily life for the prisoners, even authorizing some of them to go into town to bring back medicine, lenses for glasses, and cobbler's tools. Days off were organized, and a disinfection room was installed. On the other hand, he imposed cruel punishments on the inmates, such as standing up for hours between two rows of barbed wire. One of the inmates, Alexander Donat, left a long account in which he tells how Walling shot his revolver at a young inmate to punish him for straying from his work site to beg for food. The inmate was only wounded, and Walling then spent long hours at his bedside, watching him in his struggle against death. When the prisoner's condition had improved, Walling brought him an apple.

The guards for the external work details were soldiers in the Luftwaffe. Their number varied, reaching as high as 70. During the last months of the camp's existence, Ukrainian

guards worked at Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental. Inmates were subjected to maltreatment and were constantly beaten.

There were two Polish prisoner physicians (*Häftlingsärzte*) for the inmates that arrived with the first convoy. Walling approved the installation of an infirmary (*Revier*) and a shower room. The two physicians were allowed to establish contact with the airfield hospital, whose doctor provided them with bandages and medical instruments. The infirmary occupied four rooms in Block I, of which two were recovery rooms and one a treatment room. The sanitary situation stabilized somewhat, until the arrival of a second convoy of inmates who were quite weak. Between 100 and 150 inmates a day were declared to be unfit for work. A special barrack was built to accommodate them; the inmates called it "U" (for *unfähig*, "incapable"). Donat was put in charge of inmate health at the airfield, where he reported each day. There, on premises used as an ammunition depot, he received inmates who needed first aid. This place rapidly became a restful haven, and the prisoners could benefit from a few minutes' break.

Inmates worked 9 hours a day, instead of the usual 11 or 12 hours in the concentration camps, but they walked to work.

Weekly reports preserved in the Ludwigsburg archives describe the work carried out in the early weeks of the camp's existence. The large majority of the inmates, 364, worked at the airfield, 80 others in construction work, 50 in a nearby quarry, and 20 in the construction of a railroad track. On the airfield, inmates repaired runways and removed snow. Some worked assembling airplane parts in a workshop in Hasenbühl, a wooded area near the airport. The others remained in the camp, where they were kept busy with the upkeep of the barracks, cooking, or clerical work (*Schreibstube*), or were declared sick. Inmates were also given the responsibility of clearing the rubble after aerial bombardments on the airport and on the town of Schwäbisch Hall. They buried the dead bodies. Some were also employed by businesses in Schwäbisch Hall and Hessental and on neighboring farms.

The mortality rate in the camp climbed with time. A total of 182 corpses were buried in 18 mass graves in the town cemetery. Hunger was the leading cause of death; 32 inmates died following maltreatment, and at least 16 were shot, including 7 for attempted escape. The camp's SS subjected inmates to a number of sadistic ordeals, for example, marching the sick through the snow. They entertained themselves by throwing food in front of the inmates gathered for roll call; the inmates had to restrain themselves from pouncing on the food under the threat of murder.

On March 3, 1945, the airport was bombed again, and the runways were destroyed. A few days later, the town's train station was likewise destroyed. All the residents of Schwäbisch Hall were mobilized to clear the ruins. The inmates only worked for one day, because, as Donat recounts, the town council did not want them to mix too closely with the residents.

In March, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp. The inmate sanitation team burned mattresses and embarked on a disinfection and delousing campaign. The epidemic was thus limited but still killed 15 inmates. On April 5, 1945, the Hessental camp was evacuated on the order of an SS officer from Stuttgart. The destination was München-Allach. A train arrived at the gates of the camp, and the inmates were loaded onto it. They had to wait three days in the cars without food. The inmates of Kochendorf, another of Natzweiler's subcamps, were in the front cars. A few kilometers after departing, the train was bombed, and the locomotive was hit; 6 inmates were killed, and 6 or 7 others were wounded. The evacuation continued on foot, and inmates had to march in rows of five. They made stops in small villages, where the residents made an effort to feed the inmates, for whom no food had been planned. During the distributions, fights broke out. The SS guards intervened violently. There were some deaths; 4 inmates were buried in the cemetery in Bühlertann. During a stop at the Neunheim quarry, between 27 and 30 inmates died and were buried on the spot. There were 42 deaths at the stop in Zöbingen. The survivors reached Augsburg. From there they were sent in livestock cars to Dachau, where they were liberated by American troops on April 19, 1945. The death march had cost at least 170 men their lives.

In November 1947, Walling was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by the French Tribunal Général in Rastatt for crimes against humanity. He served 10 years.

SOURCES Published sources include the booklet by Folker Förtsch and Siegfried Hubele, *KZ-Gedenkstätte Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental* (KZ-Gedenkstätte Hessentale.V., n.d.; based upon the research of Liselotte Kratochvil). A local journalist of the *HT* wrote a complete and detailed book about the airport compound and the concentration camp of Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental: Michael S. Koziol, *Rüstung, Krieg und Sklaverei. Der Fliegerhorst Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental und das Konzentrationslager. Eine Dokumentation* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986); the camp is described on pp. 92–128. A survivor of the camp, Michael Berg, wrote an account of his journey through numerous camps, under his new name, Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom. A Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1965); a revised version was published by USHMM (Washington, DC, 1999). After surviving in the Warsaw ghetto until its final liquidation, the author was sent to the Majdanek subcamp in Radom, then to the Natzweiler subcamp of Vaihingen. He spent five months in Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental (see pp. 258–279). See also Elke Schabet-Berger, "Der Lager Hessental," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 71–107.

Archival sources can be found at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Hessental) and the BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR-Z 171/69).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

SCHWINDRATZHEIM

Schwindratzheim in the former Gau Baden-Elsass, present-day Bas-Rhin (France), was a Natzweiler subcamp. It was

most likely a construction camp, and its approximately 600 male prisoners did road work as part of the so-called A-Massnahme 11. They were accommodated in the ZEH gypsum factory outside the town of Schwindratzheim.

The Schwindratzheim subcamp existed for only a short period of time; it is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on August 29, 1944. According to an official report, the camp was evacuated in October, possibly on October 21, 1944.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier details the state of research on Schwindratzheim in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 347. Robert Steegmann refers to the camp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 210, lists Schwindratzheim as a Natzweiler subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SENNHEIM

The Sennheim (French: Cernay) subcamp was located in the then Gau Baden-Elsass, which is in the present-day District Haute-Rhin (France), 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Mulhouse. It was established as part of an SS training camp (*Ausbildungslager*) that had been in the same location since at least 1942 to train low-ranking non-German SS members. It is known that SS members from France, Norway, the Netherlands, Croatia, and Ireland were drilled there and received infantry and ideological training.

The Sennheim subcamp was opened in 1943 (probably on October 1, 1943, according to Robert Steegmann) or March 1944 and consisted initially of 80 male inmates, later increasing to 250 (other sources refer to 300), most of whom came from the Soviet Union and Poland. According to Antoine Greffier, the inmates were accommodated in the attic of a Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Lufag) building. However, Henri Mounine states that Italian military prisoners were brought from Natzweiler to Sennheim and were first used to construct the barracks.

According to Mounine, who cites the report by Luxembourg resistance fighter and Natzweiler prisoner Roger Hildgen, the subcamp's prisoners built accommodations for the local police and the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Directorate (Bauleitung) and administration barracks for the SS. Several Alsatian firms were also involved in the construction project. Hildgen also describes the difficult working conditions as well as the physical mistreatment of the prisoners. The camp commander in Sennheim was SS-Unterscharführer Witzig; the camp elder (Lageräl tester) was the criminal prisoner (green triangle) Telschow; and the construction administration lay in the hands of an engineer named Nicolas Wilgé. According to Hildgen, the camp had a small infirmary (*Revier*) and a "bunker" that functioned as a prison. According to prisoner statements, Sennheim was a particularly brutal camp with up to 25 deaths among the prisoners.

Hildgen states that the camp was evacuated on September 10, 1944, and that the prisoners were taken to Dachau. Greffier dates the evacuation as September 20, 1944. The SS-Ausbildungslager Sennheim was dissolved in November 1944.

Greffier states that there were in Sennheim from January 23, 1944, Norwegian students, following an order by the Reichsführer-SS that they should be given lectures at the SS-Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft "Das Ahnenerbe." Additionally, Norwegian students were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Sennheim from July 1944; in December 1944, they were sent back to Buchenwald. Whether these Buchenwald prisoners were inmates that were sent to work in the Sennheim subcamp or, as is more likely, were foreigners who had been recruited by the Waffen-SS cannot be ascertained from the files.

After the war, Kapo Telschow was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES Henri Mounine's monograph *Cernay, 40–45: Le SS-Ausbildungslager* (Ostwald: Polygone, 1999) is to date the only work on the SS-Ausbildungslager in Sennheim; on pp. 410–415, Mounine provides a report on the "Les Déportes—Travsailleurs Forces," quoting the Sennheim prisoner Roger Hildgen, the Dutch SS volunteer Andréas Terveer, and a newspaper report from *L'Al* dated May 29 and 30, 1946, on the work and living conditions in the camp. Greffier deals with the state of research on the Sennheim subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002), p. 61, but without referring to Mounine. Robert Steegmann describes the Sennheim subcamp in his *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 72, 256–257. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 210, lists the Sennheim subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SPAICHINGEN

Spaichingen in Württemberg was the site of a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The Spaichingen subcamp for male prisoners was located in the Gewann Lehmgrube (a clay pit formerly part of a strip field), which is presently the Spaichingen city center.

The Spaichingen camp was part of the German effort toward the end of the war to relocate German armaments manufacturing. In the summer of 1944, the Metallwerke Spaichingen put a plan before the city of Spaichingen to construct three barracks (one with two levels) to hold concentration camp prisoners who were to work in its metal factories.

According to files from the Natzweiler concentration camp, the Spaichingen subcamp is referred to for the first time on September 26 or 29, 1944. Historians Herwart Vorländer and Gudrun Schwarz put October 1944 as the time when the camp opened. The camp remained operational until April 18, 1945. It held 300 to 400 political prisoners who were used to construct housing. The prisoners originated from a variety of European countries including Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the Soviet Union.

The exact number of prisoners who died in the Spaichingen subcamp is unknown. Numbers vary between 80 and 110.

When the camp was closed, there were two completed barracks and one still under construction. Metallwerke Spaichingen probably never commenced production. The prisoners did preparatory work, metal processing, and transport and construction work on the campsite in the clay pit.

According to a prisoner's statement, the camp was evacuated between April 15 and 18, 1945, in the direction of Wurzach. Schwarz puts the date the camp was closed as April 18, 1945.

After the war, SS members, guards, and detachment leaders from the Spaichingen subcamp were charged with murder, accessory to murder, theft, and war crimes and tried in the spring of 1946 in the Rastatt Trial, the first Allied war crimes trial that occurred in the French Occupation Zone. Of the seven accused, three were sentenced to death, one to life imprisonment with hard labor, two to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor, and one to 5 years in jail. The director of the Metallwerke, Hartmann, received a prison sentence, as he was responsible for the miserable food provided to the prisoners. The camp leader Schnabler was not tried, as he had not been captured at this time.

SOURCES The Spaichingen camp is described in Alte Synagoge Hechingen, ed., *Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns: Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil* (Bissingen, n.d.), p. 80; and in Herwart Vorländer, *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 12; and in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslsager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 66. It is also mentioned in Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, *Baden-Württemberg I*, *Regierungsbezirke Freiburg und Tübingen*, vol. 5/2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Spaichingen subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181. Journalist Jochen Kastilan has researched the history of the Spaichingen subcamp in several articles, including his essay "Das Konzentrationslager in Spaichingen," *Spai-Sc* (1990); and in a series of articles in *HeuBo*, January 22, 1982. The Spaichingen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211.

Original documents on the Spaichingen subcamp are located in the AKr-TUT, Kreisarchiv Tuttlingen, Schriftensammlungen F 389 and D 1645. Documents on the Rastatt Trial are held in AOC, in the collection Tribunal Général du Gouvernement Militaire de la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne, Série AJ, no. 4028, cartons 2A, 2B, 3, 4, 5, dossier no. 3/46, but are subject to a 100-year access bar, and only selected documents may be seen with special permission.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

THIL ("ERZ") [AKA ARBEITSKOMMANDO LONGWY-DEUTSCHOTH, LONGWY-THIL, LONGWY-THIL-AUDUN-LE-TICHE]

The Thil subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was located outside the small town of Thil in a narrow valley close to the Luxembourg border in the Département Meurthe-et-Moselle in the northeastern part of France that Germany annexed in 1940 under the name of Lothringen. The camp was established on June 15, 1944, on the initiative of Volkswagen chief executive officer (CEO) Ferdinand Porsche after agreements with Heinrich Himmler and the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). It was a subcamp of the Natzweiler main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Thil concentration camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various names: Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche, and Erz (after the project code name). The camp was evacuated in early September 1944, when Allied forces approached, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Thil was a slave labor camp with the main purpose of providing manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen daughter company, and for its manufacturing of Fi 103 cruise missiles (V-1) and fighter aircraft. The Thil facility consisted of a system of mines that belonged to the Syndicat de Tiercelet and were part of the Minette iron ore district. The underground production facilities were to cover an area of 230,000 square meters (275,078 square yards). Volkswagen was in charge of V-1 series production and used its special status to expand into other lucrative high-priority armaments programs like the manufacturing of fighter aircraft. There were plans to occupy 10,000 workers at the facility, and Porsche's vision was that all laborers except for German foremen and guards would be concentration camp inmates.

On March 4, 1944, Himmler promised him 3,500 concentration camp prisoners for the project. Production lines from the air-raid-vulnerable Volkswagen main factory in Fallersleben as well as machinery looted in France were

transferred to Thil and to other Minette facilities in Dernau and Eschershausen. Several trains with equipment arrived in Thil, as did thousands of forced laborers from various occupied countries meant to serve as labor for the construction project under the coordination of the Organisation Todt (OT).

The first concentration camp prisoners in Thil erected huts for the SS's and prisoners' accommodation as well as barbed-wire fences surrounding the prisoners' barracks and a crematorium intended for the burning of corpses. In the beginning, some of the prisoners were brought to work in the Deutsche Erzbergwerke AG iron ore mines in Longwy. Soon, most prisoners had tough refurbishing assignments such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces under the supervision of Volkswagen and OT specialists. They worked alongside Germans, voluntary and forced laborers from other occupied countries, and local French labor. By early August, a growing number of prisoners worked in manufacturing V-1 parts, while others—as construction was interrupted due to lack of building materials—were commanded to work in a quarry under the guards' excessive brutality and at road construction and cable work in the nearby town of Deutschoth (present-day Audun-le-Tiche).

The commandant of the Thil concentration camp was SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Büttner. The first 12 prisoners arrived on June 15, 1944, from the Natzweiler main camp and were assigned to prisoner-functionary (*Funktionshäftlinge*) posts. On June 20, a transport of 500 Hungarian Jews that had been selected by a Volkswagen engineer in Auschwitz followed. An additional 51 non-Jewish prisoners arrived on June 29 and July 3, and on July 6, the total number of prisoners rose to 861, at the arrival of a transport of 300 Jews who had been selected and deployed to V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory until this facility was damaged by Allied bombing. No provisions had been made to receive this group, so the prisoners were accommodated in primitive tents with almost no food or drink for days in a fenced-in area while having to erect additional huts under a most brutal guards' regime. The Thil camp had only male prisoners, 85 percent of whom were Hungarian Jews. The total prisoner strength remained stable until the evacuation, as only 3 prisoners died, while 1 escaped and 1 was returned to the main camp.

The 66 guards in the Thil camp (as of August 5) were SS and Luftwaffe soldiers. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodations were primitive. The diet was poor, so even if the prisoners were in good shape when they arrived after having spent only a few days in Hungarian ghettos and in Auschwitz, some reached the "Muslim" (*Muselman*) stage in the course of their short stay in Thil. By early August, some 30 prisoners were constantly stationed at the camp infirmary, and some 40 convalescent prisoners (*Schonungshäftlinge*) were allowed to stay in the camp and perform easy maintenance tasks. Many survivors and local witnesses report that guards practiced random beatings and elaborate, sadistic ways of torture, but due to the priority given to construction progress and manufacturing, there was no systematic killing of prisoners.

Prisoners from the later transport were considered "bearers of secrets" (*Geheimnisträger*), and they were banned by threat of death from communication with other prisoners and other laborers. Their camp elder, Gyula Gross, had gathered well-educated, older Hungarian Jews around himself as Funktionshäftlinge. Some survivors remember their regime as brutal and authoritarian; others appreciate what they consider their attempt to protect the prisoners against the SS. Non-Jewish Funktionshäftlinge were in charge of the early arrivals.

In the traditionally Socialist mining community, miners and their families provided help by placing food and fruit, tobacco, newspaper clippings, and encouraging notes along the prisoners' marching route and at the work site. Survivors recollect a feeling of the camp being watched by protective locals, and prisoners managed to establish contact with the anti-Nazis outside. An escape attempt by a group of young Jews was partly successful since they got away and—helped by French resistance—crossed the front line in order to provide the Allies with secret V-1 information. As collective punishment, the rest of the camp had to stand at alert an entire night without food or drink, and the escapees' closest friend was beaten unconscious and left for days on the roll-call square; the conspiracy, however, remained undisclosed.

Allied advances on the Western Front thwarted plans of a collective breakout supported by local resistance, as prisoners were ordered to dismantle manufacturing equipment quickly, load it onto railway cars, and evacuate—the 300 "specialists" to another Volkswagen facility in Dernau, the rest to the Kochendorf concentration camp.

SOURCES This description of the Thil concentration camp is based on research by the author and Peter Lessmann for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 803; Eugene Gaspard, *Les Travaux du IIIe Reich entre Alzette et Fensch* (Thil, n.d.); Gaspard and Alain Simne, *Le canton du fer* (Metz, 1978); *Le Camp de Thil* (Nancy, n.d.); and the Luxembourgian journal *Hém* (1985); central documents in Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986); preliminary data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book, *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Archival material on the Thil concentration camp is rich but scattered. The VWA and the ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from APMO, NARA (CIOS reports), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). The Thil Memorial (AMRCCT-L, www.outoftime.de/thil) holds copies of documents from French archives, as does the ACCS. Witness and survivors' accounts can be found in Dezsö Schön, *As*

Örökseg (Tel Aviv, 1960), p. 158; and at the VWA, the ASt-WOB, the AMRCCT-L, YVA, VHF, and USHMMA.

Therkel Straede

UNTERSCHWARZACH

It is questionable whether there was a Natzweiler subcamp in Unterschwarzach. It is likely that the connection to the Natzweiler concentration camp has more to do with an auxiliary hospital (*Hilfskrankenhaus*) that was established there in 1944.

Since 1936, the "Schwarzacher Hof" in Unterschwarzach, Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis, had been part of the Institute for the Education and Care of the Mentally Ill (*Erziehungs- und Pflegeanstalt für Geisteskranke*) in Mosbach, an institution operated by the Innere Mission. In the early summer of 1944, Daimler-Benz insisted that part of the Schwarzacher Hof be evacuated and made available as a Hilfskrankenhaus for Project "Goldfisch"—Goldfisch was a code name for the underground relocation of Daimler-Benz AG production of aircraft engines in Genshagen to the "Friede" mine at Obrigheim. Those responsible at Daimler-Benz AG for the project had inspected Schwarzacher Hof, which at the beginning of 1944 accommodated more than 200 children, youths, and adults, to check its suitability as a Hilfskrankenhaus for Project Goldfisch.

The Institute's management protested against the planned takeover and urged relatives of patients who were in the Institute to take their relatives home; 71 patients were rescued, but despite the protests, another 49 were "transferred," which meant they were sent to institutes where they were killed. The remainder of the patients remained in the Schwarzacher Hof in a much more confined area so as to create space for the Hilfskrankenhaus.

The research on prisoners housed at the Schwarzacher Hof—their number and categories, and indeed their very presence—remains inconclusive. If German and foreign forced laborers were brought to the Hilfskrankenhaus, then according to regulations they would have been accommodated in separate areas. The *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler* refers to Unterschwarzach as a company hospital for Project Goldfisch; if this is so, then it is questionable whether there would have been concentration camp prisoners in the building. Even if the hospital in theory was planned for the medical care of the prisoners, it could have functioned as a type of death camp (*Sterbelager*), holding prisoners who could no longer work without care and food.

Also unknown is the number of dead: there are no reports for 1944; in 1945 the deaths of 12 forced laborers were registered in Unterschwarzach—8 in the Hilfskrankenhaus: 7 from typhus and 1 from a lung inflammation. The dead were buried in the local cemetery.

SOURCES The use of the term "Hilfskrankenhauses" Unterschwarzach is taken from Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften OHG, 1991), pp. 105–106. Antoine Greffier's, comp., *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler* (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 274, lists Unterschwarzach in a list of the camp's establishments and production sites, but with the note that the company hospital for Project Goldfisch was located in Unterschwarzach and that it did not treat prisoners. This contradicts details in the Unterschwarzach Register of Deaths, which states that eight prisoners died in the Hilfskrankenhaus. Robert Steegmann does not refer to Unterschwarzch in *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), does not refer to Unterschwarzach; but it is listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1501.

Archival documents on Unterschwarzach are held in the Unterschwarzach Register of Deaths (AGe-USZ), which lists the dead who died in 1945 in the Hilfskrankenhaus.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VAIHINGEN/ENZ

The reason behind the choice of the town of Vaihingen/Enz—located between Ludwigsburg and Pforzheim—to establish a Natzweiler subcamp is not precisely known. The existence of an unused quarry belonging to Baresel AG had drawn the attention of the armaments sector, which was directed by Albert Speer, who was responsible for the displacement of factories to places protected from aerial bombardment. The quarry was already being used as a test site for V-1 rocket engines. For the most part, inmates worked in underground rooms on several levels in the quarry, where workshops had been installed and the construction of which had begun even before their arrival in the camp. At the beginning of the summer of 1944, work on the construction of the camp began. A wheat field, located on the outskirts of Vaihingen on the road to Ensigen, was chosen. Attaining the level of a proper SS camp, the road was blocked by trees and framed by police posts. The camp was just one small part of a larger project. This subcamp occupied a 150×80-meter (492×263-feet) plot. The camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fences, and its four corners were flanked by watchtowers. At night, it was lit up by floodlights. Inmates came from the Radom camp, which had been evacuated in the face of the advance of Soviet troops; 3,000 inmates had left the camp on foot: men, women, and children. The women, the children, and the sick were separated from the convoy at Tomaszow. The men were transported in livestock cars to Auschwitz, where a selection was made. Around August 15, 1944, 2,188 men arrived in Vaihingen. The majority of the inmates were Polish Jews who had passed through several different concentration and work camps.



French troops and survivors at the newly-liberated Vaihingen subcamp of Natzweiler, April 7–15, 1945.
USHMM WS #18094, COURTESY OF ECPAD

The inmates were housed in four wooden barracks, with 500 prisoners per barrack. After the war, the detention conditions were described as more favorable than those known by inmates in Poland. Alexander Donat, a Polish Jewish journalist from Warsaw, spent two months in the Vaihingen camp and left his published memoirs as a testament. The camp was composed of one building for the inmates' kitchen, an infirmary (*Revier*), and open-air latrines. On the outside of the barbed wire stood the buildings for the SS guards, the secretary's bureau (*Schreibstube*), and—according to one account—workshops for the camp, including a sewing workshop. The camp commandant had the use of a small house built for him by the Organisation Todt (OT). He belonged to the 215th Panzergrenadierersatzbataillon of Reutlingen, which was put at his disposal in June 1944 by the SS construction management, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), centered at Oranienburg. He was part of a group of 200 officers, all intended to support the framework of the ever-expanding concentration camp system. He was sent to Natzweiler. At the end of July, he received orders to report to Vaihingen, where the construction of the camp had not yet been completed. The surveillance of Vaihingen was provided by 80 men, soldiers in the army, in the Luftwaffe, and the SS. An assistant physician (*Assistenz-Artz*) of the Luftwaffe was responsible for the health of the guards. The internal administration of the camp was in the hands of Polish Jews who had arrived with the first convoy. The camp elder (Lagerältester), Friedman, had already fulfilled the same function at the Radom camp. On October 15, 1944, 600 inmates from Vaihingen were sent to the new subcamp at Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental. Between November 8 and 16, 1944, 1,200 more inmates were transferred to other Natzweiler subcamps at Dautmergen, Bisingen, and Unterriexingen. At the end of November, only about 380 men remained in Vaihingen, half of whom were unfit for work. In the meantime, the camp had been transformed into a camp for the dying (*Krankenlager*); however, no changes in the camp's facilities were put into effect until December 1944, when a fifth barrack was built, with running water, bath, and toilet facilities. The plan to build a permanent structure, with an operating room and real medical facilities, was never carried out.

Two prisoner physicians, Dr. Boogaerts, who was Belgian, and Dr. Paulson, a Norwegian, arrived at the camp in the month of January. They had previously been interned at Neckarelz. Dr. Paulson was actually a dentist. Starting in November 1944, sick inmates arrived from different Natzweiler subcamps, from Dautmergen, Schörzingen, Bisingen, Schömberg, Frankfurt, and so on. In December 1944, a total of 1,500 sick inmates had arrived in Vaihingen. The last patient transport, which had come from Mannheim-Sandhofen, took place on March 11, 1945. In all, 2,442 inmates were transferred there from 17 different subcamps. The physical condition of the new arrivals was terrible. Many died en route. A detachment was established to handle the corpses (Leichenkommando). The camp population, until then relatively homogeneous, became far more diverse with the arrival of the convoys of sick inmates—25 nationalities were represented. The living conditions for the weakest inmates were extremely harsh, the food as insufficient as the medicine. In Block 5, an isolation ward was set up for contagious patients. Block 2 received inmates who had been excused from work and were officially in convalescence. Even they were subjected to two roll calls per day. In mid-February 1945, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp. The disease spread rapidly. The entire health-care staff was contaminated. Block 4 in Vaihingen was used to isolate infected prisoners. Beginning on March 11, 1945, no more transports of sick inmates were directed to Vaihingen, perhaps because of the epidemic. A convoy from the Leonberg subcamp was sent to Bergen-Belsen. The general mortality was quite high, even if the archives do not permit a precise breakdown of all the deaths. There were at least 1,578 deaths. The camp at Vaihingen was a hospital in name only. It primarily served to empty out the other subcamps of their sick inmates who were unable to work. Despite Vaihingen's status as a hospital camp, inmates who were capable of work were put to work.

Camp inmates mixed with forced laborers of different nationalities, Poles, Soviets, and French. Germans who were forced to work acted as foremen. Exchanges took place, measured in number of apples or loaves of bread. The inmates at Vaihingen found themselves responsible for the hardest chores, such as continuing to dig out halls in the mine and to reinforce their infrastructures. Thus, they performed excavation work. A group of inmates worked outside to remove stones. Some groups of prisoners were also employed in a soap plant, a shoe factory, a foundry, and in agricultural work in Kleinglattbach. After the bombing of Stuttgart, some inmates were sent there to clear the ruins.

The Vaihingen camp was evacuated toward the beginning of April 1944. Inmates unable to walk were left behind. Some inmates were registered at Dachau. Two groups were registered at the München-Allach subcamp. On April 7, the First Free French Division entered Vaihingen, liberating the inmates left behind, whose exact number could not be determined. Many died in the days between the evacuation and the liberation. On the order of French officers, the civilians of Vaihingen were required to care for the surviving patients and to take them to the Vaihingen hospital. The barracks were almost immediately burned to limit the risk of epidemic. At least 31 inmates died after the liberation, as well as 7 residents of Vaihingen, who had contracted typhus in caring for the sick.

The work supervisor, SS-Oberscharführer M., who had terrorized the inmates and boasted of having participated in the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*) massacres in Lublin-Majdanek, was imprisoned and handed over to Poland. He was sentenced to death and executed in Lublin on October 6, 1948.

SOURCES The secondary literature on Vaihingen is more extensive than that on other subcamps in southwest Germany. See Bärbel Böckle, "Das Arbeits- und Krankenlager Vaihingen (Enz)," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 175–223. Steven Tenenbaum, the son of Holocaust survivors, told of his pilgrimage to Vaihingen, where his uncle had died: "In the Valley," *Tog* 11 (December 2000): 11. See also *Initiative KZ-Gedenkstätte Vaihingen-an-der-Enz* (Vaihingen, 1996).

Primary sources on Vaihingen begin with ITS, HM Akdo Vaihingen, Ordner KL Natzweiler-Aussenkommando Vaihingen/Enz; ZdL (now BA-L), AZ. IV 419 AR 1267/67, p. 243; Sta. Heilbronn, Ermittlungsakten, 1 JS 10942/59. Published testimonies and contemporary accounts include Arthur Crockett and David Parr, "Mass Grave Near Vaihingen Holds 1,500 Victims of Miniature Dachau," *The RR* 2, Vaihingen, First Bn (1945), pp. 1–8. Alexander Donat, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto, was an inmate of Vaihingen, among several other camps. He left a book of memoirs, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1963; Washington, DC: USHMM, 1999). On Vaihingen, see pp. 252–258. A collection of oral and written testimonies can be found in Manfred Scheck, *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz* (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995). Roger Audibert, a French soldier, wrote a few pages in his memoirs on the liberation of the camp by the French: *De la prise de Notre-Dame de la Garde à la libération du camp de la mort de Vaihingen* (Marseille: Autres temps, 1994), pp. 151–155. A member of the French Resistance wrote his recollections of Vaihingen: Jean-Henry de la Teyssonnière, *A la mémoire de . . . Témoignage* (Paris, 1972). See also Emile Juillard, "Vaihingen, le camp-Revier," in *Tragédie de la déportation 1940–1945: Témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands*, ed. Olga Wormser and Henri Michel (Paris: Hachette, 1954), p. 330.

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

VAIHINGEN/UNTERRIEXINGEN (WITH GROSS-SACHSENHEIM)

Unterriexingen was a subcamp of Vaihingen (a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp in Württemberg), located some 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) outside Vaihingen and 30 kilo-

meters (18.6 miles) northwest of Stuttgart. It was established on the road between Unter- and Oberriexingen and enclosed by a double barbed-wire fence 3 meters (almost 10 feet) in height. On an area of approximately 7,000 square meters (8,372 square yards), between 400 and, at maximum, 550 prisoners were to be accommodated here. Of the two barracks, one was never completed; in addition, there was a barrack for the guards on duty and a lodging barrack for the guard unit. The camp had no running water; a small wooden shed outside the camp grounds served as a kitchen (the food was delivered by the Organisation Todt [OT]).

For 500 inmates, many of them afflicted with dysentery, there was only one four-seated latrine. Jules Schelvis, a prisoner in Unterriexingen, provides a description of the resulting drastic conditions:

> Already before you reached the pit, the ground was covered with excrement. Many of the prisoners had not managed to reach the seat in time and relieved themselves beforehand. I hadn't even reached the latrine when my wooden clogs got stuck in the shit. But these shoes were indispensable, so I took them with me anyway. I had to wait for one of the seats to be vacant. There was a slapping and a spraying in the pit on account of the dysentery, a disease to which everyone had gotten accustomed and with which you lived until you could not go on any longer. After all, what other choice was there. There was no paper to wipe oneself. Like everyone else, I used the middle finger of my left hand for this purpose. . . . My bare feet covered with excrement, my wooden clogs in hand, I returned to the barrack. . . . Who can imagine such a situation? From this instant on, I knew that Unterriexingen was a death camp.1

The Unterriexingen camp was opened on or after November 16, 1944. The camp was guarded by the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company under SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, the lead of the Vaihingen/Enz concentration camp. According to historian Herwart Vorländer, there were also other organizational links between the two camps: for example, Unterriexingen had been constructed by Vaihingen/Erz prisoners, and in November 1944, 500 Jewish prisoners were transferred from Vaihingen to Unterriexingen. In early 1945, 150 to 200 Polish prisoners, survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, were transferred to Unterriexingen from the Mannheim-Sondhofen camp, as well as a group of approximately 50 to 100 Italian military internees (IMIs). Thus, the overall number of prisoners will presumably have far exceeded the prisoner number of 300 cited by author Julius Schätzle.

Schelvis, p. 66, states that the camp leader's name was SS-Hauptscharführer Bruno Fedrowitz. Like a proportion of the prisoners themselves, Fedorowitz would have come to Unterriexingen from Radom with the Romanian SS guard unit. Schelvis also said that 40 of the SS men in Unterriexingen had been supplied by the Vaihingen camp and 10 by the Natzweiler main camp.

The prisoners, all males, had their lodgings in barracks. They worked for the "Gallinit" construction project and the Eple Company. Gallinit was the code name for an underground construction project in the context of which parts of the Mannheim Daimler-Benz production operations were to be moved to a tunnel in Gross-Sachsenheim. The prisoners moreover built barracks and worked in the Unterriexingen/Gross-Sachsenheim quarry (between Enz Bridge and Gross-Sachsenheim airfield), where at least 80 prisoners were on duty. There they had to break stones for repair work at the airfield and on nearby roads. Other inmates worked at the Gross-Sachsenheim air base; occasionally, they were sent to Stuttgart and vicinity, for example, Pforzheim and Kornwestheim, to carry out clearing work following air raids.

The last mention of the Unterriexingen camp is found in an official report of April 1945. At this time, the inmates were evacuated to Vaihingen and, later, from there in the direction of Dachau. After the war, 250 corpses were found on the camp grounds—testimony to the horrendous living conditions in the camp. Due to the fact that, until a few months before the dissolution of the camp, the bodies of the prisoners who perished in the Unterriexingen camp had been transported to the Vaihingen subcamp, it can be assumed that many more than 250 prisoners died in the Unterriexingen camp.

From October 6 to November 21, 1947, within the context of the Rastatt Trial, 42 members of the camp administration and guard units from the Natzweiler subcamps Hessental, Kochendorf, Vaihingen/Enz, and Unterriexingen were charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Rastatt Trial before the Tribunal Général (supreme military court) of the French military administration was the first Allied war crimes trial to be carried out in the French-occupied zone. Altogether 7 death sentences were imposed (of which 4 were enforced); 1 defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment and 11 to prison and penal servitude.

SOURCES The Vaihingen/Unterriexingen subdetachment is described in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *NS Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des KL Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 12. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger mention details pertaining to the guard operations at Vaihingen/Unterriexingen in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall, 1996), p. 18. Further mention is found in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 66. The Unterriexingen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211.

In USHMMA, a four-page typewritten report by George Freshman on his experiences as a prisoner in Kochendorf,

Vaihingen, and Vaihingen/Unterriexingen is to be found under File No. Acc. 1997.A.0289. Documents pertaining to the Rastatt Trials are located in the AOC, in the file Tribunal Général du Gouvernement Militaire de la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne, Série AJ, no. 4028, cartons no. 2A, 2B, 3, 4, 5, dossier no. 3/46. A 100-year prohibition was imposed on access to these files, and they can only be inspected with special permission and only in parts. A striking description of the living and working conditions at the Unterriexingen subcamp is found in Jules Schelvis, "Eine Reise durch die Finsternis: Die Lager Vaihingen und Unterriexingen," in *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz*, ed. Manfred Scheck (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995), pp. 57–80.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTE

1. Jules Schelvis, "Eine Reise durch die Finsternis: Die Lager Vaihingen und Unterriexingen," in *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz*, ed. Manfred Scheck (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995), pp. 57–80.

WALLDORF

The Walldorf subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was officially in operation from August 27, 1944 (the date August 22, 1944, occasionally cited in the literature refers to the arrival of the first prisoner transport), to October 31, 1944. It was part of the complex of camps set up around the Rhine-Main Airport. Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had been put to work at this airport as early as 1942. Disguised as lumberjacks, they worked on the expansion of the airport and the creation of shelters for the fighter formations stationed there. Beginning in the autumn of 1944, interceptors of the type Messerschmitt (Me) 163B were stationed at this site, making it necessary to build an additional runway, a project requiring the employment of additional workers.

For this reason, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) commissioned Construction Administration V (Heidelberg) of the Organisation Todt (OT), in cooperation with the construction company Ed. Züblin & Cie., with the construction of the Walldorf subcamp, which was placed under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The subcamp was located between Nordenstrasse on the northern periphery of the town of Walldorf and the Rhine-Main Airport, on the grounds of a former chicken farm that had been seized from its Jewish owners and used in the 1930s as a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. The prisoners were guarded by male and female guard units from Natzweiler as well as by members of the OT. According to testimony by former prisoner Susanne Farkas, the camp consisted of five barrack blocks in which the women slept on bunk beds without blankets, as well as a kitchen building, an infirmary, and administration rooms.

On August 22, 1944, 1,700 female prisoners arrived in Walldorf from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The majority of them were Hungarian Jews; many of the others came from Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. According to accounts by witnesses, the women were between 14 and 65 years of age. As early as the first day, one of the women died—officially of heart failure, but according to witness accounts, she had been shot to death. The women began working on August 24: approximately 80 of them worked in the camp; at the request of the Züblin AG company, about 40 of them were put to work breaking stone in Frankfurt am Main. All of the others worked at the Rhine-Main Airport, where they cut down and transported trees, unloaded railroad cars, dug ditches for cables and tank facilities, carried out foundation work, and leveled runways.

According to an expert report by journalist Anette Raab-Neff, the prisoners in the Walldorf subcamp were subjected to harsh treatment. The rations provided the women working for the Züblin company were completely inadequate. During air raids, the women were left to lie on the earth on the airport grounds entirely unprotected, while the guard units sought shelter. Former prisoner Helena Halperin recalls:

> We carried out various types of work at the airport. We unloaded large stones from railway cars; they were wet from snow and rain in October. When one of them fell beneath the car, we had to retrieve it. Then we uncovered cables in the forest. We dug up the earth, uncovered the brick, lifted them, and inside there were cables. Then we, many girls and women, took the cables and assembled them in one place. At the airport we were often shot at and bombed. One time there were six women under a tree; one of them was killed, one of them was hit by a bullet, one of them was grazed by a bullet; I had a head shock and couldn't hear anything for three days. During attacks we had to stay seated, were not permitted to move from the spot, and the SS guards ran under the trees and watched where the bombs were falling, where the bullets were falling, and they protected themselves and we were not allowed to move from the spot. Sometimes there were deaths; sometimes there were no deaths.[1]

When there was nothing else for the prisoners of the subcamp to do, the guard units gave them senseless tasks such as raking the forest soil. Officially only 6 women met their deaths during the camp's existence. Due to the working and living conditions prevailing there, however, only 500 of the 1,700 prisoners were still fit for work by the end of October 1944. The subcamp was dissolved on November 23, 1944, and the work taken over by Soviet POWs. Already in

October 1944, 34 pregnant women had been transported to an unknown destination; they were presumably murdered.

The remaining women, numbering approximately 1,650, were taken to the Ravensbrück concentration camp between mid-November and mid-December. When Ravensbrück was dissolved, many of them died on death transports and marches to Zillertal, Grosswerten, Reichenberg, Theresienstadt, Mauthausen, and Gunskirchen-Wels.

In the second half of the 1970s, the Darmstadt Public Attorney's Office instituted proceedings against the former camp leader Reinhold Loehs (born 1909) and others on charges of murder and aiding and abetting murder. The proceedings were suspended in June 1980 due to the fact that, according to the Public Attorney's Office, "no proof of participation in criminally relevant, still prosecutable acts can be ascertained for any of the defendants."[2]

SOURCES The brochure *Nichts und niemand wird vergessen: Zur Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Natzweiler-Struthof in Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, n.d.) provides a wealth of information on the Walldorf subcamp, including excerpts from the expert report by Anette Raab-Neff (pp. 10–13) and witness accounts by former prisoners (Helena Halperin, pp. 14–16; Jolan Freifeld, pp. 17–18; Susanne Farkas, pp. 19–22). The camp is moreover mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211; and the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, *Hessen I*, *Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995). Further mention can be found in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181.

Evidence of the existence of the Walldorf subcamp is found in BA-BL, File No. NS 4, KL Na [Natzweiler], 49–102 Häftlingsangelegenheiten, above all in 80—Walldorf. Information on the legal proceedings against camp leader Reinhold Loehs and others is available in the files of the Sta. Darmstadt at the LG Darmstadt, File No. 2 Js 590/76.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Helena Halperin, quoted in *Nichts und niemand wird vergessen: Zur Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Natzweiler-Struthof in Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, n.d.), p. 14.
2. Sta. Darmstadt, 2 Js 590/76.

WASSERALFINGEN

A subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was located in Wasseralfingen near Aalen in Württemberg. A camp for male inmates, it was first mentioned in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on September 27, 1944, when 400 inmates from the Dachau concentration camp arrived in Wasseralfingen. In November 1944, another transport to Wasseralfingen took place, consisting of 200 to 300 Polish prisoners arrested in the wake of the defeat of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The prisoners were lodged in a barrack camp along the street then called Moltkestrasse.

The prisoners worked for various companies and institutions, among them the Organisation Todt (OT) Higher Construction Administration Kiebitz in Heilbronn, the companies Heilmann & Littmann, Staud and Suka, and the Alfing Kessler KG machine works. One of the prisoners' chief tasks was the expansion of underground tunnels to accommodate a Hamburg crankshaft factory. When the plant went into operation in the winter of 1944–1945, the men were also put to work directly at the machines. The harsh working conditions cost at least 33 prisoners their lives. Moreover, on each of two transports in January and mid-February 1945, 30 prisoners "unfit for work" were transferred to the Vaihingen subcamp.

The guards for the subcamp were supplied by the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company, which was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, the commandant of the Vaihingen subcamp. In May 1944, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler had issued an instruction to the effect that a large number of soldiers unfit for field duty were to be integrated into the Waffen-SS. Accordingly, this unit consisted not only of members of the Waffen-SS but also of Luftwaffe soldiers, members of the Afrika Korps, and several Ukrainian SS men. According to historians Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger, altogether 8 SS-Unterführer and 26 members of the 6th Guard Company performed guard duty at the Wasseralfingen camp.

The last mention of the subcamp in Wasseralfingen is to be found in the records of the Natzweiler concentration camp pertaining to February 2, 1945. An official report confirms the evacuation of the subcamp to the Neckarelz subcamp.

SOURCES Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger mention several details on the Wasseralfingen subcamp in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall, 1996), esp. pp. 18–19. Barbel Böckle refers to Wasseralfingen subcamp in her essay "Das Arbeits- und Krankenlager Vaihingen (Enz)," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 175–224; a brief description of the camp is found on p. 13. Gudrun Schwarz includes the camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181. The Wasseralfingen subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 212.

In the holdings of USHMMA under Acc. No. 2004.35.1, Manfred Macuse Papers, there is an archive pertaining to the Wasseralfingen subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Judith Rosenthal

WESSERLING ("KRANICH," "A10") [AKA URBES, HÜSSEREN-WESSERLING, COLMAR]

The Natzweiler subcamp in Alsatian Wesserling (French: Urbes) is also referred to in the literature as Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar, and Urbes. Wesserling is one of the subcamps to have emerged in the phase of the dissolution of the Natzweiler main camp. The prisoners of the camp, which was located near Thann in Alsace, were to prepare a tunnel located between the towns of Urbes and Bussany in order to accommodate Daimler-Benz armaments production operations. In this tunnel, the company intended to undertake the production of propeller parts under the code name "A10 Kranich."

The camp was first mentioned on March 25, 1944. On that day, 300 male prisoners from Dachau arrived. Nearly 90 percent of the prisoners on this transport were political prisoners; as for nationality, one-third of them (36.3 percent) were Italians, followed by Soviet citizens (26.3 percent), Poles (13 percent), Yugoslavs (5.3 percent), Frenchmen (8.5 percent), Germans (5.6 percent), Greeks (3 percent), and Luxembourgers (3 percent). A second transport of 200 prisoners followed on March 29.

In the weeks that followed, further prisoner transports arrived in Wesserling, among them 502 prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek on April 4; 1,350 prisoners on May 5; and 1,350 on May 31, 1944. Most of the prisoners were Polish forced laborers and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) or forced laborers. On June 6, 550 prisoners came from Auschwitz, including 302 Poles and 248 Soviet citizens. Nearly all of the inmates on this transport were classified as political prisoners. One of the inmates arriving was Zacheus Pawlak, who described that the camp was located about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the railway station and that the inmates had to walk to the camp from the station. The camp consisted of a number of barracks—three of them were accommodation for the inmates—and was fenced with barbed wire. Guards and administration were housed in a building outside the inmates' camp. The camp was guarded by SS men and Luftwaffe soldiers, and in the beginning, it had no infirmary and no camp physician. The camp elder was Toni, a criminal prisoner.

According to Pawlak, the barracks of the camp had been erected on top of a former camp that had been burned down, and right behind the barbed wire that surrounded the subcamp there was another camp for civilian workers from Poland, Russia, and Italy. The tunnel where the inmates were put to work was located about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the camp. Already since 1935, the French had worked on building the tunnel through the Vosges Mountains and had made about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) of progress.

In the summer of 1944, according to Pawlak, about 20 inmates tried to escape. They had arranged contact with the civilian population, organized maps, and bribed the guards. But their attempt to escape failed; 5 inmates were hanged in the subcamp, the other ones sent back to the Natzweiler main camp. At about the same time, in August 1944, 50 Soviet women arrived in the camp, presumably having been sent there with the intention of having them carry out kitchen, laundry, and cleaning tasks. On August 31, 1944, the final transport to arrive in Wesserling brought 465 Jews from Flossenbürg, including 444 of Polish nationality, 9 Soviet, and 11 German Jews. These prisoners had worked for Daimler-Benz as "labor Jews" in the Reichshof (Rzeszów) ghetto and subsequently in Dębica and had come to Wesserling by way of Krakau-Plaszow, Wieliczka, Auschwitz, and Flossenbürg. In Wesserling, they were lodged in the so-called Block 3.

The management of the construction project was assigned to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Section C (Construction), SS-Command Staff A10, Wesserling. SS-Hauptsturmführer Josef Janisch was responsible for overseeing the prisoners' work; the camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Arno Brendler. According to Luxembourger Ernest Gillen, a prisoner in Wesserling, the commander of the construction site goaded the prisoners on, screamed at them, and beat them, while—according to Pawlak—the camp commander was good-natured and never mistreated the inmates.

Gillen describes the working conditions in the camp as being harsh: the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts or, when the shifts were changed, even 24-hour shifts. The tunnel had not been broken all the way through and had only one entrance. Due to the fact that the base of the tunnel was under water, the prisoners often worked standing in water. The air circulation in the tunnel was poor, since there was no ventilation, and to make matters worse, a diesel engine was constantly driving in and out. Survivor Pawlak worked with a group of inmates who had to clean the tunnel and to prepare it for pouring the concrete floor. Afterward, he and his comrades worked on covering the ceiling with plates of fiber cement. While these preparations were still going on, machines, equipment, and personnel already arrived to begin production. Once production commenced, inmates began to work with the German Messerschmitt personnel in armament production. They were put to work in 12-hour shifts that changed weekly between day and night.

Pawlak indicated that there were also other work commands within the Wesserling subcamp: one group of inmates worked at the railway station, loading and unloading gravel, sand, stones, and machinery. Another group in summer 1944 began to work at the Wesserling Castle, where they worked in the kitchen and cleaned the park. A further command of inmates began to construct barracks next to the tunnel entrance. According to Pawlak, there were many French and Russian inmates in this work detachment, and they suffered enormous hunger and unbearable conditions. Most likely, the erection of these barracks can be seen in the context of more and more prisoner transports that arrived from Dachau and Buchenwald and temporarily brought the number of inmates to about 3,000.

Gillen describes the administration of Wesserling subcamp as being relatively humane. The food supply came from the Messerschmitt company and was better than in the Majdanek camp where Gillen had come from. In the morning

the prisoners received bread and margarine; at lunch, soup and bacon; in the evening, another substantial soup—and twice a week, even a salad. Pawlak reports that there were regular delousings and disinfections for the inmates, which took place in a public bath in nearby Rothau, and that the inmates' clothes and bedlinen were changed weekly. Survivors confirm that there were a good number of Alsatian civilian workers at the construction site who behaved decently toward the prisoners and even provided them with food.

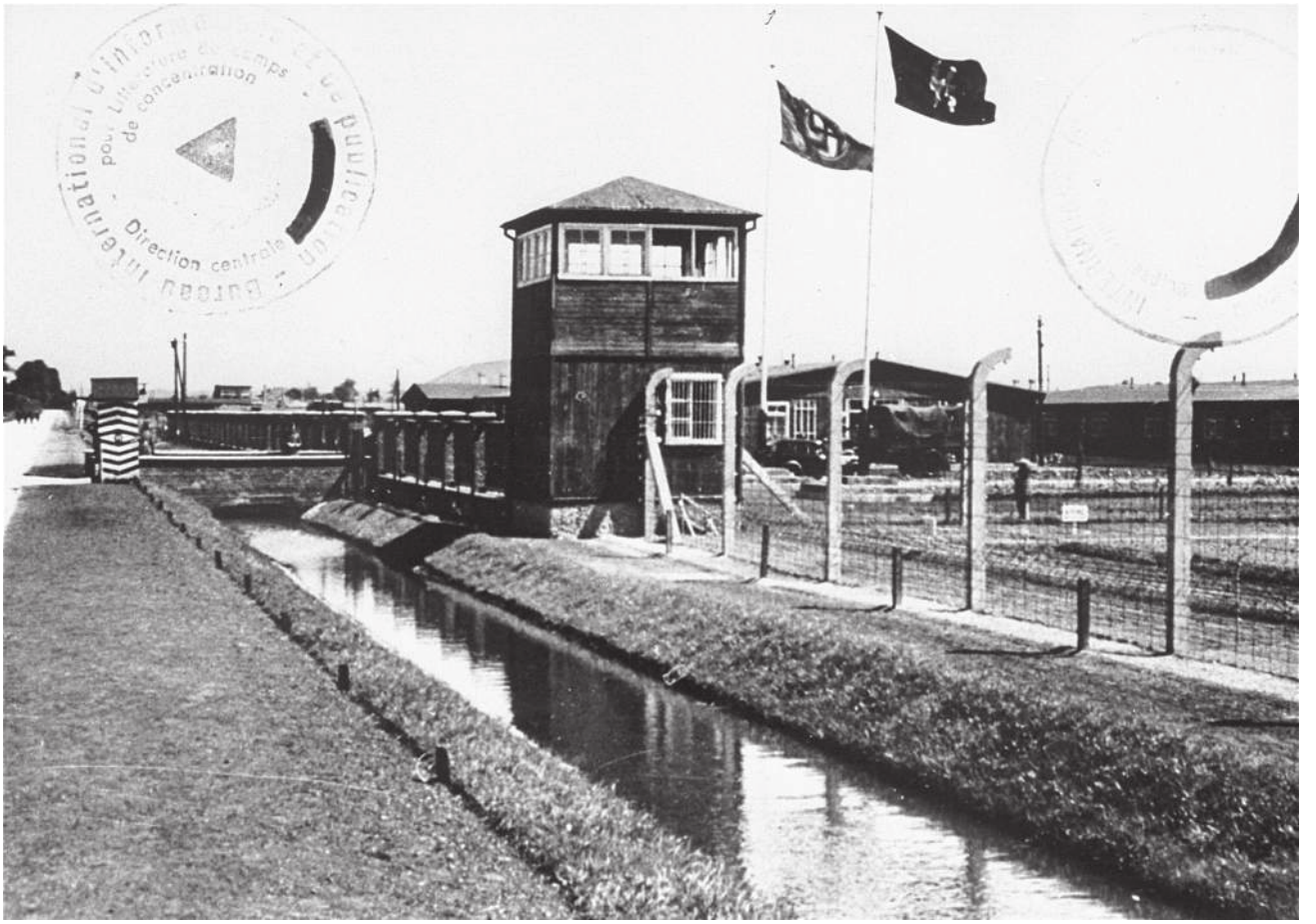
Due to the advancing front, the relocation project was discontinued in October 1944; October 10, 1944, is the date of the subcamp's last mention in the concentration camp files. It is not known how many prisoners were in the camp at the time of its evacuation. At least 300 prisoners had already been transferred to the Neckar camp complex (Project "A8") in late August–early September 1944, as confirmed by Pawlak. Another 300 prisoners were sent to the Schwindratzheim subcamp (Project "A11"), and 465 prisoners—probably the last remaining inmates of the camp—were taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. As historian Robert Steegmann reports, from there they were taken to Elster GmbH in Kamenz, Saxony, to work.

SOURCES The most comprehensive description of the camp can be found in the memoirs of former inmate Zacheus Pawlak, "*Ich habe überlebt.*" *Ein Häftling berichtet über Majdanek* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1979). Robert Steegmann also describes the camp in *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 69–72, 275. In *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz, 1996), p. 158, Ernst Heimes quotes a survivor of Wesserling camp, prisoner Ernest Gillen of Luxembourg. Gillen provides numerous details on the working conditions in the tunnel. Antoine Greffier describes the Wesserling camp in the LPB-BW, ed., *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 217–218. In the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften OHG, 1991), pp. 119, 161, the Wesserling tunnel construction site is mentioned. The Wesserling subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 212.

At BA-L (formerly ZdL), there is an investigation file on Wesserling subcamp. Ernst Gillen's testimony is in ACCS.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NEUENGAMME



The main entrance to the SS camp at Neuengamme, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #55243, COURTESY OF AG-NG

NEUENGAMME MAIN CAMP

The Neuengamme concentration camp was established in 1938 as a Sachsenhausen subcamp. In the spring of 1940, it became an independent concentration camp, the central concentration camp for northwest Germany. By 1945, around 104,000 people were held in the main camp and its more than 75 subcamps, including 13,500 women. The Gestapo also brought around 2,000 additional prisoners to Neuengamme to be executed.

The Neuengamme site was chosen, as with Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, and other concentration camps, because it was connected to the economic interests of the SS: the prisoners were to work in a brickworks where clinker would be produced for the transformation of the Hansestadt Hamburg. On August 31, 1938, the SS acquired for the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt) an unused brickworks with 50 hectares (123.6 acres) of land in the Hamburg suburb of Neuengamme on the Dove Elbe, a dead-end branch of the Elbe River, no longer used by ships. The first 100 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp arrived there on December 12, 1938, via Berlin, to work in the factory and to expand it. A decision to establish a larger concentration camp had not been made at this time. Critical for the decision to establish a concentration camp was a visit by Heinrich Himmler to Hamburg in January 1940. The Reichsführer-SS was looking for new places to accommodate concentration camp prisoners as a result of the large number of people arrested after the outbreak of war. He appointed SS-Sturmbannführer Walter Eisfeld as commandant, who in February began to expand the camp.

At the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941, there were just about 3,000 prisoners; in 1941–1942, 4,500 to 4,800; in August 1943, around 10,000; and in April 1945, 53,000 to 54,000, of whom 12,000 were women (including subcamps). At the end, there were 13,000 to 14,000 people in the hopelessly overcrowded main camp and around 40,000 in the subcamps.



Prisoners work beside the fence separating the "protective custody" section of Neuengamme from the industrial section. In the distance the crematorium and the Walther armaments works can be seen, n.d.
USHMM WS #83540, COURTESY OF AG-NG

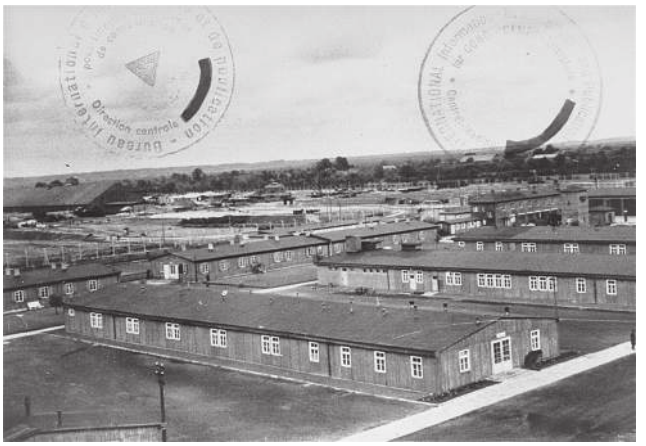
The prisoners were guarded by SS-Totenkopf (Death's Head) units. The Neuengamme concentration camp was classified in Camp Category II (*Lagerstufe* II) in 1940. As a practical matter, this distinction had little significance. The camp held all three categories of concentration camp prisoners.

The composition of the prisoners reflected, albeit belatedly, the course of the war. Until 1940, mostly German prisoners were brought to Neuengamme from other concentration camps, including a large number sent as punishment detachments. In the following years, Neuengamme held mostly people from the occupied countries. From March 1941, Poles and, from 1942–1943, Soviet prisoners formed the largest group in Neuengamme. Many of the detainees were foreign laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) from different camps in northern Germany who, having either breached the work rules or after trying to escape, were sent to the concentration camp. Other than for prisoners sent directly to the camp by the Gestapo, most of the prisoners came from other concentration camps. Just from Auschwitz, Neuengamme received more than 10,000 prisoners in 1943–1944. Judicial authorities also transferred many prison inmates to the concentration camp.

Initially, there were only a few hundred Jews in Neuengamme. It was only with the numerous transports of Jewish prisoners from the east in April 1944 that thousands of Jews, the majority of whom were women, arrived in Neuengamme and its subcamps. It is estimated that there were around 13,000 Jewish prisoners in the Neuengamme concentration camp.

As resistance increased in the occupied western and northern European countries, large transports of prisoners arrived from these countries in 1944, especially from France and Denmark. The mass arrests in the occupied countries, often at random, during the German retreat showed that the SS leadership had identified a method to recruit forced labor. In the last weeks of the war, thousands of Danish and Norwegian prisoners were transported to Neuengamme. The Swedish Red Cross successfully negotiated with Himmler for Scandinavian prisoners from all camps and prisons in Germany to be brought to Neuengamme. From there they would be evacuated as the front got closer.

Until February 1940, the conditions in the camp were more bearable than later: there was enough to eat and scarcely any serious mistreatment. This changed dramatically when Commandant Eisfeld took over at the beginning of 1940 and transformed Neuengamme into an independent concentration camp. His successors Martin Weiss (April 1940 to August



A view of Neuengamme concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS #06024, COURTESY OF AG-NG

1942) and Max Pauly (September 1942 until the end of the war) made sure that violence, hunger, cold, sickness, and death ruled the lives of the prisoners.

Beatings and arbitrary punishments accompanied the prisoners from early morning until late evening. Countless commands, regulations, and prohibitions gave the SS overseers and the prisoner-functionaries (above all, the camp elder, block elders, and Kapos) the opportunity to mete out punishment as they wished, to beat and kill the prisoners, without the need to justify their acts. Official punishments such as standing to attention for several hours at the camp entrance, arrest, beatings, hanging from posts, and transferal to punishment companies were handed out less frequently but were especially feared.

During the war, hunger was the worst scourge of the prisoners. In 1940–1941 the food supply was better than in the other concentration camps; obviously, the authorities felt that all the prisoners' strength was needed to erect the camp. In 1941 the portions declined; they no longer were sufficient to maintain the prisoners' strength. Rations were reduced in April 1942, and the number of emaciated prisoners increased dramatically. In the autumn of 1942 the death rate jumped dramatically. In the winter of 1942–1943, it reached at times more than 10 percent of the inmates per month. In the following winters, it was lower as a result of measures introduced by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), in particular, permission granted to receive packages, the increased allocation of extra rations for heavy labor, and hygienic and medical improvements. However, in 1944–1945, the food supplies in the main camp and in most of the subcamps were further reduced. Even tradesmen, armaments workers, and other skilled workers were living mostly on the bare minimum to survive. Most of the other prisoners died as a result of hunger and its effects, as they did not have the chance to "organize" other food supplies, that is, to steal.

During the first three years, the prisoners wore striped concentration camp uniforms that scarcely gave protection against the cold and the wet. In 1943–1944, there were improvements for some prisoners, especially for important laborers. Used civilian clothes, owned by murdered Jews and from concentration camp prisoners in Eastern European countries, were distributed, first in the main camp and later in many subcamps.

The camp was heavily overcrowded. From 1944 on, often 2 prisoners had to share a bed; later it was 3. In the blocks where the new prisoners were held, the camp leadership sometimes crowded 800 to 1,000 prisoners into 400 square meters (478.4 square yards).

The hygienic conditions were terrible. When the camp was established in 1940–1941, the prisoners, who wore wooden shoes, often sank knee deep into the mud in the swampy ground during the rain. Dirt and dampness were carried into the barracks. Water could only be obtained from hand-operated pumps located close to the latrines. The conditions improved in the summer of 1941 when the sewage system was built, and the roll-call square was covered with concrete. However, as the number of inmates increased markedly, there were soon, once again, catastrophic hygienic conditions. One of the biggest problems was washing clothes. The prisoners often got very dirty when working. During the day they were not allowed to go to the toilet, so that their trousers were smeared with urine and excrement. It was practically impossible to wash clothes. Many prisoners stank of urine and fecal matter; there was an unbearable smell in the barracks.

The majority of the prisoners suffered from illnesses and injuries. Simple colds often developed into high fever and lung inflammations. Common were diarrhea, hypothermia, and stomach and intestinal problems caused by the poor quality of the water and the eating of rotten food, scraps, and grass. Many prisoners suffered from circulatory problems and dropsy (*Wassersucht*). Tuberculosis, an exception in 1940, took hold in 1941 as the prisoners weakened. In the winter, the prisoners often suffered from chilblains, and their limbs froze. Vermin spread due to the poor hygiene. At the end of 1941, a louse-borne typhus epidemic broke out, and the camp had to be put under quarantine. Work accidents and mistreatments resulted in wounds that did not heal, and sometimes there were severe injuries. Medical care was a farce. The operating theater was relatively well equipped and was often shown to visitors. But as everything else was missing, the efforts by many prisoners in the infirmary to help their comrades as best they could were useless. New sick barracks were established between November 1943 and the summer of 1944 so that there was enough room for the sick. At the end of July 1944 the commandant ordered the evacuation of two infirmaries, despite the increased numbers reporting sick, so as to make room for prominent prisoners from France. At the same time, he had a new crematorium built.

Until 1943, the long-term ill and weakened prisoners were regularly transported away by the SS to Dachau and in 1944–1945 above all to Lublin-Majdanek and Bergen-Belsen. A medical commission visited Neuengamme in April 1942 to select weakened prisoners and to a lesser extent handicapped

prisoners, Jews, and other "useless eaters," as part of *Aktion* 14f13. A few weeks later, the chosen prisoners were sent to Bernburg an der Saale to be gassed.

At the beginning of 1942, weakened prisoners in Neuengamme began to be murdered by injection, at first in a separate area of the camp for Soviet POWs but soon even in the main infirmary. This murderous campaign generated such fear in the prisoners that often the seriously ill would not dare go to the infirmary. The killing stopped in the summer of 1943.

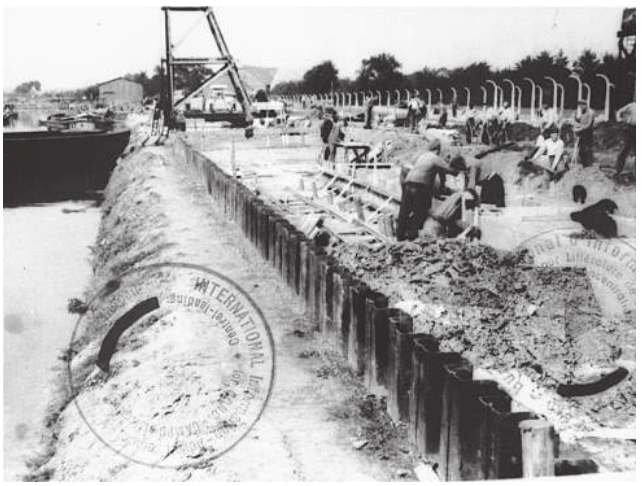
From the autumn of 1944 on, the Neuengamme main camp developed into a sort of death camp. In 1944, a large number of subcamps were established. As the economic enterprises attached to the subcamps did not want the sick and weakened prisoners, the SS returned them to the main camp and replaced them with new prisoners who were capable of working. At the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, the majority of prisoners in Neuengamme were incapable of working: they were left to themselves in appalling hygienic conditions in the so-called *Schonungsblocks* (convalescent blocks) with reduced rations. In the last months of the war, the death rate (including the subcamps) was around 5 percent.

Beginning in 1942, in the main camp the prisoners were used for different medical experiments including trials with medicines to combat louse-borne typhus and with water poisoned with gas. The SS doctor Kurt Heissmeyer conducted experiments with tuberculosis bacteria on 20 Jewish children brought to Neuengamme from Auschwitz. To hide the traces of this crime, members of the SS murdered the children in April 1945 at the Bullenhuser Damm School in Hamburg.

Between 1940 and 1942, most of the prisoners were used in excavation work for the camp, for the clinker factory, for deepening the Dove Elbe ("Kommando Elbe"), and for transport work. The work was in the open air. Later the majority of the inmates worked on construction sites around the camp. Mistreatment and arbitrary treatment made life hell. Prisoners worked regardless of the weather so that the concentration camp prisoners often wore wet clothes the whole day. Those who could not keep up with the pace of the work were tortured and beaten. Just about every day when returning to work, those who had collapsed were put on carts that were pulled into the camp. The sick, weak, and dead were put aside at the roll-call square until the evening roll call was complete.

Around 10 to 20 percent of the inmates worked in the prison camp or the SS camp or did administrative duties with the construction companies and the old clinker factory. Here the conditions were better. The erection of the new industries and of the industrial administration of the construction management resulted in an increase in the number of prisoners in the main camp who worked on production or other areas with bearable conditions. By the end of 1944, the number of such people in the main camp was around 25 percent.

Until 1942, except for Kommando Elbe, few prisoners worked outside the camp territory. At times the work detachments were assigned to tradesmen and salesmen located close by, who supplied the concentration camp, including the Ohde Bakery, the ironmonger Glunz, and the timber merchant Behr. From time to time the prisoners were assigned to rural work.



Neuengamme prisoners dig the Dove-Elbe Canal, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #06027, COURTESY OF AG-NG

The SS was ruthless in dealing with the slightest sign of help or resistance. The SS built a network of spies to uncover resistance in the camp. It used national and political tensions to stir up the prisoners against each other. Although each prisoner was fighting for his survival, there were many attempts to work together to improve conditions. Friends grouped together, as did other small groups to support each other. Groups of the same nationality, based on the same language and culture, developed a broad consciousness of what they had in common, which in turn led to the will to assert themselves. Language differences were a great barrier to understanding the other groups; it was always difficult to



The camp commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly (far right), conducts a tour of Neuengamme, n.d.
USHMM WS #83703, COURTESY OF GÜNTHER SCHWARBERG



"Punishment Drill," n.d. by Hans P. Sorensen, a Holocaust survivor.
USHMM WS #27519, COURTESY OF FRIHEDSMUSEET

maintain connections across national barriers. It was mostly the Communist prisoners who spoke of attempts to make contact across international barriers. Jehovah's Witnesses showed strong solidarity based upon religious motives.

Chances to escape the terror by flight were small. It was almost impossible to escape the main camp. No known escape attempt was successful before April 1945.

It was in the infirmaries that the prisoners organized assistance and solidarity despite the terror. In the main camp the infirmary Kapo, Mathias Mai, would step in to protect prisoners from seizure by the SS. In 1942, several prisoners who worked as orderlies in the infirmary refused to participate in killing prisoners with injections. Sometimes an endangered prisoner would exchange his number with a prisoner who had just died to give the impression that he was no longer alive.

There were prisoner-functionaries who did office work and who were prepared to help their comrades in need by sending them to the better work detachments. Worthy of mention are Arbeitsdienstkapo Albin Lüdke and Belgian prisoner André Mandrycxs. On the other hand, the camp elder Jakob Fetz followed the orders of the SS and personally participated in hangings.

Neuengamme prisoners remember the assistance given to Soviet prisoners in the autumn of 1941. When these completely weakened prisoners arrived in the camp and were fed worse than the other prisoners and treated more inhumanely than the normal concentration camp inmates, there was a broad attempt to help, which involved collecting bread.

It was possible on a few work sites in the main camp and the subcamps to commit acts of sabotage. No real damage was done; the acts were more symbolic. If there were gaps in the controls, work slowed down, machines were incorrectly set, supplies disappeared, and there were other disturbances. Skilled tradesmen sometimes took on prisoners without the necessary skills to protect them from certain overseers. In the repair shops, the prisoners sometimes illegally listened to foreign radio broadcasts.

From the beginning of 1945 on, as the front approached, more and more of the Neuengamme subcamps were dissolved. At the end of March 1945, the main camp, which held 14,000 inmates, was in such a catastrophic state that the SS shunted the prisoners off to other camps, especially to Bergen-Belsen, Sandbostel bei Bremervörde, and Wöbbelin bei Ludwigslust. There the accommodation and food supplies were inadequate, so that thousands died within a few days from hunger, cold, filth, and disease.

The final command to evacuate the main camp was given on April 19. Most of the prisoners were taken by rail or by foot to the Lübecker Bucht, where they were put on ships no longer capable of maneuvering. More than 7,000 concentration camp prisoners drowned in the Baltic as a result of an attack by British aircraft on May 3, 1945.

It is difficult to determine the number of prisoners who survived the liberation of the Neuengamme concentration camp, as during the years an unknown number of prisoners were transported to other camps. Some were completely emaciated; it can be assumed that there was a high death rate among these prisoners. It is likely that around 44,000 to 55,000 of those held in Neuengamme and its subcamps did not survive.

About 120 SS members of the Neuengamme concentration camp and its subcamps were tried between 1946 and 1948 in the main proceedings and more than 20 subsidiary proceedings before British military courts. The main trial, from March 18 to May 3, 1946, in the Hamburg Curio-Haus (located at Rothenbaumchaussee) resulted in death sentences for the commandant Max Pauly, the camp leader Anton Thumann, two SS doctors, and seven other SS members. They were executed in October 1946 in the Hameln Prison. In later proceedings there were approximately another 15 death sentences that were carried out. Other perpetrators, including the former commandant Weiss, gave evidence against the SS in other concentration camps. Most of those convicted waited for a few years in prison and were pardoned at the beginning or the middle of the 1950s.[1]

Many of those less involved, who were, for example, in the concentration camp administration or the guard force, had to answer before denazification courts in the British occupation

zone. In the main, the courts were lenient. Only a few of the accused were sentenced to prison.[2]

The state prosecutors attached to the German district courts focused from 1946 on the criminal acts committed in the Neuengamme concentration camp and its subcamps. There were a considerable number of investigations, but the number of convictions was small. For example, by the end of the 1980s, there were more than 80 investigations in Hamburg, but only seven were charged; there has been no conviction since 1953.[3] Many perpetrators escaped punishment by living under assumed names or overseas. Others were safe because the judicial authorities did not commence investigations. According to the Zentrale Stelle zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen in Ludwigsburg, the number of investigations began to increase in 1958, but most proceedings went nowhere because the evidence for individual crimes was often not supported by sufficient witness statements. Witnesses living overseas were rarely questioned. The accused were also helped by the fact that at the end of the war the majority of files were destroyed to wipe out the traces of the crimes. From the middle of the 1960s, all crimes, except murder, were subject to the statute of limitations. This had the result that the proceedings were stopped against two SS block leaders accused of aggravated mistreatment in the Neuengamme concentration camp.[4] The commander of the Hamburg-Eidelstedt women's subcamp was acquitted by a Hamburg court in 1982 even though he had been convicted in connection with the death of a newborn child; his acts were not treated as murder.[5] Altogether only a small proportion of the more than 4,000 SS in the Neuengamme concentration camp were the subject of investigations. Less than half of those mainly responsible, for example, detachment and block leaders and the commanding officers, were tried.

SOURCES The following works, among others, contain information on this camp: Detlef Garbe and Harriet Scharnberg, eds., *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung: Eine Tagung der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, der Amicale Internationale KZ Neuengamme und der Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg 1.–3. September 1998* (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1999); Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997); Ulrich Bauche et al., eds., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945; Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme* (Hamburg: VSA, 1986); Jorgen H. Barfod, *Helvede har mange navne* (Kobenhavn: ZAC, 1969); Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1981); Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1957); Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1996). See also the student paper by Matthias Hütgens, "Das Aussenlager Eidelstedt des KZ Neuengamme: Der Alltag im Lager und Berichte von Anwohnern" (unpub. MSS, AG-NG, Hamburg, 1982).

The most important archival collections are to be found in AG-NG. The British Neuengamme cases are found in PRO, WO 235. One published memoir of this camp is Marcel Prenant, *Toute une vie à gauche* (Paris, 1980); there are many others.

Hermann Kaienburg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The trial files are held in the PRO (WO 235), in particular: Neuengamme Concentration Camp Case and 9 succeeding trials.

2. The files are held today in BA-BL, Bestand Z 42.

3. Aufstellung der Sta. bei dem LG Hamburg v. 3.9.86 (AG-NG).

4. Sta. beim LG Hamburg, Aktenzeichen 147 Js 32/65.

5. LG Hamburg, Verfahren 2000 Js 19/77. Also Matthias Hütgens, "Das Aussenlager Eidelstedt des KZ Neuengamme: Der Alltag im Lager und Berichte von Anwohnern" (unpub. MSS, AG-NG, Hamburg, 1982), p. 31.

NEUENGAMME SUBCAMP SYSTEM



With more than 75 subcamps, the Neuengamme concentration camp was one of the medium-sized camp complexes that deployed prisoners for the benefit of the German war economy, and it also played an important role in the first attempts to do so: at the beginning of the spring of 1942, Staatsrat Walther Schieber (Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions, later War Production) suggested, as one of the first projects, that a Neuengamme subcamp be established at the Francke factory in Bremen.[1] This suggestion was not implemented, and the subcamp was established at the Phrix factory in Wittenberge. This was the first Neuengamme subcamp. When it was constructed in August 1942, it was also the first subcamp in Germany located within a privately owned company. The Salzgitter-Drütte camp at the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) was also one of the early detachments within Germany.

Eventually the expansion of the Neuengamme subcamps almost came to a halt: in 1943 there were "only" two new camps. At the insistence of the navy, one camp was established in Hannover-Stöcken so as to guarantee the production of U-boat batteries at the Akkumulatoren-Fabrik (battery factory), and the other was in Bremen-Farge for the construction of the U-boat Bunker "Valentin," the most important of the naval projects at the time. It was only at the beginning of 1944, when it became obvious that with the retreat of the Wehrmacht the Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation, GBA) Fritz Sauckel would no longer be able to supply new foreign forced laborers, that concentration camp prisoners were seen as the last available labor force, thereby becoming a much desired resource. As a result, a net of subcamps spread across northern Germany like a plague: if at the beginning of the year there were only 4 subcamps, by the end of the year there were around 70. The majority of the camps were established in the second half of 1944: in the first quarter, there were 4 new camps; in the second, 11; and in each of the third and the fourth quarters, 24. In the last year of the war, another 9 new camps were established. Three-quarters of the Neuengamme subcamps only came into existence in the 12 months prior to the capitulation of the German Reich.

The more than 75 camps can be roughly grouped as follows, with some overlap. There were approximately 30 production



Prisoners' bunks at the Wöbbelin subcamp of Neuengamme, May 5, 1945.
USHMM WS #10262, COURTESY OF NARA

camps in which the majority of the prisoners were used in the industrial production of armaments. Further, there existed about 20 construction camps, where the majority of the prisoners constructed factories, accommodations, or bunkers. Then there were 6 subcamps in which the type of work was similar to that in the construction camps—the prisoners were put to work in constructing military fortifications, that is, antitank ditches for the so-called Friesenwall (a set of fortifications ordered by Hitler). Likewise, there were 7 subcamps in which the prisoners worked underground, where they did both construction and production work. In 20 camps the prisoners had primarily to remove unexploded ordnance and rubble. Ten of the Neuengamme subcamps can be classified as *Kleinlager* (small camps), with fewer than 100 prisoners. (Only a few of the Kleinlager have been included in the totals above.) Women were held in 25 subcamps.

The death rate in four of the six male camps for the construction of the Friesenwall was the highest. The Ladelund camp existed for 11.5 months. During this time, 300 of the 2,000 prisoners died; in Aurich-Engerhafe, 200 of the 1,500 prisoners died within 3 months; and in Husum-Schwesing, 300 prisoners died within 3 months. (In all three camps, the number of exhausted prisoners who were taken to Neuengamme and died there is at least as high. In Husum, for example, 750 ill prisoners were sent back to Neuengamme before the camp was dissolved after 3 months.)[2] In the 4 months the Meppen-Versen camp existed, almost 600 prisoners died, making this short-lived camp the one with the highest death rate in the Neuengamme system. (There were a larger number of prisoners who died in Salzgitter-Drütte, but that camp lasted for almost 3 years as well as functioning as the death camp for the nearby camps in Braunschweig and Salzgitter.) A few of the construction subcamps had a relatively high death rate (e.g., Bremen-Farge, with a camp population of around 2,000, had around 400 deaths within 1.5 years), as did a few of the bomb disposal and rubble removal camps—especially Hamburg Hammenbrook (Spaldingstrasse), with a camp population of around 2,000 and almost 500 dead within 6 months. On average, the death rate in the production camps was lower. The chances of survival were especially high in the Kleinlager, where there is not known to have been more than 1 fatality in any of the 10 camps. The women's camps had a significantly lower death rate than the men's camps. One of the reasons for this is that of the 25 women's camps, about 15 were production camps. Even compared to the men's production camps, though, the death rate was considerably lower.

It is useful to look at the figures for the quarter from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945, which are best verified by a report of the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt. During the reporting period, there were on average 40,393 male and 11,768 female prisoners in the Neuengamme camp system. In that period, 6,129 male prisoners and 95 female prisoners died. Thus while the female prisoners constituted 20 percent of all prisoners, less than 2 percent of the deceased were female. During the period, around three-quarters of the male prisoners were in the subcamps. Of the 6,129 deceased male prisoners, however, just over 50 percent (3,089) died in the main camp. (The death rate in Neuengamme and its subcamps climbed rapidly to this high level only from November 1944 on. Between January and October 1944 there were, on average, between 70 and 350 deaths in the main camp, with a similar number in all the subcamps.)[3] The main camp remained the central death camp for the subcamp system until the end of the war. It was only with the evacuation of the subcamps that the collection camps at Wöbbelin and Sandbostel developed similarly shocking conditions as in the death zone of the main camp.

There were 52,000 prisoners in the Neuengamme system. At the beginning of 1945, there were 2,211 SS members guarding the prisoners, of whom 1,800 were stationed in the subcamps. In addition, there were 2,400 guards in the subcamps who were not part of the SS.[4] As the naval war economy was largely based in north Germany, and there were subcamps at the most important naval construction projects and naval shipyards, naval soldiers formed a large part of the non-SS guards. However, older or injured soldiers from other branches of the armed forces, customs officers, members of the Volkssturm, and employees of firms where the subcamps were located were also called up to guard the prisoners.

In administering the subcamps, the Stützpunktleiter (base commanders) were installed between the Neuengamme command and the commanders of each subcamp, as an additional administrative level. In March 1945, there were eight Stützpunkte, to which almost all the subcamps were subordinated. (The Stützpunkte were: Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, Braunschweig, Druette, Watenstedt, Helmstedt, and Porta. The *Todesfallmeldung*, or fatality report, in the SS-Standortarzt's quarterly report lists most of the subcamp deaths according to the corresponding Stützpunkte. Meppen-Versen and Wöbbelin were the only subcamps listed separately, as they were not subordinated to any Stützpunkt.) It would seem that Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme, established the role of

Stützpunktleiter, as he wanted to regulate their assigned tasks on the spot. The tasks of the Stützpunktleiter included the collection of the death reports from the subordinate camps and passing on mail and supplies to the camps. The Stützpunktleiter in Hannover also, once or twice, inspected the subordinated camps. In a few cases, injured Wehrmacht officers were appointed as subcamp commanders. However, the commanders of the Stützpunkte were long-serving SS officers. This was most obvious in Bremen: The commander of the largest and oldest subcamp in Farge, Hauptmann Hans Wahl was not appointed Stützpunktleiter, rather, the commander of the smaller and more recent Neuenland camp (later known as Osterort) was appointed, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hugo Benedict.

The evacuation of the Neuengamme subcamps began on March 25 with the evacuation of Meppen-Versen, the most westerly of the subcamps. The evacuation of the largest subcamps is roughly as follows: from Bremen the Jewish prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen and the others to Sandbostel or via Neuengamme to the Neustädter Bucht. The majority of prisoners in the Hannover camps, including the non-Jews, were taken to Bergen-Belsen. The majority of prisoners in the area of Braunschweig, Salzgitter, Fallersleben, and Porta were taken to Wöbbelin, while a few of the Salzgitter detachments were sent to Bergen-Belsen. The Hamburg detachments were sent largely in three directions: Sandbostel, Bergen-Belsen, and via the main camp to Neustädter Bucht. Around 9,400 prisoners were sent to the Neustädter Bucht, of whom 7,000 lost their lives on the *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek*. In Sandbostel, there were 6,800 prisoners alive of around 8,000 to 9,000 prisoners when the camp was liberated, whereas in Wöbbelin around 3,000 to 3,500 prisoners lived to see the arrival of Allied troops. Roughly another 1,000 sick prisoners would die, however. Around 8,000 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme to Bergen-Belsen in the last days of the war. Some 3,000 female Jewish prisoners were liberated at the Salzwedel subcamp. Around 4,200 Danish and Norwegian prisoners were taken by the Red Cross on April 20 to Denmark, in the so-called *Aktion Bernadotte*. The remainder of the Neuengamme prisoners were sent on evacuation marches, where many died, either of hunger or because they were shot or incinerated alive by the SS or were killed during air raids. Others were lucky and were liberated at the end of their march.

SOURCES The information in this essay comes largely from secondary sources that are listed under the main camp entry.

Documents useful for this essay may be found in AG-NG and StA-N.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See "Niederschrift über eine Besprechung im Büro von Karl-Otto Saur am 16.3.1942," StA-N, KV-Anklage, NO-659; Vermerk für Schieber am 17.3.1942, ibid., NO-2548.
2. The numbers given here are based on an electronic database at AG-NG.
3. See the "Vierteljährige Bericht des SS-Standortarztes des KL Hamburg-Neuengamme vom 29.3.1945," StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
4. The numbers are taken from the quarterly report in ibid.

ALT-GARGE

The Alt-Garge subcamp existed from August 24, 1944, to February 15, 1945. Alt-Garge was a suburb of the city of Bleckede on the south bank of the upper Elbe River. The concentration camp prisoners were sent to this provincial town to construct the coal-fired power station Ost-Hannover, which was owned by the Hamburgische Electrizitätswerke AG (HEW). Building had been taking place since 1941. However, the shortage of labor had lengthened the project. To move the project along, prisoners of war (POWs) from Yugoslavia had been held in what was to become the subcamp.[1] However, there was soon a renewed labor shortage after they lost their status as POWs following the breakup of Yugoslavia.

It would seem that it was HEW that requested concentration camp prisoners.[2] The prisoners arrived in a transport from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Around 500 Polish prisoners, who had been arrested by German army and police detachments during the Warsaw Uprising, were gathered together in the middle of August 1944 in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoners, officially classified as evacuees, were specially treated. As a former prisoner stated: "What was noteworthy was that a few days before our transport to Alt-Garge that we were given a specially prepared form to fill out and sign. The form literally stated that we were not prisoners but had been evacuated from the Warsaw Uprising and were to be interned until the end of the war."[3] On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that their special status meant that they were treated better than other Polish prisoners.[4] In addition to the almost 500 Polish prisoners, there were around another 20 prisoners of different nationalities, who mostly had been held in Sachsenhausen for longer periods, who were added to the detachment. The more experienced prisoners were given the essential tasks in prisoner administration. The transport was accompanied by 20 SS men, who remained in Alt-Garge as guards. The detachment reached the empty camp on August 25, 1944, where they received the Neuengamme numbers 46870 to 47370.[5]

The homogeneous composition of the group changed as sick and weak prisoners were transported to Neuengamme and replaced with other prisoners from the main camp. In October and November, three transports arrived with new prisoners, consisting of around 90 Danish and 20 Norwegian prisoners.[6] There were around 70 Danish resistance fighters, mostly members of the Communist or Socialist parties, and around 20 policemen. The intercession of the Danish government resulted in the policemen's release and return to Denmark in January 1945. There were three camp elders in the camp: the first was a young SS man who had been dishonorably discharged from the SS and arrested. He lost this position due to his extreme brutality. He was followed by a Dutch man who left a positive impression in the minds of the prisoners. Finally, until the evacuation of the camp, there was a German with a green triangle (signifying police "protective custody" prisoner), who is remembered mostly for his thefts and embezzlement. Survivors have also not forgotten a few of the other violent prisoner-functionaries.[7]

The subcamp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Walther or possibly Walter. He is remembered by the prisoners not for his brutality but because of his ruthlessness in driving the prisoners to work. Not even the sick prisoners were allowed a rest. On the other hand, SS-Unterscharführer Johann Reese is recalled for his extraordinary brutality. Reese, who was noted for his brutality in several other Neuengamme subcamps, was sentenced to death in the British Curiohaus Trial against Neuengamme concentration camp SS guards. A few of the other SS guards were also described by the prisoners as being particularly brutal.

The camp consisted of three larger barracks that accommodated the prisoners; a large stores barracks; four smaller barracks that served as washrooms, toilet blocks, and a storeroom for firewood; and a large barracks for the SS guards. The SS guarded the camp from three guard towers, which—as with their accommodation barracks—were located inside the camp's fence.

The prisoners had to do a variety of tasks in constructing the power plant. They were distributed to a number of different construction companies working on the power plant. The larger detachments worked on railway lines, roads, the port, and excavation work as well as earthworks including leveling the ground.[8] The work began each day at 6:00 A.M. and ended at 6:00 P.M., broken only with a short break for a noon meal. In theory, the prisoners had every second Sunday free, but this did not occur often. Just about all work was done in the open air through all types of weather. Accidents were the order of the day, as a former prisoner stated: "Colleague Majewicz witnessed how a few prisoners were squashed by large rocks which fell from the scoop of a crane on a barge on the Elbe. . . . There were such accidents just about every day and sometimes several a day."[9] German foremen also made survival difficult: "The foreman that I knew the best . . . was 64, strong, diligent and conscientious: full of German values but at the same time as full of Prussian meanness as his moustache. In his youth he had worked with slaves in German East Africa—when the German Emperor had demanded more space for the German Reich in the sun. Today . . . this old Prussian was a slave driver again. . . . His bitter hatred forced me to struggle for my life."[10]

A few prisoners tried to escape from the catastrophic conditions in the camp and at work. Three such incidents are described by survivors. In one case the escapee was shot; in the second, two recaptured prisoners were taken to Neuengamme. The third attempt remains etched in the minds of the other prisoners: three prisoners managed to escape. Two were recaptured by the SS. One of those was shot by the SS on the spot. The camp commandant used the case to make an example for the other prisoners in Alt-Garge: the dead prisoner was exhibited in a coffin while his fellow escapee had to stand in front of him. "The poor shoeless man was bound by the feet and his hands were bound behind his back, even though the temperature was several degrees below zero. After he had stood there for several hours he was severely mistreated."[11]

For unknown reasons, the camp was evacuated on February 15, 1945. All remaining prisoners in Alt-Garge were taken by boat to Hamburg and from there transported to Neuengamme. There are different accounts on the number of evacuated prisoners, with estimates varying between 250 and 350 prisoners. According to a Dutch prisoner, there were around 250 prisoners in the camp, but only 150 went on the first transport.[12] This would mean that around 350 prisoners who arrived on the first transport had died in Alt-Garge or had been evacuated because they could no longer work. There were few deaths among the Danes and Norwegians who arrived later, but the death rate among the Polish prisoners was very high. One of the surviving Polish prisoners who compiled a list supports the following supposition: 117 of the 216 identified prisoners on the transport from Sachsenhausen had died before the Allies liberated the others.[13] Around 50 prisoners are buried in the Barskamp Cemetery not far from the subcamp. There are also indications that there is a mass grave of prisoners in a nearby forest.[14] It is probable that most of the other prisoners on the lists of those transported as sick to Sachsenhausen died in the main camp.

SOURCES This essay builds on the study of the Alt-Garge subcamp by John Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle: Das Aussenlager Alt-Garge des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Winsen/Luhe, 1993). On Polish participants in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising at Neuengamme, see Georg Erdelbrock, "Das Schicksal der bei der Niederschlagung des Warschauer Aufstandes in das KZ Neuengamme und seine Aussenlager deportierten Polinnen und Polen," in *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 85–92.

Just about all primary information stems from former prisoners' statements, the majority of which are held at AG-NG. A German translation of the published Danish testimony, Niels Jorgensen, *Paa det tyske Slavemarked* (Copenhagen, 1945), is also available at AG-NG.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. John Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle: Das Aussenlager Alt-Garge des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Winsen/Luhe, 1993), p. 31.
2. Ibid., p. 143.
3. Completed questionnaires of two Polish prisoners, AG-NG, 2.8/644.
4. Georg Erdelbrock, "Das Schicksal der bei der Niederschlagung des Warschauer Aufstandes in das KZ Neuengamme und seine Aussenlager deportierten Polinnen und Polen," in *Häftlinge in KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), p. 87.
5. Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle*, p. 35.
6. Ibid., p. 38.
7. Ibid., p. 58.
8. Completed questionnaires of two Polish prisoners, AG-NG, 2.8/644.
9. Ibid. The quotation has been orthographically corrected.
10. Niels Jorgensen, *Paa det tyske Slavemarked* (Copenhagen, 1945).
11. Report of a Danish survivor, AG-NG, 2.8/562.
12. AG-NG, 2.8/210.
13. Printed in Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle*, p. 188. Part of the list is based on information extracted from the subcamp's and the Neuengamme main camp's death list. There are no comparable lists of survivors. It is likely that a death rate of more than 50 percent cannot be applied to the whole transport of 500 prisoners.
14. Ibid., p. 123.

BEENDORF ("AIII") [AKA HELMSTEDT]

Not far from the former inner German border are two salt mines, "Bartensleben" and "Marie," located in the communities of Beendorf and Morsleben in Saxony-Anhalt. The salt mines were owned by the Magdeburg-based Burbach-Konzern (Burbach Group). In the last two years of the war, various vital war industries were relocated underground in caves, adits, mines, railway tunnels, and bombproof bunkers. Armaments suppliers to the aircraft industry were relocated to the salt pits at Beendorf and Morsleben for protection against Allied air raids. Male and female inmates of the Neuengamme concentration camp's subcamp at Beendorf were deployed there, both for the relocation of the facilities as well as for armaments production. They were quartered in two large hangars of the Aerial Ammunition Institute (Luftmunitionsanstalt) aboveground, close to the adits. Hangar No. 13 accommodated 2,000 prisoners—about 800 men on the first floor and roughly 1,200 women on the second floor. In addition, some 500 Jewish women were accommodated in Hangar No. 14. The hangars were massively built and had barred windows. Washrooms, latrines, the infirmary, and the room where the prisoners received their provisions were located along the corridor near the sleeping quarters.

Members of Hermann Göring's Reich Aviation Ministry (Reichsluftfahrtministerium) inspected the two mines, Bartensleben and Marie, in December 1943 and February 1944, respectively, and requisitioned them for armaments production. The Askania-Werke AG (Askania Corporation), based in Berlin-Friedenau, together with some of its subsidiaries and the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Instrument Factory Hakenfelde, Ltd.), a subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and the Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Siemens-Schuckert-Works, SSW) based in Berlin-Spandau, were to be relocated to the pits. The first male prisoners arrived in Beendorf just a few days after the mine complex had been inspected and began construction to relocate the Berlin Askania-Werke to the Bartensleben pit. By the time the underground factory was completed at the beginning of August

1944, a number of transports of several hundred male prisoners from the main camps at Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Neuengamme had arrived at the Beendorf subcamp. They were all deployed in the Bartensleben pit, to support preparations for the relocation.

Once the factory was completed in August 1944, the Askania-Werke began armaments production on three levels in the Bartensleben mine: II, IIa, and IIIa, each with four large rooms about 100 meters long, 25 to 30 meters wide, and 15 meters high (109 yards long, 27 to 33 yards wide, and 16 yards high). The production area totaled about 30,000 square meters (35,880 square yards), but later it may have been expanded to about 38,000 square meters (45,448 square yards). Initial plans were for the deployment of about 2,000 workers, 1,000 of whom were to be prisoners. However, during the course of production, the number was increased to 2,000 workers per shift, which meant that about 2,000 prisoners were deployed.

The first 500 prisoners to work on production in the Bartensleben mine, mostly German and French women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp, arrived in Beendorf in early August 1944. Further transports of female inmates from Ravensbrück, including numerous Polish women, followed in September and October 1944. Furthermore, around 500 Jewish women from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp arrived in Beendorf at the beginning of December 1944. All the women were deployed in the Bartensleben pit. Among them was Krystyna Razinska, who wrote the following about the on-site work:

> The Askania-Werke was located in a former salt mine, about 700 to 800 meters [766 to 875 yards] underground. They were giant two-level halls dug into the salt; a lot of ammunition was lying around. The trip down in the two elevators was very dangerous. Down below, aircraft parts, cannons and weapons were then assembled on precision workbenches. We worked in artificial light on lathes, milling machines, drills, and vises. The halls were very clean and excellently equipped for the work. Because our mouths were always dry and we were allowed neither to drink nor wash, we were plagued with thirst. . . . A civilian German foreman allocated the work. . . . I worked on a lathe. The work was very hard and difficult. I often ruined what I was doing, but the foreman was quite understanding.[1]

The women produced not only air force munitions but also various parts for Hitler's "miracle weapons" (*Wunderwaffen*) the Me 262 and the V-1 and V-2 rockets, such as autopilots, controls and steering mechanisms, or other electromechanical parts. In addition, the Askania-Werke produced periscopes for submarines. The prisoners worked a total of 72 hours a week in two shifts of 12 hours each.

While the female prisoners worked exclusively on manufacturing in the Bartensleben pit, the male prisoners readied the Marie pit for the relocation of a second factory. The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde plant was supposed to be located on two pads at a floor level of 360 meters (394 yards), one to the northwest and the other to the southeast of the pit. For the factories, the prisoners had to prepare 34 "normal workrooms" (*Normalarbeitsräume*), each with a size of 400 square meters (478 square yards), and two large workrooms—each 3.5 meters high by 67.5 meters wide by 100 meters long (3.8 yards by 73.8 yards by 109 yards.) On each shift, 1,000 people were to work there: 640 in assembly and 360 in the storage facility, in the office, and as supervisors.

The production line and the crew arrived in Beendorf from Berlin in December 1944. By shortly before the end of the war, about two-thirds of the factory was completed. Thus, actual production could be started and maintained for several weeks.

Altogether there were between 700 and 750 male prisoners employed in constructing the Marie pit. One of them was Albert Rohmer, who related the following about his work:

> The Salt Column [Salzkolonne], the largest group, did the main work in the mine: the excavating and leveling of the chambers, halls of twenty to forty meters [22 to 44 yards]. . . . There are around one hundred chambers. The men work there in the salt dust under the low roofs (two meters [2.2 yards]), bare from the waist up. Large blocks were blasted away with dynamite, and for an hour after an explosion you look through a thick, dark cloud of salty dust. The salt air at least has the advantage of drying out and damaging nasal passages. . . . The terrible problem of having to blow your nose did not come up until the evening.[2]

Gerhard Poppenhagen was the only camp commander of the Beendorf subcamp. Poppenhagen was born in Hamburg on September 26, 1909. After his elementary and secondary schooling, he was trained as a merchant, whereupon he worked in his father's business until it went bankrupt in 1932. From 1932 to 1934, he was a traveling salesman for various businesses and was intermittently unemployed for a few months. He began training as a member of the Criminal Police in September 1935. He joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) on August 1, 1932, and the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS) on September 9, 1933. In May 1935, he was appointed administrative leader (Verwaltungsführer) of the 22nd SS Regiment (22. SS-Standarte). From 1936, he worked as a Gestapo official and Criminal Police inspector in Breslau, Lüneburg, and Hamburg. He joined the Waffen-SS on June 26, 1940. In the second half of 1940, he was sent to Neuengamme with the rank of SS-Rottenführer. On September 1, 1940, he was promoted to Unterscharführer, and on May 1, 1942, he became Oberscharführer. He took an officer's training course in 1943 and then assumed command of a guard company in Neuengamme. He took command of the Beendorf camp in 1944, remaining in this position until the end of the war.

Apart from the camp commander, 300 Luftwaffe soldiers and a few SS personnel were in charge of guarding the prison-

ers. In addition, the female prisoners were guarded by about 52 female guards. Some of these guards are known by name: Anton Jansen Brunken, Karl Adolf Brettschneider, and Hans Bloecker, as well as Ilse Riemann, Luise Bongartz, Lottchen Ostermann, Luise Linke, Gertrud Reinl, and Anna Meinl.

In the course of evacuating many camps in the German Reich during the final period of the war, the Beendorf subcamp became the destination for a few transports. As early as January 1945, 600 male prisoners from an operation of the Askania-Werke in Hirschberg (Silesia) arrived at the pits in Beendorf and Morsleben. With the Red Army drawing closer, these men had been transferred from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to the Neuengamme camp system. Moreover, in late February or early March 1945, about 500 women arrived in Beendorf from the Neuengamme subcamp at the SS-Reitschule (Riding School) in Braunschweig, as well as the female and male prisoners from Porta Westfalica, also a Neuengamme subcamp, which was evacuated in early April 1945. The entire Beendorf camp was probably evacuated on April 8, 1945. According to estimates, about 1,350 male and 3,000 female prisoners left the camp by train, moving northward. The train wandered for days until it arrived in Wöbbelin via Magdeburg, Stendal, Wittenberge, and Sülstorf. The male prisoners left the train at Wöbbelin, probably on April 16, 1945, and were interned in the local Neuengamme subcamp. The female prisoners, however, were transported further to Hamburg, where, most probably on April 20, 1945, they were distributed among various female subcamps in the city, such as Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, Hamburg-Eidelstedt, Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), and Hamburg-Wandsbek. From there, most of the prisoners were evacuated to Sweden in early May 1945.

SOURCES This description of the camp at Beendorf is based on the following publications: Björn Kooger, "Das Aussenlager Helmstedt/Beendorf (SS-Führungsstab A 3)," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager in Norddeutschland: Kriegsende und Befreiung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 76–83; and Björn Kooger, "Das Aussenlager Beendorf—SS-Führungsstab A," in *Jahresschrift der Museum des Ohrekreises: Haldensleben und Wolmirstedt* (Haldensleben, 1995), 2: 50–70.

The AG-NG and the Beendorf Memorial currently hold a few Beendorf survivor interviews and memoirs. The prisoner cards kept by the SS-WVHA have been rediscovered in the last few years and shed new light on various prisoner transports that reached the camp. Copies of these are located at the AG-NG. Information on Gerhard Poppenhagen is to be found in the records of the British Military Court Proceeding, which are held in the BA-K. The same applies to records of other male guards whose names are known. Further information on the female guards named in this article can be found at the USHMMA and the ZdL-L. Information on the rest of the guards at Beendorf is to date unavailable. It also remains unclear precisely when the hangars of the Luftmunitionsanstalt were converted into accommodations for the prisoners.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Bericht Krystyna Razinska," in "*Und vielleicht überlebte ich nur, weil ich sehr jung war": Verschleppt ins KZ Neuengamme; Lebensschicksale polnischer Jugendlicher*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes/KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), pp. 92–93.

2. Report by Albert Rohmer, cited by Björn Kooger, "Das Aussenlager Helmstedt/Beendorf (SS-Führungsstab A 3)," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager in Norddeutschland: Kriegsende und Befreiung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), p. 79.

BOIZENBURG

Boizenburg, a subcamp of the Neuengamme main concentration camp, probably operated between August 1944 and late April or early May 1945. During this period, only female prisoners were incarcerated in the camp. The camp was located directly on top of the Elbbergkuppe at the edge of the small town of Boizenburg in Mecklenburg.

The barracks camp was most likely built at the Elbberg in the early 1940s. Since relevant documents are missing, it is not possible to say when exactly the barracks were built. Until the incarceration of female inmates from Neuengamme, the camp held prisoners of war (POWs). It seems that the camp consisted of four accommodation barracks with two large and two small rooms each, a lavatory, and a toilet, and barracks for the kitchen and a sick bay. In addition, there were SS administration barracks and barracks for accommodation outside the camp.

Approximately 400 Hungarian Jewish women[1] were incarcerated at Boizenburg in the second half of August 1944. They had been transported from Auschwitz to northern Germany. These women were expelled from their Hungarian hometowns in the spring of 1944, incarcerated in various Hungarian ghettos, and from there deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Most Jewish women in Auschwitz II-Birkenau were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp (Durchgangslager), where these women were selected for labor details in Boizenburg.

The Boizenburg female prisoners worked in the armaments industry for Thomsen & Co. Together with German civilian workers and POWs, they had to work in 12-hour day or night shifts, supporting warship production and repairing airplanes. According to reports of survivors, Thomsen & Co. assembled warships on the factory's ground floor, whereas mainly Focke-Wulf wings were repaired on the second floor. Many women working for Thomsen & Co. operated welding devices and drills. As the prisoners were not given any protective clothing, many suffered severe injuries in the factory. Survivor Eva K. reported, for example, that while drilling into the wing of an airplane, a metal splinter got into one of her eyes. As a result of this injury, she went blind in this eye.[2] Other female prisoners doing welding work suffered severe burns and unbearable pain in the eyes.

Production and maintenance at Thomsen & Co. probably discontinued in March 1945, when Boizenburg was increasingly targeted by Allied air raids. Several survivors remember that from this time on female prisoners were deployed to remove rubble caused by air raids at the Boizenburg harbor and on factory grounds.

The names of the Boizenburg camp commandants are not known. According to several survivors, three camp commandants were in charge of the camp. There was a change in the camp leadership in December 1944 and again shortly before the end of the war. Apart from the camp commandants, female SS guards were responsible for guarding the prisoners inside the camp. Male guards, probably members of the Wehrmacht, were on duty outside the camp. Estimates suggest that there were about 20 additional guards.

Boizenburg was evacuated in late April 1945. It is possible that the female inmates left the camp by foot toward Ludwigslust on April 28, 1945. The exact destination of this march remains unclear. It is likely that the prisoners were to march to the so-called receiving camp Wöbbelin, also a Neuengamme subcamp. According to reports of survivors, the Boizenburg prisoners were denied access to the Neustadt-Glewe camp on their evacuation march, a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, because of a typhus epidemic.

The inmates from the Boizenburg camp were liberated after a five-day march in Gross Laasch by the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division.

SOURCES This account on the Boizenburg camp is based upon Ilse Ständer, *Das Aussenlager Boizenburg des KZ Neuengamme* (Boizenburg: Heimatmuseum der Stadt Boizenburg, 1996). Not far from the former camp grounds, a memorial and a tablet commemorate the history of this subcamp. The camp's remaining kitchen cellar was placed under monument protection in 1991 and restored. The camp's barracks were demolished by the GDR.

A few interviews with female survivors, who report on the camp's history, are located in the AG-NG. The author conducted interviews with several former prisoners of this camp. YV and the BA-L hold further reports, including the records of the preliminary proceedings on Boizenburg during the 1960s and 1970s. Sources reporting on the exact construction date of the barracks, the prisoners' arrival from Auschwitz, and their evacuation in late April–early May 1945 do not exist. The same applies to documents about female and male guards of the female subcamp Boizenburg.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For the numbers, see the "Krankenbericht über den Krankenstand im KZ Neuengamme des SS-Standortarztes Dr. Alfred Trzebinski vom 29.03.1945," reproduced in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd. ed. (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1982), p. 76.

2. "Aussage von Eva K," in Ilse Ständer, *Das Aussenlager Boizenburg des KZ Neuengamme* (Boizenburg: Heimatmuseum der Stadt Boizenburg, 1996), p. 17.

BRAUNSCHWEIG (*BÜSSING NAG*)

The Braunschweig Büssing Vereinigte Nutzkraftwagenwerke AG (Büssing United Utility Vehicle Factory, or Büssing NAG) played an important role in armaments production. The factory requested concentration camp inmates to be utilized in the manufacture of trucks for the Wehrmacht. For the Büssing subcamp, five barracks were constructed close to the main factory on Wörthstrasse (later Schillstrasse).[1]

At first, a construction team of 126 inmates was sent to Braunschweig from the Neuengamme main camp. The construction team consisted of 74 French, 42 Soviet, 8 German, and 2 Polish prisoners. All 8 German prisoners wore the green triangle and were thus considered "criminals" by the SS. They occupied key positions as prisoner-functionaries in the camp.

A large number of the prisoners deployed in Braunschweig near Büssing were Polish Jews. They had survived the Łódź ghetto and, after the ghetto's liquidation, were deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz, representatives of the Büssing NAG selected them for labor details in Braunschweig. Above all, metalworkers were in demand. In addition to the prisoners' claims of being skilled laborers, their physical appearance was the main criterion for selection.[2] The prisoners arrived at Braunschweig in three transports between September and November 1944. The first transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz in mid-September 1944. As the camp at Braunschweig was not completed, around 100 prisoners were accommodated in a nearby forced labor camp. They were deployed to assist the prisoner construction team in building the camp. The remaining 250 prisoners were transferred to the recently completed camp in Vechelde, where they also were to work for Büssing.[3] A second transport of about 500 prisoners arrived in Braunschweig in mid-October, and some 150 of these prisoners were sent to Vechelde. A third transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz for Braunschweig on November 3, 1944; again, the majority were Polish Jews, along with a few Hungarian and Czech Jews.

Once the camp was completed at the end of October 1944,[4] the prisoners were deployed in two shifts at Büssing NAG: a day shift from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. and a night shift from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The prisoners working on the day shift were awakened at 4:00 A.M. They had to walk about 1.2 kilometers (0.7 miles) to the factory. Bad weather and inadequate clothing made this walk particularly difficult.

At the factory, prisoners received their own time cards, which they had to stamp at the beginning and the end of their working hours.[5] They were deployed in three areas of the factory: parts (*Maschinenteilauswechselabteilung*), repair (*Maschinenreperaturabteilung*), and crankcase locksmithery (*Schlosserei für Motorgehäuse*). To increase the prisoners' motivation, factory management arranged, in consultation with

the SS, a system of bonus certificates that foremen of the respective areas could distribute. Former inmate Jerzy Herszberg summarized the work at Büssing as follows: "The work in the factory, however, was fairly easy, and often, when the supply was low, we had nothing to do. . . . But we had to be alert at all times as a loss of concentration resulted in paying a high price. Clearly, a 12-hour shift, 7 days or nights, in alternate weeks, was exhausting, and I felt an acute lack of sleep."[6]

The prisoners had a 30-minute break, during which they received a bowl of poor-quality soup from the Büssing factory kitchen, where food was prepared for Russian forced laborers. Initially, the Büssing NAG also distributed other meals, but from mid-November onward, the SS gave out the rations in the subcamp. Rations for prisoners progressively decreased, as the SS was also using the supplies.

The subcamp was set up for approximately 300 prisoners, but at times more than twice that number was accommodated. Consequently, the conditions in Braunschweig were very poor. The prisoners were almost constantly covered with lice. There was no soap and only cold water for showers. Moreover, the Kapos were violent. Herszberg, previously interned in Auschwitz, assessed conditions as follows: "Braunschweig was the worst camp I stayed in. . . . The rumors were that the Kapo in charge of the camp had been previously a hangman in Dachau . . . and I can recall at least six [Kapos], memorable for their sadism. . . . They never seemed to tire of torturing and humiliating us."[7]

The commander of the subcamp, SS-Hauptscharführer Max Kierstein, also contributed substantially to the poor conditions in the camp. According to most prisoner reports, he made a far less negative impression as commander of the Wittenberge subcamp. Thus it is likely that his behavior in Braunschweig was also driven by his antisemitic attitude. A former prisoner recalled Kirstein saying: "If a Jew devours too much, then he will become fat, lazy, and finally, cheeky as well."[8] Other prisoners also remember similar statements from Kierstein.

The prisoners' situation deteriorated steadily. The French prison physician Dr. Salan said: "In December 1944, conditions became intolerable. . . . At that time there were 18 three-tiered bunks in the infirmary, in other words, 54 beds. Since some bunks were occupied by two patients, the infirmary held 60 bedridden patients with diarrhea and other diseases."[9]

The death rate in the subcamp was extraordinarily high. By the end of 1944, around 300 prisoners had died of hunger, illness, and maltreatment. Their corpses were transported by train to the Watenstedt subcamp. After a large number of incapacitated prisoners were sent to the infirmary at the Watenstedt subcamp in early 1945, the death rate actually declined. Nevertheless, the funeral parlor Pietät had transferred 80 more corpses from the subcamp to the Braunschweig city crematorium by March 20, 1945.[10]

The SS evacuated the subcamp at the end of March 1945 in the face of the steadily approaching front line. The prisoners were first taken to the subcamp at Watenstedt, and on April 7, together with the prisoners of this subcamp, they were transported for many days by rail to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They arrived on April 14. When Ravensbrück was evacuated at the end of April, the men were driven forth on foot. With further transportation, a large group made it to the receiving camp at Wöbbelin, where they were liberated by American troops on May 2.[11]

Even though Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany initiated preliminary proceedings against the people in charge at Büssing NAG and the Braunschweig camp, in neither case were the proceedings seen through.[12]

SOURCES The two most important studies about the subcamp include Karl Liedke and Elke Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Schillstrasse: Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Häftlingen bei der Firma Büssing*, 2nd ed. (Braunschweig: Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, 1996); Karl Liedke, "Destruction through Work: Łódź Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig 1944–1945," *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179. Both studies are mainly based upon accounts by former prisoners and German witnesses.

The records of a German state attorney's office, which are now located in the NStA-Wf, served as additional sources. Further records of preliminary proceedings are located at the PRO and the ZdL-L. They contain, however, little information beyond the files at the NStA-Wf.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Karl Liedke and Elke Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Schillstrasse: Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Häftlingen bei der Firma Büssing*, 2nd ed. (Braunschweig: Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, 1996); Karl Liedke, "Destruction Through Work: Łódź Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig 1944–1945," *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179; Gerd Wysocki, *Gedenken für die Verfolgten von Terror und Zwangsarbeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft im Land Braunschweig*; *Part I: Forschungsstand und zum Umgang mit der Vergangenheit* (Braunschweig, 1995).
2. Liedke, "Destruction," p. 157.
3. Ibid., p. 162.
4. Liedke and Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 15.
5. Ibid., p. 165.
6. Jerzy Herszberg, "A Survival Story of 1939–45 War," AG-NG, Ng. 2.8/393, p. 19.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. As cited by Liedke, "Destruction," p. 171.
9. Georges Salan, *Prisons de France et bagnes allemandes* (Nimes, 1946), p. 160.
10. Liedke, "Destruction," p. 174.
11. Ibid.; and Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945; Katalog zur Wanderausstelung* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), 2:15.
12. PRO, WO 309/1241; NStA-Wf, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and ZSL-L, IV 404 AR 111/67.

BRAUNSCHWEIG (*SS-REITSCHULE*)

The city of Braunschweig instigated the installation of the SS-Riding School (SS-Reitschule) camp. The city's objective was to receive concentration camp inmates who could remove the debris caused by Allied air raids. According to concurrent reports of survivors, the female prisoners arrived in Braunschweig shortly before Christmas 1944, probably on December 20. Former prisoners still vividly recall the city's festive Christmas decorations.[1]

The inmates consisted of some 800 Jewish women, the majority of them Hungarians and a smaller number of Czechs.[2] The women had been transported from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen in late November or early December 1944. Shortly before Christmas, the SS transferred them from the women's camp in Bergen-Belsen to Braunschweig.

The inmates were accommodated in the SS-Reitschule. This complex of buildings had the shape of a horseshoe, stretching from Schefflerstrasse to Hans-Porner-Strasse. It had been constructed during the war.[3] The women were housed in a large stable that was absolutely unsuitable for the winter months. The roof leaked, and rain and snow constantly fell into the stable. Emmy Massmann recalled the accommodation as follows: "It was not really a camp. It was a large stable where we had to live with 800 people. There were only two water faucets above the horses' manger. The sick urinated into it, people washed themselves in it, and they also rinsed their food bowls. This had nothing to do with hygiene. We did not have towels and soap at all."[4] Since there were no stoves, the stable was extremely cold. In addition, the women had to sleep on the floor, which was covered only with straw. The straw was full of lice, so that the women were soon covered with bites.

The inmates were deployed cleaning up debris within the Braunschweig city limits. They were taken to different parts of the city in columns of about 100. From dawn to dusk, they had to clear away destroyed buildings and sort out the still-usable stones. Judith Petrover, a Hungarian survivor, remembers above all the cold during the labor deployment: "It was terribly cold. Sometimes the SS allowed two girls to make a small fire. There was also a lot of snow. It was so cold that we cried. The whole commando cried. We could not stand it. We had only a thin dress and a thin, unlined coat. And nothing else."[5]

Due to the hard labor, extreme cold, and inadequate accommodation, the SS-Reitschule subcamp, in spite of its short period of existence, had the highest death rate of all Neuengamme women's subcamps. During the two months of the camp's existence, 16 women died.[6] In mid- or late February 1945, the SS evacuated the camp. About 150 to 200 sick or weak prisoners were transferred to Watenstedt, where several women died. A larger group of about 600 women capable of working was transported to the subcamp at Beendorf.[7]

SOURCES Mainly reports and interviews with survivors as well as several extant prisoner cards from the SS-WVHA serve as sources for this description of the SS-Reitschule subcamp. A booklet written by Bernhild Vögel provides only a brief summary of the SS-Reitschule subcamp: Bernhild Vögel, . . . *und in Braunschweig?: Materialien und Tips zur Stadterkundung 1930–1945* (Braunschweig: JURB, 1994). Hans Ellger's not-yet-published dissertation is more informative: "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2004). Sections dealing with the SS-Reitschule can be found throughout the book.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Report by Piroska Braun, July 11, 1945, YVA, O-15/2791; report by Roszi Markovics, July 8, 1945, YVA, O-15/1763; interview with Eva Timar, April 17, 1997, AG-Dr.

2. Hans Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2004), p. 94.

3. Bernhild Vögel, . . . *und in Braunschweig?: Materialien und Tips zur Stadterkundung 1930–1945* (Braunschweig: JURB, 1994), p. 37.

4. Emmy Massmann, "Eckernförde—Auschwitz—Schweden: Ein Dokument aus dem Jahre 1945," in *Jüdische Vergangenheit—Jüdische Zukunft*, ed. Ole Harck (Kiel: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Schleswig-Holstein, 1998), p. 70.

5. Interview by Hans Ellger with Judith Petrover, February 28, 2002, as cited in Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge", p. 199.

6. See prisoner data bank at AG-NG.

7. Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge", p. 99.

BRAUNSCHWEIG (*TRUPPENWIRTSCHAFTSLAGER*)

In addition to other subcamps attached to Neuengamme that were created in Braunschweig, for example, at Büssing NAG and the SS-Reitschule, a Truppenwirtschaftslager (Army Supply Depot) subcamp was established in Braunschweig on March 25, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Between 8 and 10 male inmates were transferred to Truppenwirtschaftslager, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to construct an office barracks for the SS.[1] They were employed by the SS-Central Recruiting Office (Ergänzungsstelle Mitte) in Braunschweig. The satellite operated briefly until June 5, 1944, when it was evacuated to another satellite work site in Warberg.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Truppenwirtschaftslager in Braunschweig. Brief informa-

tion on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski. This information is duplicated (except for the opening date of the camp) in the Braunschweig entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979). For similar brief information (opening and closing dates, type of work, and so on), see Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme*, *1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides data on the Braunschweig camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski, which lists "Truppenwirtschaft" (Braunschweig) and which is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FGNS-H.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (British Army of the Rhine, BAOR, trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

BREMEN (*BORGWARD-WERKE*)

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Bremen for the automobile manufacturer Borgward-Werke on August 25, 1944. Some 1,000 male inmates, possibly transferred from Auschwitz to Neuengamme, and then eventually to Bremen, were brought to a camp on the grounds of the factory, located on Niedersachsendamm, Schützenweg, and Föhrenstrasse in Bremen.

As in other subcamps attached to Neuengamme, the inmates were brought to the satellite camp at the Bremen Borgward-Werke to be used as laborers in the factory. There is no specific information as to the kind of work the prisoners were forced to perform; however, they were most likely employed in the production of heavy-duty vehicles.

The camp at Borgward-Werke was in operation only until October 12, 1944, when the plant was bombed and destroyed during an Allied aerial attack. The inmates were transferred back to Neuengamme, where they arrived on October 14. Some prisoners may have also been transferred to Porta Westfalica, to the Aussenlager Lerbeck.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Bremen at Borgward-Werke. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme*, *1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. This information (opening and evacuation dates, number of prisoners, and so on) is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme*, *1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986); and Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982). For specific information on the location of the camp, see Ursula Krause-Schmitt and Gottfried Schmidt, eds., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung*, *1933–1945*, vol. 6, Susanne Engelbertz, *Bremen: Stadt Bremen*, *Bremen-Nord*, *Bremerhaven* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Akademische Schriften, 1992). For the history of the Borgward-Werke company, see Klaus Brandhuber, *Die Insolvenz eines Familienkonzernes: Der wirtschaftliche Niedergang der Borgward-Gruppe* (Cologne: Müller Botermann, 1988).

Primary documentation that sheds light on the Borgward-Werke camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

BREMEN (*HINDENBURGKASERNE*)

On two occasions during World War II, concentration camp prisoners were incarcerated in the horse stables of the Hindenburg Military Barracks (Hindenburgkaserne) in Bremen. Male prisoners of Neuengamme's 2nd SS-Construction Brigade (SS-BB II) were interned in the stables probably from September 1943 to April 1944. Later on, the stables accommodated Ukrainian forced laborers for several weeks. In August 1944, two transports of female prisoners from Auschwitz arrived in Bremen. They were also quartered in the stables. The Hindenburgkaserne was located on Bossdorfstrasse in Huckelriede, a subdivision of a newly constructed area of Bremen.

A lease details which parts of the Hindenburgkaserne were used to incarcerate prisoners. The lease states the following:

> Between Reich exchequer Hoer, represented by defense district administration X in Hamburg (Wehrkreisverwaltung X), further represented by the army station administration Bremen (Heeresstandortverwaltung Bremen), under the agency of senior staff paymaster Schulz, as landlord, and the Reich Ministry of the Interior, represented by the Hanseatic city of Bremen, furthermore represented by the senator for construction, acting as director of emergency measures, as tenant, the following lease agreement has been concluded:

§1

The landlord rents the following to the tenant for the establishment of a work camp in the rear of the Hindenburgkaserne:

(a) the stable, including the riding arena and riding square

(b) the veterinary and quarantine stables

(c) the terrain west of the veterinary stables, including the tennis court

(d) the square south of the officers' quarters (Doppel-Offizierheim) for the construction of a barrack.

§2

The monthly rent is 1,018 RM [Reichsmark], calculated on the basis of an annual rent of 4.50 RM per square meter floor space. The floor space applies to:

(a) the stable, including the riding hall
the northern stable—731.61 sqm [875 square yards]
riding hall—922.73 sqm [1,104 square yards]
southern stable—683.82 sqm [818 square yards]

(b) the veterinary and quarantine stables—375.56 sqm [449 square yards] totaling 2,713.72 sqm [3,246 square yards].[1]

In addition, correspondence between the city of Bremen and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg near Berlin of August 1944 shows exactly when the female prisoners arrived in the Bremen subcamp. A letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster states: "500 female concentration camp inmates have been sent to Bremen to construct emergency housing. They arrived at the Hindenburgkaserne subcamp on August 2, 1944. It is expected that 300 additional female concentration camp inmates will be sent there shortly."[2]

According to the recollections of several survivors, the Jewish women reached Bremen during the night of August 1 or 2, 1944. Most likely, this transport to Bremen was composed exclusively of Hungarian women, who had been expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944, incarcerated in various ghettos in the country, and from there deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of them were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp (*Durchgangslager*), where they were selected for work in Bremen.

The "300 additional female concentration camp inmates" mentioned by Köster were all Jewish women from Poland. Some of them had been held in the Łódź ghetto since early 1940 and worked as forced laborers until the ghetto's liquidation in the summer of 1944. From Łódź, these women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen. The letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster of August 16, 1944, makes no mention of an expected arrival date, apart from "shortly." Some Polish survivors stated that they arrived about three weeks after the Hungarian women in Bremen.

Although the city of Bremen had requisitioned the Jewish women from the WVHA for the construction of emergency accommodations, most of them were deployed to remove debris in Bremen. The women worked for a number of demolition and construction firms: Abbruch- und Verschrottungsunternehmen Karl Gesselmann (Karl Gesselmann Demolition and Scrap), Baugeschäft und Abbruchunternehmen Hermann Bödecker (Hermann Bödecker Construction and Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Heinrich Ebeling (Heinrich Ebeling Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Kirbitz & Breiter (Kirbitz & Breiter Demolition), Strassenbau- und Tiefbaugeschäft Stehmeyer & Bischoff (Stehmeyer & Bischoff Road Construction and Civil Engineering), Baugeschäft Joh. Heitmann (Joh. Heitmann Construction), Bauunternehmen Friedrich Rodieck (Friedrich Rodieck Construction), Bauunternehmen Dietrich Rohlfs (Dietrich Rohlfs Construction), Unternehmen Siemer & Müller (Siemer & Müller Enterprise), and Betonsteinwerk Lüning & Sohn (Lüning & Sohn Concrete). All these private building and demolition companies leased women as laborers from the city of Bremen, which in turn requisitioned them from the WVHA. The companies had to recompense the Bremen senator for construction for the prisoners' working hours.

Those prisoners deployed to construct emergency accommodations mainly had to level the ground on the different building sites, transport the building materials on lorries to the building sites, pour the foundations, or assist in the construction of buildings. Other women worked for Lüning & Sohn manufacturing precast concrete parts. Those prisoners deployed for the removal of debris from daily air raids removed countless bricks, heavy beams, and broken windows from the city.

The Bremen Hindenburgkaserne had two commandants. Unterscharführer Peter Pittmann assumed command on August 2, 1944. Pittmann was said to be about 34 years old at the time. Johann Hille replaced him after only about four weeks. Hille was born on December 8, 1890, in Tellingstedt. After completing elementary school, he worked as a laborer. He had joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) on June 2, 1929, but left the party again on February 1, 1930, rejoining two years later on March 1, 1932. Following the Nazi seizure of power, he joined the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). As a guard at Neuengamme, he was promoted to Oberscharführer on September 1, 1941, and Hauptscharführer on November 1, 1943. In September 1944, he left his position at the Neuengamme main camp and assumed command of the Bremen-Obernheide women's camp.

In addition to the two camp commandants, an unknown number of former Luftwaffe soldiers handled external security, and probably about 20 female guards were responsible for security inside the subcamp.

The subcamp on the grounds of the Hindenburgkaserne was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As a result, the female prisoners had to be transferred on that very day to a camp at Bremen-Obernheide.

On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster reported the following to Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme: "The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt probably already has reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp on the same day."[3]

SOURCES This article is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Obernheide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/45* (Bremen: Donat, 1988).

The AG-NG holds transcripts of interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. The author conducted several interviews with former inmates. Lilly Kertesz published her recollections: Lilly Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999).

Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. All written documents, including the lease and reports about the prisoner transfer, are archived at the StA-Br. These files also contain information about the two camp commandants. A source providing information on the exact arrival date of the second Jewish group from Auschwitz is not available.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Mietvertrag (ohne Datum) Aussenlager Bremen-Hindenburgkaserne, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9-17, Binder No. 66.

2. Schreiben vom SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt in Oranienburg bei Berlin an den Oberregierungsrat Köster der Stadt Bremen vom 16.08.1944, in ibid.

3. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Pauly vom 11.10.1944, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9-17, Binder No. 66.

BREMEN-BLUMENTHAL [AKA BREMEN-*DESCHIMAG*, BAHRSPLATE]

The Bremen-Blumenthal subcamp existed from August–September 1944 to April 9, 1945. The camp was located on the Bahrsplate, a large vacant area of land in Blumenthal, on the Weser River. Immediately to the rear of the vacant land were residential buildings. The camp must have been clearly visible from the village. During the Third Reich, the site was owned by the Krupp Company, Deschimag AG, a Bremen shipyard. Deschimag had its chief site toward the town of Bremen-Gröpelingen. Since the beginning of the 1940s, the shipyard had operated a forced labor camp. Most of the forced laborers were from the "East." In 1943 the shipyard leased parts of the camp to the Bauamt Bremen-Nord, which in turn used it to hold French prisoners of war (POWs). In October 1943, the camp administration of the Deschimag AG camp requested the Bauamt Bremen-Nord to vacate part of the barracks so that they could be put at the disposal of Oberbaurat Meiners.[1] Oberbaurat Meiners was head of the Marineoberbauamt Bremen and responsible for the construction of the U-boat bunkers "Valentin" (Bremen-Farge) and "Hornisse" (Bremen-Neuenland and Bremen-Osterort). It remains unclear whether the evacuation of the barracks was a portent of the subcamp or whether Meiners wanted Blumenthal as a temporary measure to accommodate civilian forced laborers who were used on the construction of the bunker "Valentin" in Farge. According to the available documents and witness statements, there is no indication that concentration camp prisoners arrived in Blumenthal prior to August 1944.

The subcamp was located next to the Ostarbeiterlager (Eastern Workers' Camp) on the Bahrsplate, separated only by barbed wire and four barracks, which accommodated the naval infantry, who guarded the prisoners. There are two conflicting statements about the size of the camp: according to a Belgian prisoner, the camp consisted of eight barracks and five other buildings that served as a dispensary, washroom, kitchen, administration, and storeroom. On the other hand, a German prisoner has stated that there were only four prisoner barracks and three other buildings.[2]

There were probably around 800 prisoners in the camp in August–September. The largest national groupings were Belgians, Poles, Soviets, and Ukrainians. The most important positions in the prisoner hierarchy, however, were filled by 8 German prisoners. The camp elder was known by the nickname "Langer Karl." His real name is thought to have been Karl Lange. "He is thought to have suffered from TB and was regarded inside the camp as 'a pig.' He repeatedly beat prisoners."[3] Germans were appointed as the camp scribe and in several Kapo positions. The majority were probably classified as criminals. According to a German prisoner, the German prisoners got on very well with the SS and naval infantry. Together they went looking for food and schnapps in the local area and "lads were permitted (under SS guard) to go to the brothel in Bremen."[4] However, there were Polish and Soviet Kapos and block elders. There were also 2 Russian block elders, with the nicknames Ivan the Terrible (Iwan der Schreckliche) and Red Terror (Rote Schrecken), who stood out because of their extreme brutality. Both are thought to have been killed by Polish prisoners during Christmas 1944.[5]

The commandant of the camp was Oberfeldwebel Richard-Johann vom Endt, who was born on January 3, 1904, close to Düsseldorf, and who, according to the Federal German State Prosecutor, died on April 8, 1962. On taking command, he was appointed SS-Oberscharführer. It is believed that proceedings were commenced against him after the war before a military court in Brussels, but the German prosecutors were not aware of the outcome.[6] The prisoners' reports do not reveal much about vom Endt. There is only a mention that he participated in the hanging of two Polish prisoners. The prisoners were guarded essentially by elder soldiers from the Naval Reserve Corps (Marineersatzkorps) Number Sixteen from Zeven.[7] There were also six SS men in the camp or with the guards.[8]

The prisoners were deployed at various work sites. A detachment worked in Gröpelingen at the Deschimag AG shipyard. Here the prisoners had to get up at 4:30 A.M. At 5:15 A.M. they embarked on a small barge that took them on a 1.5-hour trip on the Weser to the shipyard. The prisoners worked from 7:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with a half-hour meal break. After they finished their work, they were returned to the camp by boat. There were 190 Jewish prisoners in the detachment, the first of whom arrived in Blumenthal in November 1944. Due to the long way to work, the prisoners in the detachments were transferred at Christmas 1944 to the newly established camp Bremen-Schützenhof, in the vicinity of the shipyard.[9]

The camp's second large work detachment also worked for the Deschimag AG. These prisoners only had to march about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) to their work site, however. Having leased part of the nearby Bremen Wollkämmerei factory, Deschimag put the prisoners to work constructing turbines for submarines. The sources do not confirm that there was a third detachment that worked on the construction of the U-boat bunker "Valentin."[10]

The withdrawal of some of the prisoners to the Schützenhof subcamp in Blumenthal was compensated by the arrival of new prisoner transports. Shortly before the evacuation of the camp, there were 929 prisoners in the Blumenthal camp.[11] When the camp was evacuated, the Jewish prisoners from Blumenthal as well as the Jewish prisoners transported to the Schützenhof subcamp were separated from the other prisoners. They were crammed into two railway grain wagons and traveled around for several days without food before they finally reached Bergen-Belsen, where some of them were liberated.[12] The remaining prisoners were taken between April 7 and April 9, 1945, to the Bremen-Farge subcamp. They were then sent on a death march from Farge to Neuengamme.

It should be noted that the Blumenthal subcamp had a relatively high death rate for a camp whose prisoners were used mostly for manufacture, which can largely be accounted for by the brutality of the guards and prisoner-functionaries. Two examples of the extreme brutality in the camp are as follows: "If in winter you failed to work three times you were punished for your so-called laziness in the following manner: the guards filled a large vat with water. The prisoner's hands were bound and he was put into the vat so that only his head was above the water. With the very cold wind and the frost the water froze, freezing the prisoner at the same time."[13] The second example: "A favorite punishment in addition to the Bath in the Vat (Bad in der Tonne) was to throw the prisoners into the air. Four Kapos held the prisoners by the hands and legs and counted 'One, two, three!' and hurled as high as possible into the air. The prisoner then fell to the ground. This was repeated until the prisoner was half dead. Finally the camp elder danced on his chest until the ribs broke and the prisoner's heart and intestines were damaged."[14]

There is a record of another, more gruesome incident: two Polish prisoners were hanged on the roll-call square, as they were caught stealing a driving belt. According to witnesses, this was a spectacle in which Neuengamme camp commandant Max Pauly as well as a large number of Blumenthalers participated as witnesses.

After the establishment of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the Bremen State Prosecutor began proceedings in the 1970s. However, it questioned only German prisoners, and as they could not remember any particularly gruesome incidents in the camp, the proceedings ceased in 1976.[15]

SOURCES On forced labor on the construction of submarines in Bremen, see Barbara Johr and Hartmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischen Wahns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989).

Almost all the primary information on this subcamp comes from former prisoners' statements. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. The names of 123 deceased prisoners have been identified in AG-NG's database. The investigations by the Bremen Sta. were helpful in identifying the SS guards, the names of whom can be seen in the StA-Br and the ZdL (now BA-L). StA-N holds 2169-PS, the Neuengamme Standortarzt report submitted to the IMT. A published memoir about Bremen-Blumenthal is Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens: . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage*, trans. Hannah Vogt (Göttingen, 1992).

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter of Lagerverwaltung der Deschimag AG to Bauamt Bremen-Nord, October 13, 1943, StA-Br 4, 29/1-1422 (np).
2. See both drawings in AG-NG 6.4.13 AL Blumenthal. To what extent the differences can be explained by the extension of the camp is not known. Allied aerial photographs assisted in analyzing the question.
3. According to the Bremen Sta., see BA-L ZdL 404 AR-Z 129/74.
4. Report in AG-NG 6.4.13. The report reflects the cooperation between the German prisoners and the camp administration and the reporter admits to boxing other prisoners around the ears.
5. Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens: . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage*, trans. Hannah Vogt (Göttingen, 1992), p. 136.
6. BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR 611/67.
7. ZdL, 404 AR-Z 129/74.
8. Report in AG-NG, 6.4.13.
9. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 137.
10. Without references but mentioned in Barbara Johr and Harmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischen Wahns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989), p. 44.
11. Report of SS-Standortarztes, KZ Neuengamme, March 29, 1945, StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
12. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 140.
13. Ibid., p. 132.
14. Ibid., p. 133.
15. BA-L, ZdL 404 AR-Z 129/74.

BREMEN-FARGE

In the autumn of 1943, the fourth Neuengamme subcamp was established in Bremen-Farge. According to the register of inmates, from the time it was established, Farge was the second-largest Neuengamme subcamp. (The only official number is from March 25, 1945. At that point, there were 2,092 prisoners in the Bremen-Farge subcamp.)[1] The majority of prisoners were used to construct an underground U-boat shipyard with the code name "Valentin." It was one of the most important of the new construction projects for the German Navy. The bunker was situated in the north of Bremen on the Weser River. Once it was complete, prefabricated U-boat sections were to be welded together on a production line and then equipped.[2] Marineoberbaurat Edo Meiners from the Marineoberbauamt Bremen was in charge of the site. On July 20, 1944, the Amt Bau Organisation Todt (OT) took over the whole naval construction program. Meiners remained responsible for the construction in Farge, but he was now in command of the OT-Oberbauleitung Unterweser. He worked closely with the two large Bremen shipyards, which were some of the largest manufacturers of U-boats in Germany. The Deschimag AG, part of the Krupp Group, was in charge of a smaller U-boat bunker in the center of Bremen (located at Bremen-Neuenland and Bremen-Osterort). The Bremen Vulkan-Shipyard, part of the Thyssen Group, took control of the Project Valentin. When constructed, the gigantic bunker was to be 426 meters long and 97 meters wide, with a height of up to 33 meters (466 yards by 106 yards by 36 yards). In order to complete the project, around 10,000 workers, the majority of whom were forced laborers, had to work daily on the construction site. Prisoners of war (POWs), civilian forced laborers, and concentration camp prisoners were employed.

The first transport of concentration camp prisoners to arrive in Farge was a small detachment required for the construction of the camp. This detachment consisted of a few German *befristeten Vorbeugungshäftlingen* (BV, or Greens)—police "preventive custody" prisoners—as well as Polish and Soviet prisoners. The camp elder was Erich Meissner, a German political prisoner. A prisoner described him as an alcoholic and brutal madman. (After the war, Meissner became the Leipzig mayor.)[3] The higher prisoner-functionary positions were allocated to the German "greens." The lower prisoner-functionary positions, especially the Kapos, were mostly Polish prisoners. Work on the foundations for the U-boat bunker began in the spring of 1944. At that time, one or two transports arrived daily in Farge, so that the number of prisoners increased to between 800 and 1,000. The heavy work must have caused a high death rate in the camp, as by the summer the number of prisoners had already dropped back to around 500.[4]

On August 1, 1944, a transport of 2,000 prisoners reached Farge. The majority of these prisoners were French. Other large national groups in the transport were Poles, Soviets, and Greeks. The majority of the existing reports and interviews from survivors originate from prisoners of this transport. Little is known about the period during the camp's construction, but there are more details for the period from the summer of 1944.

The concentration camp prisoners worked in Farge in two shifts, each of 12 hours. The prisoners in the day shift were awakened around 4:00 A.M. and had to set forth to the bunker around 6:00 A.M. They worked from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M., with only a break for a noon meal. The prisoners rarely got to go to bed before 10:00 P.M., as they had to march back to the camp, attend roll call, and eat their dinner.[5] At most, they had 6 hours' sleep a day. The concentration camp prisoners were used on the heaviest and most unpleasant work that there was on the construction site. This was, above all, the cement detachments, where the prisoners had to shift heavy bags of cement or fill the cement mixers. The dust from the cement was a torture for the prisoners: "During the night the cement, which had settled on the nasal hairs, formed a crust which made breathing difficult. You had to use your fingers to get the concrete out—as well as the hairs as they were part of the concrete. . . . It sometimes happened that when I was coughing that I spat out a white ball, which just about ripped apart my chest."[6]

The worst work was on the so-called iron detachments (Eisenkommandos), where iron and steel girders had to be transported. French survivor Raymond Portefaix has stated that one's life expectancy fell dramatically on being allocated to such a detachment. He described such iron detachments as suicide squads (Himmelfahrtskommandos).[7]

The camp was about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the construction site in the Rekum Feldmarsch. Initially, the prisoners went to work by foot directly through the local community. Later they were taken in little railway wagons. The SS and Kriegsmarine took few steps to hide the subcamp and the prisoners from the local population. A local photographer was even able to enter the subcamp and take a number of photographs. The prisoners were accommodated in an underground navy fuel tank. The circumference of the tank was 50 meters (55 yards), and inside it had a height of 6.8 meters (7.4 yards). The cover was made of cement and camouflaged with sand. Inside the fuel tank there were separate quarters for the Kapos, a couple of showers, a toilet block, and a long row of tables for washing. The remainder of the tank consisted of bunk beds separated into five prisoner blocks. On the surface of the camp there were initially three barracks that functioned as the kitchen, sick bay, and office. The result was that all the prisoners, with the exception of the sick and a few prisoner-functionaries, were held in the underground fuel tank. Following the arrival of the transport of August 1, 1944, another two surface barracks were constructed, which at times were used to accommodate the prisoners. As in most subcamps, the food was scarcely sufficient to ensure the prisoners' survival.

At first the prisoners were guarded by the SS, but as the subcamp system expanded, there were insufficient SS personnel for this task. In Farge, it was mostly naval infantry who took over the SS role. From the summer of 1944, a

Marine Reserve Detachment of around 250 men took over guarding the prisoners. At this time an injured Army Hauptmann, Ulrich Wahl, was appointed commander of the Farge subcamp. The SS was represented only by a handful of men who held the few positions within the subcamp. On the construction site, the prisoners were supervised by German foremen. They were driven to work by the Kapos. It was left to the prisoner-functionaries to maintain order within the camp. This situation gave privileged prisoners advantages. It changed little in the daily destruction of life. The camp personnel and the guards seldom interfered in the camp. Portefaix wrote the following: "What is typical in Bremen-Farge is the almost complete dependence of the prisoners on the lower ranks. The SS relied for discipline and work on them on the basis of the privileges they would get. . . . When the Kapos were preoccupied with their own affairs we could stretch out on the plank beds. . . . On the other hand—the brutality they showed when an SS man appeared in order to justify their privileges!"[8]

Due to the heavy nature of the work, Farge was one of the Neuengamme subcamps with a relatively high number of victims. The exact numbers are difficult to ascertain due to the lack of sources. Heiko Kania identified 553 named victims, but the real number is likely to be higher. The majority of the victims who have been identified were French prisoners. Their identification is based on postwar lists prepared by surviving French prisoners. As it is only the French prisoners who were able to compile lists, it can be assumed that more prisoners of other nationalities died than are officially recorded. Despite the high number of victims in the subcamp, postwar investigations in Farge concentrated on the nearby Arbeitserziehungslager (Labor Education Camp, AEL). The reason for this was that the British investigators determined that British soldiers had been imprisoned in the AEL.[9] The Bremen State Prosecutor's Office, which later conducted investigations, appeared to have little interest in pursuing criminal acts. It concentrated on questioning a former head of the AEL, and as a result, so far as known, there were no convictions of any of the perpetrators in Farge, including the subcamp.[10]

The evacuation of the Farge subcamp began on April 10, 1945. In the days before, the evacuated prisoners from other Bremen subcamps had been sent to Farge. The majority of the prisoners were forced to march to Neuengamme, where they arrived on April 15. An unknown number of prisoners marched straight to the Sandbostel POW camp, where they were liberated by the British Army. A transport of sick prisoners wandered for a week between Bremen and Hamburg before it, too, ended up in Sandbostel.

SOURCES For a discussion on the relationship between the subcamp and the village, see Marc Buggeln, "Das Aussenlagersystem des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme," in *Abgeschlossene Kapitel? Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager und der NS-Prozesse*, eds. Sabine Moller, Miriam Rürup, and Christel Trouvé (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 15–27. On the history of camp labor deployment in the Bremen U-boat bunkers, see Barbara Johr and Hartmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischen Wahns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989); and Rainer Christochowitz, *Die U-Boot-Bunkerwerft "Valentin": Der U-Boot-Sektionsbau, die Betonbautechnik und der menschenunwürdige Einsatz von 1943 bis 1945* (Bremen, 2000). On the identification of Farge prisoners, see Heiko Kania, "Neue Erkenntnisse zu Opferzahl und Lager im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau des U-Boot-Werftbunker Valentin in Bremen-Farge" (unpub. MSS). Having the MSS available, proved invaluable. Information about the evacuation of Farge prisoners to Sandbostel may be found in Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:19.

Most knowledge about conditions in the Bremen-Farge subcamp originates from survivors' statements. Most of the material is to be found in AG-NG. There are a few files in the BA-MA, Navy collection, as well as in the collection RMfRK (R 3) in BA-BL, that provide details on the history of the "Valentin" U-boat bunker. Of particular importance are the photographs in the Photographic Archive in BA-K as well as a film made in 1944 by a Marinebaurat showing the construction of the bunker, which is now in BFA. StA-N holds 2169-PS, the Neuengamme Standortarzt report submitted to the IMT. For the history of the construction of the bunker and its military significance, see USSBS, *Submarine Plant Report No. 7: Submarine Assembly Shelter at Farge* (New York, 1947). Raymond Portefaix's testimony of 1947, originally published in French, is reproduced in "Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Das Aussenkommando Bremen-Farge," in *Hortensien in Farge. Überleben im Bunker "Valentin,"* by Raymond Portefaix, André Migdal, and Klaas Touber, (Bremen, 1995), pp. 19–114.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Quarterly Report, Standortarztes, KZ Neuengamme, March 25, 1945, in StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
2. See USSBS, *Submarine Plant Report No. 7: Submarine Assembly Shelter at Farge* (New York, 1947).
3. Raymond Portefaix, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Das Aussenkommando Bremen-Farge," in *Hortensien in Farge. Überleben im Bunker "Valentin,"* by Raymond Portefaix, André Migdal, and Klaas Touber (Bremen, 1995).
4. Ibid., p. 24.
5. Sunday talk with Lucien Hirth on November 24, 1996, AG-NG, N.g.2.8/1243; interview with Josef Smejkal, May 1, 1997, ibid., N.g.2.8/303.
6. Portefaix, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit," p. 57.
7. Ibid., p. 64.
8. Ibid., p. 29.
9. Proceedings of JAG, Nr. 295. A copy of the proceedings and the judgment, which resulted in seven of the accused being sentenced to prison, is held in BA-K, Alliierte Neuengamme Prozesse 8, FC 2877 FXb. The original investigation files are held by PRO.
10. Copies of the Bremen Sta. investigation files are in BA-L, ZdL Ludwigsburg, IV 404 AR 608/67.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

BREMEN-NEUENLAND [AKA BREMEN-KRIEGSMARINE]

The Bremen-Neuenland subcamp, situated close to the Bremen airport, most likely existed from the middle of August to the end of November 1944. The prisoners, who were used to construct the U-boat bunker "Hornisse," named the detachment Bremen-Kriegsmarine, after the organization that used their labor. The first detachment consisted of 1,000 men, who were gathered together on August 15, 1944, in Block 9 of the Neuengamme concentration camp. On August 16 the detachment was transported to Bremen.

The Neuenland camp had existed for some period of time, being used for prisoners of war (POWs). However, when the concentration camp prisoners arrived, the camp was empty. The day after their arrival the prisoners were set to work. The route to work that the prisoners had to cover was about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) long and led through several Bremen suburbs. Usually they were taken by truck. So far as is known, just about all of the prisoners were used to construct the U-boat bunker Hornisse. The construction of the bunker was undertaken at the request of the navy but occurred in close cooperation with the Bremen shipyard Deschimag AG, part of the Krupp Group. However, it was the construction firms that were responsible for the work and distribution of the prisoners. There are two documents that have survived concerning the prisoners' labor. These, together with survivors' reports,[1] are the main sources that are used to establish a rudimentary history of the Neuenland camp. One is a list of work accidents at Hornisse between September 15, 1944, and March 22, 1945. The other is a list of work done at Hornisse from September 8, 1944, to April 4, 1945.[2] The lists show that the majority of prisoners in the first transport were French and Soviet prisoners, who had Neuengamme prisoner numbers between 36000 and 42000. The French were those who were sent by the transports on July 15 and July 28, 1944, from Compiègne to Neuengamme. According to a French prisoner, the Soviet prisoners in the majority had been seized by the Germans for labor and taken to work in the northern French coal region. Here they were arrested by the Gestapo for sabotage and taken to Neuengamme. There were also a few Belgian, Spanish, and Italian prisoners in Neuenland.

The camp commandant was SS-Obersturmführer Hugo Benedict, who was also the Stützpunktleiter (base commander) of all Neuengamme Bremen subcamps. According to one prisoner report, he was not noted for his brutality toward prisoners and at times even stopped the violent acts committed by the camp elder and the Kapos. The Rapportführer was an Oberfeldwebel der Marine, who is also said to have treated the prisoners properly. The guards were infantry soldiers and naval reservists. The highest positions in the prisoner hierarchy were German prisoners with *befristete Vorbeugungshäftlinge* (BV, or Green, the color of their identifying triangle). The camp elder was Hans Rohl, who is said to have been predisposed to violence. At the end of the war, he is thought to have been condemned to death by a French court in Rastatt. The closest confidants of the camp elder were other German BVs with relatively low prisoner numbers. As Kapos they were in charge of the largest work detachments and included Lubitz (prisoner number 3273), Kraus (13519), Werner (13955), and Kiebach (26284). There were also Polish Kapos who appear to have been chosen for the role because they hated the two largest national groupings, the French and Soviets. On the other hand, the two camp doctors, a Pole and a Soviet, are seen in a very positive light.

Those in charge of the use of the prisoner labor in constructing the U-boat bunker separated the prisoners at the site into small groups every day. The Kapos in charge recorded the prisoner numbers and handed the detachment over to a foreman. The majority of foremen are thought to have been foreign polishers, the majority of whom were Dutch. Both prisoner reports and the work lists suggest that the composition and strength of each detachment changed daily. It is therefore probable that the concentration camp prisoners were primarily used for the heavy manual labor where there was little need for direction. That labor was mostly carrying building material. Civilian laborers and POWs also worked on the construction site. The concentration camp prisoners were well guarded so that it was rarely possible for them to make contact with the other workers. This was only possible during the air-raid alarms.

Compared to other construction subcamps, the death rate appears to have been relatively low. There are 90 known deaths for the Neuenland subcamp and the Osterort subcamp, where the prisoners were transferred in November 1944. The majority of deaths occurred in the Osterort subcamp.[3] A detailed French prisoner's report states that there were only 2 deaths among the French prisoners during the period of the Neuenland camp. The French comprised approximately half of the detachment. On the other hand, there were frequent work accidents where the prisoners were often severely injured. On average, there was an accident every three days. In the majority of cases, the injuries were bruises and contusions that in some instances were so severe that the prisoners had to be taken to the hospital. The following case will serve as an example: "At 2:00 p.m. Prisoner F39367 slipped while carrying an iron beam and suffered a contusion to the back of his head."[4]

The majority of accident reports, as with this example, were not dramatic. However, it needs to be recalled that accidents such as these would not have occurred as frequently to well-nourished and -rested workers. Injuries such as these could have serious consequences, including loss of food rations that would exacerbate the malnourishment. There is no recorded case of this in Neuenland. However, there were accidents, which appear to have been much more serious in the reports: "At 9:30 a.m. Prisoner R41732 received an open head wound from a drilling machine." The climax in the series of accidents occurred on September 25, 1944, when the side of a

railway wagon, overloaded with prisoners, broke open, and the prisoners fell out of the moving train; 62 prisoners were injured in this accident. In October, a Naval Oberstabarzt inspected the camp following a report by a prisoner about the high number of cases of blood poisoning and contusions in the sick bay. In the following days, there appears to have been an improvement in the distribution of medicines.

One question remains difficult to answer: there were around 1,000 prisoners in the camp. However, the work lists refer to between 380 and 500 prisoners working on the construction of the U-boat bunker Hornisse. Where were the other prisoners who were not in the camp or the sick bay? One possibility, referred to in prisoner accounts, is that they were used in Bremen to remove the rubble caused by the frequent bombing raids. This is possible, as in June 1944, the SS-Baubrigade II, previously used for this task, was pulled out of Bremen. Other possibilities include working at the aircraft factory Weserflug or the shipyard Deschimag AG.[5]

At the end of October, around a thousand prisoners from the Bremen Borgward-Werke subcamp, whose barracks had burned down, were transferred to Neuenland. These prisoners, mostly Polish political prisoners, stayed here for two days before they were transported to the Neuengamme main camp. During the short period they were there, the Polish Borgward prisoners told the French prisoners about Auschwitz. This was the first time the French prisoners had heard about Auschwitz. At the beginning of November, five French priests from the detachment were transferred to the Dachau concentration camp. The Neuenland camp was evacuated on November 28, and the whole detachment was transferred to the new Bremen-Osterort camp.

SOURCES Just about all of the primary information comes from former prisoners' statements, especially the reports by French survivors listed as AG-NG, ANg 2.8/154 and 2.8/1257. The majority of this essay is based on an evaluation of both reports. Other information regarding the work lists as well as the sick reports of prisoners who worked on the construction of the U- boat bunker "Hornisse" is held in AG-NG. Another source is the record of an interview of the operational director of the Norddeutsche Hütte held in the StA-N.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-NG, ANg, 2.8/154 and 2.8/1257.
2. Both files are held in AG-NG, Best. 6.4.15 (Hornisse/Riespott).
3. AG-NG, Databank.
4. AG-NG, ANg, 6.4.15.
5. The use of concentration camp prisoners at Weser-flug and Deschimag is mentioned in the examination by the Allies of the operational director of the Norddeutsche Hütte, Otto Hofmann; see StA-N, KV-Anklage, NIK-9207.

BREMEN-OBERNHEIDE

Bremen-Obernheide operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from late September 1944 until early April 1945. During this period of time, it held only female prisoners. The camp was located on the edge of Bremen, directly on Obernheider Strasse in the Obernheide district of the Lower Saxon community of Stuhr.

Shortly before the outbreak of the war, the Organisation Todt (OT) had constructed the barracks camp in the meadows of Hans Katerkamp, an Obernheide farmer. At first, the camp accommodated only German workers who assisted in the construction of the Autobahn. After the outbreak of war, the Luftwaffe took over the camp and in turn, at the end of 1940, put it at the disposal of the city of Bremen to quarter German and foreign construction workers. They were deployed in the Bremen city area to construct bunkers and shelters for the civilian population. In 1941, the German Labor Front (DAF) assumed control of the camp. In January 1942, it was temporarily closed, until French prisoners of war (POWs) arrived in Obernheide at the end of the year. They were deployed clearing debris from air raids in Bremen and remained in Obernheide until late April 1944. Other than for occasional use, the camp then remained empty until female prisoners arrived from Neuengamme around the end of September 1944.

The camp consisted of three accommodation barracks, a guard barracks, a latrine, and an infirmary. In addition, accommodation and administration barracks for the SS camp personnel were located outside the camp fence.

The female prisoners arrived from Bremen (Hindenburgkaserne), another women's subcamp of Neuengamme, at the Bremen-Obernheide camp on the evening of September 26, 1944. The female prisoners had to be transferred to the empty barracks at Obernheide since the Hindenburgkaserne camp had been completely destroyed during an Allied air raid on the same day. On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster reported the event in a letter to Max Pauly, commander of Neuengamme: "The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt has probably already reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp on the same day."[1]

The 800 female prisoners in Obernheide consisted of 500 Hungarian and 300 Polish Jewish women. Prior to their internment at Hindenburgkaserne, the Hungarian women had been expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944, held in various ghettos in Hungary, and then deported from there to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of these Jewish women were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp, where they were selected for work in Bremen. The Jewish women from Poland, then again, probably arrived in Bremen in late August 1944. Since the beginning of 1940, some of them had been in the Łódź ghetto, where they worked as forced laborers until the ghetto's liquidation in the summer of

1944. From Łódź, the women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen.

Although the city of Bremen had requisitioned the Jewish women from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the construction of emergency accommodations, most of them were deployed to remove debris in Bremen. Former inmate Lily Kertesz recalls:

> The city was bombed almost daily. An ever increasing part of the city was turned into an uninhabitable desert of rubble. . . . Large placards warned: "Entering the ruins is perilous and prohibited!" These warnings and prohibitions, however, did not apply to us. We were ordered to search out and remove bricks from the ruins. It was very dangerous. A wall collapsed here, a wall collapsed there. The rain softened the mortar, and in a strong wind, the walls collapsed as if nothing had ever held them together. An especially violent storm raged one day. The guards and foremen had taken off, while we had to continue working. Suddenly a wall collapsed. With a deafening sound the walls smashed everything that stood in their way. Dust whirled upward. We could no longer see anything. Our eyes, mouths and noses were full of dust; we coughed and sneezed. Screams and cries for help came from all sides. Some of us were injured; one was dead.[2]

The women worked for a number of demolition and construction firms: Abbruch- und Verschrottungsunternehmen Karl Gesselmann (Karl Gesselmann Demolition and Scrap), Baugeschäft und Abbruchunternehmen Hermann Bödecker (Hermann Bödecker Construction and Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Heinrich Ebeling (Heinrich Ebeling Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Kirbitz & Breiter (Kirbitz & Breiter Demolition), Strassenbau- und Tiefbaugeschäft Stehmeyer & Bischoff (Stehmeyer & Bischoff Road Construction and Civil Engineering), Baugeschäft Joh. Heitmann (Joh. Heitmann Construction), Bauunternehmen Friedrich Rodieck (Friedrich Rodieck Construction), Bauunternehmen Dietrich Rohlfs (Dietrich Rohlfs Construction), Unternehmen Siemer & Müller (Siemer & Müller Enterprise), and Betonsteinwerk Lüning & Sohn (Lüning & Sohn Concrete). All these private building and demolition companies leased women as laborers from the city of Bremen, which in turn requisitioned them from the WVHA. The companies had to recompense the Bremen senator for construction for the prisoners' working hours.

Those prisoners deployed to construct emergency accommodations mainly had to level the ground on the different building sites, transport the building materials on lorries to the building sites, pour the foundations, or assist in the construction of buildings. Other women worked for Lüning & Sohn, manufacturing precast concrete parts. Those prisoners deployed for the removal of debris from daily air raids removed countless bricks, heavy beams, and broken windows from the city.

The only camp leader (Lagerleiter) of the female subcamp in Obernheide was Johann Hille, who was born in Tellingstedt on December 8, 1890. After elementary schooling, he worked as a laborer. He had joined the Nazi party (NSDAP) as early as June 2, 1929, but left the party again on February 1, 1930, rejoining it two years later on March 1, 1932. Following the Nazi seizure of power, he joined the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). As a guard at Neuengamme, he was promoted to Oberscharführer on September 1, 1941, and Hauptscharführer on November 1, 1943. In September 1944 he ended his guard duties at the Neuengamme main camp and took command of the Obernheide women's camp.

In addition to the camp leader, an unknown number of former Luftwaffe soldiers were responsible for guard duty outside the camp, alongside some 20 female guards who did internal guard duty. One of these guards was Gertrud Heise, who was born in Berlin on July 23, 1921. From October 1942 onward, she was in the service of the SS. Deployed at the Ravensbrück concentration camp until March 1943, she was then transferred to Lublin-Majdanek, where she managed the prisoners' and SS kitchens, remaining there until April 1944. From Majdanek she was transferred in April 1944 to Krakau-Plaszow, where she worked until September 1944, followed by a one-month assignment in Auschwitz. Thereupon, Heise was transferred to the Obernheide women's subcamp in October 1944, where she was a so-called commando leader (Kommandoführerin), in charge of cleanliness, order, and maintaining discipline in the camp. Following the dissolution of the Bremen camp at the beginning of April 1945, Heise was transferred to the Hamburg-Eidelstedt camp, where she remained until her discharge. She was arrested by British military police on June 11, 1945, and sentenced to 15 years, imprisonment at the end of May 1946 for maltreating concentration camp prisoners. The sentence was reduced to 7 years in August 1946.

The Bremen-Obernheide camp was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. The women were transferred on foot, by truck, and by train to Bergen-Belsen, where they most likely arrived on April 8 or 9, 1945. Those who managed to survive the conditions in the "receiving camp" were liberated by English troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This article is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Obernheide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/1945* (Bremen: Donat, 1988). Today, a memorial and various commemorative plaques at Obernheider Strasse, Obernheide (community of Stuhr), commemorate this women's subcamp of Neuengamme.

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. Hans Ellger conducted several interviews with former inmates. Lilly Kertesz published her recollections: Lilly Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999). Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. Documents relating, among others, to the use of the camp barracks before the arrival of the Jewish women and the transfer of the prisoners are located at the StA-Br. These rec-

ords also contain information about the camp leader Johann Hille. Documents relating to Getrud Heise are located in British trial records in the BA-K.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Pauly vom 11.10.1944, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Binder No. 66.

2. Lilly Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999), p. 114.

BREMEN-OSTERORT [AKA BREMEN-RIESPOTT, BREMEN-KRIEGSMARINE]

The Bremen-Osterort camp became a Neuengamme subcamp on November 28, 1944. On that day all the prisoners at the Bremen-Neuenland subcamp—probably fewer than 1,000—were transferred to Osterort. The conditions in the Osterort camp in many respects resembled those in the previous camp: the commandant, camp elder, and Kapos were largely the same, and the majority of the prisoners continued to work at the U-boat bunker Hornisse, while others worked in removing rubble or possibly at the Weserflug or Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag).

There were several reasons for the transfer from Neuenland to Osterort, the most important being that the distance the prisoners traveled to work decreased, and the route no longer passed through a densely populated part of the city. Some prisoners were now working at the Norddeutsche Hütte, which owned the campsite. The existing barracks had been previously used as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.[1] The Norddeutsche Hütte was part of the Krupp conglomerate and operated several high-temperature ovens, a vanadium operation, and a cement factory. The company director from 1935 to 1945 was Otto Hofmann, who had been a member of the Nazi Party since 1931 and later a Nazi Ortsgruppenleiter.[2]

With the transfer of the camp, a work detachment was established of around 50 concentration camp prisoners who worked in the tailings operation of the conglomerate. The company transferred operational control to engineer Strieder's department.[3] A French prisoner had the following to say about the detachment: "The men did not report to a 'Hütte' foreman but a Kapo, who was usually a political prisoner. His sadism was given a free reign. Just as the midday soup was the most nourishing received by the prisoners, the work site was the most feared."[4] A French Kapo named Muller is remembered by survivors of the tailings detachment for his violence. It is believed that he was sentenced to death after the war by a French court but that he was later pardoned.

In general, it would seem that conditions for the prisoners deteriorated with the transfer to Osterort. In the evenings, the exhausted prisoners were tortured with sport exercises. Roll calls were longer, and during air raids, the guards drove the prisoners during the night into a bunker in which there were 30 centimeters (almost a foot) of water. The prisoners had built their own radio, and the news broadcast by the BBC in December 1944 on the German counteroffensive at the Ardennes had a shattering effect on the prisoners.

As the situation worsened, so did the death rate in the Osterort camp. Hardly any prisoners had died in the Neuenland camp. In Osterort, prisoners were dying each day. "The corpses were carried by the prisoners' comrades into a small building, next to the washroom, which served as a mortuary. Now and then, in the early morning a driver would appear with a four-wheeled cart, something similar to a manure cart, and took the corpses away. One day he took away seventeen at one go."[5] As a result of the prisoners' increasing weakness, the first and only transport of such prisoners took place on January 11, 1945. Around 100 so-called Muslims (Muselmänner—men too weak to work) were taken back to the Neuengamme main camp by train. Of the approximately 50 French prisoners on the train, only 3 survived the end of the war.

These prisoners were replaced at the end of January by a transport of 100 prisoners from the Farge subcamp. "The group was under the control of Kapos whose extreme brutality surprised us. One of them, called 'Typhus,' was particularly sadistic. Life in Bremen-Osterort became even harder than ever."[6] In February, a convalescence block *(Schonungsblock)* was set up, but this did little to stop the death rate. The end of the subcamp began with the Allied air raid on Bremen on March 30, 1945. During the bombardment, the Norddeutsche Hütte was heavily attacked. Two bombs fell close to the Osterort camp, killing one of the guards. The U-boat bunker Hornisse was heavily damaged and was made practically useless. Nevertheless, the prisoners continued to work at the bunker until April 4.[7] The majority of the prisoners in the last days worked on repairing the Adolf Hitler Bridge as well as the railway bridge across the Weser River.

The evacuation of the Bremen-Osterort camp began on April 6, 1945. A report of the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt on March 25, 1945, refers to 869 prisoners in the camp.[8] The detachment was divided into two groups on April 6: Muselmänner and prisoners who were seen as capable of working. The Muselmänner were transported on April 6 to the Bremen-Farge subcamp, where they were crammed into a train with Muselmänner from other detachments. The train traveled back and forth for a week between Bremen, Hamburg, and Hannover, finally coming to a halt on April 13 at the Bremervörde station. From here the prisoners were taken to the Sandbostel camp. Those in the group of workers left Osterort by foot for Farge on April 9. They marched with the majority of other prisoners who had been sent to Farge, in the direction of Neuengamme. It seems that in Bremervörde the march was divided: prisoners weakened by the march were taken to the Sandbostel camp, while the large majority was transported to Neuengamme.[9]

If one attempts to estimate the mortality in the camp, one must consider that the detachment consisted of 1,000 prisoners when it arrived in Bremen-Neuenland, of whom around 10 prisoners died before the transfer to Osterort. That means that of the approximately 990 prisoners who arrived at Osterort on November 28, 1944, 120 died in the camp up to March 25, 1945.[10] A further 100 other prisoners, who are not included in that group because they were replaced by other prisoners, were taken in January to Neuengamme as Muselmänner. If one accepts figures provided for the French group, then at least 90 percent of them were dead by the end of the war. It would seem that in the six months of the camp's existence until its evacuation, every fifth prisoner in Osterort died. These numbers do not include those who died on the evacuation marches or on the ships in the Neustädter Bucht.

SOURCES On the evacuation of this and other Neuengamme subcamps, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:21.

Just about all the information represented here is based on statements of former prisoners. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. There are further sources including the work details lists and prisoner sick reports for those who were working at the U-boat bunker Hornisse. They are likewise held in AG-NG. Another source is the interrogation of the operations director at the Norddeutsche Hütte, which is held in the StA-N. Published reports about this camp may be found in Kollegengruppe der Klöckner-Hütte Bremen, ed., *Riespott: KZ an der Norddeutschen Hütte; Berichte, Dokumente und Erinnerungen über Zwangsarbeit 1935-45* (Bremen, 1984).

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hans Schröder report in Kollegengruppe der Klöckner-Hütte Bremen, ed., *Riespott: KZ an der Norddeutschen Hütte; Berichte, Dokumente und Erinnerungen über Zwangsarbeit 1935–45* (Bremen, 1984), p. 54.
2. Hofmann was interned by the Allies at the end of war and questioned as part of the pretrial proceedings against the Krupp Conglomerate about the use of concentration camp prisoners; see StA-N, KV-Anklage, NIK-9207 und KV-Anklage, Interrogations, H 172.
3. Hofmann interview.
4. Statement by P.B., AG-NG, 2.8/154. The extensive report is a central source for the history of the Neuenland camp as well as the Osterort camp. As the majority of this essay is based on this report, it will not be referred to hereafter.
5. P.B. report.
6. Ibid.
7. Arbeitseinsatzlisten "Hornisse" vom 8. September 1944 bis 4. April 1945, AG-NG, Bestand 6.4.15.
8. Vierteljährige Bericht vom 29. März 1945, StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
9. P.B. report.
10. To date, the names of 99 prisoners who died in Osterort or Neuenland have been identified; see AG-NG, Datenbank.

BREMEN-SCHÜTZENHOF [AKA BREMEN-*DESCHIMAG*]

The Schützenhof camp was one of the last Neuengamme subcamps to be established. The first transport of concentration camp prisoners arrived at Bremen-Schützenhof late in December 1944. All the prisoners were sent from the Bremen-Blumenthal camp. There they had worked for the Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag) shipyards, which was part of the Krupp company. To reach the shipyards, the prisoners had to travel for two and a half hours by boat along the Weser from Blumenthal. As the journey was becoming ever more difficult and dangerous due to the increasing bombing raids, it was decided to relocate the prisoners closer to the shipyard.

The camp was located in the barracks of a shooting club in the Bremen suburb of Gröpelingen, which was where the shipyard was located. There were four barracks that were used to accommodate the prisoners. There was, in addition, a kitchen barracks, an infirmary, and barracks where the prisoners could wash themselves. When the prisoners arrived, the barracks were in good condition, and the beds were described as being comparatively comfortable. On the other hand, it seems that the lack of food in the camp and the cold meant that the prisoners began to deteriorate rapidly, which in turn meant that within a very short period of time sanitary conditions in the camp became catastrophic. From the beginning there was no flowing water in the camp and no heating. In addition, the windows were nailed shut.

The advantage of the camp was that the prisoners had to rise each day at 6:00 A.M. instead of 4:30 A.M., as the camp was close to where they worked. Miroslav Tamchyna worked in the grenade turning mill. Heinz Rosenberg wrote the following: "Kurt and I worked in a department on ventilators."[1] The statements suggest that the concentration camp prisoners worked in particular departments of the shipyard.[2] One of the remaining pages of the camp's asset register lists the prisoners as mechanics. Other trades listed include welders, carpenters, and electricians.[3] The prisoners had direct contact with German shipyard workers when they were at work. The German workers reacted in a number of different ways. Rosenberg writes the following: "Many of the German foremen were very nice. Some of them gave us every now and then a piece of beet. Others wrote down the numbers and the punishments in the . . . Schützenhof were . . . very bad."[4] Czech prisoner Tamchyna stated that at his workstation he would roll cigarettes and in exchange would receive half a loaf of bread from the German workers.[5]

In January 1945, there were repeated air raids on the shipyard. Increasingly, the German foremen failed to appear at

work, and a large part of the facility was damaged. As a result, the prisoners ceased working at the shipyard: "Regular work ceased at the end of January. We were forced to clean up but under strict security. . . . A large yellow cross was painted on our striped prisoner uniforms so that anyone could recognize us."[6] It would seem that it was above all the Jewish prisoners who were used to clean up the bomb rubble. Tamchyna, on the other hand, continued to work in the grenade turning mill at the shipyard until the evacuation.[7] During an air raid in January, defenseless prisoners, who had been locked in their barracks, had to witness the bombs falling on the camp. They were lucky—it was only the SS kitchen barracks that was destroyed.

Hardly anything is known about the guards. Rosenberg mentions only that the camp's security changed little and that the camp commandant was an SS-Oberscharführer from the Blumenthal camp. Whether it was SS-Oberscharführer Richard-Johann vom Endt, the camp commandant from Blumenthal, or whether, after the evacuation of the Schützenhof group, Endt was transferred to Blumenthal is not known. It is thought most likely that a handful of SS men and a few naval infantrymen from the Blumenthal camp accompanied the prisoners to the Schützenhof camp.

The sources suggest that there were four large prisoner groups. There were prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, and Belgium, and Jews from a number of different countries. The Jewish prisoners stood at the bottom of the hierarchy and had no chance of being appointed to the higher functionary posts. It would seem that shortly after the camp was opened, there were around 1,000 prisoners in the camp. The large majority were the prisoners from Blumenthal. However, at the end of December, a prisoner transport arrived from the main camp. Rosenberg, writing from the perspective of a Jewish prisoner, wrote mostly about the Russian and Polish Kapos: "The antisemitism or the hatred of the Poles and Russians toward the Jews was terrible."[8]

However, something extraordinary happened on New Year's Day. Rosenberg writes: "We were told on January 1, 1945, to expect an SS-Oberscharführer. He arrived and made the following speech: 'Prisoners—don't imagine the war is over. We will show the world that Hitler will win this war. But if we lose there will be plenty of time to deal with you. Every prisoner is now to receive a cigarette and an extra slice of bread and can send a postcard home.' That was something new. Was the Oberscharführer fearful of the future . . . ? We did not know; but we had to do squats for a quarter of an hour and were then chased around the yard until most of us dropped from exhaustion, unable to go on."[9] Rosenberg used the free afternoon to send a postcard to his Christian half-Jewish relatives. He asked for toothbrushes and toothpaste. "Four weeks later a small packet really did arrive . . . with toothbrushes and toothpaste. And with something else—bread and a cookie. The only thing was that there was no letter, nothing."[10] This would have been one of the few packets that a Jewish prisoner in a concentration camp would have received in 1945.

In April 1945, the camp was evacuated. According to the Neuengamme SS-Standordarzt, there were 582 prisoners in Bremen-Schützenhof on March 25, 1945. Rosenberg, on the other hand, states that there were only around 300 prisoners alive when the camp was evacuated. The evacuation train, which left the camp at the beginning of April, took the prisoners to their old camp in Bremen-Blumenthal. "After half a day, we, the Jewish prisoners, had to gather together. . . . There were only about one hundred of us left. There were around fifty Jews from other camps. . . . We were taken to two grain wagons, pushed in and the iron doors were closed behind us. . . . This was the worst of all the transports. There was nothing to eat and nothing to drink. It rained and it was cold. Illness and death traveled with us."[11] The transport finally reached its destination, the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Rosenberg was one of the few Jewish prisoners to survive the Bremen subcamp. The remaining prisoners from the Schützenhof camp were transported from Blumenthal to Farge, from where they set out on a large death march. The prisoners either reached Sandbostel or the Neustadt Bucht by boat. Many died during the march.[12]

The death rate in Bremen-Schützenhof appears to have been relatively high. This is particularly so when compared with Bremen-Blumenthal. Here the prisoners speak of extreme brutality. Nevertheless, in the Blumenthal camp there were 123 documented deaths, whereas for the Schützenhof camp, which existed for half the time, there were 268 documented deaths.[13] A possible explanation is the fact that some of the prisoners, in particular the Jewish prisoners, from January on worked in the open air on bomb disposal squads, where they were exposed to the elements. On the other hand, the Blumenthal prisoners worked inside factory buildings.

SOURCES On the evacuation of the camp, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:25.

Just about all the primary information is from former prisoners. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. The most important are the memoirs of Heinz Rosenberg, which have been published as *Jahre des Schreckens . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage* (Göttingen, 1992)—pp. 137–141, which concern Schützenhof. Another important source is the Register of Deaths at the Bremen Riensberg Cemetery.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage* (Göttingen, 1992), p. 131. In addition there is held in AG-NG an interview with Heinz Rosenberg, AG-NG, OH-Projekt 1586. As all statements on the Schützenhof camp are based on the same two sources, I have refrained from constantly repeating them and only referred to the pages from which quotations are taken. Less reliable is the video interview with Czech prisoner Miroslav Tamchyna, AG-NG, Video 1997/0093 (27 minutes).

2. The local memorial committee suspects that the prisoners were deployed on the construction of the U-boat bunker "Hornisse." The fact that Rosenberg, Tamchyna, and other concentration camp prisoners do not refer to the bunker, but rather to Neuenland, suggests the committee is wrong.

3. AG-NG, 6.4.17 (Aussenlager Deschimag).

4. Heinz Rosenberg interview, p. 40.

5. Video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

6. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 139.

7. Video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

8. Interview with Heinz Rosenberg, p. 40.

9. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 138.

10. Interview with Heinz Rosenberg, p. 42.

11. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 140.

12. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:25. Miroslav Tamchyna survived the sinking of the *Cap Arcona*. He writes that around a quarter of the prisoners died during the evacuation march. See video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

13. Datenbank, AG-NG.

BREMEN-UPHUSEN (BEHELFSWOHNBAU)

The small barrack camp at Bremen-Uphusen existed as a Neuengamme subcamp from February 1945 until early April 1945. It was a camp exclusively for female prisoners. The camp was located on Bruchweg, a small side street off Uphuser Heerstrasse at the edge of Uphusen.

On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster, who worked with the Bremen senator for construction, suggested the establishment of the subcamp in a letter to Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme. At the time, Köster wanted to transfer some of the prisoners from the subcamp in Bremen-Obernheide to Uphusen, thereby decreasing the prisoners' commuting distance to their workplace. He wrote:

> The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt probably already has reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp [this refers to the Bremen-Obernheide camp] on the same day. Unfortunately, this is located far away on the edge of the city. Considering the current shortage of vehicles and fuel, it has become almost impossible to transfer the prisoners to their work sites, apart from the loss of valuable work time regrettably arising from the huge distance the prisoners need to travel. The following female prisoners are engaged in constructing prefabricated parts for emergency housing: 50 at the Lüning company in Hemelingen; 80 at the Rodieck company in Uphusen. Moreover, as of Monday, October 16, 1944, 100 women will be deployed in Üsen near Achim to level the ground and lay the foundations for 100 emergency homes. The distance from the Obernheide subcamp to Hemelingen is 26 km [16 miles], to Uphusen, 29 km [18 miles], and 33 km [20.5 miles] to Üsen. Because the route is through the entire city, truck commuting time alone takes up to one hour.
>
> I managed to obtain a barrack to accommodate some 200 prisoners near the Rodieck factory grounds. Requirements set forth by the SS for surveillance and security will be fulfilled. I shall arrange that other necessary work will be done. After inspecting the work sites, Obersturmführer Benedikt also examined the prisoners' accommodation and the premises and will be able to offer more details on the practicality of my proposal. I request your consent that a branch camp of the Obernheide subcamp be established here in Uphusen for 200 prisoners. I would be very grateful if you comply with my wishes in view of the serious difficulties that transportation now poses.[1]

On October 18, 1944, Pauly approved the establishment of a subcamp in a letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster, provided that "accommodation and security requirements are met."[2] Construction began on November 15, 1944. The subcamp, a long stone barrack surrounded by a high fence, was completed in early February 1945.

As a note to the file by Köster indicates, 100 female prisoners, all Hungarian and Polish Jewish women, as well as five guards, were transferred from the Obernheide subcamp to Uphusen on February 7, 1945.[3] Before their arrival in Bremen in August 1944, they had been driven from their homes, incarcerated in various ghettos in the country, and deported to Auschwitz. At Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of them were held in the C Camp, the so-called transit camp, where they were selected for work in Bremen. The Jewish women from Poland, then again, probably arrived in Bremen in late August 1944. Since the beginning of 1940, some of them had been in the Łódź ghetto, where they worked as forced laborers until the ghetto's liquidation in the summer of 1944. From Łódź, the women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen.

As Köster mentions in the letter cited above, the Jewish women in Uphusen were deployed solely to erect emergency housing and produce prefabricated building components, hence the name Behelfswohnbau. The construction companies Friedrich Rodieck, Lüning & Sohn, and Diedrich Rohlfs employed the women. Most of the women worked for Rodieck, where they had to pour concrete blocks and make prefabricated building slabs for emergency housing. Similarly, the Jewish prisoners at Lüning & Sohn mainly produced prefabricated concrete components. At the construction sites of the Rohlfs construction company, the women had to level the

building ground, transport the construction material on flatbed carts to the work sites, pour foundations, or assist in constructing emergency housing.

Even though Uphusen was a branch camp of the Bremen-Obernheide subcamp, it remains uncertain whether Johann Hille, the camp leader (Lagerleiter) at Obernheide, was also in charge of Uphusen.

Just as the identity of the commandant of the Uphusen subcamp is unknown, no information is available on the five guards Köster mentions in his note to the file.

The Uphusen camp was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. Partly on foot, by truck, and by train, the female prisoners from both Uphusen and Obernheide were transported to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived on April 8 or 9, 1945. Those who managed to survive the conditions in the "receiving camp" were liberated by British troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This description of the Uphusen camp is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Obernheide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/1945* (Bremen: Donat, 1988).

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. The author conducted several interviews with former inmates. Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. Documents on the construction of the camp barracks as well as reports about the prisoner transfer are held in the StA-Br. These files also contain information on Johann Hille.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen vom 11. Oktober 1944 an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Pauly, Hamburg-Neuengamme, StA-Br, 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.
2. Schreiben des SS-Sturmbannführer und Kommandant Max Pauly vom 18. Oktober 1944 an den Oberregierungsrat Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.
3. Aktenvermerk ohne Datum, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.

BREMEN-VEGESACK

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in the Vegesack district of Bremen from July 1944 to September 1944. As in other subcamps attached to Neuengamme, the inmates deported to Bremen-Vegesack were used as laborers to clear rubble from bombed-out areas of the city. In Vegesack, the inmates' demolition of partially destroyed buildings may have cleared space for the construction of temporary housing for displaced residents (*Ersatzwohnungen*).

As many as 500 female inmates were deported to the Bremen-Vegesack satellite camp, although it is unclear where they were originally from. Most female inmates were deported directly to Neuengamme subcamps from other camps, such as Auschwitz II-Birkenau, rather than first to the main camp. These women may have been Polish Jews selected for work in Auschwitz and deported to Bremen in August 1944.[1]

In September 1944, the Vegesack inmates were most likely transferred to another Neuengamme subcamp in Bremen-Obernheide, located on the edge of Bremen on Obernheide Strasse. Various firms employed these women in construction and clearing.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Bremen-Vegesack. Secondary literature that contains brief information on the existence of the camp includes Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982); and Bogdan Suchowiak, *Die Tragödie der Häftlinge von Neuengamme* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1985). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Bremen-Vegesack entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979).

Primary documentation that offers details on the Bremen-Vegesack camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG, which contains many witness reports from former prisoners, may yield additional information about this camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See Neuengamme/Bremen-Obernheide.

DARSS-WIECK

The first subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created on the Darss peninsula near the Baltic Sea. A detachment of 50 male inmates was deported to Darss-Wieck in January 1941. They were forced to cut reeds, which were collected and sent to the SS-Weaving Contingent (Rohrmattenflechterei) in the women's camp at Ravensbrück. The 50 male inmates were most likely Jehovah's Witnesses who had been deported to the Neuengamme camp from Gestapo prisons and other concentration camps, such as Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. They were used in Darss-Wieck for reed cultivation until late February 1941. These inmates were most likely deployed again from Neuengamme to Darss-Zingst later that same year in December 1941.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Darss-Wieck. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For an analysis of Jehovah's Witnesses in

the Neuengamme camp system, see Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1999), pp. 473–489.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Darss-Wieck camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DARSS-ZINGST

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was established in Zingst on the Darss peninsula near the Baltic Sea. A detachment of 50 male inmates was deported to Darss-Zingst in December 1941. They were forced to cut reeds, which were collected and sent to the SS-Weaving Contingent (Rohrmattenflechterei) in the women's camp at Ravensbrück. The 50 male inmates were most likely Jehovah's Witnesses who had been deported to the Neuengamme camp from Gestapo prisons and other concentration camps, such as Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. They were used in Darss-Zingst for reed cultivation until April 1942. These may have been the same inmates who were deployed from Neuengamme to Darss-Wieck in early 1941.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Darss-Zingst. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For an analysis of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Neuengamme camp system, see Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1999), pp. 473–489.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Darss-Zingst camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DRÜTTE

Drütte was a key Neuengamme subcamp in the Braunschweig/Salzgitter region, built to provide labor to the armaments manufacturer Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG). Planned expansion of the plant in 1942 necessitated more labor, so in a private meeting in September managing director Paul Pleiger obtained Heinrich Himmler's permission to use concentration camp prisoners.[1] On this basis, planning commenced for the first and largest Neuengamme subcamp, which was to house 2,577 prisoners. Monthly transports from November 1942 to May 1943 would ensure that the planned numbers were reached.[2]

The camp was established in the pithead bathing and dressing rooms (*Waschkauen*) on the Hochstrasse, one of the main roads inside the RWHG. It was originally known as Camp 27 and had been built in 1939 to hold around 1,000 Polish civilian laborers.

The first 50 prisoners and 10 guards from the Buchenwald concentration camp arrived at the Drütte subcamp on October 18, 1942. They took over the construction work on the main road. Each month transports arrived from the Neuengamme concentration camp. With the completion of the accommodation blocks in the spring of 1944, the camp population reached the goal of 2,600 prisoners. At the same time the construction of the new assembly factory and the technical building for *Aktion 88* (a program to produce 8.8 cm artillery shells) were completed.

The work was done in different areas: one group worked on the production of 7.5 cm and 10.5 cm shell bodies; another group, the Blockbrecher- und Blockputzerkommando (block breaking and cleaning detachment), worked at presses to break up the glowing steel blocks; and still others worked on the production line for Aktion 88. The prisoners worked in two 12-hours shifts but occasionally in three 8-hour shifts. From the summer of 1944 on, an average of 2,000 prisoners worked daily in Aktion 88.[3]

It was only in May 1944 that the SS and the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" concluded a contract regarding Drütte.[4] The RWHG paid the usual 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 4 RM per unskilled prisoner to the SS. The accommodations for the SS and prisoners were provided free of charge by RWHG, as was water, electricity, heating, and construction and cleaning of the barracks.

Food supplies were very poor in Drütte. The minimum quantities set for prisoners were often not reached. The food supply bore no correlation to the heavy labor. In the summer of 1944 the camp command attempted to increase the prisoners' output by introducing a bonus system.[5] It is not clear who distributed the bonus cards and whether there was in fact additional food in the canteen. According to former prisoners, it was possible, now and then, to exchange the bonus cards for a type of beet salad.[6]

In September 1944, the Reichsführer-SS allowed the camp strength to be increased to 3,150 prisoners. This was done on the basis of the official line that there were sufficient accommodation and beds. However, even before this permission was granted, Drütte was short of at least 600 beds.[7]

As the prisoner numbers increased, the standards of the living conditions declined. Between 600 and 800 men lived in each accommodation block on the Hochstrasse, sleeping in three-tiered bunk beds. There was a constant coming and going caused by the different shifts, which meant a great deal of noise. In addition, there were the factory sounds and the noise of cars and trucks on the Hochstrasse.

The average age of the 3,000 prisoners was around 20 years old. Most of them were Europeans and were classified as "political prisoners." In spite of their youth, they could only bear the heavy physical labor and poor nutrition for a short time. Many fell sick or were injured while carrying out their work, to which they were not accustomed.

Initially there were only 60 beds in the infirmary. When the camp was expanded, the infirmary was shifted and enlarged to around 150 to 180 beds. It became more difficult to

obtain access to the infirmary, as it was separated from the rest of the camp by a fence. The Neuengamme camp doctor was responsible for medical care. This responsibility was taken over in 1942 by Reichswerke medical doctor Dr. Edmund Schauf. Paul Michael, a tailor, was the SS medical orderly in the sick bay between May 1943 and April 1945. Treatment of the prisoners was undertaken by prisoner doctors.[8] The infirmary was inadequately equipped for the high number of sick prisoners. Often 2 prisoners shared a bed; there was no isolation bay and scarcely any medicines and bandages.[9] Officially, 682 prisoners died in Drütte through illnesses, accidents, and executions.[10]

During construction the camp commandants were SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Florstedt and SS-Obersturmführer Anton Thumann; from the end of 1942 to the middle of 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Georg-Heinrich Forster; from then until the spring of 1944, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Rautenberg; from then until March 1945, SS-Obersturmführer Arnold Strippel; and from then to the evacuation of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Wiedemann.[11]

The Drütte subcamp was evacuated three days before American troops reached the Salzgitter area. On April 7, 1945, all the prisoners were confined to barracks. It was only in the evening that they were loaded onto goods and cattle cars. The train was standing on a railway line behind the camp fence. The transport was to take all the concentration camp prisoners to Bergen-Belsen. At midday on April 8, 1945, the train halted at the Celle goods railway yard. Around 6:00 P.M. the air-raid sirens were heard, and several squadrons of the U.S. 9th Air Force bombed the railway goods yards. To the extent that they were able to, prisoners tried to escape, fleeing to a nearby forest, hiding in house entrances and in cellars. After the air raid the SS, Wehrmacht, Celle citizens, and Hitler Youth hunted down the prisoners. More than half of the 4,000 prisoners on the transport did not survive the bombing and the hunt that followed. Those who could march were driven by foot to Bergen-Belsen. The injured and weak were left behind in the former stables of the Heide barracks.

Those responsible for the Drütte concentration camp were tried between March 18 and April 2, 1947, in the Hamburg Curio-Haus by a British military court. Only seven men were tried for the mistreatment and killing of Allied citizens in the Drütte labor camp at the RWHG, even though many SS and factory employees had been investigated in the years preceding the trial. Only three of the accused were convicted.

Karl Hecht, who from December 1942 to May 1943 was Rapportführer in Drütte, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Karl Sokola, an SS guard, received six months, and Walter Mehnert, an engineer at the factory, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. The other accused were acquitted due to a lack of evidence.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Drütte subcamp is to be found in a number of publications, often in chapters focusing on a particular theme. To date, there is no comprehensive study on the camp. Gudrun Pischke has described the camp and its development in her book *"Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . ." Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995). Gerd Wysocki in his book *"Arbeit für den Krieg"—Herrschaftsmechanismen in der Rüstungsindustrie des Dritten Reiches* (Braunschweig, 1992) deals with the use of concentration camp prisoners in the armaments industry. The essay by Elke Zacharias deals with the evacuation of the camp: "Die Räumung der KZ Aussenlager in der Region Salzgitter/Braunschweig," which is included in a book published by the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial: *"Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung": Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945* (Hamburg, 2005). The author's book *Ein Ort mit Geschichte: Der "Ausländerfriedhof" Jammertal in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt* (Salzgitter, 2006) includes for the first time the names of all known Drütte concentration camp prisoners who died there. On the Celle air raid and the massacre of camp prisoners, see Mijndert Bertram, *April 1945: Der Luftangriff auf Celle und das Schicksal der KZ-Häftlinge aus Drütte* (Celle, 1989); and the author's "Wir dachten, die Befreiung sei ganz nah . . . ," in *Hasenjagd in Celle: Das Massaker am 8. April 1945* (Celle RWLE Möller Stiftung, 2005).

There are collections in various archives. The archives of the RWHG did not survive intact: there was a targeted destruction of files before the end of the war; in addition, those files that did survive were broken up when the company was privatized in the 1980s. In the BA-K, there are parts of the files from the Peine-Salzgitter AG, which also include files on Drütte. Of particular importance are the investigation and trial files on the third Drütte Trial, which are held in the PRO. Other files on the Drütte subcamp are scattered. There are some in NARA, and these were used in preparing the Nuremberg Trials. A comprehensive collection of interviews and memoirs is held in the archives of the AG-Dr and the AG-NG.

Elke Zacharias
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 2.10.1942.
2. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 29.9.1942.
3. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Forderungsnachweis.
4. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Vertrag vom 22.5.1944.
5. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Vorgaben für Prämienscheine.
6. AG-Dr, Interview Modrzejewski 1991.
7. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 29.9.1944.
8. PRO, WO 309/411.
9. Ibid.
10. StA Salzgitter, Friedhofskartei, AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
11. Gudrun Pischke, *"Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . ." Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995), p. 276.
12. PRO, WO 309/411.

DÜSSIN

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Düssin (Mecklenberg province) on September 15, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 80 male inmates were transferred to the Düssin camp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to be used as laborers. They performed various duties, including loading potatoes onto freight trains.

The Düssin camp existed until March 1, 1945, when the inmates were transferred to another Neuengamme subcamp located at Hamburg Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse). There they were employed in clearing rubble from bombed-out areas of Hamburg, reconstructing buildings, and burying corpses. The fate of the Düssin prisoners in particular is unknown; however, the camp at Spaldingstrasse was evacuated after an Allied air raid destroyed the camp on April 14, 1945. The inmates were transferred to the Sandbostel camp, where they were liberated by British and Canadian troops on April 19, 1945.[1]

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Düssin. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps; and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Düssin entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979). Finally, for the dates and path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme e.V., with contributions by Detlef Garber and Nina Holsten (Bremen, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Düssin camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See Neuengamme/Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse).

ENGERHAFE [AKA AURICH-ENGERHAFE]

The Neuengamme subcamp in Engerhafe was established in October 1944 and was located in the vicinity of the town of Aurich. The original Engerhafe barracks had been constructed in 1941 and had capacity for about 500 prisoners. In 1942, Organisation Todt (OT) employed foreign workers confined in the camp for the construction of air-raid bunkers in the nearby town of Emden. From early 1944 until October 1944, the camp remained empty. After the camp was incorporated into the Neuengamme camp system, a commando of about 400 to 500 inmates was transferred from Neuengamme to Engerhafe on October 21, 1944. The commando reconstructed and expanded the camp to prepare for the arrival of additional prisoners. The Engerhafe subcamp prisoners were to be used in the construction of the so-called Friesenwall, a set of fortifications ordered by Hitler in August 1944 and planned for the western border regions and the coast of the North Sea.

The original Engerhafe camp, which consisted of three barracks including a kitchen and wash area, was expanded in October 1944 with the arrival of the first prisoners from Neuengamme. The commando built four new watchtowers at the perimeter of the camp, constructed two additional large barracks, and surrounded the camp with barbed wire. One of the barracks was partitioned to form space for a prisoner infirmary. The barracks were overcrowded and unheated, and inmates sometimes had to sleep two to each bunk level. The sanitary conditions in Engerhafe were primitive. There were no toilets, only pits with benches built around them; these quickly overflowed. The prisoners had no change of clothing, and their thin garments and wooden shoes offered little protection against the weather or harsh working conditions.

During its two-month existence, some 2,000 inmates were incarcerated in the Engerhafe subcamp. In addition to the first transport of about 500 inmates, other transports from Neuengamme followed after the camp was expanded. Many of the prisoners had been incarcerated in other camps prior to Neuengamme, including Sachsenhausen and its subcamps, such as Berlin-Lichterfelde. The prisoners in Engerhafe were all men and were predominantly Polish. The second largest national group included about 200 Dutch inmates; on November 9 and 10, 1944, an unknown number of Dutch men were deported from the town of Putten to Neuengamme. There were also many French, Latvian, and Russian prisoners, as well as some Belgian, Danish, Lithuanian, Estonian, Spanish, Czech, and Italian prisoners. Jewish prisoners were also imprisoned in the camp, many deported from Lithuania; at least 15 Jews were reported to have died in the Engerhafe camp. (There is no specific breakdown of numbers of prisoner groups in the camp, including the exact number of Jews imprisoned in the camp.)[1] On December 15, 1944, about 500 to 600 inmates, who were too exhausted or ill to work, were transported back to the Neuengamme main camp. By the time of the dissolution of the Engerhafe camp in December 1944, about 1,200 inmates remained.

The commandant of the Engerhafe subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Erwin Seifert. Seifert entered the SS-Death's Head Units (Totenkopfverbände) in 1938 and was assigned to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1939. He became the Lagerführer of Berlin-Lichterfelde, a sub-

camp of Sachsenhausen, from September 1943 to March 1944. After the evacuation of Berlin-Lichterfelde, Seifert was transferred to Neuengamme, and shortly after, he was appointed Lagerführer in Engerhafe. According to postwar trial documentation, Seifert asserted that, other than himself, there were few other SS guards in Engerhafe. Most of the guards in Engerhafe were naval soldiers (Marinesoldaten) and were answerable to Seifert.

In addition to Oberscharführer Seifert, his assisting SS officers, and the naval soldiers, some inmates were given positions of authority over their fellow inmates. Kapos oversaw the inmates at work sites and terrorized the prisoners within the camp. Former Engerhafe inmate Christian Georges characterized a Kapo as "a man who beat other men for one more piece of bread, for soup, for good clothing, good shoes . . . for his survival, he would have beaten his own mother."[2] The camp elder (Lagerältester) and block elder (Blockältester) were responsible for discipline and order within the camp. Prisoner positions within the camp gained some privileges, including extra food and less stringent physical work. With few exceptions, the Kapos and other special assignment prisoners (*Funktionshäftlinge*), generally German and Dutch criminals, were brutal toward the other inmates.

Daily activity in the Engerhafe camp was dominated by work on the Friesenwall, an operation led in part by the Marine-Oberkommando Nordsee (Wilhelmshaven) and the Generalkommando X in Hamburg. The Engerhafe prisoners were sent daily on a two-hour march to Aurich, where they were forced to dig antitank trenches for the "Rundumverteidigung Aurich." The work was grueling and performed manually, often knee-deep in mud. With only shovels and spades, the inmates dug trenches 4 to 5 meters (13.1 to 16.4 feet) wide and 2 to 3 meters (6.6 to 9.8 feet) deep. The Kapos and guards drove the prisoners to exhaustion and beat them with rubber truncheons while they worked. The Engerhafe inmates worked uninterrupted for 12 hours each day, until they were marched back to the camp for roll call and a sparse evening meal. A Polish former political prisoner in Engerhafe, Jozef Ścisło, recalled that the inmates nicknamed the camp "Hitler's morgue."[3]

Due to the terrible living and work conditions in the Engerhafe subcamp, many inmates died from exhaustion, malnutrition, and lack of proper medical care. They succumbed to diseases such as dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia, and the death rate was considerably high. A special prisoner commando, called the Corpse Unit (Leichenkommando), carried corpses in wagons to the nearby Engerhafe cemetery, where they buried the bodies in mass graves. Over a two-month period, 188 inmates died in Engerhafe (excluding the prisoners transferred to Neuengamme in mid-December). Prisoner deaths and burials were recorded in the "Friedhof-Lagerbuch der Kirchengemeinde Engerhafe" as well as in the Neuengamme death book (*Totenbuch*). The Service Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre confirmed this number after exhuming and identifying the bodies buried in mass graves in Engerhafe in 1952. The death rate was at its highest between November 21 and December 15, 1944, when 143 inmates died.

The maximum exploitation of the Engerhafe inmates in the construction of the Friesenwall and the poor conditions within the camp thwarted organized resistance or escape attempts. Most prisoners were consumed by overwhelming hunger and tried to avoid beatings meted out by the Kapos and guards. According to testimony from former inmates, solidarity formed within the various national groups, which were grouped together in blocks. Some individual attempts to assist fellow inmates were made; for example, the Czech prisoner who worked in the kitchen sometimes hid extra food and distributed it to other inmates. A Dutch camp elder assigned ill or weakened inmates to lighter workloads.

As the Allies closed in and the front neared, the Engerhafe subcamp was dissolved. The inmates were evacuated either on foot or by train to Neuengamme on December 22, 1944. Because they had little food and water for the often weeklong march, additional inmates died during the evacuation or were shot by the SS. According to witness testimony, at the time of the evacuation, a large number of Polish inmates were transferred to Mauthausen, and many Dutch and Belgian prisoners were transferred to Hamburg or Bergen-Belsen and ultimately to the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp Sandbostel.

The Landgericht (Regional Court) Aurich brought criminal charges against former Oberscharführer Seifert in 1965.[4] He was accused of murdering at least 20 inmates throughout his career in the camps; however, Seifert was never sentenced. No further information about Seifert's trial or other members of the Engerhafe camp is available.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the seminal study on the Engerhafe camp by Elke Suhr, *Das Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten: Ein Panzergraben-Kommando für den Friesenwall-Aurich/Engerhafe 1944* (Oldenburg, 1984), which examines nearly all aspects of the camp and includes excerpts of witness testimony. See also Eva Requardt-Schohaus, "Der verdrängte Herbst von Engerhafe," *Ostf-M* (November 1994), for an updated overview of the status of research on the camp and the memorial in Engerhafe. For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997); and Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1982). For further information on the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) defense strategy in Ostfriesland and Emsland and the role of the Marine-Oberkommando Nordsee, see *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht (Wehrmachtsführungsstab) 1940–1945*, ed. Percy Schramm, with Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (Augsburg, 2002); and Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Bremen und Nordwestdeutschland am Kriegsende 1945* (Bremen, 1972).

Primary documentation on the Engerhafe subcamp, used extensively by Suhr in *Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten*, is located at the FZH (formerly the FGNS-H), especially the Hans Schwarz archive that includes the Neuengamme "Totenbücher." Files containing detailed information on prisoner deaths derived from an investigation of mass graves in Aurich-Engerhafe and conducted by the grave commission of the Ser-

vice Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre are stored at the NStA-Os, and grave lists from the delegation are stored at the AGe-Sü. Documentation from the 1965 trial against Erwin Seifert by the Landgericht Aurich is located in the AStaLG-Au (2 Js 820/65). For other administrative records attached to the camp, such as a list of French inmates in the camp (NE 24) and postwar testimony from a former inmate (NE 24), see the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Numbers of prisoners who died in Engerhafe can be found in the Totenbücher of Neuengamme and its subcamps, stored at the FZH.

2. Testimony of Christian Georges, as quoted in Elke Suhr, *Das Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten: Ein Panzergraben-Kommando für den Friesenwall-Aurich/Engerhafe 1944* (Oldenburg, 1984), p. 94.

3. Report of Jozef Ścisło to French consulate, Kraków, May 2, 1966 (NE 24), AN, Secretariat d'Etat aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 40.

4. Documentation from the trial is stored at the AStaLG-Au (2 Js 820/65).

FALLERSLEBEN (*VOLKSWAGENWERKE*)

The Fallersleben (Volkswagenwerke) concentration camp was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It operated from early June 1944 to April 7, 1945, first as a men's camp and, from August 1944, then as a women's camp. It was located on the second floor of the Volkswagen (VW) company's main factory in Wolfsburg. (Wolfsburg was called "Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben," that is, city of the Strength-through-Joy-motorcar near Fallersleben, since the VW motorcar was named after the Nazi Party's Strength-through-Joy organization.)

The Fallersleben (VW) camp was established on the initiative of leading Volkswagen chief Ferdinand Porsche after a meeting he and his son, Ferry Porsche, had with Heinrich Himmler on March 4, 1944. VW had a long history of cooperation with the SS. As early as 1941, the SS had agreed to provide the company with forced laborers from concentration camps. It started to do so in 1942 when the "Arbeitsdorf" main camp started operating on the factory premises. Chief executive officer (CEO) and developer of the "people's car" Ferdinand Porsche, an Oberführer of the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS), belonged to Hitler's inner circle. He staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on several occasions. Ferdinand Porsche constantly attempted to increase the number of laborers in order to expand the company. Even though the German Labor Front (DAF) owned the company, he treated it as if it were his private property. Since VW had a key role in the Fieseler (Fi) 103 (V-1) program, Porsche could expand production, employment, and the exploitation of forced and slave labor.

The Fallersleben (VW) concentration camp provided slave laborers for V-1 and small arms production in the VW factory. Its history falls into two distinct periods. Until July 5, 1944, the camp held 300 male Hungarian Jewish prisoners. They had been recruited by a VW engineer and SS-Hauptscharführer in Auschwitz as metalworkers, technicians, and civil engineers for the manufacturing of cruise missiles in a top-secret area of the factory just above the prisoners' quarters. After Allied air raids had partly destroyed the factory, V-1 production was moved to underground facilities in Schönebeck an der Elbe near Magdeburg and Tiercelet in occupied Lorraine. The 300 "V-1 specialists" were taken by train to Thil, a Natzweiler subcamp, where they arrived on July 6, and were put to work for the VW subsidiary company Minette in nearby Tiercelet.

During the second period, from August 1944 to April 7, 1945, a larger number of female prisoners, the majority of them Hungarian Jews who had been selected for slave labor in Auschwitz, manufactured land mines and bazookas at assembly lines located next to the concentration camp area.

The Fallersleben (VW) camp consisted of two large, sealed-off former workers' changing rooms on the factory ground floor. The rooms were barren but clean, with bunk beds, wooden tables, and benches. Hot showers remained and could be used by the prisoners. Daylight could only come through one window opening to a closed yard. Air-raid shelters were part of the camp area, and prisoners frequently had to spend their short off-duty hours there.

The guards' accommodations were located in separate quarters next to the prisoners' rooms and in a nearby Waffen-SS barrack. Another Neuengamme subcamp, Fallersleben-Laagberg, was in charge of camp administration. Its commandant, until February 1, 1945, Hauptscharführer Johannes Pump, then Army Hauptmann Karl Werringloer, commanded the guards of both camps. During the first period, SS, Luftwaffe, and elderly Wehrmacht personnel mainly composed the guard units. During the second period, female SS guards were also deployed, some having been recruited among VW employees and rushed through a short, brutalizing training program at the Ravensbrück women's camp. Since the prisoners' accommodations were inside the factory building, there were no special security measures. The prisoners' work areas, however, were sealed off from the rest by wire fences and walls. Prisoners were not allowed to communicate with the German foremen and foreign laborers who did transport and repair jobs. Nevertheless, the different groups of workers talked to each other.

The first transport of 300 male Jewish prisoners remained intact until its transfer to Thil. The arrival of the second transport of 500 Jewish women from Auschwitz in August transformed the Fallersleben VW camp into a women's camp. Additional transports arrived on November 18 from Bergen-

Belsen, numbering 50 Jewish women, and on January 14, 1945, from Dachau through Bergen-Belsen, carrying 100 mostly non-Jewish women who had been arrested as participants or supporters of partisan activities in Yugoslavia and Hungary. A large evacuation transport of Jewish and non-Jewish women from the Porta Westfalica camp almost doubled the total number of inmates on April 2, 1945. By then, at least 4 prisoners had died because of infectious diseases. Two babies were born in the camp in December 1944. According to eyewitness accounts, one was killed at once, while the other died after two weeks despite joint efforts by prisoners to hide and provide for it.

As there were no German prisoners, the camp elder, Gyula Gross (later Brana Heller) and other prisoner-functionaries were Hungarian Jews. Although survivor accounts differ about their behavior, they generally seem to have administered SS orders with moderation.

Slave labor was the purpose of the Fallersleben (VW) camp. The prisoners performed specialized metal processing operations for which they received brief training during the first days of their stay at the factory by German workers and Luftwaffe personnel. Work frequently was delayed due to a lack of materials. On various occasions, prisoners had to "volunteer" to remove debris after air raids, load and unload railway cars, or work in vegetable fields that surrounded the factory. According to survivor testimonies, one prisoner was shot at point-blank range by a female guard for attacking her verbally. Occasionally, guards distributed blows and whiplashes, but most former inmates report the level of violence as low. There were no ritualized punishment procedures as in other concentration camps. Verbal abuse was, however, common, and male guards took pleasure in sexually harassing the female prisoners in the showers.

Hygiene in the Fallersleben (VW) camp was good, but food was clearly insufficient. Eventually, rations were reduced. By the time of liberation, most prisoners suffered from dire emaciation. A sick bay managed by a prisoner (a dental aide) and supervised by a VW factory physician only had five or six beds, so on company orders only prisoners with more than 39 degrees Celsius (102.2 degrees Fahrenheit) of fever were exempt from work. A few seriously ill prisoners were treated in the nearby company-owned hospital, where they were kept in isolation during their stay. That the prisoners were protected from the weather and excessive violence mainly accounts for the low mortality rate in spite of the deplorable food situation.

Male prisoners successfully sabotaged the V-1 devices, and female prisoners managed to engage in acts of symbolic resistance. Headed by intellectuals, they organized a "camp university" with lectures, recitals of poetry, plays, and Italian operas. A small group of orthodox Jewish women was protected by other inmates when performing religious rituals. Attempts to escape did not occur, as the prisoners were constantly kept behind locked doors in the factory building.

The first commandant, Pump, was excessive in his sexual abuse of female inmates. While committing various acts of violence in the Laagberg camp, which he also commanded, he generally left day-to-day business in the women's camp to the female guards. They, however, took more interest in partying with soldiers from the nearby Waffen-SS barracks and only made sporadic appearances inside the camp area.

On April 7, 1945, some 1,600 remaining female inmates of the Fallersleben (VW) camp were evacuated by train to Salzwedel, another Neuengamme subcamp. They were liberated by U.S. Army troops a week later.

SOURCES The description of the Fallersleben (VW) camp is based on Therkel Straede's research. Most useful sources included: Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996), pp.864, 896; Therkel Straede's articles in *Proceedings of the Xth International Oral History Conference* (Rio de Janeiro, 1998), p.1748, and *Lessons & Legacies 1998* (Chicago, 2002). Further secondary sources include Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1988); Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1987); and incomplete data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*. Some survivors have published accounts on the camp. See, for example, the gravely erroneous account by Kitty Hart-Moxon, *Return to Auschwitz: The Remarkable Story of a Girl Who Survived the Holocaust* (New York: Atheneum, 1983); Atie Siegenbeek van Heukelom in *'t venster* 6/1946 (Amsterdam); and Julia Kertesz, "Von Auschwitz ins Volkswagenwerk: Erinnerungen an KZ-Haft and Zwangsarbeit," *DaHe* 8 (1992): 69–87.

Sources on the Fallersleben (VW) camp are scattered. The VW archive and the ASt-WOB hold company and municipal documents as well as second provenance collections of documents from the AG-NG, YV, the NIOD, the NHStA-H, the BA-B, and the ZdL-L. These collections include several accounts and testimonies by survivors and eyewitnesses, as do the VHF and the USHMM.

Therkel Straede

FALLERSLEBEN-LAAGBERG

The Fallersleben-Laagberg concentration camp was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It operated from May 31, 1944, until April 7, 1945. The camp was located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the Volkswagen (VW) company's main factory in Wolfsburg. (Wolfsburg was called "Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben," that is, city of the Strength-through-Joy-motorcar near Fallersleben, since the VW motorcar was named after the Nazi party's Strength-through-Joy organization.)

The Laagberg camp was established on the initiative of VW management after negotiations with the Army Armaments Inspectorate (Rüstungsinspektion) and the SS. At that time, VW already had a long history of cooperation with the

SS. As early as 1941, the SS had agreed to provide the company with slave laborers from concentration camps. It started to do so in 1942, when the "Arbeitsdorf" main camp started operating on the factory premises. Chief executive officer (CEO) and developer of the "people's car" Ferdinand Porsche, an Oberführer of the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS), belonged to Hitler's inner circle. He staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on several occasions. Porsche constantly attempted to increase the number of laborers in order to expand the company. Even though the German Labor Front (DAF) owned the company, Porsche treated it as if it were his private property.

Laagberg provided manpower for the construction of a brick barracks settlement intended to accommodate German workers employed in the Fieseler (Fi) 103 (V-1) cruise missile program. VW coordinated V-1 production until October 1944 and hoped to expand the company, as this weapon system ripened to serial production. It used the V-1 program as a pretext to accumulate capacities, including workers' housing, in order to prepare for postwar civilian production. Thus, both wartime and peacetime economic considerations motivated VW to employ concentration camp slave laborers.

The Laagberg concentration camp was surrounded by a high-voltage barbed-wire fence and four wooden watchtowers equipped with searchlights and machine guns. Four unfinished one-story brick barracks with a capacity of 768 inmates were located inside the camp. For several weeks, there was neither running water nor washing facilities and only primitive outdoor latrines. Thirst drove prisoners to drink surface water from muddy holes. Eventually, the prisoners installed a sewage water system and erected toilets and lavatories. In the winter of 1944–1945, two additional watchtowers and another barrack, serving as a morgue, were built. With the arrival of new transports in April 1945, however, it also accommodated prisoners. The roll-call area (*Appellplatz*) and the gallows were located in the center of the prisoners' compound. Brick barracks outside the fenced-in area accommodated the guards as well as the SS camp administration, offices of the company building site administration, and from November on, also a camp kitchen. During working hours, the entire 450×600-meter (492×656-yard) building site was encircled by a chain of guardposts (*Postenkette*).

Initially, SS-Death's Head Units, partly of Eastern European origin, served as guards. In August 1944, army personnel and elderly territorial guardsmen (Landesschützen) replaced some SS men.

On May 31,1944, some 800 prisoners from Neuengamme arrived. Indications that some prisoners were transferred to Neuengamme in order to receive punishment or because they were too weak to work have not been confirmed. The incomplete Neuengamme death register contains a list of 35 Laagberg casualties. The total estimated loss of lives due to undernourishment and the extremely violent abuse is substantially higher. By March 25, the camp held 656 prisoners. Additional prisoners arrived with evacuation transports from subcamps in the Kassel area on April 1, 1945 (460 prisoners) and from Porta Westfalica on April 2.

Half of the prisoners were French resistance fighters and hostages; others were largely of Dutch, Spanish, Soviet, and Polish origin. The Kapos and foremen came from different countries and generally administered SS orders with great cruelty. According to survivors' testimonies, the camp elder (Lagerältester), Wacław Dyba, a Polish political prisoner, however, treated his fellow prisoners decently. Except for a few of the late arrivals, there were no Jews in the camp.

Laagberg was basically a forced labor camp. The prisoners performed construction labor. They had to work outdoors under harsh weather conditions with temperatures as low as -16° Celsius (4° Fahrenheit). They lacked proper clothing and were severely punished for making protective vests from paper sacks. When the primitive wooden boots broke, no replacement was handed out, so a growing number of prisoners had to work barefoot. Work assignments included the laying of concrete floors, masonry, carpentry, and plumbing. A large work detail moved heavy materials along a push-cart rail 3 to 4 kilometers (1.9 to 2.5 miles) uphill from the train station to the building site and was subject to extremely violent treatment by Kapos and guards. Work was conducted under the surveillance of the SS, VW chief architect Ernst Döring, representatives of the DAF-owned construction company Deutsche Bau AG (German Construction Corporation), and private German subcontractors. Civilian foremen and technicians commanded work details, but their number was small.

Some prisoners were commanded to remove debris after air raids and to make building repairs; others to do maintenance work at a nearby Waffen-SS barracks. On Sundays, many were forced to "volunteer" to unload railway cars and riverboats on the factory premises. Some performed heavy tasks in the factory blacksmith's shop or in a nearby quarry that was being turned into an underground skip (*Metallpresse*) facility. Kapos and SS constantly strove to speed up the pace by punishing the "idle" and resorted to random violence. Toward the end of the Third Reich, work frequently was delayed due to lack of materials.

Provisions were clearly insufficient. Initially, the factory kitchens delivered the meals. When the camp kitchen started operation in November, rations and quality were reduced substantially. By Christmas 1944, more than 100 prisoners had reached the *Muselman* stage of total emaciation. In spite of heroic efforts by French prisoner physicians, the 50-bed sick bay was insufficient to cope with the high morbidity in the camp. Even so, seriously ill prisoners were denied transfer to the nearby VW-owned hospital.

Despite the desolate conditions in the camp, acts of symbolic resistance occurred. French prisoners celebrated the July 14 Bastille Day by wearing tricolor flowers and the November 11 World War I Armistice Day by a minute's silence. At Easter, a Catholic priest read a Mass. News was received on an illegal radio and circulated in the camp, and messages about the death of prisoners were smuggled out through forced laborers who were eventually accommodated in the finished barracks next to the camp compound. They also

smuggled food and medicine into the camp. A number of escape attempts occurred; few were successful.

The first commandant of the Laagberg camp was SS-Hauptscharführer Johannes Pump, who also commanded the nearby VW Fallersleben camp. Pump committed numerous acts of brutality and inspired his staff to follow his example. Eventually, he left day-to-day business to his deputy, SS-Scharführer Anton Peter Callesen, while he himself spent time in heavy drinking and sexual abuse of female prisoners from the VW Fallersleben camp. Callesen treated the prisoners with more cruelty than Pump and killed several. Around February 1, 1945, Pump was replaced because of black marketeering by Army Hauptmann Karl Werringloer. He tried to improve conditions, establishing a "reposing block" (*Schonungsblock*) for prisoners who were too weak to work and issuing a soon-disregarded ban on the guards' carrying sticks and beating prisoners. As provisions and hygiene did not improve, the number of Muselmen and deaths continued to rise. The camp was evacuated on April 7, 1945. The approximately 1,600 prisoners ended up in the Wöbbelin camp.

SOURCES The description of the Fallersleben-Laagberg camp is based on Therkel Straede's research. Most useful sources included: Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996), pp.766–799; Christian Jansen, "Zwangsarbeit für das Volkswagenwerk: Häftlingsalltag auf dem Laagberg bei Wolfsburg," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich: KG Saur, 2000), pp.75–107; Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1988); ibid., *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1987); and incomplete data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*. A witness account is included in Henk't Hoen, *Twee jaar Volkswagenwerk* (Amsterdam, 2002).

The most important sources on the Fallersleben-Laagberg camp are the records of the Danish war crimes trial against Anton Peter Callesen in the DAA/DK. The VW archive and the ASt-WOB hold documents and second provenance collections from the AG-NG, YV, the NHStA-H, the BA-B, and the ZdL-L; these sources include numerous survivor and eyewitness records.

Therkel Straede

GOSLAR

A subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created in Goslar (Hannover province) on October 20, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Some 15 inmates were transferred to the Goslar camp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to work for the Goslar construction administration of the SS-Construction Management unit (Bauleitung Goslar).[1] There is no information about the exact work the Goslar inmates performed.

Little other specific information about this small satellite commando can be found. According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Goslar inmates.[2]

The camp in Goslar existed until March 23 or 25, 1945, when, according to historian Werner Johe, the commando was most likely liberated by Allied troops. A slate panel was erected in Goslar to commemorate the death of Henry Jens Sörensen, one of the inmates who died in the Goslar camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the subcamp in Goslar. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. The brief details on the Goslar camp are duplicated in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1982). Information on the memorial stone in Goslar, which commemorates the death of a prisoner in the Goslar camp as well as in a subcamp of Buchenwald, is found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager* (Hamburg, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Goslar camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Goslar, published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of USHMM, RG-59.016 M, Reel 5, also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

HAMBURG (*BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO NO. 2*)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) camp index, a subcamp was created in a Hamburg prison, although its exact location is not known. A work commando, presumably quartered at the prison, was deployed to clear rubble from bombed-out areas for one month.

SOURCES There are few sources on the Hamburg Bombensuchkommando attached to Neuengamme. The main secondary source of information is the entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, this publication provides information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. See also Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982).

Although limited, primary documentation on the Hamburg Bombensuchkommando is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

HAMBURG (*HOWALDTWERKE*)

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established at the Howaldtwerke firm in Hamburg at Ferdinandstrasse 58. The Howaldtwerke subcamp was 1 of more than 15 Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings, and it was one among several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July and August 1943 through Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, satellite camps were created throughout Hamburg and its surrounding districts. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft [Stülckenwerft], Deutsche Werft, and Howaldtwerke.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission, RüKo) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of RüKo in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would be assigned between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies agreed to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel for inmates. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944. An agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and Dr. May, the labor allocation group leader (Arbeitseinsatzgruppenleiter) for the Hamburg shipyards authorized the use of concentration camp inmates as workers in the shipbuilding industry.

The camp at Howaldtwerke was in operation from October 1944 until April 1945, when the subcamps in Hamburg were dissolved due to the closing in of the front. All of the inmates at Howaldtwerke were male, although there is no further information as to how many inmates were deported to this camp. (Unlike other subcamps in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, Howaldtwerke did not appear on the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski.)[1] As they were most likely transported from the main Neuengamme camp, the inmates represented various nationalities and prisoner groups.

There is no information about the guards in the Howaldtwerke camp nor about the commandant of the camp. Like all other Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg, the guards answered to and were administered by the Support Center (Stützpunkt) Hamburg, which was located at the Spaldingstrasse subcamp—see Neuengamme/Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse)—and they fell under the leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically on the Howaldtwerke subcamp of Neuengamme. For contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999* 2 (April 1995): 57–73, and by the same author, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg, (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996)—although these essays focus mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For a broad history of the Howaldtwerke company, see Bruno Bock, *Gebaut bei HDW: Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG: 150 Jahre* (Herford: Koehler, 1988), although this text includes no information about the subcamp.

Primary sources on the Howaldtwerke camp are scarce. In his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location

of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard subcamps. The StA-HH has some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg, but they contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. Finally, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols briefly describe conditions in specific camps, but none mention Howaldtwerke by name. Others refer to Hamburg shipyards in general but give little specific information as to location or name of the employing firm (see especially protocols 2990, 875, and 1492).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp.123–126.

HAMBURG-EIDELSTEDT

The Eidelstedt subcamp existed from September 1944 to early May 1945. It was a camp exclusively for female prisoners and was located at Friedrichshulder Weg (in what later became Lurup, a Hamburg suburb). During the war, the barracks camp was part of Hamburg-Eidelstedt. It was based on the edge of the Eidelstedter Heide in a sparsely populated area with few houses. The railway line from Hamburg to the north ran right along the campsite. The Eidelstedt railway station, one of the largest marshaling yards of its time, was very close to the subcamp. Not far from the subcamp were the railroaders' houses where German Reich Railway Deutsche Reichsbahn, (DR) employees lived. Following the large air raids on Hamburg in the summer of 1943, more and more people fled to Eidelstedt or were relocated there as refugees from their bombed-out homes. To accommodate them in Eidelstedt, emergency housing from prefabricated slabs were being built since 1943. Those were built at least in part by female inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp.

It is difficult to say when exactly the former barracks camp, which became a Neuengamme subcamp in 1944, was constructed. The Nazis destroyed all relevant files at the end of the war. According to the recollections of local residents, Italian prisoners of war (POWs) had been interned in the wooden barracks since 1943 until they were replaced by the Jewish prisoners. The POWs had also constructed prefabricated slab houses. A contract dated September 23, 1942, shows that the city of Hamburg purchased the site of the later barracks camp from the Hamburg Vereinsbank on behalf of the DR. This at least proves that the camp could not have been built before the end of 1942.

The barracks camp consisted of two large sleeping barracks, each with several sleeping rooms, and another large barracks housing the washroom, the toilets, and a storage room. In addition, there was a sick bay and a clothing store as well as a canteen for the prisoners in the camp. Outside the camp, an air-raid bunker was built for the guards at the main entrance; directly next to it were the premises for the guards, including sleeping quarters for the camp command.

Most likely on September 27, 1944, 500 Czech and Hungarian Jews were interned at the Eidelstedt women's subcamp. This was on Yom Kippur, the most solemn of Jewish festivals. Survivor of the camp Paula Hermann wrote the following: "And it was on Yom Kippur that we were told that we were to be transferred to a new camp. After our poor belongings had been thoroughly searched, we ended up on the floor of some open trucks. Scarcely had our journey began when it began to rain and hail. We were completely wet and the hail beat on to our heads. We were gripped by hunger, cold, and despair. 'Why are we being punished on this holiest of days?' we all cried. The new camp was in Eidelstedt, where no joy awaited us."[1]

Other survivors also reported about being transferred to the subcamp at Hamburg-Eidelstedt in the evening hours of Yom Kippur. The women have clear memories of the transfer because they, despite the heavy burdens of their work, remained true to Jewish traditions and fasted. On the evening of Yom Kippur, the women returned starving and completely exhausted back to their camp in the expectation that they would soon receive their evening soup. They were to be disappointed by the SS, however, as even before the soup allocation, all the women were transferred to another camp. This transfer remains in their memories because of the enormous physical strain it caused.

The Jewish prisoners arrived at Eidelstedt from the women's camp in Wedel, also a Neuengamme subcamp, where they had been interned in mid-September 1944. Earlier, they had been incarcerated in Auschwitz and in another women's Neuengamme subcamp named Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer).

Walter Kümmel was camp leader (Lagerleiter) at Eidelstedt. He had been in command of the approximately 500 Jewish women in the Wedel subcamp. In late 1933, Kümmel, as a 28-year-old, applied for admission to the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). He was admitted in early 1934. In 1937 he joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP). He volunteered in April 1941 and received basic military training with the Waffen-SS. Due to health problems, Kümmel was at first deployed to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp guard battalion and, after a few months, then transferred as a telephone operator to the battalion's orderly room at Neuengamme. During his time at Neuengamme, Kümmel took part in two noncommissioned officer courses, receiving intensive military training.

His promotion to Unterscharführer on December 1, 1943, marked the end of his military training. He became

block leader at the "protective custody" camp at the Neuengamme main camp. After being promoted to the main camp's 2nd roll-call leader, he was put in command of a bomb disposal squad consisting of prisoners from Neuengamme in February 1944. This squad was dispatched to Kiel. Following the dissolution of the squad in Kiel, Kümmel received orders to take command of the 500 female prisoners. The Jewish prisoners were under his command at both camps, Wedel and Eidelstedt. Following Germany's defeat, the British arrested Kümmel. Together with 13 other former members of the Neuengamme staff, he was tried by the Superior British Military Court in Hamburg for manslaughter and mistreatment of Allied citizens and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. The court convicted Kümmel for his role as 2nd roll-call leader at Neuengamme, not for his role as leader of the Eidelstedt camp. Kümmel was released early from prison in 1952.

Only in 1970, the Hamburg State Attorney's Office began to investigate Kümmel on suspicion of murder of two newly born children in the Eidelstedt subcamp. The testimony of former prisoners heavily incriminated Kümmel in the murder of the two children. The court, however, could not determine whether Kümmel personally killed the children or allowed them to be killed. Accordingly, the Hamburg regional court found him guilty as an accessory to murder on August 30, 1982. However, as the statute of limitations for accessory to murder for Nazi crimes applied, Kümmel was acquitted.

Female SS wardens guarded the female prisoners inside the camp. Retired customs officers provided security outside the camp. There are no files documenting the number and identities of the female SS guards at the camp. Survivors unanimously state, however, that the guards were particularly brutal. Personnel files indicate that about 20 customs officers watched over the camp in rotating shifts. They guarded the female prisoners both in Eidelstedt and in Wedel.

As already stated, the Jewish women were mostly employed to construct emergency housing for bombed-out railroad employee families. Supervised by skilled German tradesmen, the women had to build the houses from the foundations to the roof. In addition, they had to carry various building materials, such as cement, sand, small bricks, and stone beams, from the delivery point at the Eidelstedt railway station to the various building sites by small railway carts.

Toward the end of the war, several women from the Eidelstedt camp were deployed to remove debris after air raids in Hamburg and also to remove snow, particularly at the larger Hamburg railway stations. The women were taken to work in the inner city by means of a special tram.

Eidelstedt was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. The women reached the "receiving camp" at Bergen-Belsen after a three-day odyssey. Those who managed to survive the stresses and strains were liberated by the British on April 15, 1945. As part of the evacuation of numerous camps in Germany during the last days of the war and after the evacuation of Eidelstedt's Jewish prisoners, the camp was used again to intern female prisoners from camps at Beendorf, Hamburg-Wandsbek, and Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), all of which were women's subcamps of Neuengamme.

SOURCES The following essays are the basis for this description of the Eidelstedt subcamp: Hans Ellger, "Die Häftlingsgruppe der Jüdinnen am Beispiel des Frauenaussenlagers Hamburg-Eidelstedt," in *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1999), pp.144–157; and Ellger, "Ein Barackenlager am Friedrichshulder Weg: Ein Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme," in *Fischkistendorf Lurup: Siedlungsprojekte, Schrebergärten, Bauwagen und Lager von 1920 bis 1950*, ed. Anke Schulz (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag 2002), pp. 104–115. There are not any original sources verifying Eidelstedt's exact dates of operation. Today, a memorial stone and a commemorative plaque at Randowstrasse in Hamburg-Lurup are a reminder of the camp's existence.

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. Hans Ellger also conducted several interviews with former inmates of the Eidelstedt camp. Hedi Fried's memoirs have been published: Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992). Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. The trial records of Walter Kümmel are held in the archives of the Hamburg Regional Court. They provide information about his career and the male customs officers at the Eidelstedt subcamp.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Paula Hermann, "Unvergessliche Tage in Hamburg: Report form 1990," AG-NG.

HAMBURG-FINKENWERDER

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in the Finkenwerder district of Hamburg. The Finkenwerder subcamp was 1 of over 15 Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings and one of several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943 through Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, to reconstruct buildings, and to search for and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, satellite camps were created throughout Hamburg and its environs. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft, and Deutsche Werft.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in

late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of the Rüstungskommando in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would be assigned 4,000 to 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies were to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel for inmates. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944.

In September 1944, Kaufmann recommended that around 1,000 inmates from Neuengamme be transported to Finkenwerder. Estimates of the number of inmates actually incarcerated in the Finkenwerder subcamp vary. Between 308 to 600 inmates were deported to Finkenwerder over its five- to six-month period of operation.[1] They were housed in barracks on the grounds of the shipyard. According to former inmates in the Finkenwerder camp, living conditions were terrible and overcrowded. The prisoners suffered constant beatings from the Kapos and SS guards.[2] Further research at the KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, especially an examination of former prisoner reports, may yield additional details about living conditions within the camp.

The inmates were deported to Finkenwerder from the Neuengamme main camp and other subcamps, where they were imprisoned for various reasons including resistance activity, political affiliation, sexual orientation, religion, and other so-called crimes. They were all male. Most of the prisoners in the Finkenwerder subcamp were originally from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. At least one transport of inmates arrived in Finkenwerder in late March 1945 from the Steinwerder subcamp in Hamburg; this transport included an unknown number of Hungarian Jews.[3]

The inmates in the Finkenwerder camp were used as laborers at the Deutsche Werft company, as well as at the nearby Reiherstieg shipyard. Inmates performed shipbuilding work and were employed as welders, metalworkers, and electricians. They also had to repair railway lines and clear rubble from the shipyards, as they were frequent targets of Allied bombing. During the air raids, some inmates were permitted to take shelter in a dry submarine dock, where they were beaten by the SS and often cut off from food and water for several days.[4] One attack at the end of December 1944 killed at least 91 inmates, and over 100 were wounded; 24 prisoners were reported missing. In late March 1945, another air raid resulted in the death of 180 inmates.

There is no specific information on the names or ranks of the guards in the Finkenwerder camp, and the name and rank of the commandant are unknown. However, a quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, which details medical conditions in many of the Neuengamme subcamps, includes a list of SS-assigned doctors for each subcamp, as well as the number of prisoner doctors and number of SS guards in each camp. Dr. Hintzelmann oversaw medical treatment in Finkenwerder, and one prisoner doctor worked in the Finkenwerder infirmary. The report also listed that there were 45 SS guards in the camp during the period summarized in the report (December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945).[5]

At the end of March or early April 1945, the Finkenwerder camp was evacuated to the subcamp Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer), where the surviving inmates were briefly kept in overcrowded conditions.[6] From Dessauer Ufer, some of the inmates were evacuated to an overflow camp (*Auffanglager*) at the Sandbostel prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, and another group was deported to a ship in the Lübeck bay.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Finkenwerder subcamp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the former camp land. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, although this essay focuses mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Finkenwerder camp (among others) by Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary sources on the Finkenwerder camp are equally scarce; in his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard camps. The AG-NG contain reports from former inmates of the Finkenwerder camp. The StA-HH contains some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of the subcamp (Aussenlager) system in Hamburg but contain little to no information about conditions within the camps.

The IGA/ZPA-B contains a small file on the Finkenwerder camp collected by the "Komittee ehemaliger politischer Gefangener." Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees that were recorded in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Deutsche Werft subcamp; see especially protocols 3484, 2990, 250, and 1950.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Max Andree, for MHG, has estimated between 308 to 600; while a quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski for the period between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945, lists 308 prisoners in the Finkenwerder camp (March 29, 1945). Original report, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126. The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also have a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

2. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 2990 (A.S.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols. All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by historian Gábor Kádár.

3. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 2990 (A.S.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

4. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

5. See translated version of quarterly report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, PRO, WO 235/167, reproduced in USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5).

6. Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

HAMBURG-FUHLSBÜTTEL

The Neuengamme Fuhlsbüttel subcamp existed from October 26, 1944, to February 14, 1945. The SS established the camp at the end of October 1944 in part of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp to temporarily hold male prisoners from the Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessau Ufer) subcamp. The Dessau Ufer subcamp, which from the middle of September held around 2,000 men from the Soviet Union, Poland, France, the Netherlands, and Germany, had been largely destroyed during a bombing raid on the Hamburg port at the end of October 1944.[1] According to former prisoner Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow, "just about all those in the sick bay" at Dessau Ufer died during the bombing raid. The prisoners, who during the attack were working as part of a labor detachment, had to assemble that evening and were transported to Fuhlsbüttel, where they were accommodated in a building of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp.[2] According to Hermann Kaienburg and Ludwig Eiber, around 1,300 men were held in the Fuhlsbüttel subcamp.

The prisoners had to do a variety of work for the Geilenberg staff, including cleaning up at refineries and other fuel-producing installations. This crisis agency, which also decided on the allocation of concentration camp prisoners for work details, had been formed at the beginning of June 1944 under the command of Edmund Geilenberg, head of the Main Committee—Munitions in the Armaments Ministry. Its task was to keep fuel production going in the face of the air raids on the fuel industry. According to Kaienburg, the prisoners worked for companies such as Rhenania (Shell), Schindler, and Jung-Ölwerke, as well as the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways). The cleanup detachments were put under the control of Hamburg Generalbevollmächtigten für die Baubewirtschaftung (Hamburg Plenipotentiary for Construction) Wilhelm Tegeler. On February 15, 1945, the SS transferred the prisoners from the Fuhlsbüttel subcamp back to Dessau Ufer. They were then evacuated to Sandbostel at the beginning of April 1945.

SOURCES This essay is based mainly on research done by Hermann Kaienburg and Ludwig Eiber: Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997); Kaienburg, "*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*": *Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999* 2 (1995): 57–73; Herbert Diercks, *Gedenkbuch "Kola-Fu": Für die Opfer aus dem Konzentrationslager, Gestapogefängnis und KZ-Aussenlager Fuhlsbüttel* (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1987); as well as a report by survivor Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow (Odessa, 1984, trans. Horst Koop), which is held in the AG-NG.

Katharina Hering
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow, Odessa, 1984, AG-NG.

2. Ibid.

HAMBURG-GEILENBERG (DESSAUER UFER) (MEN)

In the aftermath of the bombing destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943, inmates from the main Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct bombed-out buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and various work sites, several Neuengamme subcamps were established throughout Hamburg and its surrounding areas. On September 19, 1944, a subcamp for male inmates was created at a recently evacuated grain warehouse on Dessauer Ufer in the port of Hamburg. Prior to the arrival of the inmates, the warehouse had been used as a camp for over 1,000 Czech and Hungarian Jewish women who had been deported to Hamburg from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in July 1944 for forced labor. The Dessauer Ufer camp served as a central distribution camp for laborers to various work sites in Hamburg, and the women were evacuated in mid-September to camps at Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, Wadel, and Hamburg-Neugraben.

Like the female inmates, the male prisoners in the Dessauer Ufer camp were used for forced labor under the Geilenberg Program, a plan initiated by the Reich Housing Commissar (Reichswohnungskommisar) to rebuild and clear rubble from Hamburg's industrial areas after the destruction in the city caused by Allied air raids. The legal adviser to General Plenipotentiary for Building Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirtschaftung Senatssyndikus) Wilhelm Tegeler, Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann, and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates to Hamburg industries, including the shipyards. The inmates worked for various firms, including Rhenania Ossag (Shell), Schindler, Jung-Ölwerke, and the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways).

They performed various kinds of work, such as clearing rubble, reconstructing bombed-out areas, and digging antitank trenches in Hittfeld.

According to several secondary sources, between 1,500 and 2,000 male inmates of various nationalities were deported from Neuengamme to Hamburg-Geilenberg in September 1944. In late October 1944, during an Allied air raid that destroyed parts of the camp, at least 150 prisoners were killed. Many inmates were evacuated to subcamps at the Fühlsbuttel prison and Spaldingstrasse in Hamburg following this air raid.[1] After the camp was repaired, inmates from Fühlsbuttel were brought back to the Dessauer Ufer camp on February 15, 1945. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Standortarzt Trzebinski, 3,464 inmates were incarcerated in Hamburg-Geilenberg between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945.[2] However, this figure far exceeds any other source on the Dessauer Ufer camp. As the report covers the period during which the Dessauer Ufer camp was at least partially evacuated due to the October air raid, it is possible that the number refers to all commandos in the Geilenberg Program and thus may include numbers of inmates in both the women's and men's camp at Dessauer Ufer.

The inmates were imprisoned in Lagerhaus G, which was situated on the edge of a canal. There is no further information as to how this three-story warehouse was divided and used as a camp. According to Hedi Fried, who had been deported from Sighet to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and then "selected" for work and deported to Hamburg, the women arrived at the warehouse "and entered a big hall with gigantic windows overlooking the River Elbe. Beds were laid out in two tiers."[3] They endured roll calls each morning before being sent to work and were generally fed at the work sites on brief breaks from their long shifts. According to Fried, some of the work sites provided better meals than others (for example, the Schindler Wharf), and the labor, which included clearing rubble and digging trenches, was less strenuous at certain firms. According to historian Ludwig Eiber, the Hittfeld commando where inmates dug antitank trenches was particularly harsh, and the work and treatment from the guards resulted in many deaths and illnesses.

Detailed information about the commandant or guard staff of the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's camp is also lacking. According to a study conducted by Max Andree for the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (MHG), SS-Hauptscharführer Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem worked in the clerical office of the Dessauer Ufer subcamp and later became the commandant of Hamburg-Neugraben and Diago-Tiefstack subcamps, beginning in mid-October 1944. Therefore, his service in the men's camp at Geilenberg lasted for only one month before he was transferred. In addition to members of the SS, the camp was most likely guarded by customs officers (Zollbeamter) recruited specifically to oversee operations within the camps.

As the Western Front closed in, the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's camp was dissolved in April 1945. On April 14, the inmates were evacuated by train to either Bremervörder or Brillit, and then on foot to the receiving camp at Sandbostel. The evacuation transport most likely lasted two days. There is little information about postwar trials in relation to the Hamburg-Geilenberg camp. Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem was tried by a British military tribunal in 1946 for crimes committed in Neugraben. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term but was released in 1955.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically on the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's satellite camp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the land of the former camp. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in Hamburg for the Geilenberg Program, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (April 1995) pp. 57–73; and Ludwig Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the "Geilenberg Hamburg" camp (among others) by garrison doctor Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary source material on the Geilenberg men's camp at Dessauer Ufer is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg, which contains witness reports from the women's camp at the same location and which may provide insight into conditions within the camp in general. Likewise, see former Dessauer Ufer inmate Hedi Fried's memoir *The Road to Auschwitz: Fragments of a Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), which provides a description of life in the women's camp and at some of the work commandos. The Dessauer Ufer camp is briefly mentioned in the questioning of Hamburg base camp commander (Stüztpunktleiter) Karl Wiedemann during his 1946 trial; see documentation of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files. The original files at the PRO in London most likely hold documentation related to the trial of Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem. Information about Wilhelm Tegeler, the plenipotentiary of the construction program, is located in the ZdL-L, IV 404 AR.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, Examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenberg (WO 235/165), as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

2. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original

report). The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

3. Hedi Fried, *The Road to Auschwitz: Fragments of a Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 114.

HAMBURG-GEILENBERG (DESSAUER UFER) (WOMEN)

The Neuengamme subcamp for women Dessauer Ufer, Hamburg-Geilenberg, was located at the Hamburg city free port, on the southern bank of the North Elbe (an area later known as Saalenhafen). Jewish women were held prisoner in this camp from July until September 1944. They had been transported as forced laborers from Auschwitz to Hamburg in the course of the Geilenberg Program.

The disused granary G at Dessauer Ufer was made ready for the accommodation of the Jewish women probably in June 1944. Wilhelm Tegeler, syndic of the Hamburg city senate, was in charge of the prisoners' accommodation and their deployment as forced laborers. The roughly 1,500 women traveling from Auschwitz to Neuengamme arrived in northern Germany in two transports. According to Danuta Czech, the first group of around 1,000 Hungarian and Czech Jewish women left Auschwitz on July 14, 1944. The survivors recall that the journey lasted about two or three days. Thus, the women probably arrived at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp at the Hamburg harbor on July 16 or 17, 1944. Another group of around 500 Polish Jewish women followed, which probably arrived at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp in mid-August 1944.[1] The Polish inmates had been transported from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and had there been selected for forced labor in the Third Reich. The Czech inmates had been incarcerated in the Theresienstadt ghetto for several years before they were transported to Auschwitz. The Hungarian women, then again, had been interned in various Hungarian ghettos since late March or early April 1944 before they arrived in Auschwitz in several transports.

In the framework of the Geilenberg Program, the female prisoners had to clean up the Hamburg harbor and restore the destroyed production facilities of the fuel industry. They were mostly deployed at oil refineries and storage depots heavily damaged during air raids in June 1944. Companies using the female forced laborers included the Rhenania Ossag (Shell), Ebano-Oehler, Schindler, and other companies at the Hamburg harbor. A survivor, Ruth Bondy, recalled the following: "Two days after we had arrived in Hamburg from Auschwitz in July 1944 . . . we—a work detachment of Jewish prisoner women in grey overalls made of jute—were taken by boat from the former tobacco storage depots at Dessauer Ufer, where we were accommodated, to clean up the Rhenania refinery, which had been heavily damaged by Allied air raids."[2] According to Hedi Fried's memoirs:

> Hamburg. Our train went via the railway station to the harbor where it stopped in front of gigantic warehouses. So this was our final destination. This was where our new life would begin, far away from the chimney's shadows. The sun was shining, the river glistening, when we were commanded to leave the train and get into the warehouse, which was to become our new home. We entered a large hall with gigantic windows, from where one could see the Elbe. There were bunk beds. . . . The bright hall was in stark contrast to our gloomy barracks in Auschwitz. We had left hell and arrived in heaven. We were given bread and coffee; coffee that actually tasted like coffee. Then I fell asleep. . . . I was awakened by a whistle and the roll call. Our first morning in our new prison gave us hope, even though the new routine was not that much different from the old one. . . . During the roll call we were separated into smaller groups. The rows of five became groups of 30 and were taken to the harbor. We got on boats, which tooted, released their lines and set on up the Elbe. If it had not been for the ruins on the banks, we could have believed that we were on summer holidays. None of us had ever been in a boat before. The water splashed on to our clothes, the wind brushed our cheeks as we stood holding hands at the railings. We reached our goal, Schindler's wharf, in about 30 minutes. . . . We had to remove bomb debris, dig dykes, carry cement sacks and form a long chain to pass bricks: entire bricks on one heap, broken bricks on another.[3]

The female prisoners probably remained at Dessauer Ufer until about mid-September 1944. Most likely, the 1,500 women were divided into three groups of about 500 each on September 13, 1944,[4] and taken to three other Neuengamme female subcamps—Wedel, Hamburg-Neugraben, and Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel. In mid-September 1944, male prisoners were interned in the Dessauer Ufer subcamp.

It is not known who was in command of the female subcamp at Dessauer Ufer. It is also unclear who was in charge of guarding the prisoners. According to survivors, discharged Wehrmacht soldiers and retired customs officers guarded the women. Information on whether there were also female SS guards in the camp is unavailable. In addition, sources are lacking that document the exact period of internment of the two female groups in the camp at the Hamburg free port.

SOURCES The following articles constitute the basis for this essay on the Dessauer Ufer women's subcamp: Rita Bake, Jutta Dalladas-Djemai, and Birgit Kiupel, *Frauen im Hamburger Hafen* (Hamburg: Christians, 1989), pp. 90–94; Ludwig Eiber, *KZ-System und Zwangsarbeit: Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme im Hamburger Hafen 1944/45* (Hamburg, 1988), especially pp.

45–47; Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1996), pp. 227–238; Kaienburg, *Das Konzentration Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1997); Ulrich Bauche, ed., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945; Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme; Aussenstelle des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1991); and Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz–Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), especially pp. 811, 817, 822.

The AG-NG holds interviews with and memoirs of survivors. These are the main source of information about the camp. Further information about the living and working conditions at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp can also be obtained at the AG-NG. In addition to accounts by Ruth Bondy and Hedi Fried, the memoirs of Lucille Eichengreen and Ruth Elias are available: Ruth Bondy, *Mehr Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1999); Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992); Lucille Eichengreen, *Von Asche zum Leben: Lebenserinnerungen* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1992); Ruth Elias, *Die Hoffnung erhielt mich am Leben: Mein Weg von Theresienstadt und Auschwitz nach Israel*, 7th ed. (Munich: Piper, 2000).

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. There are no documents on this transport. The Polish Jewish women inmates recall that they were still in Łódź in early August 1944. Thus, they could not have arrived in Hamburg before mid-August 1944.

2. Ruth Bondy, *Mehr Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1999), p. 135.

3. Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992), p. 118.

4. There are no longer any details on the transfers. According to personnel files of former customs officers and auxiliary customs officers, they commenced guarding female prisoners at the women's subcamps Hamburg-Neugraben, Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, and Wedel on September 13, 1944. Thus, this date is considered the date the women were transferred. Copies of the files are located in the records of the preliminary proceedings of the State Attorney's Office at the Hamburg Regional Court against Walter Kümmel (2000 Js 19/77, vol. 4, p. 422.; vol. 10, p. 1569). This suspected transfer date is confirmed by the fact that male prisoners were interned in the Dessauer Ufer subcamp, probably on September 15, 1944.

HAMBURG-HAMMERBROOK (*BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO*)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs.

In mid-1944, 35 men were deployed to the Hammerbrook district of Hamburg to detonate unexploded bombs.[1] The inmates may have been housed in the former Brackdamm School, and the work commando existed here until at least March 25, 1945.

SOURCES The main secondary source of information is the Hammerbrook entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. There are few sources on the Hammerbrook Bombensuchkommando attached to Neuengamme. An important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a published reproduction of the quarterly report filed by the garrison doctor Trzebinski, as well as a listing of Neuengamme subcamps. See also Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982).

Although limited, primary documentation on the Hamburg-Hammerbrook Bombensuchkommando is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See entry for "Bombens Hamburg" in the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

HAMBURG-HAMMERBROOK (SPALDINGSTRASSE)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates'

transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs. In October or November 1944, the SS established a subcamp in the St. Georgsburg apartment building at Spaldingstrasse 156/158 in the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg. Located less than 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the main train station, the Spaldingstrasse subcamp became the base from which all Hamburg subcamps were administered under the central leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann (September 1944–February 1945), followed by his successor SS-Obersturmbannführer Arnold Strippel.[1]

The Spaldingstrasse subcamp was the largest Hamburg subcamp of Neuengamme, with over 2,000 prisoners from October 1944 to April 1945. (According to a quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, there were 3,464 inmates in the camp from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945.)[2] The St. Georgsburg structure was only partially destroyed during the raids on Hamburg, and the eight-story building situated behind the courtyard was refurbished as a camp. The ground floor was reserved for the SS and commandant's quarters, and the second through sixth floors served as the inmates' living areas. The top floor was transformed into a makeshift infirmary. Roll calls were carried out in the courtyard between the two buildings of the St. Georgsburg.

Inmates imprisoned in the Spaldingstrasse subcamp represented many nationalities and had been incarcerated in Neuengamme for various reasons.[3] The Spaldingstrasse inmates included Soviet and Latvian prisoners of war (POWs) and members of the resistance from Poland, Belgium, France, and Denmark. Men rounded up during a counterresistance operation in the Dutch village of Putten were also incarcerated at Spaldingstrasse. According to former infirmary doctor Paul Lohéac, there were also Hungarian Jews in the camp, as well as Serbian and Czech prisoners. The exact dates of incoming transports to the camp are unknown. Lohéac has noted that a group of prisoners from the Dessauer Ufer commando arrived at Spaldingstrasse on April 15, 1945, shortly before the camp was evacuated. There were few German prisoners in the camp, and the SS appointed most of them as supervisors (Kapos) over the work and other daily activities of their fellow inmates.

The Spaldingstrasse inmates woke each day at four o'clock in the morning, ate a small breakfast with ersatz coffee, and gathered for roll call that often lasted for hours. The prisoners were then deployed, either on foot, by streetcar, or by train, to various work commandos in 12-hour shifts throughout Hamburg.[4] For example, inmates repaired railroad lines and telephone cables for the railroad and the postal service. One of their most dangerous work assignments was the detonation of unexploded bombs.[5] Other inmates were sent to clear rubble and bury corpses from the bombed-out Hamburg streets. Many prisoners sought to be selected for the "botanical garden commando," for which prisoners performed light gardening work and received a warm meal.

The commandant of the Spaldingstrasse camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Weber. According to postwar court testimonies of Wiedemann and a former guard in the camp, Bruno Hahn, the guard contingent consisted of naval and army officers as well as customs officials (Zollbeamter) specifically recruited to perform sentry duties within the camp. Hahn himself was a customs official and guard in the Spaldingstrasse camp.[6] Hahn also testified that under Wiedemann's supervision, the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) in the camp was SS officer Fegus. SS-Scharführer Kurt Otto Kemmerich was in charge of the Spaldingstrasse infirmary. Kemmerich had some medical training and supervised the infirmaries of all Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg that fell under the jurisdiction of the base.[7] According to Paul Lohéac, the Kapo in charge of the infirmary was André Van Steenberghen, a Belgian prisoner.

Piecing together information gathered from the death books (*Sterbebücher*) kept by the civil registry offices in Hamburg, Neuengamme, and Ohlsdorf, as well as from the infirmary books (*Revierbücher*) from the Spaldingstrasse camp, historian Thomas Krause has estimated that at least 800 inmates died in the camp. Historian Ludwig Eiber has estimated that at least 528 deaths were registered in Spaldingstrasse by the end of December 1944, although the exact number of deaths is unknown. The death rate in the camp was high, especially during the winter months. Many inmates died from diseases such as typhus, tuberculosis, and dysentery, which spread easily because of the terrible sanitary conditions in the camp (for instance, the upper floors had no water). Inmates succumbed to exhaustion from harsh working conditions, hunger, and daily abuse meted out by the SS and Kapos on the marches to work sites, during work, and within the camp. The infirmary was constantly overcrowded, and the prisoner doctors had no means to care for exhausted and ill patients. The SS conducted selections periodically in the infirmary and transported inmates who were too weak and ill to work back to the Neuengamme main camp; however, there is no specific information about exactly how many prisoners were sent back. Bodies of prisoners who died during the day in the commandos or in the infirmary were heaped in a pile on the roll-call area and transported daily to Neuengamme and Ohlsdorf for burial or cremation. In some instances, inmates who were still alive were thrown onto the pile and taken for dead.

There is no record of organized resistance or escape attempts in the Spaldingstrasse camp; however, some inmates made efforts to ameliorate the miserable daily conditions. To supplement their meager food rations, inmates attempted to "organize" extra food when possible. Former inmate Stanislaw Sterkowicz reported that on the daily marches to the work sites inmates secretly searched through trash cans to find discarded remains of food when the columns made a brief pause.[8] According to Lohéac, in March 1945, at least one inmate escaped after convincing the guards that he needed to rest in the infirmary. The prisoner doctors were accused of assisting him, investigated by the SS, and received corporal punishment for their alleged collaboration. Lohéac also noted that the infirmary became a kind of "Franco-Belgian enclave," and the doctors attempted to

assist French and Belgian prisoners until the evacuation of the camp.

During an Allied air raid on Hamburg on April 14, 1945, several bombs struck the Spaldingstrasse camp. In the ensuing panic, two camp guards were killed as well as an unknown number of inmates. With the nearing of the front, the SS began to evacuate the subcamps in the Hamburg area. The first transport from the Spaldingstrasse camp left on April 13 or 14 and reached a provisionary satellite camp created near or attached to the Sandbostel POW camp three days later. The Sandbostel camp, including the surviving inmates from Spaldingstrasse, was liberated by British and Canadian troops on April 19, 1945.

There is little information about postwar trials of SS officers who guarded the Spaldingstrasse camp. It is also hard to know whether the commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Weber was tried. Wiedemann was tried by a British military court in 1946. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term, released in 1955, and died in 1968. A British military tribunal brought Kemmerich to trial in 1947. He was charged with the murder of a Polish national in the infirmary of the Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel concentration camp. Kemmerich was found not guilty.[9]

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry comes from the extensive analysis of the Spaldingstrasse camp by Thomas Krause, "St. Georgsburg. Das KZ-Spaldingstrasse," in *Kein Ort für anständige Leute: St. Georg, Geschichte und Gegenwart eines liebenswerten Stadtteils*, ed. Michael Joho (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1990). Paul Lohéac, a former prisoner doctor in the infirmary of the Spaldingstrasse camp (among other camps and prisons), published his memoir as *Un médecin français en déportation: Neuengamme et Kommandos* (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1949). Lohéac's memoir contains a detailed chapter on his experiences in the Spaldingstrasse camp. For references as to the number of deaths in the Spaldingstrasse camp, see Ludwig Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Eiber's essay "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, also describes the transfer of prisoners from Spaldingstrasse to the subcamp at Blohm & Voss (however, no date is given).

There are few primary sources on the Spaldingstrasse subcamp, and most of these are derived from Krause's research and essay noted above. The AG-NG contains infirmary reports and witness reports related to the Spaldingstrasse camp. Some information on the number of deaths in the camp was reconstructed by Krause from the death book kept by the civil registry offices in Hamburg, Neuengamme, and Ohlsdorf and from the Spaldingstrasse camp infirmary reports. A report from former Spaldingstrasse inmate Manfred Zichmannis is published in Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen, eds., *Als letztes starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring, 1989). For information related to the trials of Wiedemann and Kemmerich, see the trial documentation of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files. Finally, photographs of concentration camp prisoners removing corpses and clearing rubble in the Hammerbrook area of Hamburg are stored at the USHMMPA, designation 59.935, WS 79113, 79114, 79115, although it is unclear whether these photos depict prisoners specifically from the Spaldingstrasse camp. The photos originate from the StA-HH, which may contain additional documentation on the Spaldingstrasse camp and the exact origin of the photos.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162-169, Examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenberg (WO 235/165), as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M (Reel 5). (The proceedings do not mention Strippel; this information has been gathered from secondary sources on the camp.)

2. Original quarterly report, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126. The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also have a translated copy (from which this number is taken) reproduced from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. [Secondary sources are contradictory and note that the number is closer to 2,000.]

3. Still to be confirmed after more research on the Geilenberg male camp: Although sources differ on the exact opening date of the camp, former commandant of the central administration Karl Wiedemann noted in his trial that the first group of prisoners to Spaldingstrasse were evacuated from Dessauer Ufer (Hamburg-Geilenberg) after it was bombed out in late October 1944 (some were sent to Spaldingstrasse, some to Hamburg-Fuhlsbuttel). The female contingent of prisoners at Dessauer Ufer was evacuated in September 1944 to Wedel, Hamburg-Neugraben, and Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel and replaced with male inmates—however, ITS dates the evacuation of the male camp to April 1945. It is possible that only some of the inmates from Dessauer Ufer were evacuated to the two camps in October 1944.

4. Manfred Zichmannis witness testimony in Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen, eds., *Als letztes starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring, 1989), p. 91.

5. Ibid., pp. 91–93.

6. Trial proceedings against Karl Wiedemann, USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 5), p. 140, and questioning of witness Bruno Hahn by Major Stewart, same file, pp. 149–156.

7. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 8).

8. Stanislaw Sterkowicz witness testimony, as quoted in Thomas Krause, "St. Georgsburg. Das KZ-Spaldingstrasse,"

in *Kein Ort für anständige Leute: St. Georg, Geschichte und Gegenwart eines liebenswerten Stadtteils*, ed. Michael Joho (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1990), pp. 95–96.

9. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 8).

HAMBURG-LANGENHORN (HEIDBERG) (*SS-KASERNE*)

In the aftermath of air raids on Hamburg in late July 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme main camp were deployed throughout the city to clear debris, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To decrease the inmates' transport time between the camp and various work sites, Neuengamme subcamps were established throughout Hamburg and its environs. In an SS barracks (SS-Kaserne) on Tangstedter Landstrasse in the Hamburg-Langenhorn district, the SS created a subcamp of Neuengamme. In addition to the SS-Kaserne subcamp, there was another subcamp in Hamburg-Langenhorn on Essener Strasse. In the latter, at least 500 Jewish women were interned for forced labor from September 1944 onward.

In the summer of 1942, some 60 inmates were transported to the SS barracks on Tangstedter Landstrasse. They came from the Neuengamme main camp and represented various nationalities; age; and prisoner groups, including political prisoners, "asocials," and so-called habitual criminals. The inmates were deployed to clear debris after air raids. In April 1945, 368 inmates evacuated from Neuengamme were temporarily interned in the barracks. The Langenhorn subcamp was evacuated to Schleswig-Holstein (the exact destination is unknown) on May 2, 1945. Some inmates may have been able to escape during evacuation.

Further information on living conditions within the subcamp, the demographics of the prisoners, the commandant or the guards, working conditions, and resistance is not available. In September 1945, the former SS barracks and concentration subcamp were transformed into the Heidberg General Hospital (*Allgemeines Krankenhaus Heidberg*). No information about postwar trials associated with the Langenhorn subcamp is available.

SOURCES Few primary or secondary sources on the Langenhorn camp exist. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG: Max Andree, *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990; Ausstellung der Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur* (Hamburg: MHG, 1990). Additional information on the subcamps in Langenhorn can be found in Karl-Heinz Zietlow, *Unrecht nicht vergessen: 1933–1945; Zwangsarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in Hamburg-Langenhorn* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1995). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1997). It offers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps.

Primary source material on Langenhorn is scarce. Some documentation is most likely located at the AG-NG. This archive contains witness reports and other relevant documents that may provide additional insight into conditions inside the camp as well as on the camp administration.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

HAMBURG-LANGENHORN (OCHSENZOLL)

The Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) subcamp operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp between September 1944 and the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. It was a camp solely for female prisoners. (The camp grounds were later to be found in Essen Strasse, Langenhorn, a suburb in north Hamburg, on the city's edge.)

As early as August 1942, a building application was lodged at the Hamburg City Planning Office for the construction of a camp consisting of barracks for East European male and female workers, on the grounds of Essen Strasse. The camp was quickly built and expanded in 1943. In the summer of 1944, part of the camp was set aside for the proposed subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp. This section of the camp was further expanded by the construction of two additional wooden barracks. The newly constructed camp consisted of two large prisoner barracks, a kitchen barracks together with a small infirmary, and a small storage room. The SS accommodation barracks was probably outside the camp directly next to the camp entrance.

Thanks to the Stutthof concentration camp commandant's Order No. 61, it is known when the female prisoners left the Stutthof concentration camp in the direction of north Germany. That surviving document states as follows:

> According to FT [*Funktelegramm*, radio telegram] of the Head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] on 25.08.1944 and on 29.08.1944, 500 female Jewish prisoners are to be transferred from the Stutthof concentration camp to the Neuengamme concentration camp—Hamburg-Ochsenzoll. The names of the transferring prisoners have already been recorded and examined by the camp doctor. The head of administration is to ensure that the prisoners are correctly dressed. The prisoners will leave Stutthof for Tiegenhof at about 3.00 pm on 12.09.1944. The exact time of their departure will soon be ordered. The prisoners will leave Tiegenhof by rail in 7 carriages at 6.35 pm. The transport leader will be SS-Oberscharführer Redder of the 1st Company. He will have as support 9 men from the 1st Company and 6 men from the 2nd company. The head of administration has two days' supplies for both prisoners and guards. SS-Oberscharführer Redder has been ordered to hand the prisoners over at their destination. The hand-over is to be reported to me by telegram. SS-Oberscharführer Redder is to return to

> Stutthof with the accompanying guards once he has successfully handed over the prisoners. Traveling papers are to be collected by SS-Oberscharführer Redder at the adjutant's office on 12.09.1944 at 12.00 pm.[1]

According to the survivors' recollections, the trip from Stutthof to Hamburg lasted three to four days. The documents that could exactly identify the arrival date no longer exist.

According to a report of the SS camp doctor, Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated March 29, 1945, 740 female prisoners were admitted to the subcamp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) on March 25, 1945.[2] It is most probable that in addition to the 500 Jewish women who arrived at the camp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) from Stutthof in September 1944, there was a further transport of about 250 women from the female concentration camp Ravensbrück at the beginning of March 1945. These women included so-called female criminal prisoners and Gypsies.

The nationalities of the Jewish inmates are known, thanks to the surviving WVHA prisoners' index cards.[3] According to the cards, the women were predominantly from Lithuania. Some were from Estonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and also Germany. Prior to their incarceration in Stutthof and Neuengamme, many of them had been held in different ghettos such as Kaunas, Wilno, and Theresienstadt. From these ghettos they were transferred to concentration camps in the east, such as Vaivara or Riga-Kaiserwald, until most of them were deported from those camps during the course of 1944 to the concentration camp Stutthof.

The commandants of the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp remain unidentified. The survivors recall three camp commandants. According to their reports, there was a change in the camp command shortly before Christmas in 1944 and again in February 1945. In addition to the camp leadership, SS female guards were responsible for security within the camp. Male guards, some of them customs officials, were responsible for security outside the camp. Survivors' reports indicate that there were about 20 female guards and an unknown number of male guards.

The female prisoners of the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp were put to work in armaments production. They worked predominantly in a two-shift system, each shift of 12 hours for the Hanseatic firms Kettenwerk and Messap. The women had to produce mostly guns and ammunition, for example, flak grenades and bazookas, on metal-processing machines. Both prisoners of war (POWs) and German workers worked for both firms, and the concentration camp guards were careful to ensure that the Jewish prisoners did not make any contact with the other workers.

It is possible that a few of the female prisoners from the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp were also used for excavation work or gardening in the newly constructed project homes in the direct vicinity of the female subcamp. But firm evidence for this is unavailable.

The Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) subcamp was probably evacuated on either April 3 or 4, 1945. After a three-day odyssey, the women reached the "reception camp" Bergen-Belsen, where, if they survived the tribulations in that camp, they were freed by the British on April 15, 1945. Following the evacuation of the female prisoners, the external subcamp Langenhorn (Ochsenzell), as part of the evacuation of countless camps in Germany in the last days of the war, was filled with female prisoners from Beendorf, also a subcamp of Neuengamme. These women were freed at the beginning of May 1945 by British soldiers.

SOURCES This article is based on the book by Karl-Heinz Zietlow, *Unrecht nicht vergessen: 1933–1945; Zwangsarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in Hamburg-Langenhorn* (Hamburg, 1995). On the Trzebinski report, see Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982).

A few interviews and memoirs from the female survivors about the history of the camp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) are to be found in AG-NG. The author interviewed a few survivors of this camp. Other accounts are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Sima Skurkovitz published her memoirs under the title *Simas Lieder: Hoffnung und Trost in finsterer Nacht* (Jerusalem, 1993). Documents prepared by the architect Konstantin Gutschow, which are found in the StA-HH, provide information about the construction dates of the first barracks in Hamburg-Langenhorn. Copies of the concentration camp Stutthof commandant's order and the WVHA's prisoners' cards are to be found in AG-NG. Documents confirming the arrival date of the women in Hamburg or their departure at the beginning of April 1945 are just as unlikely to be found as documents regarding the female and male guards of the camp at Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll).

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. See Commandant's Order No. 61 of the Commandant of the Concentration Camp Stutthof on September 11, 1944, AG-NG, Best.: Lists and Transports to Neuengamme, NG 3.2.3.10. In addition to this order, there is also a transport list in which 100 Jewish women who were on this transport are mentioned by their names.

2. See the report by SS doctor Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated September 29, 1945, cited by Werner Johe in *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982), p. 76.

3. See the prisoners' cards of the SS-WVHA, AG-NG.

HAMBURG-NEUGRABEN

The Neuengamme/Hamburg-Neugraben subcamp is said to have existed between September 1944 and February 1945. It was a camp solely for females. It was located along what was later Falkenbergweg in the middle of the Neugraben Heath (Neugrabener Heide) on the southern edge of the city of Hamburg.

On this site just to the south of Falkenberg there had existed, probably since the end of the 1930s, a camp with 30 wooden barracks. At first German construction workers and

later prisoners of war (POWs) and forced laborers were accommodated here. In the summer of 1944, a small part of the camp was separated from the rest of the camp with fence posts and barbed wire. This area was to hold female prisoners from Neuengamme, while the rest of the camp continued to hold forced laborers and POWs.

The subcamp consisted of five barracks, two of which were used to accommodate the prisoners. In another two wooden barracks were located the camp kitchen, the sick bay, the washroom, and the toilets. A fifth, unfinished barracks also belonged to the camp.

It is most probable that the Neugraben women's camp was occupied by about 500 Czech Jews on September 13, 1944, since it was on this day that most customs officers, who were to guard the women, commenced their service at the camp. It is therefore assumed that the camp opened on the same day.

The Jewish women reached Neugraben from the Neuengamme subcamp (Dessauer Ufer), of Hamburg-Geilenberg where they had been brought from Auschwitz in the middle of July 1944. The Czech women were held in the so-called Family Camp in Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they had been brought in December 1943 and May 1944 from the Theresienstadt ghetto.

The Neugraben camp for women was commanded by Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, who was born in 1896 in Paderborn. Kliem was drafted into the Wehrmacht as a noncommissioned officer on August 26, 1939. Because of his age, he was forced to end his service with the frontline troops on the Eastern Front in May 1944. On July 6, 1944, he was transferred to the Allgemeine-SS. While serving in the SS, he reached the rank of Hauptscharführer. At first Kliem worked in the office of the Dessauer Ufer subcamp. However, on October 18, 1944, he became commander of the female camp at Neugraben. Kliem replaced Untersturmführer Otto Schulz, who had been in command of the subcamp for a month since it had been established in September 1944.

Kliem was arrested in November 1945 and sentenced by the British War Crimes Court in Hamburg in November 1945 to 15 years' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners at the Neugraben subcamp. Kliem was released from Werl Prison in 1955 for good behavior.

The female prisoners in Hamburg-Neugraben were supervised inside the camp by female SS wardens and outside the camp by retired customs officers. According to Kliem, five female SS wardens were instructed to supervise the female prisoners inside the camp. One of them was Anneliese Kohlmann, who was born on March 23, 1921, in Hamburg. She joined the Nazi Party on April 1, 1940. On November 4, 1944, she was appointed senior warden in the Neugraben subcamp. In February 1945, she and the prisoners were transferred to the camp at Hamburg-Tiefstack, where she remained as senior warden until April 1945. She was arrested as early as April 17, 1945. On May 16, 1946, she was charged in Hamburg with mistreating prisoners. Kohlmann was found guilty on May 16, 1946, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. She died on September 17, 1977, at the age of 56.

According to the surviving personnel files, the custom officers or customs auxiliary officers, between 20 and 25 in number, were responsible for security outside the camp at Neugraben. They worked in changing shifts.

The survivors unanimously state that the female prisoners in Neugraben were used mostly for construction at the so-called Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate. Under the leadership of German skilled tradesmen from the construction company Prien, Holst, and Weseloh, the women built a settlement for bombed-out Hamburg families who had been made homeless as a result of the heavy bombing raids on the city commencing in the summer of 1943, on the southern edge of Hamburg. Some of the prisoners dug the ground to lay water pipes or electricity cables. They also had to transport building materials such as cement, sand, and small building stones or steel beams from the delivery point not far from the railway station at Hamburg-Neugraben. This was done with the help of a specially laid mine-car system that had been installed at the construction site. However, in order to get the building materials to the building sites, a group of women first had to construct a few streets in the housing estate because the building lots had not yet been opened up.

Aside from helping to construct the estate, the women were used to manufacture concrete slabs and hollow bricks (Malo-Stein) for the companies Gizzi and Malo. The slabs and bricks were used in constructing the Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate.

Toward the end of the war, the female prisoners were used to remove rubble from Hamburg, Neugraben, and Buxtehude, excavating tank traps to defend Hamburg, and removing snow in the Hamburg inner city. However, it remains unclear whether this work was done by the women from the subcamp at Neugraben or the camp at Tiefstack.

Most probably the women were transferred on February 18, 1945, from the Neugraben camp to Tiefstack.

SOURCES This depiction of the Neugraben subcamp is based on the article by Karl-Heinz Schultz, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Neugraben," in *Harburg: Von der Burg zur Industriestadt; Beiträge zur Geschichte Harburgs 1288–1938*, ed. Jürgen Ellermeyer, Klaus Richter, and Dirk Stegmann (Hamburg, 1988), pp. 493–503.

The AG-NG contains numerous interviews and memoirs of the female survivors. The author has conducted many interviews with the former prisoners. Other reports are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Ruth Bondy has written about the camp in her book *Mehr Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen, 1999); as has Hana Greenfield in *Von Kolin nach Jerusalem: Erinnerungen* (Hamburg, 1999). Some of the trial files relating to Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, which provide details about his life, are located in BA-K. The trial files for Anneliese Kohlmann are also located here. Files of the male guards are located in the investigation proceedings against Walter Kümmel (commander of the subcamp at Hamburg-Eidelstedt), which are held by the Hamburg State Court. There are no original sources that, for example, provide de-

tails about the period in which the camp operated or when the wooden barracks were constructed.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HAMBURG-ROTHENBURGSORT [AKA BULLENHUSER DAMM]

The Neuengamme subcamp in the former high school at Bullenhuser Damm in the Hamburg suburb of Rothenburgsort existed from October 1, 1944, to April 21, 1945. The establishment of the camp was the result of a cooperative effort between the city of Hamburg and the SS enterprise German Earth and Stone Works (DESt). In September 1944, the Hamburg Gauleiter Kaufmann asked the SS to allocate concentration camp prisoners so that construction material could be extracted from rubble. A short time later, on October 12, 1944, the SS and the city of Hamburg agreed that concentration camp prisoners could be used to manufacture concrete blocks from the rubble for DESt.[1] The concentration camp prisoners and the SS guards were to be accommodated in the former high school at 92/94 Bullenhuser Damm in the bombed-out suburb of Rothenburgsort. The city of Hamburg put the school at the disposal of DESt, financed renovations to the building, and secured the area as a concentration camp. The city also undertook to supply the brick rubble and take out the concrete blocks. DESt, in return, was to carry out the production with the concentration camp prisoners. Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) guaranteed to DESt the use of 1,000 concentration camp prisoners.

The first male prisoners arrived at Bullenhuser Damm in November or December 1944. They put the school buildings in order, removed rubble from the work grounds, and secured the site with a barbed-wire fence.[2] In January 1945, the city of Hamburg and DESt entered into a contract for the use of concentration camp prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.[3] Historian Hermann Kaienburg stated that additional male prisoners arrived in the camp at the beginning of February. The prisoners stored the rubble to be used as construction material in a factory hall bordering the school grounds. In addition to the prisoners, there were some Scandinavian prisoners who, as a result of negotiations between Heinrich Himmler and the Swedish Red Cross representative Count Folke Bernadotte, were relocated from throughout Germany in March 1945 to Neuengamme. From there they were taken in April 1945 by the Red Cross in buses to Denmark. The SS established a medical center at Bullenhuser Damm at the beginning of 1945. Numerous disabled prisoners of the Neuengamme concentration camp were relocated to this center.

Details about the number of prisoners in Bullenhuser Damm vary. According to Danish historian Jørgen H. Barfod, there were in all 600 prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.[4] This number corresponds to the quarterly report of SS-Standortarzt Alfred Trzebinski made to the WVHA on March 29, 1945, which refers to 592 prisoners. Kaienburg, on the other hand, considers the numbers to be higher, especially when one takes into consideration the prisoners in the medical center and the Scandinavian prisoners. Kaienburg is of the opinion that there were at least 1,000 prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.

The subcamp was under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Ewald Jauch. The SS evacuated the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp in April 1945.

Following the evacuation of the camp on April 20, 1945, the SS murdered 20 Jewish children and 28 adults in the cellars of the Bullenhuser Damm camp. The children, 10 boys and 10 girls, aged between 5 and 12 years, had been deported from Auschwitz to Neuengamme in November 1944. The SS physician Dr. Kurt Heissmeyer began conducting medical experiments with tuberculosis cells on the children in January 1945. Under strict secrecy, Heissmeyer had begun the experiments in June 1944 on concentration camp prisoners, including many Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Heissmeyer believed that he could develop a vaccine against tuberculosis. He infected the adults and children with tuberculosis cells. He then removed the lymph nodes from the armpits of the seriously ill victims, as he suspected that here he could find the vaccine against the disease. Heissmeyer concluded his medical experiments on the children in March 1945. For his crimes to be hidden, the children together with two Dutch nurses and two French doctors were hanged in the cellars of the evacuated subcamp on April 20, 1945. A few hours after the murder of the children, 24 Soviet POWs from the Spaldingstrasse subcamp were also executed in the former school.

Those responsible for the murders were the base commander (Stützpunktleiter) for all the Hamburg subcamps, Arnold Strippel, and the camp commander at Bullenhuser Damm, Jauch. The SS garrison physician in Neuengamme, Trzebinski, and SS-Unterscharführer Johann Frahm carried out the murders.

The British military court sentenced Trzebinski, Jauch, and Frahm to death in the Curio-Haus Trial from March to May 1946.[5] The former SS doctor Heissmeyer was arrested in December 1964 in Magdeburg in the German Democratic Republic and in June 1966 was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity. Strippel was arrested in 1948 in Frankfurt am Main. He was sentenced in 1949 at a trial by jury to 21 life sentences for the murder of 21 Jewish prisoners in 1939 at the Buchenwald concentration camp. A Frankfurt court reduced the sentence in 1970 to 6 years. The reduction was justified on the basis that he had already spent 20 years in prison. He received compensation of 121,500 deutschemark (DM) for the "innocent prison time." The Hamburg State Prosecutor stopped investigations into the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm.

SOURCES The most important source on the history of the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp is Hermann Kaienburg's published dissertation on the Neuengamme concentration camp

"Vernichtung durch Arbeit": Der Fall Neuengamme, 2nd ed. (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); as well as his general study *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997). Research by journalist Günther Schwarberg was instrumental in ensuring that the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm was not forgotten: *Der SS-Arzt und die Kinder. Bericht über den Mord vom Bullenhuser Damm* (Hamburg: Gruner und Jahr, 1979); and *Der SS-Arzt und die Kinder vom Bullenhuser Damm* (1988; Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 1997). Fritz Bringmann, a former prisoner orderly at Neuengamme, published a report on the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm, *Kindermord am Bullenhuserdamm* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978). An earlier account of the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp is by Danish historian Jørgen H. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), pp. 239–240.

References to the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp are found in a number of archives that are referred to by Hermann Kaienburg. The SS-Quarterly Report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski dated March 29, 1945, is located in the bequest by Hans Schwarz that is held in FZH. The draft contract between the city of Hamburg and the DESt is located in BA, and the actual contract dated January 3, 1945, is located in StA-HH. Of fundamental importance (especially for the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm) are the files of the Third Neuengamme Trial by a British military court, which took place between March and May 1946 at the Curio Building in Hamburg. They are located in AG-NG. The investigation files are held at FZH.

Katharina Hering
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Draft Contract Hamburg-DESt and covering letter October 25, 1944 (BA NS, 3-1344).
2. Yearly Report of the DESt Neuengamme 1944 (Excerpt Point IVe, FZH in Hamburg 13-6-13); Affidavit Johann Frahm 2. May 1946 (Ng. 3rd Case, 1/96); Statement Ewald Jauch (Ng. 3rd Case, 1/44); Ewald Gondzik, Report 22. September 1945; Nachlass Hans Schwarz, FZH.
3. Contract January 13, 1945 (StA-HH, FBI 21-602-1/1).
4. Jørgen H. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), p. 239.
5. Neuengamme 3rd Case, 13-7-6-3, FZH.

HAMBURG-SASEL-POPPENBÜTTEL

The Neuengamme subcamp at Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel most probably existed between September 1944 and the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. While it operated, it was a camp solely for women prisoners. It was situated not far from the Mellingburg Lock (Mellingburger Schleuse), between what was later to become Hohensasel Strasse and Saseler Mühlenweg, in the Hamburg suburb of Hamburg-Sasel.

The barracks camp at the Mellingburger Schleuse, which had previously held prisoners of war (POWs), consisted of several accommodation barracks for women, a kitchen barracks, a sick bay, a washroom, and toilets.

The Sasel-Poppenbüttel camp for women was probably occupied by 500 Polish Jewish female prisoners on September 13, 1944. This date is taken as the date the camp opened because most of the customs officials who were to guard the women commenced duty at the camp on September 13, 1944.

The prisoners had been sent from the Neuengamme/Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) subcamp for women to the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. Before that they had been in Auschwitz and then sent to Dessauer Ufer in the middle of August 1944. Most of the Polish women were held for a short time in the so-called C Camp of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, arriving there in early August 1944. Prior to that they had been in the Łódź ghetto.

There were probably two camp leaders at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. Hauptmann Mercker was in charge for the first six weeks after the establishment of the camp. On November 1, 1944, Leonhard Stark took command. According to the British trial files, Stark was born on September 30, 1891. Before he joined the SS, reaching the rank of Oberscharführer, he had worked as a gardener. In 1946, he was sentenced by the British military court in Hamburg to 15 years in prison for war crimes.

The female prisoners at Sasel-Poppenbüttel were guarded inside the camp by female SS wardens. Outside the camp they were guarded by retired customs officials. There were about 25 female SS wardens in the camp. Some of them were charged together with Stark in 1946 before a British military court in Hamburg and sentenced to prison terms of between a few months and several years for mistreating prisoners. Those charged included Ursula Eberstein, Lieselotte Müller, Johanna Freund, Elfrieda Ignatowitz, Magdalena Roper, Ilse Sass, Sofie Wisch, Elisabeth Luth, Ida Römer, and Hildegard Lenz. According to some surviving personnel files, the number of male guards was about the same as the number of female guards. After the customs officials retired, they were forced to join the Waffen-SS and undertake guard duty. In rotating shifts they had to secure the external perimeters of the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel and accompany the prisoners to their various work sites, together with the female SS wardens.

The female prisoners were used in the first instance in the construction of emergency accommodations for bombed-out Hamburg families. They worked under the supervision of German tradesmen from the construction firms Möller, Kowal & Bruns, Wayss & Freytag, and Volkenreich, building houses at the "Plattenbüttel" settlement, as it was called by the local population. They built the houses from the foundation to the roof. They also pushed the building material on small mine cars to the storage facilities, under the supervision of civilian workers from the railway station at Poppenbüttel. According to former inhabitants of the houses, the prisoners constructed about 50 slab-built homes. Emergency housing was still being built at the end of the war, and in the first postwar year, work was continued by the owners of the houses.

About 50 women from the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel did not work directly in the construction of the Plattenbüttel housing estate but worked for the companies Möller, Kowal & Bruns in the so-called Beef Hall (Rinderhalle) in

the Heiligengeistfeld district of the inner city of Hamburg. Here the women had to grind the rubble, which was made into concrete slabs. The prisoners not only produced the slabs but were also responsible for transporting them to Poppenbüttel.

Some of the women who were originally to work on the construction of the emergency housing were also used to remove rubble from the Hamburg city area, as Hamburg continued to be bombed right up to the end of the war. The prisoners were taken daily, either by foot or on a special train, to the inner city of Hamburg to remove the rubble from the streets. Madeleine Schulps, a survivor of the camp, recalls the following: "From the middle of the winter we were itinerant workers. We never stayed at one place for too long. We always went where we were needed. . . . Driven on by the SS men we worked until we were exhausted. . . . We [were] required to remove the rubble from a foundry after a bombing raid. There was a large square there and most of the work was done in the open air. There were other workers besides our group—French and Russian prisoners of war. . . . It was strenuous working the whole day in the open in the cold weather. We did not have gloves and had to lift the cold heavy concrete blocks with our bare hands."[1]

The Sasel-Poppenbüttel subcamp was probably evacuated on April 7, 1945. After a two- or three-day odyssey, the women reached the holding camp at Bergen-Belsen, where, if they survived that camp, they were liberated by the British on April 15, 1945. As part of the evacuation of numerous camps in Germany in the last days of the war, the Sasel-Poppenbüttel subcamp after the evacuation of the Jewish prisoners was occupied by female prisoners from the subcamp at Beendorf and possibly the Hamburg female subcamps at Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), both of which were Neuengamme female subcamps.

SOURCES The basis of this essay on the Sasel-Poppenbüttel camp are two studies by students at Gymnasium Oberalster: Gymnasium Oberalster, ed., *Geschichte eines Aussenlagers: KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1981); and *Lebenszeugnisse aus dem KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1998). Reference should also be made to Thomas Krause, *Gedenkstätte Plattenhaus Poppenbüttel: Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Hamburg-Sasel* (Hamburg, 1990).

The AG-NG holds numerous interviews and memoirs of the female survivors of the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. I have also conducted a number of interviews with former camp prisoners. Other reports are held in YVA and AG-BB. Lucille Eichengreen has published a report titled *Von Asche zum Leben: Lebenserinnerungen*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg, 1993). The British trial files are in BA-K and provide details on the female guards and the camp commander. Files on the male guards are held in the investigation files of Sta. Hamburg. They are now held in the LG-Hamburg. There are no original documents that, for example, provide details of the period that the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel existed or when the accommodation barracks were constructed.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Report by Madeleine Schulps in Gymnasium Oberalster, ed., *Lebenszeugnisse aus dem KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1998), p. 43.

HAMBURG-STEINWERDER (*BLOHM & VOSS*)

The decision to use concentration camp prisoners at the Hamburg shipyards of Blohm & Voss was made in August 1944 by the local Hamburg Business Committee (Wirtschaftsgremien). Shortly after that, the shipyard management made contact with a manager of the Drägerwerk in order to gain details of its experiences with concentration camp prisoners. Once the report was received, which was positive about the prisoners' labor, the most important owner of the shipyard, Rudolf Blohm, decided to house the prisoners in the Malereigebäude (paint buildings) in the shipyards. This was after the shipyard's management had skeptically viewed the establishment of a camp.

At the beginning of October 1944, the first prisoners arrived at the shipyard: 68 prisoners in the first detachment were from the Alt-Garge subcamp, where they had been chosen by shipyard employees. On October 19, the manager of Machine Hall I at the shipyard, Dechow, inspected the Neuengamme concentration camp and chose another 84 prisoners. The detachment probably quickly reached its planned strength of 500 prisoners. However, the conditions in the camp meant that there were soon transports of sick prisoners back to the Neuengamme main camp. These prisoners were replaced with several transports from the Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse) subcamp.

Shortly after the war, a committee of former political prisoners compiled a list of 572 names of prisoners who worked at Blohm & Voss. The list then categorized the prisoners according to nationality, including 202 Poles, 201 Soviets, 45 French, 34 Belgians, 30 Dutch, 15 Yugoslavs, and 12 Germans.[1] All that is known about the prisoner-functionaries is that a German Polish Kapo was noted for his brutality. It is most likely that the few German prisoners had the key positions in the prisoner hierarchy. A survivor has stated that the camp elder was a German prisoner with a green triangle. According to another Soviet prisoner, a few German criminal prisoners, notorious for their violence, were once beaten by German Communist prisoners.[2] The commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peitz. It is known that he often beat the prisoners with a rubber truncheon or set dogs on the prisoners. Security was largely provided for by naval infantrymen.

Some 1,500 square meters (16,146 square feet) in the former shipyard's paint building were available to accommodate the 500 prisoners. In justifying its actions after the war, a representative of the shipyard stated that the prisoners were given iron bed frames with sacks of straw and two woolen blankets per man. On the other hand, a wharf laborer stated that the prisoners had to sleep on a blanket on the floor. In the building's cel-

lar, there were washbasins and six showers. There were also toilets and a separated sick bay in the paint building.

There is a record of a dispute between Blohm and the Neuengamme commandant, Max Pauly, on the prisoners' food supply. Pauly had originally insisted that the paint building have its own kitchen, which would be operated by the camp administration. Rudolf Blohm successfully insisted that the prisoners be fed by the factory kitchen. However, this seems not to have brought any advantages to the prisoners. The food available to them was basically no different to the hunger rations in other subcamps. A Dutch prisoner described the situation as follows: "We were badly treated. There was insufficient food, inadequate breaks. . . . In the evening we were given a piece of bread and a little brown, warm water, occasionally coffee. The food came from the factory kitchen. When this was struck during a bombing raid there was for weeks no warm food."[3]

The concentration camp prisoners were put to work in the shipyard's Machine Hall I. Here they were assigned work by the Blohm & Voss foremen. Blohm wished to increase the hours worked to 69 per week, and even this was exceeded. At the end, the prisoners worked 72 hours a week. This meant that, after deducting breaks, the prisoners worked 11 hours a day from Monday to Saturday and 6 hours on Sunday. The hours worked each week by prisoners were at least 10 hours above that worked by other shipyard workers. The prisoners worked mainly in producing U-boat parts using a lathe, drilling, and assembly tools.[4] An advantage for the prisoners was the lack of resources. There was little sense in trying to work at breakneck speeds when the raw materials were unavailable.

Despite the relatively good working conditions inside a fairly dry building, sickness and death ruled in the Blohm & Voss subcamp. Rashes, ulcerated wounds, and dropsy were prevalent. The death rate for the production detachments was relatively high. In 1946, a shipyard laborer swore in a statutory declaration that a political prisoner had told him that 227 prisoners had died in the six months of the camp's existence.[5] The Neuengamme Memorial identified the names of 89 dead prisoners.[6] This number includes almost exclusively those prisoners who died in the subcamp and not those sick prisoners who were transported back to Neuengamme.

A report by the SS-Standortarzt, prepared shortly before the evacuation, reveals that of the originally healthy detachment only 419 prisoners were alive in the subcamp.[7] The shipyard management from the beginning of 1945 became increasingly concerned that Allied troops could find the prisoners in the shipyard and lobbied within the Hamburg Wirtschaftsgremien and the relevant SS offices for the timely evacuation of the prisoners. The prisoners of the Blohm & Voss camp were transported back to the Neuengamme main camp on April 12, 1945, before the arrival of Allied forces.

After the war, a committee of former prisoners collected information on the Blohm & Voss subcamp to use it, inter alia, for a trial by a British military court. The committee was supported by the shipyard's management, which collected statements from its employees. However, none of the members of the shipyard management or the camp command were prosecuted.[8] The establishment of the Central Office for State Justice Administrations in Ludwigsburg (ZdL) and the search for information by the Hamburg State Prosecutor did not proceed beyond preliminary investigations.[9]

SOURCES The secondary sources used in this essay are Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (1995): 57–73; and Andreas Meyerhoff, *Blohm und Voss im Dritten Reich: Eine Hamburger Grosswerft zwischen Geschäft und Politik* (Hamburg, 2001), pp. 484–490. Both authors disagree with the claim by Susanne Wiborg, in *Walter Blohm: Schiffe und Flugzeuge aus Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1993), p. 102, that the use of prisoners at the shipyard was a result of a decision by the Hauptausschuss Schiffbau. See also Ludwig Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 227–238. On the guards, see p. 233 of the latter article. On the evacuation of this camp, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 33.

Information on the subcamp is largely based on original Blohm & Voss files, which were handed over to the StA-HH. Another important source is the statements by the brothers Blohm as well as several company employees after the end of the war, which are held in the BA-BL (SAPMO, BY 5/V 279/66). A few statements by former prisoners are held in the archives of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. As cited in Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (1995): 64.

2. Report of the Soviet prisoner B., in AG-NG, 2.8./1247; Report M.T., in AG-NG, 2.8/1069.

3. Cited by Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 63. Eiber notes that the kitchen ceased to operate from March 1945.

4. Report of Soviet prisoner M.T., in AG-NG, 2.8./1069.

5. As cited in Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 65.

6. Datenbank, AG-NG.

7. See the "Vierteljährige Bericht des SS-Standortarztes vom 29. März 1945," in StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.

8. As cited in Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 67.

9. BA-L, ZdL 404 AR 1545/67, p. 57.

HAMBURG-STEINWERDER (*STÜLCKENWERFT*)

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in the Steinwerder district of Hamburg near Norderelbstrasse/Rohrweg. The Stülckenwerft subcamp was 1 of over 15 Neuen-

gamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings and one of several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943 from Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, subcamps were created throughout Hamburg and its surrounding districts. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft (Stülckenwerft), and Deutsche Werft.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of the armaments commando (Rüstungskommando) in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would receive between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies were to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944. An agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and Dr. May, the labor allocation group leader (Arbeitseinsatzgruppenleiter) for the Hamburg shipyards, authorized the use of concentration camp inmates as workers in the shipbuilding industry.

In October–November 1944, an unknown number of inmates were deported from Neuengamme to the Stülckenwerft factory in Steinwerder. Although various secondary sources have listed the opening date of the Stülckenwerft camp as October 1944, several former inmates including Laszlo Kohn, as well as testimonies from Hungarian former inmates given to the National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB), have noted that they were deported to the camp on or around November 22, 1944.[1] The inmates were all male and had been deported from various countries, including Hungary, Holland, and Germany. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski, who oversaw medical treatment in the Neuengamme camp system, there were at least 230 inmates in the Stülckenwerft subcamp during the time period covered in the report from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945.[2] There is no further information about exact numbers, demographics, or rate of death of the inmates imprisoned in the camp.

The inmates were housed in a factory building on the grounds of the Stülckenwerft firm. According to one former inmate, who had been deported from Budapest to Neuengamme and from there to the Stülckenwerft subcamp, "The factory building was a proper brick building with stories; we were lodged on the highest, third floor. We were all kept in a big room, everybody had their own beds, there was central heating, electric lighting, so we could wash ourselves, [and] everybody had their own dish and cutlery."[3] At some point during the camp's existence, during one of the many air raids, the building where the inmates were housed was hit, and the inmates were moved to the second floor.[4] The inmates were awakened at 5:00 A.M. every morning and were given little to no food before they were sent to work in the shipbuilding factory. In some cases, the Kapos stole food from the inmates.[5]

Inmates in the subcamp were employed in the ship construction factory at Stülckenwerft, where they performed electrical and welding work or cleared rubble after air raids. The prisoners made up about 10 percent of the Stülckenwerft staff, and during their work, German foremen (most likely Kapos, although this is unclear from the protocols or from secondary literature) supervised the inmates. According to one former inmate, the foremen were particularly cruel and beat the inmates constantly; some inmates were reported to have died from this brutal treatment.[6] The prisoners suffered constant bombardments during the 12-hour work shifts but were permitted to take shelter. Upon their return from work assignments, the inmates endured roll calls, which could last for hours.[7] From December 31 to March 22, 1945, female inmates from the Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel camp were forced to clear rubble at Stülckenwerft. However, they were most likely not housed in the barracks there but rather in a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) in Wilhelmsburg.

There is no information about the guards in the Stülckenwerft camp or about the commandant of the camp. Like all other Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg, they answered to and were administered by the Hamburg base, which was located at the Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse) subcamp, and fell under the leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann. According to a list of subcamps attached to the translation of Trzebinski's quarterly report (which includes the names of SS overseeing doctors, number of prisoners, and number of guards for each), the SS doctor who oversaw medical care at Stülckenwerft was Dr. Hintzelmann, and his assistant was SS-Rottenführer Joerss. The report also lists 44 guards at Stülckenwerft; however, there is no further information about their ranks or affiliations.[8]

Just prior to the dissolution of the camp in April 1945, a group of inmates from Stülckenwerft was most likely evacuated to barracks at the nearby Deutsche Werft in March 1945, where they were employed again in the clearing of rubble. Living conditions were terrible, and they suffered several air raids, which destroyed parts of the camp. Inmates transferred from Stülckenwerft at this time may have been housed in the subcamp barracks in Hamburg-Finkenwerder, the location for inmates deployed to work at the Deutsche Werft.[9]

With the nearing of the front, the subcamp at Stülckenwerft was evacuated on April 21, 1945. Some of the inmates may have been evacuated to Bremervörder or Brillit by train or on foot to the receiving camp at the Sandbostel prisoner-of-war camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Steinwerder (Stülckenwerft) subcamp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who com-

piled a series of essays for the MHG, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the former grounds of the camp. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, although this essay focuses mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Stülckenwerft camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For a broad history of the Stülckenwerft company (but no relevant information on the subcamp), see Ernst Hieke, *H.C. Stülcken Sohn: Ein deutsches Werftschicksal* (Hamburg: Hanseatischer Merkur, 1955). The two volumes of *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), contain some brief information about the evacuation of the Stülckenwerft subcamp.

Primary sources on the Stülckenwerft camp are scarce; in his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard subcamps. The AG-NG contain reports from former inmates of the camp. The StA-HH has some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg but contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of DEGOB protocols from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946. Several protocols briefly describe conditions in the Stülckenwerft camp; see especially Protocols 3484, 250, and 1950. Others refer to Hamburg shipyards in general but give little specific information as to the location or name of the employing firm (Protocols 2990, 875, and 1492).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. See report from former inmate Laszlo Kohn, AG-NG, as quoted in Max Andree, *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990), n.p. See also testimony of Hungarian inmates: HJMA, DEGOB Protocols, Protocol 3484 (G.W.); Protocol 250 (A.W.) (states November but no exact date); and Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.). [All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by Gábor Kádár.]

2. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

3. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

4. Ibid.

5. Protocol 250 (A.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

6. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

7. Protocol 250 (A.W.) and Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

8. Trzebinski report, p. 2 of attachment.

9. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), Protocol 250 (A.W.), Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

HAMBURG-TIEFSTACK

The Hamburg-Tiefsack subcamp existed probably between the beginning of February and the end of March or beginning of April 1945. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp and during its short existence solely held female prisoners. It was located on a street known later as Andreas-Meyer Strasse, not far from Billwerder Cove in that part of Hamburg known as Billbrook.

According to workers of the optical factory Müller & Co., the camp comprised three wooden barracks. Two barracks were used to accommodate the prisoners, and the third served as a kitchen, canteen, and washroom. Within the enclosed area of the camp there was also a latrine and two bunkers.

Former employees of the optical factory, where some of the women were employed, have reported that most probably about 500 Czech Jewish female prisoners were admitted to the Tiefstack subcamp on February 6, 1945. They had been sent from the Hamburg-Neugraben subcamp for women.

Prior to their arrival at Neugraben, the Jewish women had been held in Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer), also a subcamp of Neuengamme. They had been held there since the middle of July 1944 after they had arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Czech Jewish female prisoners were held in the so-called Family Camp. They had been sent there from the Theresienstadt ghetto between December 1943 and May 1944.

The Tiefstack subcamp, like Neugraben, was under the command of Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, who was born in 1896 in Paderborn. Kliem was called up by the Wehrmacht on August 26, 1939, as a noncommissioned officer. Because of his age, he was recalled from active duty on the Eastern Front in May 1944. He was transferred to the Allgemeine-SS on July 6, 1944. In the SS he reached the rank of Hauptscharführer. Kliem worked in the office of the Neuengamme concentration camp's Dessauer Ufer subcamp until he was appointed commandant of Neugraben on October 18, 1944, and subsequently commandant of Tiefstack.

Kliem was arrested in November 1945. The British War Crimes Court found him guilty on July 3, 1946, of mistreating the camp prisoners in Neugraben and Tiefstack. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Kliem was released from Werl Prison in 1955 for good behavior.

Female SS wardens guarded the prisoners inside the Tiefstack camp. Retired customs officers were responsible for external security. One can assume from the survivors' reports that the Neugraben camp guards were transferred in toto to the Tiefstack camp together with the prisoners. According to a statement by Kliem, five female SS wardens were responsible for guarding the female prisoners. One of the wardens was Anneliese Kohlmann, who was born on March 23, 1921, in Hamburg. She joined the Nazi Party on April 1, 1940. She worked as a tram conductor until the beginning of November 1944. On November 4, 1944, she became a warden at the Neugraben subcamp. In February 1945, she was transferred, together with the prisoners, to the Tiefstack camp, where she remained as a warden until the beginning of April 1945. She was arrested on April 17, 1945. On May 16, 1946, she was charged as a member of the Hamburg camp personnel with the mistreatment of the prisoners. Kohlmann was found guilty on May 16, 1946, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. She died on September 17, 1977, at the age of 56.

According to the surviving personnel records, there were probably between 20 and 25 customs officers or auxiliary customs officers who, in shifts, guarded the external perimeters of Tiefstack.

The optical factory workers stated that the female prisoners were put to work in the factory producing concrete slabs for emergency accommodation. During the last weeks of the war, some of the prisoners were put to work removing rubble in the southern parts of Hamburg and in Buxtehude, digging tank trenches for the defense of Hamburg, and removing snow from the inner city of Hamburg. However, it is unclear whether the women were first engaged in this work when they were in the Tiefstack subcamp or whether they had already been engaged in this work when they were still in the Neugraben camp.

Margit Hermann, a survivor, who as an inmate of Tiefstack was put to work in the removal of rubble, had the following to say in her memoirs:

> In February 1945 we were transferred to another part of Hamburg, the industrial area Tiefstack. Countless air raids had transformed the city into a stone desert. . . . We worked in what can only be called a no man's land, in a people-less environment, between the ruins of burnt-out houses, threatened by the collapse of unsound walls. In the middle of the ruins a light railway had been laid down. It was our task to load the small tip-wagons with bricks. Our hands were grazed and bloody. We were hungry and frozen and dropping like flies. It was a work site difficult to survey and our guards carefully avoided the ruins so as to avoid injury. They lit a fire, warmed themselves and did not bother about us. . . . We worked at a snail's pace and hid behind the remaining walls which protected us from the wind. . . . The war had lasted too long; we were physically and spiritually demoralized and our chances of survival diminished from day to day.[1]

According to Kliem, the Tiefstack subcamp was destroyed during an Allied air raid on Hamburg at the end of March 1945, possibly on March 20, 1945. Following the destruction of the camp, the Jewish female prisoners were temporarily held on the grounds of the optical factory, before they were transported in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. One can only assume the women reached Bergen-Belsen at the beginning of April 1945, where, if they survived, they were freed by Allied troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES The Hamburg-Tiefstack subcamp is only incidentally mentioned in publications on the Neuengamme concentration camp. Some information is provided in an article by Karl-Heinz Schultz, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Neuengamme," in *Harburg: Von der Burg zur Industriestadt; Beiträge zur Geschichte Harburgs 1288–1938*, ed. Jürgen Ellermeyer, Klaus Richter, and Dirk Stegmann (Hamburg, 1988), pp. 493–503.

In AG-NG there are records of numerous interviews with and memoirs of female survivors, a few of which give some information about the Hamburg-Tiefstack camp. The author conducted many interviews with the former prisoners of the camp. Further records are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Ruth Bondy published her recollections in a book titled *Mehr Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen, 1999). This book contains some information on the camp. Margit Hermann's memoir is published as "Hamburger Intermezzo," *Harjb* 18 (1993): 175–192. Some of the court documents relating to the trial of Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, which give information about his career, are to be found in BA-K. These documents also provide information about the Hamburg-Tiefstack camp. The court documents relating to the trial of Anneliese Kohlmann are also in BA-K. Documents about the male guards are to be found in the preliminary proceedings against Walter Kümmel (camp commander of the subcamp Hamburg-Eidelstedt). These documents are kept in the archives of the Hamburg District Court. Original documents, which, for example, could provide information about the dates the camp was occupied or when the wooden barracks were erected, have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Margit Hermann, "Hamburger Intermezzo," HarJb 18 (1993): 186.

HAMBURG-WANDSBEK

The Hamburg-Wandsbek subcamp existed between the summer of 1944 and the beginning of May 1945. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp and during its existence solely held female prisoners. It was located at 162 Ahrensburger Strasse, close to the Tonndorf cemetery, in the Wandsbek part of Hamburg.

A section of the camp (two accommodation and wash barracks), used from the summer of 1944 as a Neuengamme subcamp, had been erected in June 1942 to accommodate 200

female forced laborers from Eastern Europe. These facilities were expanded in 1944 with the construction of a kitchen barracks, another two accommodation barracks, and barracks to house SS personnel. According to a letter by the Building Authority of the Tenth District of the city of Hamburg, approval was given on June 8, 1944, to expand the camp. The camp complex bordered directly on the Drägerwerke factory premises in Hamburg.

Studies of the Wandsbek subcamp, relying on prisoners' reports, have assumed that the approval to build at the beginning of June 1944 also marked the arrival of a minimum of 500 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WVHA) prisoner card index file kept in Oranienburg near Berlin, which has recently been discovered, contradicts this assumption. According to the prisoner index, following a selection in Ravensbrück, the women departed from that camp on August 31, 1944. Presumably they arrived in Hamburg on the following day.

The female prisoners were of different nationalities. The largest group probably was composed of Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians; Germans and Slovenians each constituted 10 percent of the women. In addition, there were Czech, Dutch, Belgian, French, and Hungarian women in Wandsbek. All the women were so-called political prisoners. Because the women offered some form of resistance to the German occupiers, they had been removed from their homelands and brought to Ravensbrück. Most of them arrived in Ravensbrück during the course of 1944, but some had arrived earlier.

So far as is known, Wandsbek had two camp leaders. Unterscharführer Johannes Heinrich Steenbock had responsibility for the camp from August 1944 to December 3, 1944. Steenbock joined the SS in October 1938. In 1941 he was appointed as a guard in the main Neuengamme camp, where he rose to the rank of Unterscharführer. In December 1944, Friedrich Wilhelm Hinz replaced Steenbock as commander of Wandsbek. He held this position probably until April 27, 1945. Hinz joined the Nazi Party on March 1, 1933. He joined the Wehrmacht in February 1940, serving at a Wehrmacht prison camp in Munster, which was operated by the Wehrmacht's military police (Feldgendarmerie). As with Steenbock, prior to service at the Wandsbek camp, Hinz had been a guard at the main Neuengamme camp.

Apart from the camp commandants, the prisoners were guarded in the camp by between 15 to 20 SS female wardens. About 10 retired customs officials were responsible for external security. The following SS female wardens are known: Johanna Edith Anders, Anita Brennfeld, Helga Bramberger, Loni Gutzeit, Adolphine Horn, Hildegard Knoedler, Georgina Pehlcke, Maria Schulz, Mrs. Wilke, Emmi Wanschura, Ursula Krahl, and Annemarie van der Huelst.

Proceedings against the Wandsbek guards took place before the British military court in Hamburg between May 15 and July 21, 1947. The proceedings were against the two camp commanders, Steenbock and Hinz, one of the male guards, Hermann Ludwig Dreier, and the SS female wardens Anders, Bramberger, and Knoedler. Steenbock, Dreier, and Anders were found guilty of mistreating the prisoners and were sentenced to 20, 15, and 5 years in prison, respectively. Hinz, Bramberger, and Knoedler were acquitted because of lack of evidence.

The female prisoners in the Wandsbek camp worked in the Drägerwerke factory in two shifts, each of 12 hours. They produced gas masks and tubes for oxygen and diving equipment. The production in the Hamburg Drägerwerke factory was part of the so-called Brandt Equipment Program. The Nazi leadership feared a gas attack by the British in retaliation for the German attacks using the secret V-1 and V-2 weapons. By means of the Brandt Equipment Program, it aimed to accelerate the production of gas masks. The production of gas protection devices strongly declined until the end of 1943, and it was planned to dramatically increase the production at the beginning of 1944. Hitler's special representative, his personal physician Dr. Karl Brandt, was appointed to obtain sufficient supplies of the requisite raw materials, to procure additional labor, and to accelerate production. The Drägerwerke firm assumed a leading role in the production of the gas masks because in addition to its other products, it supplied firms with tools and machines to produce gas masks and managed the production process in other factories. Tanja Jaklic-Florjancic, a survivor, had the following to say about the production of the gas masks:

> I was young and healthy and for that reason I was assigned to the heavy labor working at the presses. In the large hall there were several connected rows, each of six presses. In front of each press there was a long table with an iron plate and next to it was a vat filled with cold water. On the table were iron molds in the shape of faces, pieces of rubber, chalk (white, red and yellow), and gloves. Each prisoner operated two presses. I did the following: I placed a piece of rubber in the opening of the press, laid the iron mold on top and pressed them together by operating a lever on the press. At the high temperatures and after a certain period of time vulcanization took place. I then opened the press by hand, removed the hot mold, and put it in the water. I did the same work interchangeably on both presses in the prescribed manner. I then removed the rubber from the cooled mold. The rubber had the shape of a face and served as the foundation for the production of the gas mask. I had to examine every gas mask and mark a cross on it with the chalk: a white cross meant "good," yellow meant "repairs required" and red meant "reject." The last was often disastrous for us.[1]

During the last weeks of the war, as production in the Drägerwerke factory decreased and at the same time the attacks on the city of Hamburg increased, many prisoners were put to work removing rubble and constructing barricades in the center of Hamburg. Production in the Drägerwerke factory finally ceased at the end of April 1945.

Most of the female prisoners left the Wandsbek camp at the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. However, prior to

this, the camp was the final destination of many evacuation transports that took place in Germany during the last days of the war. Some of the female prisoners of the Beendorf camp, also part of the Neuengamme concentration camp, probably reached the Hamburg female subcamp on April 20, 1945.

Most of the female prisoners from Wandsbek were marched to the Hamburg railway station, Altona. Here the Swedish Red Cross took control and sent the women by train to Denmark. The remaining women from Wandsbek were sent to the Hamburg-Eidelstedt subcamp, where they were freed by a British tank unit on May 5, 1945.

SOURCES This article is based on the following publications about the Hamburg-Wandsbek camp: Stefan Romey, *Ein KZ in Wandsbek. Zwangsarbeit im Hamburger Drägerwerk* (Hamburg, 1994); and Bernhard Lorentz, *Industrieelite und Wirtschaftspolitik 1928–1950; Heinrich Dräger und das Drägerwerk* (Paderborn, 2001).

In AG-NG there are records of a few interviews with and memoirs of female survivors, which give details about the history of the Wandsbek camp. Some references are to be found at AG-R. Documents of architect Konstantin Gutschow, which give details about the construction dates of the first barracks in Wandsbek, are kept in StA-HH. British court records in BA-K provide information about the former guards and the camp commanders. A copy of the SS-WVHA prisoners' card index file, which at least verifies the date on which the female Ravensbrück prisoners departed for Hamburg, is to be found in AG-NG and AG-R. Documents that could provide details about the transport of the women at the end of April or the beginning of May 1945 have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Report by Tanja Jaklic-Florjancic in 1985, quoted by Stefan Romey, *Ein KZ in Wandsbek. Zwangsarbeit im Hamburger Drägerwerk* (Hamburg, 1994), p. 69.

HAMBURG-WILHELMSBURG

Several Neuengamme subcamps were created in Hamburg and its surrounding areas in the aftermath of severe damage caused by Allied bombing in late July 1943. Inmates from the main Neuengamme camp were deployed throughout the city to perform clearing work, to rebuild bombed-out areas, and to search for bodies. To lessen transportation time between the main camp and the work sites, several subcamps were established at or near work sites, including at various factories and firms such as the Hamburg shipyards as well as the railroad.

The accelerated effort to rebuild Hamburg industrial and living areas fell under the Geilenberg Program, a plan initiated by the Reich Housing Commissar (Reichswohnungskommissar) to enable further wartime production. The Senate Attorney for the General Plenipotentiary for Construction Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirtschaftung Senatssyndikus) Wilhelm Tegeler, Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann, and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of concentration camp inmates in the Geilenberg Program. According to the stipulations of the plan, a Neuengamme subcamp was created in the Wilhelmsburg district of Hamburg on October 12, 1944.

Between October 12, 1944, and April 1945, 100 to 300 male inmates were imprisoned in the Wilhelmsburg subcamp. The inmates were deported to Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg from Neuengamme and represented various nationalities, ages, and prisoner groups, including political prisoners, "asocials," so-called professional criminals, and others. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, 84 inmates were imprisoned in the "Jung Wilhelmsburg" camp between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945.[1] There is no further demographic information about the prisoners in Wilhelmsburg or exact numbers of prisoners on incoming or outgoing deportations.

The subcamp in Wilhelmsburg was located on Wittenstrasse 14/16. The inmates in Wilhelmsburg worked for Jung Mineralöl-Werke and Schindler Ölfabrik. Additional guarded commandos of prisoner workers were deployed to Wilhelmsburger Bleiwerk and Firma Dittmers (both located on Witternstrasse), Firma Frank, and the Wilhelmsburg Bahnhof.

There is no information about the commandant of the Wilhelmsburg camp or the guard staff. According to an attachment to the copy of Trzebinski's quarterly report stored in the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), the SS doctor who inspected the Wilhelmsburg infirmary was Dr. Spieler. SS-Unterscharführer Genth assisted him.

The Wilhemsburg subcamp was evacuated in April 1945; the precise date is unknown. Immediately following the end of the war, the occupying British forces took over Jung Mineralöl-Werke.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically pertaining to the Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg camp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (from 1990) of the former camp land. For other specific, although brief, information on the Wilhelmsburg camp, see Klaus-Dieter Brügmann et al., *Die Anderen: Widerstand und Verfolgung, in Harburg und Wilhelmsburg, Zeugnisse und Berichte 1933–1945* (Hamburg: VVN, Landesverband Hamburg, 1984). Further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in Hamburg for the Geilenberg Program can be found in Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999*, 2 (April 1995): 57–73; and Eiber's "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg

subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Jung Wilhelmsburg camp (among others) by Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary documentation on the Wilhelmsburg camp is scarce. Some relevant materials may be stored at the AG-NG, which contains witness reports, including that of the former inmate Victor Baeyens, as well as other files related to Neuengamme and its subcamps. The StA-HH has some files related to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg, but they contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. A copy of the Trzebinski report, originally filed at the FZH (File Hans Schwarz), is stored in the archives of the USHMM, JAG War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM (JAG, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

HANNOVER-AHLEM

At the end of November 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Otto Harder received orders to move his camp from Hannover-Stöcken at the Continental Gummiwerke factory to the nearby town of Ahlem. Prior to the official transfer of the prisoners from Stöcken, Harder sent a group of 100 inmates under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Wilhelm Damann to prepare the site. The camp was created to supply prisoners for labor to the nearby asphalt tunnels, which were to be cleared to accommodate the underground, accelerated construction of aircraft and panzer parts for Continental Gummiwerke and Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen Hannover (MNH). This program came under the jurisdiction of the "Special Staff" (Sonderstab) of SS Hans Kammler. About 850 inmates were marched from Stöcken to Hannover-Ahlem on November 30, 1944.

Removed from residential areas, the Ahlem subcamp was surrounded by electrified barbed-wire fencing. Four watchtowers flanked the camp's perimeter, and the SS barracks stood outside the entrance of the camp. There were five barracks in total in the camp. The only stone building had toilets, washbasins, and showers, although the plumbing system did not function. Instead, the prisoners used a centrally located ditch near the roll-call area as a "latrine." Near the stone building stood the barracks for the laundry and infirmary. The kitchen building also had living quarters.

The prisoners' living quarters had narrow, two- and three-tiered bunks. Often two inmates slept on one straw mattress for lack of space. Each barracks had two small stoves, although fuel was seldom available. Typically, the inmates were awakened at 4:00 A.M., spent an hour cleaning the barracks, and then received a sparse breakfast. Next they endured morning roll call, standing outside for long periods during harsh weather. The Kapos meted out punishments and beatings arbitrarily throughout the morning, the entire work period, the evening roll call, and at mealtimes. Kapos beat the prisoners into submission with shovels. Their beatings sometimes resulted in death.[1]

The inmates in Ahlem were marched to work daily to the asphalt tunnels; they worked underground in narrow pathways that were damp, cold, and filled with water. According to one former inmate, in one instance an elevator that transported materials to the surface had been destroyed during a bombing, "so [the excavated material] was piled and closed [off] the air, thus we could hardly breathe."[2] The inmates had to break apart boulders with hammers and pickaxes, and for larger impasses, they used dynamite to blast through the rock. They loaded the debris onto trucks and hauled it away. Working conditions were dangerous. According to Benjamin Sieradzki, an inmate who survived the Ahlem camp, "People committed suicide in the tunnel, and we had to carry them out on wooden boards." Sieradzki witnessed the death of his work partner who was flattened by falling rock.[3]

Although the inmates initially worked in three 8-hour shifts, they soon were divided into two 12-hour shifts. The prisoners alternated day shifts and night shifts each week. The Kapos replaced the SS once the inmates entered the underground tunnels. The only chance the inmates had of escaping the Kapos' cruelty was to remain as inconspicuous as possible, although this did not always exempt them from "punishment."



A German Red Cross worker administers medicine to a Polish survivor of the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp of Neuengamme, April 11, 1945.
USHMM WS #07600, COURTESY OF NARA

In addition to work in the asphalt tunnels, some inmates worked within the camp itself. Kitchen duty was the most coveted position because of the possibility of obtaining extra food. Other inmates worked in the SS laundry, as carpenters performing maintenance work, or as tailors repairing SS uniforms.

The prisoners in Ahlem were initially all male Jews, predominantly Polish, who had been transported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Stöcken, and from Stöcken to Ahlem. As the rate of death increased due to the harsh conditions and lack of food, others, from Russia, Poland, Denmark, Netherlands, France, and Latvia, were brought in to replace the original transport. By December 1944, about 25 of the initial larger transport of 850 had died. In January 1945, the commandant of Neuengamme, Max Pauly, visited Ahlem, and about 250 to 350 weak inmates were deported to Neuengamme; in exchange, some 300 to 350 inmates of various nationalities were transported to the camp. On March 26, 1945, a final group of about 200 to 250 prisoners, mostly Hungarian Jews, were marched into Ahlem from the Hildesheim camp.[4] The exact total number of prisoner deaths in Ahlem is difficult to ascertain; historian Christoph Gutmann has determined that over 200 of the first large transport from November 30, 1944, died. Historian Hermann Kaienburg has estimated that between 230 and 850 inmates died in total in Ahlem.

As in Hannover-Stöcken (Continental), SS-Untersturmführer Harder was the commandant of the Ahlem camp. "Tull" Harder was a celebrated soccer player prior to his entry into the Nazi Party in 1932, the SS in 1933, and his service as a guard in the Sachsenhausen camp. He requested reassignment to the Neuengamme camp in 1939 and took over the Hannover-Stöcken camp in August 1944. In early March 1945, he was transferred to another camp; his replacement was a Wehrmacht captain named "Dirks."[5]

Most of the SS who served under Harder in Ahlem were sentries; a few performed administrative duties in the camp. SS-Oberscharführer Hans Harden supervised the guards at their posts and conducted roll calls. SS-Rottenführer Damann was Harden's assistant and patrolled the camp with his dog. He received daily reports from the senior camp inmate (Lagerältester) Johann Heinrich Wexler on prisoner deaths and illnesses. Other inmates appointed to positions within the camp were the block elders (Blockälteste) Hans Deckert and Ferdinand Grosse. Heinrich Lindner (SS rank unknown) ran the SS canteen and distributed the guards' rations, and Peter Fuchs (SS rank unknown) supervised the kitchen. One SS guard, the Czech-born Stefan Streit (nicknamed "Palästina") was especially known for his cruelty.

There were few escape attempts from Ahlem. According to Sieradzki, some of the Russian inmates who had been transported into the camp as "replacements" escaped the camp by throwing blankets over the barbed-wire fence and scaling it at night. Sieradzki recalled that during roll call the following day the other inmates were told that the escapees had been captured and hanged.[6] Other inmates escaped during the evacuation of the camp.[7]

In early April 1945, the SS prepared to dissolve the camp. They compiled lists of incapacitated prisoners, and on April 6, they supervised a group of about 600 inmates as they marched out of the camp toward Bergen-Belsen. Those remaining prisoners were locked inside the camp.[8] Two German Red Cross workers, Karl Bade and Ernst Koch, entered Ahlem on the evening of April 6 and attempted to collect food and clothing for the prisoners. On April 7, 1945, an SS guard and two civilians returned to the camp in a truck to gather about 18 inmates. According to David Klipp, who was among those taken away, the officer was supposed to deliver them to a location to be executed but instead released and abandoned the prisoners.[9]

On April 10, 1945, the 335th Regiment of the 84th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Ahlem and attempted to assist the surviving inmates, many of whom died in the following weeks from tuberculosis and other conditions. In April–May 1947, a British military tribunal in Hamburg tried several of the Ahlem guards and Kapos. Otto Harder was convicted and sentenced to 15 years in prison; Wilhelm Damann and Stefan Streit were sentenced to death. Harden was sentenced to a 1-year imprisonment. Ferdinand Grosse was sentenced to death and executed.[10] Camp elder Wexler, tried in 1975–1976 by the regional court of Hannover, was sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was changed to 15 years, but he was released in 1982. Wexler died in 1985.

SOURCES There are several primary and secondary sources that contain detailed information about the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Christoph Gutmann's "KZ Ahlem: Eine unterirdische Fabrik ensteht" in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Another extensive resource on the Ahlem camp and vital to this entry is Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *"Wir wollten Gefühle sichtbar werden lassen" Bürger gestalten ein Mahnmal für das KZ Ahlem* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004). This text documents the creation of a memorial at Ahlem but also includes an exhaustive list of archival resources on the camp, as well as some witness reports. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Ahlem subcamp, including an account by former inmate Moritz Widawski as well as a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Ahlem camp (among others) by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For information about the U.S. military's encounter of the camp, see Theodore Draper, *The 84th Infantry Division in the Battle of Germany, November 1944–May 1945* (New York, 1946). Analysis of the trials of former SS guards and Kapos in Ahlem can be found in "Zur Nachkriegsgeschichte der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager," in Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, pp. 573–574.

Several archives and repositories contain materials relevant to the history of the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp, and both Gutmann's work and Anschütz and Heike's texts make extensive use of these materials. Documentation related to the trials of Harder and the other guards from the Ahlem camp can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG's Office WO 235/348. Harder was called as a witness in the trial of Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly (WO 235/163), and some information on Ahlem and Hannover-Stöcken at Continental Gummiwerke is also provided here. The WO files are copied in part at the USHMMA, "JAG's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.019M. Information about Ahlem originating from the trial against camp elder Johann Heinrich Wexler is stored at the AStaLG-H (11 Ks 1/74). For business reports and other information related to the asphalt tunnels in Ahlem, see the BA-K, R 7/1185 and R 7/1217. For personal accounts of life in the Ahlem camp, see the oral history conducted with David Klipp, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0345, as well as the collection of Vernon Tott, USHMMA, Acc.1997 A0287. Tott's collection also includes a series of black-and-white photographs of the Ahlem camp at the time of the liberation. Another group of materials from a liberator of the Ahlem camp is in the collection of Jennifer Orth and Dr. William Hagood Jr., including testimony about the U.S. liberation of the camp, photographs, and cartoons drawn of Ahlem by Dutch former inmate Jan Dirk van Exter. Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Ahlem camp; see especially Protocols 1693, 509, and 1964. A series of 25 photos of the Ahlem camp at the time of liberation is also located in the USHMMPA, designation 53.495; these photos are stills from a short film taken by the U.S. 168th Signal Corps, stored at NARA: NWDNM (m)-342-USAF-12900; Record Group 342.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 1693 (L.H, E.M., and G.M.), Protocol 509 (E.K.), Protocol 1964 (S.G. and I.G.).

2. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 509 (E.K.). All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by Gábor Kádár.

3. Benjamin Sieradzki, "A Teenager Survives the Holocaust," (p. 27) Vernon Tott collection, Hannover-Ahlem concentration camp records and photographs, USHMMA, Acc. 1997 A 0287.

4. See testimony of Hungarian inmates: HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 1963 (L.H., E.M., and G.M.), Protocol 509 (E.K.), and Protocol 1964 (S.G. and I.G.)

5. Curiohaus-Prozess trial documentation, PRO (London), WO 235/348 and WO 235-163 (copied in part in USHMMA, "JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.016M).

6. Sieradzki, pp. 29–30.

7. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 509 (E.K.)

8. There are several discrepancies as to how many inmates were remaining in the camp at the time of the U.S. Army's arrival. According to Gutmann, there were 200 to 250 inmates remaining; other sources, including Sieradzki and Tott, who was part of the U.S. medical detachment that first encountered the camp, note that there were only about 30 inmates alive; sources from the Hagood collection (another liberator) recall 100 inmates. Further research is needed (possible viewing of footage in NARA); also, some inmates may have left the camp in the period between the Red Cross entrance and the opening of the camp by the U.S. military.

9. Oral history with David Klipp, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0345, transcript, p. 43.

10. See records of the PRO, London, WO 235/348, 235/129.

HANNOVER-LANGENHAGEN

The Hannover-Langenhagen subcamp operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from October 2, 1944, to January 6, 1945. During this period, it was occupied solely by female prisoners. The camp was located on Hackethalstrasse, not far from the street Am Brinker Hafen, in Hannover-Langenhagen.

According to factory workers, the camp barracks were probably constructed in the middle of 1944. The camp consisted of seven barracks, built in a row, four of which accommodated the prisoners. The camp kitchen, washrooms, latrines, and infirmary were in the other barracks. The SS personnel were housed outside the camp.

On October 2, 1944, 500 Polish, Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian so-called political prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp occupied the Langenhagen subcamp for women. The Poles were by far the largest national grouping. There is hardly any information about the persecution suffered by the Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian women. It is known that the Polish prisoners were arrested during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. They were carried off to the Pruszków transit camp and from there, probably on August 31, 1944, deported to the Stutthof concentration camp. The prisoners remained in Stutthof until the end of September 1944, when following a "selection" they were sent in the direction of Hannover. The relocation of the prisoners is referred to in the Stutthof concentration camp Commandant's Order Nr. 64, which provides as follows (although reference is made to Jewish prisoners, other correspondence refering to the transport simply refers to "protective custody" prisoners):

> According to FS [*Fernschreiben*, telegram] Nr. 9485 from the head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] dated 8 September 1944, 500 female Jewish prisoners will be transferred to the Hannover-Vinnhorst railway station siding no. 2 on 29.9.1944. The Neuengamme concentration camp will make the prisoners available for the Brinker factory. The transferees were chosen in accordance with discussions with the camp protective custody commander, SS camp doctor, and the

> labor supervisor. The head of administration is to ensure that the transferees are impeccably dressed. He is personally responsible to me that the prisoners are given proper clothes and footwear. The departure of the prisoners will be on 29.9.1944 at 2.30 pm from Stutthof-Waldlager. The exact departure time will follow. At 6.35 pm the prisoners will depart from Tiegenhof by means of the Deutsche Reichsbahn in 8 G and 1 C carriages. The prisoners are to be loaded between 5.00 pm and 6.00 pm. SS Oberscharführer Mertens, of the 3rd Company, will be in charge of the transport. For support he will have an escort of 5 men from the camp commandant's office and 10 female wardens, who will be chosen by SS-Hauptsturmführer Meyer. The head of administration is to give the escort and prisoners rations for one day. In accordance with regulations SS-Oberscharführer Mertens is to hand over the prisoners at Hannover-Vinnhorst. The handover is to be immediately confirmed either by telegram or telephone. Following the successful handover SS-Oberscharführer Mertens and the escort are to immediately return to Stutthof. SS-Oberscharführer Mertens is to collect the travel papers from the adjutant's office at 12 noon on 29.9.1944.[1]

The "handover" confirmation for the Stutthof female prisoners, which SS-Oberscharführer Mertens received from SS-Obersturmführer Klebeck at the Hannover-Vindhorst railway station, has survived. We therefore know when the prisoners reached Hannover. The handover notice states as follows: "On 29.9.44, in accordance with the FS dated 9.9.44 from the head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office, 500 female protective custody prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp were transferred to the Hannover-Vinnhorst railway station and put at the disposal of the Neuengamme concentration camp. The transport arrived here on 2.10.44 and control was assumed in accordance with the regulations. Personnel files were handed over for delivery to the Neuengamme concentration camp."[2] Max Pauly, commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, confirmed the next day the arrival of the women from Stutthof. A telegram to the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp reads as follows: "500 female prisoners arrived at Brinker Hannover on 2.10.44. From 4.10.44 they will be kept at current strength—signed. Pauly."[3]

The female concentration camp prisoners were put to work in Hannover at the Brinker Iron Factory. According to survivors' reports, the prisoners were divided into two groups. One group was put to work in Factory I, manufacturing munitions, and the other group worked in Factory II, producing airplane fuselages and dismantling airplane wrecks. The women had to remove airplane parts that could be reused from the wrecks; they cleaned, painted, and riveted them and forwarded them to that part of the factory where airplanes were produced. Elżbieta K., a Polish survivor, reported the following about the work in Factory II:

> I worked with a woman from Latvia in the airplane industry in Langenhagen. We could not communicate with one another because we did not have a common language. . . . We worked together as riveters. I had to put a rivet into a hole and work with it so that it was completely smooth. I held the whole thing together and the Latvian used the rivet gun so that the rivet was flush with the surface. What we were working on was raised off the ground. It was large, semi-oval, and narrower at the top than at the bottom. It looked as if it was half of something. It was screwed onto the thing that raised it off the ground. The parts could not wobble; otherwise the rivets would have been askew. I had no idea what the purpose of these parts was. Sometimes I was totally exhausted. The Latvian operated the gun because she was older than me. I put the rivets in from the other side and held the pieces together. Everything had to be riveted together exactly; otherwise we would be screamed at. The Latvian stood between both parts and I stood on the outside. We worked for 12 hours with a 15-minute break. . . . If you wanted to go to the toilet you had to raise a finger and give a sign. Then you waited for the warden's permission."[4]

All the prisoners in both factory halls of the Brinker Iron Works worked under a two-shift system. The day shift was from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and the night shift lasted from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.

The name of the Langenhagen commandant remains unknown. According to survivors' reports, he could have been an Oberscharführer. The prisoners secretly called him "Oberek." In addition to the commandant, 20 SS female wardens were responsible for security inside the camp, and male guards, probably older Wehrmacht soldiers, had the responsibility outside the camp.

As with other large cities, Hannover toward the end of the war became more and more frequently the target of Allied air raids. During the raid on January 6, 1945, the Langenhagen subcamp was completely destroyed. The Brinker Iron Works factory halls were severely damaged. All the prisoners, bar two women, survived the attack, because they were escorted to the factory bunker. A former prisoner, Genowefa J., described the situation as follows:

> When we were all together we were led into the bunker. It was on the factory grounds. In the meantime the next attack took place. It was called carpet-bombing. The earth trembled. If you looked up the sky was brightly lit up as if it was New Year's Eve. Then the bombs fell, which destroyed everything. There were incendiary and explosive bombs. During the next raid smoke and flames penetrated the bunker.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

> We were on the top floor. The whole bunker rocked. The women were screaming. They had a terrible fear of being burnt alive. The whole place was full of smoke. After a while fresh air entered the bunker. It seemed to us as if the whole thing lasted an eternity. When we were allowed to leave the bunker next morning it was very cold outside—between approximately minus 10 and 15 degrees. Although we only had on our worn out and ripped striped uniforms we had to wait outside. We must have looked like monsters.[5]

After the raid the female prisoners of Langenhorn were gathered together, counted, and sent to the Hannover-Limmer subcamp for women in the Neuengamme concentration camp system. The women remained there until the camp was evacuated at the beginning of April 1945. Many of them continued to work in Factory I of the Brinker Iron Works. They were taken there from Limmer, either by truck or by streetcar.

SOURCES This article on the Hannover-Langenhagen camp is based on the following publications: Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:277–329; and Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslager in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003).

The AG-NG, AG-BB, and YVA today contain a few interviews with and memoirs of the female survivors. Around the turn of the century, a research project on Langenhagen was conducted, with 21 Polish survivors interviewed. The results are kept in the ASt-Lang. Documents about the transport from Stutthof to Hannover are kept in AMS and USHMMA (RG 04.058 M). Documents about the construction of the Langenhagen camp and sources that could give information about the guards have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Stutthof concentration camp Commandant's Order No. 64, dated September 28, 1944, AG-NG, Best.: Lists and Transports to Neuengamme, AG-N 3.2.3.10.

2. See the Handover Confirmation dated October 2, 1944, USHMMA, Collection: Stutthof Concentration Camp, RG-04.058 M, Reel 213.

3. See Telegram from the Neuengamme Concentration Camp to the Stutthof Concentration Camp dated October 3, 1944, USHMMA, Collection: Stutthof Concentration Camp, RG-04.058 M, Reel 213.

4. Report of Elżbieta K, quoted by Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslager in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 65.

5. Report of Genofewa J., quoted in ibid., p. 95.

HANNOVER-LIMMER

The Hannover-Limmer subcamp most probably existed as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from the end of August 1944 to the beginning of April 1945. During this period, the camp contained only female prisoners. The camp was located on undeveloped land between the Continental Rubber Factory and the old village of Limmer, on Wunstorfer Strasse and the Leineabstieg Canal.

It is possible that a part of the barracks was used at an earlier time to accommodate prisoners of war (POWs). The camp itself consisted of three wooden barracks for the prisoners' accommodation, a room for washing and latrines, kitchen, infirmary, and possibly an office.

Descriptions of Limmer are based on prisoners' reports. It is assumed that the camp was first occupied in June 1944 by 266 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. This assumption is contradicted by the more recently discovered prisoners' index cards kept by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg near Berlin. According to the index cards, a "selection" took place in Ravensbrück on August 31, 1944. Following the selection, the women left Ravensbrück and probably on the same or the following day arrived at Limmer. According to a report dated March 29, 1945, by SS-Standortarzt Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, 1,011 women were incarcerated in the camp on March 25, 1945.[1] Female prisoners from the Watenstedt subcamp, probably in either November or December 1944, and female prisoners from Hamburg-Langenhagen, following the destruction of that camp on January 6, 1945, were also relocated to the Limmer camp.

Only so-called political prisoners occupied Limmer. The women came from many different countries in Europe, but the largest group originated in France. They all had been deported from their homeland to Ravensbrück because they had resisted, in some form or another, the German occupiers. Most of them were sent to Ravensbrück during the course of 1944, but some had arrived earlier.

The largest group of female prisoners in the Limmer camp was put to work at the Continental Rubber Factory. As part of the "Brandt Equipment Program," they manufactured gas masks in a system of two shifts, each of 12 hours. Fearful of a British gas attack in reprisal for the German secret weapons V-1 and V-2, the National Socialist leadership accelerated the production of gas masks with the help of this special program. The production of gas protection devices had steadily declined until the end of 1943, with the result that at the beginning of 1944 a dramatic increase in production was planned. Hitler's special representative, his personal physician Dr. Karl Brandt, was appointed to obtain sufficient supplies of the requisite raw materials, to secure additional labor, and to accelerate production. Stephanie Kuder, a survivor, commented on the production as follows:

> The rubber is cut in slabs, lined, and molded on the iron-mold. The "heads" follow each other on the conveyor belt always at the same distance; the edges

> are marked on the conveyor belt by a white line. The conveyor belt has its own tempo, which can be shortened by each person's dexterity. . . . Each of the women, who are sitting around in a chain, when it's her turn, lifts up the iron head of the future gas mask, attaches it to a hook, does the precise hand movements required and puts the mask back on to the conveyor belt. Another mold has arrived in the meantime. You can't afford to make a superfluous movement as the mask is not allowed to go past you to the end of the chain. . . . Rejecting them meant punishment. Especially during the small hours, when your arms are tired and you can barely lift the iron heads, when your eyes can't see anything, the masks became insatiable gods demanding a human sacrifice. The conveyor belt is unrelenting. It constantly delivers new heads, one goes and another is there and 10, 20, 30 are on the conveyor belt, 10, 20, 30 motionless heads at constant pace, moving forward and we must serve them. . . . A few women do men's work: they operate the presses, transport the masks on badly oiled carts, and operate the furnace. German civilian workers from the factory make a final check of the gas masks. After about six weeks after our arrival in Hannover our apprenticeship was over and we became regular workers, which meant that we had to achieve a minimum target. In each shift of 11 hours we had to produce 12,000 masks.[2]

The women who were not involved in the production of gas masks (in part, meaning the women who at the beginning of January 1945 were transferred from Langenhagen to Limmer) produced munitions at the Brinker Iron Works in Hannover or were put to work in removing rubble from the factory, caused by the bombing. In addition, another group of female prisoners worked on the grounds of the Harry Habag Bakery, which had been destroyed by the bombing raids on Hannover. Wanda J. had the following to say on that work: "We were forced to go to Hannover to remove rubble. The factory was very big. It was a large parcel of land. At the beginning, i.e., in the vicinity of the entrance gate, baking continued, but the other buildings had been destroyed. In the bakery we found a lot of conserved food destined for soldiers at the front. Then we discovered a type of syrup used in the manufacture of Lebkuchen [a type of ginger bread]. Our work in the bakery lasted for about a week. It was a very big bakery. We passed fresh bread and sweet smelling bread rolls and could not control ourselves. One after another took something."[3]

Little is known about the commanders of the Limmer camp. It is only known that SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Thümmel took command of the camp for about six weeks at the beginning of March 1945. Thümmel was born on October 10, 1896, in Braunschweig. He was a farmer. As a reserve officer he was called up on September 1, 1939. In April or May 1944, he was released from military service due to his age. He arrived at Oranienburg in May 1944 and a little later was sent to Neuengamme for training. In October 1944, he assumed command of the Wilhelmshaven camp. Differences arose with Max Pauly, and as punishment, he was transferred at the end of December 1944 to Salzgitter. He arrived in Hannover at the beginning of 1945, where he assumed command of the Limmer camp.

In addition to the camp commanders, SS female wardens were responsible for guarding the female prisoners within the camp, and male guards, probably older soldiers, had the responsibility for external security. Of the male and female guards, only Lina Hillebrecht has been identified. Hillebrecht was born on December 14, 1919. Until June 1944 she worked at the Continental Factory. She then volunteered for the SS and was trained in Ravensbrück as a guard. At first she was deployed to the Buchenwald subcamp Magdeburg (Polte), where she remained until October 1944. She was then transferred back to Hannover. She remained there as a guard until April 5, 1945.

Probably on April 6, 1945, over a thousand women from the Limmer camp, excluding some prisoners who were ill or incapable of marching, were forced to march north. British soldiers liberated those who remained in the camp on April 10, 1945. An order had been given to evacuate Hannover on April 6, 1945. All subcamps in the Hannover and Braunschweig areas were to be evacuated in the direction of Neuengamme. This destination could not be reached, most probably due to the Allied advance. The destination was changed so that all prisoners from Hannover were to be delivered to Bergen-Belsen. The women had to march from Hannover to Bergen-Belsen within three days and arrived there on the evening of April 8. It is most likely that the women during the march slept at Fuhrberg and again at Oldau, either in an open barn or in a sand pit. Those women who survived the catastrophic conditions in the "reception camp" Bergen-Belsen were liberated by British troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This article on Hannover-Limmer is based on the following publications: Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:277–329; and Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslager in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003). On the Trzebinski report, see Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982).

The AG-NG, AG-BB, and YVA today contain a few interviews with and memoirs of the female survivors of the Limmer camp. Around the turn of the century, a research project on Langenhagen had been conducted, with 21 Polish survivors interviewed. During the interviews, the survivors also reported on Limmer. The results are kept in the ASt-Lang. The surviving prisoners' card index of the SS-WVHA is kept in AG-NG. Documents on Otto Thümmel are kept at ZdL (now BA-L). Details about Lina Hillebrecht are taken from the British military court proceedings, copies of which, in part, are kept in

AG-NG. Written records on the construction of the Limmer camp and the rest of the guards have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See the report by SS-Standortarzt Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated March, 29, 1945, quoted by Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982), p. 76.

2. Report by Stephanie Kuder quoted in Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:324.

3. Report by Wanda J., quoted by Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslager in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 106.

HANNOVER-MISBURG

A subcamp of Neuengamme was established in Hannover-Misburg in late June 1944 to supply labor for the Gewerkschaft Neue Deutsche Erdöl-Raffinierie Aktiengesellschaft firm (Deurag-Nerag). Crucial to the German war effort, Deurag-Nerag manufactured oil and aircraft fuel. An Allied air raid severely damaged the Misburg Deurag oil refinery on June 20, 1944. Therefore, negotiations were accelerated between the Deurag-Nerag administration and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to introduce concentration camp inmates into the labor force. Only one week separated the partial destruction of the refinery—and ensuing acute need for workers—from the arrival of the initial group of Neuengamme prisoners in Misburg.

The first group of about 500 inmates from Neuengamme was transported to Misburg on June 25 or 26, 1944, and was used to clear rubble from the bombing of the Deurag-Nerag factory and to begin building the camp. The SS selected prisoners for the initial transports from three groups in Neuengamme: newly arrived prisoners—mostly Frenchmen who had been deported to Neuengamme between May and July 1944; prisoners recuperating in the convalescent blocks (*Schonungsblocks*), who had been assigned to "lighter work"; and Reichsdeutsche (German nationals), who continued to serve as Kapos and senior camp inmates (Blockälteste) in Misburg. The inmates began to construct the camp shortly after their arrival. They slept in large tents provided by the Wehrmacht until the barracks were built.

The construction site for the camp was located about 91 meters (100 yards) west of the Deurag-Nerag refinery. As in other camps, prisoner areas were cordoned off from outer areas in the Misburg subcamp. The inner prisoner area was surrounded by barbed wire and included four barracks for prisoner living quarters with an infirmary attached to one of these, a kitchen barracks, roll-call area, two latrines, and a makeshift shower area. Four watchtowers were built in the corners of the prisoner area. The outer area included the administrative barracks, commandant's office, and guards' living quarters. The construction of the camp was completed over several months despite frequent aerial attacks throughout the winter of 1944–1945. For shelter during air raids, bunkers were built for the guards, and small covered trenches were available to the prisoners.

After the initial group of prisoners was brought to Misburg, additional transports arrived throughout the summer months. On July 14, 1944, another 500 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme, and on July 23, 200 arrived from Buchenwald. By September 1944, there were nearly 1,600 prisoners in the camp. The total number of prisoners in Misburg fluctuated because often weakened prisoners were exchanged for "healthy" prisoners from Neuengamme.[1] The prisoners were all male, and their countries of origin reflected national groups imprisoned in Neuengamme and Buchenwald: Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Ukrainians, Poles, French who were imprisoned in Compiègne for political reasons and deported to Neuengamme, some 38 Reichsdeutsche who mostly held functionary positions within the camp; 20 to 25 Dutch, 15 Belgians, and 40 Danes who remained in Misburg from February 20 to mid-March 1945, when they were transferred to the Hannover-Stöcken (Akkumulatorenfabrik) camp. The few Jews imprisoned in Misburg were there due to resistance activities or political affiliations, not for racial reasons. Half of all Misburg prisoners were younger than 30 years of age, and only 20 percent were older than 40.

Prisoners in the Misburg camp were divided into various work commandos, mostly deployed to the Deurag-Nerag firm. The Deurag-Nerag administration recruited laborers from lists drawn up by Misburg roll-call leader Heinrich H. The prisoners were generally not responsible for skilled labor at Deurag-Nerag but were used to clear debris from bombed-out areas. Work shifts usually lasted from 10 to 12 hours. At least one guard supervised every commando, depending on the number of prisoners in the group. Kapos also supervised the prisoners while at work. To ensure the rapid work pace of prisoners in the commando, the Kapos beat the inmates, which often resulted in serious injury or death. Certain commandos were more dangerous than others. Especially dangerous work assignments included the Abbruchkommando, in which prisoners had to remove rubble, or the Bombensuchkommando, in which prisoners detonated unexploded bombs. There were many accidents and injuries, and prisoners had no protective clothing, shoes, or any other kind of protection against the hazards of their work.[2] Moreover, the inmates were provided little protection against frequent air raids.[3]

In addition to Kapos who supervised the prisoners at work, SS men and other guard units patrolled the camp. Police officers (Polizeibeamten) accompanied the original transport of prisoners from Neuengamme under the direction of a police lieutenant. A Wehrmacht officer who served in Misburg for three weeks replaced the lieutenant. Little other information

about these first two commandants of Misburg can be found. Between the arrival of the transports on July 14 and 23, 1944, SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly, the commandant of Neuengamme, appointed SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann as the commandant of Misburg. Wiedemann, who entered the SS in 1933, arrived in Misburg on July 20, 1944. He remained in Misburg until mid-September 1944, when he became commander of the Hamburg base camp (*Stützpunkt*) and then commandant of the subcamp Drütte near Salzgitter. Wiedemann was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Gehrt, who oversaw Misburg until its evacuation in April 1945. The few SS men in the camp, about 15 in total, served as the commandant's staff and supervised the kitchen and storage cellar. The largest group of guards in Misburg—between 50 and 80 men—consisted of territorial guardsmen (Landesschützen).

Living conditions in the Misburg camp were harsh. The prisoners endured grueling work, minimal food rations, minimal shelter, poor sanitary conditions, lice, disease, and frequent abuse meted out by the guards. Their miserable daily routine hindered organized resistance or escape attempts. However, former inmate Jean-Pierre Renouard has recalled that some individuals attempted to flee, and Misburg Gestapo records confirm the escape of Soviet POW Viktor K.[4] According to the trial testimony of Karl Wiedemann, another Soviet inmate named Romenko escaped from a work detachment in June or July 1944.[5] Those who were caught escaping were brought back to the camp and executed.

The exact number of deaths in the Misburg subcamp is difficult to reconstruct. The death rate of the inmates varied over the camp's 10-month period of operation. According to historian Rainer Fröbe's analysis, between June 1944 and April 7, 1945, 55 prisoners died. However, this number does not include every death in Misburg, the hundreds of ill and weak prisoners who were deported back to Neuengamme in exchange for "healthy" prisoners in late November 1944, and those who succumbed to exhaustion or were murdered during the camp's evacuation.

Misburg was evacuated beginning on April 7, 1945. The SS sent those capable of walking on a march to Bergen-Belsen. On April 8, the remaining 214 prisoners were gathered in trucks for transport toward Bergen-Belsen; there are no exact numbers of survivors of this transport.

After the war, a Belgian military tribunal tried the Landesschützen Richard W. for the murders of Belgian and French inmates in February 1945; he was sentenced to death by shooting in 1949. However, he was released in 1954 after a short prison term because his sentence was changed. In 1967, a new trial was brought against W. by the Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Police Office, LKA) in Nordrhein-Westfalen, but W. died before a verdict was reached. In connection with the same incident, former Rapportführer Heinrich H. was tried; he too died during the proceedings, and on April 4, 1978, the case was closed. Wiedemann was tried in 1946 by a British military tribunal. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term but was released in 1955. He died in 1968.[6]

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Misburg subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). For analysis of the evacuation of the Misburg camp and other camps in Hannover, see Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," in the same volume. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Hannover-Misburg subcamp. It includes a personal account of the Abbruchkommando (pp. 219–220); a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Misburg camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945); as well as a reproduction of a Gestapo report on the escape of the Soviet POW Viktor K. (p. 230). Two memoirs that provide detailed, personal information about life in the Misburg camp include Jean-Pierre Renouard, *My Stripes Were Earned in Hell (Uniforme rayé d'enfer)* (J.P. Renouard, 1993); and Bernard Morey, *Le voyageur égaré* (Paris: France-Empire, 1981). For specific information on the Danish prisoners transported from Misburg to Stöcken, see Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Faenglser, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Frihedsmuseets Venners Forlags Fond, 1994).

Primary documentation on the Hannover-Misburg camp is located in various archives, and Rainer Fröbe's extensive analysis has made ample use of these resources. Documentation related to the trial of Karl Wiedemann can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG's Office WO 235/162-169 (reproduced in part at USHMMA, RG 59-016M). Information related to the trials of Richard W. and Heinrich H. is located at the AStaLG-H, 11 Js 12/73. For information related to the bombing of the Deurag-Nerag factory, see the USSBS (Oil, Chemical and Rubber Division): Deurag-Nerag Refineries at Misburg (Porta) and Peine near Hannover Germany, NARA, RG 243/110. This file also includes photographs of the Deurag-Nerag firm (published in Fröbe et al.). For aerial photos of Deurag-Nerag taken by the British military on September 12, 1944, see PRO, AIR 40/737. For other photographs of the Deurag-Nerag firm, including stills that chronicle the damage caused during air raids, see the archives of the Gewerkschaft Erdöl-Raffinerie Deurag-Nerag in Hannover-Misburg.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. According to a quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, there were 672 prisoners in Misburg in March 1945; FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly

and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. See Jean-Pierre Renouard, *My Stripes Were Earned in Hell* (J.P. Renouard, 1993), pp. 11–12, for his account of two coworkers who were crushed under falling brick.

3. Bernard Morey, *Le voyageur égaré* (Paris: France-Empire, 1981), p. 181.

4. See Renouard, p. 37; Gestapo report regarding the flight of Soviet POW Viktor K. on 12 September 1944 during an air raid, Fahndungsmeldung der Staatspolizeileistelle Hamburg (5 October 1944), BA-K, R70 Lothringen, p. 27, as reproduced in Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945*, p. 230.

5. See examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenburg, Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/165, reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

6. See the records of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, reproduced in part in USHMMA, RG-59.016M.

HANNOVER-MÜHLENBERG-LINDEN

In the Mühlenberg-Linden district south of Hannover, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in early February 1945 to supply labor to either Hannoversche Maschinenbau (Hanomag) or Rheinmetall-Borsig, firms that produced antiaircraft weapons. The inmates in the Mühlenberg subcamp were transferred from Laurahütte, a subcamp of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, where they had been forced to work in armaments production for Rheinmetall-Borsig. According to historian Rolf Keller, it is not completely clear whether Hanomag or Rheinmetall-Borsig requested the inmates for work at the factories. Of the two firms, Rheinmetall most likely continued to employ the Laurahütte inmates, but it also may have rented two work halls in the Hanomag factory to continue its antiaircraft weapons production. Keller has noted that the archives of neither Hanomag nor Rheinmetall-Borsig have documentation that would clarify this question.[1] Although the Mühlenberg subcamp operated for only about two months, its prisoners continued performing the same labor functions they had begun in Laurahütte in April 1944.

Ahead of approaching Soviet troops, the SS dismantled the Auschwitz III-Monowitz camp complex, including its subcamps, in early 1945. The Laurahütte camp was evacuated on January 23; nearly 1,000 inmates were transported by freight train to the Mauthausen camp, where they arrived six days later. From there, they were marched to Mauthausen subcamp Gusen II, where they stayed for two days. The SS "selected" about 500 inmates, considered "skilled workers" or "capable of work," for transfer to Hannover. The transport left on February 1, 1945, and arrived in Mühlenberg on February 3, 1945.

The Mühlenberg camp was located on the outskirts of Hannover in the industrial Mühlenberg-Linden area. Situated just north of a large slave labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) that also provided labor to Hanomag, the subcamp consisted of 10 stone barracks surrounded by barbed wire. Fencing separated the prisoner area from the SS and guard barracks. In the first days after their arrival in Mühlenberg, the inmates reconstructed various areas of the camp; for example, fencing had to be mended and electrified, searchlights erected, and toilets repaired. The prisoners were sent to work outside the camp to the Hanomag factory beginning on February 12, 1945. Due to increasingly intensive Allied air attacks, and after the halt in production at Laurahütte, manufacturing antiaircraft weapons gained special urgency. Hanomag produced half of the Reich's supply of this artillery.

Some 95 percent of the prisoners in the Mühlenberg subcamp were Jews, most of whom had been deported from Poland and Hungary to Auschwitz. The rest of the Jewish inmates had been deported from Western Europe—France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. There were also small numbers of Romanian, Czech, Slovak, and Italian Jews.[2] German nationals (Reichsdeutsche), prisoners in "protective custody," and so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) were also incarcerated in Mühlenberg. Most of the prisoners were between the ages of 21 and 30. The youngest prisoners, 2 Hungarian Jews, were 14 and 15 years old; the oldest prisoner was a Polish Jew aged 59. In addition to the original transport of 500 inmates, the Swedish Red Cross (the so-called Bernadotte Action) transferred about 500 "weak inmates" (*Muselmänner*) from Neuengamme to subcamps in Hannover; about 72 arrived in Mühlenberg in late March 1945.[3]

Daily, the inmates were marched to the Hanomag factory some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp, where they were divided into various work details; for example, some drilled holes in metal plates, and others performed locksmith tasks. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, which changed weekly. Conditions in the factory were terrible. Portions of the work halls had been destroyed during bombing attacks and were thus open to the elements. The inmates were poorly fed and suffered abuse from the Kapos and SS. Former inmate Moshe O. has recalled that as the prisoners were forced to run through the camp gates after their work assignments were over, camp elder (Lagerältester) "Otto" hit them arbitrarily with a hammer. Some weaker inmates did not survive this beating.[4]

In the Hanomag factory, the subcamp inmates worked together with civilian workers, foreign workers, and prisoners of war (POWs). Although contact between the groups was strictly forbidden, some were able to organize extra food rations or exchange lighter workloads with their fellow laborers. Organized sabotage attempts generally could not be implemented, as most of the finished weapons were tested on the grounds of the factory itself. However, some individual acts of sabotage caused the breakdown of production equipment.

During work in the factory, Kapos and guards from the subcamp supervised the inmates' work. The administration and guard contingent consisted of 51 men, 11 SS officers, and 40 naval soldiers (Marinesoldaten). The commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Walter Friedrich Wilhelm Quakernack. Quakernack joined the SS in 1929, was deployed

to the front in 1939, and returned home after he was wounded. He was assigned to the political office in the Auschwitz main camp, and in 1944, he became a block leader (Blockführer) in Monowitz. Quakernack was appointed to command the Laurahütte subcamp in April 1944, and in January 1945, he transferred with the prisoners to Mühlenberg.

SS-Oberscharführer Quakernack's assistant was SS-Oberscharführer Otto B., who also transferred from Laurahütte. The office of roll-call leader (Rapportführer) alternated between Rottenführer Alfred Grams and Rottenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Rex. Born in Poland, Grams was an ethnic German who worked in Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Auschwitz, and Laurahütte. Rex, a member of the German Labor Front (DAF), served in the Wehrmacht until the end of 1943 when he was injured. He was transferred to oversee a small POW camp in Dommitzsch. From there, he was assigned to Auschwitz in June 1944 and then Laurahütte. Other SS officers in the Mühlenberg camp included SS-Rottenführer Hans Tauschek, SS-Unterscharführer Plasa, and SS-Rottenführer Hans Rebtschuk.

There is comparatively little information on the sentries in Mühlenberg, which consisted of naval soldiers declared unfit for the front due to age and other reasons. The naval soldiers patrolled the camp outside the fencing that enclosed the prisoner area, supervised the inmates en route to work, and guarded the entrances of the factory halls. Prohibited from entering the prisoner area of the camp, they had little direct contact with the prisoners. According to most prisoner reports, the guards behaved less cruelly than the SS.

Due to poor working conditions, unsanitary living conditions, lack of food, and inadequate medical care, several inmates died in the Mühlenberg camp. They suffered from dysentery, exhaustion, starvation, and pneumonia; some died from beatings they received from Kapos and SS men. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact number and prisoner death rate because the only known records, those of the local Seelhorst cemetery, do not account for every prisoner death.[5] Historian Rolf Keller has estimated that between 110 and 180 prisoners died in the camp from February 3, 1945, until its evacuation on April 6, 1945. This number does not include inmates who died or who were murdered during the evacuation of the camp.

The SS conducted a final roll call on April 6, 1945. Those prisoners who were determined capable of marching were separated from those who were not. About 110 inmates, including the 72 inmates transported to Mühlenberg by the Swedish Red Cross, remained behind. A few SS officers returned with trucks to evacuate them the following day; about 50 inmates who tried to hide were shot. The SS marched the rest to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived after three days. Quakernack and his SS officers murdered at least 36 inmates during the march.

After Quakernack was found guilty of the murder of inmates on the evacuation march to Bergen-Belsen and guilty of ordering guards to shoot those too weak to march, he was sentenced to death by a British military tribunal in 1946. He was hanged in October 1946. Also accused of murder during the evacuation, the former Rottenführers Rex and Grams were tried before the regional court (Landgericht) of Hannover beginning in 1980. At the conclusion of the trial in 1981, Grams was found innocent. Rex was sentenced to a six-year prison term; however, the higher regional court (Oberlandesgerichts) in Celle exempted him from serving the sentence.[6]

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Rolf Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg: Auschwitz in Hannover," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). For an analysis of the final days of the Hannover subcamps, including Hannover-Mühlenberg, see Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," in the same volume. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Mühlenberg camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For further information on Mühlenberg, see Markus Deckert, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Hannover-Mühlenberg: "Vernichtung durch Arbeit"* (Hannover: Freizeit- und Bildungszentrum Weisse Rose, 1981).

Primary sources related to the Hannover-Mühlenberg camp can be found in various archives and repositories, and Rolf Keller's extensive analysis has made ample use of these resources. See especially the FZH for a transport list to KZ Mühlenberg (13-6-13) and report by Arnost Basch on Laurahütte, Hanomag, and Hannover-Linden (13-6-17). Trial proceedings of the case against Walter Quakernack, although scanty in detail, are stored at the PRO London, WO 235/658 (Second Belsen Case). This file is copied partially at USHMMA, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War (1945–1953), RG-59.016M. Another file related to Quakernack in Celle, currently listed as "wanting" or missing from the PRO, is WO 235/152. Trial proceedings against Freidrich Wilhelm Rex and Alfred Grams are located at the AStaLG-H (11 Ks 3/76 and 11 Js 6/79). The ASt-H contains production statistics for Hanomag dated August 23, 1945. Reports from former inmate Arthur Lehmann are stored at YV; see especially 02/309, "Das Arbeitslager Hannover-Mühlenberg" (3.2.1945–6.4.1945) [1946]. Aerial photographs of Mühlenberg can be found at the IWM, London. Finally, further information, including photographs and plant reports, are located at the NA, Washington, DC, USSBS Plant Report No. 107a (I), Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG, 22/23 May 1945, RG 243.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Only one document, the quarterly report filed by Dr. Trzebinski, notes the number of inmates in "Hannover-Hanomag," although this most likely refers to the inmates' workplace, not the firm that actually submitted the request

for inmates to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

2. See Rolf Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg: Auschwitz in Hannover," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltskriegs*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985), p. 448, for a detailed chart based on the transport list of Laurahütte prisoners from Mauthausen to the Neuengamme camp system. The transport list dated February 7, 1945, is located at the Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Hamburg, 13-6-13, and is reproduced in part in Fröbe et al., Abb. 106–107.

3. Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, pp. 526–527.

4. Moshe O., as quoted in Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg," pp. 466–467.

5. See Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg," pp. 476–484, for a reconstruction of the monthly death rate from the Seelhorst cemetery records as well as from witness accounts.

6. "Todesmarsch von Hannover: Sechs Jahre für Ex-SS-Mann Rex," *Neue Presse* (1./2. August 1981), reproduced in Markus Deckert, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Hannover-Mühlenberg: "Vernichtung durch Arbeit"* (Hannover: Freizeit- und Bildungszentrum Weisse Rose, 1981).

HANNOVER-STÖCKEN (*AKKUMULATORENFABRIK*)

The first Neuengamme subcamp in the Hannover area was established in Stöcken in July 1943. The camp was created to supply prisoner labor to the nearby Akkumulatorenfabrik AG (later Varta Batterie AG), a firm that manufactured batteries for submarines and torpedoes. At a time of increased submarine production and shortage of skilled laborers, an agreement forged by the Naval High Command (OKM), the Reich Ministry for Weapons and Ammunition, the Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover, and the Akkumulatoren firm introduced the use of prisoner labor into the factory's workforce. The Neuengamme main camp financed the transport of prisoners to and from Hannover, and it also provided for clothing, food, and other supplies for the inmates and guards. In turn, Akkumulatoren paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) a wage for each prisoner. The prisoners did not receive compensation for their work. At the height of wartime production, Akkumulatoren employed more than 6,500 workers, including some 1,500 concentration camp prisoners and 3,700 slave laborers.

The camp was built 120 meters (394 feet) south of the Akkumulatoren factory. Originally, the structure was intended to accommodate 500 prisoners; the actual number of prisoners incarcerated in the camp throughout its years of operation far exceeded that number. On July 17, 1943, the first commando from Neuengamme was transported to Hannover-Stöcken to begin construction of the camp under the leadership of SS-Oberscharführer Johannes P. The group of 50 prisoners, including Germans, Serbs, and Poles, was treated brutally by the Oberscharführer and his Oberkapo "Toni." In the following weeks, additional transports arrived from Neuengamme; by March 1944, the numbers rose to 790 prisoners, and by August 1944, 1,533 prisoners.[1]

In the Stöcken-Akkumulatorenfabrik camp, there were large groups of prisoners from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Poland, and the Soviet Union. A smaller number of prisoners had been deported from Greece, Italy, Latvia, Estonia, and Czechoslovakia, although the exact number in each of the groups is unknown. In the fall of 1943, there were two large transports of 500 prisoners each, and in the summer of 1944, another transport of 500 prisoners arrived, all from Neuengamme. Some inmates had been imprisoned for their political or religious affiliations or sexual orientation (especially the German prisoners), others for their resistance activities or their status as "asocials" or criminals. A final group of weakened inmates was transported from Neuengamme to Stöcken days before its dissolution in April 1945 as part of an action by the Swedish Red Cross. Because of the difficult work the inmates performed, the sparse food rations they received, and the abuse they suffered by the guards and Kapos, there were many ill and weakened inmates whose conditions remained untreated. Inmates too feeble to work were exchanged for "healthy" prisoners from Neuengamme.

The Stöcken camp at the Akkumulatoren factory consisted of five prisoner barracks, an infirmary, a kitchen barracks, a roll-call area, and an execution area with gallows. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire, and the barracks for the commandant, his guard staff, and administrative offices were located outside the camp's entrance. Watchtowers stood at the four corners of the camp, and a fenced-in pathway (distinct from the entrance to the camp) led to the Akkumulatoren factory.

The working conditions at the factory were brutal. Prisoners were separated into labor divisions—such as the lead or the plastics departments—and split into 12-hour shifts. Because inmates were not given protective equipment, there were several accidents and cases of poisoning from harmful gases. According to Theodorus M., a Greek prisoner transported from Neuengamme to Stöcken, the inmates were prohibited from drinking water at work and thus resorted to drinking from the toilets.

The administration of the Hannover-Stöcken camp changed a number of times. SS-Untersturmführer Benediek replaced Oberscharführer Johannes P. as commandant in August 1943. SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Griem, infamous for his cruelty, succeeded him. During Griem's service as commander of the camp, Oberscharführer P. became the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) and oversaw the administrative duties of the camp. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Adolf Klebeck, who came to Stöcken at the last stage of construction, replaced Griem in July 1944. SS-Untersturmführer Paul Maas took over as roll-call leader. Klebeck had entered the Nazi Party in 1933 and served in the Waffen-SS beginning in February 1940. He was a guard in Sachsenhausen from March to July 1940, then a supervisor in the Oranienburg subcamp, as well as in various other work commandos. Klebeck was also the chief of the SS-



German civilians view corpses outside Gardelegen, April 18, 1945, where the SS burned 1,016 prisoners in a barn. The prisoners originated from various camps, including from the Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik AG*) subcamp of Neuengamme and the Mittelbau subcamp of Rottelberode.
USHMM WS #08054, COURTESY OF JAMES HERRIMAN

7th Wachkompanie and supervised some 600 SS in the Hannover area.

The guard staff was mostly drawn from the SS; however, from July 1944, the OKM ordered guards to Hannover-Stöcken from Wilhelmshaven. SS guards and Kapos controlled the prisoners at work and within the camp. The SS were divided between those who served as sentries in the camp and those who supervised the administration of the camp.

In addition to deaths caused by poor living conditions and brutal work detail, there were also executions in the camp. Inmates selected for a death sentence were hanged, and all other inmates in the camp were gathered to witness it. The SS also executed prisoners by shooting, which was implemented outside the camp. At work, in the camp, and especially during roll calls, the SS guards and Kapos beat the prisoners arbitrarily, and this maltreatment, coupled with diseases like dysentery and tuberculosis, resulted in many prisoner deaths.[2] The inmates also died from frequent air raids; they were not provided with adequate shelter. Over 400 prisoners died in the Stöcken camp, excluding an unknown number of prisoners returned to Neuengamme in exchange for "healthy" inmates.

The inmates responded to and coped with daily tyranny in various ways. Some inmates were able to barter for food to supplement their meager rations, which helped sustain their physical health. For example, Theodorus M. recalled that Danish prisoners received packages from the Red Cross, a privilege not afforded to other prisoners in the camp. He exchanged cigarettes for extra food.[3] Several inmates engaged in resistance and sabotage activities. Theodorus M. also recalled that he produced faulty parts deliberately.[4] Other testimony emphasized that some inmates smuggled a radio into the camp and were able to listen to foreign broadcasts. French prisoner René Baumer clandestinely sketched several scenes of camp life and portraits of his fellow inmates, and the sketches survived the war.[5] Finally, according to the records of the nearby Seelhorst cemetery, there were at least eight in-

mates who attempted to escape the Stöcken camp. All of these attempts failed. The inmates were caught and either shot or brought back into the camp and hanged.

The SS began to evacuate the camp in two stages on April 7 and 8, 1945. During roll call, prisoners who were too weak to walk were separated from those who were able. The latter group was marched out of the camp to Bergen-Belsen, guarded by armed SS. The remaining 600 prisoners, many of whom were part of the Swedish Red Cross transport from Neuengamme, were gathered and transported by train. Those who survived the transport were marched to Gardelegen, where they were locked in a barn with inmates from other evacuated camps (1,016 in total) and burned alive. On April 15, members of the 102nd Infantry Division of the U.S. Army encountered the charred remains of the dead.[6] The Allies occupied the grounds of the Akkumulatorenfabrik on April 20, 1945.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Klebeck was tried by a British military court in 1947 and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Rapportführer Paul Maas was tried in 1964 and was given a 3.5-years prison sentence.

SOURCES There are several primary and secondary sources that contain detailed information about the Hannover-Stöcken subcamp of Neuengamme at the Akkumulatorenfabrik. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Hans Hermann Schröder, "Das erste Konzentrationslager in Hannover: Das Lager bei der Akkumulatorenfabrik in Stöcken," in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Stöcken subcamp, including a personal account of the evacuation to Gardelegen (p. 277) as well as a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Stöcken camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). See also Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike's *Feinde im Eigenen Land: Zwangsarbeit in Hannover im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000) for an overview of Hannover-Stöcken at the Akkumulatorenfabrik in the context of slave labor in the Hannover region; it also includes a personal account of life in the camp. Günther Wackernagel's witness report can be found in the collection *Als Letztes Starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme*, ed. Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring Verlag, 1989). For specific information on the Danish prisoners in Stöcken, see Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Faenglser, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Frihedsmuseets Venners Forlags Fond, 1994). For an account of the Gardelegen massacre, see Diana Gring, *Die Todesmärsche und das Massaker von Gardelegen: NS-Verbrechen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Gardelegen: Stadtmuseum Gardelegen, 1993).

Primary documentation about the Stöcken camp is stored in various archives, and the research of Hans Hermann Schröder has made extensive use of many of these resources in his study in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*. For documents from the trial of Paul Maas and other relevant files, see the AStaLG-H, 2 Ks 2/63. Documentation related to Klebeck's trial can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG's Office WO 235/348. For correspondence, lists of deaths, and other relevant files, see the Nachlass Hans Schwarz at FZH. A collection of René Baumer's drawings is stored at the Musée de l'Ordre de la Libération, Paris. Archives at USHMM contain files related to the Allied recovery of the remains of the Gardelegen massacre; see the Chris Battersby collection, RG-09.036; the 1981 International Liberators Conference collection, Gardelegen, RG-09.005*15; KZ Bilderbericht aus fünf Konzentrationslager, RG-04.045 (with photos); and signatures of Gardelegen witnesses, RG-09.017*01. The USHMM also has an extensive collection of photographs of Gardelegen at liberation, in particular of the barn where inmates from Stöcken were murdered; see USHMMPA, designation numbers 535.5455 and 535.4542.

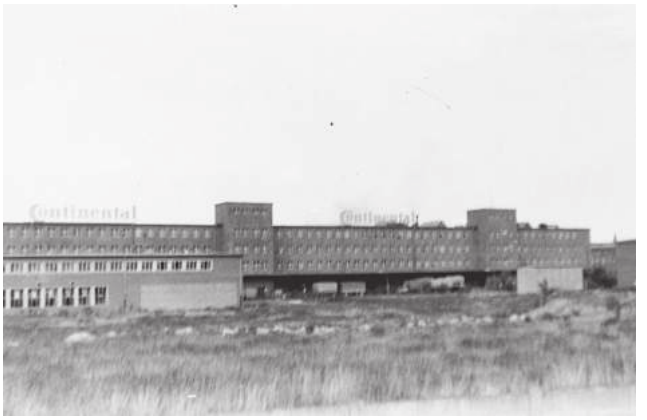
Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Feinde im Eigenen Land: Zwangsarbeit in Hannover im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), p. 193.
2. See testimony of Theodorus M., in ibid., pp. 193–195.
3. See testimony of Theodorus M., in ibid., pp. 193–194.
4. Anschütz and Heike, *Feinde im Eigenen Land*, p. 193.
5. Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985): See "René Baumer—Ein Zeichner im KZ. Kunst, Widerstand und Identität im Konzentrationslager," pp. 109–130.
6. For reports on the Allied encounter with Gardelegen, see USHMMA, RG-09.036, RG-09.005*15, RG-04.045, and RG-09.017*01. See also Diana Gring, *Die Todesmärsche und das Massaker von Gardelegen: NS-Verbrechen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Gardelegen: Stadtmuseum Gardelegen, 1993), p. 22.

HANNOVER-STÖCKEN (*CONTINENTAL*)

In August 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Otto "Tull" Harder, who worked in the administrative office of the Neuengamme main camp, received orders from the commander of Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Max Pauly, to take over the administration of a work commando that was to be sent to Hannover. In the late summer of 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in Hannover-Stöcken for the Continental-Gummiwerke AG, a rubber factory located in Stöcken. The creation of the camp stemmed from a contractual agreement between the SS and Continental to use camp inmates for labor in the armaments industry. The camp was located on Stelinger Platz (later Stelinger Strasse) in close proximity to the factory.



View of the Continental rubber factory where prisoners from the Hannover-Stöcken (Continental) subcamp of Neuengamme were sent to work, 1944–1945.
USHMM WS #98827, COURTESY OF GFH

On September 10, 1944, about 1,000 Jews were brought from Auschwitz to Hannover on a grueling transport by freight train that lasted several nights. According to one survivor of the deportation, they received little, if any, food during the trip, and a single bucket in the corner of the car served as a toilet for about 80 people.[1] Upon their arrival, some of the prisoners were taken directly to the infirmary, and three days later, the first inmate died, weakened from the brutal conditions of the transport.

The inmates were brought to a former slave labor camp that consisted of three prisoner barracks surrounded by electrified barbed wire. Outside the barracks stood the living quarters for the SS as well as the barracks for the kitchen and infirmary. Each of the five buildings measured 63.75 meters long by 12.5 meters wide (209 feet long by 41 feet wide). Four watchtowers guarded the camp's perimeter, and air-raid shelters reserved for the guards were located outside the camp.

Barely a week had passed after their arrival when the inmates were forced to work in the Continental factory. The commander of the camp, SS-Untersturmführer Harder, requested 20 German prisoners—most of whom were considered criminals—from Neuengamme's main camp to serve as Kapos to oversee prisoner work. Some of the most notorious Kapos were camp elder (Lagerältester) Johann Heinrich Wexler, block elder (Blockältester) Hans Deckert, and inmates Emil Krause (nicknamed "Zigeuner"), and Ferdinand Grosse. Civilian foremen employed by Continental entered the camp to divide the prisoners into work groups. The prisoners were employed in the fabrication of rubber for airplane tires as well as electrical and galvanizing work.

The prisoners were divided into two 12-hour shifts. Those who worked the day shift were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and given a small breakfast, which included about 80 grams (2.82 ounces) of bread and unsweetened coffee. After the morning roll call, work began at 6:00 A.M. The prisoners were marched daily to the factory guarded by armed SS and Kapos. Conditions in the factory were terrible—the prisoners were exposed to noxious gases, were given no protective equipment, and suffered brutal mistreatment and abuse from the Kapos and the Continental foremen. At around noon, work was briefly interrupted. Lunch, which consisted of a liter (4.2 cups) of turnip soup with no fat, was served in the factory canteen. Work in the rubber factory then recommenced after lunch and continued until 6:00 P.M.

When the inmates returned to the camp, they received a sparse evening meal and then endured evening roll call. During the work shift, the Kapos had compiled a list of prisoners whose work performance was slow or who had otherwise attracted the guards' attention. The list was submitted to Wexler. The Kapos then beat the inmates ruthlessly with rubber truncheons as punishment for their "inadequate" work performance.

Some prisoners were employed in other intermittent work assignments, including clearing debris after bombings. Benjamin Sieradzki, a former inmate in the Stöcken Continental camp, had been assigned to one of the commandos sent to clean out demolished houses not far from the camp. "We had to dig out and remove all kinds of rubble, people's household items and personal possessions, dead animals, piled up old bricks, lumber, metal, et cetera," recalled Sieradzki. "We always looked for old food inside the ruins, and sometimes we found some raw potatoes, stale bread, or other old rotten food."[2] Other inmates were recruited for work in the infirmary, kitchen, and other duties within the camp. Two prisoners employed in the infirmary were Leon Fajwlowicz and Dr. Ilja Margolis.

The prisoners in the Hannover-Stöcken camp at the Continental factory were male Jews who had been deported from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and selected for work outside the camp. The exact dates and rate of death of the inmates are unknown; however, former inmates noted that many died from the terrible conditions and abuse meted out by the Kapos and guards. "A lot of us got sick or injured," Sieradzki has noted, "and soon after we arrived, people started to die on a daily basis. I saw several people dying during a roll call and after severe beatings."[3] In October 1944, between 80 and 85 ill and weakened inmates were transferred from Stöcken to the Neuengamme main camp, where they most likely died. One month later, at the end of November 1944, the remaining 850 inmates were evacuated to Hannover-Ahlem. Therefore, there were some 65 other deaths in the Stöcken Continental subcamp during its three-month existence.

SS-Untersturmführer Harder was the officer in charge (Lagerführer) of the Hannover-Stöcken subcamp at Continental. After his service in World War I, Harder began his career as a professional soccer player, known then as "Tull" Harder. He joined the Nazi Party in 1932, the SS in 1933, and became a guard in Sachsenhausen prior to his service in Neuengamme in 1939. Harder was in charge of 60 SS men who were transferred from Neuengamme to serve as sentries in the Stöcken camp. They were organized under the 7th Wachkompanie, which provided guards for the Hannover camps. At least a part of the guard troop in Stöcken-Continental changed sometime between October and November 1944. About 25 SS men were sent from Neuengamme to Stöcken, among them at least one soldier from the Luftwaffe.

The only successful flight from the Stöcken camp was carried out by one of the Kapos, Karl H. He fled from the Continental factory on October 9, 1944. The camp administration and chief of the 7th Wachkompanie contacted the Gestapo office in Hannover immediately. The Gestapo investigated the Kapo's connections with the woman who worked in the factory canteen, Emmi W. Unlike other inmates who worked in the Continental factory, the Kapos were permitted to circulate the grounds, and if they had money, they purchased drinks from the canteen. Although camp commander Harder had prohibited the canteen to sell goods to the prisoners or the Kapos, Emmi W. believed that her superiors at the factory had given her permission. Thus she was seen communicating frequently with the Kapo Karl H. and was suspected of aiding him in his escape.

The Stöcken Continental camp was evacuated on November 30, 1944. The surviving inmates were summoned and then marched to another subcamp of Neuengamme in Hannover-Ahlem, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. Harder and his guards were also transferred to the new camp. Harder was tried by a British military tribunal in 1947 for crimes committed in the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp; he was sentenced to a 15-year prison term. In 1946, Grosse was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Wexler was tried by the Regional Court (Landgericht) Hannover in 1975–1976 and sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was changed to 15 years, but he was released in 1982. Wexler died in 1985.

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Stöcken (Continental) subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon Christoph Gutmann's "Das Lager der Continental Gummi-Werke AG in Hannover" in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Additional information on the transfer of inmates from Stöcken to Ahlem, as well as several witness testimonies from both the Stöcken and Ahlem camps, can be found in Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, "*Wir wollten Gefühle sichtbar werden lassen.*" *Bürger gestalten ein Mahnmal für das KZ Ahlem* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004). Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamp is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Continental and Akkumulatorenfabrik subcamps in Hannover.

Primary sources with information on the Stöcken (Continental) subcamp are located in various archives and are extensively documented in Christoph Gutmann's essay in the two-volume *Konzentrationslager in Hannover* as well as the exhaustive listing of resources in Anschütz and Heike. Most information gathered from primary documentation can be found in files associated with the Hannover-Ahlem camp, to which the inmates and guards were transferred in November 1944. The evidence gathered for several postwar trials conducted for crimes committed in Ahlem also contains information about the Continental camp. In London, the IWMA holds aerial photos of the Stöcken Continental grounds (taken October 20, 1945); one of them is also reprinted in Fröbe et al. Also see the archives of the War Office Military Tribunal in the PRO (London) for information about the trial conducted against Harder and other SS leaders (WO 235/348) (WO 235 is copied in part at USHMMA, "JAG's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.016M). Harder was called as a witness in the trial of Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly (WO 235/163), and some information on the Ahlem and Stöcken Continental camps is also provided here. The BA-K contains information related to the entry of Continental into the armaments industry in the files of the Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion (RMfRK). Letters from the Continental factory to municipal authorities in Hannover, architectural plans for the Continental subcamp, and other information are located at the ASt-H. Information about the trial against camp elder Johann Heinrich Wexler is stored at the AStaLG-H (11 Ks 1/74). Finally, the Historische Seminar at the Universität Hannover also contains various records related to the Stöcken camp. For personal accounts of survivors recorded after the war, see the Vernon Tott collection (Acc. 1997 A 0287) and the oral history of David Klipp (RG-50.030*0345) at USHMMA, as well as those published in Anschütz and Heike (Moshe Miedzinski, Katriel Monitz, and Benjamin Sieradzki). A photograph of the Continental rubber factory in Hannover-Stöcken, taken in 1944 or 1945, can be found at USHMMPA, WS # 98827 (RG 10851).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Benjamin Sieradzki, "A Teenager Survives the Holocaust," Vernon Tott Collection, Hannover-Ahlem concentration camp records and photographs, USHMMA, Acc. 1997 A 0287, p. 21.
2. Ibid., pp. 24–25.
3. Ibid., p. 25.

HILDESHEIM

The establishment of a subcamp in Hildesheim was a reaction to the massive destruction during a bombing raid on February 22, 1945, of the goods railway yard and the main railway line from Hildesheim to Dresden via Leipzig. Labor was needed to repair the destruction. Nevertheless, there are contradictory statements about the exact dates for the establishment of the camp: survivors state they were sent from Bergen-Belsen to Hildesheim at the end of February; the guards date the arrival as February 24,[1] while the Bergen-Belsen transport lists put March 2 as the date on which the detachment left for Hildesheim. This latter date is supported by an instruction by the Hildesheim mayor to prepare accommodations for March 1.[2]

The Hildesheim prisoners had been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen from Riese/Wüstegiersdorf, a Gross-Rosen subcamp, as part of the evacuation of camps in the eastern parts of Germany. Of the original 800 prisoners, only 500 arrived, and this group, almost unchanged, was sent on to Hildesheim. The prisoners were all Jewish—there were around 340 Hungarian Jews and 160 Jewish prisoners from Italy, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany. This mix did not change.[3] A young Hungarian was shot on a work site, the only concrete example of a homicide at Hildesheim. However, it is hardly possible to calculate the exact number of prisoners who died, as the camp lists are not available. Most prisoners presumably did not die of mistreatment, malnutrition, and the heavy work but in the heavy bombing raid on March 22, 1945, which destroyed large parts of Hildesheim including the goods railway yard and the city hall where the prisoners were accommodated. Some 250 prisoners probably died, but the number is only an estimate, as the Bergen-Belsen transport lists merely refer to a prisoner transport to Hildesheim without giving details on the number of prisoners.

In Hildesheim, Reichsbahnoberinspektor Laurenz Rappers, who described himself as responsible for the "Acquisition and Use of Labor to Reinstate the Railway Facilities," had demanded the labor.[4] The prisoners were required by the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) to clean up the railways, remove the damage, and reinstate the railway facilities.

Members of the SS, who had accompanied the prisoners part of the way from Wüstegiersdorf, accompanied the prisoners on the transport to Hildesheim and remained at the camp.[5] The only details known on the SS guards are from the camp commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Heinrich Paul Thümmel.[6] Originally a captain of the artillery, he was discharged from the Wehrmacht in March 1944 due to his age and transferred to an SS-Guards Battalion in Oranienburg. His first assignment as camp commandant was in October 1944 when he was assigned to the subcamp at Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg. At the end of 1944, he was sent via Wedel to one of the subcamps at the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke.[7] He remained there until the end of January 1945. At the beginning of March, he commanded the Hildesheim camp for 10 days; 3 days after the attack on March 22, 1945, the camp was evacuated to Hannover-Ahlem.

The prisoners from Hildesheim remember, much more than the SS, the Volkssturm men who guarded the prisoners on the way to work. The Volkssturm platoon was not part of the normal chain of command but was responsible directly to the district party leader, Meyer, or the camp commandant. Albert Rosin was in command of the platoon. Their duty was accomplished in two rotating daily shifts. The Volkssturm soldiers had not been called up to the Wehrmacht because of their age or because they had proved to be indispensable for their jobs. Although they had been recruited directly from their jobs and at the direction of the SS, some of them treated the prisoners with extraordinary brutality.[8] Besides Rosin, one cruel guard was Volkssturm private Hermann Dettmer. A building cleaner from Hildesheim born in 1887, Dettmer had been a member of the Nazi Party from May 1933.[9] He is described as being about 1.6 meters (5 feet 3 inches) tall, wearing a leather jacket and armed not only with a gun but with a thick stick, with which he often beat the prisoners unconscious.[10]

Not only was Dettmer feared, but so was his superior, platoon leader Rosin. The son of a miner, he was born on September 15, 1900, in Sarstedt near Hildesheim. He served in World War I as a soldier and worked finally as a clerk at a mill in Sarstedt. It was here that he was called up to the Volkssturm.[11] He had been a member of the Nazi Party from May 1937.[12] Rosin did the only known shooting at the Hildesheim subcamp. It happened at the railway goods yard when a young Hungarian who had taken a tin of food from a destroyed railway wagon was shot on railway premises. No investigation was carried out into the theft despite the fact that other Volkssturm members had allowed the prisoners to take damaged food from the destroyed wagons.

The dissolution of the Hildesheim camp followed the attack on Hildesheim on March 22, 1945, in which large parts of the city, the prisoners' workplace, and accommodation were destroyed. It made no sense to attempt to repair the damage done.

The surviving prisoners then commenced a march lasting several days to Hannover to the Ahlem subcamp. They were evacuated from there on April 6, with the Ahlem prisoners, to Bergen-Belsen.

The events in Hildesheim were investigated in several trials after the end of the war: Dettmer, the former member of the Volkssturm, was convicted by a British military court on August 28, 1946, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.[13] New investigations began in 1949 against Dettmer and another Volkssturm member, Hermann Schröder, at the Hildesheim Local Court. However, the proceedings ceased on June 19, 1950.[14] Rosin was convicted of shooting the young prisoner and in the appeal case was sentenced by the State Court at Hildesheim on January 25, 1952, to five years in jail.[15] Thümmel, on the other hand, was convicted by a British military court in 1947 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for mistreating and killing Allied subjects in the Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg work detachment. The events at Hildesheim were only a peripheral matter during this trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources useful for this essay are Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen: Vom "Aufenthaltslager" zum Konzentrationslager 1943–45* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1985), p. 68; Mandy Gur, "Von Bergen-Belsen nach Bergen-Belsen," *YalMor* 29 (May 1980): 7–18; and Studienkreis zur Erforschung und Vermittlung der Geschichte des Widerstandes 1933–1945 und Präsidium der VVN—Bund der Antifaschisten, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung 1933–45*, vol. 3, *Niedersachsen II Regierungsbezirke Hannover und Weser-Ems* (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1986), p. 79. The latter source furnishes a mortality estimate for the Hildesheim bombing raid.

Primary sources for this essay are found in PRO, WO 235/144; NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 90/99 Nr. 160 and Acc

106/80 Nr. 119; ASt-Hild, Best. 803, Nr. 113; AG-BB; BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73; and BA-BL.

Kathrin Clausing
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 9, Statement by Albert Rosin; and ibid., p. 28, Statement by Erich Kinder.
2. ASt-Hild, Best. 803, Nr. 113.
3. PRO, WO 235/144 Bl. 84, Statement Heinrich Wilhelm August Fischer.
4. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 21.
5. AG-BB, Interview with G.F. 14 March 1995, p. 20.
6. For details, see Sta. Hannover 2 KS 2/63 Bl. 53f, Criminal matter of Wilhelm Genth and Paul Maas charged with murder in BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73, B. 35–39.
7. BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73, Bl. 37.
8. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 26; Statement Wilhelm Werth, p. 27; Statement Erich Kinder, p. 28; and Statement Alex Schwarz, pp. 38–39.
9. NSDAP-Member Card Index, BA-BL.
10. Statement Heinrich Wilhelm August Fischer, PRO, WO 235/144, p. 84.
11. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 7.
12. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 10.
13. PRO, WO 235/144.
14. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 86/60 Nr. 33, p. 91.
15. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 106/80 Nr. 120, p. 42.

HORNEBURG

The Horneburg subcamp probably existed as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from the end of October 1944 to the end of April 1945. During this period, it was exclusively occupied by female prisoners. The camp was located outside the small Lower Saxony town of Horneburg, Stade County, on the road to Bliedersdorf.

The prisoners' accommodation barracks at the Horneburg camp had been constructed during the summer months of 1944. On February 17, 1944, the Hamburg company Valvo Röhren- und Halbleiterwerke GmbH (Valvo Pipe and Semiconductor Factory, Ltd.) applied to the Building Plenipotentiary at Albert Speer's Reich Ministry for permission to build three wooden barracks. Because of the sustained air raids on Hamburg, Valvo, which had its headquarters in Hamburg, for security reasons began to relocate parts of its factory to Horneburg in 1943. In addition to the three prisoners' accommodation barracks, there was an additional barracks for the camp guards.

In October 1944, two groups of prisoners arrived at the Horneburg women's camp. According to the prisoners' card index of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), 48 mostly Dutch women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp arrived in Horneburg probably on either October 9 or 10, 1944. A transport list has survived for this transport, although it is dated October 19, 1944. A comparison of the prisoners' numbers on this list with the prisoners' cards of the WVHA, which have survived, reveals that the departure of the women from Ravensbrück occurred on October 9, 1944.[1] A few days later, 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Most of the Dutch women had been arrested at the beginning of 1944 and transported to the Herzogenbusch concentration camp, from where, during the course of 1944, they were transferred to Ravensbrück. The Hungarian women were expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944 and locked up in various ghettos throughout the country. From the ghettos they were deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz the women were held in C Camp, the so-called transit camp, where following a "selection" they were chosen for work in Horneburg.

The Horneburg prisoners were put to work at the Valvo Röhren- und Halbleiter factory as part of the armaments industry. According to survivors' reports, the Horneburg camp prisoners, together with German employees and prisoners of war (POWs), produced mostly radio valves and lightbulbs. Some reports suggest that telephonic equipment was also manufactured there. Most probably the lightbulbs were manufactured at Valvo for use in military aircraft and warships. Many survivors from Horneburg reported the production of the lightbulbs. It was precise mechanical work using magnifying glasses and tweezers. Each workday was 12 hours long. The work caused a great deal of eyestrain. Magda Eggens, a survivor, has the following to say about the work: "My section produced lightbulbs. A few girls had to learn how to blow the glass for the bulbs. I had to put the small wires into the bulbs. I quickly learned the work and my section leader said that I was diligent. It is much more difficult to blow glass and turn the hot glass. The glass blowers were always being burned."[2]

A report by the Dutch survivors suggests that the Dutch women not only were put to work in the factory but, from time to time, were engaged in different open-air tasks outside the factory. For example, they dug and built fortifications in the small Horneburg harbor and unloaded bricks, among other things, from a few ships.

Horneburg was commanded by Peter Klaus Friedrich Hansen. Hansen was born on June 21, 1905, in Kiel. After he completed elementary school, he became a salesman. From 1930 to 1937, he was in charge of a grocer's shop. In 1937 he took over his father's cattle agency. He joined the Allgemeine-SS in 1934 and reached the rank of Rottenführer. He joined the National Socialist Party on May 1, 1937, and the Waffen-SS on November 7, 1939, where he received military training until the beginning of January 1940. From the beginning of 1940 until March 1941, Hansen was a sentry in Gusen (a subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp). At the beginning of March 1941, he was transferred to Neuengamme, where he was at first a sentry and from September 1942 a clerk in the commandant's office. During this period he reached the rank of Unterscharführer. Hansen's work in the commandant's office came to an end on September 1, 1944, when he took command of a prisoner clean-up squad, composed of Neuengamme prisoners, in Kiel. Finally, at the beginning of October 1944, he assumed command of Horneburg, where he remained until the end of April 1945.

According to Hansen, about 10 female wardens guarded the female prisoners inside the camp. Former Wehrmacht soldiers were responsible for the camp's external security.

Probably at the end of February 1945, the Hungarian and Dutch women were evacuated from the Horneburg camp. They were transferred to the subcamp Porta Westfalica, also a subcamp of Neuengamme.

According to the surviving workers' logbook for the Jewish prisoners of the Weisswasser women's subcamp, a satellite of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, the prisoners from that subcamp were transferred to Horneburg at the end of February 1945. About 300 Jewish women reached the Horneburg camp on February 24, 1945. These women had to do the same work as the other Hungarian women before them.

Most probably at the end of March 1945, the women remaining in Horneburg were divided into two groups. A small group of about 60 women was transferred to the Porta Westfalica camp. The remaining Jewish prisoners were evacuated from the camp on April 8, 1945 (this date is mentioned in the logbook), in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. The logbook also records that they arrived in Bergen-Belsen on April 11. Those who survived the rigors of Bergen-Belsen were freed by British troops on April 15, 1945, after four days in the "reception camp."

SOURCES This article is based on a description of the Horneburg camp by Ingo Lange, "Das Arbeitslager Horneburg—Aussenkommando des KZ Neuengamme. Eine Zwischenstation auf dem Wege zum KZ Bergen-Belsen" (unpub. MSS, Horneburg, n.d.); and "Mitten unter uns mussten sie durch die Hölle: Das Frauen-Arbeitslager in Horneburg N.E." (unpub. MSS, Horneburg, 2000). In addition, Harmut Lohmann discusses the Horneburg camp in *"Hier war doch alles nicht so schlimm": Der Landkreis Stade in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stade, 1991), pp. 316–323. On the transfer from Ravensbrück to Horneburg, see also Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), p. 173.

The AG-NG contains a few interviews with female survivors who recount the history of the camp. I have also interviewed many former camp prisoners. Magda Eggens and Rosa Lagercrantz published their memoirs as *Was meine Augen gesehen haben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999). Further accounts are to be found at the memorial site at YVA, including the surviving work logbook. A copy of the SS–WVHA's prisoners' card index is kept at AG-NG. Also kept there are the transport lists for the transport from Ravensbrück to Horneburg, which names the 48 Dutch women. This list is also kept in the Ravensbrück concentration camp collection at USHMMA, RG-04.006 M, Reel 20. The military court files, which are kept at BA-K, are a source of information about Peter Klaus Friedrich Hansen's career. Sources that can verify the exact arrival date of the Jewish inmates from Auschwitz in Horneburg or that could provide details about the male and female guards of the female subcamp Horneburg have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transfer list of October 19, 1944, from Ravensbrück concentration camp to Neuengamme concentration camp, USHMMA, RG-04.006 M, Reel 20.

2. Magda Eggens and Rosa Lagercrantz, *Was meine Augen gesehen haben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), p. 51.

HUSUM-SCHWESING [AKA HUSUM, SCHWESING, LAGER ENGELSBURG]

The concentration camp work detachment at Husum-Schwesing was located some five kilometers (three miles) northeast of Husum in the North German marshes close to the North Sea shore. The camp was established in September 1944 on the initiative of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Husum-Schwesing camp is also mentioned in contemporary sources under the names "Husum," "Schwesing," and "Lager Engelsburg," the latter stating its exact location. It was evacuated in late December 1944.

Husum-Schwesing was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of a complex of earth fortifications along the North Sea shore known as the Frisian Wall (Friesenwall) and the German border with Denmark. These fortifications were intended to prevent an Allied landing on the shores of western Schleswig and bar the entry of Allied troops from Denmark. Due to the Allied advance on the lower Western Front, the project soon lost its strategic significance and was abandoned by late December 1944 and the involved slave and forced laborers withdrawn. Thus, the Husum-Schwesing camp ceased to exist well before the German forces in the area capitulated to the Allies on May 5, 1945. The surviving prisoners were transported back to Neuengamme by train.

During its short period of operation, the Husum-Schwesing camp belonged to the most horrific German slave labor camps and had a high death rate. The prisoners were forced to dig trenches and antitank ditches in marsh soil that was soaked with water and very heavy. They worked outdoors under harsh fall weather conditions without proper clothing or protection. Work mainly consisted of moving huge masses of earth and mud, and because of the abundant supply of concentration camp slaves, it was performed with shovels and wheelbarrows without the use of earthmoving machinery. For this reason, and because of disastrous living conditions and extreme hunger, work progress was slow. Despite the constant efforts by Kapos and guards to speed up the work pace by means of violent blows and abusive language, productivity remained low. There are examples of prisoners being hit so severely with shovels that they died and of large numbers of prisoners from the infirmary who, despite being so weak they could hardly walk, were commanded to do heavy work. The prisoners, who were without

proper footwear, were frequently forced to work in water up to their knees. Work continued seven days a week. Prisoners had to march up to 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) each way to and from the work site every day.

The camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Hermann Griem, an early joiner of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SS, born in 1902 in Berlin. He had served as deputy Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme from 1942 to September 1944. From November 1 to December 16, he also commanded the nearby Ladelund subcamp. The deputy camp commandant was SS-Oberscharführer Eichler; the only Blockführer of the camp was SS-Rottenführer Erwin Klingler. According to survivors' testimony, Griem was an alcoholic who sold provisions meant for the prisoners' consumption to local peasants in order to get money to buy liquor. He was feared for his brutality and frequently used his revolver against the prisoners, once killing a Russian prisoner at short distance. He and the few other SS men, however, mostly stayed in the camp so the daily beatings on the work site were usually administered by Kapos. Guards who were older servicemen from the Marine Infantry performed acts of violence as well. Griem and Klingler were sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial in 1946 for atrocities committed against prisoners in Husum-Schwesing and other camps, but Griem managed to escape, and Eichler received a short prison sentence. Five German Kapos received long prison sentences by British military courts; a Dutch Kapo received 20 years' imprisonment by a Dutch court.

The first prisoners' transport arrived on September 26, 1944. Further transports arrived on October 4 and October 15. Some 200 prisoners from Husum-Schwesing were transported to Ladelund on October 4 in order to prepare this new subcamp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the average strength of the Husum-Schwesing camp was 2,000 male prisoners. Toward the end, there were 2,500 prisoners in the camp, apparently all non-Jewish. Three transports arrived in the course of time with replacement for sick and exhausted prisoners who were returned to Neuengamme for annihilation. Prisoners were from Denmark (98 resistance fighters), France, Holland, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

The Husum-Schwesing camp was originally erected in 1938 to accommodate 250 German workers employed at constructing a military airfield. By 1944, its buildings were extremely run-down. It was located on an area between the railroad and the main road leading from Husum to Flensburg and consisted of eight prisoners' huts that were very overcrowded, a kitchen building, and a storage building with a tailors' workshop and accommodation for those prisoners who worked in the camp kitchen. Four toilet shacks were very primitive and unhygienic. The quasi-rectangular camp compound was surrounded by a double-barbed-wire fence and had watchtowers at each corner. The camp administration and guards' accommodations were in three huts outside the fence. On the enclosed area was also a *Revier* hut (infirmary), which had two Danish and one Dutch prisoner physicians assigned to them. Paul Thygesen, the only one of them to survive the camp, at times had more than 700 sick and emaciated prisoners to attend to.

Provisions in the camp were very poor. There was no systematic killing of prisoners, but several deaths occurred due to illness, exhaustion, and random violence by Kapos and guards. An estimated 300 to 500 prisoners died in the Husum-Schwesing camp during its three months of operation. Some 300 were buried in 11 mass graves at the city cemetery of nearby Husum.

SOURCES This description of the Husum-Schwesing camp is based on Klaus Bästlein et al., eds., *Das KZ Husum-Schwesing* (Bredstedt, 1983). Another account is Jørgen Barfod, *Helvede har mange navne* (Copenhagen, 1969), p. 171, based on numerous early survivors' accounts; and Poul Riis, ed., *Husum-Schwesing og Ladelund* (Slagelse, n.d.). Preliminary data are found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). This camp is briefly mentioned in various popular books, pamphlets, and articles about the Neuengamme concentration camp and on North Friesland local history. Observations by a Danish physicians' team on the health conditions in Husum-Schwesing and other Nazi camps have been published by Paul Thygesen et al. in Ams and other medical journals over the years.

Archival material on the Husum-Schwesing camp is scarce. For documents found in AG-NG and LA-Sch-H, see the references in Bästlein et al. The Hans Schwarz Archive at the FZH holds copies of documents on the camp and its commandant Hans-Hermann Griem. Published and unpublished survivors' accounts are held at the FM-C, ASt-Put, and NIOD. For references to trials against Husum-Schwesing SS personnel and Kapos, see Bästlein et al. The same volume also includes a detailed account by Danish prisoner physician Paul Thygesen, earlier published in Danish by Thygesen, *Læge i tyske koncentrationslejre*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1964), as well as references to further survivors' accounts such as P. Jorand, *Les Camps de la mort: Husum . . . ici on extermine!* (Nancy, 1946).

Therkel Straede

KALTENKIRCHEN

In light of the possible use of the German Luftwaffe against Great Britain and Scandinavian countries, construction of a military air base was begun in 1938 near Kaltenkirchen in Schleswig-Holstein. In time, this project expanded to include units of the Luftwaffe, the navy, the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD), and numerous quarters for civilian and foreign laborers. The complex stretched along a road from Hamburg to Kiel (later named

Bundesstrasse 4), about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the north of Hamburg.

For some years the air base was not used. In late September 1944, the site was chosen for the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter, as well as for the Arado 234 jet bomber. The existing runways had to be lengthened, and the shortage of labor caused the Luftwaffe command to use prisoners from the larger concentration camps. They, therefore, established a Neuengamme work detachment at Kaltenkirchen and offered the SS leadership the use of the existing wooden barracks, which would be secured with a barbed-wire fence. The Luftwaffe also put at the disposal of the SS 85 elderly Luftwaffe soldiers who were too old for frontline service.

The largest proportion of prisoners consisted of citizens from the Soviet Union, most of whom were prisoners of war (POWs), followed by Poles, men from the resistance in France, and Belgians, Dutch, and Germans, as well as Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, and North Africans. There were a few criminal prisoners, who were appointed as Kapos by the SS. Johannes Wehres, held in concentration camps since 1933 for being part of the Communist resistance, was the camp elder and responsible for camp order. The number of prisoners varied between 550 and a number close to 1,000. If the number of prisoners declined, they were replaced with new transports from Neuengamme.

The approximately 80-kilometer (50-mile) journey for the prisoners took place by rail. The prisoners were locked in sealed railway cattle trucks. The journey took more than two days. Many prisoners did not survive the tribulations of the trip without food or drinking water and without the chance to either sit or lie down. At the end of the rail trip the prisoners had to march to the camp, carrying with them those who died on the rail journey—this under the eyes of the local population.

The camp was close to the very popular Reichsstrasse 4, and opposite the settlement of Springhirsch, where women and children mostly lived. It was in the northern area of the military base. As a result, many people, both soldiers and civilians, could daily watch events in the camp. The camp was about 100 meters square (328 feet square). The prisoners were accommodated in two large wooden barracks. The camp office was located in another barrack that also held the camp elder's room, the sick bay, and the isolation station, which was established for prisoners suffering from dysentery. There was an additional barracks that served as the washroom and toilet block. In a very small wooden building, known as the "Bunker," prisoners were painfully tortured as punishment. The guards were housed in a roomy barracks outside the camp fence.

The SS appointed a camp leader and two noncommissioned officers to the camp. The leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Freyer, had been transferred from the Wehrmacht to the SS. The Neuengamme SS command formed the view that he was too mild and weak with the prisoners. His demands to be returned to his southern German home were acceded to without any negative consequences for him. His successor, Bernhard Waldmann, displayed much greater brutality.

Many Neuengamme prisoners had volunteered for Kaltenkirchen because they hoped to increase their survival chances. They would be disappointed.

The work sites were several kilometers from the camp. Many people witnessed daily the screams of the guards as the prisoners marched and saw the exhausted figures on their return, who had to drag or carry their dead comrades back to the camp. Under the armed guard of the Luftwaffe soldiers, the prisoners were used by private construction firms or put to work on the air base. It is claimed that employees of the construction firms considerably increased the prisoners' suffering by forcing them to work hard and by beating them. (Firms named are Bassow & Torkuhl from Lübeck and the Ohlendorfff'sche Baugesellschaft from Hamburg.)

The daily work was made more difficult by the limited and poor-quality rations. There was no food other than a slice of bread and a watery soup in the evening consisting of cabbage and beets. Unanimously, the prisoners reported that civilians and personnel from the camp command pilfered a large amount of the food destined for the prisoners, either to eat it themselves or to sell it on the black market.

The prisoners' clothes were not at all suited for the cold and wet seasons. There was a shortage of underwear, and the prisoners had to wear wooden shoes, usually without socks. The prisoners often returned filthy from their work, and the washroom was too small for them all to fit in. It was impossible to maintain adequate hygiene. Small injuries or illnesses remained untreated. The Russian camp doctor lacked an adequate supply of medicines and instruments. Diarrhea spread, and this in turn led to dysentery. The camp, as a result, was populated by "Muslims" (*Muselmänner*) wandering around the camp, prisoners who were literally skin and bones, suffering from edemas and ulcerated abscesses. Few prisoners survived if they reached this state.

The SS principle of "Destruction through Work" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*) meant that each morning the prisoners had to set off to work and return in the evening in an exhausted state, after standing for hours at roll call. The original intent of the roll call, to determine the exact number of prisoners, had long become an instrument to victimize the prisoners. Frequent beatings and humiliations of every sort possible ate away the physical and psychic well-being of the prisoners. The comfort that they could have found from national groups was destroyed as the prisoners were mixed with different nationalities. At the work sites the prisoners were shot and hanged. The Poles and Soviets were treated especially brutally, a consequence of the prevailing German attitude of despising Slavic people. When they died, it was said, "Get rid of the filth!" (*Weg mit dem Dreck!*). All of these factors increased the death rate.

During the first few months, there were several French Catholic priests who had been kidnapped as hostages with their comrades. It is said that they prayed with the rosary as the prisoners marched to work. They helped enormously in

giving the prisoners the will to resist. Later, the priests were transferred to Dachau, where they survived.

There were few escape attempts. The prisoners seemed to have sensed the hostility of the local population. As the camp was within a military complex and on the edge of a large moor, recapture was easy. Each failed escape attempt resulted in the death sentence. A shining example of humanity, however, was the case of a guard who helped a Ukrainian prisoner to escape.

The dead were laid out in the toilet next to the cesspit. From here they were taken away each morning. There were 185 named dead who are buried in the Kaltenkirchen area of Moorkaten. The command of the burial detachment was given to a French prisoner, Richard Tackx. Tackx and the Polish prisoner clerk Sergiusz Jaskiewicz, as well as others, have stated that there must have been other burial places because there were many corpses that they had to hastily bury. These mass graves have not been located.

Tackx was able to attach an identification mark to many of his French comrades who were buried and to make secret recordings of the burials. He hoped in this way that what he did, which was punishable with death, would help in exhuming the bodies after the war and make identification easier. He was able to hide his notes with German women on the other side of the street in Springhirsch. The camp scribe, Jaskiewicz, did the same. During an Allied air raid on the air base, a few French prisoners, including Tackx, escaped into the moor. Two German women, Herta Petersen and Else Stapel, took the prisoners in during the cold night and fed them. They risked their lives by saving these prisoners. In 1951, Richard Tackx was in charge of a group appointed by the French government to exhume the burial sites in Moorkaten. Most of the French who had been buried were identified and their remains sent back to France.

The air base was completely destroyed by Allied bombers on April 7, 1945. The Kaltenkirchen detachment was transferred on April 16 to Wöbbelin in Mecklenburg. The majority were liberated by Allied forces on May 2 in Wöbbelin.

SOURCES Published sources about this camp include Gerhard Hoch, *Hauptort der Verbannung: Das KZ-Aussenkommando Kaltenkirchen*, 3rd ed. (Bad Segeberg, 1983); Hoch, *Zwölf wiedergefundene Jahre: Kaltenkirchen unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Bad Bramstedt, 1980–1981).

Detailed knowledge about the camp is to be found in the State Prosecutor's investigation files: Kiel Sta., Kiel LG, Ermiitlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wegen des Verdachts der Teilnahme an NS-Gewaltverbrechen—2 Js 680/72. The investigation ceased on July 10, 1972. Additionally, there are written reports from former prisoners and verbal reports from survivors living in France and Poland given after 1975, as well as in an exhumation report from 1951, *Rapport sur les exhumations dans les cimetières concentrationnaires de Kaltenkirchen-Moorkaten et Springhirst* (1951); the same report is available in German as *Bericht über die Exhumierungen in den Friedhöfen Kaltenkirchen-Springhirsch und Moorkaten* (1951). Written survivors' reports almost always refer to specific circumstances. Of importance are the illegal notes of the Polish camp scribe Sergiusz Jaskiewicz about the prisoner population, which are held in AG-NG, as well as the illegally made notes of prisoner Richard Tackx on the burials in Kaltenkirchen-Moorkaten. On the other hand, the Sta. Kiel investigation files marked "unknown" are of little value. They show negligence by the State Prosecutor, because not even the camp leader Freyer was questioned, even though his address was known.

Gerhard Hoch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KIEL

A subcamp attached to and administered by the main Neuengamme concentration camp was created in Kiel (Schleswig-Holstein province) in April or July 1944. Some 50 male inmates were transferred from the main Neuengamme camp to Kiel. As in many other subcamps of Neuengamme, the prisoners were deported to the camp to be used as laborers. They cleared rubble from bombed-out areas and searched for unexploded bombs.

There is little other information about the subcamp created in Kiel. The Kiel subcamp existed until either September or October 1944 (possibly until October 5 or 6, 1944), when the inmates were evacuated to the main Neuengamme camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Kiel. Secondary literature that contains brief information on the existence of the camp includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps; and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). This brief information can also be found in the Kiel entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), although the exact dates of the opening and closing of the camp differ in these sources.

Primary documentation that sheds light on the Kiel camp is equally scarce.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

LADELUND

The concentration camp work detachment at Ladelund was located northeast of the village of Ladelund in northern Germany, just south of the Danish border. The camp was established on October 4, 1944. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp and under the authority of the SS-

Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It was evacuated on December 16, 1944.

Ladelund was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of earth fortifications along the German-Danish border. These fortifications were intended to bar the entry of Allied troops from Denmark into Germany. Due to the Allied advance on the Western Front in France, the project, however, soon lost its strategic significance, and by mid-December 1944, the Ladelund prisoners were transported back to Neuengamme. Thus, the Ladelund camp ceased to exist well before the German forces of the area capitulated to the Allies on May 5, 1945.

During its short period of operation, the Ladelund camp became one of the most horrific German concentration camps, and its death rate was among the highest in the subcamp system. The prisoners were forced to dig antitank ditches in marsh soil that was soaked with water and very heavy. They worked outdoors under harsh fall weather conditions without proper clothing and protection. Work mainly consisted of moving huge masses of earth and mud, and because of the abundant supply of concentration camp laborers, it was performed with shovels and wheelbarrows without the use of earth moving machinery. For this reason, and because of disastrous living conditions and extreme hunger, work progress was slow. Despite the constant efforts by Kapos and guards to speed up the work pace by means of violence, productivity remained low. The prisoners who were without proper footwear were frequently forced to work in water up to their knees.

The camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Hermann Griem, an early joiner of the Nazi Party and SS, born in 1902 in Berlin. Griem had served as deputy Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme from 1942 to September 1944. From September 26 to the end of 1944, he was the commandant of the nearby Husum-Schwesing concentration camp, another Neuengamme subcamp providing manpower to the fortification project; thus he commanded two of the most horrific subcamps at the same time. According to survivors' testimony, Griem was an alcoholic who sold provisions that were meant for the prisoners' consumption on the black market. He was feared for his brutality and frequently used his revolver against the prisoners, killing several. The daily administration of the camp was, however, taken care of by Lager- und Verwaltungsführer SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Otto Dörge, and the daily beatings on the work site were left to the Kapos, who were criminals and extremely brutal. Several prisoners died because of acts of violence committed by them. The guards were naval servicemen numbering some 200. Griem was sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial, primarily for atrocities that he committed in other concentration camps; however, he managed to escape before the execution.

Sources to the Ladelund camp history are scattered, but all deaths in the camp are well documented due to the Lutheran pastor of the village, Johannes Meyer. Despite being a Nazi, he insisted that the prisoners be properly registered and the dead given a Christian burial.

The first group of approximately 200 prisoners arrived on October 4, 1944, from the Husum-Schwesing subcamp. Some 2,000 prisoners were added on November 1 and 2, arriving on two railway transports from Neuengamme. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the average strength of the camp was 2,000 prisoners. Prisoners were non-Jewish and came from 13 countries under German occupation. The largest group were hostages from the Dutch town of Putten who had been deported as a reprisal for an attack on German soldiers by the Dutch resistance.

The Ladelund camp was originally erected in 1938 as accommodation for 250 German workers from the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) employed in forestry, fieldwork, and road construction. By 1944, its buildings were extremely run-down. The guards, however, were accommodated in hired private rooms in the village and nearby farms. Hygiene and provisions in the camp were very poor. There was no systematic killing of prisoners, but 301 prisoners died of illness, exhaustion, or random violence by Kapos and guards during the few weeks the camp was in operation. The dead were buried in nine mass graves at the Ladelund village cemetery.

SOURCES This description of the Ladelund camp is based on Jørgen Barfod, *Helvede har mange navne* (Copenhagen, 1969); Poul Riis, ed., *Husum-Schwesing og Ladelund* (Slagelse, n.d.); Heinrich Eichhorn, "Das Lager in Ladelund," *JfSchGeest* (1961): 168–176; and Tj. Wouters, *Opdat het nageslacht het wete* (Putten, 1948). Preliminary data are found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp is mentioned many times in several popular books, pamphlets, and articles about the Neuengamme concentration camp and on North Friesland local history.

Archival material on the Ladelund camp is scarce. Some documents can be found at AG-NG and the LA-Sch-H. The Hans Schwarz Archive at FZH holds copies of documents on camp commandant Hans-Hermann Griem. An important source is Pastor Johannes Meyer's wartime town chronicle, published as *Beretning om en sydslesvigsk koncentrationslejr* (Sorø, 1947), partially reproduced in Wolfgang Weimar et al., eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, Teil III* (Kiel, 1982). Local published and unpublished survivors' accounts are held at the FM-C, ASt-Put, and NIOD. Further, there are the records of the first Curio-Haus Trial in Hamburg in 1946.

Therkel Straede

LENGERICH ("A1")

The Neuengamme subcamp A1 in Lengerich was erected between March 1944 and June 1944.[1] Members of the Organisation Todt (OT) as well as concentration camp prisoners and civilian workers constructed the camp. Prisoners and civilian workers arranged the work area, a tunnel, for armaments pro-

duction. The building foreman operated a tiling business in Münster.[2] The subcamp is mentioned for the first time on March 26, 1944, in the concentration camp death lists. The closed old railway tunnel on the line from Münster to Osnabrück was the deciding factor in the decision to construct a subcamp in Lengerich. Because of the tunnel, it was possible to relocate armaments production underground, thereby giving protection from possible Allied bombing attacks.

The prisoners in Lengerich were "political" prisoners, "protective custody" prisoners, and forced laborers. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the Brunsmann Inn, Horst-Wessel-Strasse 15 (later Lienener Strasse 15), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the tunnel.[3]

The prisoners operated milling machines and manufactured parts for the production of airplanes and rockets. They also did other work. There was no production in the tunnel during Christmas 1944. The prisoners during this period were put to work in excavating an underground air-raid shelter for the Lengerich civilian population.[4] A female eyewitness has reported that when there was a great deal of gardening work to be done at the Hotel Heckmann and help was required, the commander of the SS assigned 10 prisoners and an SS man to the work.[5]

Airplane parts and wing sections produced by Vereinigte Leichtmetall-Werke (United Light Metal Works, Hannover-Linden) and sections for the V-1 and V-2 (Aldinger, Stuttgart) were produced in the armaments factory, which had been relocated into the tunnel. The underground armaments factory was equipped with milling machines of all sizes, a lathe, a large press, and a band saw, together with a number of instruments for sharpening and repairing saw blades. Production occurred at the front of the tunnel, which was already usable. The nearby overland electricity supply from the Ibbenbüren power station supplied the underground armaments factory with electricity by means of a transformer located at the northern exit of the tunnel.[6] Civilian workers from Vereinigte were responsible for the production and quality. They had a rented room in Lengerich or nearby and took over the technical supervision of the concentration camp prisoners.

There were almost 200 concentration camp prisoners in the subcamp. In addition to the Germans, French, Poles, Russians, and Belgians, there were also an Italian and a Swiss person.[7] It is not known to what extent the prisoners, who were completely exploited physically and were seriously ill, were returned to the Neuengamme concentration camp and replaced with prisoners capable of working. The number of prisoners from the Lengerich subcamp who died because of the inhuman living and working conditions varies according to each source: the register of deaths in the city hall of Lengerich for 1945 records the death of five concentration camp prisoners. The Memorial Book "Fellowship of Former Soldiers" for the period from April 1944 to the end of the war in 1945 lists the names of six concentration camp prisoners.[8] The causes of death were recorded as "suicide," "natural death," and "death by accident"—causes that ignore the inhuman living and working conditions of the concentration camp prisoners as well as their treatment by the SS. A concentration camp prisoner had the following to say about an SS man: "He was unbearable. Without a thought he beat people for the slightest trifle."[9] A member of the guard unit also confirmed that in general the prisoners were brutally treated.[10] Punishment was often meted out by beatings for an "offense." Examples of offenses included: protecting one's feet against the cold by covering them with rags without permission, losing one's cap, or not carrying out an order quickly enough.[11] The beating was usually carried out with an electrical cable, about 3 centimeters (1.2 inches) wide and about 70 centimeters (27.6 inches) long. There were 25 blows to the naked posterior, which often resulted in the prisoner being sent to the infirmary.[12]

Death by hanging was the punishment for a concentration camp prisoner who attempted to escape; committed an act of sabotage, real or suspected; or who assaulted a supervisor. Eight concentration camp prisoners were hanged in the subcamp for attempting to escape: a Russian on April 19, 1944; a Russian and a German on June 6, 1944; two Germans on June 16, 1944; and before the evacuation of the camp, which took place on March 24, 1945, a Pole, a Russian, and a German in the spring of 1945. In March 1945, a Pole and another prisoner were hanged, respectively, for the alleged sabotage of a machine and for allegedly damaging tools. A Pole was also hanged who allegedly attacked his supervisor.[13] At an execution the prisoners and the guards were required to gather in an open square:

> In the middle of the square was a large wooden trestle about two meters (6.7 feet) tall. An interpreter, on behalf of the SS camp leader, announced that the three prisoners were to be hanged for attempting to escape. The three prisoners had to undress completely. A carpenter's wooden trestle was then placed in the middle of the first wooden trestle. The three men had to climb one after the other onto the carpenter's trestle. A noose was then put around their necks and a SS man, who was behind the prisoners, pushed the trestle, whereupon the prisoners fell and were killed. They did not even remain hanging for five minutes. The whole execution lasted about fifteen minutes. When the third man was dead, all three were thrown onto a railway cart and pushed to a road works site, about thirty minutes away. They were tipped out into a bushy bank and buried in the bank. The street, an extension of the tunnel, followed the railway line in the direction of Osnabrück. It was the bank on the left side in the direction of Osnabrück."[14]

A female witness later reported that the guards had a party after one hanging.[15]

The senior SS leadership in Lengerich was under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Rüster. His deputy was Eduard W. The quarters for the senior SS leadership were at the Hotel Heckmann, Horst-Wessel-Strasse 38. The headquarters of the senior leadership was at the Hitler Youth building at Hermann-Göring-Strasse 107 (later

Bahnhofstrasse 107). Born in 1910 in Hessen, Rüster took part in the Russian campaign (between 1941 and 1943) and had a long career in the SS.[16]

The camp commandant was Georg Janszen. Within the subcamp he had responsibility for the treatment of the concentration camp prisoners. Born in Oldenburg in 1910, Janszen completed his secondary school studies but only after first completing his apprenticeship as a bricklayer. He later studied the building trade at the Berlin Technischen Hochschule so that he could be a technical teacher. Janszen, who could speak English and French, determinedly pursued his SS career. Commencing in the summer of 1941 as an ordinary SS man, he reached the rank of Obersturmführer by November 1944.[17] He died in the garden of the Brunsmann Inn on March 13, 1945, during an Allied air raid on Lengerich.[18] After his death, Konrad Karl Friedrich Wangerin, SS-Hauptscharführer and Kriminalsekretär of the Münster Gestapo, took control of the subcamp and the functions of the SD. He was directly responsible to the Münster Gestapo and not the main camp commandant.[19]

A 30-man Luftwaffe squad from southern Germany (Markt Schwaben) guarded the concentration camp prisoners.[20] They were accommodated at Wichmann's household supply store, Hermann-Göring-Strasse 103.

Although an exception rather than the rule, the actions of a few German civilian workers were not insignificant in ensuring the survival of a number of concentration camp prisoners. One concentration camp prisoner, who worked with a civilian worker as a milling machine operator, had the following to say: "It was marvelous with this German. He brought me bread every day—if an animal was slaughtered at home he brought me some meat the next day."[21] Another concentration camp prisoner explained as follows: "A few Germans [the skilled tradesmen] were responsible for the technical scope of the work and were there to show us how to operate the machines. In Lengerich I never knew of a case where one of the skilled tradesmen mistreated a prisoner. Personally, I spoke good German, and had a very good relationship with my supervisor who allowed me to read his newspapers and did not pay too much attention to my pace of work."[22]

SOURCES This entry on the Lengerich subcamp is based on the autobiographical details by Lengerich concentration camp prisoner Paul Kern. He has published the following two books in French: Paul Kern, Marcel Angles, Maurice Choquet, and Pierre Brunet, *Les jours de notre mémoire (1940–1945)*: *Neuengamme*, *quatres survivants témoigent* (Neuengamme, 1975); and *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté 1940–1945* (Besancon, 1989). See also Norbert Ortgies and Ursula Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel: Das KZ-Aussenlager A 1 Lengerich 1944–1945* (Osnabrück, 2001); Gert Schumann, "Sklavenarbeit für den Krieg," *WN*, April 5, 1985. The interview with the concentration camp prisoner Josef K., "Es war Pfingstmontag 44, als ich nach Lengerich kam," was published in the weekly newspaper *WiL*, May 15, 1991.

The Lengerich subcamp is well documented in archival sources. As a result of the specific nature of this essay, the author has limited the number of references to the essential archival sources. Files held in the BA-B are of great significance for the SS-Führungsstab in the subcamp. The following archives provide information on some aspects such as escape attempts, punishment, execution, and death of the Lengerich concentration camp prisoners: BA-P, DN, AG-NG, ABL/LPD-N/O, ASt Lengerich, and the Friedhofskapelle Lengerich. As part of the author's report in the series on Nordrhein-Westfalen, published in Jan-Erik Schulte, ed., *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative* (Paderborn, 2005), the author conducted numerous interviews with eyewitnesses in 2002. These interviews are of significant importance as they provide details of local knowledge, individual perceptions, and evaluations of the events, which often enrich the material held in the archives. (Written records of the interviews are in the author's private collection.)

Hans-Jürgen Milling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997, private collection Milling.
2. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997, ibid.
3. Paul Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire (1940–1945): Neuengamme*, *quatres survivants témoigent* (Neuengamme, 1975), p. 148.
4. Ibid., p. 147.
5. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997.
6. Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 147; Gert Schumann, "Sklavenarbeit für den Krieg," *WN*, April 5, 1985; Letter by Robert B., March 28, 1998, in Norbert Ortgies and Ursula Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel: Das KZ-Aussenlager A 1 Lengerich 1944–1945* (Osnabrück, 2001), p. 26.
7. Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 142.
8. Sterbebuch der Stadt Lengerich 1945; Stadt Lengerich. Totengedenkbuch der "Kameradschaft ehemaliger Soldaten," Friedhofskapelle Lengerich.
9. Report by the prisoner Frantisek Sterba, AG-NG.
10. Record of interview of George A. conducted by the Bavarian Police, State Police Headquarters, Lower Bavaria/Oberpfalz II a 1 in Regensburg, May 26, 1967.
11. Paul Kern, *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté 1940–1945* (Besancon, 1989), p. 97.
12. Robert B., letter, March 28, 1998, in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 31.
13. Kern, *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté*, p. 97; Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 162; BA-P, Doc. Film Record Nr. 56308, Photo 321(Z); Extract from archive Neuengamme Documentary Collection, "Neuengamme Concentration Camp Prisoners in the External Sub-Camp A1," May 12, 1997; Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 35; Interview with Josef K., "Es war Pfingstdienstage 44, als ich nach Lengerich kam," *WiL*, May 15, 1991.
14. George A., record of interview, May 26, 1967.
15. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997.
16. SS Files—Karl-Heinz R.; SS Files Eduard W, BA-BL, formerly BDC; Witness interview July 1, 1997, and Witness interview September 9, 2002, private collection Milling.

17. Files George J., BA-BL.

18. Witness interview, 09.12.1996, private collection Milling; Robert B. Oral Report, August–September 1999 in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 43.

19. Files Konrad W., BA-BL.

20. Record of interview George A., May 26, 1967; Witness interview February 9, 2002.

21. Prisoner's report, Frantisek Sterba.

22. Robert B., letter, March 28, 1998, in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 45.

LÜBBERSTEDT [AKA BILOHE]

About halfway between Bremerhaven and Bremen, in the middle of a thick forest, is the Lübberstedt railway station. Close to the station a branch line leads to a restricted military area. During World War II, a secret factory, "Muna Lübberstedt," produced munitions for the German Luftwaffe there. The plant was officially listed as LW (Luftwaffe) 2/X—Lufthauptmunitionsanstalt Lübberstedt.

From the end of August or the beginning of September 1944 to the end of April 1945, a Neuengamme subcamp was located close to the factory. It was known as "Bilohe" or "Lübberstedt."

The camp was originally built around 1941 by a Luftwaffe battalion. It initially held both male and female Ukrainian workers.

The subcamp included buildings for both the SS and the prisoners. The whole area was surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence that was said to have been lit at night.[1] Watchtowers were placed at critical points.

As soon as the prisoners entered the camp, they stood on the camp street, their only connection to the outside world. On the left-hand side of the street there were probably two barracks for the SS and the guards. They were separated from the prisoners' area by barbed wire. One can assume that there was one barracks for male and one for female personnel. In one of the barracks there was an "office" where the commandant was based and administrative matters were attended to. There was another building in which the heating for the camp and a garage for vehicles were to be found. Next to the SS barracks was a kitchen barracks. In front of it was the roll-call square.

In the kitchen barracks, the only barracks erected with bricklike material, the meals were prepared and distributed. There was also a food store and a tailor's shop. The infirmary was connected to this building. On the east and southern side of the roll-call square were the washrooms and showers. The latrines were in the southernmost corner of the camp, within sight of the SS building.

To the right of the camp road were the prisoners' barracks. An aerial photograph shows at least 6 barracks in this area. Others say that there were 8, possibly 25 barracks, but this cannot be verified.[2] The barracks were described as follows: "One room held sixteen girls. In each barracks there were three such rooms."[3] There were 48 women in each barracks.

There were 500 Jewish women from Hungary in Lübberstedt. They had been selected in Auschwitz in August 1944. The selection aimed at the formation of work detachments that would mostly work in the armaments industry in the Third Reich. In contrast to Auschwitz, Lübberstedt was regarded by the women as "pleasant."[4]

The subcamp had three commandants who all were members of the SS. They were older men, and it was only the last commandant who brought "fear and terror" to the prisoners.[5]

The commandant was supported by female SS. There are said to have been four to six female guards. Most accounts speak of five SS women. There were probably two senior female overseers and four female work detachment leaders who accompanied the women to work and supervised their work at the munitions plant.

The remaining guards at the camp were mostly older, disabled Wehrmacht veterans. There were about 10 such veterans.

A day in summer began between four and five in the morning with a morning roll call. All the prisoners in a barracks had to be counted. Breakfast was then eaten. It consisted of a quarter of a pan loaf of bread, a little jam, a little piece of margarine, and half a liter (two cups) of a warm brew called "coffee." Finally, the barracks were cleaned, the beds made, and the prisoners attended to their personal hygiene.

At 6:00 A.M. the prisoners picked for outside labor marched out of the camp to work. They were all tied to one another with strings around their stomachs as they marched the few kilometers to Muna, singing in German. They worked to late in the afternoon, with a half-hour break at midday. Alternatively they could work in a 12-hour shift. Lunch at Muna consisted of more or less a liter (a quart), of thin beet soup, in which sometimes there was a piece of horse meat. In spring, there was sometimes a small piece of pickled herring. After the end of their work, they walked back to the camp, where there was an evening roll call. The evening meal was basically what they had for breakfast—the only difference was that now and then they got a spoonful of curds, a little sausage, or some warm soup.

The work described here is only that of the outside work detachments. Other women were chosen to work in a Luftwaffe munitions factory. The largest detachment manufactured bombs. At Muna in Lübberstedt, sea mines, flak grenades, and other aerial bombs were made. Among other things, the prisoners had to make the gunpowder, fill the shells, and transport the finished products on small mine cars for loading.

Another detachment was busy in the parachute tower. Toward the end of the war, the prisoners worked outside Muna because there was a shortage of raw materials. They dug trenches, put up blockades, made fortifications, and erected camouflage.

Because of their experiences in Auschwitz, the women feared the infirmary and only went there when it was absolutely unavoidable. There were many infections in Lübberstedt caused by injuries from the prisoners' wooden shoes.

The prisoners were treated for scabbylike rashes, middle ear infections, fever, sore throats, dizziness, and toward the end of the war, an illness similar to diarrhea. In January 1945, about 25 prisoners were ill (4 percent of 495 prisoners); in February, 12 percent; and in March, around 9 percent.[6] There were 5 deaths in Lübberstedt, but only 4 were reported to the authorities. A woman died shortly after her arrival from a lung inflammation, and a weak heart resulted in the death of another on September 4, 1944.

A woman was severely mistreated in September or October 1944, as she had saved a potato and a piece of bread for the following morning so that she would not go to work hungry. This was not allowed. She died because of her mistreatment by the SS female guards. The burial is said to have taken place on Yom Kippur.[7]

A 19-year-old inmate died on March 28, 1945, because of mistreatment by an SS female warden when the prisoner was no longer able to pull a heavy mine car. She was beaten with a stick and did not have the strength to walk back to the camp. She died that evening in the barracks.[8]

On the morning of April 4, 1945, a prisoner failed to appear at the morning roll call. She was so weak that her body had swollen, and she could not stand. She had been heavily beaten a few days before. No one believed that she was sick, so the camp commandant or the last senior female overseer entered the barracks and beat her to death.[9]

Another prisoner died on April 5, 1945. The cause of death was "blood poisoning."

The dead were buried in a communal grave with other camp victims in the Lübberstedt cemetery. The perpetrators were not brought to justice, as there was insufficient evidence to identify them.

Most of the women were evacuated from Lübberstedt on April 20, 1945, by train. After several stops, the train arrived at Eutin in Schleswig-Holstein on May 2, where it was attacked by British aircraft. Over 150 women lost their lives in that attack. The injured were treated in the hospitals at Eutin and were taken in the middle of May to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) refugee camps at Sierksdorf and Haffkrug.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Lübberstedt subcamp is the book published by members of the Muna Lübberstedt Arbeitskreis, *Lw. 2/XI—Muna Lübberstedt, Zwangsarbeit für den Krieg* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1966). It depicts not only the subcamp but camps for prisoners of war, the forced labor of the so-called Eastern workers, and of course the history of the munitions plant. The conclusion deals with the end of the war in Lübberstedt as well as the cemetery at Lübberstedt.

Initially it was very difficult to find references to the subcamp. As part of the research, it was possible to check the archives. Of importance are the war diary of the Muna Lübberstedt from January to May 1945 (BA-MA); a questionnaire of former Hungarian prisoners from August 1945 by the Jewish Agency for Palestine (HAFHDCB). The private photograph album of the son of a former officer of Muna was also made available to the author, which is a valuable source of information. Finally, the HJMA holds thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Lübberstedt camp; see especially 1236, 1574, 1801, and 1827.

Thorsten Gajewi
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Witness statements by Lilli Regina Kallos and Malvina Einhorn, Questionnaire of former Hungarian prisoners, August 1945, DEGOB.
2. Witness statements by Ilonka-Elka Friedmann, Barbara Lorber, Ann Zand, Fritzi Friedmann, and Edith Las, DEGOB.
3. Witness statement by Edith Las, DEGOB.
4. Ibid.
5. Witness statements by Tova-Kornelia Hochmann, Helena Kohn-Einhorn, and others, DEGOB.
6. War Diary Muna Lübberstedt, pp. 9, 22, 46, in BA-MA, RL-25/168.
7. Witness statement by Lilli Regina Kallos, DEGOB.
8. Witness statement by Ann Zand, DEGOB.
9. Witness statement by Helena Kohn-Einhorn, DEGOB.

LÜTJENBURG (*HOHWACHT*)

In December 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was created in Lütjenburg (Schleswig-Holstein province). Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 197 male inmates were deported to Lütjenburg to be used as laborers for various firms, including Anschütz und Co. and Zweigwerk Hohwacht.[1] The inmates worked in the manufacture of navigational and other equipment for the aviation industry.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Geese and his assistant SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Otto Kemmerich supervised the health of the Lütjenburg inmates. The report also notes that there were 26 SS officer guards in the camp.[2]

The camp in Lütjenburg existed until March 25, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated to Rathmannsdorf on foot, then further to Kiel and Neumünster. The fate of the Lütjenburg inmates is unknown.

A British military tribunal brought Kemmerich to trial in 1947. He was charged with the murder of a Polish national in the infirmary of the Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbütte concentration camp. Kemmerich was found not guilty.[3]

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Lütjenburg. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and a reproduction of the Trzebinski report; Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982); and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Lütjenburg entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Finally, for the dates and path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000).

Primary documentation that offers details on the Lütjenburg camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG, which contains many witness reports from former prisoners, may yield additional information about this camp. For information related to the trial of Kemmerich, see documentation of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

3. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 8.

MEPPEN-DALUM

The Neuengamme subcamp Dalum, located southwest of Meppen, was constructed in the spring of 1938 with a capacity for about 1,500 inmates. However, Dalum was not absorbed into the Neuengamme camp system until January 1945, when over 1,000 inmates from Neuengamme were transported there. Prior to this transport, the Dalum camp served various functions within the Nazi camp system. Its changing administration reflected the shifting needs of the Nazi regime, including repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and detainment of prisoners in the Neuengamme camp system.[1]

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland region were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime who were kept in "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*). Prisoners in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moore*) near the border for future development. In 1938 construction began on the Dalum camp, one of the eight newly built penal prison camps (*Strafgefangenenlager*) in the Emsland, and was completed in May 1939. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Dalum camp in September 1939, and it became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex *(Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager*; or "Stalag") VI C Bathorn. The camp then served as a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Polish, French, and Soviet POWs. In June 1942, the Luftwaffe took over the administration of the camp, and men from Rotterdam between the ages of 17 and 40 were deported to Dalum to work as slave laborers.

On January 3, 1945, over 1,000 inmates were deported to Dalum from the Neuengamme main camp. According to most secondary sources on the Meppen subcamps, 2,500 inmates were transferred from Neuengamme to both Versen and Dalum.[2] However, the exact number of inmates in each camp is unknown. The prisoners in the Dalum subcamp were all men, and as was the case in Neuengamme, they had been imprisoned for various reasons, such as resistance activities, political affiliation, or religion. The prisoners were housed in at least 10 wooden barracks. According to Polish prisoner Zdzisław Sokół, who accompanied the commandant SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem on his rounds of Ladelund, Husum, Dalum, and Versen, some conditions in Dalum were "the best of the four camps. . . . All camps except Dalum were overcrowded." However, "the clothing and feeding [were] bad. The sanitary installations . . . at Dalum were still worse [than the other camps]." Moreover, the inmates did not have adequate medical care.[3] Captain Walter Rose, of the postwar War Crimes Investigation Unit, emphasized in a deposition that Versen and Dalum were altered considerably immediately after the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) detachment in Meppen, together with the British Military Government detachment, established a displaced persons camp for Polish civilians there.[4]

Working conditions for the Dalum inmates were dreadful. Similar to inmates imprisoned in other Emsland camps, the Dalum prisoners were used for forced labor on the so-called Friesenwall, a Wehrmacht defense installation planned for the Dutch border. With only shovels and spades, the prisoners had to dig massive trenches near the border in a marshland area that was filled with mud from constant rain. Although he was incarcerated in the nearby Versen camp, former inmate Morton Ruge endured the same kind of labor as inmates in Dalum. "The work was completely futile," Ruge

has emphasized, "because 'the enemy' hardly ever came through the forests [over the border], but rather more easily on the streets." According to Ruge, although the digging was not particularly difficult, the long hours, inadequate clothing, insufficient food, and lack of heat and shelter made for unbearable working conditions.[5]

The Dalum subcamp was administered chiefly by the SS. The commandant of the subcamp was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem. According to Sokół's postwar trial depositions, Griem was either the Lagerführer (camp leader) or a deputy commandant and later supervised the Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen subcamps. Also according to Sokół, Griem was especially brutal toward the prisoners on his rounds of the camps.[6] SS-Rottenführer Joseph Klingler, a Volksdeutsche from Romania, was appointed as block leader (Blockführer) in Dalum. Klingler joined the SS in 1941, trained in Oranienburg, and was transferred to Dachau in 1943, then to the Neuengamme subcamp Drütte. In April 1944, he returned to the Neuengamme main camp, was reassigned to Husum as Blockführer in October 1944, and after Husum closed, was transferred to Dalum in January 1945. Klingler noted in a postwar deposition that orders to punish prisoners were handed down to him from both Griem and SS-Oberscharführer Seifert, who may have been the Lagerführer in Dalum. Both Griem and Seifert ordered the punishment of prisoners, according to Klingler. In his deposition, Sokół corroborates Seifert's presence in the administration of the Dalum camp; however, he noted that Seifert was the commandant. It is likely that Griem oversaw the group of camps (judging by the rounds he made) and that Seifert supervised daily operations within the camp (perhaps as Lagerführer).[7] SS-Rottenführer Uhling oversaw the kitchen barracks.

Neither the exact number of prisoner deaths nor the death rate in the Dalum subcamp can be determined. Historians Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter have concluded that 566 inmates died between November 16 and March 25, 1945, in both the Versen and Dalum subcamps, mostly from exhaustion, hunger, and lung and intestinal diseases.[8] Some prisoners were punished and beaten for not working to the satisfaction of the Kapos or the guards. According to the postwar deposition of Wilhelm Anton Schneider, a Kapo in the Dalum camp who had been transferred from Husum after it was closed, the Kapos were given the responsibility of monitoring the prisoners en route to the work sites. "If the prisoners did not work properly or committed other offenses we were supposed to report them to the camp commandant," Schneider recalled. "But on some occasions we took the punishment into our own hands, more or less the Kapos had the liberty to do as they pleased. . . . Griem himself preferred that the Kapos ran about all the time with sticks."[9] Just prior to the evacuation of the Dalum camp, a quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski noted that on March 29, 1945, 807 prisoners occupied Dalum, indicating that several hundred prisoners either died in Dalum or were transferred back to the Neuengamme main camp.[10]

The Dalum camp was evacuated as Allied troops approached, beginning in late March 1945. Under an agreement forged between Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Count Folke Bernadotte of the Swedish Red Cross, an unknown number of Danish prisoners from Dalum were sent to Neuengamme by cattle car on March 15 or 16, 1945. On March 24, 1945, the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police (Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Hamburg, BdO) issued orders to evacuate camps in the Emsland area. The Dalum prisoners were evacuated to the nearby Versen subcamp on the same day. The following day, those capable of walking were rounded up and marched to Cloppenburg; the ill were transported by train and followed the march in closed cattle cars. From Cloppenburg, the inmates were evacuated to Neuengamme. An unknown number of inmates died during the evacuation.[11]

Griem was tried and sentenced to death, but he escaped before he was executed.[12] He died in 1971. Klingler was tried by a British military court, found guilty of the murder and ill treatment of Allied nationals, and was sentenced to death by hanging in 1947. Schneider was tried by the same court for ill treatment of Allied nationals and was sentenced to four years in prison.

SOURCES There are scant primary and secondary resources on the Dalum subcamp. However, the most extensive secondary sources on Dalum and other Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Stafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Dalum and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on the evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of displaced persons camps at Dalum, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung, Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, *"—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany": Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

Primary documentation on the Dalum subcamp, used extensively by Suhr and Boldt and Kosthorst and Walter, is located at the FZH Archiv Hans Schwarz, which includes a witness report from former Versen inmate Morton Ruge and the original quarterly report filed by Trzebinski (13-6-11) as well as other related materials. The DIZ-EL in Papenburg contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945) on the Internet at www.diz-emslandlager.de. Documentation related to the orders from the

Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Hamburg for the evacuation of the Emsland camps is stored at the StA-Br. Some information about the layout of the Dalum camp can be found in the records of the PRO (London) 235/302 (duplicated at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9), in the court deposition of Captain Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit. These files also contain specific information about Hans Griem, the commandant of Dalum and other camps, as well as other individuals who were in charge of the camp. Finally, information about Griem can be found at the NARA, files of the BDC, SS-Officer Personnel files, series SSO-031A and SSO-131B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. According to the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), Dalum was a subcommando of Meppen-Versen. Additional research at the DIZ may clarify whether Dalum was attached to Versen or directly to Neuengamme as a subcamp.

2. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Stafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 109; Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985), p. 30

3. Deposition of Zdzisław Sokół (trans.) to Captain Ronald Walter Rose, Essex Regiment, British Army of the Rhine Translation (25 April 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

4. Deposition of Captain Ronald Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit, HQ/BAOR Translation (24 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9); includes sketched plans of the camps Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen. The plans provided for Rose's deposition come from the UNRRA.

5. Morton Ruge, "Aussenkommando Versen bei Meppen des Konzentrationslager Neuengamme," reproduced partially in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 113–114.

6. Sokół Deposition, p. 2.

7. Deposition of Joseph Klingler to Captain Walter Rose, BAOR Translation (17 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9). Additional research in NARA SSO personnel files may yield further information that might clarify the exact positions of both Griem and Seifert.

8. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 109.

9. Deposition of Wilhelm Anton Schneider to Captain Walter Rose, BAOR Translation (27 April 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

10. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126. USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also has a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

11. Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997), p. 23.

12. Further research at the NARA, BDC, SS-Officer Personnel files, Series SSO-031A, may provide additional information. See also French Maclean's, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publications, 1999) for brief biographical information on Griem and Seifert.

MEPPEN-VERSEN

Located in the borderland area near the Netherlands, the Emsland camp Meppen-Versen (or Veerssen) was absorbed into the Neuengamme concentration camp system on November 16, 1944. Prior to the deportation of prisoners from Neuengamme, Versen served various functions within the Nazi camp system and reflected the changing needs of the administration and German military, including repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and the establishment of satellite camps in the Neuengamme camp system.

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime, who were kept in "protective detention" (*Schutzhaft*) in several camps in the area. Prisoners in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moore*) near the border for future development. Versen was constructed in 1938 in the area allocated to the Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst), which had been withdrawn from the Emsland in early 1938 due to the disappointing results of its laborers' work service. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Versen camp in 1939. It became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager* or "Stalag") VI B in Emsland. Following this administrative change, Versen became a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for thousands of POWs from Poland, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In May 1942, Stalag Versen was absorbed into the Stalag VI C Bathorn system, and from September 1943, Italian military internees (IMIs) were incarcerated in the camp. Although most had been transferred to other camps by November 1944, some Italian prisoners were still interned in Versen when it was shifted to the Neuengamme camp system.

In November 1944, over 1,500 inmates were transferred from the Neuengamme main camp to Versen. According to most secondary sources on the Meppen subcamps, 2,500 inmates were transferred from Neuengamme to both Versen and Dalum. However, the exact number of inmates in each camp is unknown.[1] The prisoners in Versen were men of various nationalities, including Belgian, French, Dutch, Danish, Russian, Polish, as well as some IMIs. As was the case in the

Neuengamme main camp, inmates had been imprisoned for their resistance actions, political affiliation, religion, or other "criminal activity." They arrived in Meppen by train and were marched from the train station through the town to the camp.[2] The prisoners were housed in several wooden barracks. At first, there were no bunks or straw in the barracks, and the prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor. The roofs of the barracks were damaged and leaked constantly; as Danish historian and former inmate Morton Ruge has recalled, "From November 16 to January 10, 1945 [when packages from the Danish Red Cross were distributed to Danish prisoners], we never had dry clothing." The inmates first received straw to lie on in mid-December 1944, several weeks after they arrived in the camp. According to Ruge, one barracks served as a washroom; however, prisoners were prohibited from using it.[3] Captain Rose, of the postwar War Crimes Investigation Unit, emphasized in a deposition that Versen and Dalum were altered considerably immediately after the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), Detachment Meppen, together with the British Military Government detachment established a displaced persons camp for Polish civilians there.[4]

Working conditions for inmates in the Versen camp were likewise dreadful. Similar to inmates imprisoned in other Emsland camps, the Versen inmates were used for forced labor on the so-called Friesenwall, a defense installation for the Wehrmacht along the Dutch border. Every morning, foremen selected work commandos composed of 50 men each. With only shovels and spades, the prisoners had to dig massive ditches along the border, a marshland area that was filled with mud from constant rain. "The work was completely futile," Ruge has emphasized, "because 'the enemy' hardly ever came through the forests, rather more easily on the streets."[5] According to Ruge, although the digging was not particularly difficult, the long hours, inadequate clothing, insufficient food, and lack of heat and shelter made for unbearable working conditions.

The inmates were fed insufficiently and infrequently for the amount of work they had to perform. Before the commandos were sent to the Friesenwall each morning, the prisoners were provided with one-quarter liter (one cup) of thin soup. On occasion, they received a supplement of sugar or syrup. In the evenings, they ate soup with two small pieces of bread. All food was distributed outdoors, and as Ruge has noted, this practice was particularly cruel for inmates who were severely ill.[6] Although some Danish prisoners received packages from the Red Cross in January 1945, the packages provided clothing and no supplemental food.

The death rate in Versen was especially high. Ruge has reported that in the first few months, 8 to 10 inmates died per day from hunger, exhaustion, and the terrible work and living conditions in Versen. Between November 16 and December 6, 1944, 199 deaths were recorded in the Versen death register. On December 12 or 13, some 600 ill or weakened inmates were transferred from the Versen camp back to Neuengamme, in exchange for 150 "healthy" inmates. Historians Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter have concluded that 566 inmates died between November 16, 1944, and March 25, 1945, in the Versen and Dalum subcamps, mostly from exhaustion, hunger, and lung and intestinal diseases. These numbers most likely do not include the 600 inmates transferred from Versen back to Neuengamme due to illness or exhaustion.[7] Just prior to the evacuation, a quarterly report filed by the SS garrison doctor Trzebinski noted that on March 29, 1945, there were 1,773 prisoners in the Versen camp.[8]

There is little information about the SS administration, guards, and foremen of the Versen subcamp. In his deposition during the 1947 trial of three SS officers (Klingler, Eichler, and Schneider) accused of murder and maltreatment of Allied nationals in Neuengamme and its subcamps, former inmate and witness Zdzisław Sokół stated that the commandant of Husum, Ladelund, and Dalum was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem—said to be particularly cruel. Griem had been transferred from his post in Neuengamme and may have also commanded the subcamp. The information in the deposition is unclear because Sokół did not recall the names of any SS in Versen, but other depositions in the file corroborate that Griem was the commandant of Husum and Dalum.[9] Attached to Trzebinski's report is a partial list of camps administered by the Neuengamme main camp, which includes the SS doctor who oversaw medical treatment in each camp, as well as the assistant to the doctor, number of SS guards, and number of inmates. According to the report, the supervising doctor in Versen was head doctor (Oberarzt) "Stalag" with assistant SS-Rottenführer Haeger. The report also notes that there were 255 members of the guard staff and 1,778 prisoners.[10]

The Versen camp was evacuated as Allied troops approached, beginning in March 1945. On March 24, 1945, the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police (BdO) issued orders to evacuate camps in the Emsland area.[11] Under the agreement forged between Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Count Folke Bernadotte of the Swedish Red Cross, 76 Danish prisoners were marched out of the camp on March 15 or 16 and, together with Danish prisoners from Dalum, were sent to Neuengamme by cattle car. Prisoners well enough to march were evacuated on foot from the camp to Cloppenburg, Bremen-Farge, and then by train to Neuengamme. On April 1, the weakened and severely ill inmates were transported to Neuengamme by train. According to historian Andreas Lembeck, nearly 400 prisoners died during the transportation of the ill inmates and the evacuation of the camp. In April, the 1st Polish Armored Division under supervision of the British and Canadian armed forces occupied the camp.[12]

There is no information regarding trials associated with the administration of the Versen camp. Trial documentation related to the Dalum camp, from which little information on Versen can be extrapolated, is stored at the PRO (London) and reproduced in part at the USHMM. Further research onsite at the FZH may yield more detailed information about the guards who administered the Versen camp.

SOURCES Although both primary and secondary sources on the Versen subcamp are scarce, the most extensive secondary sources on Versen and other Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by the SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Versen and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of displaced persons camps at Versen, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, "*—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany": Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

Primary documentation on the Versen subcamp, used extensively by Suhr and Boldt and Kosthorst and Walter, is located at the FZH (formerly FGNS-H), Archiv Hans Schwarz, which includes a witness report from former inmate Morton Ruge and the original report filed by Dr. Trzebinski (13-6-11) as well as other related documents. Files containing detailed information derived from an investigation of mass graves in Versen conducted by the grave commission of the Service Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du AN-MACVG (1953) are stored at the NStA-Os. The DIZ-EL in Papenburg contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945) (see www.diz-emslandlager.de). Documentation related to orders from the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police for the evacuation of the Emsland camps, including Meppen-Versen, is stored at the StA-Br. Finally, vague information about the layout of the Versen subcamp can be found in the records of the PRO (London), WO 235/302 (as duplicated at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9), in the court deposition of Captain Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit. Although these files contain documentation from trials of individuals accused of crimes against Allied nationals in various Neuengamme subcamps, there is no specific information about or identification of the commandant, guards, or administration of the Versen camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Kosthorst Erich and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 109; Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985), p. 30.

2. Morton Ruge, "Aussenkommando Versen bei Meppen des Konzentrationslager Neuengamme," reproduced partially in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 113–114.

3. Ruge, in ibid., p. 114.

4. Deposition of Captain Ronald Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit, HQ/BAOR (24 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9); includes sketched plans of the camps Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen. See Andreas Lembeck, "*—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany": Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

5. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 114.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 109.

8. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126. USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also has a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

9. Deposition of Zdzisław Sokół, Production No. 170, PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

10. Report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, PRO (London), WO 235/167, as copied at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War. There is a slight discrepancy between the number of prisoners (1,773) noted by Trzebinski in the report and the number (1,778) in the list of camps and their medical supervision.

11. Lembeck and Wessels, *Befreit*, p. 23.

12. Lembeck, *Polish Enclave*, p. 31.

MEPPEN-VERSEN/GROSS-HESEPE

Located in the borderland area near the Netherlands, the Emsland camp XI, Gross-Hesepe, was absorbed into the Neuengamme concentration camp system in November 1944. Prior to the deportation of prisoners from Neuengamme to Gross-Hesepe, Meppen-Versen, Meppen-Dalum, these and other Emsland camps served various functions within the Nazi camp system and reflected the changing needs of the administration and German military, including the repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, the incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and the establishment of satellite camps in the Neuengamme camp system.

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland region were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime who were kept in "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*). Prisoners

in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moors*) near the border for future development. In 1938, construction began on the Gross-Hesepe camp, one of the eight newly built penal camps (*Strafgefangenenlager*) in the Emsland. It had a capacity for 1,000 prisoners, but the actual occupancy far exceeded this number. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Gross-Hesepe camp in September 1939, and it became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex *(Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager*, or Stalag) VI C Bathorn. The camp then served as a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Polish, French, and Soviet POWs, as well as Italian military internees (IMIs).

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the Gross-Hesepe camp was used to incarcerate Neuengamme camp prisoners as a subcamp to the Meppen-Versen subcamp. It also stated that the average number of prisoners was 100. The inmates most likely were forced to work in developing the marshlands and to create the so-called Friesenwall, a Wehrmacht defense installation planned for the Dutch border.

Living conditions in the other camps used as Neuengamme subcamps in the latter years and months of the war were dreadful, and we can surmise that conditions and work assignments were the same or similar in Gross-Hesepe.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary resources on the Gross-Hesepe subcamp. For brief information on Gross-Hesepe, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). The most extensive secondary sources on the Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Stafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Dalum and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on the evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of DP camps in the Emsland, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, "*—to Set Up a Polish enclave in Germany": Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

The DIZ contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945); brief summaries on the camps, including Gross-Hesepe, can be found on the archive's Web site at www.diz-emslandlager.de. Documentation related to the orders from the BdO for the evacuation of the Emsland camps is stored at the StA-Br.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

MÖLLN

A subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created in Mölln (Schleswig-Holstein province) in either October or December 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 20 inmates were transferred to the Mölln subcamp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to work in the Gülzow Sägewerk (Sawmill).[1] They were employed by the Mölln construction administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Mölln), and therefore they most likely performed some kind of construction work at the sawmill.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by garrison doctor Trzebinski that lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Mölln inmates.[2]

In his study of the *Kap Arcon*a disaster on Lübeck Bay, historian Wilhelm Lange has asserted that there were other work commandos in Mölln at this time. However, it is unclear whether these detachments were connected to the Neuengamme camp system or whether they were part of the same work commando at the sawmill. Lange has noted that at least 200 inmates worked in the armaments industry in Mölln-Breitenfelde, and a smaller group of skilled laborers were employed at the Metallwerke Mölln.

The Mölln subcamp at Sägewerk Gülzow, as well as the other commandos Lange has described, were evacuated to a ship called the *Westpreussen* on Lübeck Bay of the Baltic Sea on April 30, 1945. According to Lange, the *Westpreussen* carried about 254 inmates from various camps, including the labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) of Nordmark in Kiel. The ship remained in the bay for several days, during which several inmates died; their bodies were thrown overboard. On May 8, 1945, the ship fell under the control of the Swedish Red Cross.

The fate of the inmates—particularly from the Mölln commando aboard the *Westpreussen*—is unknown. According to Lange, inmates on this ship most likely evaded the lot of other prisoners, who had been evacuated to the *Cap Arcona* and other ships, which the Nazis crowded with camp inmates and then abandoned to be bombed and destroyed by the Allies. Over 8,000 prisoners died during British aerial attacks on the bay on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Mölln. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Her-

mann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and which includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski. This information is duplicated—except for the opening date of the camp—in the Mölln entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Additional details, which are not corroborated by other secondary sources, come from Wilhelm Lange, *Kap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin: Struve, 1988), pp. 43–45.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Mölln camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by Dr. Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Mölln and which is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

NEUSTADT IN HOLSTEIN

Among the more than 80 subcamps of the concentration camp Neuengamme, a satellite camp was created in Neustadt in Holstein in December 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Fifteen men were transported to Neustadt in Holstein to be employed by the Neustadt Construction Administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Neustadt).[1] The inmates built barracks for a military hospital (*SS-Lazarett*) in Neustadt. The 15-prisoner subcamp existed until May 1, 1945, when the small camp was evacuated, eventually to a ship, the *Westpreussen* on Lübeck Bay of the Baltic Sea.

Little other specific information about this small satellite commando can be found. However, in his analysis of the *Cap Arcona* disaster in Lübeck Bay, historian Wilhelm Lange has asserted that the 15 inmates had originally been part of the Breitenfelde-Neustadt commando and were transferred to Neustadt in Holstein for construction work. The Breitenfelde commando consisted of Danes, Poles, Russians, and at least one Dutch and one German prisoner. According to Lange, the guards of the Neustadt subcamp were an unnamed SS-Scharführer and six other ill and recuperating SS officers. On May 1, 1945, the group was evacuated to the work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) Nordmark (the Kiel camp), where the prisoners were reunited with the original Breitenfelde commando. The inmates were evacuated to the *Westpreussen*, which held 254 inmates in total. The ship remained in the bay for several days, during which a few died; their bodies were thrown overboard. On May 8, 1945, the ship came under the control of the Swedish Red Cross.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Neustadt inmates.[2]

The fate of the inmates particularly from the Neustadt commando aboard the *Westpreussen* is unknown. According to Lange, inmates on this ship most likely escaped the fate of other inmates who were evacuated to the *Cap Arcona* and other ships, which the Nazis crowded with prisoners and then abandoned to be bombed and destroyed by the Allies. Over 8,000 prisoners died during British aerial attacks on the bay on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Neustadt in Holstein. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. This information (opening and evacuation dates, number of prisoners, and so on) is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986). Additional information (although not corroborated by other secondary sources) comes from Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin, 1988), pp. 43–45. Finally, for dates and the path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme e.V., with contributions by Detlef Garbet and Nina Holsten (Bremen, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Neustadt camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Neustadt and is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original

report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

PORTA WESTFALICA/A II BARKHAUSEN [AKA PORTA I, KAISERHOF], LERBECK-NEESEN, HAUSBERGE "HAMMERWERKE"

The Porta Westfalica complex of the Neuengamme concentration camp consisted of three subcamps established between March 1944 and February 1945 for the purpose of war production. Under the command of the Stützpunktleiter, SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Wicklein, the three subcamps were Barkhausen (also known as Porta I, A II, and Kaiserhof), Lerbeck-Neesen, and Hausberge ("Hammerwerke").[1]

After the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) tasked SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, the head of Office Group C (construction) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), with tunneling operations for the transfer of German aircraft production in March 1944, Kammler dispatched the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) A II to Porta Westfalica, where there were several existing tunnels. On March 18, 1944, Neuengamme established a subcamp in the ballroom (*Festsaal*) of the Hotel Kaiserhof in Barkhausen, located to the west of the Weser River. Initially populated by 250 Buchenwald prisoners dispatched under the code name "Max I," Barkhausen had a strength of 983 on March 29, 1945.[2] Although Wicklein was the commandant, his Lagerführer, SS-Rottenführer Hermann Nau, stood out in prisoners' memories as the camp's driving force.[3] The camp elder was a green triangle (criminal) prisoner from Buchenwald, Georg Knögl. Nicknamed "Red" because of his hair color, as well as "Popeye" and "Lucifer," he was recalled in many testimonies as sadistic and an alcoholic.[4] According to historian Rainer Fröbe, there were between 500 and 600 deaths at this camp between March 1944 and April 1, 1945, excluding weakened prisoners returned to Neuengamme. Between 25 and 30 prisoners attempted escape, 7 of whom were hanged.

Barkhausen's prisoners consisted of many nationalities, especially Ukrainians and Poles, but none were Jewish. Beginning on September 15, 1944, a consignment of 225 Danish political and criminal prisoners entered the camp in several transports. Although favored in the "racial" hierarchy and able to receive Red Cross parcels, 44 percent of the Danes died at Barkhausen, before the remainder were evacuated as part of *Aktion Bernadotte* in late March 1945.[5] This high mortality was traceable to the harsh working conditions, the Danes' difficulties in "organizing" (stealing) additional food, and their vulnerability to parcel theft by the SS, prisoner-functionaries, and other prisoners.[6] According to former Auschwitz prisoner Wiesław Kielar, the Danes who consumed their parcels ironically put themselves at the greatest risk of death: the fear of theft led many to devour their parcels in one sitting, which overwhelmed their digestive systems after prolonged hunger.[7]

Most of the tunnel projects were located in the Jakobsberg Mountain, situated across the Weser River from the Barkhausen camp. The site's location necessitated a lengthy march to and from work via the Weser bridge. The first tunnel project, for the aircraft parts company Firma Ambi-Budd, involved the expansion of a tunnel to accommodate fuselage and aircraft parts manufacturing. In May 1944, a small arms factory, code-named "Stöhr II," was established inside the "Memorial Tunnels" (Denkmalstollen), inside Wittekindsberg Mountain at a shorter distance from the Barkhausen camp.

In the summer of 1944, the prisoners expanded Jakobsberg's "Big Tunnels" (Grossen Stollen) to accommodate an underground petroleum refinery operated by Deurag-Nerag (Deutsche Raffinierie AG, Neue Erdölraffinerie AG). Code-named "Dachs I," the refinery was more than four-fifths complete when the Germans evacuated Porta Westfalica.[8] The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS) concluded that, with a planned capacity of more than 9,000 tons of crude oil per month, "This is a very pretentious plant. . . . [It] is in no sense a makeshift but was planned as a permanent installation."[9]

In the fall of 1944, Barkhausen built a nine-story factory, code-named "Hammerwerke," inside the tunnel "Stöhr I." Hammerwerke belonged to the German subsidiary of the Dutch company Philips, which relocated its radio assembly factory from the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp [aka Vught] after the German retreat. To install the equipment, Philips selected a 172-man "skilled" work detachment consisting of non-Jews from Sachsenhausen/Oranienburg and other camps in November 1944.[10] This work detachment was accommodated at Barkhausen.

Before the establishment of the Lerbeck camp, 15 Barkhausen prisoners worked as a detachment for the Firma Weber in Lerbeck-Neesen. As a subcontractor for SS-Führungsstab A II, Firma Weber prefabricated ferroconcrete construction materials in late spring and summer of 1944. In September 1944, with the German retreat, the Luftwaffe relocated its Utrecht-based aeroengine repair station at Lerbeck. Subcontracted to the Klöckner Flugmotorenbau GmbH of Hamburg, but for security reasons given the cover name "Firma Bense & Co.," the station inspected and repaired Type-801 Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) aircraft motors. On September 30, 1944, approximately 100 Neuengamme inmates arrived at Lerbeck, where they were housed in a military barracks catercorner to Firma Weber and opposite the Klöckner station. The difficulty obtaining guards for this camp prompted Reich Armaments Minister Albert Speer to lodge a complaint with Reichsfuhrer-SS Heinrich Himmler.[11] Wehrmacht personnel and the civilian Plant Protection Force (Werkschutz) from Weber and Klöckner guarded the prisoners. On March 29, 1945, there were 469 prisoners, all of whom

were non-Jewish, including some long-detained Poles and Austrians from Auschwitz. Although the working conditions were good, the vicious conditions inside the camp and the lack of food caused between 31 and 55 deaths, according to Fröbe. This estimate excluded weakened inmates returned to Neuengamme. The brutal conditions were due to the two commandants, SS-Unterscharführer Heinz Rast (to January 15, 1945) and SS-Oberscharführer Richard Emanuel Eichler, and the camp elder, Heinz Hagenah, a green triangle prisoner and former soldier. Eichler and Hagenah murdered 7 prisoners in the infirmary by lethal injection.[12]

Situated southeast of the Hammerwerke, at the junction of the Kreuzung Mindener Weg and Frettholzweg, the Hausberge subcamp consisted of 967 Dutch and Hungarian Jewish women who arrived in February 1945. The Dutch women had already worked for Philips while imprisoned at Vught, until the SS deported them to Auschwitz in June 1944. At Philips's behest, Deutsche Telefunken selected the women for its Gross-Rosen/Reichenbach radio factory until its destruction in a December 1944 air raid. After briefly working for Philips-Valvo in Hamburg, the women proceeded to the Hammerwerke. Some 300 Hungarian Jewish women who had worked at Philips's Horneburg Kommando were also brought to Hausberge. Because they were skilled workers, Philips took steps to ensure their protection. Under the commandant, an SS-Unterscharführer, the 55 male and 27 female guards harassed the prisoners en route to work; 5 women died in the Hausberge camp.

At Hammerwerke, the Dutch women experienced a sense of déjà vu. One had inscribed her initials in their machinery at Vught and was surprised to see the same equipment located underground.[13] As was true for Barkhausen prisoners, the women worked for 84 hours per week.

The Germans evacuated Porta Westfalica on April 1, 1945. Barkhausen's inmates were evacuated to Beendorf and Schandelah, Lerbeck-Neesen's to Fallersleben, and Hausberge's to Beendorf via Bergen-Belsen. Many of the evacuated prisoners eventually ended up in Neuengamme/Wöbbelin. Former Auschwitz prisoner Hermann Langbein escaped during Lerbeck's evacuation.[14]

In 1947 and 1948, French military tribunals condemned Hermann Nau and camp elder Georg Knögl to death. In 1947, in connection with his prior stint at Neuengamme/Husum-Schwesing, a British military court in Hamburg sentenced Richard Eichler to five years' imprisonment. The Hamburg Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) sentenced the female SS guard, Lottchen Wilma M., to prison for one year and one month in 1951 for mishandling Hausberge prisoners.[15]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the most detailed study of the Porta Westfalica complex, Rainer Fröbe's " 'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'? KZ-Häftlinge in Rüstungsbetrieben an der Porta Westfalica in den letzten Monaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Verdrängte Geschichte: Verfolgung und Vernichtung in Ostwestfalen, 1933–1945*, ed. Joachim Meynert and Arno Kloenne (Bielefeld: AJZ, 1986), pp. 221–297. Additional secondary sources useful for this essay are Reinhard Busch, "Zur Geschichte der KZ-Aussenlager an der Porta Westfalica," in*"Das Leben ist schön!" Überlebensstrategien eines Häftlings im KZ Porta*, ed. Wiebke von Bernstorff et al., trans. Gerd Adolf-Hermening (Bielefeld: AJZ Verlag, 1987), pp. 1–14; Helweg Larsen et al., *Famine Disease in German Concentration Camps: Consequences and Sequels, with Special Reference to Tuberculosis, Mental Disorders, and Social Consequences* (Copenhagen, 1952); Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), 2: 95, 97, 99; for a detailed map of the Philips Kommando's movements from June 1944 to May 1945, P.W. Klein and Justus van de Kamp, *Het Philips-Kommando in Kamp Vught* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 2003), p. 191; for Porta Westfalica's memorials, Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); and the Web site www.team-porta.de/lager.html. The Porta Westfalica complex is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 188; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 224, 226, 229; and *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp. 109, 452–453.

As cited in Fröbe, archival sources for Porta Westfalica may be found in BA-K, BA-L (former ZdL), NWStA-(D), NWStA (De), and PRO. For the Neuengamme Standortarzt report of March 29, 1945, 2169-PS, see Fritz Bringmann, *KZ Neuengamme: Berichte, Erinnerungen, Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag), n.p. There are many prisoner testimonies available for the Porta Westfalica complex, and the Danish testimonies are especially extensive. Two chapters of Pierre Bleton's *Le Temps du purgatoire* (1953; repr., n.p.: Obsidiane, 1990) dealing with Porta Westfalica are available in the German edition cited above. Fröbe reproduces two Danish prisoners' reports in translation, Biørn Karbo, "Bergmann in Porta Westfalica," pp. 298–309 (originally in Johannes Fosmark, ed., *Danske i tyske Koncentrationslejre*, 2nd ed. [Copenhagen, 1945], pp. 104–114); and Jørgen Diemer, "Porta in Westfalen," pp. 310–320 (originally in "Porta i Westfalen," in *I tysk Fangenskap*, ed. Anders Georg [Copenhagen, 1945], pp. 109–118). The testimony of Barkhausen survivor Gunnar Hjelholt is available in Benedicte Madson and Søren Willert, *Survival in the Organization: Gunnar Hjelholt Looks Back at the Concentration Camp from an Organizational Perspective*, preface by Veronika Dalheimer, trans. Edith Matteson (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1996). According to Hjelholt, the Danish political prisoners published a memorial book, *In memoriam, 50'erne fra Porta* (n.p., 1950). The testimony of Danish bishop Vincent Lind is reproduced in Ulrike Jensen,

Ulrike Jureit, and Karin Orth, *Lebensgeschichten: Gespräche mit Überlebenden des KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg, 1992), pp. 35–53. The testimony of Jørgen Kieler, Barkhausen's inmate doctor, is available in USHMMA, RG-50.391.*0001, Oral History Interview with Jørgen Kieler, June 10, 1994, interviewed by Alexandra Moltke Isles. Auschwitz survivors Wiesław Kielar and Hermann Langbein deal with their experiences in Barkhausen and Lerbeck, respectively, in Kielar, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (New York: Times Books, 1980); Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslagern* (1949; repr., Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982), pp. 255–261; and Langbein, *. . . nicht wie die Schafe zur Schlachtbank: Widerstand in den nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern*, *1938–1945*, foreword by Eugen Kogon (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), pp. 55, 101. As cited in Fröbe, the testimony of Hausberge prisoner Rita Koopman is found in Dick Walda, *Een huilbui van jaren: Episoden uit het leven van Rita Koopman* (Amsterdam, 1979). As part of its investigation of the German oil industry, the USSBS surveyed "Dachs I" in May 1945. Its detailed report, with accompanying diagrams, is USSBS, Oil Division, *Underground and Dispersal Plants in Greater Germany* (Washington, DC, 1947), pp. 56, 132–135, 152. As cited by Fröbe, CIOS investigated the "Hammerwerke" in 1945 and produced a detailed report with schematics, which is reproduced in his article on p. 276. On the postwar trials and investigations, see Lfd. Nr. 321 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1972), 9: 743–770, for the trial of Lottschen Wilma M. As cited in Fröbe, information on the British and French trials may be found in "Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z)," November 15, 1963, which deals with Nau and tangentially other camp staff; and PRO, WO 235/302–303, which concerns Eichler.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z)," November 15, 1963, as cited in Rainer Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'? KZ-Häftlinge in Rüstungsbetrieben an der Porta Westfalica in den letzten Monaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Verdrängte Geschichte: Verfolgung und Vernichtung in Ostwestfalen*, *1933–1945*, ed. Joachim Meynert and Arno Kloenne (Bielefeld: AJZ, 1986), p. 287 n.98.

2. For all the population totals for the Porta Westfalica subcamps of Barkhausen, Lerbeck, and Hausberge, dated March 29, 1945, see "Bericht des SS-Standortarztes von Neuengamme, Dr. Trzebinski," 2169-PS, reproduced in Fritz Bringmann, *KZ Neuengamme*: *Berichte*, *Erinnerungen*, *Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1982), n.p.

3. "Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z)," November 15, 1963, as cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" p. 287 n.98.

4. See, for example, the testimony of Gunnar Hjelholt in Benedicte Madson and Søren Willert, *Survival in the Organization: Gunnar Hjelholt Looks Back at the Concentration Camp from an Organizational Perspective*, preface by Veronika Dalheimer, trans. Edith Matteson (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1996), p. 40.

5. As reported by former inmate doctor Jørgen Kieler in Helweg Larsen et al., *Famine Disease in German Concentration Camps: Consequences and Sequels, with Special Reference to Tuberculosis, Mental Disorders, and Social Consequences* (Copenhagen, 1952), p. 68, and cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" p. 320. The Danish testimonies disagree on the precise date of the Bernadotte evacuation.

6. Hjelholt testimony in Madson and Willert, *Survival in the Organization*, p. 43.

7. Wiesław Kielar, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (New York: Times Books, 1980), pp. 280–281.

8. USSBS, Oil Division, *Underground and Dispersal Plants in Greater Germany* (Washington, DC, 1947), p. 132.

9. Ibid., p. 133.

10. Kielar, *Anus Mundi*, pp. 268–269.

11. BA-K, R3/1583 fol. 110, as cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" p. 256.

12. Statement of former Kapo Hans Biederer, n.d., NHStA-(D), 130 (24) Js 61/62, 1: 93, as cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" p. 291.

13. Rita Koopman testimony in Dick Walda, *Een huilbui van jaren: Episoden uit het leven van Rita Koopman* (Amsterdam 1979), p. 96, as cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" pp. 274–275.

14. Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslagern* (1949; repr., Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982), pp. 259–260.

15. "Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z)," November 15, 1963, PRO, WO 235/302-303 (Eichler case), all cited in Fröbe, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit'?" p. 287 n.98; Lfd. Nr. 321,in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1972), 9: 743–770 (Lottchen Wilma M.).

SALZGITTER-BAD

In the late summer of 1944 a women's subcamp was established in Salzgitter-Bad and placed under the control of the Neuengamme concentration camp. There are almost no documents on the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp. The documents that did exist were destroyed in the Neuengamme concentration camp and the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) before the end of the war.

The new detachment was accommodated in barracks that were owned by the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf, a subsidiary of the RWHG. This former camp, named Number 43, was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the south of Salzgitter-Bad on the edge of the Südholz Forest. It had been established in the 1940s for about 120 female civilian employees of the Bergbau AG.

The Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was not expanded. It consisted of four accommodation barracks, three operational barracks, and a number of smaller buildings.[1] According to survivors, the camp included punishment bunkers, guard towers, and storage facilities.[2] The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence and signs with the inscription "No Standing! We

Will Open Fire!" (*Nicht stehen bleiben, es wird geschossen!*) on the track to Liebenburg. The signs were visible for everyone to see.[3]

The first transport of women arrived on September 19, 1944, from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. It included mostly women who had been taken prisoner during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 and who had been transported to the Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps. At the end of October, another group of about 250 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Altogether there were about 500 prisoners in the camp. On March 25, 1945, Standortarzt Dr. Trzebinski gave the number of women as 472.[4]

A few of the women came from Germany, the Soviet Union, and France. However, the great majority were from Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Most of the deportees were registered by the SS in Salzgitter-Bad as political prisoners. According to survivors, there were also Jews. When the women arrived in the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp, they were given prisoner numbers that were then registered in the Neuengamme main camp.

The women worked in the armaments production of the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf and in the Kleineisenwerk am Gittertor. Both factories were subsidiaries of the RWHG.

In both factories the prisoners worked in three shifts. They were mostly used in producing parts for grenades. The production lines, equipped with presses and lathes, were located in part of the factory buildings. They were separated from the rest of the factory. There was only limited contact with the civilian workers. Nevertheless, a few prisoners were able to make contact. A Yugoslav prisoner was able to get pencil and paper and smuggle out letters to her parents.[5]

The camp was about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away from the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf. The women had to walk to work under the guard of SS men and SS women. Their path led them by an *Ostarbeiterlager* (Eastern workers' camp) and the newly constructed settlement for German workers at the "Hermann-Göring-Werke."

The Kleineisenwerk was located on the northwestern edge of Salzgitter-Bad. The prisoners who worked there were taken to work on a company-owned truck under SS guard. Living conditions in the small camp were bad, but when compared with other subcamps in the region, they were relatively good. The barracks were divided into separate rooms in which there were double bunk beds. Each prisoner had her own bunk. The operational barracks were located close to the camp. There was an infirmary there. Medical care was initially provided from the Drütte camp, but at the end of 1944, a female prisoner doctor took over.[6] The deaths of four women are recorded for the Salzgitter-Bad camp. They are buried in the Jammertal Cemetery in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt.[7]

In 1949, Ursula Lemke was arrested on suspicion of mistreating prisoners. She arrived at the end of September 1944 in the camp as an SS overseer. She had undergone a six-day training course in Neuengamme. She remained at Salzgitter-Bad until the camp was evacuated. When questioned, she stated that she was engaged to the Lagerführer (camp leader) of the Salzgitter-Bad camp, Longin Bladowski.[8] Bladowski returned to the main camp before the end of the war, where he took charge of the prisoners' kitchen.[9]

On April 7, 1945, four days before American troops reached the Salzgitter area, the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was evacuated.

The dissolution of the subcamp surprised the imprisoned women. On the morning of April 7, 1945, the detachment, as usual, was taken by lorry to work the early morning shift at the Kleineisenwerk, and those working at the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf went by foot to work. The women remaining in the camp, who worked the night shift, were not allowed to sleep. They had to clean up the camp and prepare for the evacuation.[10] The detachments did not return to the factories for the afternoon shift, as the final evacuation of the camp had begun. Following the final roll call, the prisoners were loaded onto trucks and driven to the Drütte subcamp, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) away. Roll call was taken again, and then the approximately 500 women on the camp grounds had to board a train that was waiting for them. After they boarded the train, it left the Salzgitter area. On April 8, 1945, the transport arrived at the goods railway station in Celle, where that evening it became a target of an Allied air raid. More than half of the women from the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp lost their lives during the bombardment. The survivors were taken by truck and on foot to Bergen-Belsen.

The Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was forgotten after the war. Other than the investigations into the wardress Lemke, there were no other proceedings against those responsible for the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp. Lemke was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.[11]

SOURCES There is no published work on the Salzgitter-Bad concentration camp. It is one of the least-studied subcamps. On Bladowski, see Hans Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss.,); on the evacuation to Bergen-Belsen, see Mijndert Bertram, *April 1945. Der Luftangriff auf Celle und das Schicksal der KZ-Häftlinge aus Drütte* (Celle, 1989); and Elke Zacharias, "Wir dachten, die Befreiung sei ganz nah . . ." *CeHe* (2005).

There is little archival material. The camp and its topography have been reconstructed from aerial photographs that are available at the TARA-KU. In the last 15 years the AG-Dr has collected worldwide more than 50 memoirs and eyewitness interviews. These sources, supplemented by former prisoners' personal belongings, are held in the AG-Dr and in the AG-NG. Some witness statements and archival material about RWHG is available in ASt-Salz, BStU, and BA-DH. The March 29, 1945, report by the Neuengamme garrison doctor is reproduced in Ulrich Bauche et al., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945: Katalog zur*

staendigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme, *Aussenstelle des Museums fuer Hamburgische Geschichte* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986).

Elke Zacharias
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. TARA-KU, US 33-2780, Nr. 1047.
2. AG-Dr, Interviews: Joanna Fryczkowska, Ida Desandre, Stefka Frangez.
3. ASt-Salz, Zz (Bericht Franziska Wegener).
4. Vierteljahresbericht an das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt vom 29.3.1945, reproduced in Ulrich Bauche et al., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945: Katalog zur staendigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme*, *Aussenstelle des Museums fuer Hamburgische Geschichte* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), p. 209.
5. AG-Dr, Stefka Frangez (Briefsammlung).
6. AG-Dr, Interview Joanna Fryczkowska, 1991.
7. ASt-Salz, Friedhofskartei; AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
8. Aussage von Ursula Lemke vom 08.09.1949, BStU, Best.: MfS–BV Schwerin ASt 385/49, 1:13, 29, 88.
9. Hans Ellger, *Zwangarbeit und weibliche Überlebensstrategien: die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme 1944/45* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007), p. 224.
10. AG-Dr, Joanna Fryczkowska, Interview vom 26.11.1991.
11. BStU, MfS-BV Schwerin ASt 385/49, vol. 1; BA-DH, ZM 327, File 12.

SALZWEDEL

The Salzwedel subcamp began operations in July or August 1944. The camp complex was based on the already existing camp for female forced laborers who were working in the largest industrial complex in the area, the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik GmbH Salzwedel. There were 1,000 female forced laborers in the camp. In addition to this camp, there were several other barracks of varying sizes. The area of approximately 11,000 square meters (13,156 square yards) was secured with a security fence 540 meters (591 yards) in length. The prisoners in the subcamp were destined from the beginning to work in the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik Salzwedel.

The unfavorable course of the war for Germany in 1942 resulted in an increased recruitment of males who had until this time been excluded from military service. The loss of these men from the production lines caused the National Socialist leadership to mobilize German female labor, to use more female foreign forced laborers, and at a later point in time, to use concentration camp prisoners as a means to compensate for the loss of labor.

There were roughly 1,500 to 1,550 women in Salzwedel between October 1944 and March 1945. In the camp's early period, the late summer of 1944, there were 700 to 800 female Jewish Hungarians in the camp. These women had been transported from Auschwitz directly to Salzwedel. In the autumn of 1944, there followed a contingent of female Jewish Poles, roughly the same number. The majority of them reached the camp via Bergen-Belsen. There were women of other nationalities (Germans, Greeks, Italians, and Czechs) in the subcamp, but their numbers were smaller; most likely, they arrived at the camp toward the end of the war when other subcamps were being evacuated.

All the women in the subcamp were used at the city's largest industrial site, the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik GmbH Salzwedel. This factory produced mostly ammunition for the infantry. The women worked primarily in the delivery of raw materials, the processing of prefabricated metal components, the production of explosives and bullets, and in storing the same. Little regard was given to the health risks and safety. The work was done in two shifts; that is, when half of the women were in the camp, the others worked for 12 hours in the factory, with a 15-minute meal break.

The women in Salzwedel worked on the production line at the Draht-und Metallwarenfabrik. The factory produced items other than munitions but had been manufacturing infantry munitions since 1928. In 1937, it employed approximately 600 workers, and in 1939, 1,000. This development continued during the war, with the labor force being strengthened with forced laborers, both male and female. The ever-increasing production demands, especially those toward the end of the war, could only be met with the ruthless exploitation of the approximately 1,500 female concentration camp prisoners. At the end of 1944, there were approximately 1,800 workers as follows: 234 German employees, 1,500 concentration camp women, and about 70 female forced laborers.

The reasons for the female inmates' imprisonment can only be guessed. Some women could have been imprisoned for their political activity.

At the end of March 1945, the camp functioned as a collecting point for transports from evacuated camps. Within a short period of time, the number of women in the camp doubled (to approximately 3,000). During the last days of the camp, there was a relatively large group of Dutch women evacuated from Ravensbrück to Salzwedel.

Some women reported murders and attempted murders of the imprisoned women by members of the guard force. Despite the brutality, this was not an everyday occurrence in the camp. More often, however, women who were about to give birth and refused to abort were sent to either Bergen-Belsen or Auschwitz, a calculated step, as it meant the death of the women.

The prisoners were forced to work in a privately owned factory. They were supervised by foremen and skilled tradesmen. In addition, female SS overseers guarded the women while they worked. The SS personnel had full power to force the women to work at maximum speed and at the slightest disturbance stepped in and meted out punishment. The prisoners stood for the 12-hour shifts and were under

constant surveillance, being watched from two sides. The civilian workers distrusted the women; some were indifferent, but they were seldom well disposed, and the presence of the female SS guards exerted enormous pressure on the prisoners.

The subcamp guards were comprised as follows: external camp security was provided by Wehrmacht soldiers no longer suited for frontline service. Internal security was provided exclusively by the SS. The 10 to 12 male SS members were in charge of the camp's senior positions, while the female guards (about 10) were mostly used for direct control of the prisoners. The camp commander is said to have been an elderly SS-Hauptsturmführer. A majority of eyewitnesses did not condemn him, but the Rapportführer was described as violent and brutal.

The prisoners, in an attempt either to forget or put aside for a few moments the horrors of everyday life, tried to foster contact with relatives or maintain friendly relations with their fellow prisoners. "[W]e were like sisters, we shared everything and looked after each other."[1] Friends described themselves as "camp sisters" (*Lagerschwestern*). Friendship in turn meant solidarity with their unknown fellow sufferers, helping those who were weaker.

Concrete help, support, and solidarity were one side of the coin in a brutal environment. Another side was the cultural work (*Kulturschaffen*) of a few women who, together with their camp sisters, withdrew for a short time in so-called "slots" (*Zeitnischen*) where, temporarily cut off from the outside world, they were close to one another: "I was asked to tell stories and talk about books that I had read."

A constant statement in many interviews is that not a few women were "glad" to have been in the Salzwedel subcamp, avoiding death in Auschwitz or the slow death in Bergen-Belsen. One woman, more than 50 years after the war, summed up the view of the majority of the women: "Sabotage, never. I would have been killed. I wanted to survive and tell the world."

On the other hand, some women, a minority, attempted to slow down the speed at which they worked or to sabotage the machines in order to reduce the output of ammunition. Some were successful. Their identities were never discovered.

The Salzwedel subcamp was liberated on April 14, 1945, by units of the U.S. 84th Infantry Division. The camp guards had begun to break up before liberation, but there are claims that there were attempts by individual SS members to blow up the camp and its inmates. The attempts were supposedly stopped by the camp commandant.

There were no acts of violence when the camp was liberated, although one guard was shot by U.S. soldiers while trying to escape.

The women were taken immediately to a nearby barracks. The U.S. Army looked after and registered them, and they were soon released into the care of various aid agencies. A number of women died after being liberated. They are buried in a nearby cemetery.

After May 8, 1945, a number of investigations in the British Occupation Zone questioned former SS female subcamp guards. There were no criminal prosecutions against any of the Salzwedel subcamp guards. The investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg provided details of the relationship between the Neuengamme concentration camp and the Salzwedel subcamp. Preliminary investigations into a number of individuals did not progress.

SOURCES Until 1989, the history of the Salzwedel subcamp was only available, in parts, to those in the local area who were interested in the camp. There was a model of the camp at the Daneihl Museum in Salzwedel with a short accompanying description. The SED Magdeburg District Branch had a brochure that provided a few details of the camp. It was to form the basis for an exhibition regarding the solidarity and sacrifice by a number of workers who, despite the prohibition, had made contact with a number of inmates. The focus was on members of the working class, which reflected the state ideology of the GDR. Before 1991, there was no exhaustive description of the subcamp either in the GDR or the FRG. It was only after an exhibition on "Flüchtlinge," in the neighboring district of Lüchow-Dannenberg (FRG) in 1990 that the author published a catalog on the exhibition (1991) that included a short description of the subcamp. He based his work on work done by a foreman at the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik, who was grateful to liberated Hungarian Jewish women who saved him from being shot by American soldiers, as he was in possession of a weapon. The women stood up for him, as he had treated them humanely during their imprisonment.

The basis of this research and essay is a small collection of documents (2 folders) at the ZdL (now BA-L), which contain the investigation files into members of the guard. These guards were named but could not be located by the State Prosecutors or they lived in the GDR, thereby being out of reach of West German investigating authorities—that is, the border was not opened to allow suspects to be questioned. In this collection there are also protocols of interviews with survivors (former female prisoners): the interviews were done overseas (in the United States) in front of German embassy officials. In 1996, the city of Salzwedel invited around 20 women, former prisoners of the subcamp, to the city for a week. As part of the reconciliation process, employees of the Neuengamme Memorial and the Daneihl Museum in Salzwedel, together with the author, conducted detailed interviews with the guests. The interviews were later written down. The tapes and original protocol are held in the archives of the Daneihl Museum, with copies in AG-NG. These exhaustive interviews are the basis of this essay. They have been supplemented by a consideration of the records made by British occupying officers on interviews of guards immediately after the war. These protocols are located in the PRO, with copies in the ZLpB-H, now called the AG-BB. Research in the LHSA-Ma did not locate any documents either from the Soviet Military Administration or from the courts of the German Democratic Republic showing that there were investigations into the guards at the Salzwedel subcamp for crimes committed there. As the labor of the subcamp was made available for the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik Salzwedel, I researched the history and development of the company

in the period 1939 to 1945. In the ASt-Slzw there are a few documents that related to construction work (barracks, fence, and so on) and show the company's hunger for labor. The company was closed after 1945 when it was disassembled by the Soviet occupation forces, with the parts most probably being transported to the Soviet Union. I could not locate any archives specifically dealing with the company. Using quarterly reports provided by the company to the Rüstungsinspektion Hannover, later Magdeburg, it is possible to draw conclusions on the company's economic development during the war. These files are held today in BA-MA. As part of the *Erinnerungsliteratur*, there was published relatively early after the war in the Netherlands a book that describes, albeit without much detail, the subcamp's last days: Atie Siegenbeek van Heukelom, *Zeven Maanden in Duitse Concentratiecampen* (n.p., 1946).

Dietrich Banse
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. All quotations in this essay refer to interviews of Salzwedel survivors with the author, Salzwedel, 1996.

SCHANDELAH

In 1943, the war resulted in a marked deterioration in the supplies for the German Reich. As a result, German oil reserves that had proven difficult to access once again became attractive. This included the largest German shale oil reserves at Schandelah close to Braunschweig. The driving force to access these oil reserves was at first Captain von Kruedener, Generalfeldmarschall (Field Marshall) Erhard Milch's Ordnance Officer, and Walther Schieber. They were able to get the support of the Braunschweig minister president, Klagges. There then followed the establishment of Steinöl GmbH, which was to exploit the Schandelah reserves. In October 1943, the firm's name was probably changed for security reasons to the Kalk- und Zementwerke. Steinöl was owned by Deutsche Asphalt AG (German Asphalt Corporation, DASAG), which in turn was owned by the state of Braunschweig. Klagges and Steinöl GmbH turned to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler in October 1943 for his support for their being responsible for all shale oil reserves in Germany. This request was not completely successful, as Himmler decided that the southern German reserves were to be exploited by the SS. For this purpose, he established the Deutsche Schieferöl GmbH (German Shale Oil, Ltd.). However, Hitler granted Klagges's request to use concentration camp prisoners to construct a shale oil facility at Schandelah.

Negotiations on the use of the prisoners between the SS and Steinöl GmbH began on January 20, 1944.[1] The first 100 prisoners arrived at the beginning of May 1944. First they had to complete the construction of the camp. At the same time, the Steinöl GmbH and the SS finalized a contract that regulated the basic questions regarding the use of the prisoners and their accommodation.[2] By August, three smaller prisoner transports had arrived, and the number of prisoners had increased to 505. By October, the number had increased to about 800 prisoners. It was possible to increase the number of prisoners because in August the project had become part of the Geilenberg Program, thereby becoming a high-priority project. The composition of the prisoners in Schandelah was varied. The strongest national groups by number were prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, Belgium, and France. There were also Dutch, Danish, Czech, Spanish, German, Italian, Greek, and Yugoslav prisoners. The most important positions were given to the Germans.

As the prisoner numbers grew, so did the Schandelah construction site. The construction company Debag was in charge of construction. It was also part of the DASAG conglomerate. The prisoners were used primarily in construction. The labor was largely heavy physical work. For example, the Staatsbahn Work Detachment had to construct an embankment for a planned rail connection. The prisoners had to excavate and level the ground without shovels. Once the embankment had been raised and was ready, the prisoners had to lay the railway sleepers, which weighed between 20 and 25 kilograms (44 to 55 pounds).[3] Another detachment had the responsibility to dig shale for an experimental oven. They had to break open the hard ground with picks. There were only a few jobs for qualified men that required less physical labor. One of these was work at the experimental oven. Here it was warm and dry, even if the smell was unpleasant. (Saul Kroner was able to work in another job for qualified people at Schandelah. As a mechanic, he cleaned locomotive parts. A Soviet Jew, Kroner hid his Jewish identity and survived.)[4]

The first two accommodation barracks were built in May 1944 by civilian companies. The third barracks was built by the prisoners in September. There were three-tiered bunk beds in the barracks. In most of them, more than one person slept in each bed. A central reason for the deterioration in conditions was that for a long time there was no water connection. This was only put in place at the end of 1944. Until then, the prisoners had to get water from a source 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. The water was seldom adequate to satisfy the thirst of the prisoners, and washing could only be done on Sundays. The person in charge of the kitchen collected the food once a week from the Drütte subcamp. The rations were from the very beginning inadequate for the heavy labor, but they got even worse during the winter.

The first detachment leader in Schandelah was SS-Oberscharführer Ewald Jauch. He was replaced after two months. He was later convicted by a British military court and hanged for his role in the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm.[5] His replacement was SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Ebsen, whose deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Karl Truschel. Under their command the SS guards turned the camp into one of the most brutal in the whole of the Neuengamme subcamp system. The prisoners lived in constant fear.

The frequent beatings, the inadequate food, and the heavy labor meant that prisoners' strength, in comparison to the

other subcamps, quickly evaporated. Until November 1944, the dead were sent to the Drütte subcamp. The exact number remains unknown. From November 1944, the prisoners cremated the corpses at the edge of the Schandelah building site on the command of the SS. A British investigating commission later exhumed 113 corpses at this site.[6] It is also known that following a visit by Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly, the company management was able to have 50 sick prisoners transferred back to the main camp in November 1944. They were replaced by healthy prisoners.[7]

The Neuengamme SS station doctor stated that in March 1945 there were 782 men at Schandelah. At the beginning of April, an evacuation transport from the camps at Porta Westfalica reached Schandelah, and the prisoner numbers increased to 1,300. On April 10, all the prisoners were evacuated. In goods wagons they were taken to a reception camp at Wöbbelin near Ludwigslust, where they arrived on April 13. Their journey took them via Magdeburg, Stendal, and Wittenberge. On arrival they had to spend two days in the wagons before they were allowed into the overfilled camp on April 15. The camp lacked everything. Many died in Wöbbelin before the camp was liberated by American troops on May 2, 1945.

Those responsible at the Schandelah subcamp were charged in January 1947. This was one of the most successful of the trials against perpetrators of a Neuengamme subcamp before a British military court. It ended with five death sentences against the firm's manager, three SS men (including Ebsen and Truschel), and a Kapo. Except for the firm's manager, all the sentences were carried out.[8]

SOURCES The main events, statistical information, and facts on the Schandelah subcamp are detailed in the two essays by Heike Petry, who has inspected all the primary sources and thoroughly examined them. See Heike Petry, "Der DASAG-Konzern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des KZ Schandelah," in *Zwangsarbeit für Industrie und Rüstung im Hils 1943–1945*, ed. Detlef Creydt (Holzminden, 2001), 4:31–56; Petry, "'Betr.: Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in Schandelah'—Zwangsarbeit für das Schieferöl-Projekt der Steinöl GmbH," in *Zwangsarbeit und Kriegswirtschaft im Lande Braunschweig 1939–1945*, ed. Gudrun Fiedler and Hans-Ulrich Ludewig (Braunschweig, 2003), pp. 237–256. On the evacuation of Schandelah, see also Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 111. For additional information on the shale oil program, see Jan-Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 2001); and Hermann Kaienburg, *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003).

Compared to other Neuengamme subcamps, the sources for the Schandelah subcamp are excellent. The firm's files regarding the use of the prisoners remains intact and were used by the British investigators. They can be inspected in the Investigation and Trial Files at PRO. There are also written statements by former prisoners that were made for the British military trial. They are exhaustive and detailed. There is also some early correspondence with the Reichsführer-SS relating to the construction, which is held by the BA-B, Best. NS 19.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter of the SS-WVHA to the Steinöl GmbH, March 16, 1944, in PRO, WO 309/399.
2. Agreement May 16, 1944, in PRO, WO 311/468, printed in Heike Petry, "Der DASAG-Konzern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des KZ Schandelah," in *Zwangsarbeit für Industrie und Rüstung im Hils 1943–1945*, ed. Detlef Creydt (Holzminden, 2001), 4:46.
3. Interview with Pierre Verhaegen, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8/1622; Interview with Victor Malbecq, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8/1552-3.
4. Interview with Saul Kroner, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8./1538.
5. Neuengamme Camp Case No. 3, in PRO, WO 235/189.
6. PRO, WO 309/399.
7. Visitor's Report at the Kalk- und Zementwerke, November 11, 1944, in PRO, WO 309/399.
8. PRO, WO 235/283-289.

UELZEN

A U.S. bomber squadron destroyed the Uelzen Goods Railway Yard (Güterbahnhof) on February 22, 1945. Cleanup work began almost immediately. In addition to Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) task groups (*Bau-Geräte-und Bergungszüge*, construction and salvage trains), Wehrmacht soldiers, units of the Organisation Todt (OT), the Volkssturm, prisoners of war (POWs), and around 500 prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp were used in this effort. In the first days of the cleanup, around 5,000 people worked day and night to restore the important rail junction to the north (Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein).

Details on the date that the Neuengamme Uelzen subcamp was established vary by more than six months. Some prisoners speak of a subcamp that existed from October 1944, while others put the date as much later (March 1945).

From the very beginning, the Uelzen subcamp was administered by the Neuengamme concentration camp. It was probably established around October–November as a work detachment, being expanded by the end of February or the beginning of March 1945 to hold 500 men.

Witnesses, including former German prisoners who ended up in the Uelzen subcamp, have stated that it "wasn't a bad camp." According to Neuengamme camp clerk Herbert Schemmel, the camp held a prisoner who, because of his political past and activities in the main camp, was under the threat of death. At the end of March 1945, a larger number of Dutch prisoners were relocated from the Neuengamme camp to Uelzen. To what extent this relocation had to do with *Aktion Bernadotte* remains uncertain.

The prisoners at the Uelzen subcamp, all males, belonged to different European nations that had been conquered by the German Reich during the war. They came from the Soviet Union, Poland, Holland, Belgium, and France. There were only a few Germans who belonged to the various categories of prisoners. According to witnesses, there were no Jewish prisoners. This was later confirmed by investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

The prisoners were held on land owned by the Zuckerfabrik Uelzen AG, in a storehouse for raw sugar. The building's windows were covered with barbed wire. There was only external security. There was no permanent security inside the building. The prisoners were fed from the sugar factory's canteen.

Dutch prisoners who arrived later in the camp report that some of the Kapos were brutal. They tell of mistreatment by the guards that often ended in death. These claims were substantiated by preliminary investigations of the ZdL. However, the substantiation suggested manslaughter rather than murder.

The Uelzen subcamp had its own commandant and guards, roughly 20 to 25 persons. Exact numbers could not be confirmed by either the sugar factory's employees or the prisoners.

The camp commandant was an SS officer, someone whom neither the sugar factory employees nor the prisoners could forget. SS-Untersturmführer Otto "Tull" Harder took command of the Neuengamme subcamp Hannover-Ahlem at the end of February or the beginning of March. According to the prisoners, his style of command did not worsen the situation. Harder scarcely made himself visible. His quarters were close to the canteen. According to former prisoners, shortly before the camp was evacuated, he helped around six to seven German prisoners escape.

This rather positive description does not correspond with the course of proceedings and the judgment of the court in the Curio-Haus Trial, April 16, 1947, to May 6, 1947, where he was accused by the British occupying authority. He was charged with crimes against humanity strictly in relation to events at the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. He served only 4 years in the Werl prison and died in 1956.

Witnesses have been unable to clearly identify the guards or whether they were military or paramilitary units. Some witnesses have claimed that at least in the initial stages the guards were SS members. Others said the guards were Landesschütze (territorial guardsmen) or members of the Volkssturm. They reached this conclusion because of the age of the guards and how they behaved: "They were much more relaxed, you could move around more freely, they gave you tobacco."

Some prisoners, however, have stated that they, together with three to four German prisoners, were allowed by the camp commandant to leave the camp a few days before it was evacuated. They fled in a northerly direction (Lüneburg), constantly in fear of the Feldpolizei (military police) or marauding bands of disintegrated SS units. They reached the area of Bienenbüttels (District Uelzen), where they hid. A few days later, on April 18–19, 1945, they were liberated by British troops moving through the area.

At the beginning of April, the subcamp's prisoners were still working at the Uelzen railway goods yards. However, as the front got closer, the guards and the camp commandant became visibly unsettled and nervous. Their behavior, especially toward German prisoners, changed. They were prepared to exchange information or chat.

Witnesses have reported that they observed a few SS men with explosives threatening the violent death of the prisoners before Uelzen was captured. These threats turned out to be hollow, but on April 17, 1945, a day before Uelzen was captured by British troops, the prisoners were squeezed into cattle trucks by the Volkssturm to be taken back to Neuengamme. Many prisoners died during the transport. According to Dutch witnesses, about 400 prisoners reached the main camp on April 19, 1945, where they were locked in bunkers overnight. On the morning of April 20, 1945, around 150 prisoners left the bunker; their comrades were dead.

The surviving prisoners, together with other prisoners from the main camp, were taken by the SS on April 20, 1945, to Lübeck. Here many of them were put on the freighters *Athen* and *Thielback* and later on the *Cap Arcona*, where they vegetated in inhuman conditions. On May 3, 1945, British fighter bombers attacked the overloaded ships *Cap Arcona* and *Thielback*, fires broke out on the ships, and they sank or capsized. Among the 7,000 who drowned in the Baltic were many prisoners from the Uelzen subcamp. The third ship, *Athen*, which at the time of the attack was in the Neustadt in Holstein harbor and which was not attacked, contained a group of Dutch prisoners from the subcamp. They survived the war and later reported on their experiences in Uelzen.

SOURCES Before Dietrich Banse's book *Das Aussenlager Uelzen des KZ Neuengamme*, (Suhlendorf, 1991), there were no works on the events that relate to the Uelzen subcamp. The camp was only mentioned in regional or local histories.

The basis of this work is a small collection of files in ZdL (now BA-L), which contains the preliminary investigation files into members of the guard (Vermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom 2. Februar 1972, Betr.: Das Lager Uelzen, Signatur: IV 404 AR 96/69). The author has also conducted interviews with a number of witnesses: Herr Eichstätt, Herr Mettbach, Herr Schulze, Herr Steinke, Herr Tabor, Herr Wedel, Frau Winke, and Herr Schmidt. These witnesses (former prisoners) were located by the author, three of them were visited in different parts of the FRG in 1989 and interviewed where they lived. After the war, former Dutch prisoners, at the request of state authorities, made official reports on their experiences at the Uelzen subcamp, and some of those reports were obtained from NIOD. These reports expand the information about the camp, particularly

in that during the last days of the war prisoners from other camps were temporarily held in Uelzen. From NIOD: Report of former prisoners from Groningen/Nederlande, June 19, 1946; Report of the former prisoner Tuinema from Groningen, November 21, 1946; Report of former prisoner from Den Helder, June 16, 1946: Signatur: C (16.05) 315.2 In addition, there are numerous details in the documents.

The Deutsche Bundesbahn, legal successor to DR, no longer holds files that could provide details. There is only one report (Zwernemann) that gives details about the material damage to the Uelzen railway goods yards, but it does not refer to the use of concentration camp prisoners. It is held in BA-K.

Dietrich Banse
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VECHELDE

In the summer of 1944, two representatives of the Büssing Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft (National Automobile Company, NAG), headquartered in Braunschweig, traveled to the Auschwitz concentration camp in order to examine between 1,000 and 1,200 prisoners for their qualifications, as they were supposed to work at Büssing. Not only did the prisoners have to be skilled laborers, but the physical appearance of the prisoners was important in the selection. The prisoners arrived at Braunschweig between September and November 1944 in three transports. The first transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz in the middle of September 1944. As the camp in Braunschweig, at the Büssing-Werke (Schillstrasse) was not yet ready, 100 prisoners were housed in the nearby forced labor camp in order to construct the Büssing camp. The remaining 250 prisoners were transferred to the completed camp at Vechelde. The prisoners here were also supposed to work for Büssing. The second transport arrived in October with about 500 prisoners, of which 150 were sent on to Vechelde. As a result, around 400 prisoners were stationed at Vechelde, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Braunschweig. They were housed in a former jute mill on a field between the Spiegelbergallee and Spinnerstrasse. The Braunschweigische Aktiengesellschaft für Jute- und Flachs-Industrie (Braunschweig Company for Jute and Flax Industry) ceased operating the facility in 1926. It remained the owner of the site and permitted other companies to use it as a storage facility and for other purposes. In 1944, the Büssing Company was given the right to use the factory grounds. Büssing was relocating its production facilities to the edge of the town to avoid the increasing number of bombing raids on Braunschweig. This was also the reason why the site was regarded as particularly suitable for the establishment of a prison camp.

The prisoners were mostly Polish Jews who were survivors of the Łódź ghetto. Only the prisoner-functionaries were of German background. The prisoners had to work for Büssing manufacturing replacement parts for trucks, with an emphasis on the manufacture of rear axles for heavy vehicles. The majority of the prisoners worked in the assembly building, which was equipped with lathes, drills, and milling machines. They were taught by the German skilled tradesmen at Büssing NAG and supervised by them. Former prisoner Adolf Diamant worked together with other prisoners on a lathe, making tank brake drums: "Working on the break drums was naturally very, very difficult for we prisoners who had been weakened for years. It was a Sisyphus labor to lift the brake drums from the floor, drag them to the lathe, and then to fasten them down; after a while at the lathe, they were removed and when ten brake drums were ready, they had to be taken to the drilling machines, where the appropriate holes were drilled into them."[1]

The work was done in two shifts each of 12 hours. The day shift was from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. and the night shift from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. Production went without a hitch. Sabotage was almost impossible.[2] The prisoners have described the German tradesmen as friendly and not violent.

The prisoners were probably housed close to their work in two buildings. They slept on wooden plank beds. Two men had to share a double plank bed. However, unlike the situation in other subcamps, each prisoner had his own blanket. Of great benefit, especially in winter, was that Vechelde prisoners were able to have hot showers. However, food supplies even at the beginning were inadequate. The prisoners were able to draw the attention of Büssing management to this problem, who in turn complained to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) about the inadequate food. According to former prisoners, the rations were then in fact increased. The midday soup ration was doubled, and there was an additional supply of bread.[3] Nevertheless, unhygienic conditions and inadequate clothing prevailed in the camp. The biggest problem for the prisoners was the constant attack by lice, which during the entire time at Vechelde could not be avoided.

The commandant of the Braunschweig subcamp (Büssing/Schillstr.) was probably SS-Hauptscharführer Max Kirstein, who was also the base commander of all Braunschweig subcamps. Kirstein's deputy, an SS man called Sebrandke, was in charge of the work detachment in Vechelde.[4] Otherwise, according to prisoner testimony, the majority of the guards in Vechelde were men between 50 and 60 years old. It is likely that they were discharged Wehrmacht soldiers or came from the Volkssturm.

Compared to other camps, the death rate in Vechelde was low, as there was only a short distance to work, rations were increased, there were warm showers, and there was a low level of violence. Diamant recalls three to four dead.[5] There are no prisoner graves in Vechelde, and it is likely that the corpses, as in other Braunschweig camps, were taken, until January 1945, to Watenstedt and then to the Braunschweig crematorium.

The SS evacuated the camp at the end of March 1945 before the advancing fronts. The prisoners were first returned to the camp at Schilldenkmal in Braunschweig, where the prisoners also had to work for Büssing NAG. On March 26,

1945, they were taken from there to the Watenstedt/Leinde subcamp near the Braunschweig steel mill. They left this camp on April 7 and were taken via Berlin to the Ravensbrück concentration camp, where they arrived on April 14; 10 days later, they were taken by the SS to the camp at Wöbbelin near Ludwigslust, which was liberated by American troops on May 2.

Both the British and German Federal Republic investigated those responsible for the Büssing NAG and the camp at Vechelde, but these investigations resulted in no prosecutions.[6] Vechelde played an important role in early attempts by forced laborers and concentration camp prisoners to obtain compensation for their forced labor. In 1965 Diamant commenced proceedings against Büssing NAG and on June 20, 1965, was given the right by the Braunschweig District Court (Braunschweiger Landgericht) to claim compensation. While the 177.80 deutschemark (DM) awarded was small, it is one of the few cases in which a German court has awarded former forced laborers compensation.[7]

SOURCES The most detailed study on the Vechelde subcamp is and remains a brochure by Axel Richter. It is based largely on statements by former prisoners, as well as German witnesses. See Axel Richter, *Das Unterkommando Vechelde des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme: Zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion*, ed. Gemeinde Vechelde (Vechelde, 1985). The study has been supplemented by an essay by Karl Liedke, who interviewed former prisoners and examined the files of the Deutsche Sta. in the NStA-Wf. See Karl Liedke, "Destruction Through Work: Lodz Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig, 1944–1945," *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179, esp. 157, 162, 165, 174. On the transports, see Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 15. On the restitution case of Adolf Diamant, see Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die Entschäigung jüdischer Zwangsarbeiter—Ein offenes Kapitel deutscher Nachkriegsgeschichte* (1981; Frankfurt, 1986), p. 214. Ferencz represented Diamant at the court case.

The Deutsche Sta. investigation files are held in the PRO and the BA-L (ZdL), but the information reveals little more than is in the NStA-Wf.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Report by Adolf Diamant, September 17, 1984, printed in Richter, Axel *Das Unterkommando Vechelde des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme: Zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion*, ed. Gemeinde Vechelde (Vechelde, 1985), p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 99.
3. Ibid.
4. See the report by Policeman Knigge, in NStA-Wf, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and the British Investigation Files on the Braunschweig subcamps in PRO, WO 309/1241.
5. Diamant in Richter, *Unterkommando*, p. 57.
6. PRO, WO 309/1241; Niedersächsiches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and BA-L, ZdL, IV 404 AR 111/67.
7. Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die Entschäigung jüdischer Zwangsarbeiter—Ein offenes Kapitel deutscher Nachkriegsgeschichte* (1981; Frankfurt, 1986), p. 214.

VERDEN

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Verden on January 8, 1945. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least eight male inmates were transferred from Warberg to Verden to construct the SS training site (*Schulungstätte*) Sachsenhain.[1] They were employed by the Verden Construction Administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Verden).

Few other details on the Verden subcamp could be found. According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Verden inmates.[2] The archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum contain a photograph of one Frau Horn, the military secretary of SS-Sturmbannführer Blintzek, the commandant of the Verden subcamp. No other information about Blintzek or Horn could be found; further research at the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) holdings of the Berlin Document Center (BDC), SS Officer Personnel files (SSO series), may yield additional information.

The camp was evacuated in April 1945 to an unknown destination, and the fate of the prisoners is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Verden camp. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. This information is duplicated (except for the opening date of the camp) in the Verden entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979). For similar brief information (opening, closing dates, type of work, and so on), see Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Verden camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists SS-Bauleitung Verden and is published in various secondary

sources, can be found at the FZH. The photograph of Frau Horn, the military secretary of Major Blintzek, is located at USHMMPA, WS # 46600.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

WARBERG

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was established in Warberg on June 5, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Between 8 and 10 male inmates were transferred from the Braunschweig Truppenwirtschaftslager subcamp to Warberg to continue construction work for the SS. The satellite operated until January 8, 1945, when the inmates were transferred to another satellite camp in Verden, northwest of Hannover.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Warberg. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. This information is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Warberg camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

WATENSTEDT

In August 1939 the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) and the Army High Command (OKH) formed the "Stahlwerke Braunschweig GmbH" in order to process steel produced from rolling mills. The factory was located to the southwest of Salzgitter-Watenstedt, close to the "Hütte Braunschweig." The steelworks in Braunschweig produced tank tracks, equipment for torpedoes, barrels for guns, bombs, and grenades. By 1943 most of the production facilities were complete.

Directly opposite the village of Leinde was a camp complex of five individual camps, in which between 1941 and the early summer of 1944 Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter), both male and female, as well as civilian workers from Belgium, Italy, and Hungary were held. From the middle of May 1944 the camps were converted into the Watenstedt subcamp. A small part was retained as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.

Prisoners from the Drütte subcamp were used to do the conversion. They did carpentry work and constructed the electric fence.[1]

The first transport of prisoners arrived from Neuengamme in the Watenstedt subcamp on May 27, 1944.[2] Additional transports in the middle of June and August increased the number of prisoners in the men's camp to around 2,000.[3] The SS guards were accommodated in the middle part of the camp. At the beginning of July 1944, the prisoners moved into the large area of the camp that consisted of stone barracks.

The first female transport arrived in Salzgitter from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on July 7, 1944.[4] Altogether, there were around 300 women.[5] There were additional transports on August 28[6] and October 19, 1944.[7] At the end of March 1945, there were 729 women in the Watenstedt subcamp.[8]

Male prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the Neuengamme main camp, and the women were returned to Ravensbrück.[9] There were also transfers direct to other Neuengamme subcamps. In December 1944, a group of French women was transferred to Hannover. The number of the prisoners who went through the Watenstedt subcamp is much higher than the recorded number of prisoners, 2,000 men and 1,000 women.

The largest groups of prisoners were French, Soviet, and Polish political prisoners. At the beginning of 1945, the prisoner composition changed because, with the dissolution of the Braunschweig subcamps, a large number of Jewish prisoners were brought to the Watenstedt camp.

The prisoners worked in the Braunschweig steelworks, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the camp. The prisoners walked to work. They worked in factory buildings 16 and 17. Here were the production lines for grenade and shell casings of different calibers and weight. The large presses that produced from steel blocks the hollow casings for shells and grenades were in factory building 16. In factory building 17, the mechanical work on the shell casings was done. Men and women from the Watenstedt subcamp worked in both factory buildings. Only a few prisoners were able to obtain work as toolmakers, avoiding the otherwise heavy labor. In the late summer and autumn of 1944, around 80 to 100 concentration camp prisoners were put to work in extracting iron ore from the Haverlahwiese mine in Gebhardtshagen. Accompanied by SS guards, they walked to and from the mine, 6 kilometers away (3.7 miles).[10]

The living conditions in the Watenstedt subcamp were similar to those in other subcamps. Clothing, hygienic conditions, and food were completely inadequate. The clothing for

women was totally unsuitable. Due to the lack of prisoner clothing, the women were given civilian clothes that were marked with paint.[11] The discrepancy between the food supply and the demands of the heavy physical work led to many accidents and illnesses. The two infirmaries were constantly overcrowded, and there was almost a complete lack of medicine and bandages. Medical care was practically nonexistent.[12]

Factory building 16 was heavily damaged on January 14, 1945, during an air raid, and the production of munitions was disrupted. The prisoners then had to work in the open air, cleaning up and undertaking repair work. If the machines were still working, they had to operate the machines.

At the beginning of 1945, the Watenstedt subcamp became a sort of holding camp for prisoners in the Braunschweig region who could no longer work. From the end of January, transports arrived with sick prisoners who could no longer work from the subcamps at Schillstrasse and SS-Reitschule (Riding School) in Braunschweig. The increasing number of such transports can be seen as the preliminary step to the final evacuation of subcamps in the region. The poor living conditions and the use of sick prisoners on the production lines are reflected in the increasing death rate from February in the Watenstedt camp.[13] There are 526 recorded deaths.[14] Most of the dead are buried in Jammertal Cemetery in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt.

At the beginning of April, the SS took the last prisoners in the Schillstrasse camp to the Watenstedt subcamp. The numbers in the camp increased dramatically. In addition to the original 2,000 men and 1,000 women in the Watenstedt subcamp, there were now 800 men from the Schillstrasse camp and, according to survivors' estimates, around 200 women from the SS-Reitschule subcamp. The conditions were catastrophic because the camp had not been built to hold so many prisoners. Many of the prisoners were no longer put to work and remained in the barracks. In the spring of 1945, the vice president of the Swedish Red Cross, Graf Folke Bernadotte, and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler agreed on measures to rescue Danish and Norwegian prisoners. This agreement had unintended consequences on the Watenstedt subcamp. It was agreed that a collection camp would be established for 5,000 Scandinavian prisoners in the Neuengamme concentration camp. To create the space, sick and weak prisoners of different nationalities were taken to the subcamps in Hannover and the Watenstedt subcamp.

The SS began the dissolution of the Watenstedt subcamp on April 7, 1945. The evacuation consisted of at least two trains, but it is not impossible that there was a third transport. All the trains stopped at the provisional platform close to the camp. The survivors state that, as with other subcamps, the prisoners were still working on the day the camp was evacuated. The sick and weakened prisoners were taken from the infirmary and the protective block and put onto one train. The others were put on another transport. There must have been roll calls before the trains departed. A list of prisoners, probably compiled after one such roll call, has survived.[15] It has surnames, first names, prisoner numbers, birthdates, grounds for imprisonment, nationality, birthplace, and date of arrival in the camp. The lists hold around 2,000 names. An examination of the names reveals that neither women, prisoners from the infirmary, nor those who were in the protective block were on the list. The medical orderly, French prisoner Jean Bizien, stated that these prisoners were loaded during the night of April 8, 1945, into a special train. Around 80 dead were left on the platform.[16]

It would seem from the various reports that there were around 3,000 prisoners on a train. The reference to the numbers for the two transports also indicates another transport because at the time of the evacuation there were more than 5,000 prisoners in the camp. If one compares the composition of the transports, there is a unified picture. However, the trains' destinations remain conjecture. On April 15, 1945, one transport was in the vicinity of Berlin.[17] This transport probably arrived the following day at Ravensbrück. Survivors later stated that around April 24–25, they were in Ravensbrück. Those who could march were driven in a westerly direction and reached the Wöbbelin subcamp at the beginning of May, which became a collecting camp for thousands of prisoners in the evacuation transports. The women left the camp and marched in a northwesterly direction. Another group was liberated in the Malchow camp while heading in a westerly direction.

The Watenstedt subcamp is referred to in the sources by a number of different names. The name "Stahlwerke Braunschweig" often results in the camp being seen as part of the Braunschweig region. It was only with the erection of a memorial stone and plaque at the camp's location in May 1991 that the camp has been known in research work as Watenstedt/Leinde.

SOURCES There are sporadic references on the Watenstedt subcamp in a number of publications, often one chapter focusing on a particular theme. There is no one work that focuses on the camp. Gudrun Pischke in her book *"Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . .": Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995) describes the camp and its development. Gerd Wysocki in his book *"Arbeit für den Krieg"—Herrschaftsmechanismen in der Rüstungsindustrie des Dritten Reiches* (Braunschweig, 1992) focuses on the use of concentration camp labor in the armaments industry. The evacuation of the camp is focused on in Elke Zacharias's essay "Die Räumung der KZ Aussenlager in der Region Salzgitter/Braunschweig," in *"Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung": Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Detlef Garbe and Carmen Lange (Hamburg, 2005). See also Michael Grill, "'Neuengamme war die erste Etappe auf dem Weg in die Heimat'—Das Skandinavierlager in Neuengamme und die Rückführung der skandinavischen Häftlinge mit den 'Weissen Bussen,'" in the same volume. In the author's book *Ein Ort mit Geschichte: Der "Ausländerfriedhof" Jammertal in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt* (Salzgitter, 2006), there is published for the first time the names of all prisoners who are known to have died in the Watenstedt subcamp.

There are only scattered archival records on Watenstedt. The archive of the Stahlwerke Braunschweig GmbH, a sub-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

sidiary of RWHG, has not survived. There are a number of sources in BA-K. The IPN holds the transport lists, which give details on the number of prisoners. The AG-R holds the arrival and discharge books, with a particular focus on the female camp at Watenstedt. Also worthy of mention are numerous memoirs and interviews in the AG-Dr, AG-NG, AG-W, AG-R, YVA, and VHF. A published testimony on this camp is Jean Bizien, *Sous l'habit rayé: Á chacun son destin* (Brest, 1987).

Elke Zacharias
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hans Wolder Interview, 1993, AG-Dr.
2. Erinnerungsbericht Walter Riga, 1992; Interview Paul De Bievre, 1992, both in AG-Dr.
3. Jean Bizien, *Sous l'habit rayé: Á chacun son destin* (Brest, 1987), p. 73.
4. Françoise Robin Interview, 1991, AG-Dr.
5. Madame Masson Bericht, AG-R, RA Bd. 30/547.
6. "Überstellung von Russinnen und Ukrainerinnen," in ibid., RA Bd. 47.
7. Überstellungsliste von KL Ravensbrück nach KL. Neuengamme. Arbeitslager: Watenstedt-Braunschweig, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 17.
8. "Vierteljährlicher Bericht des SS-Standortarztes des KL Hamburg-Neuengamme vom 29.3.1945," in StA-N, KV-Anlage, 2169-PS.
9. Rücküberstellung Nr. 30 am 19. Oktober 1944 KL Neuengamme, Arbeitslager. Watenstedt, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 73.
10. SS-Wachmann Hugo Behnke, letter to his wife, September 19, 1944, AG-Dr.
11. Robin Interview, 1991; and Therese Boudier Interview, 1992, in AG-Dr.
12. Walter Riga Interview, 1992; Erinnerungsbericht Jean Bizien, n.d., in AG-Dr.
13. Friedhofskartei, in ASt-Salz.
14. AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
15. Transportliste, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 52.
16. Erinnerungsbericht Jean Bizien, n.d., in AG-Dr.
17. SS-Wachmann Hugo Behnke, letter to his wife, April 16, 1945, in AG-Dr.

WEDEL

The Wedel subcamp, which existed between September and November 1944, was located in the small town of Wedel, Holstein, on a street later known as Rissener Strasse. During its existence it was occupied by both female and male prisoners. The camp lay outside the town in a rural environment of fields and forests. It was on an unimproved road, between Wedel and the Hamburg city border. It was built on part of an area created in 1943 called "Marinesonderanlage Wenzel" in Wedel. By the spring of 1943, Grossadmiral Erich Raeder, Oberbefehlshaber of the German Navy, had already planned the construction of submarine bunkers as new bombproof wharves on the Elbe River at Wedel. The bunkers were to hold 12 submarines. The navy planned to build a supply depot and naval base for 1,000 people. These camp barracks were located in the area between what was later to become Vosshagen and Industriestrasse, as well as Feldstrasse and Rissener Strasse. Construction of the submarine bunker was often stopped due to labor and material shortages that occurred during 1943 and 1944. The supply camp, however, was ready at the beginning of 1944 and included 50 wooden barracks. Since the construction of the submarine bunker facility continued to be delayed, the supply barracks were used at first to house prisoners of war (POWs). In the late summer of 1944, the northeastern section of the POW camp was separated from the rest of the camp, to house prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp. The Wedel camp consisted of 12 barracks for the prisoners, a kitchen, a medical barrack, and a headquarters for the guards.

In all probability, the Wedel subcamp was first occupied on September 13, 1944, by 500 Czech and Hungarian Jewish women. They came from the Neuengamme concentration camp's Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) subcamps. They had been sent there from Auschwitz in the middle of June 1944. According to some survivors, the female prisoners were primarily used to remove rubble caused by the bombing. The women were taken each day, either by foot or by truck, to the Elbe River, where they were taken by boat to Hamburg-Teufelsbrück. There, they removed rubble, loaded and unloaded trucks with bricks, and were engaged in heavy manual labor to help fortify the city. According to the survivors, a few women were put to work in Wedel. They had to help farmers with the harvest in the autumn of 1944.

Lagerkommandant Walter Kümmel commanded the Wedel subcamp. At the end of 1933, as a 28-year-old, Kümmel applied to join the Allgemeine-SS. He was accepted at the beginning of 1934. He joined the National Socialist Party in 1937. He volunteered for the Waffen-SS in April 1941 and was given basic military training. However, because of health problems, he was assigned to a Wachbattalion at Sachsenhausen. After a few months, he was transferred as a telephone operator to the battalion's operation room at the Neuengamme concentration camp. Kümmel took part in two noncommissioned officers' courses during his service at Neuengamme, where he received intensive military training. His training was completed with his promotion to Unterscharführer on December 1, 1943. He was appointed Blockführer in the "protective custody" camp of the Neuengamme main camp. After his promotion from Blockführer to second Rapportführer of Neuengamme in February 1944, he was transferred to Kiel as the commander of a bomb disposal squad, which also was made up of prisoners from Neuengamme. Following the dissolution of the squad in the late summer of 1944, Kümmel received the order to take over the command of the Wedel subcamp, which was composed of a group of about 500 female prisoners. The female prisoners were under Kümmel's command, at first in the camp at Wedel and subsequently in the Hamburg-Eidelstedt subcamp for women.

The British held Kümmel as a POW following the capitulation. In 1946, he and 13 others from the Neuengamme concentration camp were accused of manslaughter and the mistreatment of Allied nationals. They were sentenced by the Supreme British Military Court to 10 years in prison. He was convicted because of his role as the second Rapportführer in the Neuengamme main camp and not for his actions as commander of the Wedel camp or the Eidelstedt camp. Kümmel was released early from prison in 1952. Kümmel, who was suspected of murdering two babies in Eidelstedt, was investigated for this crime only in 1970 by the Hamburg State Prosecutor. On August 30, 1982, the Hamburger Landgericht (Regional Court) convicted Kümmel as an accessory to murder. However, as the statute of limitations for such crimes committed during the Nazi period applied, Kümmel was acquitted on all charges.

SS female wardens guarded the female prisoners in the Wedel camp, and retired customs officials provided external security. There are survivors' reports that unanimously testify to the brutality of these women. The surviving files of the customs officials reveal that 20 men, in rotating shifts, were responsible for the security of the camp.

According to the unanimous reports of the survivors, the Jewish women left the Wedel camp on the evening of September 27, 1944, in the direction of Hamburg-Eidelstedt. The prisoners are able to remember the date because that evening was the end of the Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur, because most were orthodox Jews and they had fasted. Consequently, the women were weak and ravenous and had expected to receive their evening soup. Before the soup was distributed, however, the women were evacuated. Because of the enormous physical effort required to transfer the camp, the evening has remained etched in the women's memory.

Sometime in the middle of October 1944, probably on October 17, 1944, about 500 male prisoners were housed for approximately five weeks in the Wedel subcamp. These prisoners were primarily from Russia, Poland, Austria, and the Netherlands. Some of them came from the small Dutch village of Putten in Geldern. The prisoners had to dig tank ditches for a planned line of fortification around the city of Hamburg and had to do heavy manual labor in fortification work in the Sülldorf district of Hamburg. The Wedel camp for men existed for a little more than one month. According to surviving documents, 27 prisoners died. Their deaths were the result of the work conditions, particularly as the prisoners often had to stand for hours in cold water, digging tank ditches, and because of the lack of adequate food and warm clothing. Some of them were buried at the Wedel cemetery. The Wedel subcamp was most likely dissolved on November 20, 1944. The male prisoners were transported to Meppen-Versen, also a subcamp of Neuengamme. From there the men were also put to work digging tank ditches.

SOURCES This article on the Wedel subcamp is based on the following works: Christus Kirchengemeinde Schulau Wedel, *KZ Wedel: Das vergessene Lager* (Wedel, 1983); Oliver Wleklinski, "Marinesonderanlage Wenzel: Ein Bauprojekt des III. Reiches in Wedel (Holstein) 1943–1945," in *Heimatverband für den Kreis Pinneberg von 1961* (Pinneberg, 1990), pp. 137–144; Hans Ellger, "Die Häftlingsgruppe der Jüdinnen am Beispiel des Frauenaussenlagers Hamburg-Eidelstedt," in *Häftlinge in KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 144–157; and Ellger, "Ein Barackenlager am Friedrichshulder Weg—ein Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme," in *Fischkistendorf Lurup: Siedlungsprojekte, Schrebergärten, Bauwagen und Lager von 1920 bis 1950*, ed. Anke Schulz (Hamburg, 2002), pp. 104–115.

The AG-NG has records of a few interviews and memoirs of both female and male prisoners that relate to the Wedel camp. The author conducted a number of interviews with female prisoners. However, the female prisoners' recollections of their time at Wedel are not particularly strong, not least because they were only at Wedel for about two weeks. The court documents relating to Krümmel's trial are in AStaLG-H. They provide information about his career and that of the customs' officials. Records relating to the deceased male prisoners are kept at the Friedhofsverwaltung der Stadt Wedel and the Christuskirchengemeinde in Schulau, Wedel.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WILHELMSHAVEN-BANTER WEG [AKA KRIEGSMARINEWERFT]

The Wilhelmshaven subcamp existed from September 1944 to the beginning of April 1945. The camp was located on a site on Banter Weg, which was owned by the Kriegsmarinewerft (Naval Shipyards). It was located close to the shipyards. The barracks camp had existed for a long time. It could accommodate 500 men. The commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, Max Pauly, demanded that those in charge at the shipyards ensure that 1,000 prisoners could be held in the camp. The concentration camp prisoners were to replace 600 workers who in the summer of 1944 were being relocated to Hamburg. It remains unclear whether this initiative originated from the shipyard management or Otto Merker, head of the Hauptausschuss Schiffbau (Main Shipbuilding Committee).

At the beginning of September, a transport from the Neuengamme concentration camp with 999 prisoners reached the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. The first transport consisted of around 600 French and 200 Soviet prisoners. There were other prisoners from a number of European countries and around 20 German prisoners who held the most important prisoner-functionary positions. The prisoner composition changed with the arrival of further transports. Between October 1944 and January 1945, there are thought to have been another five transports, each with between 60 and 200 prisoners. At least two transports are thought to have returned to the main camp with sick prisoners. The largest group of new prisoners was 250 to 300 Hungarian Jews.

The camp was in a relatively good condition when the prisoners arrived. The prisoners were accommodated in four barracks, each with 13 rooms. There were around 1,000 beds, so that in the beginning each prisoner had his own bed. Later the prisoners had to share beds, rotating in day and night shifts. In theory, the barracks could be heated via a central heating system fired with coke, but the camp administration forbade its use. The camp was secured with a double electrical fence and five guard towers.

Members of the French SS were responsible for security in the first two months. They were soon replaced by a company of around 200 men from the naval artillery. (Around 20 naval soldiers were later questioned by a German state prosecutor. None of them could recall brutality or mistreatment.)[1] Following the withdrawal of the French SS, there remained five SS men in the camp. The commandant of the Wilhelmshaven camp was periodically replaced: within eight months there were four different commanders. From September to November 1944, Otto Thümmel was in command. He was a Wehrmacht officer, who had probably ended up in the concentration camp following a war injury. Survivors have described Thümmel as the best of the commandants because he stopped the SS and the prisoner elite from taking bribes and stealing and allowed the "simple" prisoners relatively generous rations. In addition, Thümmel did not beat the prisoners. A French prisoner claimed in the Curio Haus Trial that Thümmel was replaced on the insistence of Pauly because he thought the Wilhelmshaven camp was too humane.[2] His successor, Rudolf Günther, was an SS man who had been stationed in Neuengamme since 1940. He was commandant for only a few days because the navy insisted that the commandant be a naval officer. The last two commanders were Büscher and SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwanke. Because the navy persisted with its demand, it is likely that the two were injured officers. Of the other SS personnel in the camp, the Rapportführer SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Jepsen should be mentioned. Jepsen served as the commandant's deputy. A Dane, with a German background, he had taken part in the Russian campaign as a member of the SS and was noted in Wilhelmshaven for his particular brutality. He was sentenced to death in a postwar British military trial and executed in 1947 in Hameln.[3]

Several, mostly German prisoners in functionary positions are thought to have mistreated the prisoners. The camp elder, Alfred Wagner, was shot by the SS. His successor, Walter Besch, is accused by several survivors of mistreating and killing prisoners: "He [a French prisoner] was accused of stealing cigarettes from Besch. I saw how Besch ordered him to squat. . . . Then Besch said to me: 'You can fill out his death certificate.' "[4] Another German Kapo, Heinrich Sürig (a political prisoner and German Social Democratic Party [SPD] member), was charged in a postwar British trial and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.[5]

The majority of the prisoners worked in the naval shipyard in its workshops. They were separated from the rest of the yard by barbed wire. Around 80 shipyard employees were required to train and supervise the prisoners. They could enter the prisoner area on presentation to the SS of a special identity card. The prisoners worked on technically challenging work and had to be trained. Instead of the usual two months, the foremen had only two weeks to train the prisoners. The prisoners worked in the following areas: the machine construction shop, lathes, mechanics, tinsmiths, carpentry, and rope walk (*Tampenmacherei*). The day shift was from 7:00 A.M. (sometimes from 6:15 A.M.) to 6:00 P.M., and the night shift was from 6:15 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.[6] A smaller detachment was used to clean up bomb rubble from the shipyard and in the city of Wilhelmshaven.

Despite the relatively good working conditions for a subcamp, as the detachment worked in a covered area, the death rate in Wilhelmshaven was relatively high. One reason for the high death rate was that some in the shipyard management were fanatical National Socialists and slave drivers. For that reason, two of the men were charged after the war before a British military trial and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. The manager of the shipyard, director and engineer (with the rank of an admiral) Hans Horstmann, and the manager of the prisoners' work area, director and engineer Gottfried Drossen, were sentenced by a British military court to 15 years in jail but were released in 1952.[7] Both were observed by wharf employees beating prisoners. In response to a comment by an employee on the weak state of the prisoners, Horstmann had replied that "if they fall over we can always get fresh prisoners from Neuengamme."[8] Drossen went even further: "The prisoners are going to disappear in any case. . . . They must be killed, liquidated! When there is nothing else left we will kill them with a hammer!"[9]

According to the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt report on March 25, 1945, there were 1,129 men in the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. A few days later, between April 3 and 5, 1945, the camp was dissolved and the prisoners evacuated. Around 400 sick prisoners were loaded onto a train. The rail cars were struck by an Allied air raid on April 7 in Lüneburg, killing around 250 prisoners. Of the survivors, half were transported the next day to Bergen-Belsen. The remaining prisoners were murdered by the SS on April 11 in Lüneburg. On April 5, around 700 prisoners began one of the longest death marches of all Neuengamme subcamps. The column arrived on April 16 in Hamburg, after going through Bremen and Horneburg. As preparations were already under way in Neuengamme to evacuate the camp, the SS decided that the Wilhelmshaven prisoners should march to Sandbostel, where they arrived on April 18.[10] Some of the prisoners from Western European countries, including a few prisoners from the Wilhelmshaven subcamp, were evacuated from the Sandbostel camp because of the catastrophic conditions there. They arrived in Kiel on April 25. There they were loaded onto ships. On board, they learned of the cessation of hostilities on May 8, 1945.[11]

It is thought that at least 234 prisoners died in the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. A list shows the numbers as 125 Frenchmen, 32 Soviets, 25 Jews, 16 Poles, 15 Italians, 8 Belgians, 7 Yugoslavs, 2 Germans, 1 Czech, and 3 of unidentified nationality.[12] A large number of prisoners in the two transports of

the sick to the main camp also died. At least 300 prisoners died during the evacuation of the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources useful for this subcamp are Hartmut Büsing and Klaus Zegenhagen, "Einmal werden froh wir sagen: Heimat, Du bist wieder mein!" in *KZ in Wilhelmshaven—Rüstringer und Wilhelmshavener im KZ* (Wilhelmshaven, 1987); Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 115.

The basic source for the history of the subcamp is the extensive investigation and trial files in the postwar British military trial against the guards and work personnel at the subcamp and the naval shipyard. A few statements of former prisoners are held in AG-NG. As cited in Büsing and Zegenhagen, the relevant files are held in PRO, WO 235/296 and 297. The proceedings are recorded as JAG 222. It took place between February 4 to March 6, 1946, in the Hamburg Curio Haus. Present research indicates that Gottfried and Drossen were the only employers convicted in one of the British Neuengamme trials.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L (formerly ZdL), IV 404 AR-Z 159/73.
2. Statement by Henry le Druillenec in AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
3. BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73.
4. Cited in Hartmut Büsing and Klaus Zegenhagen, "Einmal werden froh wir sagen: Heimat, Du bist wieder mein!" in *KZ in Wilhelmshaven—Rüstringer und Wilhelmshavener im KZ* (Wilhelmshaven, 1987)," p. 92.
5. AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
6. Büsing and Zegenhagen, "Einmal werden froh wir sagen," p. 64; and the statement of a French prisoner in AG-NG, 2.8/222.
7. AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
8. Cited by Büsing and Zegenhagen, "Einmal werden froh wir sagen," p. 63.
9. Cited in ibid., p. 64.
10. Ibid., p. 117.
11. See the statement by the French prisoner le Pajolec, in ibid., pp. 106–109.
12. As listed in ibid. p. 93.

WITTENBERGE

The Wittenberge subcamp was formed in August 1942 and lasted until February 1945. It was the first Neuengamme subcamp established within an industrial facility.

The Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (KZZW) in Wittenberge an der Elbe—one of five firms in the Phrix Group—was established between 1938 and 1940 with significant state support. The company was to produce a synthetic celluloid wool to replace foreign textile imports. The product was produced in Wittenberge from straw from which cellulose was extracted as a by-product. As early as 1940, foreign civilian laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were working in the KZZW. By the end of 1944, they comprised more than 60 percent of the labor force. Starting in February 1942, Polish Jews worked at the factory for a few months. From August 1942 on, concentration camp prisoners from Neuengamme were also working at the factory, building a new facility from which yeast could be derived as a by-product, yeast being an intermediate product from which cellulose could be extracted.

The Polish Jews were given food in such insufficient quantities that they soon lost their strength. By August 20, 1942, the factory had sent 160 of the 300 Jewish laborers to Poland because of their complete physical exhaustion—they were sent to a certain death. The first 150 concentration camp prisoners that arrived on August 28 from Neuengamme were quartered in a temporary camp and put to work the very next day. They were exclusively Soviet prisoners. On January 6, there arrived an additional 15 prisoners from Mauthausen and 150 from Neuengamme; 4 were already dead by the time they arrived. The remainder were so weak that they died in the following weeks.[1] When SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) chief Oswald Pohl inspected the factory on March 4, 1942, in the company of Ernährungsinspekteur der Waffen-SS Ernst Günther Schenck, he promised to send more prisoners. From then on, weak prisoners who could no longer work were replaced by new laborers. In July 1943 the subcamp held about 420 prisoners. At the end of August 1944, another 150 new prisoners arrived from Neuengamme. From that time the number of prisoners stayed constant at around 500.

There are scarcely any memoirs or other sources about the first few months of the camp. It would seem that the prisoners were mostly used to construct the new yeast factory. The poor food, clothing, and accommodation meant that the prisoners gradually lost their strength and that their output declined. The camp commandant Dreimann was infamous for his brutal mistreatment and sadistic torture. According to witnesses in the British Neuengamme Trial in 1946, he was dismissed because of his brutality in 1943; his mistreatment of the prisoners was such that they could no longer work. By the end of the year, 10 of the 150 prisoners were dead.

The health of the 165 concentration camp prisoners who arrived at the beginning of January 1943 in Wittenberge from the Neuengamme and Mauthausen concentration camps also suffered terribly. Of the 300 prisoners, 26 died in January, 16 in February, and 16 again in March. The cause of death is mostly described as "debilitation" (*Entkräftung*). Nevertheless, the death rate remained below the overall death rate for the Neuengamme concentration camp, where in January it was more than 10 percent and in February and March just under 10 percent. Sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned from Wittenberge to the main camp. However, those who remained were so weak that the con-

struction company Grün & Bilfinger was constantly complaining about prisoners incapable of working.

The conditions improved a little from the spring of 1943. There was less violence and mistreatment once Dreimann had been dismissed. It is true that the camp commandant Kierstein beat the prisoners, but in comparison to other concentration camps, Wittenberge remains in the memory of the prisoners as relatively bearable. The camp commandant, Major, who was in charge in the last few months, gave the camp elder Gräfe a free hand. His fellow prisoners have judged him positively.[2] By maintaining order and effective organization, he successfully kept the KZZW's management happy and was able to achieve bearable treatment for his fellow prisoners and sometimes even favors. The civilian foremen in Phrix mostly behaved correctly. Only a few Kapos have been characterized as "rather brutal and dumb."

From 1943 on, food was more or less adequate. Because of the heavy labor, the prisoners were allowed to have packages sent from relatives. In the canteen the prisoners could buy with bonus chits (company money) cigarettes and occasionally some pickled vegetables, fruit, broth, fish, or caramel beer.[3]

The accommodation was the usual, poorly heated wooden barracks. Important tradesmen were given better quarters in special rooms. The Neuengamme commandant Pauly recommended to the company representatives when he visited Wittenberge in July 1, 1944, that they only invest the bare minimum in the accommodation, as "today material should not be wasted." Each prisoner had a bed with a straw sack and a blanket. It was only in the last weeks of the winter of 1944–1945 that there were insufficient blankets for all, with the result that some prisoners had to sleep two to a bed. In 1943, the KZZW built additional barracks, a kitchen, a wash barracks with a water connection, and other facilities. However, things were very primitive. Often no water came from the taps, and underwear was only rarely changed; vermin were everywhere. Diarrhea was widespread. However, there were no epidemics, and scarcely anyone was seriously ill. Work accidents seem to have declined from 1943.

Initially there were no trained medical personnel in the infirmary. It would seem that from the middle of 1943 an imprisoned doctor, the Pole Jan Gruchalski, took over medical care in the camp. His only bandages were made of crepe paper, and he had scarcely any medicines. There was little he could do to help.

The Wittenberge prisoners were mostly used on construction sites. Later they were used to assemble machines and other production facilities. When working on the construction sites, they were under the supervision of the construction companies including Grün & Bilfinger and Philipp Holzmann. Particularly difficult was the Strohkommando, where the prisoners had to unload, stack, and transport bales of straw. Often the prisoners were used for other transport and auxiliary work. After the bombing raids in 1944, they were used to clean up the rubble and to detonate unexploded bombs. In the winter of 1944–1945, they were used for the first time on the production lines. From January 1945 on, 50 concentration camp prisoners worked on the production of yeast and related departments. The work shifts were established according to guidelines of the WVHA. In effect there were no limits, and the prisoners worked according to the demands of the business. Officially Sundays were a rest day; however, during Sunday mornings the prisoners had to clean up the camp. In the last months of 1944–1945, the detachment was increasingly used for cleanup and transport work.

From 1943 on, a few prisoners received supplementary food bonuses (camp money) between 50 Reichspfennig (RPF) and 4 Reichsmark (RM) and later up to 8 RM per week. Hygiene improved, as did the food, with the result that the number of dead in Wittenberge declined in 1943, but this was not necessarily the case in the last years.

The Soviet prisoners formed a large group until the very end. Others included Poles, Dutch, Belgians, and Danes. The confined size of the detachment made communication and solidarity easier than in the large camps such as Neuengamme, regardless of the language barriers. It was possible for groups to help each other. Despite bans, it was not too difficult to make contact with civilian, POW, and other foreign workers in the factory. While they were working, the prisoners were almost exclusively under the control of the civilian foremen. It was forbidden to speak "more than the absolute minimum." Nevertheless, some prisoners used such contacts to get civilian clothes and to escape. Most seem to have been recaptured.

Beginning in 1944, the factory was hit several times during air raids. The concentration camp prisoners were used to fight the fires, rescue the wounded, and clean up.

In February 1945, it became obvious that the Allies would soon reach Wittenberge. The Neuengamme main camp telephoned the factory and informed it that since the firm no longer needed the prisoners, it should send them back. Neuengamme was not prepared to accept the 500 prisoners, however, because the camp was already overfilled. In the end, the WVHA ordered Neuengamme to take the prisoners.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the Erinnerungsberichte von J. Budkiewicz, February 26, 1964, K. Gräfe, n.d., J. Jaroch, August 30, 1966, W. Lenz, December 10, 1961, K. Pippel, June 17, 1966, and A.J.Woitenko, n.d., which are found in FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, Bestand Aussenlager Wittenberge. The Betriebsarchiv of KZZW is available at BLHA-(P). Some hearsay testimony by witnesses A. Lüdke, H. Schemmel, and E. Saalwächter is available in PRO, WO 235.

Hermann Kaienburg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. PRO, WO 235, JAG 145, A. Lüdke Statement (vol. 1, Part 1, p. 29,), H. Schemmel (Part 5, p. 26), and E. Saalwächter (Part 5, p. 61).

2. See Jerzy Budkiewicz, Bericht, February 26, 1964, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, AL Wittenberge.

3. Betriebsarchiv der KZZW, BLHA-(P), 62:122.

WÖBBELIN

A satellite camp of Neuengamme was established in Wöbbelin on February 12, 1945. Unlike other subcamps in the Neuengamme system, it was not intended to house prisoners to be used as laborers. As the front neared in early 1945, several outlying satellite camps, including Wöbbelin, absorbed many prisoners from the overflowing Neuengamme camp. Wöbbelin was a receiving camp (*Auffanglager*) for inmates who had been evacuated from camps across the northwestern Reich in the last weeks of the war.

The first transport to the Wöbbelin area was sent to the "Reiherhorst" camp on February 12, 1945. Some 700 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme to this small temporary camp (most likely established in late 1944), where they were housed in unheated wooden barracks. Supervised by SS men and German civilian foremen, the prisoners were marched daily some 500 meters (547 yards) to the construction site of the larger Wöbbelin camp. In a short time, the prisoners built shells for five prisoner barracks, a kitchen, and another barracks intended for a washroom and latrine. The prisoners suffered from terrible conditions, and at least 53 died during the building phase.[1] At the beginning of April, the remaining 648 prisoners were moved from "Reiherhorst" to the incomplete Wöbbelin camp, as more inmates were expected to be evacuated there.

From April 1945, additional transports were directed toward the Wöbbelin camp from the Neuengamme main camp, from its satellite camps, and from other camps, such as Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück. No register of the exact dates of the transports survives; however, between April 8 and 12, 1945, prisoners from the subcamp Porta Westfalica were sent to Wöbbelin after a brief stay in the Fallersleben camp. The satellite commando at Schandelah was also evacuated, as well as Lerbeck (April 16, 1945), Kreis Segeberg (April 17, 1945), Beendorf bei Helmstedt (April 20, 1945), Fallersleben, and women inmates from Ravensbrück (April 23, 1945) and Sachsenhausen (early May 1945), to Wöbbelin.



The main gate of the Wöbbelin subcamp of Neuengamme, May 4, 1945.
USHMM WS #80050, COURTESY OF NARA

The inmates transported to Wöbbelin represented prisoners of every category, including "asocials," political prisoners, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, and so on. However, most witness reports emphasize the predominance of green (professional criminals) and red (political) triangles on prisoner clothing. The prisoners were mostly men and represented 16 different nations. A hierarchy developed among the prisoners, and the few German inmates were generally given privileged positions, such as Kapo or Blockältester. A Danish and a French prisoner were appointed inmate doctors, and without medication or supplies, they tried to ameliorate conditions as best they could in the infirmary. Many inmates suffered from dysentery or typhus.

Living conditions in the camp were dreadful. Barbed wire and watchtowers surrounded the camp, and a sign posted on the gates warned passersby to remain clear of the camp on threat of being shot. The stone buildings in which the prisoners lived were rudimentary and did not have heat, floors, glass windows, or doors.[2] The barracks thus provided no shelter from the cold. Because there were no beds or bunks in the barracks, the prisoners slept on the insect-infested floor. The inmates arrived in Wöbbelin with only the clothing they were wearing, which had generally been worn thin by years of incarceration, labor, and forced marches. The sanitary conditions were catastrophic. There was only one water hand pump for the entire camp, and the water, contaminated by the nearby mass graves and "latrine," was undrinkable. A former Hungarian inmate noted that "drinking from [the hand pump] meant death."[3] The "latrine" was a deep pit filled with dirty water and waste. The barracks originally intended for the washroom was used instead to accumulate bodies of inmates.

Initially, the prisoners received food daily. A typical ration included 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread for 10 prisoners and a half liter (2 cups) of soup (made from contaminated water) each. The more prisoners transferred to the camp, the less food became available, and soon a daily ration was nonexistent. Because of the desperate situation, several witnesses reported that many prisoners resorted to cannibalism.[4]

Besides the initial group of prisoners brought in to construct the Wöbbelin camp, there were few organized labor groups, and no large outside armaments firms employed the inmates. As former inmate George Lucius Salton has recalled: "Life in this camp had no order or purpose. No prisoners worked, no one gave commands, and no one cared about the ill and dying. Skeletal prisoners . . . stood idly near the unfinished barracks. Others sat or lay on the muddy ground or wandered around aimlessly."[5] A few prisoners were recruited for various jobs, including gathering wood, clearing trees, kitchen duty, or other work. Some prisoners were employed individually by small external businesses, which sometimes resulted in considerable aid to the prisoner. One group employed consistently in the camp was the "corpse commando," which included about 50 or 60 men. The commando had to bring bodies from the storage barracks to be buried in mass

graves. Many prisoners volunteered for this work because the commando received extra food rations; however, in the final days of the camp, burial was discontinued.[6]

During the 10 weeks of the Wöbbelin camp's existence, more than 1,000 inmates died from the conditions and maltreatment by the guards. However, not every transport was registered, making it difficult to ascertain exact numbers. From April 1945, about 40 prisoners died daily, and in the final days of the camp's existence, about 100 prisoners died daily. Although there were a few unsuccessful individual attempts to escape Wöbbelin, there was generally little opportunity for prisoners to do so. Those caught attempting to escape were executed.

Like the prisoners of Wöbbelin, much of the guard staff was transferred from other evacuated camps. The commandant was 35-year-old SS-Obersturmbannführer Paul Werner Hoppe who, prior to his service in Wöbbelin, was the commandant of the concentration camp Stutthof (from 1942 until its evacuation in January 1945). There is little information about his service in Wöbbelin because Hoppe rarely appeared in the camp. His assistant, most likely the Lagerführer, was SS-Hauptsturmführer Meyer. The Verwaltungsführer was SS-Obersturmführer von Bonin. The SS guards that patrolled the camp were transferred from Stutthof to Wöbbelin, as well as from other evacuated camps. After the war, Hoppe was interned briefly in a British prison camp, from where he fled to Sweden. After he returned to Germany in 1952, Hoppe was arrested and, after a lengthy trial, was sentenced to a nine-year prison term in 1957 for crimes he committed in Stutthof. He was released in 1960 and died in 1974.[7]

There were two attempts to dissolve the Wöbbelin subcamp. On the morning of March 1, 1945, the prisoners were gathered in a roll call and divided between those who were well enough to be transported and those who were not. The transportable inmates were marched out of the camp in columns to a waiting freight train and loaded into an open car. However, by the next morning, the train had not moved. The prisoners, who had been crammed into the car, were removed and driven back into the camp, during which several were shot or beaten by the guards and Kapos.[8] They did not wait long for a second evacuation. The guards gathered German inmates and anyone else willing and able to march (some several hundred prisoners) and set out in the direction of Schwerin. More than 3,500 ill and weak prisoners remained behind. Divisions of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, under the command of General James Gavin, encountered the horrific conditions and surviving inmates at Wöbbelin on the afternoon of May 2, 1945. After forcing the residents of Wöbbelin to view the interior of the camp, the U.S. troops buried nearly 200 bodies in Ludwigslust, Hagenow, and Schwerin on May 8 and 9, 1945.[9]

SOURCES Numerous primary and secondary sources provide information about the Neuengamme subcamp Wöbbelin. The principal secondary source of information, and an essential resource for this entry, is Carina Baganz, *Zehn Wochen KZ Wöbbelin: Ein Konzentrationslager in Mecklenburg 1945* (Wöbbelin, 2000). Baganz's study provides a detailed analysis of various aspects of the Wöbbelin camp, including the history of its construction, prisoner daily life, SS personnel and commanders, relationship of the camp to Wöbbelin civilians, the memorial erected on the site, and so on. Another useful secondary source is Hermann Kaienburg's *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which provides a detailed description of the liberation of Wöbbelin, as well as a reproduction of an important quarterly report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski detailing the number of prisoners originally in Wöbbelin. For information on commandant Paul Werner Hoppe, see Karin Orth, "Die Kommandanten der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*; ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998). See also Brigitte Hoppe, *Konzentrationslager Neuengamme: Aussenlager Wöbbelin* (Rostock, 1994); and the memoir of former inmate George Lucius Salton, *The 23rd Psalm: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison, 2002). In his memoir *On to Berlin: Battles of an Airborne Commander, 1943–1946* (New York, 1976), James M. Gavin has described the liberation of the Wöbbelin camp. The film *Die Gräber von Ludwigslust* (Wöbbelin: Volker Osterlin and the Förderverein Mahn- und Gedenkstätte, 2002) documents the history of the Ludwigslust cemetery, where inmates from Wöbbelin are buried and which was rededicated in October 2000.

Extensive primary sources, including several witness testimonies and other materials, are located at the AG-W and the Theodor Körner Museum in Wöbbelin. (For a complete list of sources available at the AG-W, see the extensive footnotes in Baganz's study.) For witness reports, see the ZdL-L, file grouping IV 404 AR-Z 21/76. Trial proceedings against Paul Werner Hoppe by the AStaLG-B can be found in the NWStA-M, 8856-9239. For Hoppe's Personalakte, see the BA-B, SSO series. The testimony of former inmate George Salton can be found at USHMMA, RG-50.030*200 and RG-50.470*0018. The testimony of Leonard Linton, one of the liberators of the Wöbbelin camp, is also located at USHMMA, RG 50.002*0040. See also files RG 04.044, Acc. 1997 A 0215, RG-09.005*37, and RG-04.002*01, USHMMA, for materials on the liberation of the camp. A collection of 38 black-and-white original photographs of Wöbbelin can be found in the Louis Drucker file, Acc. 1997 A 0293. The USHMMPA also has an extensive collection of photographs of Wöbbelin at the time of liberation; see designations 53.3359; 53.3352; 535.458; and 53.337. Finally, the MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees that were recorded in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in Wöbbelin; see especially protocols 3199, 3378, 3338, and 3291.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinksi, March 29, 1945, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, FZH, 13-6-11. Reproduced in full in Herman Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126. See

also Carina Baganz, *Zehn Wochen KZ Wöbbelin: Ein Konzentrationslager in Mecklenburg 1945* (Wöbbelin, 2000), p. 17.

2. Protocol 3378 (J.E.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols. All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by historian Gábor Kádár.

3. Protocol 3291 (L.W.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols.

4. See George Lucius Salton, *The 23rd Psalm: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison, 2002), p. 211.

5. Ibid., p. 209.

6. Interview with George Salton, USHMMA, RG-50.030*200, transcript, p. 45.

7. See ZdL (now BA-L) file grouping IV 404 AR-Z 21/76; and Hoppe trial proceedings, NWStA-M, SL Bochum, 8856-9239. See also Karin Orth, "Die Kommandanten der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 763–775.

8. Protocol 3378 (J.E.) and protocol 3291 (L.S.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols.

9. United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 1981 International Liberators Conference Collection, Wöbbelin 1981 (copy of speech delivered by Henry Cain, U.S. Army Directory of Military Government in Hagenow), USHMMA, RG-09.005*37. See also Meyer Gilden file, USHMMA, RG 04.044, for other materials on the 82nd Airborne Division.

RAVENSBRÜCK



Panoramic view of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for an SS presentation album, 1940–1941.

USHMM WS #15010, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

RAVENSBRÜCK MAIN CAMP

During its almost six years of existence, from May 1939 until late in April 1945, approximately 123,000 women of over 40 nationalities were prisoners at Ravensbrück, "the women's hell." Next to the women's section at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Ravensbrück was the largest women's camp, and between 25,000 and 26,000 female prisoners died there.[1] Over the course of its existence the camp became a complex of facilities that included a small men's camp, nearby industrial facilities (some with their own separate barracks), part of a nearby "youth protection camp," and more than 30 subcamps.

Ravensbrück's first commandant was SS-Standartenführer Günther Tamaschke, who was in charge until August 31, 1939. He had held a similar position in the women's Lichtenburg early camp, which had been in operation since December 1937 and from which Ravensbrück received its initial group of prisoners. His second in command, SS-Hauptsturmführer Max Koegel, officially replaced him on January 1, 1940, having been unofficially in charge for some time. After he was transferred to the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp on August 20, 1942, the former "protective custody" camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer) at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Suhren, was appointed commandant and remained in that position until operations ceased.[2]

The guards in the women's camp were exclusively women. While these women guards were not members of the SS but members of the female SS retinue (weibliches SS-Gefolge), they were, like the SS men, subject to SS jurisdiction. After early 1942, the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp served as the central training camp for female SS guards for other camps, such as Auschwitz, Majdanek, and numerous subcamps. Suhren later testified that while he was commandant, approximately 3,500 women SS guards and 950 members of the Waffen-SS served for shorter or longer periods in Ravensbrück and in its subcamps.[3]

Ravensbrück opened on May 15, 1939, with the arrival of almost 1,000 female prisoners from the women's early camp at Lichtenburg. The fragmentary lists of arrivals still available indicate the number of women prisoners sent annually to Ravensbrück:[4]

1939	somewhat over 1,000
1940	over 2,700
1941	approximately 3,600
1942	approximately 7,000
1943	approximately 10,000
1944	over 70,000
1945	approximately 35,000

The steady increase is mainly attributable to an ever-increasing number of foreign workers who arrived from the middle of 1942 on. These were generally Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and French women who either had gone to Germany "voluntarily" or were taken there by force to work and were subsequently arrested for various breaches of discipline. From 1943 on, moreover, the SS deported to Germany ever more women prisoners from jails and concentration camps in the occupied countries of Europe.

The number of new arrivals in Ravensbrück increased drastically in 1944, to over 70,000, due mainly to the deportation of approximately 12,000 women from Warsaw after the failed uprising there and the arrival of transports of Jewish women from Hungary, Slovakia, and other concentration camps, above all from Auschwitz.

The prisoner population varied by both category and nationality. Jehovah's Witnesses represented the great majority to the end of 1939. Subsequently, the fastest-growing group of prisoners was the "asocials." It was only from the late summer of 1941 that "political" prisoners outnumbered the asocials, as increasing numbers of women arrived from occupied countries. Since foreign prisoners were generally labeled "political," the prisoner community began to differ less by category than by nationality. A preliminary evaluation of most of the available lists of arrivals (listing 55,549 individuals) offers an approximate breakdown by nationality over the six years the camp existed:[5] 36 percent from Poland; 21 percent from the Soviet Union; 18 percent from Germany and Austria; 8 percent from Hungary; 6 percent from France; 3 percent from the former Czechoslovakia; and 2 percent each from the Benelux countries and Yugoslavia.

The proportional share of "racially" categorized female prisoners was recorded according to their country of origin. The actual numbers and percentages fluctuated widely, but the figures available—13 percent Jewish, 3 percent Sinti and Roma—are certainly too low. The number of Jewish prisoners shrank considerably due to the murder of 800 inmates during the 14f13 killing project in the spring of 1942 and also because 522 Jewish women were deported to Auschwitz on October 6, 1942.[6] Only in the second half of 1944 did large numbers of Jewish women again arrive in Ravensbrück.

In addition to adults, 881 children aged 2 to 16, from 18 countries, show up on the women's camp's arrival lists. The existing birth register (for the period September 19, 1944, to April 22, 1945) shows another 522 births. In 48 cases, women had miscarriages or stillbirths, and half the newborns (260) died within days or weeks of birth. Eighty-four mothers and their babies were transferred to Bergen-Belsen during March 1945; many of these babies died in transit. In general, very few of the children in Ravensbrück lived to be liberated.

In 1940, the construction of the so-called Industrial Park began; the constantly growing compound housed the SS-owned Gesellschaft für Textil & Lederverwertung mbH (Texled), a textile company. By September 1942, about 60 percent of all the female prisoners—between 4,000 and

5,000—were working for Texled.[7] Female prisoners also worked in an SS agricultural enterprise called the Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions Ltd., DVA). They were also "hired out" to private agricultural enterprises nearby.

From the middle of 1942 on, the prisoners also had to work in the armaments industry. From August 1942, female prisoners worked in the production plants of the electronics company Siemens & Halske (S&H), which was located nearby. In December 1944, when about 2,200 prisoners were already working in its 20 workshops, additional barracks were built next to the workshops; this was the so-called Siemens camp.

Starting in 1943, a significant change took place with the establishment of subcamps near armament factories; this made Ravensbrück into a main camp and transit station. Originally almost all the women's subcamps in Germany proper were under the supervision of Ravensbrück. This changed with the restructuring of the subcamp system in the fall of 1944, when 50 percent of the subcamps for female prisoners were assigned to the main camps nearest to them, mainly Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, and Sachsenhausen, but Ravensbrück retained some nearby camps.

With the increasing numbers of prisoners after 1943, the conditions in the women's camp deteriorated. From 1944, the number of prisoners in many of the barracks was triple and sometimes even quadruple the number originally intended. After that number finally exceeded the barracks' capacity, a tent was erected to accommodate the many new arrivals of the late summer and fall of 1944. There were no blankets for the 3,000 women who occupied the tent, and only a thin layer of straw covered the floor, so the death rate was higher than average. Meanwhile, both the quantity and quality of the food fell steadily, adding to the death toll.

The infirmary buildings at Ravensbrück increasingly developed into "dying zones" since many of the women, who suffered from typhus, diphtheria, and other diseases, died there without receiving even minimal medical treatment.

Apart from this, the infirmary became a center for pseudomedical experiments between August 1, 1942, and August 16, 1943. SS physicians, under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Karl Gebhardt, carried out experiments on 74 Polish prisoners and 12 prisoners of other nationalities. These included the removal of bones, muscles, and nerves as well as operations that were intended to cause infections (gangrene) in order to disprove the possible effectiveness of sulfomanide treatment. In the camp vernacular, the women who had been subjected to these operations were called "guinea pigs"; 5 of the Polish prisoners and all 12 of the others died immediately following the operations, while 6 more were shot dead a short time later, with their surgical wounds not yet healed. Additionally, in early 1945, 120 to 140 Sinti and Roma women and girls—the youngest age eight—were subjected to sterilization experiments, as a result of which many died. At the same time, a number of Sinti and Roma were sterilized in the men's camp, the youngest also being mere children.



Clandestine photograph of Polish political prisoners detained at Ravensbrück following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, October 1944.
USHMM WS #69338, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA

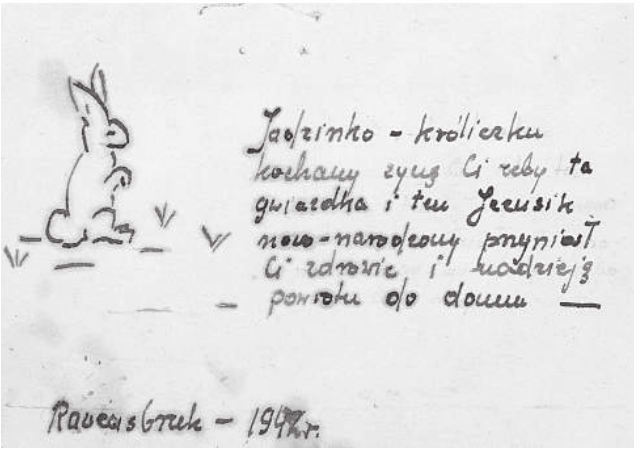
From the middle of 1941, the SS began establishing brothels in several of the men's camps. The women prisoners who had to work there came mostly from Ravensbrück; they were either forced to work there or persuaded to "volunteer" by false promises of subsequent release.

Between May 6, 1944, and March 11, 1945, 65 Russian women were executed in Ravensbrück on suspicion of sabotage. In addition, more than 160 Polish women and several British and French female parachutists, as well as several women of other nationalities, were shot. They had been actively involved in the fight against the German occupiers and had been sent to Ravensbrück after having been sentenced to death by special courts (Sondergerichte).

The men's camp, which existed since April 1941, remained under the authority of the women's camp commandant. It



Clandestine photograph of the disfigured leg of Maria Kusmierczuk, a Polish political prisoner and victim of medical experimentation, October 1944.
USHMM WS #69339, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA



A Christmas card presented to Jadwiga Dzido Hassa by a fellow prisoner at Ravensbrück concentration camp, December 25, 1942. The rabbit is a reference to the women's use in medical experimentation. In English, the greeting reads: "Jadzinka, dear bunny I wish [for you] that this Christmas and the new-born baby Jesus will bring you health and that you will get back home."
USHMM WS #63555, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA

served mainly to supply craftsmen and helpers to work on the constantly expanding camp complex. Up to the end of 1944, the men's camp did not accept new prisoners but, with a few exceptions, only those who were transferred from other camps to replace the sick and dead. The number of prisoners remained relatively constant until the end of 1944, between 1,500 and 2,000.[8] The sick were sent to Dachau at first, then after 1944 to Bergen-Belsen; the majority died within days or weeks of arrival or, in the case of Dachau, were selected for extermination.

Until the end of 1942, the men's camp could be characterized as a penal camp. All work there had to be performed on the double, and many prisoners were worked to death. Beginning in the spring of 1943, the men's camp gradually became the headquarters for the subcamps in the northeastern part of Germany, which primarily served the aircraft industry. Most prisoners of these camps were taken directly there, where they received their Ravensbrück prisoner number.

The registers of the men's camp, which survived intact, indicate that of the slightly more than 20,000 registered prisoners, 30 percent were Poles, 20 percent came from the Soviet Union (including some prisoners of war [POWs]), 19 percent were Germans or Austrians, 12 percent were French, 4 percent were Czechs and Slovaks, somewhat over 2 percent were Hungarians, and 1.5 percent each were Italians, Belgians, and Dutch. Independent of these numbers, there were about 8 percent labeled Jews and 1.5 percent Gypsies. About 86 percent of the prisoners wore the red triangle of the political prisoner, even if not all of them were "politicals" in the strictest sense of the word. An additional 7 percent were marked as "criminals," 4 percent as "asocials," and 1 percent each as Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals. In addition, 136 POWs, mainly Russians, and 35 imprisoned members of the Wehrmacht passed through the men's camp. A total of 1,742 deaths are recorded. To this number must be added the 300 victims of 14f13 in the spring of 1942 and at least 104 male prisoners who were killed in Ravensbrück's gas chamber at the end of March and in early April 1945.[9]

There were some targeted extermination programs, the first of which was 14f13, under which the Germans extended their "euthanasia" program to the concentration camps. Under this program, 1,600 female prisoners and 300 male prisoners of Ravensbrück—half of them Jewish—were killed in the spring of 1942, most probably in the gas chambers of the Sanitarium (Heil-und Pflegeanstalt) Bernburg. After the completion of these killings, "undesirable" female prisoners were killed with injections of phenol and morphine, murdered in the gas chambers of the distant sanatorium at Hartheim/Linz, or transported to Auschwitz or Majdanek. Between 1942 and the end of 1944, approximately 60 of these "black transports" left Ravensbrück with between 60 and 1,000 prisoners each.[10]

In January 1945, the camp administration began to make preparations for on-site mass killings. For this purpose, it partially cleared out the so-called youth protection camp (*Jugendschutzlager*) in Uckermark, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from Ravensbrück. This site, where in January 1945 the older, weaker, and sick prisoners were taken from the main camp, quickly developed into a "death zone" because conditions there were even worse than in the main camp. The women were insufficiently clothed, got only half their previous rations, and received neither blankets nor medical attention. During the roll calls alone, which lasted five to six hours, 50 prisoners died daily during the cold winter months, of hunger, exposure, exhaustion, and the prevailing epidemics. A greater number were killed by Luminal—a barbiturate, called "white powder" by the prisoners—or by being given poisonous injections, or by being selected for mass shootings or death in the gas chambers. Up to mid-April 1945, over 8,000 women had been transferred to the Uckermark camp, of whom only between 1,300 and 1,500 returned to the main camp.[11]

At the various Ravensbrück trials none of the accused SS members denied the existence of a gas chamber, which had been installed in early 1945. This was a wooden structure, in the immediate vicinity of the crematorium, which had served as a storage facility before it was transformed into a temporary gas chamber. Between 150 and 180 people could be killed there at once. The gassing, which began in late January or early February, was most probably stopped only one week before liberation. Altogether 5,000 to 6,000 prisoners died there.[12] A second, more advanced dual gas chamber is supposed to have been built at the end of March 1945 on the other side of the camp fence and behind the infirmary, but, in any case, it was never used. Also, in a number of reports by ex-prisoners there is mention of mobile gas chambers, but their use cannot be proven.

In early 1945, Ravensbrück held the greatest number of prisoners in its history. A letter to the SS-Business Administration

Main Office (WVHA) of January 15, 1945, reported the presence of 46,070 female prisoners and 7,848 male prisoners in Ravensbrück and its subcamps.[13] The utterly unbearable overcrowding in the barracks as well as the increasingly catastrophic hygienic conditions led to an outbreak of a typhus epidemic in the women's camp. The greatest threats that the female prisoners faced, however, were the constant selections of the older, weaker, and sick prisoners for death at Uckermark or in the gas chamber. In addition, the camp administration relieved itself of a greater number of female prisoners (totaling about 5,600) in March 1945 by sending them on transports to Mauthausen and Bergen-Belsen.[14] Meanwhile, in April the Swedish Red Cross evacuated approximately 7,500 female prisoners, most of them from Scandinavia, the Benelux countries, France, and Poland.

Of the male prisoners, 2,100 had been "evacuated" in early March to Sachsenhausen, but in mid-April transports with more than 6,000 male prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp Dora and the Neuengamme subcamp of Watenstedt arrived. These new arrivals were in bad shape to begin with and received no care, so many of them did not survive the short stopover in Ravensbrück. On April 24 and 26, the male prisoners were force-marched in several columns in a northwesterly direction. On April 27 and 28, about 20,000 female prisoners were made to march in the same direction. About 2,000 sick men, women, and children were left behind. On April 29, the last of the SS men left the camp. One day later, the vanguard of the Red Army arrived. On May 1, its regular units appeared and liberated the last of the Ravensbrück prisoners.[15]

SOURCES This essay is based on the author's book *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, introduction by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003). The following research works should be mentioned: the book by Polish historian Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiecy obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961); and the book by French ethnologist Germane Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneburg, 1998). Both authors were prisoners in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Tillion's book includes an essay by Anise Postel-Vinay, "Die Massentötungen durch Gas in Ravensbrück," on pp. 357–395. A comprehensive collection of essays that contains several essays on central aspects of the camp's history is by Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen; Ravensbrück* (Bremen, 1994). Jack G. Morrison's *Ravensbrück: Everyday Life in a Women's Concentration Camp 1939–1945* (Princeton, NJ, 2000) provides a good overview in the English language. These works stand out among the large number of publications in recent years: Christa Schikorra, *Kontinuitäten der Ausgrenzung. "Asoziale" Häftlinge im Frauen-Kozentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 2001); Linde Apel, *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2003); and Simone Erpel, *Zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Das Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück in der letzten Kriegsphase* (Berlin, 2005).

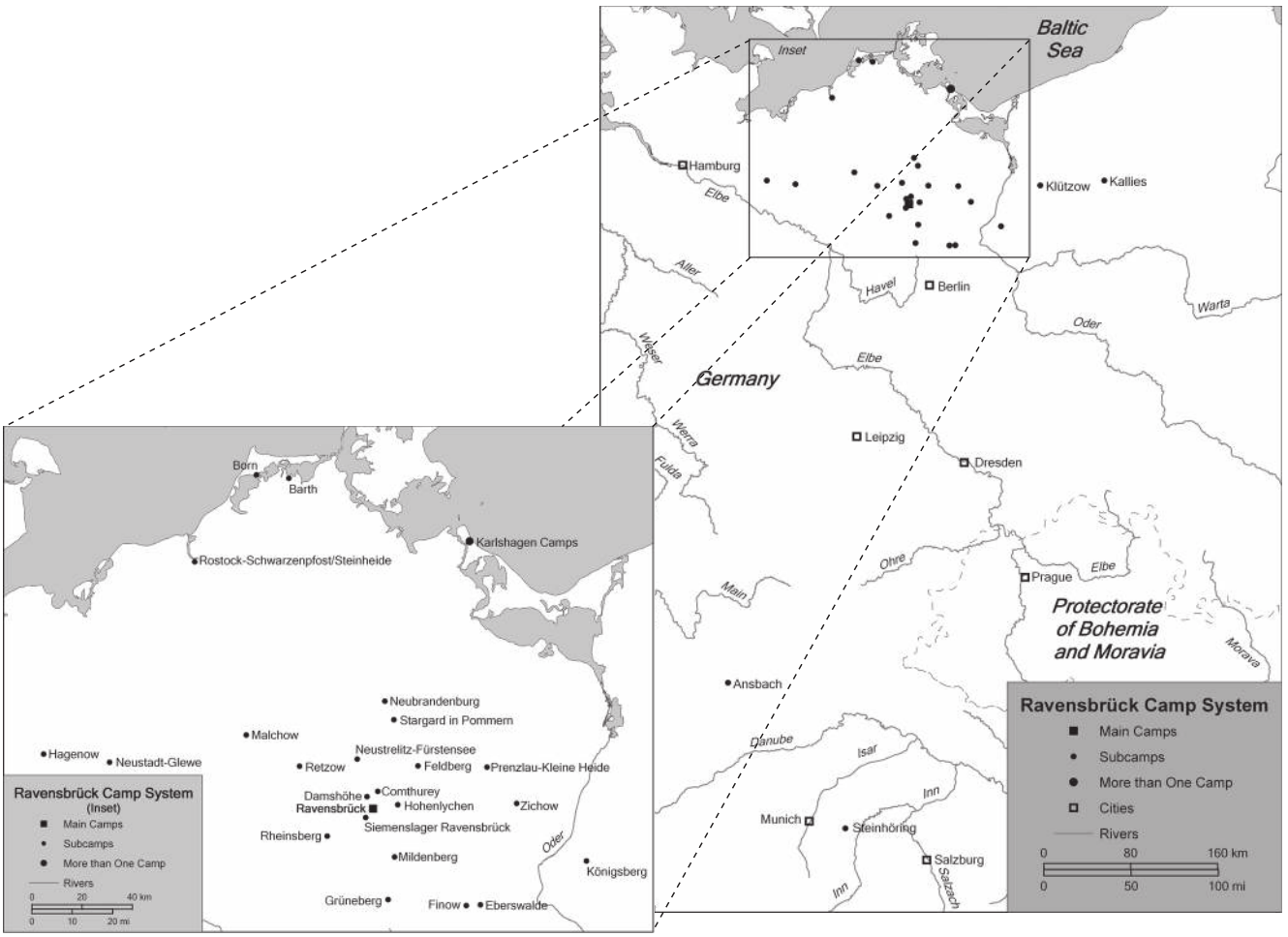
The essential archival sources on the Ravensbrück concentration camp are literally scattered throughout the world. The two most comprehensive collections of documents are located at the AG-R and in the DÖW. The most comprehensive collection of postwar judicial documents is held by ZdL at BA-L. There were seven Ravensbrück trials. The files of these trials, held before a British military court in Hamburg (1946–1948) can be viewed at PRO. The admissions lists for the female camp and the Numbers Books (*Nummernbüchern*) for the male camp are held by the IPN (copies at USHMMA). Other important documents are found in BA-B, BStU, YVA, NARA, SÚA, CChIdK, as well as the archives of other concentration camp memorials. In addition, there is a rich source of material written by former prisoners in just about every European language. The number of works has increased dramatically in recent years.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Alfred Gutmann and Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück*, *Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, introduction by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003), pp. 179, 505–509.
2. SSO Tamaschke, Koegel und Suhren, BA-BL, Bestand ehem. BDC.
3. Aussage Suhren, March 19, 1946, Nuremberg Document D-746b.
4. Information according to received Zugangslisten in IPN, copied in USHMMA.
5. Information according to an evaluation in Kristine Schlaefer and Frank Schröder, "Jüdische Häftlinge im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück (1937/39–1942)" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin, 1987), appendix 3.
6. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 315.
7. Texled, Personalübersichten für das Jahr 1942, BA-B, NS 3/1443.
8. Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück*, p. 293.
9. Ibid., pp. 332, 486.
10. Ibid., pp. 320–339.
11. Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiecy obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 238, 251.
12. Anise Postel-Vinay, "Die Massentötungen durch Gas in Ravensbrück," in *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück*, by Germane Tillion (Lüneburg, 1998), p. 367.
13. "Letzte erhalten Übersicht über die Zahl der Wachmannschaften und der KZ-Häftlinge aus der Amtsgruppe D des WVHA vom 1. und 15.1.1945," BA-B, NS 3/439, p. 1.
14. Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück*, pp. 488–492.
15. Ibid., pp. 501–504.

RAVENSBRÜCK SUBCAMP SYSTEM



There are only a few consolidated studies on the history of the Ravensbrück concentration camp system. As historian Bernhard Strebel shows, there are considerable differences in research, for instance, in the number and extent of the complex of subcamps. This is due largely to the comprehensive reconstruction of the Ravensbrück subcamp system that occurred in the summer of 1944.

The Ravensbrück subcamp system exhibits several peculiarities that distinguish it from the subcamp systems of other Nazi concentration camps. The first is that the Ravensbrück subcamp system, which began with the first subcamp at the end of 1942–beginning of 1943, was not, as was usually the case, restricted to a particular area but encompassed just about all the subcamps with female prisoners—with locations in the Prussian provinces of Brandenburg, Pommern, and Sachsen; in the states of Mecklenburg, Bayern, Thüringen, and Sachsen (that is, within the area of the later German Democratic Republic); and also in the Reichsgau Sudetenland and in all areas of the so-called Ostmark (Austria). It was only with a reorganization in the summer of 1944 that this principle was abandoned in favor of a system based more on location, during which many Ravensbrück subcamps were handed over to main camps that were geographically closer. The result was that the Ravensbrück complex, unlike those associated with other concentration camps, had already reached its maximum extent in the summer of 1944, with approximately 40 subcamps. Of these, one-quarter (about 10) were large subcamps, with more than 1,000 prisoners, and one-half (around 20 camps) were medium-sized, with between 250 and 1,000 prisoners. At the end of 1944, however, when there were around 334 subcamps for women existing within the concentration camp system in total, only 20 were under the control of Ravensbrück—considerably fewer, for example, than the number of women's subcamps under the control of Neuengamme or Gross-Rosen. Despite this, and this is the second peculiarity, Ravensbrück remained administratively responsible for several of these camps not under its jurisdiction, in that it trained and/or paid the camp personnel. Third,

many Ravensbrück subcamps were directly connected with leading personalities, institutions, or interests of the SS, be it that they were established on estates operated by leading SS men or that they supported the operation of SS overflow institutions.

Within the Ravensbrück concentration camp, experience had been gained since August 1942 with the first use of concentration camp prisoners in industry, when the so-called Fertigungsstelle (Production Point) Siemens was erected. At that time, the shortage of labor was becoming more and more serious, and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) therefore had intensified its cooperation with industry, especially with Albert Speer's ministry. The SS insisted, however, that the use of prisoners could only take place inside the concentration camps. The result was that the Siemens & Halske camp, the Fertigungsstelle, was established on the camp's grounds in Ravensbrück. It was only in September 1942, on Speer's insistence, that the use of prisoners outside the concentration camps in industrial subcamps was considered. At this time, the first Ravensbrück subcamps were established. Comthurey and Born were two of these camps, but they were rather small and held only very few inmates. The first noteworthy subcamps were established only at the end of 1942—Grüneberg to the north of Berlin, where the prisoners produced munitions, and Neurohlau in the Sudetenland, where the prisoners manufactured porcelain. While Neurohlau, due to its distance from the main camp, had to be run as a real subcamp, one can only assume that Grüneberg was a true subcamp where the prisoners were kept permanently and not returned to the main camp at day's end.

There were, in essence, three groups of subcamps if one considers who operated and profited from them: in the first group, the prisoners, both male and female, were used from 1942 on by Higher SS leaders and their entourage (Heinrich Himmler, Oswald Pohl, and Felix Kersten, for example), to work mostly in gardens and houses of private estates as well as in construction and repairs. This group of camps also included the deployment of prisoners working in SS institutions such as the Reichsführer-SS Personal Staff, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), WVHA branches or relocated offices, the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (DVA), "Lebensborn" homes, and SS research institutes. A second group of camps was operated by the Wehrmacht, which mostly cooperated with private armaments manufacturers. At least four subcamps—Karlshagen I and II, Retzow, and Königsberg—were directly operated by the Wehrmacht. Finally, there was a third group of subcamps operated by private firms. These included large companies in the armaments industry: the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (LGW), a subsidiary of Siemens, which had assembly plants in Graslitz and Zwoda; the Ernst-Heinkel-AG; and the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG); as well as a number of smaller companies.

As in other subcamp systems, it often happened in Ravensbrück that concentration camp prisoners were substitutes for forced laborers and were accommodated in former forced labor camps. The establishment of subcamps often also arose due to the relocation of institutions and production sites as the result of the intensifying Allied bombing campaign. However, the Ravensbrück prisoners were rarely used in underground facilities (such as in the former Ravensbrück women's subcamp Beendorf, which was taken over by the Neuengamme concentration camp). That so few Ravensbrück prisoners were used underground had more to do with the geographical conditions around the Ravensbrück concentration camp and its subcamps than with any regard for the overwhelming majority of prisoners in its subcamps, women. Although the working and living conditions varied in individual subcamps, it is clear that no consideration was given to the gender of the prisoners when it came to their deployment. Historian Linde Apel shows that Jewish women in the late phase of the subcamps' existence were not necessarily used in the most dangerous and unhealthful deployments but were mostly used in mixed subcamps, which held prisoners of various categories. Surviving women, predominantly from the armaments industry, report that they worked with no protective clothing and were exposed to working with dangerous chemicals. The Malchow subcamp, for instance, where there were repeated accidents due to the handling of explosives, must be regarded as one of the most dangerous camps with regard to work and living conditions. For male prisoners, the Ravensbrück subcamps at Karlshagen I and Barth were the worst—the number of deaths among inmates in these two camps accounted for 60 percent of the deaths among all male Ravensbrück inmates. That other subcamps, especially those with female inmates, had a lower death rate does not prove that the work and living conditions in these camps were less fatal: prisoners who could no longer work were usually selected in these camps and taken back to Ravensbrück or, depending on the circumstances, to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen, where they were killed. Strebel also states that, at least in 69 cases, pregnancy was the reason for the return of prisoners from the subcamps.

From 1944 on, the use of female labor in the Ravensbrück camp complex intensified. At this time, at least every second prisoner who was taken to the Ravensbrück camp was taken to one of its subcamps. Ravensbrück became a gigantic transit point for the deployment of labor in the subcamps. As historians Erika Schwarz and Simone Steppan show, prisoners from Ravensbrück were assigned to more than 200 locations. In the summer of 1944, the prisoners comprised three large groups: female Poles, who were victims of the crushing of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising; women who were being evacuated from Auschwitz; and Hungarian Jewish women who escaped the gas chambers because they were useful for the armaments industry.

One special problem arising from the constantly increasing number of prisoners in the subcamps was the lack of guards. This was initially compensated for by an increased recruitment of ethnic Germans (Volkdeutsche), often as part of the SS, and the deployment of members of the Wehrmacht. From July 1944, female employees of industries that planned

to use the concentration camp prisoners were trained as supervisors. What had happened earlier on an individual basis now had become a systematic policy.

At the same time, in the summer of 1944, the Ravensbrück subcamp system was reorganized. Until this time, all subcamps that held women were the responsibility of Ravensbrück, regardless of their location. The only exceptions were the women's subcamps established in Silesia, which were under the control of Gross-Rosen. With a decree of the WVHA Office Group D, the scattered Ravensbrück subcamps were now reorganized along geographical lines. From the surviving sources, it is known that on September 1, 1944, Buchenwald and Flossenbürg took over Ravensbrück subcamps in their areas and that Mauthausen did the same on September 15. For other camps, the change occurred no later than October 1944. According to Strebel, Ravensbrück surrendered approximately one-half of its women's subcamps and at least a quarter of its female prisoners to other main camps that were geographically closer to those subcamps. The women in the camp brothels in Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Sachsenhausen, previously under the administration of Ravensbrück, now also came under the control of the camps in which the brothels were located. It can be assumed that the reasons for this reorganization were rooted in organizational and administrative purposes: since other concentration camp subcamps increasingly held women, and the strict separation between men's and women's sections in individual subcamps was being relaxed, there was no longer any reason for the main camps' responsibility to be based strictly on the sex of the prisoners. With the redistribution of territorial responsibilities, the extent of Ravensbrück subcamps was mainly limited to the area north of Berlin.

Research does not completely reveal the extent to which Ravensbrück remained connected with guarding the female prisoners. Strebel states that Ravensbrück remained largely responsible for paying the female guards deployed at Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, Auschwitz, Dachau, Stutthof, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück itself. While Ravensbrück remained responsible for training the female guards based in Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Stutthof trained their own female guards. However, male guards in the subcamps were often recruited from the command office personnel and the guards in the respective main camp.

Due to the lack of source material, it is difficult to reconstruct the final phase of the Ravensbrück subcamp system. What is clear is that from the summer of 1944, there were more and more prisoners in the camps. In August and September 1944, there were 27,600 women sent to Ravensbrück from camps located farther to the east that had been dissolved. Historian Simone Erpel estimates that between January and April 1945 there were 38,000 prisoners in the main camp and as many again in the subcamps of Ravensbrück. At the beginning of 1945, with the evacuation of Auschwitz, the number of prisoners would dramatically escalate again. After a short stay in the main camp, the prisoners were often sent on to the subcamps, which also were hopelessly overcrowded. For example, in the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp, established for 900 inmates, there were 4,200 prisoners on April 10, 1945. In Malchow, which held an average of 1,200 prisoners, there were at the beginning of April 1945 more than 4,200 women. The same can also be proven for the Barth men's camp, which in the last months of the war was the destination for evacuations from the Ravensbrück subcamps and other subcamps. The overcrowding not only led to a dramatic decline in living conditions, but the number of deaths increased correspondingly. To deal with this, the SS at the end of the war conducted selections in the subcamps, for example, in Retzow, Malchow, Neustadt-Glewe, and Neubrandenburg. Sick prisoners and those no longer capable of working were returned to Ravensbrück and murdered, mostly in its death zone, the Uckermark. Around 7,500 women, mostly of Scandinavian nationality, were liberated as part of "Operation Bernadotte," just days or weeks before the end of the war.

Countless women from the subcamps died on death marches in the last days of the war. From the end of the war into the 1990s, there were investigations into SS personnel from at least four Ravensbrück subcamps—Barth, Retzow, Malchow, and Neubrandenburg—for the deaths of female prisoners on evacuation marches.

SOURCES The Ravensbrück subcamp system has only been partially analyzed in its complexity. Most articles deal with temporary and contextual aspects of this theme and are therefore not listed here. A comprehensive study of the Ravensbrück subcamp system is by Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), pp. 419–459. Linde Apel, in *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück, 1939–1945* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2003), deals with the specific situation of Jewish women in the subcamps and labor detachments. As part of a larger research project, Erika Schwarz and Simone Steppan investigated the Ravensbrück subcamps in "Die Aussenlager Königsberg/Neumark, Zichow und Mildenberg des Frauenkonzentrationslagers Ravensbrück." Their results were published in *BFW* 20 (2003). The same authors and Angelika Meyer published "Vorstellung des Projektes Aussenlager—eine Bilanz," *Rabl* 109 (2001): 10–13. Details on the numbers and information on the situation inside the subcamps toward the end of the war can be found in the essay by Simone Erpel, "Kriegsende und Befreiung," in *Forschungsschwerpunkt Ravensbrück: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Frauen-Konzentrationslagers*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit and Grit Philipp (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1997), pp. 47–59.

Detailed information, both source material and legal investigations, on individual subcamps is detailed in the individual subcamp essays.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ANSBACH

The International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to a Ravensbrück subcamp in the Bavarian city of Ansbach. According to a prisoner, the camp came into existence no later than December 11, 1944. The prisoners had to work at the SS-Lebensbornheim. The SS-Lebensbornheim was established in 1935 with the racial and population policy goals of reducing the number of abortions and increasing the birthrate in order to strengthen the armed forces. There were only female prisoners at Ansbach. Although the women originated from Dachau, Ansbach was under the control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Just before the end of the war, the Lebensbornheim seemingly required additional labor. On April 4, 1945, a female prisoner was transferred from the Dachau concentration camp to the Ravensbrück Ansbach subcamp. Six days later, on April 10, 1945, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were taken over by the Ravensbrück outside detail at Steinhöring. The employer for this subcamp, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the east of Munich, was also a Lebensbornheim.

SOURCES As the Ansbach subcamp was a small camp, it is only briefly mentioned in secondary sources: Diana Fitz, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), p. 176; and Ino Arndt, "Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 146. The Ansbach camp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 233; and *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 553.

Sources on the Ravensbrück subcamp in the Bavarian city of Ansbach can possibly be found in AG-D and AG-R.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BARTH

Located on the Baltic Sea between Rostock and Stralsund, the Barth subcamp was part of the Ravensbrück concentration camp and consisted of one section for men and one for women. It was a project of Ernst Heinkel AG, Rostock, which transferred a part of its aircraft production from its main Rostock factory to Barth in order to protect it from Allied air raids. At the end of April 1942, Rostock had become the target of massive air raids by the Royal Air Force. A quarter of the air raids had been aimed at the Heinkel factory, located on the edge of the city.[1] In addition, Heinkel was one of the first private companies to enter into arrangements with the SS, and as early as the end of 1941 to relie on male prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in a nearby factory at Oranienburg.

The history of the Barth subcamp begins with the arrival of the first 200 male prisoners from Buchenwald. Their first task was to fence in the camp and to convert the buildings on the Barth air base into factory buildings. About a month later, the first 200 female prisoners arrived from Ravensbrück. In February 1944, there were already 1,721 male and female prisoners in Barth.[2] In the period that followed, the numbers increased to 4,000 prisoners. Altogether 6,000 male and female prisoners were deported to Barth, making it one of the largest Ravensbrück subcamps.

Internal security was provided by a handful of SS men and a number of SS female overseers. External security was provided in large part by SS members of German origin from Croatia, Hungary, and Romania.[3]

A little less than one-half of the female prisoners were Russian and Ukrainian. Approximately one-third were Poles. There were smaller numbers of Yugoslav, French, Hungarian Jews, and a few Germans, as well as a number of very young "Gypsies" (Roma) in Barth. The Roma—some 15 and 16 years old—from the Burgenland, were deported to Ravensbrück in June 1939.

In February 1944, a group of 56 female Russian prisoners, led by 12 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), refused to act as forced laborers for the German war effort. The SS unsuccessfully sought to break the resistance, on the one hand, by brutally mistreating the prisoners, and on the other, by promising additional rations. It was only when a few of them could no longer stand the torture, and the SS threatened to randomly kill selected prisoners, that the female Russian prisoners relented and attempted to continue their resistance by sabotage.

The Russians, followed by the Poles, were the largest group among the 2,900 male prisoners. Italians, Yugoslavs, French, Croats, Germans, and other nationalities were nowhere near as strongly represented. It was common in the male camp for weak and exhausted male prisoners to be placed in the outside detail of the infamous SS-Kommandoführer Zay. Survivors report that this detachment regularly returned to the camp with dead prisoners, who had been mistreated by Zay, beaten to death, or shot. Noteworthy is that the female camp at Barth was also marked by numerous examples of maltreatment of prisoners, resulting, though, in noticeably fewer deaths, which leads to the assumption that a more violent atmosphere prevailed in the male camp than in the female one.

In addition, from the middle of February 1945 on, the male camp at Barth was the goal of evacuation transports from Karlshagen I and the Stutthof subcamp of Pölitz. Many of these prisoners were at the end of their strength, emaciated and ill, further weakened by the privations of the evacuation transports. Many died in Barth just a few weeks and days before liberation. On April 30, 1945, the SS forced those prisoners capable to march in several columns in a westerly direction. There remained behind around 300 seriously ill and completely exhausted male prisoners who were liberated by the Red Army on May 1.

Altogether 438 prisoners died in the male camp at Barth. Thus, the male camp at Barth, together with the Karlshagen I subcamp, counted as one of the worst Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to estimate the number of dead in the women's camp, as sick and exhausted prisoners were returned to the main camp at Ravensbrück. It is certain there were more than the 12 female prisoners known to have been cremated in the Barth crematorium.[4]

SOURCES There are two very different types of documents on Barth: Alfred Weber, *Stärker als der Tod: Die verbrecherische Rolle des Heinkel-Konzerns im KZ Aussenlager Barth* (Rostock, 1970); and the *und der, Widerstand der Häftlinge vieler Nationen* (Rostock: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, n.d.). The latter work adopts a narrow ideological view. The first comprehensive review is by Helga Radau, *Nicht ist vergessen und niemand: Aus der Geschichte des KZ Barth* (Kückenshagen, 1994); but see also Ines Birth, "Das KZ Aussenlager Barth 1943–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Rostock, 1988); Bernhard Strebel, "'Verdammt sind meine Hände': Zwangsarbeit für die deutsche Rüstungsindustrie in den Aussenlagern des KZ Ravensbrück," *ZR-MM-V* 1:4 (2000): 4–8.

The most extensive collection of documents (camp documents and prisoner reports) is located in the ASt-Ba.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Olaf Gröhler, *Bombenkrieg gegen Deutschland* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 48–52.

2. List by the WVHA chief Pohl, February 21, 1944 (Annex to a letter from Himmler to Göring, March 9, 1944), Nuremberg Document PS-1584.

3. Statement by the Company Commander of the Guards, Arnold Zöllner, 1964, cited in Helga Radau, *Nichts ist vergessen und niemand: Aus der Geschichte des KZ Barth* (Kückenshagen, 1994), p. 36.

4. Details from "Aufstellung über Feuerbestattung der Häftlinge vom KZ Aussenstelle Barth," ASt-Ba; "Liste der auf dem Friedhof in Barth beerdigten Häftlinge," ibid.; Włodzimierz Kuliński, comp., "Kalendarium der Todesfälle im Männerlager des KZ Ravensbrück" (unpub. MSS, Warsaw, 1991; expanded by Bernhard Strebel, Hannover, 1997).

BORN

The village of Born, located in the southern part of the Baltic peninsula of Darss (during World War II, part of the province of Pommern, Landkreis Franzburg-Barth), is part of the present-day Federal German State of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In a list of the Ravensbrück concentration camp detailing private companies, the subcamp is listed under the number "14Kl DII-16/14c- SS-Standartenführer Müller, Born b. Wiek auf Darss."[1]

Before the Ravensbrück camps were established, there was a temporary Neuengamme subcamp on Darss. A group of 50 male prisoners (Jehovah's Witnesses) were used to cut reeds in the winter of 1940–1941 and 1941–1942. The reeds were required as raw material for weaving mats in Ravensbrück. The reeds were to be used to produce camouflage mats.[2] The prisoners were held in Wieck and later in Zingst.[3]

Unlike the Neuengamme subcamp, which only existed during the winter months for the purpose of cutting the reeds, an independent subcamp was established in Born, probably in 1943, for male and female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

Reeds were not of much value to the Ravensbrück camp. The attempt to use reeds as an extraordinary material, to cultivate in large quantities and to process the reeds into a fiber, cellulous or starch,[4] failed in 1942 due to Oswald Pohl, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Reeds were to be used in the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women solely for the production of mats.[5] For large-scale production, there was a shortage of civilian labor, with the result that prisoners had to be used. For the industrial processing, there was a lack of specialists, and in any case there were plans to use the prisoners for more important work. It was probably for this reason that the cutting of reeds at Darss was stopped. The weaving mill for the raw material in the main camp at Ravensbrück ceased production at the end of September 1943 due to a lack of raw material. The Ravensbrück prisoners in the Born subcamp were given other tasks.

Four Jehovah's Witnesses were held in the Born Forestry Office between May 1943 and April 1945. They were accommodated in the Master Forester Franz Müller's laundry on the forestry grounds.[6] In this building the women had to produce, among other things, feed for pigs. At night they slept in double bunk beds. The women were rarely given a proper meal. They ate potatoes while preparing the feed for the pigs.[7] The women, dressed in prisoner clothing and wearing wooden clogs, were easily recognized by the villagers in Born. They were mistreated by private individuals while doing farmwork. On the whole, they worked without supervision, as escape from the peninsula was impossible and had no purpose. Shortly before the end of the war, the women were released.

In the summer of 1943, the windows of the Borner Hof, an inn, were equipped with iron bars. In the autumn of 1943, approximately 120 prisoners accompanied by approximately 20 SS guards arrived at the subcamp. This contingent of prisoners would be the first. The guards occupied the first floor of the inn. The office of the detachment leader, Willi P., was located here.[8] The prisoners were held in the large room below. They slept on three-tiered bunk beds. At this time there were also Polish forced laborers in the Born Hof. There was no contact between the prisoner groups.

The prisoners worked at the SS-Meilerei, or charcoal works, about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away from the Borner Hof, to the north of the Postweg. The SS-Meilerei was intended to convert wood to a fuel by coking it. In 1943, the SS bought part of a private farm from the state Forestry Office. Equipment to process hard wood was established in the buildings on the farm. During the winter, reeds were cut on the Saaler Bodden but only for the purpose of renovating Born dwellings. Müller was in charge of all the work.[9]

It is likely that a group of five fleeing prisoners were shot in the Darss Forest and buried on the edge of the cemetery. The Schwerin Criminal Police recorded on October 20, 1944, that during the night of October 12, 1944, three Eastern European men escaped from a labor detachment of the Ravensbrück concentration camp in Born on the Darss. The search

order emphasized that the escapees, once recaptured, were to be transferred back to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[10]

The SS began to dissolve the camp in April 1945. Astonishingly, a group of 35 prisoners were deported to the Barth subcamp, which was located further east. This was unusual, given that the Red Army was advancing. The remaining prisoners were driven in the direction of Ribnitz. They were liberated by the Red Army near Wustrow. Camp commander Wilhelm P. and Master Forester Müller most likely fled in the direction of Hamburg.

There are no known trials against the SS members in the camp.

SOURCES Details on the subcamp are from a research project by the Mahn und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück/ Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, S. Steppan). Some additional material is available in Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme: Die Wirtschaftsbestrebungen der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991); and in Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler, *Baugeschichte Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2001). See also Bernhard Strebel, "Verdammt sind meine Hände," *ZR-MM-V,* 1 (July 2000).

Archival materials are held in both the AG-R and AG-NG, as well as in the BA-B, BA-L, and VLA-G.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 1575 unp. Aufstellung des Häftlingseinsatzes in Privatbetrieben, o.D. See also "Das Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1793. Here the opening date is put as December 1, 1942.
2. BA-L, AR 1476/66, Bl. 53.
3. Schriftwechsel A. Meyer Oktober 2000 mit D. Garbe Gedenkstätte Neuengamme. Vgl. Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme, Ng.2.8./380, Erinnerungsprotokoll Karl H.
4. BA-B, NS 19/ 412, Bl. 3-4. Abhandlung "Schilf als Rohstoff" von Oberführer Ludwig.
5. AG-R, SBG RA Bd. 11, Ber. I. Bl. 3. Rohrmattenweberei für die Gesellschaft für Textil und Lederverwertung GmbH. Ausrüstungs- und Bedarfsgegenstände militärischer und ziviler Art.
6. AG-R, SBG Projekt Aussenlager, Ordner Born. Brief von Gerda L.
7. VLA-G, Rep. V 6/17/24, Bl. 49.
8. The following details are taken from the written record of an interview between A. Meyer and Harald H. in June 2000 (in possession of the author).
9. VLA-G, Rep V 6/17/24, Bl. 49 (Bericht der "Jungen Historiker," Born 1965/66); VLA-G, Rep. 66a Fr-Ba/ 17, Bl.109. Zuständigkeiten des Forstmeiser Mueller über den Jagdbezirk Born, September 22, 1940.
10. AST-RDG n.p.

COMTHUREY [AKA DABELOW]

The Comthurey subcamp was located at the Comthurey Manor in Mecklenburg, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp (on the road from Dabelow to Wokuhl). The manor house was used by SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and his family as a country residence. The manor comprised about 338 hectares (835 acres) and had been bought in December 1940 or January 1941 by the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (DVA) (Amtsgruppe W, Amt W V/1 of the WVHA [Stand 1942]), an SS firm. Farming the manor was organized by the DVA.

The SS-Experimental Farm (Versuchsgut) Comthurey is connected to the first experimental Ravensbrück farm that began operation shortly after the opening of the Ravensbrück main camp in 1939. Female prisoners were to be used for the expansion of the farm for economic reasons. The DVA aimed to make the SS-Versuchsgut Comthurey an "exemplary example of a farm in bio farming"[1] and invested heavily in the expansion of the farm. By 1943 the Comthurey Manor was farming 570 hectares (1,408 acres).[2] The expansion of the Comthurey Manor occurred largely in accordance with the personal wishes of Pohl. In part, Pohl personally took over its administration even though he did not have the slightest understanding of agricultural matters. So-called enthusiasts' buildings (*Liebhaberbauten*) were put in place to strengthen the representative character of the manor. The DVA goal was "to achieve outstanding agricultural production, as much as possible." The farming interests included the nearby manors of Brückenthin and Dabelow. Pohl's decision to establish a home within the DVA area and his personal influence on the economic expansion underline the significance of the Comthurey subcamp in the Ravensbrück subcamp system.

The *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, published by the International Tracing Service (1979), lists the Comthurey subcamp as the Dabelow Labor Detachment. The subcamp's buildings were not located in Dabelow but on Comthurey Manor grounds. The camp was in fact two camps—one for male and a second for female prisoners. The exact location of the camp is unknown.

At the beginning of 1942, male prisoners from Ravensbrück were sent to the manor to build and expand its facilities.[3] The camp was located close to the Pohl's family house, on a field close to the Grosse Gadow See.

SS-Scharführer Wilhelm R. was initially in charge of the prisoners.[4] They were guarded by eight SS men.

Unlike other subcamps, the prisoners' barracks were not the normal barracks but 8 to 10 "caravans" or circus vans. As security, the wagons were fenced in with barbed wire. The wagons were equipped with three-tiered bunk beds. There were sanitary facilities, and washing and drinking water had to be brought from the nearby lake by the prisoners.[5] The small windows were locked during the night. Due to the lack

of space, there was nowhere for the prisoners to sit. They could hardly move in the caravans.

The first group of prisoners were political prisoners, the "limited preventive custody" prisoners (*befristete Vorbeugehäftlingen BVers*).[6] Initially between 80 and 100 prisoners (Czechs, Germans, Poles, French, and Russians)[7] were busy pulling down part of the old manor and rebuilding the Pohl home. They also worked up until the middle of 1943 on the nearby garden, expanded the stables, and built a lodge in the forest.[8] The pressure that was put on the prisoners to build Oswald and Eleonore Pohl a luxurious residence has been described by eyewitnesses as unbelievably inhuman. At times the prisoners worked day and night; skilled prisoner artisans worked up to 36 hours. Work was done on the run, and the SS personnel drove the prisoners on without a break. According to witnesses, the prisoners, who were mostly stigmatized as criminals, received little food; their labor was exploited to the maximum, and they were not allowed basic hygiene. Sick prisoners were returned to the Ravensbrück main camp.

After the initial expansion construction, the SS largely exchanged the prisoners in the summer of 1943. A second group of prisoners were deployed, the majority of whom were Jehovah's Witnesses. Their task, according to Alois M., was to build in 1943–1944 Germany's most modern piggery.

In the middle of 1944, the camp's commander Wilhelm R. was transferred to the Natzweiler concentration camp. The name of his successor at the Comthurey subcamp is not known.[9] The guards were replaced by Croatian SS men.

The prisoners built barracks in addition to the caravans. They were allowed to place tables in the barracks, and there was room to move—unlike the previous conditions. According to survivors, the Jehovah's Witnesses were subject to special rules by the camp leadership. They were allowed to pick berries in the nearby forest. This guaranteed the prisoners' survival. As with the previous group of prisoners, they had to care for all the agricultural requirements of the manor, focusing on the construction of farm buildings.[10]

Survivors recall three deaths in the subcamp. The prisoner Reinhold S. was witness in 1943 to the murder of two prisoners. Their escape over the lake did not succeed, and they were hung by the SS at the manor.[11]

As the Comthurey subcamp was geographically close to the main camp, the SS had quick access to its prisoners and chose men with skilled qualifications so that they could exploit their skills in other subcamps.[12]

Little is known about the prison conditions and the history of the women's persecution due to the lack of documentation.[13] The camp probably existed from the spring of 1942 to April 1945. It consisted at first of one barracks and later of two wooden barracks. It was close to the Comthurey farm laborers' settlement (Comthurey Oberstadt). The barracks were divided into a commercial barrack, which held the kitchen and sanitary facilities. The second functioned as a dormitory and canteen. In the spring of 1942, 80 Polish women were deported to the subcamp to expand the drainage ditches at Comthurey. This group of women worked on the manor until they were transported back to Ravensbrück in the autumn of 1942. Many of the women suffered from kidney inflammations due to the heavy labor and the cold. Sick women were sent back to the main camp and were replaced by other prisoners.[14] The female prisoners were mostly used in agriculture.

This camp is not to be confused with the female labor detachment "Gut Dabelow." This manor lay only a few kilometers from the Comthurey camp. The labor detachment consisted of between 10 and 30 prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They worked each day on the Boldt Manor (a grain mill) in Dabelow, returning in the evening, under the supervision of a wardress, to the Ravensbrück main camp.[15]

On March 23, 1943, on the order of camp commander Fritz Suhren, 10 women were transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp as punishment. They were accused of sending uncensored letters with the help of a wardress to the outside world while they were working in the labor detachment at the Comthurey Experimental Farm. It remains unclear whether this was a day labor detachment or prisoners who were permanently based in the subcamp.

Later there were approximately 100 women in the Comthurey subcamp. They were of different nationalities.[16] According to the wardress Frieda L., the women mostly did agricultural work and worked as servants in the Pohls' residence. The women also worked in private homes and the bakery and did forestry work.[17] The prisoner Alois M., from the male camp, was responsible for giving the women tools from the storeroom for work on the farm and the forest.[18]

According to the former wardress Frieda L., shortly before the end of the war, in February 1945, Jewish prisoners were brought to the camp. The health of these women was very poor. Their fate is not known. At the end of March 1945 the subcamp is thought to have been dissolved, with the prisoners being taken to the main camp, from where they were sent on a death march.

As the demand for prisoners depended on the decisions of the DVA, the number of prisoners varied considerably, particularly as the subcamp was close to the main Ravensbrück camp.

According to the provisional final report on the DVA from June 30, 1944, there were at this point 93 prisoners held in Comthurey (without distinction as to gender), nine SS members, two civilian employees, and 17 farm laborers. The use of prisoners was relatively high compared to other manors.[19]

According to a Comthurey local, just before the end of the war the main building in Comthurey was detonated by the SS. The stables remained, as did the terrace, which had been built by the prisoners, a sauna, a wooden pavilion, and an ornamental fountain close to Pohl's house. The farm laborers' settlement on the road to Wokuhl also survived. After the war, Comthurey was to hold approximately 30 German refugees.[20]

Only parts of the foundations remain of what is thought to be the female prisoners' accommodation. There is nothing to recall the history of the camp, and neither the perpetrators' structures or the SS power structure in the area is docu-

mented. There were references to the killed prisoners. Both German states disregarded camp survivors until the 1990s.

Notwithstanding that, in 1969 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) and the Federal Republic of Germany investigated former wardens and wardresses, although there were no court proceedings against them.

The German Democratic Republic's (GDR) criminal proceedings against the wardress Frieda L. have not been researched.

SOURCES The details on the Comthurey subcamp originate from the author's research as part of a project by the AG-R/SBG (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer, Dr. E. Schwarz, S. Steppan). See also Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler, *Baugeschichte Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2001); and Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999).

Comthurey is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 235.

Archival records are available in the BA-B and the AG-R.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 3/ 722, p. 22, Jahresabschlussbericht Chef W im SS-WVHA from April 12, 1944, für die DVA GmbH.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. BA-B, Film 11143, pp. 235–236, Schreiben vom January 9, 1942. Betr. der Zusammenstellung zu erstattender Ausgaben für Comthurey und Brückenthin.
4. BA-B, Film 1575, n.p.
5. Bericht Eduard. W, MGR/SBG, RA. Bd. 43, Ber. 940/27.
6. Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normale hinausgeht: Zeugnisse unerschütterlichen Glaubens* (Linz: Oberwang, 1999), p. 31.
7. Sammlungen MGR/SBG, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/18.
8. Cf. Various reports: Sammlugen MGR/SBG, RA Bd. 36, Ber. 716 (Karl G), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/19, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/6 (Emil S.), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/15, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/18 (Fritz S.), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/33 (Horst S.).
9. BA-L, AR- 1439/66, p. 14.
10. BA-L, AR-Z 78/72, Bd. X, Bl. 2432, Vernehmung Horst. S, Ludwigsburg 1968.
11. BA-L, AR-1439/66, Vernehmungsprotokoll von Reinhold S., Landeskriminalamt NRW, 1969.
12. BA-L, AR-1439/66, Bl.68ff, Vernehmungsprotokoll Joseph S., Kommando Hohenlychen, Gut Harzwalde. Other prisoners were deported to Damshöhe or Prenzlau.
13. John M. Steiner, "Es war ja nicht so . . . ," in *Jahrbuch 2000*, ed. Döw (Vienna, 2000). Interview with Alosia Hoisl.
14. Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Handschriftenabteilung, Wanda Kiedzrynska, AG-R/SBG, Erinnerung Irena B.
15. AG-R/SBG, RA Bd. 14/1 Arbeitseinteilungen im Juni 1942. Gespräch A. Meyer 12.07.2001 mit Zeitzeugin aus Dabelow.
16. Sammlungen MGR/SBG, Bd.39 Ber. 866.
17. See Sammlungen MGR/SBG, HA J.S. vom 14.6.1996; and Sammlungen MGR/SBG, HA J. Sa. Vom 30.03.1992.
18. Erinnerungsbericht, Alois. M.: 6 jährige Erfahrungen aus—7 KZ.- Lagern und von verschiedene "Aufbau" Nebenlagern, AG-N.
19. BA-B, NS 3, Nr. 722, unp.
20. AST-NZ, Org. 155, unp.

DAHMSHÖHE

The Dahmshöhe subcamp was located in what was then the Prussian district of Brandenburg. It was located on land belonging to the Dahmshöhe Manor in the area known as Althymen. The distance from Dahmshöhe to the city of Fürstenberg/Havel, Mecklenburg, and the Ravensbrück concentration camp was about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles). The manor, used primarily for agriculture, dated from 1865.[1] There are written records that show that female prisoners from Ravensbrück were sent to work at the Dahmshöhe Manor in May, July, September, and October 1942. The women left the camp in the morning and returned after completing their work.[2]

In the middle of 1943, the SS began to use part of the manor for military purposes. An SS-Cavalry Training Squadron (Lehrschwadron) was stationed there to train noncommissioned officers.[3] The unit was accommodated in several barracks distributed on the manor grounds. An industrial barracks, in the form of a *T*, served as kitchen, dining hall, and cafeteria. Noncommissioned officers in Dahmshöhe received their cavalry training as squadron leaders for several months before they were sent to the front. They received instructions on the use of light and heavy weapons, explosives, and armored fighting vehicles, among other training programs. The instructors were mostly officers, graduates of the SS-Junker School at Bad Tölz in Bavaria. At first, the SS noncommissioned officer training squadron was divided into four platoons. Later, the first squadron with four platoons, armed with light infantry weapons, and the second squadron with three platoons, equipped with heavy machine guns and grenade throwers, belonged to the so-called SS-Cavalry Training Squadron. The Dahmshöhe subcamp was established in preparation for the stationing and expansion of the training squadron. Only male concentration camp prisoners were located at Dahmshöhe. The camp's occupants revealed details about the work and the appearance of the subcamp during a trial of SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer, the former camp commandant, which took place in 1949 and 1950 before the Stuttgart District Court.

The first consignment of male prisoners from Ravensbrück to Dahmshöhe appears to have occurred in the spring of 1943. It is claimed that at first 30 and later up to 100 prisoners from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Austria worked there. Most of the prisoners were skilled tradesmen. A few of them either had been or would be later deployed in other camps, such as Prenzlau, Comthurey, or Feldberg. The main work of the prisoners was the construction of housing for the soldiers and stables for the horses.

They had to fell trees, level roads, construct barracks and garages, lay out a riding ring, and do other manual work. They were housed in a wooden barrack that was encircled by a barbed-wire fence. There was at least one watchtower (possibly several). A cordon of SS guards, transferred from Ravensbrück, was responsible for external security. One of the prisoners functioned as Kapo and another as cook. There are reports of two attempts by prisoners to escape in July 1943. Mischko Houbin, a Soviet prisoner, was unsuccessful and was murdered in Dahmshöhe on July 14, 1943. This crime resulted in the above-mentioned proceedings against Beer, who was acquitted on July 17, 1950, by a jury for lack of evidence.[4]

As the Eastern Front approached at the beginning of April 1945, the SS-Noncommissioned Officers Training Squadron was transferred to Bohemia to the military training ground at Beneschau (Benesov), about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Prague. Investigations by the State Prosecutor at Stade, Niedersachsen, between 1975 and 1979 could not substantiate claims that members of the squadron shot, on April 7 and 8, 1945, 36 inhabitants at the Czech village Velké Popovic (Gross-Popowitz) and at Strancice.[5]

SOURCES There is no written history of the Dahmshöhe camp. Details on the Dahmshöhe subcamp are the result of a research project conducted by the AG-R and SBG between January 2000 and January 2002 by A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, and S. Steppan. To date, the only and most important sources on the Dahmshöhe subcamp are the investigations by ZdL (held at BA-L), as well as documents from the court proceedings at the Stuttgart District Court against the former camp commandant of the male camp at Ravensbrück. The investigation is also found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlungen Deutscher Strafurteile wegen Nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. A.L. Rüter Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter (Amsterdam, 1971), 6: 726. The NLStA-S has a collection of documents relating to the SS-Kavallerieschwadron.

Erika Schwarz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Landkreis Havel, Landkreis Oberhavel, der Landrat, Kataster- und Vermessungsamt Oranienburg, Alt-Thymen, Steuermutterrolle, Bd. IV, Nr. 74; as well as Alt-Thymen, Gebäudebuch; *Reinkarte Regierungsbezirk Potsdam*, Gemarkung, Alt-Thymen.

2. AG-R, SBG, vol. 14.

3. BA, Film 1567, "Verzeichnis der zuständigen Ersatztruppenteile der Waffen-SS vom 1.8.1944." In this document, as in others, Dahmshöhe is written as Damshöhe.

4. BA-L, 985/94. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlungen Deutscher Strafurteile wegen Nationsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. A.L. Rüter-Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter (Amsterdam, 1971), 6: 726.

5. See NLStA-S, Rep. 171a Stade acc. 43/87, Nr. 193–201.

EBERSWALDE

The town of Eberswalde is a county seat located some 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the northeast of Berlin. Two barracks have remained standing near the former Eisenspalterei railway station and serve as reminders of a subcamp operated by the Ravensbrück concentration camp on these and the adjoining grounds in 1944–1945. The two buildings—authentic testimonies to the National Socialist tyranny—were placed under monument protection in 1998.

Under National Socialism, Eberswalde and what was then still the independent town of Finow came to play a central role in armaments production. This first "industrial" center of the Mark Brandenburg region had already begun to emerge on the Finow Canal in the early seventeenth century. In the early days of its history, metalworking plants such as iron, copper, and brass works shaped its economy.

One of the largest enterprises in the Finow Valley was the Ardelt Works, founded in 1902 by Robert Ardelt and moved to Heegermühler Strasse in 1912. In the period before 1933, the company distinguished itself worldwide with the construction of cranes; during the Third Reich it developed into a leading armaments manufacturer. The Ardelt family enjoyed the best of connections to the heads of the Reich departments and ministries and realized enormous profits in the execution of public orders. Antitank guns became among its most well known products. The expansion of the plant culminated in 1940 with the completion of a huge steelworking hall; construction of the "Nordwerk" facility on the Hohenzollern Canal (the present-day Oder-Havel Canal) had gotten under way in 1935. There, the Märkisches Stahlformwerk GmbH, a subsidiary of the Ardelt Works, manufactured hand grenades and bombs.

During World War II, the company's workforce was reduced by conscriptions to military service; at the same time, however, the demands on production were growing. The Ardelt Works came to terms with these circumstances by employing an increasing number of "foreign workers" and concentration camp prisoners, who accounted for 3,000 of the 11,000 members of the company's manpower (including the workforces of the Eberswalde Steel-Molding Works and the Breslau Works) after 1939.

Several barrack camps were established in the vicinity of the plant. In 1943, on an area of land owned by the Ardelt Works, the Rüstungskommission III des Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Armaments Commission III of the RMfBM) ordered the construction of the camp known as the Camp Cooperative West (Gemeinschaftslager West). On September 13, 1943, the ministry officially responsible for construction projects informed the president of the administrative district of Potsdam of plans for a camp to be built according to "the stationary solid construction system for the accommodation of one thousand workers . . . of which the first subsection for 650 foreign workers and 200 German workers will be executed immediately."[1]

The Berlin architects Eckart Muthesius and Hellmut Remmelmann were responsible for the plans. The district president—in his capacity as senior building inspector—approved the project on September 23, 1941, "for the duration of the war" and granted his approval for two additional barracks on November 15.[2] The camp ultimately consisted of eight ac-

commodation barracks, two washroom and toilet barracks, one service barrack (including a kitchen, dining hall, shower room, etc.), a first-aid station, and a guard and camp command barrack. The Eberswalde-Finowfurt railway separated the factory grounds from the camp, whose entrance was located only a few meters from the Eisenspalterei railway station.

The first "residents" of the Gemeinschaftslager West were some 100 to 150 Belgian workers. When they arrived in early March 1944, the barracks had not yet been completed. As early as the beginning of May, all inmates were moved to the nearby Drehnitzlager. The Gemeinschaftslager West, now completely evacuated, was assigned a new function: it was to serve the Ravensbrück concentration camp as a subcamp. On September 5, 1944, the first Ravensbrück inmates arrived in Eberswalde from the main camp. Two weeks later (on September 21) the subcamp's population already numbered approximately 730 prisoners.[3]

The utilization of the existing barracks was now adapted to the new requirements. The prisoner area was enclosed by two fences, of which the inner one was electrically charged. This arrangement, along with the guards posted in watchtowers, made escape attempts practically impossible. Like the original first-aid station, the four lodging barracks in the northeastern section of the grounds were located outside the enclosure. The infirmary (*Revier*) was housed in the service barrack. A former guard testified that approximately 18 women were employed as guards, along with 8 to 12 men for the "external control of the camp."[4]

SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich (Fritz) Giese served as camp commander. A trained roofer, he had joined the SS in 1933 and served on the front in 1939, at the beginning of the war. No longer "conditionally fit for combat duty" due to a severe injury, Giese had been on the staff of Ravensbrück concentration camp since March 1942. He took command of the Eberswalde and Finow subcamps in September 1944.

The majority of the prisoners in Eberswalde were young women under the age of 21. Most of them came from Italy, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Other known countries of origin were Denmark, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, and Hungary. Only a small number of German women were committed to the Eberswalde subcamp. All of the prisoners wore the red triangle identifying them as political prisoners.

The day began with wake-up at 4:00 A.M. The prisoners had to form up for roll call an hour later. Armed SS women with dogs accompanied the work gangs to the Ardelt Works. The working hours were Monday to Saturday from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. The workers usually had Sundays off and stayed in the camp. Some of the women were employed in the production of machine guns in an arms factory located in the former Eberswalde municipal theater about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp. In addition to forced labor in the factories, prisoners were employed in the construction of temporary housing as well as in the excavation of trenches and antitank ditches.

Violations of the camp regulations were disciplined with draconian punishments. A prisoner recalls: "The Russian and Polish women were often caught looking for potatoes and turnips in the cellar or informed on. . . . They had to stand at the camp fence in the severe cold with little on in the way of clothing, received 15–20 blows and nothing to eat until the following day. We Germans were often ordered by the SS to pick fights with the foreign women. We refused and were called 'sissies' from then on."[5] The prisoners also dreaded detention in the "Bunker," a cellar partially filled with water.

Malnutrition led to a brief dysentery epidemic and tuberculosis. Due to the poor hygiene conditions, many of the women suffered from infections of the skin. The number of dead is not known, for the bodies were usually sent to the Ravensbrück main camp for cremation.

The history of the Eberswalde subcamp ended in April 1945. One record testifies to a population of 821 prisoners as late as April 10.[6] In view of the advancing Red Army, the camp was evacuated a short time later. The prisoners were transported back to Ravensbrück on trucks, approximately 25 ill prisoners already having been taken back by rail.

After the war, the legal authorities called several members of the SS staff to account. The French military tribunal in Rastatt, for example, condemned the guard Lena Barth to a two-year prison term for her activities in the Eberswalde and Neubrandenburg subcamps. Three further Eberswalde subcamp guards had to answer for their actions before the Halle (Saale) District Court on October 13, 1949. Frieda Krüger, Hildegard Mannig, and Hilda Trocha, however, were cleared of all charges of crimes against humanity. The fourth defendant, Helene Rösch, evaded trial by fleeing to Western Germany. In the 1960s, the Public Attorney's Office in Cologne instituted proceedings against the former camp commander Giese. By the time of Giese's death in 1969, however, it had not proved possible to shed light on the homicides with which he was charged.

SOURCES A detailed overview on the history of the Eberswalde subcamp can be found in Carsten Seifert, "Das Aussenlager Eberswalde des KZ Ravensbrück," EJfHKNg (1999–2000): 49–62. Eyewitness testimony is contained in Karin Berger, Elisabeth Holzinger, Lotte Podgornik, and Lisbeth N. Trallori, eds., *Ich geb Dir einen Mantel, dass Du ihn noch in Freiheit tragen kannst: Widerstehen im KZ: Österreichische Frauen erzählen* (Vienna: Promedia, 1987), pp. 44–48, 277, 318; as well as in Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, ed., *Eberswalde 1945: Eine Zusammenfassung von Ereignissen mit Dokumenten und Erinnerungen (Heimatkundliche Beiträge. Heft 3)* (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum, 1995), pp. 13, 17–18. Additional information can be found in Ilona Rohowski, *Landkreis Barnim. Teil 1: Stadt Eberswalde (Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Denkmale in Brandenburg. Band 5.1)* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsanstalt, 1997), pp. 31, 206–208, 218; Karin Schmidt (MSS)/Leitung der Grundorganisation der SED des VEB Kranbau Eberswalde, ed., *Geschichte des Volkseigenen Betriebes Kranbau Eberswalde. Teil 1. 1902 bis 1945* (Neubrandenburg: Bezirksdruckerei "Erich Weinert," 1985), pp. 57–59; Karlheinz Scholze, "Die Ardelts. Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg und Untergang der Ardeltwerke GmbH in Eberswalde von 1901 bis 1945," EJfHKNg (1998–1999): 71–88 and (1999–2000): 21–47; Carsten

Seifert, Harald Bodenschatz, and Werner Lorenz, *Das Finowtal im Barnim: Wiege der brandenburgisch-preussischen Industrie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Transit, 2000), pp. 45–46, 85–90.

The buildings of the Eberswalde subcamp and the history of their construction are outstandingly well documented, particularly by the construction files (town of Eberswalde), which have survived in their entirety, as well as by aerial photographs of the years 1944 and 1945 (LAVM-Br). Eyewitness reports are to be found in the AG-R. Files of the BA-DH, BA-L, and the BStU provide information on the legal proceedings against former SS guards and camp commander Friedrich Giese after 1945.

The following archival collections contain information on the Eberswalde subcamp: BLHA (Potsdam), Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679; BA-B, RS/Giese, Friedrich/19.05.10; BA-DH, R 154/8999, VgM 10041/17; BA-L, AR 1492/66, AR 2485/66; BStU-H(S), BV Halle, ASt 6072/49; LAVM-Br, Landesluftbildsammelstelle (Potsdam) Aerial photographs dated May 30, 1944 (Film-Nr. K 074–44, Bild-Nr. 3034), April 15, 1945 (Film-Nr. K 178–45, Bild-Nr. 4107); SVG (Brussels) Ministère de la Reconstruction, Direction Générale des Dommages aux Personnes, 1ère Direction: Recherches, Documentation et Décès, Service "Camps," *Rapport Définitif No 55. Eberswalde* [typescript, March 10, 1952, unpub.]; NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945; Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III; and SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 20, Bericht-Nr. 188; RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 211; RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 234; RA Bd. 36, Bericht-Nr. 721; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 917; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 918; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 925.

Carsten Seifert
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Der Baubevollmächtigte des Reichsministeriums Speer im Bezirk der Rüstungsinspektion III (Brdbg.), II B Rü 220-4555-III, September 13, 1943, BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679; copy in Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv, Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III.

2. Regierungspräsident des Regierungsbezirks Potsdam I Hba. 3422, September 23, 1943, and I Hba. 4111, November 15, 1943, in Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv, Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III; drafts in BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679.

3. Reichsanstalt für Wasser- und Luftgüte, November 8, 1944, in BA-DH, R 154/8999.

4. Vernehmung der Marie, Emma, Ella La Fauche vor dem A.K. Dezernat 5, n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 36, Bericht-Nr. 721, 3.

5. Aus dem Fragebogen von Erna Olga Hientsch, geb. Huth aus Grossweinböhla, n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 925.

6. Gefangenen-Stärkemeldung, April 10, 1945, in NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945.

FELDBERG

The village of Feldberg lies about 45 kilometers (28 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp and is located in the Mecklenburg lake district. In December 1943, the central administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W V (W-5), responsible for agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, was created in Feldberg/Mecklenburg as a part of the relocation of the key SS offices from Berlin. The central administration offices of the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions (DVA) (SS-WVHA Amt W V/1) were also established there. The office was not located in existing dwellings. A temporary barracks was used as the place of business.[1] It was headed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Heinrich Vogel, who represented the economic interests of the DVA, and from 1944, by Dr. Max Horn, an accountant.[2]

The Feldberg subcamp was probably located close to the building complex of the former hydropathic sanatorium (*Wasserheilanstalt am Haussee*). Locals recall the time around 1943 when, as part of the program of evacuating children from the cities, children and teenagers were quartered in the facilities of the sanatorium. Survivors clearly remember that the camp was located close to the children's home.

The subcamp for male prisoners was located in a sort of inn or a boiler house.[3] Male prisoners from Ravensbrück were probably accommodated there in the middle of 1943, with 20 to 30 prisoners in the cellars of the brick building. The prisoners were political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, and so-called criminals.[4]

The guards were in another part of the same building. The forecourt of the building was enclosed with a high fence, about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high. Food in the camp was supplied from a cellar outside the fence that was kept under lock and key, as were the toilets.[5] The prisoners were guarded by ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Czechoslovakia who were members of the SS-Wachmannschaft at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. There were six guards.

The prisoners worked for the SS doing carpentry work in the SS quarters and building and expanding the so-called overflow (*Ausweichlager*) of Amt W V. Skilled prisoners also built the SS accommodation, offices, and barracks for the Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitdienst, RAD). Little is known about the camp conditions for this small group of prisoners. A female eyewitness recalls that often the men spent time in the forecourt after they returned to the camp, thereby making contact with the outside world. The prisoners, either to go to the toilet or to organize their evening meals, had to report to the guards, who then accompanied the prisoners when they left the building. Albert Franz was able to leave the camp grounds in September 1943 without a guard. He was shot by SS-Wachmann Anton M. for supposedly leaving the camp without permission. It is not known if there were other deaths. The guard Anton M. was transferred in November 1943 to the Ravensbrück Barth subcamp.

The exact date of the camp's dissolution is not known. The prisoners were transferred in 1943 to the Prenzlau subcamp,

where they were used, for example, as electricians, on SS construction projects.[6] Whether some of those held in Feldberg remained there until war's end is not documented.

Little is known about the restructuring of the SS buildings in Feldberg. Former areas of the Amt W V, two SS barracks on the Kuhdamm, were handed over in 1946 as part of the sequestration of the Feldberg property. They were in turn leased to the Landwirtschaftliche Hauptgenossenschaft-Reifeissen GmbH for grain storage.[7]

Proceedings against the alleged murderer and former SS guard Anton M., who was said to have murdered the prisoner Albert Franz on September 15, 1943, ceased in 1974.[8] The Koblenz State Prosecutor determined that the SS member should not be charged on the basis that he shot for base motives but on the basis that he shot a prisoner trying to escape. As a result, the killing was not considered murder. The accused acted according to SS regulations in shooting escaping prisoners. The accused could not be charged with manslaughter, as the Federal German statute of limitations applied.

There were no proceedings in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) for crimes committed in the Feldberg subcamp. The State Security, in the summer of 1981, researched whether the Feldberg subcamp was connected with the production of secret weapons at the time.[9]

SOURCES There are no published sources specifically on this camp.

Archival records are held in the BA-BL, the BA-L, and other archives as indicated in the notes.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 3, Nr. 751, Bericht des Chefs des Amts W, Baier bei der DVA in Feldberg/Meckl, vom December 4–5, 1943 (Baier Chef des Stabes W und stellvertretender Chef der Amtsgruppe W).
2. BA-BL, NS 3/1428, p. 26.
3. BA-L, Ar 1491/66, p. 16.
4. Zeitzeugengespräch Angelika Meyer, Feldberg 23.07.01 mit Karin K.; Protokoll in possession of the author.
5. BA-L, AR 1491/66, p. 148, Beschuldigtenvernehmung Anton M., Staatsanwaltschaft Konstanz, May 1974.
6. BA-L, AR- Z 94/70, Vermerk zu Heinrich Q. vom January 25, 1968, p. 14.
7. MLHSN, Ministerium des Innern (1946–1952), Nr. 2935, unp.
8. BA-L, AR 1491/66, p. 141, Verfahrenseinstellungsbegründung Staatsanwaltschaft Koblenz vom July 9, 1974.
9. BStU, SV 25/81, Akte 13, pp. 3, 15–18.

FINOW

A subcamp of Ravensbrück existed in 1944–1945 only about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Eberswalde subcamp, in the town of Finow (the present-day district of Eberswalde). Following the National Socialist assumption of power, the brass works located there had developed—like the Ardelt Works—into a major munitions supplier.

The plant, in operation since 1700, is one of the oldest industrial sites in the Finow Valley. The Prussian state privatized what had long been the Königliche Messingwerk (Royal Brass Works) in 1863. The new owner, the Halberstadt trading firm Aron Hirsch & Sohn, ran the firm as a public limited company (Hirsch, Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG) beginning in 1906. The *Neuwerk* (new plant) constructed in 1917–1920 produced for a worldwide clientele. In 1935, the enterprise had some 3,300 employees. The memory of the Jewish business family Hirsch, which because of economic difficulties had retired from the firm in 1932, was erased from the company name for good in 1941. Called the Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (FKM), the undertaking was incorporated into the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) the following year.

A subsidiary founded especially for wartime production, the Finower Industrie GmbH was already established on the Hohenzollern Canal (the present-day Oder-Havel Canal)—approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the parent company—as early as 1934–1935. The plant manufactured rifle cartridges and antiaircraft munitions. In addition to the production halls, there were a magazine and a shooting gallery. Because of its concealed location in the forest, the local population referred to the site speciously as *Waldeslust* (forest delight).

In view of the large number of employees enlisted for military service, the FKM and its subsidiary made increasing use of foreign workers to satisfy the rising demand for munitions. At the end of May 1944, of the company's 6,260 workers, 1,000 were on war duty. A full 2,482—that is, 47 percent of the 5,260 workers remaining in Finow—were foreigners (including 306 Italian prisoners of war [POWs]).

A lodging camp for the Finower Industrie GmbH had already been set up in 1942–1943 between the factory grounds and the works railway to the south. In addition to an already existing air-raid shelter, initially four workers' barracks and one service barrack were built. A few months later, they were supplemented by an additional five lodging barracks, two toilet facilities, and a washroom with bath facilities.

It was at this site that the Ravensbrück concentration camp established the Finow subcamp in 1944. The FKM had applied for the assignment of 200 prisoners to meet its workforce demands in munitions production. The first transport from Ravensbrück to Finow took place in the summer of 1944. Initially, approximately 100 to 200 women shared two blocks. The first barrack (the Russian block) was divided into two sections, one accommodating Ukrainian women, the other primarily Polish. In the second barrack (the Polish block), all four sections were occupied by Polish women. The campgrounds were enclosed by two fences, with the inner one being electrically charged.

In the winter of 1944, in view of an expected—and later executed—transport of prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp, the Finow subcamp was expanded by the addition

of three barracks located nearby, which had previously provided living quarters for "free" Russian women. From this time on, one section of the Polish block served as an infirmary, which, however, had only very few medications and primitive medical supplies (for example, toilet paper for bandaging wounds and a kitchen knife for opening abscesses) at its disposal. The factory first-aid station had previously been responsible for the prisoners' medical care. Frequently, though, the SS staff had refused sick prisoners access to that facility.

The prisoners performed forced labor for Finower Industrie GmbH 12 hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. "The work considered heaviest was that at the shell and bullet sorting machines, since the workers had to stand the entire time, and the prisoners charged with operating those machines also had to put in night shifts," a former prisoner recalls. "Two shifts were also worked in the so-called 'paint shop,' where . . . as a result of the vapors brought about by the heating of the lacquered shells, the work was particularly unpleasant and hazardous to the health. The night work was uncommonly arduous because of the fact that, even though you could theoretically sleep during the day, the noise in the barracks and the frequent roll calls, from which the night-shift workers were not exempt, prevented you from sleeping."[1] The quality control of the bullets was among the easier tasks.

On November 20, 1944, 416 of the 2,012 workers at Finower Industrie GmbH were concentration camp prisoners. The number of camp prisoners rose to 564 by December 11, 1944, and to 674 by January 8, 1945, as compared to the overall workforce of 1,999 and 2,245, respectively. In addition to citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union, the prisoners included Belgian, German, French, Yugoslavian, Dutch, and Hungarian women. German civilian workers were also employed in the factory.

Like the Eberswalde subcamp, the Finow subcamp was under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich (Fritz) Giese. The SS staff reacted to disobedience and escape attempts with blows, detention in darkened cells, deprivation of food, and other brutal punishments. Some of the prisoners were taken back to the Ravensbrück main camp. Nothing is known of their later fate. "Quite suddenly the conduct of the SS changed," a prisoner who worked in the infirmary recalled. "We were no longer beaten indiscriminately in the courtyard but were taken into the so-called roll call hall individually and beaten there. The reason for the change soon became clear to us. Free workers from the East, Poles and German civilians gathered around the fence and complained audibly when the SS went about celebrating their sadistic orgies on us."[2] Prisoners no longer able to work to full capacity were transported to Ravensbrück and exchanged there for "fresh" workers. "It is therefore easily conceivable that no one dared to say she was sick, since the return to Ravensbrück meant: crematorium. So among the women in the infirmary there were always a few who were as good as dead."[3]

In view of the daily cruelties, every sign of solidarity aided survival in the camp. Evidence exists, for example, of contact between a prisoner and a Czech factory worker (both women); the latter supplied current news from the front and mailed and received correspondence to and from the prisoner's children under her own name. Furthermore, two members of the camp personnel enlisted for service with the SS, Johannes Gebhardt and Elfriede Reimer, are known to have helped the prisoners and thus endangered their own safety. They never doled out blows; they shared their rations, provided information on the course of the war, and occasionally conveyed news to family members.

A characteristic example of the misanthropic mentality of the SS is the order, issued shortly before the end of the war, "that in the case of an enemy tank breakthrough or airborne landing, all prisoners, regardless of their nationalities, are to be taken into the magazine . . . and the magazine is to be blown up."[4] This horrendous deed was never committed, however. In early March 1945, Finower Industrie GmbH discontinued production due to a shortage of raw materials, and approximately 300 prisoners were returned to Ravensbrück in trucks. There were still 306 prisoners in the camp on April 10, 1945, according to a camp population report drawn up on that day.[5] That same month, the Finow subcamp—like the Eberswalde subcamp—was completely evacuated. The remaining inmates were likewise transported back to Ravensbrück by truck.

SOURCES See Carsten Seifert, Harald Bodenschatz, and Werner Lorenz, *Das Finowtal im Barnim. Wiege der brandenburgisch-preussischen Industrie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Transit, 2000), pp. 45–46; Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, ed., *Eberswalde 1945: Eine Zusammenfassung von Ereignissen mit Dokumenten und Erinnerungen (Heimatkundliche Beiträge. Heft 3)* (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum, 1995), pp. 16–18.

Several construction files (Barnim District, Town of Eberswalde) as well as aerial photographs of 1944 and 1945 (LAVM-Br) provide information on the construction history of the munitions factory Finower Industrie GmbH and the Finow subcamp. Firsthand reports of former prisoners (AG-R) provide insight into everyday life in the camp. Files of the BA-L and the BStU-H(S) supply information on the legal investigations into actions of the camp personnel.

The particular archival collections are as follows: BA-B, R 8119 F/P-1172 - P-1188 and RS/Giese, Friedrich/19.05.10; BA-L, AR 1492/66 and AR 2485/66; BStU-H(S), Zentralarchiv (Berlin) AP 3783/79; LAVM-Br, Landesluftbildsammelstelle (Potsdam) Aerial photographs dated May 30, 1944 (Film-Nr. K 006-44, Bild-Nr. 4036), and April 15, 1945 (Film-Nr. K 178-45, Bild-Nr. 4106); AKr-EW, Bauakten Finower Industrie GmbH; NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945; Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv Bauakten Finower Industrie GmbH; and SBG, MGR (Fürstenberg/Havel) RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 211; RA Bd. 31, Bericht-Nr. 576; and RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 932.

Carsten Seifert
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Teresa Werner, "Das Lager in Finow," n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 31, Bericht-Nr. 576, p. 2.

2. Helene Freudenberg, "Meine Erlebnisse im Gestapo-Gefängnis Fehrbellin und im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück," n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 932, p. 10.

3. Ibid., p. 9.

4. Ibid., p. 10.

5. Gefangenen-Stärkemeldung, April 10, 1945, in NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945.

GRÜNEBERG

The village of Grüneberg is situated about 55 kilometers (34 miles) north of Berlin and close to a railroad track connecting the German capital and the town of Fuerstenberg an der Havel. The local Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH was a subsidiary of the Magdeburg-based Polte company. The factory building—located in a copse close to the Grüneberg station—was founded in 1931. Workers there had produced 2 cm ammunition as well as ammunition for the infantry since September 1933.

The management of the Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH counted 217 employees and 4,121 laborers who worked at the factory in the summer of 1944. Most of them were Germans (1,868), but there were also 124 workers from Italy, 205 workers from France, 894 workers from Eastern Europe, and 1,030 women and girls from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[1]

Grüneberg was the third of approximately 39 subcamps of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, following Comthurey in Brandenburg and Born at the Baltic Sea. The first 350 female prisoners—who were deported from the Soviet Union to Ravensbrück—reached Grüneberg on March 6, 1943. The number of prisoners increased continuously and reached a maximum figure with 1,703 in April 1945. Most of them were women and girls from the Soviet Union (Russians, Ukrainians). About 300 prisoners were deported from Poland; others were from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (most of them were Slovenes); there were also Latvians, Estonians, and a few prisoners of Dutch, French, German, and Greek origin.

The Grüneberg subcamp was located about 150 meters (492 feet) from the station. It was separated from the nearby factory building by the railway line. The subcamp—150 meters (492 feet) long and 118 meters (387 feet) wide—was surrounded by a fence under voltage and had two guarded gates used as an entrance.

The prisoners lived in eight huts of the make 501/34. These huts were 50 meters (164 feet) long and 10 meters (33 feet) wide. Every hut had space for 214 prisoners, who had to sleep in bunk beds without mattresses and pillows but with sheets and thin blankets. Every hut had a toilet room and a separate space with six washbowls. In three cases the toilet rooms were outside the hut, and during winter, all huts were bitterly cold.

In addition, there was a hut used as an infirmary, a kitchen, and a pantry and another hut used as a dining hall. The so-called "Bunker" was a special place where prisoners were tortured. The Bunker was simply a deep, unlined hole.

The prisoners who worked in the factory building—only a few prisoners were forced to do housework in the subcamp instead of working in the factory—worked in 12-hour shifts with a break of about 15 minutes.

The labor time changed every week between a day shift (as a general rule from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M.) and a night shift (from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M.).

Although there was no Allied air strike, air-raid warnings were frequent, and prisoners were sent to the factory's basement or to an underground area next to the subcamp during the alarm. The female SS guards controlled the prisoners in the subcamp, on their 15-minute walk to and from the factory building, and inside the factory. The leading female SS guard was Betty Herzinger. Her substitute, a woman called Hesse, was moved to the Auer Oranienburg subcamp in 1945.

The unhygienic living conditions and the hard work led to numerous diseases. In July 1944, hundreds of prisoners came down with food poisoning. A Russian and a Czech doctor were on duty in the subcamp's infirmary, but they were overtaxed because of an absence of medications. A huge number of prisoners died in the subcamp as well as after their deportation back to Ravensbrück, but it is not possible to give exact numbers.

The authorities evacuated Grüneberg between April 22, 1945, and April 26, 1945. At first, all prisoners from Poland were deported by trucks to Ravensbrück. The Swedish Red Cross liberated most of them in the so-called *Aktion Bernadotte* on April 24, 1945, when the SS allowed their release.

Most Grüneberg prisoners were deported by train or forced to walk to Ravensbrück, which was about 40 kilometers (25 miles) away. The authorities in Ravensbrück evacuated the concentration camp and forced the Grüneberg prisoners to be part of a second march. A huge number of weakened women and girls died; other prisoners reached the Mecklenburg town of Luebz—east of Parchim—where they were liberated by Soviet soldiers on May 1, 1945.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Grüneberg subcamp is located at the AG-R, as well as at the AG-S, especially "Sammlung Thomas Irmer Recherche Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen Ordner No. 8. Inhalt: Diverse Aussenlager ½ A-K."

For a comprehensive history on Grüneberg, see Susanne Neumayer, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Ravensbrück in Grüneberg und die Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH. Ein Ruestungsstandort in der Spaetphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges," Magister Artium an der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, November 2002.

For an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamps of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, see Angelika Meyer, Erika Schwarz, and Simone Steppan, "Die Aussenlager des Frauenkonzentrationslagers Ravensbrück—eine Bestandsaufnahme," in *Zwangsarbeit und Gesellschaft: Beitraege zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, vol. 8 (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTE

1. AG-S, Gewerbeaufsichtsamt Neuruppin (April 11, 1944), in "Sammlung Thomas Irmer: Recherche Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen Ordner Nr. 8, Inhalt: Diverse Aussenlager ½ A-K."

HAGENOW

Hagenow lies about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of Neustadt-Glewe and was part of the former state of Mecklenburg. In 1945, the People's School and Wehrmacht Senior Hospital Training School (Volksschule und Oberschule Wehrmachtslazarette) was established there.[1]

In February 1945, 150 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp were deported to Schwerin. There, the prisoners worked at a number of different places.[2] A group worked in a market garden and on farms; the others, in a clothing factory; 5 of the women from the transport arrived at Hagenow. There they had to work in a laundry, which formed part of the Wehrmacht hospital. The women were accommodated in the garden house of a private dwelling, which was surrounded with a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence. Each morning the women were collected by Wehrmacht soldiers and taken to the laundry. The soldiers guarded and supervised the women. In May 1945, the women were liberated by American soldiers when they were on their way to the laundry. The women continued to help in the laundry until they returned home.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources specifically on this camp.

Archival records may be found in the BA-L.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Karls, Kuno: Kiek'n hatt schräb'n ut Hagenow . . . Erinnerungen an "44 Jahre Nachkriegszeit," Hagenow, 1995.
2. BA-L, AR-1585/69, p. 21

HOHENLYCHEN

Hohenlychen, part of the spa town of Lychen, lies 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. During the National Socialist era, Hohenlychen was the location for a well-known clinic for sport and work injuries headed by Professor Dr. Karl Gebhardt, a specialist in reconstructive surgery and a confidant of Heinrich Himmler. From 1936 onward, Gebhardt was a member of the SS-Medical Corps and then the Waffen-SS, where, by the end of World War II, he had reached the rank of SS-Gruppenführer and Generalleutnant. Even before the war, he established a special clinic for SS members in his sanatorium. During the war, members of the Wehrmacht were treated in a separate department, and a smaller section remained available for civilian use. From 1936, Gebhardt maintained another ward where he had a private practice. Among his patients were members of various European royal families, diplomats, politicians, sports people, industrialists from various countries, as well as high-ranking members of the National Socialist political and military leadership.

The sanatorium was officially known as the Red Cross Sanatorium Hohenlychen. Its history is closely connected with the Ravensbrück concentration camp in two ways: first, through the human medical experiments conducted in 1942 and 1943 on Polish female resistance fighters by Gebhardt and at least two of his assistants. Second, prisoners from the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps were used as forced laborers in Hohenlychen. There is also a statement by a witness according to which Gebhardt conducted medical experiments at Hohenlychen in 1943 and 1944 on four male prisoners from Ravensbrück and a Jewish woman from the Uckermark youth camp. The victims were killed by means of an injection, once the experiments were complete.[1] As with the medical experiments, hardly any documents on the use of prisoners in the sanatorium have survived from the National Socialist era. The little information that is available on prisoners' labor is based mostly on witness statements or personal experiences of former prisoners and by a former female employee of the sanatorium. Whether the prisoners were used throughout the sanatorium or worked only in certain areas and the extent to which they were used as forced laborers remain unclear. Details about how the clinic organized the work details and the guards can only be gleaned from the prisoners' reports. It is not even possible to clarify whether Hohenlychen should be seen as a subcamp of Ravensbrück, because many work details were covered by the Ravensbrück main camp. Finally, the period during which prisoners worked at Hohenlychen is uncertain. All that can be ascertained with certainty, from statements by former prisoners and a few documents, is that the period is from 1941 to 1945.

The fragmentary clues, which point to prisoners' labor in the sanatorium, at least give an indication of the type of forced labor in Hohenlychen: there is evidence that a work detail comprising 29 prisoners from Sachsenhausen was put to work in the Hohenlychen Sanatorium on August 1, 1941.[2] Neither the type of work nor the prisoners' nationalities or group to which they belonged is known. All the remaining information relates to prisoners from the Ravensbrück camp. According to a statement by former prisoner Alois Moser, the sanatorium employed, from time to time, 30 to 50 Jehovah's Witnesses, that is, "serious Bible researchers."[3] Moser, as a Jehovah's Witness, himself imprisoned in Ravensbrück, stated that between December 1944 and April 1945 he worked in the canteen and the SS clothing store. He described Hohenlychen as a subcamp of the Ravensbrück camp.[4] A former sanatorium employee tells of a Jehovah's Witnesses' work detail that was put to work cleaning the streets in Hohenlychen.[5] Worthy of note is the statement by Moser that the Jehovah's Witnesses working in Hohenlychen were treated in an

unusual way—they were dressed in civilian clothing, and their hair was not shorn.[6]

In addition to this group of prisoners, mostly the names of Polish prisoners, who worked as forced laborers in Hohenlychen, have been verified. Zofia Rys, a Polish woman, stated in an interview that she worked in the sanatorium's garden.[7] She was held in Ravensbrück from September 1941. She does not state in her interview when she became a member of the Hohenlychen work detail. In the summer, the garden detail comprised 30 people and, in the winter, 15. The prisoners traveled each day by train from Ravensbrück to Hohenlychen. They wore prisoners' garb. According to Ryś, working in Hohenlychen was a privilege. She describes the peace in the well-cared-for sanatorium garden as a blessing, compared to the conditions in the Ravensbrück camp. The female wardens in the sanatorium were less strict and not as brutal. She and her coprisoners were able to smuggle fresh fruit from there into the Ravensbrück camp. According to her report, mostly civilian sanatorium employees supervised the prisoners' work. The employees, particularly the "director" and the gardener, chose the prisoners strictly according to their job performance. Ryś, in her report, states that because of her musical abilities she had a special function within the work detail: she had to sing for the head of the Hohenlychen kitchen and for this reason was chosen in the winter for the reduced work detail.[8]

The woman in charge of the Ravensbrück gardening work detail in the sanatorium was probably the Pole Teresa Taczukowa. Another eyewitness account states that during the years 1943 and 1944 she was successful in making contact in Hohenlychen with French prisoners of war (POWs), who were also working there. As a result of this contact, it was possible to forward to the resistance current details of the conditions and events in Ravensbrück. Ryś states in her report that the French POWs had hidden a radio in a pigsty. By this means, information flowed back to Ravensbrück. The work detail in Hohenlychen, with the help of Polish agricultural laborers, was able, for more than a year, to send and receive letters to and from families of the prisoners in Poland. According to the eyewitness report, victims of the medical experiments were able to work, despite a ban, outside the camp in the Hohenlychen loading work detail and in the garden work detail.[9] As a result of these channels of information, the sanatorium played a special role also for the resistance of the "guinea pigs" in Ravensbrück.

In addition to the outside details, individual prisoners from Ravensbrück appear to have been assigned to the sanatorium for special technical work. The engineer Walter Jahn from Ravensbrück was technical supervisor of the x-ray equipment in Hohenlychen at various times between October 1941 and April 1945. He reported on the human experiments in Hohenlychen. He also claims that there was a prisoners' barracks in Hohenlychen.[10] His report does not indicate whether he himself lived there. According to the prisoners' card index, another prisoner, Jaroslav Chmelar, also worked in Hohenlychen from April 1941. The nature of the work he did is not known.[11] Another example proves that prisoners must have lived in Hohenlychen. In connection with the medical experiments in Ravensbrück, Gebhardt obtained a Polish doctor, Halena Chelmicka, a technical assistant in Ravensbrück, to work in Hohenlychen in 1942–1943. A letter by Gebhardt reveals that she worked in the sanatorium's photographic section.[12] According to statements of colleagues, Chelmicka lived at Hohenlychen isolated from patients and other employees. When Gebhardt fled in April 1945 from Hohenlychen to Flensburg, he took her with him.[13] Her fate is unknown. The First American Military Tribunal in the "Nuremberg Doctors' Trial" in 1947 convicted Gebhardt of carrying out inhuman medical experiments. He was sentenced to death and executed a year later. The forced labor at Hohenlychen did not play any part in this and later trials.

SOURCES No sources or eyewitness statements that could give further information about the prisoners' work or the Hohenlychen subcamp are known, other than those referred to in the text. The names of the prisoners, death lists, and poems from the Hohenlychen external details, which were smuggled out of Ravensbrück and buried, have survived. Constanze Jaiser discusses these documents in her dissertation "Poetische Zeugnisse: Gedichte aus dem Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945," in *Ergebnisse der Frauenforschung*, vol. 55, (Stuttgart: Weimar, 2000). The significance of Hohenlychen as part of the Ravensbrück resistance is referred to in several short passages in publications by former Ravensbrück prisoners: Germaine Tillon, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998); Dunja Breur, *Ich lebe, weil du dich erinnerst: Frauen und Kinder in Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 1997); Wanda Symonowicz, *Über menschliches Mass: Opfer der Hölle Ravensbrück sprechen* (Warsaw, 1970).

A work on Zofia Ryś is being put together by Gabriele Knapp, *Musik und Gesänge aus Ravensbrück* (to be published). Excerpts from Alois Moser's report are to be found in publications about the Jehovah's Witnesses in the Third Reich: Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium* (Munich, 1993); Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normal hinausgeht: Zeugnisse unerschütterlichen Glaubens* (Oberwang, 1999). Otherwise, Hohenlychen is usually only mentioned in connection with economic matters and Karl Gebhardt's medical experiments on the women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp; *Vernichten und Heilen: Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozess und seine Folgen*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Klaus Dörner (Berlin, 2001). An essay with further information about the Hohenlychen Sanatorium during the National Socialist era is to appear shortly: "Karl Gebhardt und die Heilanstalt Hohenlychen," by Judith Hahn, in SudA.

Judith Hahn
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See ZdL at BA-L, 409 AR 641/60, File 9 AR 641/60, pp. 2, 12.
2. See MGR, Häftlings-Kartei.

3. See the report by Alois Moser dated May 23, 1986. Thanks to Detlef Garbe, who provided information about Alois Moser and provided access to his report. See also Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium* (Munich, 1993), pp. 424–445.

4. See excerpts from Alois Moser's report in Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normal hinausgeht* (Oberwang, 1999), p. 38.

5. See MGR, Document: "Elfriede Beckmann an MGR" (February 21, 1995).

6. See Alois Moser, "Erlebnisbericht" (May 23, 1986).

7. Interview by Loretta Waltz with Zofia Ryś on September 21, 2001. From the video collection series *Widerstand leben—Frauenbiographien* (1979-).

8. Ibid.

9. See excerpts from a report by Janina Iwanska, in Germaine Tillon, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 189. Iwanska was a victim of Gebhardt's medical experiments.

10. "I arrived in Ravensbrück on September 13, 1941. About four weeks later I had to service the equipment in the hospital at Hohenlychen (prisoner's barracks). The prisoners' barracks was part of the pathology department . . ." BA-L, ZdL, 409 AR 641/60, File 9 AR 641/60, p. 12.

11. See MGR, Häftlings-Kartei.

12. See Gebhardt's letter to the President of the Swedish Red Cross, Count Bernadotte (May 8, 1945), GStAPK, I. HA, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Rep. 335 Fall 1, Nr. 365, "Verteidigunsdokumentbuch" 1, Nr. 17, p. 85. The document originates from the files of the Nuremberg Doctors' Trials of 1946–1947. The document collection is now available as *Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozess 1946/47: Wortprotokolle, Anklage und Verteidigungsmaterial, Quellen zum Umfeld*, ed. Klaus Dörner, Angelika Ebbinghaus, and Karsten Linne (Munich, 1999).

13. See Gebhardt's letter to the President of the Swedish Red Cross, Count Bernadotte (May 8, 1945), GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 335 Fall 1, Nr. 365 "Verteidigunsdokumentbuch" Nr. 1, Nr. 17, p. 85; MGR, Doc.: "Elfriede Beckmann an MGR" (February 21, 1995).

KALLIES

About 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Gdańsk, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Kallies (Pommern Provinz; later Kalisz Pomorski, Poland). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Kallies, most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück. The Kallies subcamp was created to supply cheap labor to the Gerätewerk Pommern in mid-1944. The introduction of concentration camp inmates from Ravensbrück and other camps into the armaments manufacturing workforce stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business and Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the armaments firms. Inmates were provided to the firms at a low, per-day "price" paid by the firms to the WVHA.

No further information about the subcamp at Kallies, including the number of inmates, camp guards, commandant, living and working conditions, or postwar trials, could be found. The inmates were evacuated from Kallies to the main Ravensbrück camp in early 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Kallies subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of prisoner work, and so on, see the entry for Kallies in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL (now BA-L) in Ludwigsburg contains various files related to or that make note of the Kallies camp: see IV 409 AR-Z 99/70 VI/VIII; IV 409 AR 1485/66; and IV 409 AR 1591/66. Additional materials are most likely stored at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

KARLSHAGEN I AND II

The concentration camp Karlshagen I, near Peenemünde on the island of Usedom on the Baltic coast, was one of the largest Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. Some 1,800 prisoners passed through it during its almost two years of existence, from May 1943 to the end of April 1945.

The testing unit of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) operated the camp (for the testing of the aerial bomb Fi 103 better known as the V-1 rocket), which fell back on earlier experience in using large numbers of different categories of forced labor, such as prisoners of war (POWs) and foreign civilian workers.

The initiative to use concentration camp prisoners stemmed from the testing unit, which had applied for these services at the end of April 1943.[1] Four weeks later, the first 253 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to the Karlshagen I subcamp. There followed transports up to January 1945, above all from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen and Natzweiler, totaling 1,540 prisoners. The majority of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union. The next largest groups were from Poland and France. There were other nationalities represented, but their numbers were by no means as great.

Karlshagen I and Barth were the worst of the Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. In the period from June 1943 to March 1945, 228 prisoners died in Karlshagen I.[2] In addition, quite a few were evacuated in the four "sick transports" that took 600 prisoners in June and September 1944 and January 1945 to Bergen-Belsen. Another "invalid transport" from Karlshagen I headed in the middle of February 1945 for the Barth subcamp.[3]

SS-Obersturmführer Hans Baumgart was commander of the Karlshagen I subcamp until July 1944. Later, he was replaced by a lieutenant of the Wehrmacht. The SS guards were largely replaced in the summer by members of the Luftwaffe.[4]

The average of approximately 1,000 prisoners were used for heavy labor such as transport, earth and grading works, as well as working for the Schlempp construction unit and the Luftwaffe. The debilitating work was often made worse by abuse and mistreatment by the guards and a few Kapos.[5]

Not to be forgotten is the spectacular escape of 10 Soviet prisoners under the leadership of air force officer Michail Dewjatajew from the Karlshagen I subcamp in February 1945. They stole a Heinkel (He) 111 bomber and successfully reached Soviet lines.

At the end of March 1945, about 950 prisoners were taken to Ellrich, a subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. A few days later the majority of these prisoners were taken to Bergen-Belsen. At the end of April, the remaining prisoners were taken by ship to Barth, and a few days after their arrival, they were forced to march in a westerly direction. They were liberated by the Red Army a short distance from Rostock.[6]

The Karlshagen II subcamp near Peenemünde on the island of Usedom was attached to the serial test works of the Army's Weapons Office (Heereswaffenamt) for the development and production of the A4 (aggregat 4), or V-2 rockets. It was established in the middle of June 1943 and administered by the concentration camp at Ravensbrück. The camp was dissolved in the middle of October 1943 after the massive air attack on Peenemünde on the night of August 17–18. The total number of male prisoners held in the camp on that date was 600.

From the beginning of the war, foreign and forced laborers (POWs and foreign civilian laborers) were used in Peenemünde in large numbers. As the production of the V-2 rockets came closer to reality in 1943, the already chronic shortage of labor worsened additionally because of the efforts to maintain secrecy. After initial thoughts to replace the civilian forced laborers with concentration camp prisoners, an A4 Committee delegation inspected the Heinkel factory in Oranienburg in the middle of April 1943. Here 4,000 prisoners from the nearby Sachsenhausen concentration camp were used by Heinkel.[7]

Two months later, the first transport of 200 prisoners from Buchenwald arrived; a second transport with another 400 prisoners from Buchenwald followed on July 9, 1943. Two-thirds of the prisoners were from France and the Soviet Union. There were also a large number of German "protective custody" prisoners. The prisoners were housed in the cellar of the large assembly building. This "advance detachment" was engaged primarily in heavy manual labor in construction and assembly. During the four-month existence of the Karlshagen II subcamp, 15 prisoners died, excluding those who died during air raids.

SS-Untersturmführer Arnold Strippel was commander of the Karlshagen II subcamp. A large number of the guards were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and elderly Wehrmacht members.[8]

A heavy raid by the Royal Air Force during the night of August 17–18, 1943, hit the assembly factory, killing 18 prisoners. After this air attack, all plans for the mass production of V-2 rockets in Peenemünde were dropped. The prisoners were kept for a few weeks in Peenemünde, where they cleaned up and dismantled the facilities. In the middle of October 1943, they were taken via Buchenwald to the recently established Mittelbau subcamp. Here they were housed in underground tunnels and again put to work in debilitating construction and assembly work in setting up this new underground production facility.

SOURCES A comprehensive study of the Karlshagen I subcamp remains to be written. The best overview is that by Jens-Christian Wagner, "Zwangsarbeit in Peenemünde (1939–1945): Praxis und Erinnerung," *ZR-MM-V* 1, (2000): 15–21. There are many works on the V-1, although most of them mention the Karlshagen I subcamp and forced laborers either in passing or not at all. See, for example, Heinz-Dieter Hölsken, *Die V-Waffen: Entstehung—Propaganda—Kriegseinsatz* (Stuttgart, 1984); Volkhard Bode and Gerhard Kaiser, *Raketenspuren: Peenemünde 1936–2000* (Berlin, 2001). For the use of concentration camp prisoners in the production of rockets, see Florian Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989), esp. pp. 39–48.

For the escape of the Soviet POWs, see M.P. Dewjatajew, *Flucht von der Insel* (1964; Berlin/Ost, 1972). There are other unpublished survivors' reports, as well as contemporary documents scattered throughout numerous archives.

A scholarly work on the Karlshagen II subcamp remains to be written. For research literature, see Michael J. Neufeld, *Die Rakete und das Reich: Werner von Braun, Peenemünde und der Beginn des Raketenzeitalters* (Berlin, 1999); also published in English: (*The Rocket and the Reich. Peenemünde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era* (New York, 1995).

The most detailed report, published shortly after the liberation, is a report by a survivor, the then-19-year-old Frenchman Michel Fliecx: *Pour délit d'espérance: Deux ans a Buchenwald, Peenemünde, Dora, Belsen* (Evreux, 1946). Other unpublished memoirs and statements by former prisoners, as well as contemporary documents, are kept in different archives, including BA-MA.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Typed report on flak/GL discussion dated April 27, 1943, cited by Florian Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989), p. 45.

2. Sources: "Kalendarium der Todesfälle im Männerlager des KZ Ravensbrück," compiled by Włodzimierz Kuliński (Warsaw, 1991), supplemented by Bernhard Strebel (Hannover, 1997); Nummernbücher des Männerlagers des KZ Ravensbrück, IPN (Warsaw), KL Ravensbrück, pp. 39–42.

3. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes: Mit einem Geleitwort von Germaine Tillion* (Paderborn, 2003), pp. 455, 498.

4. Ibid p. 447.

5. Włodzimierz Kuliński, *Z pobytu w Peenemünde* (Warsaw, n.d.) (private collection), p. 8; Jean Fournier, *Vacances à Peenemünde* (Le Bourg, 1994) (private collection), p. 16.

6. Fournier, *Vacances à Peenemünde*, p. 20.; Kuliński, *Z pobytu w Peenemünde*, pp. 37–40.

7. Heeresanstalt Peenemünde, "Aktennotiz, betr. Besichtigung des Häftlings-Einsatzes bei den Heinkel-Werken, Oranienburg, am April 12, 1943, April 16, 1943," BA-MA (Freiburg i. B.), RH 8/v. 1210, Bl. 105 f. 1210, p. 105.

8. History of the Creation of the Test Series Works at Peenemünde, vol. V, BA-MA, RH 8/v. 1210., p. 20; Michel Fliecx, *Pour délit d'espérance. Deux ans a Buchenwald*, *Peenemünde*, *Dora*, *Belsen* (Evreux, 1946), p. 28.

KLÜTZOW

The Klützow subcamp (in the present-day town of Kluczewo) Kreis Pyritz (Pyrzyce)/Regierungsbezirk Stettin (Szczecin) was probably constructed in the late summer of 1942 and used from the spring of 1943 to the beginning of 1945 as a camp for male prisoners from the camp for men in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. It was located close to the Klützow airfield about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) to the south of Stargard. As part of the process whereby production sites of industries vital for the war effort were relocated, the production facilities of the Gerätewerke Pommern GmbH Stargard were relocated to the site. The company's principal place of business had been located in Stargard since 1943.[1] The company was owned by the Askania Werke AG Berlin–Friedenau. The company manufactured aircraft armaments. The camp is described differently in a number of documents and reports, example, Aussenkommando Fliegerhorst Klützow, Aussenkommando Stargard, or Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard im Pommern.

The camp's history can be divided into two phases: construction and operation. It was probably at the end of 1942 that the first 80 to 100 prisoners, most of them from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, were deported via the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Klützow to construct the camp. Three to five barracks were separated from the Wehrmacht accommodation on the military airfield and transformed into a concentration camp.[2] At times the camp was shielded from the outside world with a paling fence. To maintain security within the camp, it was planned to have four guard towers. Its size was approximately 80×100 meters (262×328 feet). The camp was divided into a section for the prisoners' barracks, an infirmary, and administrative and kitchen buildings. One of the three (or four) prisoners' barracks had sanitary facilities, the so-called bathhouse (*Badehaus*). One of the rooms in the support barracks, the so-called Bunker, was part of the SS punishment system. At the entrance to the camp there was the guards' office and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) building. The factory was about 300 meters (984 feet) from the camp and was located in the former hangars on the airfield. During the first phase, the buildings were cleaned and facilities installed for the manufacture of aerial torpedoes. The prisoners constructed shrapnel trenches on the site.[3] Little is known about the prisoners' work conditions (or their treatment by company employees and SS men). The company not only produced torpedoes but probably tested them at the site.[4] There were labor detachments that brought the raw material from the railway station, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away.

The first prisoners were probably under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Ahrens. He was transferred from the Natzweiler concentration camp to supervise the construction of the Klützow camp and in mid-1943 was transferred again.[5] There were approximately 25 SS men as guards.[6] Some of the prisoners were deported from the camp under construction to other subcamps. A number of different concentration camp transfer lists (*Überstellungsliste*) document the largest deployment of prisoners from the spring of 1943. Several transports of between 50 and 100 people were deported from the Buchenwald concentration camp to the Klützow subcamp.[7] The majority of the prisoners originated from the Soviet Union and Poland. To improve the efficiency of the prisoners, so-called skilled prison laborers (*Häftlingsfacharbeiter*) were transferred in October 9, 1943, from the Flossenbürg concentration camp to the Arbeitslager Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard. According to an SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt D letter dated September 23, 1943, seven plumbers, mechanics, and machinists were to be sent. SS-Oberscharführer Franz Pribil[8] was in charge of the Klützow camp[9] from 1943 to October–November 1944 after Ahrens was transferred back to Natzweiler.[10] Pribil worked for the Ravensbrück camp commander, Kögel, as his personal secretary in the command office in 1942. In February 1945, he was the last commander of the Ravensbrück subcamp at Neustadt-Glewe.

From the autumn of 1943 to the summer of 1944, SS-Rottenführer H. Wolter was the responsible labor allocation officer (Arbeitseinsatzführer) and guard duty officer. Wolter had previously been a member of the Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, later serving in the command office of the Buchenwald concentration camp and in 1942 in the command office of the Ravensbrück concentration camp as accommodation administrator (Unterkunftsverwalter). On December 16, 1942, he married the wardress Georgine F. in Fürstenberg/Havel, who also served in the command office at Ravensbrück.[11]

Wolter is described as a sadist regardless of when witnesses made postwar statements and regardless of which country they were made in. His brutal behavior remains in their memories. The SS murder of prisoners and the excess of violence in the Klützow camp are constantly described by survivors.

Wolter himself came under pressure in the summer of 1944 following an escape attempt. In a letter dated July 2, 1944, from the Gendarme group station Dölitz, Kreis Pyritz, to Landrat in Pyritz, it was stated that on June 26, 1944, three Russian concentration camp prisoners had escaped from the Gerätewerk Pommern.[12] On July 2, the three escaped prisoners were found in the Sallentin Forest, 15 kilometers (9.3

miles) south of Klützow. SS-Rottenführer and head of the Guards' Company (Wachkompanie) Helmut Wolter, who took part in the search, shot at the prisoners. Two of the men were killed and the third wounded. According to the report by the Gendarmerie, the third prisoner was able to get away. The dead prisoners, Wasil Prichodjko (prisoner number 4013) and Prochor Tkalschenko (prisoner number 5821) were collected by an SS squad.

The main reason that this report was written was that when the shooting began, Ernst Pawilkowski, an assistant shepherd who was helping in the search, was shot and injured by one of the searchers and later died from his wounds. The death resulted in an investigation by the State Prosecutor. Wolter was questioned on July 4, 1944.[13] The question to be determined was whether the shot came from Wolter's machine gun. The results of the investigation are not known. It is also not known if and where the dead were buried.

The dissolution of the camp is described by the former commander Suhren in the Rastatt Trial.[14] He gave details on the number of prisoners in the camp as 600. In February 1945, on the order of SS-Obergruppenführer Heissmeyer, the subcamp was to be relocated to Ravensbrück. As no train was available, the prisoners were ordered to march by foot. The survivors were then sent on a death march from the Ravensbrück main camp.

The record from interviews largely confirms that this was the camp's dissolution date and also confirms the march to the Ravensbrück main camp.[15]

SOURCES Details on the Klützow subcamp originate from the initial research of the MGR/SBG (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer. Dr. E. Schwarz, S. Steppan).

There are no published sources specifically on this subcamp.

Archival records are held in the BA-L and other repositories, as indicated in the notes.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA, R3, Nr. 2005/0216, Reichsbetriebskartei, Stand February 29, 1944.
2. BA-L, AR- Z 99/70, Bd. VII, p. 1087.
3. BA-L, AR-Z 99/70, Vernehmungsprotokoll von Willi K., Bd. II, p. 217.
4. BA-L, AR-Z 99/70, Bd. VI, p. 741.
5. Vgl. BA, BDC NS 4 Na/ p. 114.
6. BA-L, AR-Z 33/73, Bl19.
7. Sammlungen MGR, Bd. 20, Ber. 188, AG-B, 46/21, Transport Glützkow vom 18.05.1943, Schreibstube Buchenwald; see also AG-B, NARA, Rg. 242, Film 16. The village Glützkow should refer to the camp at Klützow.
8. It cannot be exactly determined from the files of ZdL, at BA-L, whether the prisoners recalled a third camp commander, Drehpfahl (phon.) Rudolph, in the period either before or after Pribil. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 1089.
9. BA-L, Bd. VIII, p. 1144.
10. BA-L, Bd. VIII, p. 1221.
11. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 881.
12. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 1180. The Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Poland transferred copies of the original documents to the ZdL (BA-L) in July 1974.
13. BA-L, AR-Z, Bd. VIII, p. 1182. Kopie einer Vernehmungsschrift vom July 4, 1944; Waffen-SS Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück, Arbeitslager Klützow.
14. Tribunal Général de Gouvernement Militaire pour la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne 1949, Rastatt. See Sammlungen MGR/SBG n.p.
15. BA-L, entnommen Britisches Militärverfahren JAG 225, pp. 216–222; siehe auch AR 1492/66, pp. 80–86.

KÖNIGSBERG (NEUMARK)

The Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp was located on the grounds of an airport, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Königsberg (present-day Chojna, part of the Polish administrative district of Szczecin).[1] The town, in the northeast of the Prussian province of Brandenburg, formed a part of the Frankfurt/Oder government district and was also its administrative center. It was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) from the Ravensbrück main camp and the city of Fürstenberg/Havel in Mecklenburg. The main airport in Königsberg (Neumark) was apparently constructed in 1938–1939.[2] The so-called work centers at Märkisch-Friedland and Gabbert in Pomerania, 75 and 44 kilometers (47 and 27 miles) east of Stargard, as well as Mohrin, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) south of Königsberg, were part of the airport. The airport was given the code name Fuggerhaus. The Königsberg (Neumark) airport was used to engage in hostilities from the first days of the war in action against Poland. The main airport and its work centers then served as training grounds for pilots. The developments on the Eastern Front from 1943, as well as the Allied air raids on the Reich, revealed the inferiority of the Luftwaffe and changed the nature of the air war. The airport at Königsberg (Neumark) was given new and additional tasks and functions. German fighters left Königsberg (Neumark) to attack the Anglo-American four-engine bomber units. Fighter pilots received crash training courses. Obviously, the airport conditions up to then were not equipped for the additional demands. In 1944, it was expanded, above all to extend its takeoff and landing runway. The Wehrmacht, specifically the Luftwaffe, was responsible for the construction. A number of sources state that the Organisation Todt (OT), using Italian military internees (IMIs), French prisoners of war (POWs), Polish forced laborers, and concentration camp prisoners, was also involved with the project.

The Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp was opened around October 20, 1944, with the arrival of female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The camp existed until its closure at the end of January 1945 and was administered by the main camp administration.[3] French prisoners called the

camp "Petit-Koenigsberg" so as to distinguish the town in Neumark from the city of Königsberg in East Prussia.

The exact location of the camp is unknown. The area in which the camp was thought to be is covered with grass. According to descriptions by former prisoners, a barbed-wire electric fence surrounded the camp, which consisted of a number of barracks. Within the fence were several wooden barracks, which housed the prisoners. There was a barrack outside the camp, which was a warehouse and sewing room. The SS guards and the female wardens were housed here, and a sentry box gave shelter to the sentries.

Written records do not provide any information on the exact number of women who were held in the Königsberg camp. According to statements by survivors, it is probable that there were between 800 and 900 female prisoners in the subcamp. The largest group of prisoners came from occupied Poland. The majority came from Warsaw and were captured after the uprising in 1944. They were sent by Special Transport (Sondertransport) Number 105 on October 8, 1944, first to Ravensbrück, from where they were transported to Königsberg. The French women held in Königsberg came with an earlier transport, which left France on August 15 for Ravensbrück.[4] At a later stage, the largest group of these prisoners were transported to Torgau in Saxony, where they were forced to work in the army's munitions factory. Refusal to work and acts of sabotage resulted in their being removed from Torgau on October 6, 1944, and 250 were sent to the airport at Königsberg. According to other sources, prisoners from the Soviet Union, Holland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were also in Königsberg. The transport from Torgau also included three English women. They were members of the secret service "Special Operation Executive" whose members, in the struggle against fascism, were sent on special missions into different occupied countries. They were brought back to the Ravensbrück main camp in January 1945 and summarily shot.

Details of the strength of the SS-Kommando and the names of its members who guarded the camp have not survived. One can assume, however, that the members of the Luftwaffe, who were assigned to SS guard details, were responsible for security. As a result of judicial investigations and prosecutions, five female wardens are known by name.[5] The behavior of the head warden, Wilhelmine Pielen, was regarded by the prisoners as particularly sadistic. Her efforts to care for the sick were inadequate. Food was withdrawn at the slightest infringement. Those who attempted to escape were imprisoned in a special unheated cell. She had women stand outside her office window for days (but not nights) in strict parade formation.

All the activities of the women were designed to keep the airport at Königsberg (Neumark) operational and to ensure that planes could take off and land. The women were assigned to heavy work details, which free women would not be expected to do. The majority of the women were used to widen the takeoff and landing runways. Others worked in the forest or on excavation required for the construction of roads, hangars, barracks, or other buildings. The prisoners' watery soup was prepared in the camp and brought in wooden vats to the work sites. The women were housed mostly in unheated barracks with several-layered wooden bunks, which were covered with paper-filled sacks. The diet, low in calories, and the heavy work in extreme weather, first in autumn and later in winter, permanently weakened the women's condition. They suffered above all from colds and flu, abcesses, stomach illnesses, general weakness, and tuberculosis.[6] The sick and those who could no longer work were taken to the infirmary or were put to work inside the camp. Basic care was given to the patients by a female French and Polish doctor and nurses from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. The efforts of these doctors and nurses were highly praised by several survivors. A month after the camp was opened, a transport with 30 sick prisoners returned to the Ravensbrück main camp.

The approaching front had a direct effect on the Königsberg (Neumark) camp. The SS guards and staff of the airport fled on February 1, 1945, in front of the rapidly advancing Soviet troops. However, the prisoners' freedom lasted only for two days, as units of the Wehrmacht and the SS appeared, who again imprisoned most of the women. The fate of these women differed. A group of the women, capable of being moved, were brought back to Ravensbrück. Those weakened women who could not stand up to the exertions of the journey were shot. A group of those who reached Ravensbrück was immediately sent to other subcamps, including the Lärz airport, and the testing ground of the Luftwaffe at Rechlin in Mecklenburg. Only a few survived this torture. Those too sick to work were put in the infirmary. Not all had the luck of those who were evacuated by the International Red Cross in a transport to Sweden. Others were murdered in the gas chamber. Another group consisted of prisoners from the infirmary and those who were able to hide in the sick barracks before the transport back to Ravensbrück. They were liberated on February 5, 1945, by troops of the Soviet Army. About 10 days later, these women, numbering more than 100, were taken by truck into the hinterland. After several months of medical care in Polish hospitals, they could return to their homes and countries.

The airport was used by the Soviet military from 1945 until the beginning of the 1990s. After their withdrawal, a residential and industrial park was constructed there.

SOURCES Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz were the first to provide a detailed analysis of the history of the Königsberg (Neumark) camp in the *BWF* 20 (2003): 3–43. Details about the camp can be found in the publication by Christian Bernadac, *Kommandos de femmes: III. Ravensbrück* (Editions France-Empire, 1973), pp. 177–201; as well as in newspaper articles about the living conditions in the camp, above all the conditions for the French prisoners.

The most important sources on the Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp are the preliminary investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) into a female warden, SS men, and the camp commander of Ravensbrück. Essential are the reports of the former prisoners.

Erika Schwarz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The details on Königsberg (Neumark) originate from a research project of the MGR/SBG (January 2000–January 2002, A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, S. Steppan).

2. BLHA, Rep. 3B, Reg. Frankfurt/Oder, Abt. IS, Nr. 5.

3. The first description of the Königsberg (Neumark) camp is to be found in a note by the Central Committee of the Red Cross dated January 3, 1945, in Archive of ICRC, G 44 13-19 unp.

4. Germaine Tillion, *Frauen Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 339. Also see "Les 57 000" compiled by Germaine Tillion based in part on the oral reports of survivors.

5. BA-L, AR-Z 135/72, Preliminary investigations of the ZdL of a female guard, as well as unknown SS men and Fritz Suhren, Lagerkommandant of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. See also the Militärgericht in Rastatt, 1950 proceedings against Suhren and the Rastatt-Prozess against Oberscharführer Hans Pflaum, head of the "Arbeitseinsatzes" at the Ravensbrück concentration camp, in MGR/SBG, Collection of the Ministerium der sozialen Angelegenheiten der Volksgesundheit und der Umwelt, Brussels.

6. See Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Handschriftenabteilung, Wanda Kiedzrynska, AG-R, akc 12013/3, infirmary and internal work lists.

MALCHOW

In March 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) decided to employ concentration camp prisoners for work in the ammunition industry. Initially, branches of the industry were built inside the concentration camps. However, from 1943, external camps of the main concentration camps were built near existing plants. One of the external camps of the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp was located at Malchow/Mecklenburg.

The construction of the ammunition plant Munitions- und Sprengstoffwerk Malchow had begun in 1938. The plant was part of the Dynamit Aktien Gesellschaft vormals Alfred Nobel und Co. The order to build the plant came from the supreme command of the army, while a state company, Montan Industriewerke GmbH, owned the plant and was involved in its construction. It was operated by the Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse. At that time, the approximately 5,000 residents of Malchow were experiencing serious economic difficulties. The construction of the plant, which lasted until 1943, provided them with immediate financial opportunities.

The transfer of prisoners from Ravensbrück to the camp that was erected in Malchow to provide cheap labor for the ammunition plant began in the winter of 1943–1944. During the first months, about 900 women were imprisoned in the camp. From the autumn of 1944 until May 1945, with the detention of the Hungarian Jews and the evacuation of the concentration camps in the east, about 4,000 women were brought to Malchow. The women were Polish, French, Hungarian, Czech, Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Italian, German, and Greek.[1]

The majority of the women who were brought to the camp at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 were Jewish. By the time the Jewish girls and women arrived in Malchow, they had years of persecution behind them. For many of them, Malchow was the last phase on their Holocaust route.

The camp consisted of living barracks, a wash barrack, a kitchen, and an infirmary barrack.[2] The prisoners were guarded by SS men in the outer circle and by female guards (Aufseherinnen) in the inner circle. Wehrmacht soldiers who had been disqualified for the front guarded the women prisoners on their way to and from work.

Several of the female guards had come from Ravensbrück; some had been recruited from the ammunition industry according to the requirement of the SS to supply workers as guards for the hired-out prisoners. Another group of the SS staff had been transferred from the evacuated eastern camps. Among these was Luise Danz, head of the female guards (Oberaufseherin) of Malchow during the last months of the war. The male camp leader of Malchow was SS-Oberscharführer Lothar Kleinschmidt.[3]

The directors of the plant were Dr. Reuter and Dr. Vervoorst. Special guard units of the plant, headed by Herr Minderop, guarded its inner areas. Another unit guarded the plant from the outside, under the command of Freiherr von Hausen. The ammunition plant was divided into four separate areas. The different departments of the plant were scattered in separate bunkers to avoid having to shut down the entire plant in case of an explosion.

The plant's workers consisted of German workers, foreign laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and women prisoners from the concentration camp. The testimonies of the Jewish survivors refer to eight months between October 1944 and May 1945. That period can be divided into two according to the conditions in the camp and the change in its purpose: from October 1944 to the beginning of February 1945, and from February to May 1945.

The women who reached Malchow during the first period were surprised to find bearable living conditions.[4] They worked in the plant in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work included weighing the explosive material, filling different molds with it, then compressing it, and packing the final product.[5] At noon the women had a lunch break.[6] The prisoners considered the plant a good working place, as it was indoors, in a warm, clean area. Life in Malchow from October 1944 to February 1945 was an improvement compared with the prisoners' experience in other camps.

Conditions in the camp deteriorated radically during the second period. The women who reached Malchow in February 1945 had arrived in Ravensbrück from Auschwitz. Within two days, 3,000 women arrived in Malchow. The shortage in raw materials had reduced production in the plant so that most of the new prisoners were not assigned to work there. About 1,000 women were put in what some of them refer to as the "stable," where they lay on straw on the floor.[7] The rest were squeezed into the blocks of the veteran prisoners, bringing filth and disease with them; boils and typhus spread rapidly.

If they were lucky, the late arrivals were able to get work in the forest or inside the camp. The policy during this second period was to keep the working women alive and to starve the rest to death. Danz boasted that she could kill an unlimited number of Jewish women.[8] The women realized that they were about to be starved to death.[9] They testified that the agony of starvation made Malchow the most atrocious camp they had been in. During the roll calls, Danz would pick out women, sometimes beating them to death. The camp leader would arrive on horseback at the end of the roll call and hit women with his whip.[10]

By the end of March 1945, the concentration camp was on the verge of collapse. On April 2, about 2,000 women were put on a transport to Leipzig. Women testified that the train, which traveled along a heavily bombarded route, was expected to be bombed. They overheard Danz saying: "We have to send a death transport on its way."[11] Contrary to Danz's expectations, the train arrived in Leipzig, where the prisoners were divided into two groups, one being sent to Taucha, the other to Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) Leipzig-Schönefeld.

During the last days of April, Red Cross packages were brought into the camp of Malchow, but most of them were stolen by the SS.[12] As part of the agreement among Folke Bernadotte, the representative of the Swedish Red Cross, Norbert Masur, representative of the World Jewish Congress in Sweden, and Heinrich Himmler, Red Cross trucks set out for Sweden on April 26, with 300 to 500 prisoners from Malchow.[13] At that stage, the remaining prisoners in the camp were given food only every 36 hours.[14]

On May 1, the remaining women who were still strong enough to walk were led out of the camp; they marched for about four days, during which several of them who were too weak to continue were shot.[15] The sick and wounded remained in the camp's infirmary. On May 2, Soviet soldiers entered the camp.

The Polish court in Kraków sentenced Oberaufseherin Luise Danz to life imprisonment in 1947, but she was released in 1957 and returned to her hometown in Germany. In 1996, the prosecutor of Meiningen decided, after years of investigations, to press charges against Danz for the murder of a young Jewish girl in Malchow;[16] nonetheless, her case was closed in 1997.[17] The juridical inquiry of 1990 against camp leader Lothar Kleinschmidt was discontinued since he had died in 1988.[18]

It is not known how many prisoners died in Malchow. However, it is clear that the role of the camp, which was originally erected as a "labor camp," changed with the evacuation of the eastern concentration camps and the decline in industrial production. From February 1945, the main purpose of the overcrowded Malchow camp was to get rid of as many prisoners as possible. Under the circumstances, and given the location of the camp in the midst of German civilians, starvation seemed to be the most "appropriate" extermination method.

SOURCES The main secondary source on the ammunition plant of Malchow is the booklet Stadt Malchow (Meckl.), ed., *Das Munitions- und Sprengstoffwerk in Malchow (Meckl.), 1938–1945: Heft 2 zur Geschichte der Stadt Malchow (Meckl.)* (Malchow, 1995), which contains information on the construction of the plant, the state and private or semiprivate enterprises involved, the ammunition it produced, and the manufacturing process. It also mentions the workers of the plant.

Primary source material can be found in the ASt-MCW, in particular, background documents pertaining to the financial arrangements between the town and the companies that built the plant. The AG-R contains various testimonies and documents. The BA-L and YVA contain the results of the legal investigations into the crimes perpetrated in the camp. The collection of testimonies at YVA also contains testimonies of women who were imprisoned in Malchow. Valuable interviews with survivors are located in the LUS (Lakocinski, Zygmunt, Deposition 1974, PIZ); HAFHDCB; and WL. Information on some of the camp perpetrators is located in the TStA-M (Bestand Suhl). Several memoirs published by survivors who were imprisoned in the Malchow subcamp provide valuable information and insight into the experience of the prisoners. For example: Inka Wajsbort, *Im Angesicht des Todes* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2000); Miriam Biderman, *Ne'urim betzel hamavet* (Tel Aviv: Davar Press, 1960); Raya Kagan, *Nashim belishkat hagehenom* (Merhavia, Israel: Sifriat Hapoalim, 1947); and Halina Nelken, *Freiheit will ich noch erleben* (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1996).

Irith Dublon-Knebel

NOTES

1. BA-L, AR-Z 55/71.
2. The number of barracks varies in the testimonies between 10 and 20; LUS, Zygmunt Lakocinski, Deposition 1974, PIZ, no. 240; BA-L, AR-Z-55/71(NY RH SE 50627/18/70); YVA, 033/3388.
3. TStA-M, Bestand Suhl 1112.
4. PIZ, nos. 102, 240, 174, 277.
5. PIZ, nos. 102, 240, 174; YVA, 03/5802
6. PIZ, no. 174.
7. YV, 03/9416.
8. Ibid.
9. PIZ, no. 487.
10. YVA, TR11/462; and BA-L, AR-Z-55/71 (379).
11. HAFHDCB, A-81019; BA-L, AR-Z-55/71 (Stadtgericht Bratislava SP 1893/70); WL, PIII h 441; YVA, 03-9416.
12. ASt-MCW, Archiv Gedenkstätte Report of R.F. Schwerin, March 25, 1946, Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, Berlin.
13. PIZ, no. 102.
14. HAFHDCB, A-5700.
15. BA-L, IV 409 AR 1483/66.
16. TStA-M, Bestand Suhl 1121.
17. Ibid., 1113.
18. BA-L, AR-Z 55/71.

MILDENBERG

The Mildenberg subcamp was located on the grounds of a brickyard in the Mildenberg district, Templin region, in the

former Prussian province of Brandenburg. It was about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the southeast of the city of Fürstenberg/Havel, Mecklenburg, and the Ravensbrück concentration camp. H.C. Kröger & Co. bought the brickworks, situated in north Mildenberg, from the beneficiaries of Julian Prerauer, the Jewish owner, after his death in 1939. The facilities were buildings typical for a brickworks including, among others, two furnaces, a circular kiln, and numerous drying sheds. According to witness statements, production ceased in 1943. In the dormant brickworks, an overflow facility was located for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) Amt II C 3, which comprised a unit of 32 men, responsible for a vehicle supply unit. The facility was given the code name "Werkstoff." Due to the bombing on the German capital city, hundreds of vehicles were to be relocated in the course of 1943 from Berlin to the brickworks, which was about 72 kilometers (45 miles) from Berlin. The 100-meter-long (328-feet-long) drying sheds and the ring kilns were particularly suited for garaging the vehicles.

Male prisoners from Ravensbrück were engaged to construct additional buildings, such as housing barracks and buildings for the maintenance of the vehicles and for storage of building materials. Initially, these men were transported early each day to work at Mildenberg and in the evening returned to the main camp. Only after the prisoners had built quarters for themselves could they remain on the grounds of the brickworks. The prisoners' barracks, according to one prisoner, were located close to a small river, the Welsengraben. A 1945 aerial photo shows other barracks in the immediate vicinity of the prisoners' quarters, which apparently were used by the vehicle supply unit personnel and the security guards.

It is believed that in Mildenberg there were at first about 30 and later about 80 prisoners from Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Germany. Among the prisoners were Kapos, as well as a cook who also prepared meals for the SS. The prisoners were guarded by SS guards, including the commander of a dog squad, who had been ordered away from Ravensbrück. The prisoners, once they had completed their work in the autumn of 1944, were sent back to Ravensbrück. During this period, the Mildenberg subcamp was administered by the main camp.

SOURCES Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz were the first to describe the history of the Mildenberg camp in *BWF* 20 (2003): 44–52.

A former Czech prisoner of the Mildenberg subcamp only alludes to the existence of the camp in the AG-R. An entry in the BA collection on the RSHA also refers to the existence of the additional facility.

Erika Schwarz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NEUBRANDENBURG

The Neubrandenburg subcamp was one of the first of the Ravensbrück subcamps for female prisoners. It was also the largest. In the course of its two-year existence from March 1943 to the end of April 1945, at least 7,000 female prisoners passed through its gates. At the end of 1944 a camp for about 500 male prisoners was added there.

The Mechanischen Werkstätten Neubrandenburg (MWN) appears as the motivating force behind the establishment of the subcamp. This company was established in 1934 by the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). The know-how was supplied by the Carl Heber Mechanische Werkstätten from Berlin-Britz, a company that specialized in the construction and development of bomb-launching devices. The RLM provided the financing. The MWN had already used other types of forced laborers (foreign civilian laborers), which made up approximately 44 percent of the workforce by the end of 1943.[1]

A camp leader and a few SS men were responsible for the camp, as well as SS female guards trained in Ravensbrück, who were responsible for internal security, one for every 100 prisoners. Survivors have described the behavior of the female guards as extraordinarily brutal. External security was provided by elderly men from the MWN security guards.

The use of concentration camp prisoners was initiated by the MWN. The number of female prisoners increased continually, beginning with 200 in March 1943 to almost 2,000 at the end of February 1944. At the end of August 1944, when production had been exclusively switched over to concentration camp prisoners, there were 5,200 female prisoners in Neubrandenburg.[2] They were primarily female Poles, Russians (including a few prisoners of war [POWs]), Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, French, and Czechs.

The female prisoners were mostly used in the production, in particular, of bomb-dropping devices. Sometimes they had to engage in heavy manual labor, including the construction of a semisubterranean overflow camp, Waldbau, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) away. German civilian workers were in control, and their behavior is variously described. Another form of control was the sophisticated use of informers. As a result, in May 1944 the Pole Klara Jeziorska was denounced for sabotage and executed in November 1944, following a brutal interrogation in Ravensbrück.

There was an infirmary for 150 patients, which in the last few months was completely overcrowded with 400 to 500 female prisoners. The more seriously ill and those who were no longer capable of working were returned to the main camp at Ravensbrück, where at the end of 1944–beginning of 1945 they were in danger of being selected for extermination.

The SS evacuated the camp on April 27, 1945, and drove the female prisoners on foot marches toward the northwest. Two days later, the 100 sick prisoners left behind in Neubrandenberg were liberated by Soviet troops.

An unusual form of resistance was the "Neubrandenburg Manifest," which in the spring of 1944 was put together by a group of female political prisoners of different nationalities as a form of ideal testament. A copy reached the main Ravensbrück camp.

SOURCES The most comprehensive overview of the Neubrandenburg subcamp is by Heinz Barche, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Leben, Ausbeutung und antifaschistischer Widerstandskampf weiblicher Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Neubrandenburgs 1943–1945; Kommentare, Dokumente, Berichte* (Neubrandenburg, 1980). Details on the national composition of the subcamp and on the execution of Klara Jeziorska may be found in Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiecy obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 165. On the use of informers, see Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, intro. by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003), p. 454.

The most comprehensive report by survivors is by Micheline Maurel, *Kein Ort für Tränen: Bericht aus einem Frauenlager* (Hamburg, 1960); published in French as: *Un camp très ordinaire* (Paris, 1957).

Further reports, including unpublished ones by former prisoners and some fragmentary documents, are to be found in the AG-R and in BA-B.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Bericht der Deutschen Revisions- und Treuhand AG über die MWN," Jahresabschluss 1943, BA-B, R 8135/2217.

2. Details from Statement by WVHA chief Pohl on February 21, 1944 (enclosure to a letter by Himmler to Göring, March 9, 1944), Nuremberg Doc. PS-1584; Dr. v. Lepel, "Erfahrungen mit weibliche Häftlingen bei den MWN," August 21, 1944, AG-R, 422.

NEUSTADT-GLEWE

The Ravensbrück concentration camp subcamp in Neustadt-Glewe went into operation on September 1, 1944. It was set up as a result of negotiations between the manager in charge of the Dornier Works in Wismar, Schulte-Frohlinde, and the head of labor deployment at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, SS-Oberscharführer Flaum.[1] The Dornier Works had been evacuated in 1943 and moved to Neustadt-Glewe. The Ravensbrück women's concentration camp was to guarantee the workforce required to keep production going in the aircraft works in Neustadt-Glewe by supplying able workers.

The subcamp was established at the military airfield 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Neustadt-Glewe, district of Ludwigslust (Mecklenburg).

The barracks of the ground personnel in the eastern section of the air base were evacuated, and the grounds were enclosed with electric and barbed-wire fences and equipped with watchtowers. The two barracks of the SS camp command as well as the guards' and overseers' lodgings were located outside the enclosure.

The camp is thought to have been under the command of an SS officer by the name of Heinrich Weiss until February 1945.[2] In handwritten documents from the Ravensbrück main camp, the names Anna St., Helene Sch., and Ruth W. are mentioned as overseers at the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp.[3]

The camp was under the control of SS guard units; in the spring of 1945, these SS guards were replaced and/or supplemented to a certain extent by older Wehrmacht soldiers.

In the fall of 1944, an initial 300 women were committed to the subcamp; by the end of that year, the number had risen to approximately 900. The majority of these women, who arrived on transports from Ravensbrück, were Poles who had been arrested in connection with the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, as well as women from the countries of the Soviet Union and those of other nationalities from the German-occupied territories, including Sinti and Roma (Gypsies).

The prisoners were assigned to forced labor in the workshops of the Dornier Works as well as on the air base. The work, generally carried out in two shifts of 12 hours each, consisted primarily of the production and repair of airfoils for aircraft assembled in other factories. Moreover, the prisoners were employed in the assembly of aircraft engines and undercarriages and, on the airfield, as camouflage and roll squads responsible for rolling the aircraft out of their protective pits and onto the runway and, after landing, returning them to the pits and camouflaging them. The work was supervised by master workmen and foremen and carried out under the surveillance of the camp overseers.

A portion of the inmates were forced to carry out shaft and excavation work for the construction of air-raid shelters and trenches on the airfield and at the nearby Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. One labor detachment was employed in the Kurz cement works in Neustadt-Glewe.

Beginning in mid-February 1945, transports of primarily Jewish women and girls from Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Romania, Holland, Germany, France, Belgium, Greece, and other countries arrived—prisoners who had survived the death march from Auschwitz. Among them were 12 women who had been victims of medical experiments at Ravensbrück and had been saved by fellow prisoners at the last minute before their intended murders by being smuggled onto the transports under false names.[4] Members of the Auschwitz underground resistance—Antonina Piatkowska, the doctor Slava Klein, and Vera Foltynowa—also were sent to Neustadt-Glewe.

The population of the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp, which had been set up to accommodate a maximum of 900 prisoners and was already severely overcrowded, now grew to approximately 5,000. (Due to the lack of records, the exact number cannot be reconstructed.)

The Neustadt-Glewe camp prisoners, who were already dangerously enfeebled by their previous sufferings and the death march, lived in disastrous conditions. The women were crowded into unheated storage rooms, factory halls, and barracks. There was hardly enough room to sleep, and the hygiene facilities were completely inadequate. The majority of the women suffered from undernourishment and disease. Some of the most severely ill were taken "back" to Ravensbrück on trucks.

Nearly 1,000 women and girls did not survive the inhumane conditions and died at the Neustadt-Glewe camp (88 of them in the hospital on the days following liberation).[5] The high death rate is to be attributed above all to the prisoners' undernourishment, which provided favorable conditions for the spread of epidemics such as typhoid, tuberculosis, and dysentery. The women who died in the camp were buried at the cemetery and in mass graves in the nearby woods by fellow prisoners who had been assigned to the so-called corpse unit. (In 1946, a mass grave with the bodies of 46 women was discovered in the forest. These bodies were moved to the cemetery.)

There is no specific information on the overall number of dead, since neither documents nor name lists pertaining to the subcamp exist. The above-named figure is derived from the reconstruction of the memories of former subcamp prisoners (eight), among them members of the corpse unit, in correspondence with other eyewitness accounts and surviving notes.

Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Neustadt-Glewe until the end of April 1945.

On the morning of May 2, 1945, the members of the guard units left the camp in plainclothes and left the inmates locked in the barracks. The women broke down the doors and window bars. On the afternoon of May 2, the Red Army occupied the airfield, the camp, and the town of Neustadt-Glewe. Some 300 severely ill women received medical care in the infirmary, which was placed under the command of the Soviets on May 4, and in the town school, which had been in use by the Wehrmacht as a field hospital. Alone or with the aid of the Red Army, a number of the women still capable of traveling left the camp immediately. Others remained to regain strength before leaving the camp and the town.

SOURCES Information on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp may be found in the following sources: *Der Totenkopfgeneral* (Schwerin: Schweriner Volkszeitung, 1959); *Der antifaschistische Widerstandskampf unter Führung der KPD in Mecklenburg von 1933 bis 1945* (Rostock: Ostseedruck, 1970); and Karl Heinz Schütt, *Ein vergessenes Lager?* 4 vols. (Schkeuditz: GNN-Verlag Sachsen/Berlin, 1997–2002).

Primary sources for this subcamp are available at MPW, Signatur A-882 (Krankenbuch KZ-Revier Neustadt-Glewe). Files, testimonies, and minutes of the public attorney's investigation into the war crimes committed at the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp are archived in BA-L, AR-Z 23/70. Eyewitness reports and manuscripts are to be found in the AG-R, AM-BN-G, APMO, and ALR-LWL. Additional material is in MLHSN, Bezirksleitung der SED Schwerin, V/1/137 (n.d.). At the time of the dissolution of Ravensbrück concentration camp by the SS, the majority of documents and files were destroyed, among them all documents that could have shed light on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp. The information now available on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp is based primarily on firsthand reports by women who experienced the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp as prisoners (compiled by the author); research carried out by the author and reports by other eyewitnesses are included in the two publications in *Ein vergessenes Lager?*

Karl Heinz Schütt
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Sammlungen Ravensbrück, AG-R, Bd. 25/372 (Bericht 228-SS-Suhren).
2. According to information provided the author by Ms. Krystyna Smorczewska on April 6, 1998, and January 17, 2001, as well as by Ms. Janina Popkow on March 24, 1999.
3. AG-R, Sammlungen Ravensbrück, Bd. 2/994.
4. Anna Piatkowska, "Z Oświęcimia—na wolność," APMO, Wspomnienia, t 85 Sygn. wsp/475 Nr. Inw. 157606, 45, 54/62.
5. Krankenbuch KZ-Revier Neustadt-Glewe, MPW, Signatur A-882.

NEUSTRELITZ-FÜRSTENSEE

About 100 kilometers (62 miles) north of Berlin, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Neustrelitz-Fürstensee (Mecklenburg province). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Neustrelitz-Fürstensee most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück sometime in 1943. During the trial of several Ravensbrück staff members in 1946, former Ravensbrück block elder (Blockältester) and witness Hermine Salvini confirmed in cross-examination that Neustrelitz was attached to Ravensbrück and tentatively totaled the number of prisoners in Neustrelitz, Konterei, and Kellehelt between 70 and 100. No further breakdown of the number of inmates in Neustrelitz is available.[1]

There is no further information about the subcamp in Neustrelitz, including the number of inmates, kind of prisoner work, camp guards, commandant, living and working conditions, or postwar trials. The camp was occupied on April 30, 1945, by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Neustrelitz-Fürstensee subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including the dates of occupation, and so on, see the entry for Neustrelitz in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL in Ludwigsburg contains some files related to the Neustrelitz camp: see BA-L, IV 409 AR-Z 39/59 and IV 409 AR 1592/69. The camp is briefly mentioned in the postwar trial documentation of several Ravensbrück staff members, copies of which are located in USHMMA: Judge Advocate General's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M, Reel 10 (originals stored in the PRO, London, WO 235/305). Additional materials are most likely found at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1.Trial of members of Ravensbrück staff, Judge Advocate General's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War [1945–1953], PRO (London), WO 235/305 (as copied in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 10).

PRENZLAU-KLEINE HEIDE [ALSO HINDENBURG, BIRKENHAIN]

A specific date for the establishment of the Prenzlau-Kleine Heide subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp is unknown. The existing statements by former prisoners are very contradictory and range from May 1943 to the autumn of 1943.

In all likelihood, a labor detachment of about 30 prisoners was brought to the vicinity of Prenzlau to construct the camp in the late summer of 1943. The camp itself changed locations from Prenzlau-Kleine Heide to Hindenburg (present-day Lindenhagen). At the latter site, an existing windmill, circus wagons, and barracks constructed at a later date served as a camp. The transfer of the prisoners to the vicinity of the Birkenhain construction site was intended as a means of economizing on fuel. The distance to the place of work was now 2 kilometers (1.2 miles), which had to be traveled on foot. A proportion of the prisoners also had their living quarters directly in Birkenhain.

According to an official report, the camp's dissolution took place on April 27, 1945. This date is presumably incorrect, however, in view of the fact that the personal staff of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler had already left Birkenhain—code name "Birkenwald"—at the end of March 1945, and the existing buildings were occupied by military operations offices until the war came to an end in the Uckermark.

The prisoners were initially assigned the task of constructing alternative headquarters for the personal staff of the Reichsführer-SS. To this end, large buildings were confiscated, and a considerable number of prefabricated wooden barracks were erected. The completion of the various facilities dragged on into the spring of 1945. In isolated cases, prisoners were employed at the Birkenhain site as custodians, gardeners, and cleaning staff.

The entire facility was under the command of the personal staff of the Reichsführer-SS. The guard units assigned to oversee the prisoners at their living quarters and at work were deployed from Ravensbrück.

On the basis of eyewitness interrogations and the evaluation of the existing archives, it was possible to ascertain the following prisoner insignia: red triangles for political prisoners, purple triangles for Jehovah's Witnesses, green triangles for criminals. In a few cases, foreign (Eastern European and French) prisoners were also assigned to labor in Birkenhain.

The precise size of the workforce employed in Birkenhain at any given time cannot always be reconstructed since the SS records did not survive. On May 14, 1944, 59 prisoners were on labor duty in Birkenhain; on August 25, 1944, 172.

According to the few existing documents and eyewitness reports, the prisoners were not tortured at their place of work, and there were no murders.

Witnesses to the events stated that, at their living quarters, prisoners were beaten for the slightest violations of the camp regulations.

The identities of this subcamp's leaders are not ascertainable. The names of the guards are known. They were deployed from the guard units of the main camp. According to eyewitness interrogations, it came about on occasion that prisoners were hired out to the people of Hindenburg as skilled workers. Jobs for electricians were mentioned in this context.

For one resident of the town of Hindenburg (the owner of the windmill), the prisoners painted two oil paintings in return for his help in the form of additional food. These paintings are still in the family's possession.

At least one attempt must have been made to escape from the camp, since there is a document regulating the collaboration between the SS and the local police/gendarmerie in the event of a further escape attempt.

One witness to the events spoke of two prisoners who were allegedly caught, shot to death, and then buried in the forest; however, it has not been corroborated.

The dissolution of the camp along with its workforce presumably took place in late March 1945. Individual laborers—women and Jehovah's Witnesses who worked as cleaning personnel—are reported to have been present in the officers' lodgings until April 1945. Proceedings against individual members of the SS who belonged to the guard units from Ravensbrück were carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany between the 1940s and the 1960s.

SOURCES The author's research uncovered just a few key bibliographical references. These include Elisabeth Kinder, "Der Persönliche Stab Reichsführer-SS: Geschichte, Aufgaben und Überlieferung," in *Aus der Arbeit des Bundesarchivs: Beiträge zum Archivwesen, zur Quellenkunde und Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Boberach and Hans Booms (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1977), pp. 379–397; Axel Klätte, "Von der Randow zur Ucker—Die Kampfhandlungen am 25. und 26. April 1945 im östlichen Vorfeld Prenzlaus," MUGP 6 (1997): 147–166; Marion and Reinhard Timm, "Aktion 'Birkenwald,'" HKfKrP (1989): 87.

Numerous documents on the history of the subcamp are to be found in the BA-K, Bestandsnummer NS 19, Persönlicher Stab RFSS. File No. AR Z 94/1971, Prenzlau, in the BA-L is likewise significant. It contains statements by former prisoners on the working and living conditions in Birkenhain. In the holdings of the BA-B is a film of documents (Film No. 3612) on the Birkenhain camp containing reports on the labor deployment of the prisoners from the perspective of the SS. The author's archive contains records of numerous eyewitness interrogations.

Reinhard Timm
trans. Judith Rosenthal

RETZOW [AKA RECHLIN]

Retzow is a district of the town of Rechlin and is located southeast of Müritz (district of Waren, state of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania).

The barracks camp in Retzow was built between 1939 and 1942. It was to provide lodgings for workers employed in the construction of the Lärz airport. The airfield was part of the Luftwaffe testing site in Rechlin. The camp was located 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the northern entrance to Lärz airfield. Until 1943, the camp provided lodging primarily for members of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and Italian workers. In 1943, 4 of the 12 barracks in the camp as well as a large proportion of the social barrack were fenced in. On the basis of the type of enclosure that was built, it was soon clear that a special type of camp was being set up—a concentration camp. In the early summer of 1943, 1,000 to 1,200 male prisoners were committed to this camp.

It is very difficult to determine what camp the men came from. In any case, they were not from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It is assumed with some certainty that they came from the men's camp in Ravensbrück.

For the most part, the prisoners were put to work carrying out excavations for the construction of the Lärz airfield and of a pilot's shelter. Some witnesses to the events have claimed, however, that there were specialists among the prisoners who were assigned to help with assembly tasks at the airfield or the testing site. During the performance of their labor assignments, the prisoners were subjected to rigorous treatment by the guard units. The rations were relatively satisfactory. In the early summer of 1944, a large majority of the men were transferred. To replace them, women were sent from Ravensbrück on July 9, 1944. By the late autumn of 1944, the camp population had risen to 3,000 at times. The number fluctuated strongly during this period.

Whether women or men, the prisoners were put to work primarily in the construction of the Lärz maneuvering area. As a rule, they carried out excavation work. This labor was often much too strenuous for women.

Beginning in the autumn of 1944, the majority of the women were employed building so-called camouflage pits.[1] These pits were depressions dug into the ground, over which—on a wooden framework—a camouflage net was spread to hide the aircraft from enemy pilots flying overhead. Here again, excavation constituted the major proportion of the work. At times, smaller groups of men were also assigned to help with the harvest. The women, for their part, were assigned to work in the halls in smaller groups. The work in the halls was considered easier. The greatest burdens placed on the women were the trench work and the clearing work following air raids. The work was organized by the management of the testing site or by the command of the air base. Among the male as well as the female prisoners, various nationalities were represented in the camp. According to the memories of former prisoners, a conspicuous number of French people were imprisoned in Retzow. From the autumn of 1944 onward, due to lack of space in the barracks, the cinema of the social barracks was also used as living quarters. The prisoners lodged in the cinema were primarily Jewish women who had previously been imprisoned in Auschwitz. This was also the period in which the camp population rose to as many as 3,000. The death rate fluctuated sharply. Relatively few men died. Several of them were shot to death during alleged escape attempts. A great deal more of the women died. In the period from the end of 1944 to April 1945, the rations were severely reduced.[2] Moreover, the prisoners suffered increasingly from vermin of all kinds, ranging from rats to head lice. As a result, the incidence of many kinds of disease increased to the point where they could be classified as epidemics.

The dissolution of the Eastern European extermination camps and the resulting deportations of Jewish prisoners to concentration camps in the West caused the situation in the Retzow subcamp to change. The Jewish women had separate lodgings, being literally crammed into the cinema of the social barracks.[3] There, selections were carried out regularly, and the selected women were taken back to the Ravensbrück main camp, presumably for extermination.[4] Every Friday, a transport of women classified as "unfit for life" was sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. In her monograph on Ravensbrück, Germaine Tillion, a prisoner in the main camp, describes a scene she witnessed on March 27, 1945. That evening, there was a transport from Rechlin on the camp street. She passed close by it on her way back from work. The women were lying in front of the washroom wing on the ground, and five or six of the women had died during this time. The others were horribly emaciated, very tan from the sun, but pale at the same time. Their gazes were full of fear and agitation.[5] In February 1945, even more prisoners were detained in the cinema, among them a large number of French women.[6] Even prisoners who had been in various concentration camps in the course of the years and were sent to the cinema barrack described the conditions there as especially atrocious. There is no evidence as to whether any of the women held in the cinema survived. Anise Postel Vinay recounts that, on April 26, 1945, women who had previously been in the Retzow subcamp were transported in trucks from the Uckermark camp to the main camp and then murdered.[7]

The memoirs of Tillion, Postel Vinay, and Renault indicate that, at least in certain phases, the camp was divided in its functions: Some of the prisoners were forced to perform the heaviest conceivable labor—but were out in the fresh air. Other women were doomed to vegetate in locked rooms day and night with minimal rations. Hunger, thirst, overcrowding, and disastrous hygienic conditions led to the deaths of the women.

Many of the prisoners who died in Retzow were taken to Ravensbrück for cremation.[8] A large number of women were killed during air raids. They were not evacuated but merely subjected to the bombing without any form of protection. Another considerable portion were killed in work-related accidents.[9] The extension of the runway was carried out while the planes were in operation, and the women were frequently

blown to the ground by landing aircraft with such force that they subsequently died.

Altogether 251 dead prisoners—men, women, and children—were buried at three sites in Retzow.[10] In 1948, 30 of the corpses were exhumed, identified as French women, and transported to France. The remaining 221 were dug up in 1950, cremated in Schwerin, and buried at a memorial in Waren (Müritz). Three other bodies were buried in a neighboring village. The overall death toll of the Retzow subcamp, however, has never been determined.

It is difficult not only to find the names of the dead today but also to describe the routes taken by the prisoner transports. It is known for certain that major relocations of prisoners took place in February 1945. At that time, the men who had remained in the camp in the summer of 1944 and many women prisoners were deported by train to the Ellrich concentration camp in the Harz (a subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp). These prisoners had been selected because they were still in relatively good physical condition. At Ellrich they were put to work in the construction of underground industrial facilities. In Ellrich, as well, there was little chance of survival.

No information concerning acts of resistance in Retzow has been found. In February 1944, one man succeeded in escaping from the camp. He was found by a forest worker 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the camp in a wooded area, suffering from a severe chill. He allowed himself to be taken back to the camp without resistance.[11]

On April 30 and May 1, 1945, the majority of the prisoners were driven on foot in the direction of Röbel-Malchow under the close surveillance of guards.[12] They were ultimately liberated by U.S. troops. The number of prisoners who died on the road is not known. The guards not needed for the evacuation were ordered to report to Neustadt-Glewe. Altogether, 71 women remained behind in the camp. At this point in time, 56 women were dead. The remaining prisoners were liberated by soldiers of the Red Army on the morning of May 2. At the instruction of the first in command of the Red Army in the town, Karl Wulf, a citizen of Retzow, assumed the medical care of the living prisoners and the burial of the dead. An additional 10 women died in May, the last in July. The women of the town were assigned to help Wulf. He succeeded quite well in caring for these severely enfeebled people, particularly in view of the fact that he initially had no medical personnel at his disposal.

Beginning in 1969, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg instituted legal proceedings against alleged criminals of the Retzow subcamp. In 1974, criminal proceedings were initiated against the guard Paul P. on charges of murder. Paul P. claimed that he had been a guard at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, that he guarded male prisoners during the construction of stables at the Damshöhe subcamp, and that he was assigned to guard duty as a concentration camp guard at the Rechlin runway and transferred to Barth, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, in the winter of 1944.[13] In 1975 he was sentenced to youth custody for three years by the District Court of Kleve. The verdict was amended by the 3rd Criminal Division of the Federal Supreme Court after the defendant lodged an appeal (on account of a procedural error). The charge was changed from consummated murder to attempted murder. The 1976 sentence was for two years and six months.[14]

No other trials were carried out. No original documents on the SS guard personnel have been uncovered.

SOURCES Material relevant to this subcamp may be found in Heinrich Baetke and Heinrich Ross, *Aus der Geschichte der Erprobungsstelle Rechlin* (Waren, 1999); Christian Bernadoc, *Les Mannequins Nus* (Paris, 1973); Heinrich Beauvais et al., *Flugerprobungsstellen bis 1945: Johannistal*, *Lipezk*, *Rechlin*, *Travemünde*, *Tarnewitz*, *Peenemünde West* (Bonn, 1998); Magistrat der Stadt Mörfelden-Walldorf, ed., *"Das Geheimnis der Erlösung heisst Erinnerung": Ein Begleitheft zum Historischen Lehrpfad am ehemaligen KZ-Aussenlager Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, 2000). Useful information may also be found in Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999).

As is the case of many of the Ravensbrück subcamps, there are hardly any primary sources on Retzow. The only existing detailed memoirs pertaining to the history of the Rechlin-Retzow camp were provided by French women formerly imprisoned at the camp; they are available in the form of written testimonies. Various set pieces of the memories of individual inmates are in the "Erika Buchmann" file in the AG-R. In this source, however, often neither the point in time nor the specific context of the events described is known. The documents of the ZdL were transferred to the holdings of the BA-L in the year 2000. The public attorney investigations comprise records of hearings of men and women formerly imprisoned in the Retzow subcamp, carried out between 1968 and 1971. Because of the author's personal interest in the history of this subcamp, he conducted interviews with eyewitnesses for many years. Many of these people were already very old at the time of the interviews and insisted on remaining anonymous. Their memories have been incorporated into this text. Two published testimonies on this subcamp are Maisie Renault, *La grande Misère* (Vannes, 1948); and Germaine Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneburg, 1998).

Heinrich Ross
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Cf. Marie Moulan, "Les Colonnes," Sammlung AG-R/SBG, RA-Nr. 32, Bericht 286. Cf. Maisie Renault, *La Grande Misère* (Vannes, 1948).

2. Interviews with witnesses to the events conducted by Heinrich Ross.

3. In 1998, an international student group developed a memorial at the authentic site. In a personal interview conducted there with Johanna Krause, who was 90 years old at the time, she stated with regard to her period of imprisonment in Retzow that having been a political and Jewish concentration camp prisoner for many years, she had become accustomed to a great deal. The accommodation in this so-called cinema was an especially devastating and unforgettable experience.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

4. On the subject of transports, cf. Ilse Hunger, Briefe an die VVN Berlin, Sammlung MGR/SBG, RA-Nr. 18, Bericht 74; interviews with former residents of Retzow conducted by Heinrich Ross.

5. Germaine Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 312; Katalyn Weinberger, Interview 1996, YVA.

6. In Tillion's memoirs there is an account of a transport of 2,000 French women to Rechlin on February 14, 1945. As in the Uckermark camp, the treatment of the women was aimed at their murder. Selections were carried out in March and April in this subcamp as well. The selected prisoners were picked up by trucks and probably murdered in the Ravensbrück gas chamber. See Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 194, 201.

7. Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945*, p. 202.

8. Sammlung AG-R/SBG, RA-Nr. 20, Bericht 188/1.

9. Heinrich Ross, interview with witnesses to the events.

10. MLHSN, SED Bezirksleitung Neubrandenburg Abt. V Bezirkskomitee Antifaschistischer Widerstandskämpfer, Nr. V/10/8, August 12, 1950.

11. Memories of a forestry worker in interview with Heinrich Ross.

12. Before the liberation of the subcamp, a so-called death march of some 3,000 women left the Ravensbrück main camp on March 22, 1945, and headed toward Rechlin by way of the town of Wesenberg. In the process of the so-called evacuation, the subcamps thus served as "catch basins" for the main camp. Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945*, p. 201.

13. BA-L, AR-Z 120/70, Bl. 554–557.

14. Ibid., pp. 708–713.

RHEINSBERG

About 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Berlin, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Rheinsberg (Brandenburg province). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Rheinsberg, most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück. The inmates were transferred there to perform clearing work after air raids; however, there is no specific information about the date the camp was established.

Moreover, no further information about the subcamp in Rheinsberg is available, including the number of inmates, kind of prisoner work, living and working conditions, evacuation or occupation date, or postwar trials of guards or the commandant. The fate of the Rheinsberg inmates is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Rheinsberg subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including the kind of work, gender of inmates, and so on, see the entry for Rheinsberg in the ITS's, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

Relevant materials may be found at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

ROSTOCK-SCHWARZENPFOST/ STEINHEIDE

In 1943, one year after the especially heavy bombardment of the Hanse city of Rostock, the idea was formulated to relocate essential armament production facilities to well-camouflaged sites. One such top-secret project lay concealed behind the code name "Robert" in the extensive forests of the Rostock Heath. Illusionary plans for constructing a large new aircraft factory were under consideration. Following the bombing of the Heinkel Works in Rostock-Marienehe, the plant had been divided into 40 small- and medium-size operations spread all over Mecklenburg, a solution that, however, did not guarantee acceptable production figures. Now a large facility was to be constructed on an area measuring 97 hectares (240 acres). The plant was built from the ground up almost exclusively by concentration camp prisoners and foreign workers. In addition, there was also a lodging camp for female prisoners in Oberhagen, a district of Rövershagen. It was enclosed by an electrically charged barbed-wire fence and kept under surveillance from three watchtowers manned by heavily armed guards belonging to the Ravensbrück unit of the SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment). In addition to an administration building, five barracks had been built to serve as lodgings for approximately 300 prisoners. Every day the emaciated inmates were driven on foot a distance of more than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to a forest near Schwarzenpfost to carry out 12 hours of the heaviest conceivable construction work.

A large number of eyewitness documents were discovered in the estate of Alfred Weber in the Western Pomeranian Landesarchiv in Greifswald (VLA-G). Among them is a letter written from Bulgaria by Mara Zanewa Beltschewa Göbelsmann, excerpts of which are reproduced here:

> One day—the picture that I still see in my mind's eye even today—two hundred women and young girls came from the Barth camp and were taken to join the other prisoners. They also had to work in the same factory [Schwarzenpfost]. They were so dirty, so infested with lice, that I could not possibly take them to the other prisoners. I left them standing in the courtyard and ran to the overseer to ask for fresh underwear and clothing for them. They hadn't changed for months and the shirts on their backs were like hard boards. The shirt . . . [?] them more than it warmed them. Their backs, their bodies were covered with sores. . . . These women were primarily journalists, doctors, teachers. They had deliberately been insulted, humiliated in this way, simply not given any change of clothing for eight months. . . . Then I took two hundred dresses and two hundred shirts for all of them.[1]

Magdalena Szabolcsi Imrene of Hungary recounted her memories of the Schwarzenpfost camp in 1964:

> In April 1945 we were taken to Schwarzenpfost to work in an aircraft factory, but because of our weakness, we were no longer in a position to do so. There was no kitchen whatsoever; we survived on what we found on the ground. The camp was not far from the road, and we could see that the people were fleeing from the advancing front. . . . In Schwarzenpfost camp there were approximately three hundred women. There were also men there, but they were separated from us by a wire fence; how many of them there were I do not know, because contact of any kind with them was entirely impossible. As far as the nationality of the inmates was concerned, there were Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, Dutch, and above all Russians. The overseers were SS women. Our lodgings were in Schwarzenpfost, as I remember. I can remember with absolute certainty that there were several barracks there, though I can no longer say exactly how many. During the death march which ended in Warnemünde and led from Schwarzenpfost through the forest, many women were killed. . . . On the night of April 29, 1945, the advancing front forced the SS to evacuate the camp. The prisoners—in April, male inmates had arrived from the east, some on foot, some in trucks—were driven through the forest to Hinrichshagen. From there the march went on to the Hohe Düne by way of Markgrafenheide. When the SS guard troops learned that the Red Army was already close to Warnemünde, they put on civilian clothing. One SS officer who had always treated us with such fine expressions as "scumbags," "sows," and "bitches" suddenly called out to us: "You're free, ladies!" Now suddenly we were "ladies." . . . On the way, we heard shots again and again; prisoners who were too weak to go on were "finished off," murdered, by the SS.[2]

What Weber concealed and negated as he was gathering the witnesses' reports on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) was the circumstance that among the prisoners there were hundreds of Jewish men and women of various nationalities, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, so-called asocials, criminals, and others. Even in the internal, unpublished documents, antifascism was equated exclusively with the concept of communism. As a consequence, many of the documentations were decried because of their obvious bias in the recounting of historical events.

References to the Schwarzenfost/Steinheide camp are also found in the rationality of indexes and statistics, often concealed behind code names such as "Robert" and "Sturm." The organizational plan of the Heinkel aircraft works includes a depiction of the company hierarchy showing not only the chief branches in Rostock, Oranienburg, Vienna, and Stuttgart but also a number of subsidiaries under the administration of the Rostock branch. The sites Patriotischer Weg, Werftstrasse, Bleicherstrasse, Pütnitz bei Ribnitz-Damgarten Kraków, Lübz, Güstrow, Rövershagen, Oelsnitz, and Adorf in Voigtland as well as the underground facility Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc., KALAG) in Stassfurt were listed in conjunction with the Rostock main factory.

In the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the following memo is found on Schwarzenpfost: "Schwarzenpfost, District of Rostock, Russian Zone, CC-Kommando of Ravensbrück (Concentration Camp Kommando) May 1944—one thousand women at Heinkel Company."[3] In another list published by the ITS, the following can be read in connection with the Schwarzenpfost camp: "Opened in mid-1943 according to a statement by a chief department head of the SS-WVHA (Business Administration Main Office)."[4]

The Central Archive of the Federal Commissioner for the Documentation of the State Security Service (BSTU) also holds documents that shed light on the history of Schwarzenpfost camp. Particularly in the 1960s, the Ministry for State Security (Staatssicherheit, Stasi) of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) carried out a considerable number of investigation procedures on the concentration camps in Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania. In this context, it is conspicuous that quite a few persons decisively involved in the camp hierarchy carried out their offices and functions in the GDR until their deaths, although they had been proven guilty.

In April 1964, Prof. Dr. Köhler, who as head of operations in the Heinkel company was responsible for the establishment of the concentration camps in Barth and Schwarzenpfost, among others, was interrogated on this subject. In the course of the hearing, he stated the following about a conversation with higher-ranking SS men in Ravensbrück: "The only thing I remember about the negotiations was that the conditions of the already existing Oranienburg concentration camp [by this he meant the Sachsenhausen concentration camp] were included in the basis for the agreements."

Köhler also claimed: "Shortly before the divestiture a proportion of the prisoners from Barth concentration camp were employed in the construction of a forest plant for the Heinkel company near Rövershagen. The prisoners' wages were paid by the Heinkel company as a flat rate, two to three Reichsmark per day. The payments were settled with Office D (SS-Economic Office). This form of payment brought the Heinkel company a financial advantage which was passed on to the Ministry of Aviation only in part. Through this form of payment, the services actually performed by the prisoners were by no means compensated."[5]

Finally, two drawings were found in which the camp grounds, the course of the electric fence, and, to some extent, the locations of individual buildings are depicted. These drawings are of particular value for the endeavor to carry out targeted research work on the former camp grounds themselves.

SOURCES There is to date no completed publication on the Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide concentration camp near Rövershagen. More specifically, a brochure was issued by Prof. Dr. Karl Bittel titled *Wir klagen an—Die Wahrheit über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager im Ostseegebiet* (Stralsund, 1966),

but its documentary value is extremely doubtful since—in keeping with the state doctrine of East Germany at that time—facts were concealed or purposely changed. This assessment also applies to the work carried out by Alfred Weber during the same period. The first objectively correct publication on this camp is in volume 5 of the *Schriften der Geschichtswerkstatt Toitenwinkel* (Rostock, 1998) in an article titled "Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter zwischen Warnow und Barthe." Since 2002, a research group has undertaken a thorough investigation of the camp.

As far as is known, there is little in the way of archival material on the concentration camp. In the ASt-Ros, among the forestry records, the files 1.10.537 "Mitbenutzung der Holzverladestelle u.a. Heinkel AG" and 1.10.477 "Einsetzung von Kriegsgefangenen in der Rostocker Heide" are to be found. A number of isolated documents were found in the AG-R. In BStU the following material pertaining to this concentration camp was found: "Untersuchungsvorgang Zöllner, Arnold," the "Bildbericht zur Exumierung von zehn ermordeten KZ-Häftlingen aus zwei Gräbern in der Gemeinde Rövershagen Krs. Rostock."

Wilfried Steinmüller
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Excerpt from the file Rep. BI V / 5 Nr. 326, VLA-G.
2. Excerpt from the file Rep. Bi Nr. 3069, VLA-G.
3. Quoted in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 632.
4. Quoted in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 197.
5. Excerpt from the file HA IX/11 Archiv ZUV 4 Akte 3, BStU.

SIEMENSLAGER RAVENSBRÜCK

The Siemens subcamp (Siemenslager) was located on a swampy rise above Lake Schwedt in the immediate vicinity of the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp and the Ravensbrück "production center" of the Siemens concern. On December 3, 1944,[1] detainees of the so-called Siemens detail were transferred to the Siemens subcamp. The history of the Siemens detail is the history of the Siemens subcamp as well as the Siemens & Halske (S&H) firm's involvement with the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, following the failure of the Blitzkrieg, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Generalluftzeugmeister Erhard Milch arranged for the utilization of concentration camp prisoners to produce Luftwaffe armaments.[2] Siemens quickly assumed a key role in the arrangement: out of the companies already using concentration camp detainees as labor at this time, Siemens had the largest share—at that time, over 1,500 of the 6,400 female detainees at Ravensbrück. In addition, Siemens at this initial phase had the responsibility for coordinating the use of female detainees as labor at other firms. The reason for this was that Siemens had full order books, but its Berlin factories were desperately short of labor.[3] The Reich Air Ministry's (RLM) interest in the expansion of production by its important supplier was such that Siemens could shift a large proportion of its investment costs to the Reich. The factory erected next door to the Ravensbrück concentration camp, built at the cost of the RLM, was ready for use. The factory buildings were then leased to Siemens, which in turn fitted out the buildings with the relevant machinery.[4]

The project became a reality on June 8, 1942, when male and female prisoners from Ravensbrück constructed, from precast materials, the factory buildings next to the concentration camp. Production began in the factory on August 21, 1942, in one of the first buildings constructed.[5] Adroit female detainees with finger dexterity and good eyesight were chosen for the production line. The women manufactured relays, microphones, toggle switches, and other electronic parts. The items were manufactured from precast parts from Berlin. All the products were destined for use by the Luftwaffe.[6] A total of 20 buildings were erected over a period of time. With its "own Ravensbrück operation,"[7] Siemens increased its production capacity of telephone terminals (WWFg), radios, building components (WWR), telegraphic equipment (WWT), and meters (WWM).[8]

Records of the numbers of people in the Siemens detail are fragmentary and incomplete. In January 1945, Siemens used 2,307 prisoners, the largest number. In February 1945, 2,298 female concentration camp detainees, the biggest production detail of female prisoners, were still being used for labor by the Siemens complex.[9]

The workplaces were fitted out with ergonomic facilities. They were adequately heated and lit because of the work required on the delicate material. Nevertheless, the work was very demanding and burdensome. The prisoners worked initially in 8-hour shifts and later in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work required a high degree of concentration. In addition, there was the constant supervision and demands by Siemens employees and female SS guards. In cooperation with the SS, the factory management established a system, based on an assumed piecework rate of production, to measure an individual's "learning" and production rates. For adequate or good performance, there were additional rations; for inadequate performance, as punishment, there was additional work or rations were withheld, or the detainees were subjected to a hierarchy of beatings, or they were reported to the SS. Notwithstanding the burdensome work, the prisoners feared being dismissed from the detail; it was considered a "disconnection" because those affected went back into the pool of "disposable" people who were allocated the most strenuous work, largely unprotected in the open air. By manipulating the account settlement statements, the prisoner-functionaries employed in the workshops and offices of the firm tried to support and protect their

fellow detainees. The extent and effectiveness of this sabotage, which is given a prominent account in survivors' reports, are difficult to gauge. All that is known for certain is that Siemens was so satisfied with the detainees' work that it used the Ravensbrück "production center" model, for example, at the Flossenbürg Graslitz and Zwodau subcamps.[10]

The main camp, in which the Siemens detail prisoners were originally quartered, had filled beyond capacity. The cumulative catastrophic overcrowding, together with typhoid and dysentery epidemics and general camp disorganization, resulted in the creation of the Siemens subcamp in the second half of 1944. Probably the firm expected a reduction in downtime from this camp, by shortening the period in which the more than 2,000 detainees marched to and from the camp. Also hoped for was an increase in control over the food supply.

Some 13 barracks, enclosed by an electric fence, were constructed between the factory and Lake Schwedt. The barracks functioned as lodgings, kitchen, dispensary, and washing facilities. Unlike the main camp, the lodgings consisted of a single, large room. There were no toilets. The latrine consisted of simple ditches with long boards across them. The women detainees found it particularly degrading when they had to relieve themselves under the gaze of the SS guards.[11] The lodgings are described as unheated, overcrowded, and stifling. Until the beginning of 1945, most of the detainees had to share their bunks. Bedding on the bunks was sacks of straw. There were approximately 250 to 300 prisoners per barracks. This was a marked contrast to the overcrowded main camp where, in many barracks, between 700 and 800 detainees were crowded together.[12]

The Siemens camp was under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Grabow and SS-Oberaufseherin Holthöver. The head of the Kapos of the Siemens subcamp, Anna or Anni Vavak, acted as the unofficial camp elder (Lagerältester).[13] Some prisoners claim that Grabow beat them, while others report that they were "justly treated." Many survivors hold him responsible for the fact that during their work-free periods they were required to transport peat to the camp for flowerbeds. It is said of Holthöver that she personally often beat detainees and represented the "old camp methods," that is, the common practice of humiliating and mistreating the prisoners. The behavioral patterns created in the main camp were transferred to the Siemens subcamp with the results that the block elders (Blockältester) also often beat the detainees, and prisoner-functionaries of the so-called prominent block enjoyed privileges such as daily showers.[14] The detainees successfully maintained their cultural activities (thereby asserting themselves against the SS) in the Siemens camp. Reports mention theater performances, group singing, and New Year's festivities.[15]

Overall, the transfer from the main camp represented only a small improvement in living conditions. The most significant was the food: less was misappropriated from the kitchen in the Siemens subcamp than in the main camp. In the infirmary with some 20 beds, presumably with double occupancy, and in the face of a shortage of medicine and bandages, the detainees' chief doctor, Dr. Court, and chief nurse, Countess zu D., could not provide adequate care for the sick. Seriously ill detainees were transferred back to the main camp. Yvonne Useldinger strikingly described those conditions in her diary—on a visit to the dentist in the main camp, she had to step over corpses. The Siemens subcamp itself supposedly had no deaths among the prisoners.[16]

Production decreased in the last few months of the war because of air-raid alarms and difficulties in the supply of energy and components for production. This resulted in production decreases and reductions in the size of the Siemens detail, which were dangerous for the prisoners because selections then took place. Elderly and "less productive" women were the main targets. The firm management was directly and decisively involved in determining who would be "disconnected" and transferred either to the main camp or to the youth camp Uckermark.[17] An additional life-threatening danger arose in the spring of 1945 for those "unproductive" detainees when a gas chamber at Ravensbrück commenced operation.[18]

The Siemens subcamp was probably evacuated on April 13 and 14, 1945. With the evacuation of the subcamp, the Siemens model project, its "own Ravensbrück production center," came to an end. Male detainees of an "evacuation transport" from Mittelbau or Buchenwald then occupied the empty barracks.

Between 1946 and 1948 in Hamburg, the British occupying authorities conducted 7 "Ravensbrück Trials" against members of the SS camp and security personnel as well as against prisoner-functionaries of the women's concentration camp. Only in 2 of the trials did the accused have a connection with Siemens' use of detainees or the Siemens subcamp. In the first trial, lasting from December 5, 1946, to February 3, 1947 (Judge Advocate General [JAG] 225), Eugenia Skene, the block elder in the Siemens subcamp, was sentenced to more than 10 years' imprisonment. On the other hand, the military tribunal in the 6th trial that took place between July 2, 1948, and July 21, 1948 (JAG 334), acquitted Christine Holthöver, the senior female guard at the Siemens subcamp, because of a lack of evidence. The French occupying authorities also prosecuted Ravensbrück SS personnel and prisoner-functionaries. Between 1946 and 1950, 11 trials were conducted in Reutlingen and Rastatt. Only the proceedings against Emmy Kowa and Ruth Schumann had a connection with Siemens. Kowa, a temporary guard in the Siemens factory, was sentenced on February 20, 1948, in Rastatt to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor. Schumann, a former Siemens employee, was acquitted on appeal. Under the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) and in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), a number of trials against Ravensbrück SS personnel were conducted. However, the trials did not meet the requirements of the rule of law. The accused were tried before a military tribunal. Most of the accused had neither legal representation nor translators, so the accused were not in a position to defend themselves. Later trials in the DDR in the 1960s were conducted in accordance with the requirements and under the supervision of the Ministry for State Security (MfS). They were mainly characterized by political opportunism and doubtful verdicts relating

to the social behavior of the accused in the social milieu of the DDR. They should thus be seen as being politically motivated and as a means for securing power. The trials played neither a role in appraising nor explaining the National Socialist crimes committed in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

SOURCES As it is difficult to provide a complete overview of the scholarly literature dealing with the Ravensbrück Siemens subcamp and the prisoners' forced labor, only a selection will be given here. Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler provide a history of construction of the women's concentration camp and its typology, including the Siemens subcamp, in *Baugeschichte Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 2001). A calendar of the camp history appeared in Grit Phillip, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999). Carola Sachse and Tilla Siegel analyzed Siemens's strategy and practical application of detainee labor in Ravensbrück in their respective articles in *IWK* 27:1 (1991): "Zwangsarbeit jüdischer und nicht-jüdischer Frauen und Männer bei der Firma Siemens, 1940–1945," pp. 1–12; "Die doppelte Rationalisierung des 'Ausländereinsatzes' bei Siemens," pp. 12–24. This work still forms the basis for all subsequent studies. The works by Ursula Krause-Schmidt (1993), Ulrike Brandes et al. (1994), and Sigrid Jacobeit (1999) should also be mentioned in this context. Karl Heinz Roth has compared a number of cases where Siemens used forced labor in "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, *1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. The thesis prepared by the author, "Zwangsarbeit von Konzentrationslagerhäftlingen in der letzten Phase des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Das Beispiel Siemens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussenlager Siemens-Haselhorst und 'Siemenslager' Ravensbrück" (Master's thesis, Technische Universität Berlin, 1997), contains a study of the structured typology of Siemens forced labor. The monograph by the former director of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, was published on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). Its obvious apologetics should be noted, above all the generous use of annotations from documents in the unregistered files of the Siemens temporary archive, which are inaccessible to the public.

The location of the SMAD files is unclear. They are most likely located in CAFSSRF and are probably inaccessible. The BStU holds the files of the DDR trials. Included in these files are numerous statements made by former SS female guards. These statements were made before 1950, so they are, like numerous other National Socialist documents, not codified the way such documents in later decades were. In 1959, the ZdL, now BA-L, conducted an exhaustive preliminary investigation into the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp (AR-Z 39/59), including the Siemens subcamp (AR-Z 39/59 SH). As there were no killings in the Siemens subcamp, the results of the investigations were not handed over to the state prosecutors. The holdings of the AS-M are apparently quite extensive. Regrettably, to a large extent the "unregistered files of the temporary archive" are not accessible for independent researchers. This includes the Ravensbrück production center's monthly "production center reports," including information about the genesis of the use of detainees and cooperation between management and the SS and the Siemens subcamp. Researchers are therefore forced to rely on state archives. In addition to the already mentioned trial documents, the BA-B has microfilmed records of the Deutsche Bank. Deutsche Bank was Siemens's banker, and representatives of the bank sat on the board of directors of S&H. The detailed information kept by the bank and now in the BA contains valuable information on the origins and development of the use of Ravensbrück detainees by Siemens. Also kept in the BA are microfilms of documents seized by the OMGUS. These documents deal with the production of armaments by Siemens. The original documents are held by NARA. Additional extensive collections dealing with armaments and economic administration are held in the BA-MA. Reports by former, mostly Communist, detainees of the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, which are unrelated to judicial proceedings, are kept at a number of locations. The reports deal mostly with issues of solidarity and resistance. They are found at the AG-R, DÖW, as well as in the former BPASED-B(O), which is now part of LA-B. This latter archive keeps in particular the records of Bruno Baums, a former concentration camp prisoner. The Compensation Treuhand GmbH has collected other important records. Dating from the beginning of the 1960s, the records concern compensation claims by Jewish survivors against large German companies. As a result of the claims, the German companies made available their management files. Excerpts from these files can be found in the preliminary investigations conducted by the ZdL. Probably the most valuable collection of documents is the record group M32 in YVA. However, the author was not granted access to those records on the basis that they contained personal confidential information. Other sources have been quoted in the text. In many of the publications of survivors of Ravensbrück, the Siemens subcamp plays a role as an important provider of work in the main Ravensbrück camp. A drawing of the Siemenslager by prisoner Astrid Petersen Blumensaad is reproduced in Sigrid Jacobeit, "Arbeitsalltag Ravensbrück: Aus der Lebensbeschreibung von Rita Sprengel, Häftling Nr. 12867," in *Verfolgung*, *Alltag*, *Widerstand*, *Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit*, *Studien und Dokumente*, ed. Dietrich Eichholtz (Berlin, 1993), pp. 303–321. Prisoner-functionaries have published reports about their activities with Siemens, such as Margaret Buber-Neumann, *Als Gefangene bei Stalin und Hitler: Ein Welt im Dunkel* (1958; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1993); or Rita Sprengel, *Im Schatten der eisernen Fesse* (Berlin [East], 1949); and *Der rote Fadden: Lebenserinnerungen; Ostpreussen*, *Weimarer Republik*, *Ravensbrück*, *DDR*, *Die Wende*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit (Berlin, 1994); as well as Maria Montuoro, "Schicht 'B,'" *DaHe* 3 (187): 221–230, a worker on the production line.

Records of the trials are kept at AG-R and PRO.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES:

1. Yvonne Useldinger, "Selbstkritik an den Rand geschrieben: Aus meinem Tagebuch, geschrieben im Siemens-Lager-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 475; BA-L, ZdL, Ordner Häftlingsberichte/Vorläufige Zeittafel des FKL Ravensbrück, AG-R, 475, AG-R, 918.

2. See Peter Witte et al., eds., *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (Hamburg, 1999), p. 325; as well as "Protokolle der Amtschefbesprechungen beim Stab Generalluftzeugmeister," January 27, 1942, February 17, 1942, and March 10, 1942, BA-MA, RL3/45, pp. 449/854, 437/8134, 427/8116.

3. On the order situation, see Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996), p. 257; as well as a memo by Dr. Lohse, August 15, 1940, Betr.: "Lage im Wernerwerk F," p. 74; further, BA-MA, RL3/4117, especially "Gesamt-Umsatzentwicklung LGW 1941/42" P 114; as well as "Gesamt-Bestelleingang u. Umsatz," p.141; on the labor situation, see "Entwicklung der S&H- und SSW-Belegschaft in Berlin und ausserhalb Berlins 1929–1944," "Referat Direktor Leifer [Fabrikenoberleitung] für die Vorstandssitzung 22.4.1944," BA-MA, RL3/4497; on the labor situation esp. re: female workers, see Niederschrift über die Berichte, gegeben beim Besuch von Herrn Gauleiter Sauckel, September 25, 1942, in the Wernerwerken der S&H in Siemensstadt, AS-M, 14Lt 397.

4. See memo S&H Betr: "Kz-Lager Ravensbrück [sic]"—Besprechung im RLM am 16.4.[1942], April 18, 1942, AS-M 10235–2.

5. On the timing of the start of construction, see Schreiben SS-OGruF Pohl and RFSS Himmler, October 20, 1942 Betr.: Herstellung von Nachrichtengerät in den KL, BA-B, NS19/968; on the construction of the factory, see Vernehmungsniederschriften Rudolf Karl August Kn., September 25–26, 1967, in Steinfurth/Oberhessen, BA-L, ZdL, 405AR1485/66 Ordner K; as well as Aussage Sara H. geb. Gr., November 30, 1970, in Naharya, Israel, ZdL, 409 AR-Z 39/59 SH5, S. 38ff; on the start of production, see ZdL, Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück: Eine Gesamtdarstellung, ZdL, AR-Z 39/59, p. 130; as well as AG-R, RA V/1, Nr. 28, RA Bd. 14, Arbeitseinteilungen FKL Ravensbrück.

6. Interview with Irma Trksak, April 2, 2001, in Vienna, in the possession of the author, as well as [Oberkapo] Anna Vavak, "Siemens & Halske A.G. im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück" (np. [Vienna], n.d.); ZdL, 409 AR-Z 39/59 SH5, pp. 104–109; Vernehmungsniederschrift Josef J. v. December 16, 1971, in Kattowitz, ZdL, 409 AR-Z 121/64 (StA Köln) Ordner I+J.

7. Verlagerungsbefehl d. Rüstungsamtes, April 14, 1944, S&H, WWR nach "eigenes Zweigwerk Ravensbrück," Messwiderstände, Potentiometern, Heissleitern, Kleintransformatoren, Glimmer-Sikatrop- u. Styroflexkondensatoren, BA-B, R3/253, p. 24.

8. See map "Geplante Verlegungsstellen von S&H u. zugeh. Ges. (ohne TB | Stand Anfang April 44)" aus Referat Dir. Leifer, Aktenvermerk S&H AG Dr. Lohse, April 15, 1940.

9. All numbers from NARA, RG260, Box 173. For the time before, see statements of Oberkapo Anna Vavak of the Siemens commando. See Anna Vavak, "Siemens & Halske AG im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," ZdL; the "Monatsberichte der Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück" in AS-M are not available for research. See Feldenkirchen, *Siemens*, p. 552.

10. On work productivity, see die Rechtfertigungsschrift "Einsatz ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener, Juden und KZ-Häftlinge im Hause Siemens," October 31, 1945, p. 32, AG-S, XXXIX/2.

11. See Edith Klemmich, "Sein oder Nichtsein in Ravensbrück, Tatsachenbericht von Edith Klemmich," AG-R, Bericht 649, S. 10ff. On the latrine, see Interview with Irma Trksak.

12. See Astrid Petersen Blumensaad, "Siemenslager, KZ Ravensbrück," Jacobeit, "Arbeitsalltag Ravensbrück: Aus der Lebensbeschreibung von Rita Sprengel, Häftling Nr. 12867," p. 307; Yvonne Useldinger, "Unmenschliche Ausbeutung bei Siemens-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 480; Vgl. Vernehmung Eva L., June 24, 1969, in Freiburg, ZdL, 409 AR-/39/59SH5, p. 1.

13. On Grabow und Holthöver see ZdL, Gesamtdarstellung FKL Ravensbrück, p. 133.

14. Bericht Hilde St.-S., December 1957, ZdL, 409 AR-Z39/59SH5, pp. 13–14.

15. See Boza Velikonja-Legisa, "Wir feierten Neujahr im KZ"; Cirila Kozjak Curk and Marta Urbancic, "Kulturpolitisches Leben," AG-R, 895.

16. See Yvonne Useldinger, "Selbstkritik an den Rand geschrieben: Aus meinem Tagebuch, geschrieben im Siemens-Lager-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 475, entry of February 19, 1945.

17. See Yvonne Useldinger, "Unmenschliche Ausbeutung," AG-R, 480.

18. See Grit Phillip, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), p. 187.

STARGARD IN POMMERN

About 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Stettin (Szczecin), a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Stargard in Pommern (later Stargard Szczecinski, Poland). Created in mid-1943, a contingent of both male and female inmates was deported to the Stargard camp from both the Flossenbürg and Ravensbrück main camps.[1] The Stargard subcamp was created to supply cheap labor to the Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard. The introduction of concentration camp inmates from Ravensbrück and other camps into the armaments manufacturing workforce stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the armaments firms. Inmates were provided to the firms at a low, per-day "price" paid by the firms to the WVHA.

No further information about the subcamp at Stargard, including the number of inmates, camp guards, commandant, living and working conditions, or postwar trials, is available. The inmates were evacuated from Stargard to the main Ravensbrück camp in early 1945. The further fate of the Stargard inmates is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Stargard in Pommern subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of

prisoner work, and so on, see the entry for Stargard in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL (now BA-L) contains various files that may provide additional information on the Stargard camp: see files IV 409 AR 1475/66; VI 302 AR-Z 47/65; IV 409 AR-Z 39/59; IV 410 (F) AR 2629–67; IV 409 AR-Z 99/70; and IV 409 AR 1479/66. Additional materials are most likely stored at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See BA-L, ZdL, files IV 410 (F) AR 2629/7 and IV 409 AR-Z 99/70.

STEINHÖRING

The village of Steinhöring is situated east of Munich. In the summer of 1944, it became a headquarters of the SS organization Lebensborn e.V., which was established by Heinrich Himmler on December 12, 1935. "Lebensborn" was part of National Socialist ideology: The SS authorities supported German women to deliver babies. They established so-called Lebensborn homes (*Lebensbornheime*) where—in most cases, unmarried—women and girls could deliver their babies. The first Lebensborn home was "Haus Hochland" in Steinhöring, which was built in September 1936. About two-thirds of the approximately 1,400 children at Steinhöring had mothers who were unmarried.

The first Lebensborn headquarters was located in Berlin, but it was transferred to Munich in 1938. On July 11, July 12, and July 13, 1944, Allied air strikes destroyed the buildings of the Lebensborn in Munich. The SS started the evacuation to Steinhöring in July 1944 and completed the evacuation on September 20, 1944.

Steinhöring was a subcamp in the broadest sense, because the SS authorities allowed the female prisoners to walk around. In addition, the prisoners wore civilian clothes. There was a maximum of 24 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp and about 27 male prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp. SS authorities counted 27 male prisoners in Steinhöring on April 3, 1945, and 24 female prisoners were counted by Allied authorities after the liberation on May 3, 1945. Most of the female prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses and worked between 1943 and 1945 at the Lebensborn e.V. The female inmates had a German background. However, 3 prisoners came from Austria, 2 others came from the Netherlands, and 1 woman was a prisoner from Poland. The work they were forced to do was housework at the Hochland maternity clinic or at the local Lebensborn administration department. At first they lived in a hut outside the maternity clinic, but later authorities gave them some beds inside the Hochland house. Only in the case of serious diseases were female prisoners deported back to the Ravensbrück main camp.

The male prisoners arrived from the concentration camp of Dachau: They were forced to work in the establishment of huts outside the maternity clinic—there were six huts, each 42.5 meters (139.4 feet) long and 12.5 meters (41 feet) wide. The huts were used as living space, stores for textiles and equipment, and offices. Moreover, some prisoners built the house of SS member Max Sollmann in Steinhöring. The first male prisoners were a bricklayer, a tailor, and an electrician. In October and November 1944, a shoemaker, a cook, and two tailors from Poland as well as a cook, a baker, and a welder from France arrived as prisoners in Steinhöring.

A small SS unit controlled the whole area, while Dr. Gregor Ebner led the maternity clinic, together with one hospital matron and five or six nurses. The SS deported the male prisoners from Steinhöring to Dachau on April 28, 1945, and left Steinhöring one day later. In contrast, the female prisoners were asked by the hospital matron to stay and help with the babies even after the liberation; as a result, most of the female prisoners left Steinhöring two months after the end of the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Steinhöring include Johannes Wrobel, "Steinhöring (männliche KZ-Häftlinge)," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager* (Munich, 2005), pp. 500–502. Steinhöring is listed as a Ravensbrück subcamp in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die Nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), p. 220. On the "Lebensborn" program, the standard work is Georg Lilienthal, *Der "Lebensborn e.V.": Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (1985; repr., Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 2003).

Primary sources for the Steinhöring subcamp of Ravensbrück may be found at AG-R.

Alexander Jossifidis

ZICHOW

The Zichow subcamp was established 75 kilometers (46.6 miles) from the city of Fürstenberg-Havel in Mecklenburg and from the Ravensbrück concentration camp that was within Fürstenberg's municipal area.[1] The subcamp was located near Gramzow on the manor of the same name. The farm, in Uckermark in the northeast part of the Prussian province of Brandenburg, was owned by Adolf Julius Albrecht Bernd Count von Arnim,[2] member of an extended aristocratic family that owned a large number of manors.

Von Arnim owned the Kleinow and Netzow manors, 15 and 60 kilometers (9.3 and 37.3 miles), respectively, from Zichow. Servants and day laborers worked on his manor, and then beginning in 1940, first Polish, later French, and from 1942 on, Russian prisoners of war (POWs) also worked on the farm.[3] As the labor force in the German Reich was getting scarcer in the armaments industry, due to the war, the number of POWs on the manor went from 60 to 13 in 1944.[4] These people and the German and foreign agricultural workers were insufficient labor for harvesting the 608 hectares (1,502 acres) that were under cultivation—220.75 hectares (545.5 acres) of grain, 315.25 hectares (779 acres) of root crops,

43 hectares (106.3 acres) of oil and fiber plants capable of being woven, and 29 hectares (71.7 acres) of forage crops. Von Armin must have had good connections directly to the SS or via the offices and people of the Wehrmacht. This is the only way that he could have ensured that detainees from the Zichow subcamp could be made available for work at his manors in a time of severe labor shortage where the priority lists for the use of detainees, POWs, and forced laborers rapidly changed.

The exact date when the Ravensbrück concentration camp prisoners arrived at Zichow cannot be determined. All that is certain is that at the beginning of 1944, at the commencement of the harvest, 70 female prisoners were assigned to von Armin's manor. They were housed in a brick building with iron bars over the windows, a former storehouse, not far from the manor house. Inside, there was a lounge and bedroom, both 147 square meters (176 square yards). Both rooms were drafty and unheated. The detainees' kitchen is said to have been located in the cellar of the farm building opposite the storehouse. The Zichow subcamp closed, and the detainees were transported back to Ravensbrück on February 3, 1945.[5]

The population of the detachment fluctuated during the seven months of its existence, as the prisoners were rotated several times. This was necessary because not all of the women were able to do the heavy farmwork, especially since they had been weakened by a long period of detention. Those who could not meet the demands were promptly returned to the main camp. On December 16, 1944, for reasons that are not fully clear but possibly because there was less work, a transport of 28 women left the subcamp in the direction of Ravensbrück. It is possible to identify approximately 100 prisoners who for either a shorter or longer period were brought to Zichow as forced laborers. The Ravensbrück concentration camp administered Zichow from the moment it opened to its closure.

All the women came from Germany, except for one Polish woman. The youngest was 18 and the oldest 43; 35 of the women were between the ages of 22 and 24. They all wore a red triangle, so Gestapo officials had classified them as political detainees. The reasons for their arrest have not been clearly determined, but it is certain that some had been sent to the concentration camp for "adulterous relations" with foreign forced laborers.

The leader of an SS detachment was in control of the Zichow subcamp. He maintained a line of communication to the main camp and organized matters relating to the detainees, including exchanging detainees, basic medical care, clothes, mail, and recommendations for awards. SS men guarded the camp. At least three female guards, sent from Ravensbrück, were present and ensured that the detachment's work was done without any trouble.

The women primarily worked in the field from Monday to Saturday, regardless of the weather. By November they had harvested hay, grain, rapeseed, flax, root crops, as well as vegetables. After that they loaded sugar beets, cabbage, straw, and potatoes.[6] Sick detainees and those incapable of doing this work worked inside, mostly in the kitchen. Two prisoners had special functions, one in the kitchen and the other doing things outside the camp. The detainees were encouraged to exceed work norms by means of an award system. The detainees were given award cards valued at either 1 or 2 Reichsmark (RM), which, among other things, they could exchange for stamps. Conversely, the prisoners were punished if, in the opinion of a supervisor, they had not worked hard enough or had not carried out an instruction. In September 1944, two women were not given lunch for four days.

The heavy work in the heavy clay Uckermark soil, for which the detainees had inadequate clothing and footwear, produced many colds and flu, rheumatic pains, stomach and intestinal problems, boils and abscesses, and abdominal complaints. The Zichow subcamp did not have an infirmary. A dentist in Gramzow, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away, dealt with minor dental problems—but only after the detachment leader had spoken with the head of the dental unit in the Ravensbrück main camp and after a transfer pass was presented. The detainees' mail was sent by the detachment leader to be checked in Ravensbrück, from where the mail was sent out.

On October 7, 1944, three women attempted to escape after they had succeeded in taking a key from one of the female guards. Their absence was discovered the following day during morning roll call. They were discovered that morning hiding in an adjacent barn where Russian POWs were held. The following day the three women were returned to Ravensbrück. On October 21, 1944, the manor received replacement laborers.

SOURCES The history and purpose of the Zichow subcamp were first mentioned by Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz in *BWF* 20 (2003): 30–42. A research project of the MGR/SBG, from January 2000 to January 2001, by A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, and S. Steppan, began to collect further information about the Zichow subcamp.

The most important source on the Zichow subcamp is a file on the camp's internal organization, which is located in the collection of AG-R. The BLHA holds other documents on the manor.

Erika Schwarz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details about the internal operations of the subcamp are found in surviving documents in the Sammlungen AG-R/SBG, Bd. 45, Bericht 1030.
2. Further information, in particular about the manor, can be found in BLHA, Rept. 37, Zichow.
3. See BLHA, Ber. 37 (Rept. 37), Zichow, Nr. 69, n.p.
4. See BLHA, Rept. 37, Zichow, Nr. 30, n.p.
5. See Sammlungen AG-R/SBG, vol. 45, Bericht 1030/1.
6. See BLHA, Bericht 37, Zichow, Nr. 378, pp. 72–95.

RIGA-KAISERWALD



Post-liberation photograph of an execution site in the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.
USHMM WS #96909, COURTESY OF STA. LG HAMBURG

RIGA-KAISERWALD MAIN CAMP [AKA MEŽAPARKS]

On March 15, 1943, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) established the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, with SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer as commandant.[1] Situated at the Mežaparks Forest resort near Riga, Latvia, the camp was divided into male and female sections separated by barbed-wire fencing. Some 47 German and Polish criminal, political, and "asocial" inmates from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp set up the "prisoner self-administration." This contingent grew to 500 prisoners, but most were returned to the Reich by December 1943. A Ravensbrück detachment, including "asocials," opened the women's section. Under the supervision of the Wolf & Döring construction firm, Jews from the Riga ghetto built the camp, which had three accommodation barracks per section and an infirmary.[2] Located in the camp's rear was the Anode Kommando, a battery recycling detachment, which was accessed by a narrow path between the men's and women's sections. Holding approximately 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners at a time, Kaiserwald was a clearinghouse for an estimated 15,000 Jewish prisoners deployed in 12 to 14 subcamps, called quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*).[3] Although Kaiserwald registered the prisoners, some were moved from one site to another without entering the main camp. Kaiserwald's prisoner statistics are scant, because shortly after the camp opened, SS-Brigadeführer Richard Glücks, the head of IKL, exempted the newly established camps in the East from reporting admissions and deaths to IKL and because most of its records were destroyed prior to evacuation.[4] An incomplete mortality list, from December 15, 1943, to August 8, 1944, recorded 484 deaths.[5] To these must be added the numerous prisoners killed in shooting operations (*Aktionen*), the synonym for "selections" that carried over from the ghetto. The victims were placed on trucks and dispatched to the forests for shooting. Prisoners and staff referred to the killing sites by the euphemism, "base command" (Stützpunktkommando).



Interior of a barracks at Riga-Kaiserwald shortly after evacuation in September 1944.
USHMM WS #85598, COURTESY OF THE BELARUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF DOCUMENTARY FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Although ostensibly a concentration camp, Kaiserwald differed from other IKL camps in three salient respects. First, family life and friendships formed in the Riga, Vilna, and Libau ghettos carried over into the camp. Husbands and wives and, in some cases, their children communicated across the fences dividing the men's and women's sections. Friendships from the ghetto fostered a reliable rumor mill between Kaiserwald and its subcamps. The placement of friends and relatives at other sites and regular transfers between the sites made this source of unofficial news possible.[6] Second, except for the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück inmates, the Kaiserwald prisoners did not normally wear prisoner uniforms with color-coded triangles. Most were ordered to paint or sew yellow stars and prisoner numbers on their civilian clothes; in some cases, they had to paint white stripes on the sleeves and trouser legs as well. Many did not get "zebra" uniforms, as the prisoners called them, until just prior to the evacuation in the summer of 1944, at which time they also got prisoner haircuts, with a stripe shaved down the middle of the scalp for males and shaved heads for females.[7] Finally, as discussed below, the establishment of Kasernierungen rather than a full subcamp system distinguished Kaiserwald from other IKL camps.

Prefiguring the establishment of Kaiserwald and its quartering sites was a dispute between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Reich Commissariat Ostland (Reichskommissariat Ostland, RKO) over the status of the Salaspils police camp. On December 1, 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin asked the Commander of the Security Police and SD (BdS) Riga, Dr. Rudolf Lange, whether Salaspils was a concentration camp and, if so, why it did not fall under WVHA jurisdiction.[8] Located to the southeast of Riga and built by Riga ghetto labor in 1941, Salaspils held non-Jewish Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians. An SS-Obersturmbannführer, later Standartenführer, in the SD (Nazi Party no. 290308), Lange emphatically denied it was a concentration camp, instead calling Salaspils a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager* [AEL]) and police prison (*Polizeigefängnis*).[9] That Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler found this explanation unsatisfactory was evident shortly after Kaiserwald's establishment, when he called Salaspils a concentration camp in everything but name, pointing out that it properly belonged to the WVHA and ordering that it perform war-related tasks, not construction or "peat work" (*Torfstich*).[10] In a demonstration of Lange's autonomy,

Salaspils remained under Security Police (Sipo) control until the German abandonment of Latvia.

On June 21, 1943, Himmler decreed the closure of all ghettos in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (the Ostland) and the formation instead of IKL camps by August 1, 1943. Jews were to perform war work, especially for Wehrmacht units but not for "private firms." Those deemed unfit were to be deported "to the East," a euphemism for mass murder.[11] With the important exception that Kaiserwald never had a gas chamber/crematory complex, Himmler's model was the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp, which confined Jews from liquidated ghettos in the General Government. Himmler's order similarly affected the concentration camps at Kauen (Kaunas) and Vaivara. In Riga, Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland Friedrich Jeckeln informed his superior, Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse, about the reorganization. The ghetto authorities quickly closed 125 old Kasernierungen, and, according to historian Andrew Ezergailis, 312 employers lost Jewish labor, while additional firms underwent drastic workforce cuts.[12] In early August 1943, Lohse altered the meaning of Himmler's decree, calling for the establishment of "big" and "small" concentration camps. Focusing on the alleged security "threat" posed by Jewish prisoners, Lohse demanded their strict separation from Riga's population.[13]

On August 18, 1943, the RKO's and BdS Riga's interference became apparent when the Riga Stadtkommissar announced the creation of "Jewish camps" (*Judenlager*). Naming 13 "big" Kasernierungen, the Stadtkommissar claimed they were answerable to the Sicherheitsdienst (SD)—that is, to Lange of BdS Riga—not to the WVHA. The list included "old," ghetto-administered, as well as "new" quartering sites designed for big projects. They were (1) Kaiserwald, (2) Dünawerke, (3) SD-Werkstätte (Lenta), (4) Truppenwirtschaftslager (TWL), (5) Spilwe airport, (6) Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP), (7) Papierfabrik Schlock, (8) Reichsbahn, (9) Armeebekleidungsamt (ABA) 701, (10) Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG), (11) Zementfabrik Riga, (12) Strasdenhof, and (13) Generalkommissar (GK) Abteilung Finanzen. Not all of these quartering sites became subcamps. Of the 16,450 Jews to be allocated, over 7,800 prisoners had already been deployed.[14]

The Stadtkommissar's list was misleading. The paper factory utilized Kaiserwald prisoners, and it has yet to be established whether GK was a quartering site or a Kaiserwald work detachment. In the fall of 1943, Kaiserwald opened a complex of camps near the Baltic Sea in Kurland (Kurzeme), for the erection of the Dondangen (Dundaga) SS "sea camp" (*Seelager*). The camps consisted of Dondangen I, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), and Kurben. The HKP and ABA sites spawned subcamps, respectively, at Hirtenstrasse and Krottingen. Kaiserwald also formed a quartering site in October 1943 for railway work at Elley-Meiten. The International Tracing Service's (ITS) claim that AEG had a battery-producing subcamp at Strasdenhof appears to be unfounded, because witnesses place this detachment in the Kaiserwald camp. The Kaiserwald detachment was contracted to the Wehrmacht, not to AEG. In the class-action suit brought against AEG in the late 1950s, one witness mentioned working in the Anode Kommando, but she was removed from it by truck to work at the AEG camp at Strasdenhof.[15] Depending upon whether the Dondangen complex is counted as one camp or three, then Kaiserwald had 12 to 14 subcamps. According to the ITS, Kaiserwald also furnished work details for Gummifabrik "Meteor," a rubber factory, and for a number of SS construction projects.

Although Himmler ordered the Ostland ghettos' closure by August 1, 1943, the liquidations concluded between September and November 1943. From Lithuania, the Germans dispatched the survivors of the Vilna (Vilnius, Wilno) ghetto to Kaiserwald in late September 1943. From Kurland, the Libau (Liepāja) ghetto's survivors arrived in early October 1943. In October 1943, the Germans stopped assigning Riga ghetto inhabitants to the Kasernierungen. On November 2, 1943, the Riga Sipo sent its remaining inhabitants to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where 850 were gassed upon arrival.[16] In addition to the Ostland ghettos, Kaiserwald received approximately 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women from Birkenau in June 1944.

Several Kaiserwald staff members had lengthy IKL experience. Born on August 17, 1898, in Misdroy, Sauer (Nazi Party no. 862698; SS no. 19180) served at the Berlin Columbia Haus early camp in 1935, was the commandant of the Bad Sulza early camp during its dissolution in 1937, and worked in Sachsenhausen's administration. He was the first commandant of the Mauthausen concentration camp but was dismissed in early 1939 after a dispute with the Austrian police. Working for the Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom (RKFDV) until 1943, he was briefly attached to the Auschwitz staff before assuming command at Riga. Posted to Ravensbrück after Kaiserwald's evacuation, Sauer was killed in action on May 3, 1945.[17] Kaiserwald's administrators were SS-Obersturmführer Eberhard von Bonin, until June 1, 1944, and SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Vogler from the Stutthof concentration camp, from that date until Kaiserwald's closure. The chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) was SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Brüner.

Born on August 8, 1894, Kaiserwald's camp doctor, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Eduard Krebsbach, had previously occupied the same position at Mauthausen. His eagerness to murder patients by phenol injection at Mauthausen gave rise to his nickname "The Needle" (Spritzbach).[18] In the Mauthausen Trial, the U.S. Army condemned him to death and executed him on May 28, 1947. Krebsbach's assistant SS-Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) Heinz Günther Wisner was born Heinz von Wisotzky in Danzig on December 5, 1916. Joining the Allgemeine-SS on March 14, 1935, he worked in the Danzig sanitarium and trained as an SDG. On February 1, 1939, he joined the Nazi Party and became a police reservist on August 22, 1939. Before Stutthof became an IKL camp,

Wisner served as its SDG and from May 27, 1942, held the same post at the Flossenbürg concentration camp. After joining the Waffen-SS in June 1943, he underwent ideological training in Berlin and was promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943. On November 1, 1943, Wisner joined Kaiserwald's staff and was later promoted to Oberscharführer. Wisner selected numerous Jews in Kaiserwald and its subcamps for murder and killed infirmary patients by lethal injection. Many of the infirmary victims were from the subcamps, especially Dondangen, which consumed lives at a catastrophic rate.

Kaiserwald's camp elder (Lagerältester) was Xavier Abel, known to the prisoners as "Mr. X." A Sachsenhausen criminal, he committed homicides at Kaiserwald and carried on illicit relationships with younger female prisoners. According to Josef Katz, a Jewish prisoner from Lübeck, Abel drowned the Riga ghetto's police chief, Haar, in the latrine during a drinking party for the German prisoners. According to Katz, "Mr. X" and other German prisoners still at Kaiserwald shortly before its evacuation were recruited for the Dirlewanger Brigade, a Waffen-SS unit composed chiefly of German green and black triangle prisoners in 1944.[19] Kapos Hans "Hannes" Bruhn and Reinhold Rosemayer also brutalized the inmates. For a time, Bruhn was the camp elder at the Strasdenhof subcamp. The prisoner-functionaries instituted penal drills, forcing new prisoners, like Ernest Kan, to remove caps with the appropriate snap.[20] In 1961, the Hamburg State Prosecutor inconclusively investigated Bruhn for his activities at Sachsenhausen.[21]

Approximately 30 male and female prisoners worked in the Anode Kommando. The men unloaded large Wehrmacht truck batteries from an adjacent train depot, and in a small workshop, the women dismantled them in order to extract their carbon anodes. One prisoner, Schoschana Rabinovici (born Susanne Weksler), credited the detachment leader, a German army Feldwebel, with protecting her during an Aktion. For the women at least, the work took place indoors, but it required the handling of corrosive and noxious chemicals that blackened and burned the hands.[22]

"Children's operations" (*Kinderaktionen*) occurred regularly at Kaiserwald and in the subcamps. Especially endangered were children who stayed in the blocks while their parents worked. Thanks to alert adults, a few youngsters managed to evade these selections. As an 11-year old, Rabinovici was deported in late September 1943 from Vilna to Kaiserwald with her mother and older stepsister. Her mother, Raja Indurski-Weksler, used subterfuges with the connivance of friends from Vilna to prevent the Germans from discovering that Schoschana was prepubescent, including standing in front of her when prisoners were ordered to undress and awakening her earlier than the rest of the block so that she could clean up in private. At Kaiserwald, Rabinovici usually worked in the Anode detail, but when her mother perceived a change in SS behavior, thereby indicating an imminent Aktion, she was told to report to an outside detail for the day.[23]

From May to September 1944, the Sonderkommando (SK) 1005 B under SS-Obersturmführer Walter Helfsgott attempted to obliterate evidence of the "Final Solution" in the Riga area, exhuming mass graves that dated back to 1941. At Lange's insistence, Helfsgott deployed only Jews for this task. At his 1969 jury trial in Stuttgart, where he was acquitted on technical grounds, the court noted that the likely source of this labor was Kaiserwald. In succession, two detachments of 30 inmates disinterred mass graves in the Rumbula and Bikernieki forests, cremated the bodies, and scattered the ashes and bones. As "bearers of secrets" (*Geheimnisträger*), the groups were shot after completing their tasks.[24]

With the Red Army advancing on Riga, Kaiserwald commenced preparations for evacuation in late June and July 1944. Among them Krebsbach and Wisner conducted a series of selections, including the "Krebsbach Aktion" on July 28, 1944, which involved the main camp and every subcamp in Riga. Apart from some prisoners who reached Stutthof overland via Libau, most were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded ships bound for Danzig. On August 6, 1944, the *Bremerhaven* departed Riga with 6,382 Jews from the subcamps. Subsequent sea evacuations took place in mid-September 1944 (called the Rosh Hashanah Transport by prisoners) and on September 24 or 25 (the Yom Kippur Transport).[25] On the latter, the *Kanonier* carried 3,155 prisoners to Danzig. A final 190-member cleanup detail left Riga on October 11, 1944. Held below decks for three days with few provisions, the inmates suffered from overcrowding and seasickness caused by rough seas. To distribute food and remove excrement from the holds, the Kapos improvised a bucket-and-winch system, but the high seas caused food and excrement to spill onto the prisoners below. A few prisoners got fresh air by relaying buckets to the deck. Landing at Danzig, the survivors were marched to the Vistula River, where they boarded 500-person barges for two or three days before entering Stutthof.[26] According to Rabinovici, the vessel carrying her family sailed under a Red Cross flag, which protected it from attack. Katz remembered that the last vessel in the Rosh Hashanah Transport was sunk by a Soviet submarine.[27] Most of Kaiserwald's survivors were scattered among the Stutthof subcamps. Others were sent to Dachau/Mühldorf, Buchenwald/Magdeburg (Polte), and Nevengamme/Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel.

SOURCES The Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp is discussed in chapters and articles on the Latvian Holocaust, but to date there is not a one-volume history of the camp. The most recent and best-documented study is Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). Another useful work is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996). Ezergailis erroneously terms Kaiserwald and other IKL camps "SD" camps. The source of his confusion is the Riga Stadtkommissar's announcement of August 18, 1943. Additional information may be gleaned

from three contributions by historian and Latvian Holocaust survivor Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995); "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1:472–492; and "Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische 'Neuordnung Europas," *MiGe* [GDR] 25:2 (1986): 145–146. For an overview of the Kaiserwald, Vaivara, and Kauen concentration camps, see Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187. The earliest treatment of Kaiserwald is Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999). Kaufmann was a survivor of the Riga ghetto, Kaiserwald, and Riga (HKP, Hirtenstrasse). Another survivor's account that covers Kaiserwald and selected Kasernierungen is Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998). Based in large measure on other survivors' memoirs, it must be used with due caution because the sources are not cited. Essential background on Kaiserwald, including evacuation statistics, may be found in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004). Kugler discusses the IKL-BdS Riga rivalry to show how SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Scherwitz, the camp leader of Riga (Lenta), used his connections with Lange in order to maintain a degree of autonomy from Kaiserwald. Riga-Kaiserwald and its work detachments are listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:247. On Sauer, see French L. MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999), p. 197; Gordon J. Horwitz, *In the Shadow of Death: Living Outside the Gates of Mauthausen* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991), pp. 31–32; and Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1987), p. 89. On Sauer and Krebsbach, additional information may be found in Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 30, 38, 88–93. The Wisner case (Lfd. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site, www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Riga-Kaiserwald start with Heinrich Müller's announcement of its opening in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, fond (record group) 504, opis (inventory) 2, delo (file) 8 (504/2/8), which also contains documentation on the Salaspils police camp. On the Kasernierungen and BdS Riga's intervention, see Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Docs. 253–254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces Lohse's announcement of early August 1943 and the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943. According to the ITS Archival Catalog, Kaiserwald transports are mentioned in the following pre-1955 holdings: Inventory No. 107: Buchenwald GCC 2/189 a-c Ordner 10, "Zugänge vom KL Riga, Sachsenhausen, und, Sachsenburg," December 11, 1943, August 20, 1942, to March 31, 1945, and July 27, 1937; Inventory No. 112: GCC2/193/d-f Ordner 15, "Transportlisten, Abgänge vom KL Buchenwald nach KL Riga," March 15, 1943; Inventory No. 150: Buchenwald GCC2/189 IC/6 Ordner 159, "Zugänge vom KL Riga und Sachsenhausen," December 11, 1943, August 20, 1942, to July 31, 1944; Inventory No. 164: Buchenwald GCC 2/193 Ordner 170, "Abgänge nach KL Ravensbrück und KL Riga," April 24, 1941, to January 26, 1945, and March 15, 1943; and Inventory No. 276, Buchenwald GCC 2/119 IIB/19 Ordner 236, "Listen um überstellten Häftlingen, deren Effekten vom KL Buchenwald dem KL Ravensbrück, Riga, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, und Warschau übergeben wurden," April 26, 1941, to August 20, 1944, and March 17, 1943, to May 5, 1943. These lists apparently concern only the German and Polish prisoners sent to Kaiserwald and returned to the Reich in 1943. The ITS received the documents on loan from the U.S. Army. Further research is required to determine whether any of the Reich prisoners originated from Buchenwald instead of Sachsenhausen. As cited by Angrick and Klein, additional archival sources on Kaiserwald may be found in BA-B, R 92 (GK Riga). For the partial death list, Vestermanis cites LVVA, P 132/30/43a, pp. 1–44. Himmler's query to Lange, March 18, 1943, concerning Salaspils is reproduced in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer–SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: xxxi. The Krebsbach trial is listed as US 401 Case No. 000–50–5, *USA v. Hans Altfurdisch, et al.* The Helfsgott trial (Ks 22/67) is summarized in Lfd. 701, JuNS-V 31: 693–798. As cited by Kugler, BA-L holds witness testimony in connection with Kaiserwald's involvement in SK 1005 B's operations. As cited by Angrick and Klein, the investigation of Bruhn is listed as Hamburg Sta. 141 Js 534/60. The personnel files of Lange and Sauer are available at BA-B and NARA. Lange was a participant in the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942. See NG-2586 in John Mendelssohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982). Unpublished prisoner testimony from Riga-Kaiserwald may be found at USHMMA. In RG-12.004.02 *02 and *04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994, AEG Correspondence, there are several affidavits on the Riga AEG camp, which help to document Kaiserwald's role as a registration center. In RG-12.004.02*02, see Betty Rothschild Willner (notarized affidavit, October 13, 1958) and Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein (unsigned

affidavit, October 1, 1958); in RG-12.004.02*04, see Hilde Diamant (n.d.); Tauba Maskin Buchhalter (September 19, 1958); Marga Hahn (undated letter); and Luba Klot Slodov (statement of May 24, 1960). USHMMA also holds a substantial collection of oral histories by Kaiserwald survivors, some of which have been transcribed. Interviews helpful for this essay are RG-50.431*1076, Ernest Kan interview, June 7, 2001, by HDEC; RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules interview, January 3, 1990; RG-50.030*0176, Bella Simon Pasternak interview, April 21, 1994; RG-50.030*0216, Rochelle Blackman Slivka interview, June 15, 1990; and RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview, March 30, 1990. In a follow-up telephone interview with the author, September 27, 2006, and an email exchange, Ernest Kan furnished additional details on Kaiserwald's subcamps and the camp's rumor mill. The interview summary is to be deposited at USHMMA. There are many unpublished witness statements on Kaiserwald at WL and reproduced in *Testaments to the Holocaust* (originally WL), http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp. Particularly useful for this essay is P III H No. 286 (Riga), Herman Voosen, "Report on the Criminals of Riga," July 28, 1945. Riga-Kaiserwald is mentioned or alluded to in several published documents in *USA v. Oswald Pohl, et al.* (NMT Case IV) in *TWC* 4: 382–383, 387, 626: NO-020 a (Pohl to Himmler, April 5, 1943, on the expansion of the camp system); NO-1558 (Glücks circular, April 26, 1943); NO-2403 (an English translation of Himmler's order of June 21, 1943); and 1469-PS (Pohl to Himmler, September 30, 1943, on death cases). On the Riga transport to Auschwitz, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), p. 519. Published prisoner testimonies include Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973); and Schoschana Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, trans. James Skofield (New York: Dial Books, 1998), pp. 101–190. Brief testimonies may be found in two compilations by Gertrude Schneider, ed., *Muted Voices: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Remember* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987); and *Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York: Praeger, 1991).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, RSHA IV C 2 (Heinrich Müller), Rundschreiben Nr. 43086, Betr.: "Konzentrationslager (Arbeitslager) Riga," April 2, 1943, p. 170.

2. On the barracks, Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), p. 140.

3. As estimated by Margers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1:487.

4. NO-1558, Glücks circular, April 26, 1943, *TWC* 14: 387.

5. LVVA, P 132/30/43a, pp. 1–44, cited in Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," p. 487.

6. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview, March 30, 1990; RG-50.431*1076, Ernest Kan interview, June 7, 2001; Kan telephone interview with the author, September 27, 2006.

7. See, for example, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules interview, January 3, 1990; but compare with RG-50.030*0216, Rochelle Blackman Slivka interview, June 15, 1990; on "zebra" clothing, RG-50.431*1076, Kan interview, June 7, 2001.

8. RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Berndorff, RSHA IV C 2, to BdS Riga, Allg. Nr. 42485, n.d. (received December 1, 1942), FS Nr. 16488, "Dringend," p. 156.

9. RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, BdS Ostland, IV C 2—5198/42, to RSHA IV C 2, December 19, 1942, IV C 2 Allg. Nr. 42485, p. 169.

10. RFSS to Oswald Pohl, WVHA, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, RSHA, March 18, 1943, Geh./111/10, reproduced in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderen Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1969), 1:xxxi.

11. NO-2403 in *TWC* 4: 626. The original is quoted in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 386.

12. Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996), p. 364.

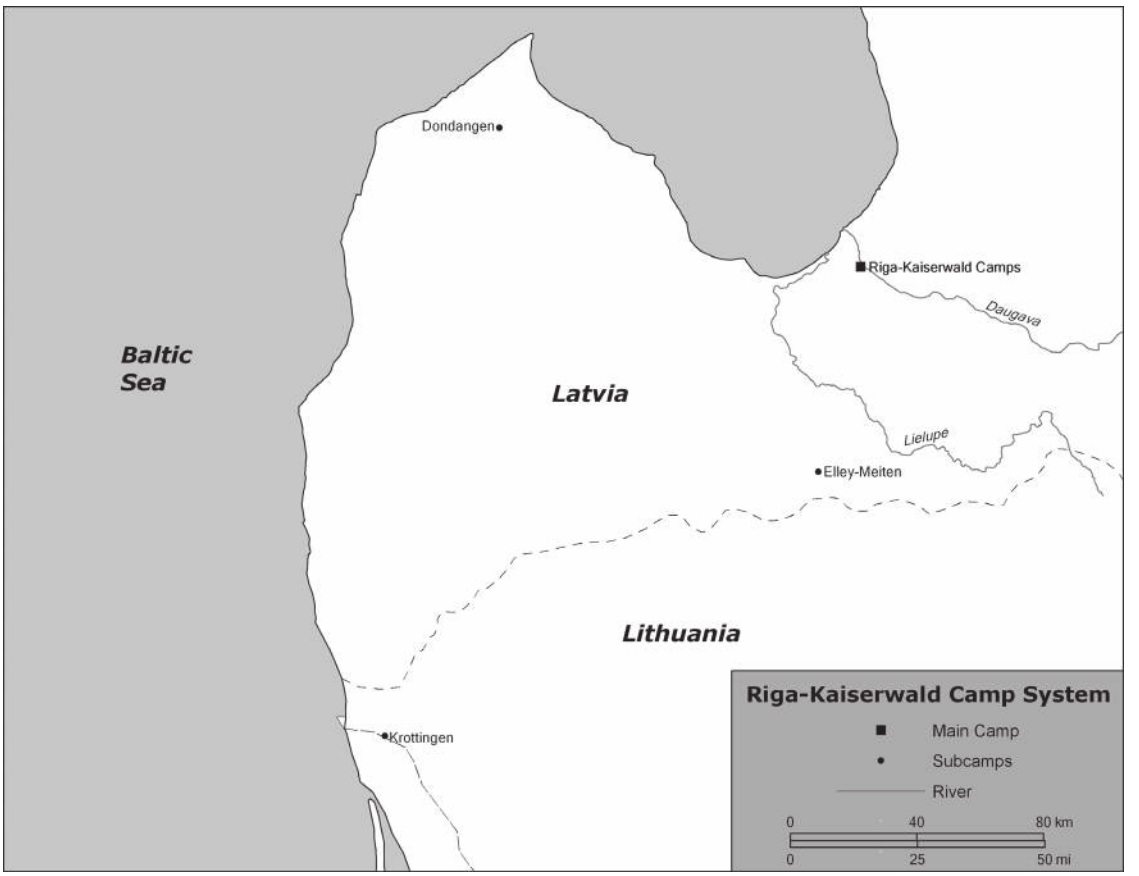
13. Schreiben des Reichskommissars für das Ostland an die Generalkommissare vom August 1943, über die "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" [LVVA, R69-1 A-6, fol. 129, copied in USHMMA, RG 18.002M, Reel 2], reproduced in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 253, p. 265.

14. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "'Umsetzung' von Juden in Konzentrationslager" [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], ibid., Doc. 254, pp. 265–266.

15. Schoschana Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, trans. James Skofield (New York: Dial Books, 1998), pp. 128–129; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, p. 180; RG-12.004.02*04, Betty Rothschild Willner, Notarized Affidavit, October 13, 1958.

16. Entry for November 5, 1943, in Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), p. 519.

17. Sauer BDCPF summarized in French L. MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999), p. 197.



18. Quoted in Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 88.

19. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 143–144, 192; P III H No. 286 (Riga), Herman Voosen, "Report on the Criminals of Riga," July 28, 1945, p. 4.

20. RG-50.431*1076, Kan interview, June 7, 2001.

21. Hamburg Sta. 141, Js 534/60, cited by Angrick and Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga*, p. 392.

22. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, pp. 151–153.

23. Ibid., pp. 102, 105, 112, 124, 135, 150–151; see also Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 151, 181–182, for a Kinderaktion at a subcamp; also Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), p. 388; at the AEG Kasernierung, RG-12.004.02*04, Luba Klot Slodov statement, May 24, 1960, pp. 4–7.

24. Ks 22/67, Lfd. 701, JuNS-V 31: 733; Sta. Stuttgart, 17 Js 270/64, Hans Sohns indictment, December 11, 1967; and BA-L, 204 AR-Z 419/62, Erich Brauer statement, February 10, 1949, pp. 985, 989, cited in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 418–419.

25. On the Krebsbach Aktion, P III H No. 286 (Riga), Voosen, "Report on the Criminals of Riga," p. 5; for the Rosh Hashanah Transport, see Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 201–202; for the Yom Kippur Transport, Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland*, p. 427.

26. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, pp. 171–183; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 201–208.

27. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, p. 178; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, p. 202.

DONDANGEN I AND II, WITH KURBEN [AKA SEELAGER DONDANGEN, DUNDAGA, POPERWAHLEN]

In the late summer of 1943, Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp established a subcamp for the SS "sea camp" (*Seelager*) at Dondangen (Dundaga). The camp was intended to erect an SS colony near the Baltic coast in Kurland (Kurzeme), Latvia. According to a West German report, Dondangen held 12,000 prisoners.[1] A more conservative estimate by Margers Vestermanis puts the total number of prisoners, mostly Latvian, Lithuanian, and Hungarian Jews, at 5,000.[2] Dondangen's catastrophic death rate, 10 to 20 prisoners per day, may help to reconcile these estimates, because the camp was constantly replenished by fresh Kaiserwald prisoners. Unlike other camps and quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) in the Riga-Kaiserwald complex, the prisoners at Dondangen wore striped uniforms with yellow stars.[3]

Dondangen had two successive camp leaders (Lagerführer), SS-Oberscharführer Gröschel and SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge. Gröschel's mismanagement prompted the commandant of Riga-Kaiserwald, SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer, to replace him with Sorge on January 30, 1944. Gröschel assumed command at Sorge's former post, the Kaiserwald Kasernierung at Riga-Spilwe. An Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camp guard whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back to 1934, and who had been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname "Iron Gustav" (Eiserne Gustav). During the two years prior to commanding Dondangen, he had been Arbeitseinsatzführer at Vught, the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp in the Netherlands, and served in the summer of 1943 in a "bandit"-hunting (anti-partisan) detail for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. In the Riga complex, he had previously commanded Spilwe and the neighboring Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) Kasernierung.[4]



SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge, camp leader of the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark and Spilwe camps in Riga, and subsequently of the Dondangen complex. At the time this mug shot was taken, Sorge was a defendant in the Soviet Sachsenhausen trial, 1947.
USHMM WS #33598, COURTESY OF CAFSSRF

Designed as a "Germanization" colony, the SS-Seelager Dondangen was to become a permanent SS base.[5] At Dundaga, the SS displaced some 15,000 Latvian farmers in the summer of 1943. For the SS, one of Dondangen's attractive features was Dundaga Castle, erected in 1249 for the Livonian Order of crusaders, which served as the SS headquarters. Critical to the project was the erection of a troop training base (*Truppenübungsplatz*) for SS-Panzer personnel. To create the base, Dondangen's prisoners cleared forests, built roads, and erected troop barracks. A survivor of Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), Vestermanis observed that the Seelager "was probably Himmler's only colonization experiment in the temporarily occupied Soviet territories that was half-way realized. It shows how the 'European New Order' strived for by the Nazis should have looked."[6]

The living conditions at Dondangen (and subsequently the Poperwahlen and Kurben subcamps) were by far the worst in the Riga-Kaiserwald complex. Prisoner Abraham Shpungin characterized Dondangen as an "extermination camp," but historian Andrew Ezergailis described it as a camp for "extermination through labor" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*).[7] While the prisoners erected SS troop accommodations, they lived in "Finnish tents" (*Finnenzelter*), plywood structures with dirt floors and a stove in the center, somewhat like primitive Quonset huts.[8] The overcrowded tents did not protect against the cold Baltic winds. The SS never bothered to erect a barracks camp at Dondangen or in its subcamps. The prisoners' rations consisted of thin soup, bread, and very little else.

Compounding the lethal conditions was the brutal behavior of Gröschel and Sorge. Gröschel dealt with Dondangen's staggering mortality by ordering the bodies dumped into the half-frozen Baltic Sea.[9] In the spring of 1944, as the ice thawed, fishermen discovered some corpses, which prompted Sorge, who had already assumed command, to institute the "bathing Kommando." Consisting primarily of weakened prisoners, this detail removed the bodies from the sea and cremated them in improvised pyres on the beach. According to Shpungin, the detachment also had a high mortality rate.[10]

Despite the frightful conditions, the Truppenübungsplatz opened by the spring of 1944. Training at this facility were the Nachrichten-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Abteilung 1, SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Regiment 1, and the Fourth SS-Panzer-Aufklärungs-Ausbildings-Abteilung 2. Some of the Waffen-SS troops were Dutch volunteers. Sorge ordered the Waffen-SS to shoot escaping prisoners on sight.[11]

A small exception to Dondangen's brutal conditions was the troop supply depot (*Truppenwirtschaftslager* [TWL]), which was situated in the city of Dundaga. Not to be confused with Kaiserwald's separately listed TWL Kasernierung, this detachment consisted of 20 Jewish men and 5 Jewish women. Fearing epidemics, the detachment leader, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Wichmann, had the prisoners cleaned up and ensured that they received a steady supply of nutritious rations. Eventually, he secured Sorge's permission to quarter them in an apartment in Dundaga, with the women held in the smaller and the men in the larger room. The detachment's prisoners included Shpungin and Mendel Poliak, who escaped in late July 1944, when word came to evacuate Dondangen. In the city of Dundaga, the Vanags family (parents Anton and Klara and daughter Skaidrite) gave them food and shelter until the Soviet liberation, which in Kurland did not take place until the German surrender on May 8, 1945.[12] For their efforts in saving Shpungin and Poliak, Yad Vashem awarded the Vanags family the Righteous among the Nations medal in 1993.

Dondangen opened a second subcamp for both male and female Jewish prisoners at Poperwahlen (Popervāle), also known as Dondangen II. Under SS-Rottenführer Baufeldt, this subcamp also consisted of Finnish tents. The first 165 prisoners, 15 of whom were female, entered the camp in November 1943, but the camp swelled to 1,000 prisoners by June 1944, including some Hungarian Jewish women dispatched from Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[13] The prisoners cleared swamps in preparation for the erection of an airfield. Some Poperwahlen prisoners were redeployed inside the Reich in May 1944, in fulfillment of a March 1944 order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[14] According to Vestermanis, Poperwahlen opened a crematorium for the disposal of Dondangen's dead in the spring of 1944.[15]

The sources disagree on the existence of the third Dondangen subcamp at Kurben. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) counted Kurben as a Dondangen subcamp, Vestermanis does not list it. Shpungin claimed that Kurben was the third "entity" of Dondangen, which held as many as 5,000 Hungarian Jewish women dispatched from Birkenau, an estimate that is exceedingly high.[16] Prisoner Ernest Ābols likewise called Kurben a Dondangen subcamp. Survivor Helen Rodak-Izso, a Jewish woman from Kassa, Hungary, who was deported to Birkenau on June 4, 1944, and shortly thereafter dispatched to Kaiserwald, was held at Kurben, which she called "Kurbe." Rodak-Izso built roads and felled trees for approximately one month. An Oberscharführer headed the camp, and the guards included female SS, who oversaw the work details.[17]

With the Red Army's approach, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen) closed in late June or early July 1944, after which the prisoners were moved to Dondangen. En route, the prisoners had to cross the Venta River by swimming and holding on to one another, as the main bridge had been bombed out and only German troops were permitted to use the temporary bridge. A number of Poperwahlen prisoners escaped during the march, including Vestermanis, who shortly joined the partisans.[18] Like those from Poperwahlen, the Kurben prisoners undertook a similar crossing of the Venta before arriving at Dondangen.[19] Dondangen I closed on July 26 or 27, 1944, and the prisoners proceeded in the direction of Goldingen (Kuldiga). The SS dumped many of the dead in a mass grave at Zlekas.[20] From Windau, most of the prisoners were dispatched by sea to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland. A smaller group marched to Libau (Liepāja) and then were sent by train to Stutthof.

A Bonn court sentenced Lagerführer Sorge to life imprisonment plus 15 years for 67 murders and 20 attempted murders. None of the charges brought against him arose from his service in Latvia, however.[21]

SOURCES Dondangen I and II are discussed extensively in the partially autobiographical studies of Marģers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488–489; and "Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische 'Neuordnung Europas,'" *MiGe* [GDR] 25:2 (1986): 145–146. The latter article furnishes extensive background on the SS-Seelager project. The first chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust, Max Kaufmann, discusses Dondangen and Poperwahlen at some length in *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 418–422. The most important English-language account of Dondangen is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996), pp. 364, 367. The Dondangen project is also recounted in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 399, 402, 424. Angrick and Klein also mention Poperwahlen in passing. Dondangen is also mentioned in Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 177. Some information on Dondangen may be gleaned from the account by Riga-Kaiserwald survivor and chronicler Alfred Winter, in *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998), pp. 81–93. Winter's account must be used with due caution, however, because he did not cite his sources. A useful account of the Dutch troops at Dondangen and Poperwahlen can be found in L.M. Bruyn, "KZ-Lager Poperwahlen (Latvia)" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/popervale. The Dondangen I, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), and Kurben camps are listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248–249. The opening and closing dates found in these listings are

erroneous. The Vanags family is listed in *Index to the Righteous Gentile Registry of Yad Vashem* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), p. 166. Some background on Dundaga Castle may be found at www.castle.lv/castles4/episkop-eng.html.

Primary documentation for the Dondangen complex is scattered. On the SS-Seelager, Angrick and Klein cited documentation in BA-B, R 92. The trial of Gustav Sorge is listed as 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, in JuNS-V, 15: 399–658. As cited in Angrick and Klein, Poperwahlen is mentioned in the Wehrwirtschaftskommando Riga, Lagebericht, March 30, 1944, available at BA-MA. An unpublished Dondangen testimony is P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Max Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), "The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders," August 31, 1948, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp. As cited by Ezergailis and Vestermanis, three survivors who contributed unpublished testimonies were Ernest Ābols, Joseph Berman, and Lagersanitäter A. Jakobsen. Published testimonies on Dondangen include the account by Basja Zin, *Wie ein grauenhafter Traum: Vier Jahre zwischen Leben und Tod; Jüdsiche Schicksale aus Lettland, 1941–1945*, trans. Kurt Foss, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1998), pp. 27–31. Although she named the camp where she and her husband were held as "Dondangen," from context it appears that she was held in Poperwahlen. The TWL detachment and other parts of the Dondangen camp are recorded in Abraham Shpungin, "The Terrors of Dundaga," trans. Isaac Leo Kram, in *The Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back*, ed. Gertrude Schneider, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991), pp. 151–166. A firsthand account of Kurben is Helen Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001), pp. 30–31, 39–41, 44–47. On the mass grave at Zlekas, Vestermanis cites a newspaper article in *VBal*, March 30, 1993.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Gustav Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V 15: 420.
2. Margens Vestermanis, "Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische 'Neuordnung Europa,'" 25:2 (1986): 145.
3. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Max Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), "The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders," August 31, 1948, p. 4, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp.
4. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V 15: 418–420.
5. BA-B, R92/1004, n.p., Bericht über die geplante Errichtung eines Truppenübungsplatzes, n.d., cited in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 399.
6. Vestermanis, "Das SS-Seelager Dondangen," p. 146.
7. Abraham Shpungin, "The Terrors of Dundaga," trans. Isaac Leo Kram, in *The Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back*, ed. Gertrude Schneider (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991), p. 151.
8. Ibid., p. 152.
9. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), "The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders," August 31, 1948, p. 4.
10. Shpungin, "The Terrors of Dundaga," pp. 155–156.
11. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), "The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders," August 31, 1948, p. 4.
12. Shpungin, "The Terrors of Dundaga," pp. 159–165.
13. Report by Lagersanitäter A. Jakobsen, cited in Margers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488.
14. BA-MA, RW 30/72, pp. 52–54, Wehrwirtschaftskommando Riga, Br. B. Nr. 819/44g, Lagebericht für die Zeit vom 1.3. bis 31.3.1944, March 30, 1944, p. 52, as cited in Angrick and Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga*, p. 424.
15. Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," p. 488.
16. Quoted in Shpungin, "The Terrors of Dundaga," p. 151.
17. Helen Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001), pp. 44–47.
18. Vestermanis interview, February 20, 1996, cited in L. M. Bruyn, "KZ-Lager Poperwahlen (Latvia)" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/popervale.
19. Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember*, p. 47.
20. *VBal*, March 30, 1993, cited in Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," p. 488.
21. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V, 15: 415.

ELLEY-MEITEN

Between October 1943 and June 1944, the SS deployed nearly 3,000 male and female Jewish prisoners from Lithuania and Poland at Elley-Meiten (Eleja-Meitene). Elley-Meiten was 1 of about 12 to 14 subcamps, called quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*), that were absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. The date of its foundation indicated that Elley-Meiten was a "new" Kasernierung. Living in 16 barracks at a disused tractor factory, the prisoners performed railway repair work for the construction firms of Rippel, Berger, and Ottlieb. The SS returned the prisoners to Riga-Kaiserwald beginning in May 1944, well before the dissolution of other Kasernierungen, most of which closed in August 1944 in connection with the Red Army's advance.

SOURCES This subcamp is briefly discussed in Margers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488. It is listed

as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248. It is also listed with some information on the construction firms in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 661.

As cited by Vestermanis, the primary sources for this subcamp may be found in LVVA, in file P-132/26/13, p. 197.

Joseph Robert White

KROTTINGEN

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Krottingen originated as a Buchenwald subcamp that was transferred to Riga-Kaiserwald's administration in order to supply female Jewish labor for the Army Clothing Office 709 (Armeebekleidungsamt [ABA]). The subcamp was the second Riga-Kaiserwald quartering site (*Kasernierung*) established for the ABA; the first was Mühlgraben, which furnished female Jewish inmates for ABA 701. Krottingen opened in May 1944, when 200 Mühlgraben prisoners were transferred to the new site. Eventually, the subcamp grew in size to approximately 700 prisoners, according to survivor Johanna Rosenthal.[1]

Appointed a prisoner forewoman (Vorarbeiterin) after two weeks in the camp, Rosenthal reported that cold, hunger, and "heavy labor" made existence difficult.[2] There were several selections at Krottingen, which in the language of Kaiserwald were called "operations" (*Aktionen*). The largest took place on July 28, 1944, when 200 weakened prisoners were removed for killing. In preparation for Riga-Kaiserwald's evacuation, the Krottingen inmates were given concentration camp haircuts in early July 1944, but the issuance of "zebra clothing" (*Zebra-Kleidung*) only took place in August 1944.[3] Although Krottingen officially closed in August 1944, with most of the prisoners removed by sea and evacuated to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland, Rosenthal and a small group remained behind at Krottingen until Yom Kippur 1944. The remaining prisoners were evacuated to Libau (Liepāja).[4]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248.

Mühlgraben and Krottingen prisoner Johanna Rosenthal described Krottingen in her testimonies, listed in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp, which were originally collected by WL. Rosenthal's undated statement said that the major selection took place on July 28, 1944, while her June 26, 1945, statement placed the date on June 28, 1944.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. P III h No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945, pp. 2–3; P III h No. 283 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, n.d., p. 4, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp.

2. Quoted in P III h No. 538 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, June 26, 1945, p. 2.

3. Ibid., p. 3; P III h No. 283 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, n.d., p. 4.

4. P III h No. 538 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, June 26, 1945, p. 3.

RIGA (BALASTDAMM)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Riga-Kaiserwald had a men's and women's quartering site (*Kasernierung*) located at Balastdamm (Balasta) on Kipsala Island in the city of Riga. Listed as "Zementwerk Riga" by Detachment III of the Riga Stadtkommissar, it was 1 of 13 Kasernierungen absorbed from the Riga ghetto or established by Kaiserwald on August 18, 1943. Balastdamm had a planned capacity of 300 prisoners but an effective strength at the time of 205.[1] The cement factory was the Sägewerk Zunda, which manufactured prefabricated construction parts. According to chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust Max Kaufmann, the camp reached the planned strength of 300 prisoners, of whom 30 were females, and had Latvian SS guards. The prisoners also worked for the SS-Bauhof, a construction unit, and for a carpentry workshop.

According to Riga (Lenta) prisoner Abrahm Bloch, prisoners from Balastdamm reported, in early August 1944, that the SS had just concluded a "children's operation" (*Kinderaktion*) in their subcamp, during which 25 young Jews were selected for killing.[2] Kaufmann subsequently listed 22 young victims of this Aktion and stated that most of its remaining Balastdamm prisoners were murdered at the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp after Balastdamm's closure on August 7, 1944.

SOURCES The Riga (Balastdamm) Kasernierung of Riga-Kaiserwald is described in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 415–416; and in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 415–416. The subcamp is also mentioned in Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. It is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 250.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943. As cited by Kugler, Abrahm Bloch's memoirs are available in Yiddish and Russian in MSS form at MEL.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 415–416, citing Abrahm Bloch memoirs, MEL.

RIGA (DÜNAWERKE)

Established in the city of Riga, with a planned capacity of 1,500 male and female Jewish prisoners, Dünawerke was 1 of 13 old and new quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) formed or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on August 18, 1943. On the date of its foundation, the subcamp had 398 prisoners.[1] Important information on this Kasernierung comes from survivor Lily Margules, who entered Kaiserwald and Dünawerke after the liquidation of the Vilna ghetto in September 1943. According to her account, the inmates performed construction work under the supervision of Organisation Todt (OT) personnel and older German guards who were unfit for frontline duty. The prisoners wore civilian clothing with white rings and white stripes painted on them in order to prevent escape. At Dünawerke, Margules and other prisoners hauled sand in wheelbarrows. "Russian" civilians who worked on the same job site were kind to the prisoners. The men's and women's compounds, she recalled, were in the same building but separated by "a very heavy door." The availability of water and beds made this Kasernierung relatively tolerable. Margules recalled that the camp leader (Lagerführer), who was an SS-Obersturmführer, had an illicit relationship with a Jewish woman from Berlin that benefited the prisoners, as his treatment softened somewhat. According to Riga survivor and historian Alfred Winter, the Lagerführer was actually an Oberscharführer, which is more consistent with the ranks of known Kasernierungen leaders.[2]

Margules's sister, who for a time worked for the camp administration, contracted rheumatic fever while at Dünawerke. Unlike the fate suffered by many patients in the infirmaries of the Kaiserwald Kasernierungen, she received care from a German doctor, who gave her more than three weeks to recover. As Margules recognized, patients who stayed longer than three days were usually selected in operations (*Aktionen*) and murdered in the forests near Riga.[3]

As evidenced by the account of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein, there were some transfers of prisoners between Dünawerke and the other Kasernierungen. Dispatched to Kaiserwald from the Vilna ghetto in late September 1943, Klein was sent to Dünawerke three days later. After five months, she and other prisoners were returned to Kaiserwald and reassigned to the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) camp at Riga-Strasdenhof.[4]

At Dünawerke, the prisoners composed poetry and songs to keep up their morale. Margules's friend Tosha, who subsequently perished, composed a song called "Dünawerke," which "tells us that . . . [the camp was] an island surrounded by waters and forests, and there are Jews from all [over] the world that work very hard and are constantly freezing in the cold weather. In the morning, it is still dark, but the bell rings and we have to go out, stand up and go to work. And we are asking the world why are the Jews punished? . . . For whose things are Jews being punished?"[5]

As part of the dissolution of Kaiserwald's Kasernierungen, Dünawerke closed in the summer of 1944. The prisoners were evacuated by ship via Danzig to Stutthof.[6]

SOURCES This subcamp is briefly mentioned in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 405. Dünawerke is described in some detail in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998), pp. 112–113. This account must be used with due caution, as the author, who was a survivor of the Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald concentration camp, synthesizes many uncited survivors' accounts and continually employs the first-person plural in describing Kaiserwald and its Kasernierungen, making it difficult to distinguish what he personally witnessed from what he pieced together from other survivors' accounts. It is listed as having separate women's and men's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 250.

Primary sources for Dünawerke begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. The affidavit of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein was submitted in the class-action suit against AEG brought by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. It is located in USHMMA, RG-12.004.02*04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994. The most detailed account of Dünawerke is found in USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules oral history interview, January 3, 1990, which is available in videotape and transcript.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum*

und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944 (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 265.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules oral history interview, January 3, 1990, transcript, pp. 1, 13, 15 (quotation), 16.

3. Ibid., pp. 16–17.

4. USHMMA, RG-12.004.02*04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, unsigned affidavit of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein, BM-SG/HI/1mi, October 1, 1958, Betr.: AEG, p. 1.

5. Margules interview transcript, p. 17.

6. Ibid., p. 18.

RIGA (*HEERESKRAFTFAHRZEUGPARK*, HIRTENSTRASSE) [AKA PARK]

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Riga-Kaiserwald established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) at Hirtenstrasse, Riga, at the end of January 1944. Called "Park," Hirtenstrasse provided male and female Jewish prisoner labor for an army vehicle repair facility (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark [HKP]). It was the second HKP Kasernierung formed in Riga; the first had already been established by August 18, 1943. The subcamp closed on August 6, 1944, as the SS closed the Kasernierung during the Red Army's advance, and the survivors were eventually sent by ship and barge to Stutthof.

SOURCES The only source for the Hirtenstrasse subcamp is ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251, where the men's and women's camps are listed separately.

Joseph Robert White

RIGA (*HEERESKRAFTFAHRZEUGPARK*)

On August 18, 1943, the SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for male Jewish prisoners for the army vehicle repair installation (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark, HKP) in the city of Riga. Located near the Spilwe (Spilva) airport, this camp held 1,000 male Jewish prisoners from the Riga ghetto, then in the process of being liquidated by the Germans. According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, it held 375 prisoners when it began operating. HKP was 1 of the original 13 Kasernierungen established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.[1] According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS established a second HKP Kasernierung at Hirtenstrasse in Riga in late January 1944 [see Riga-Kaiserwald/Riga (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark, Hirtenstrasse)]. According to survivor Max Kaufmann, the prisoners from the two Kasernierungen were able to maintain some informal communications.[2]

On December 15, 1943, the camp leader (Lagerführer) of Riga-Spilwe, SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge, also assumed command at HKP. He had only been appointed camp leader at Spilwe on December 1. A staff member at the Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camps whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back to 1934, and who had even been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname "Iron Gustav" (Eiserne Gustav). During the two years prior to taking command at Spilwe, he had been Arbeitseinsatzführer at the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp [aka Vught] in the Netherlands and served in the summer of 1943 on a "bandit"-hunting (antipartisan) detail for the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. At Spilwe, Sorge had already imposed a severe regime along IKL lines. On January 31, 1944, he was transferred from Spilwe and HKP to the massive Kaiserwald subcamp at Dondangen. At HKP, Sorge's replacement was SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel (called in some survivor testimonies "Platterspiel"). After the September–October 1944 evacuation of Kaiserwald, Sorge assumed command of SS-Baubrigade XII (Construction Brigade XII) in November 1944, which was organized at Sachsenhausen. U.S. troops captured him on April 28, 1945, and held him in the SS internment camp at Bad Kreuznach.[3]

Prisoners at HKP repaired vehicles for the German army. Although the ITS listed HKP as a men's camp, there were some Jewish women held there as well, according to survivor Josef Katz. Katz was a German Jew from Lübeck who entered HKP in the late spring or early summer of 1944. At Kaiserwald, Katz was assigned to a gardening detail to be established at HKP, but upon arrival at HKP, he was arbitrarily dispatched to Spilwe, where he worked on airstrips. After repeated entreaties, he finally gained admittance to HKP's gardening detail, where he worked with another Jewish man and five Jewish women. The Kommando raised vegetables, fruit, and flowers. As Katz recalled, the Red Army Air Force bombed HKP in July 1944. Unlike other concentration camps inside and outside the Reich, the prisoners were able to enter an air-raid shelter during the attack.[4]

According to Katz, Kaiserwald's SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad), SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Günther Wisner (misspelled "Wiesner" in Katz's account), carried out a mass selection at HKP in June 1944. During this "operation" (*Aktion*), the euphemism used at Riga for selections for murder, Wisner ordered 40 men and 30 women to board trucks, which took them, in another Riga euphemism, to the "base command" (Stützpunktkommando), the nearby forests where they were murdered. Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Riga-Kaiserwald main camp. The prosecution did not charge him in connection with selections at HKP, however. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.[5]

HKP was closed on August 6, 1944, and the prisoners were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded the

Bremerhaven with almost 6,400 other prisoners. After three days below decks in overcrowded and filthy conditions, the *Bremerhaven*'s prisoners were sent via barges on the Vistula River to Stutthof.

In 1959, the Bonn Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced Spilwe's former Lagerführer, Sorge, to life imprisonment plus 15 years for the murder of 67 prisoners and for 20 additional attempted murders. Inexplicably, the charges against him did not involve his service in Riga.

SOURCES The Heereskraftfahrzeugpark Kasernierung of Riga-Kaiserwald is described in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 373–381, and from his personal testimony about Hirtenstrasse, in pp. 382–393. It is listed as a men's camp in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

Primary sources for Riga (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark) begin with the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under the heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). The case of Gustav Sorge (8 Ks 1/58) is found in Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 399–658 (Amsterdam, 1976). A published testimony of HKP is Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.
2. Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), p. 387.
3. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 415–421 (Amsterdam, 1976); Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), pp. 159–160.
4. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 159–163.
5. Ibid., pp. 168–169.

RIGA (LENTA) (*SD-WERKSTÄTTE*)

On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar for Riga listed the Lenta Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst [SD]) Workshop (Werkstätte) as 1 of 13 quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. On that date, this Kasernierung held 1,083 Jews, with a planned capacity of 2,000.[1] Named after the Latvian word for "ribbon," Lenta was located in the Düna area, near the Dünawerke Kasernierung, but originated as an old Kasernierung at Washington Platz and Peter-Holm-Strasse in downtown Riga. Lenta consisted of three separate sites: the textile workshop at Washington Platz; a small SS clothing depot at Peter-Hohn-Strasse; and Lenta, which was formed only in July–August 1943 and which by itself held over 900 prisoners. The camp had bathing facilities and an infirmary. The International Tracing Service (ITS) erroneously listed Lenta as a men's camp, but according to historian and journalist Anita Kugler, it held women prisoners as well.

Under the commandant, SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Scherwitz, Lenta consisted of a multifaceted complex of lucrative workshops. Although its core mission was to supply high-quality tailored uniforms for the SS, the Kasernierung also held furriers, bookbinders, photo developers, gold- and silversmiths, automobile repairmen, and skilled construction workers. Scherwitz, a police official before his promotion to Untersturmführer in August 1943, deployed skilled artisans from the Riga ghetto. For two weeks in August 1943, he participated in Operation Heinrich, an antipartisan campaign in Minsk organized by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, serving as a supply officer and bringing with him a detail of 20 Lenta prisoners for assistance.[2] Inside Lenta, he often protected Jewish forced laborers and their families in order to raise productivity. Scherwitz "aryanized" his Jewish girlfriend, Tamara Sherman, with false identity papers and did the same for Boris Rudow, although not for Rudow's brothers. Rudow managed the Washington Platz workshop. These incidents and the generally lax discipline prompted the Riga SD allegedly to call him the "King of the Jews" (*Judenkönig*).[3] Although Riga-Kaiserwald rarely interfered with the running of the Lenta camp, which most closely fit the SD model of quasi-autonomous small concentration camps, not an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) camp, Scherwitz's perceived softness and devotion to productivity led to the appointment of harsh co-commandants, called "guard officers" (Bewachungsoffizieren).[4] These appointments took place at the behest of Chief of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) and SD in Riga Dr. Rudolf Lange, who had overseen Einsatzgruppen killings in Latvia, was an attendee at the Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942, and was Scherwitz's superior.[5]

From August 1943 until April 1944, Sipo official SS-Untersturmführer Eduard Roschmann directed the camp along with Scherwitz. A Jewish affairs specialist, Roschmann exercised little influence at Lenta until the completion of the Riga ghetto's liquidation on November 2, 1943, and the departure of Scherwitz on a business trip to France, in December 1943, for the procurement of luxury goods. In Scherwitz's absence, Roschmann arrested Tamara Sherman. After his return in January 1944, Scherwitz reportedly offered a bribe of 20,000 Reichsmark (RM) to secure her release. Imposing a harsh regime, Roschmann instituted the IKL practice of 25 cane blows for punishment and construed work accidents as sabotage. Dismissing two Latvian Jews from the subcamp's ghetto-like prisoner police force (Jewish ghetto police, Ordnungsdienst), he appointed a German Jew, named Levi or Levy, from Cologne as its head. As Roschmann's factotum, Levi instituted a search for so-called organizers (thieves), seizing stolen goods and punishing the offenders, in some cases, resulting in their torture. Roschmann transferred 250 less productive prisoners to the SS factory (*Betrieb*) at Strasdenhof on the orders of Kaiserwald commandant SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer. According to Kugler, Lenta's population declined to 550 by January 1944. In light of these conditions, 4 male prisoners, Hirschberg, Schnaider, Juter, and Juter's son, escaped and reached the home of Janis and Johanna Lipke. The Lipkes sheltered almost 40 Jews, nearly two-fifths of the 103 Jews rescued in Latvia. In 1989, Yad Vashem honored them with the Righteous among the Nations medal.

According to Kugler, the combination of mismanagement and escapes led to Roschmann's removal in April 1944. Roschmann's successor as co-commandant was the lower-ranking SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Nickel, whom Roschmann had appointed as a guard in February 1944 on the strength of Nickel's performance at the Salaspils police camp. More pragmatic than Roschmann, Nickel cooperated with Scherwitz and the prisoner staff in the improvement of production and somewhat relaxed his predecessor's regime. According to prisoner Werner Sauer, Scherwitz and Nickel even organized tennis and European football matches for the prisoners. Sauer's building Kommando team wore red-trimmed black pants with red shirts with a mason's trowel as team symbol, while the furriers had blue-and-white-striped shirts emblazoned with a fox symbol.[6]

In June 1944, Scherwitz returned to France for another procurement trip. After his return, as other Kasernierungen prepared for evacuation, Scherwitz marched nearly all of Lenta's prisoners to the police camp at Salaspils on July 31, 1944. At Salaspils the Lenta inmates were segregated by gender but housed in a separate part of the camp. They were not generally subjected to Salaspils's harsh regime. As Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Sturmbannführer Eduard Krebsbach and SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Günther Wisner undertook mass selections in the various Kasernierungen for the killing of Jews no longer capable of working, called *Aktionen*, it is possible that Scherwitz sought by this abrupt move to forestall a selection. If this were the case, then he only delayed it, because after the prisoners' return to Lenta, on August 8 or 9, 1944, 110 prisoners by Kugler's estimate were dispatched to the "base command" (Stützpunktkommando), the Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the neighboring forests. Scherwitz used his influence to spare at least one family. Some 300 of the surviving Lenta prisoners boarded the *Kanonier* on August 24 or 25, 1944, in a transport that totaled 3,155 prisoners. After crossing the Baltic, the prisoners disembarked at Danzig, where barges then took them to the Stutthof concentration camp. Separately, Scherwitz took a smaller group of prisoners with him to Libau (Liepāja).

During the U.S. occupation of Bavaria, Scherwitz posed as a Lithuanian Jewish refugee named Eleke Scherwitz and claimed to be a Riga camp victim. As he worked for a survivors' association, former Lenta prisoners identified him to the Americans. Transferred from U.S. to Bavarian custody, where he called himself Elika (Eleken) Sirewitz, a Jew who joined the SS in 1943, Scherwitz was tried for murdering three escapees in August 1944. Listed in the case under a variant spelling of one of his aliases, "Elke S.," the court described him as a "full Jew" (*Volljude*).[7] Kugler argues that the Bavarians eagerly tried him because of his alleged Jewishness. As discovered by investigator Christel Paulsen in 1950 at the Berlin Document Center (BDC), then run by the U.S. Department of State, Scherwitz's Nazi Party card revealed his date of birth as August 21, 1903, not August 8, 1910. While the BDC card listed his SS number as 51561, which indicated entrance into the SS before the Nazi takeover, his SS autobiography (*Lebenslauf*) showed an SS number of 241935 with entry into the SS in 1933.[8] After a complicated series of legal proceedings, Scherwitz was sentenced to six years' imprisonment with credit for two years of time served. He died in 1962.

SOURCES The most important source for the Lenta Kasernierung of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp and its commandant is the provocatively titled book by Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004). For a less sympathetic interpretation of Scherwitz, see Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251. A short biography of Janis Lipke may be found at www1.yadvashem.org/righteous/index-righteous.html.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943. Scherwitz's trials are summarized in Lfd. Nr. 227, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 7: 137–146, Amsterdam, 1971, but the excerpts

contain little useful information on Lenta and reproduce Scherwitz's false identity. The Scherwitz cases are listed as LG München 1 Ks 26/49, OLG München 1 Ss 70/49, and Bayerischen OLG I, III 16/50. Kugler makes extensive use of the original prosecution and trial records, which include testimonies and Scherwitz's scanty personnel records. The trial records are held at BHStA-(M), Sta. München, Sirewitz Verfahren, 17434; and Gsta. OLG München Nr. 207 (Sirewitz). Scherwitz's personnel card is available in the SSO collection at BA-B. Kugler reproduces his Lebenslauf in the photographic section. As cited by Kugler, two unpublished survivors' accounts for this camp are Werner Sauer's "Mensch unter Menschen" (unpub. MSS, n.d., YVA 033/4126); and Abrahm Bloch's letters and memoirs in Russian and Yiddish, which are available at MEL. Lange's listing as a participant in the Wannsee Conference may be found in John Mendelssohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 265.

2. Scherwitz statement, StA-M, Sta. München, Sirewitz Verfahren, 17434, as cited in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 371.

3. Scherwitz statement, August 1, 1950, Sta. I München, in ibid., p. 384.

4. Quoted in ibid., p. 354.

5. NG-2586, Wannsee Protocol, January 20, 1942, in John Mendelssohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 2.

6. Werner Sauer, "Mensch unter Menschen" (unpub. MSS, n.d., YVA 033/4126), n.p., cited in Kugler, *Scherwitz*, pp. 395–396.

7. As quoted in Schwurgericht Urteil, OLG München, July 13, 1949, 1 Ss 70/49, Lfd. Nr. 227, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 7: 141, Amsterdam, 1971.

8. BDCPF Scherwitz, BA-B, cited in Kugler, *Scherwitz*, p. 342.

RIGA (MÜHLGRABEN) [AKA ULTRA]

On July 7, 1943, Chief of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und Sicherheitsdienst (SD) in Riga Dr. Rudolf Lange designated Mühlgraben (Milgravis) a quartering site (*Kasernierungen*) for the deployment of at least 1,000 Jewish inhabitants from the Riga ghetto, which was then in the process of being liquidated.[1] On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar Riga confirmed Mühlgraben's inclusion among the Kasernierungen absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. Although the site was supposed to hold 1,300 prisoners, it had 737 at the time.[2] Other accounts place the camp's total population at 1,500 Jewish prisoners.[3] The Mühlgraben inmates worked for the Army Clothing Office 701 (Armeebekleidungsamt [ABA]), which sorted and repaired soiled and damaged uniforms for the German army. The camp was situated inside a former Latvian chemical factory called Lēverkūzi Ultramarina fabrics, which once had commercial ties to the German IG Farbenindustrie AG chemical concern. Called "Ultra" by some prisoners, the camp betrayed signs of its original purpose, as everything inside the complex had been painted blue, according to survivor Hilde Sherman-Zander, and the main sorting operations and roll calls took place in the former "gas hall" (*Gashalle*). Segregated by gender, the prisoners lived in two "community rooms" (*Gemeinschaftsräumen*). The camp population originally included children as well as adults.[4]

The camp administration belonged exclusively to the German army. Unteroffizier Heinz Müller was the camp leader (Lagerführer), and his deputy was Obergefreiter Franz Schwellenberg (or Schwellenbach). It is possible that Schwellenberg may have been an SD or police member.[5] The soldiers mistreated and harassed the prisoners. Former Mühlgraben prisoners attested to the brutality, recalling that Schwellenberg threatened to beat "black and blue" anyone caught stealing military uniforms.[6] Jakov Galanter remembered that punishments included 25 blows with a cane. The work pace imposed upon the prisoners, he reported, was frenetic.[7]

Mühlgraben had a penal column (Strafkommando), which held prisoners deemed guilty of minor infractions or whose work pace was too slow. Hilde Sherman-Zander was assigned to the penal detachment on two occasions, respectively, for three and four weeks. In one instance her work performance was judged inadequate, and in the second, she was caught with books in her possession and thus punished for holding contraband.[8] Another prisoner in the penal detachment, Erwin Sekules, hauled wagons filled with wood at the double for six hours straight, which resulted in his being brought to the camp infirmary in a state of utter exhaustion. The prisoner doctor, Dr. Josef (called "Dr. Joseph" in some survivors' accounts), a Jewish physician from Vienna, warned that additional labor would kill him. Nevertheless, Sekules was dispatched on yet another penal detail shortly afterward.[9]

As was the case at the Riga (Lenta) quartering site, Mühlgraben had a Jewish Ordnungsdienst (OD) that kept internal order. From Zander's testimony, which named some of the Jewish "police," the army displayed a degree of favoritism toward German over Latvian Jews in the appointment of OD members.[10]

In May 1944, the ABA opened a second Kasernierung at Krottingen, on behalf of ABA 709. For this camp, the army dispatched approximately 200 Mühlgraben inmates to form this subcamp.[11]

According to Max Kaufmann, who produced the earliest chronicle of the Holocaust in Latvia, Kaiserwald camp doctor (Lagerarzt) SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Krebsbach and SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner selected children at Mühlgraben. The selections, called "operations" (*Aktionen*) at Kaiserwald, involved the removal by truck of weakened and youthful prisoners who were then shot in the forest. In the Kaiserwald euphemism, the unknown destination of these victims was the "base camp command" (Stützpunktkommando). Although Mühlgraben was not cited in Wisner's indictment, Kaufmann's claim accorded with the pattern of the Aktionen that took place in other Kaiserwald subcamps in the Riga area, for which Wisner was held responsible at his 1985 trial in Düsseldorf. Survivor testimony further underscored Kaufmann's charge. According to Sherman-Zander, three major selections occurred at Mühlgraben: the first was the "January [1944] Aktion," during which 24 children and about half the adult population were selected for murder. The second selection occurred while Sherman-Zander was kept in the infirmary. The timely intervention of Dr. Josef prevented her selection, but most of the patients were taken away. The third Aktion occurred on or around August 6, 1944, shortly before the camp was evacuated.[12]

Most of the remaining Mühlgraben prisoners were evacuated by sea on a harrowing three-day journey aboard the *Bremerhaven* to Danzig. From the port of Danzig, the survivors proceeded via barges on the Vistula River to Stutthof. Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) listed the official closure date for the Mühlgraben men's and women's camps as August 6, 1944, Sherman-Zander recalled that a small detachment of prisoners, including herself, remained behind to operate the clothing depot, until shortly before the Germans abandoned Riga to the Soviets. Sherman-Zander dated her evacuation, aboard the *Sanga*, to late October 1944. The prisoners in her transport were dispatched to Libau (Liepāja).[13]

SOURCES The earliest mention of the Mühlgraben Kasernierung of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp appears in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 402–403, where Kaufmann accused Krebsbach and Wisner (misspelled Kressbach and Wiesner) of conducting selections at Mühlgraben. The subcamp is briefly mentioned in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 400, 403; and Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. Mühlgraben is listed as men's and women's subcamps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 252. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Mühlgraben begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. As cited by Angrick and Klein, Lange's conference discussing Mühlgraben can be found in BA-B, R 91 (Gebietskommissare im Geschäftsbereich des Reichskommissars für das Ostland)/164. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Unpublished testimony may be found in P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp. The survivors listed in this testimony are Erwin Sekules, Else Sekules, Rosa Federmann, Malli Federmann, Sofi Billig, Karl Schneider, Heinz Rosenhain, Cläre Rosenhain, Hilde Lehmann, Erika Manne, Martin Manne, and Ilse Herzberg. In the same collection may be found P III h no. 1034a, Statement of Karl Schneider, Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947; and P III h No. 1034 c, Statement of Jakov Galanter, Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenbach, September 3, 1947. Two testimonies by the same witness on the subcamps at Mühlgraben and Krottingen are also found in *Testaments*: P III h No. 283 (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, n.d.; and P III h. No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945. Also see the detailed published testimony by Hilde Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel: Mädchenjahre im Ghetto* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1993).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. BA-B, R 91/164, n.p., Der Geb.-Komm. Riga, Judeneinsatz, Bericht betr.: "Umsetzung der Juden in Lager nicht unter 1000 Mann," July 8, 1943, cited in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 403.

2. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

3. P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, p. 2, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, orig. WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp.

4. Hilde Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel: Mädchenjahre im Ghetto* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1993), pp. 90–91; P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, p. 2.

5. P III h. No. 1034a, Karl Schneider, Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, pp. 1–2.

6. Quoted in P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, p. 3.

7. P III h. No. 1034c, Statement of Jakov Galanter, Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenbach, September 3, 1947, p. 1.

8. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, p. 94.

9. P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against "Unteroffizier" Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, pp. 3–4.

10. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, p. 92.

11. P III h. No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945, p. 4.

12. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, pp. 91, 95–96, 99–100.

13. Ibid., pp. 101–103.

RIGA (*REICHSBAHN*)

The SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for 600 male and female Jewish prisoners on August 18, 1943, to work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways). This Kasernierung was 1 of the original 13 absorbed from the Riga ghetto, then in the process of liquidation, or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. On the date of its first mention, in a memorandum from the Stadtkommissar of Riga concerning the reorganization of the ghetto's Kasernierungen, the Reichsbahn camp held 192 Jewish prisoners.[1]

According to Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald survivor Alfred Winter, who has compiled prisoner testimonies on this camp, the inmates were mostly skilled workers who repaired railway equipment under the direction of Reichsbahn personnel. The work pace was unrelenting, but the prisoners had marginally better living conditions, including weekly showers, than in other Kasernierungen. Some overseers took care of their work detachments in the name of improving performance. The work day began with a scramble for usable tools, which were in perennially short supply. As was common elsewhere in the Riga camps, the imposition of concentration camp uniforms and haircuts, including the cropping of women's hair, began only shortly before the camp's dissolution.

In preparation for the evacuation, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a selection, or *Aktion*, as Riga prisoners called it, at the Reichsbahn camp on July 27, 1944. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner. Forcing the male and then the female prisoners to run naked past a reviewing area, Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the weakest by truck to the "base camp command" (Stützpunktkommando), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the Lagerarzt at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called "The Needle" (Spritzbach). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

On August 6, 1944, as the Red Army closed on Riga, the SS conducted the remaining Reichsbahn prisoners to the port of Riga, where they boarded the *Bremerhaven* with almost 6,400 other prisoners from Riga's Kasernierungen. This departure marked the first stage in the evacuation of the Kaiserwald camps. After a harrowing three-day journey aboard ship, they arrived in Danzig and proceeded by barge to the Stutthof concentration camp.

SOURCES This subcamp is discussed at some length in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), pp. 114–115. This account must be used with caution, as the author does not cite his sources and often employs the first-person plural, making it difficult to separate his personal testimony from other accounts. The Reichsbahn subcamp is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 242. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with its listing in the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

RIGA (*TRUPPENWIRTSCHAFTSLAGER*)

According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, the Troop Supply Camp (Truppenwirtschaftslager, TWL) was one of the quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp during the liquidation of the Riga ghetto. First mentioned on August 18, 1943, the subcamp was intended to hold 700 prisoners, of whom 419 were already quartered at TWL on that date.[1] Located only a few miles from the Kaiserwald main camp at Mežaparks, some of its prisoners originated from the old Kasernierung for the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). According to survivor and Riga chronicler Max Kaufmann, some 350 men, women, and children entered TWL from the Reichskommissariat's quartering site during the reorganization. TWL's prisoners sorted clothing and other supplies for t he German army.

Among the TWL prisoners was Steven Springfield, who volunteered to work in this subcamp in order to escape the vicious conditions inside Kaiserwald. After learning that his older brother and father had been dispatched from the ghetto to Kaiserwald, Springfield attempted to get word to them to volunteer for TWL as well. Regular exchanges of prisoners resulted in the establishment of tenuous lines of communication between prisoners in the TWL and Kaiserwald camps. In particular, TWL prisoners having dental problems had to report to Kaiserwald for treatment, which created opportunities for communications and smuggling. Feigning a toothache, Springfield reported for one such transport, bringing with him contraband socks stolen from the warehouse, in order to contact his family. Upon realizing that the prisoners faced a close search at the Kaiserwald gate, Springfield surreptitiously handed over the socks to a Latvian SS man. His move was too late, however, as another prisoner who had also tried to sneak socks into the main camp panicked and dropped his contraband on the ground. As Springfield's fellow prisoners knew he was carrying ill-gotten goods, and had not seen him hand them over to the Latvian guard, they pressured him into confessing to the SS, lest the remainder face retaliation. Springfield did so in the knowledge that someone else had committed the offense. Tortured in the Kaiserwald bunker, Springfield credited the TWL camp elder, David Kagan, who accompanied two infuriated German guards, with saving his life:

> [A]s they entered the bunker, before the Germans had a chance to draw their guns, the camp *Ältester* [elder] started beating me, saying you lousy son of a gun. . . . How dare you . . . steal from the Germans, and kicked me and beat me and kicked me and beat me. I started bleeding profusely from all over my body and he beat me into unconsciousness. But somehow, ironically, that saved my life. He beat me so much that the Germans assumed that I was dead or close to dead. They just turned around and walked out, which I was told later because I was unconscious. I was laying in this bunker for another two or three days and then finally the camp elder came and got me and took me back to [the TWL] camp and it is something which I have never forgotten. Mr. Kagan who did not have a very good reputation from everybody because a lot of people felt that he was too strict and sometimes too merciless, but I must, if I want to be honest, I really have to admit that if not for him I wouldn't be alive today.[2]

Just prior to the camp's evacuation in the summer of 1944, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a mass selection of weakened prisoners at TWL. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner. Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the victims by truck to the "base camp command" (Stützpunktkommando), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the Lagerarzt at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called "The Needle" (Spritzbach). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

After succeeding in getting his father and older brother to transfer into TWL, Springfield witnessed the selections that took place in the camp. As his account makes clear, he had to protect his father against the selections:

> In the meantime, periodically the Germans would come into our camp, line everybody up in front of a table where one of the Germans would sit. Everybody had to undress naked and walk in front of him, and if there was something he would not like on your body, any scar or anything like that, you went to the left, and left meant certain death. And my father who was an invalid and who was with us at that time yet still on many occasions he would have been doomed if . . . we're [un]able to save him by not letting him go into the line, by sneaking him out. When once I remember my father was taken out and sent to the left, and he was still standing there and waiting [for] the truck to take him away, and the German guard was walking back and forth, and as he turned his back I snuck in. I grabbed my father and pulled him out of there which at that time saved his life.[3]

Springfield's father subsequently perished at Stutthof concentration camp.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the TWL men's camp was dissolved on June 28, 1944, and the women's camp closed in October 1944. According to Springfield, however, the men did not evacuate the TWL subcamp until the fall of 1944. After the sea evacuation, which took them first to Stutthof near Danzig, some of the survivors were moved to one of the Magdeburg subcamps near Buchenwald, according to Kaufmann.

SOURCES The Riga (TWL) Kasernierung of Kaiserwald is briefly mentioned in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 412, 424. TWL is listed as men's and women's subcamps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 254. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with its listing in the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Steven Springfield provided an oral history of his ordeal in the Riga ghetto, Kaiserwald, and TWL, which is available in video and transcript form in USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, March 30, 1990. Born in Riga in 1923, Springfield is the former president of the Jewish Survivors of Latvia.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.
2. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview (transcript), March 30, 1990, pp. 7–9.
3. Ibid., p. 9.

RIGA-SPILWE

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for Jewish women at the Spilwe (Spilva) airport on July 5, 1943. On August 5, 1943, a men's camp also opened at the same site. The Luftwaffe deployed the prisoners on construction and repair details at the airport, whose military significance increased with the Red Army's approach. On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar of Riga reported that Spilwe's planned capacity was 1,500 prisoners, of which 775 were already on-site. Spilwe was 1 of the 13 original Kasernierungen absorbed or established by Kaiserwald.[1] The constant turnover due to horrific working conditions, mistreatment, selections, and epidemics has led one chronicler, Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald survivor Alfred Winter, to estimate that as many as 3,000 Jews passed through this camp.

Before the establishment of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp in March 1943, a small Kasernierung of the Kovno ghetto existed at this site but worked only in support services for the Luftwaffe, not construction. Situated in the Ilgezener Brewery adjacent to the airport, this structure subsequently served as living quarters for the much-larger Spilwe Kasernierung under Kaiserwald's jurisdiction. Its limited space produced catastrophic overcrowding.

On December 1, 1943, SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge became Spilwe's camp leader (Lagerführer). A staff member at the Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camps whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back to 1934, and who had even been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname "Iron Gustav" (Eiserne Gustav). During the two years prior to taking command at Spilwe, he had been Arbeitseinsatzführer at Vught, the Herzogenbusch main camp, in the Netherlands and served in the summer of 1943 on a "bandit"-hunting (antipartisan) detail for the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. At Spilwe, the new Lagerführer imposed a harsh regime along IKL lines, in a departure from many of Kaiserwald's other Kasernierungen.[2] According to Winter, in one incident Sorge emptied the men's barracks one night and forced the prisoners, already weakened by hunger and exhaustion, to perform penal exercises and endure beatings. One former prisoner called this ordeal the "witches' dance," which was similar to collective punishments practiced in the early Emsland camps.[3] On December 15, 1943, Sorge also assumed command of the neighboring camp for army vehicle repair, the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP). Sorge's deputy at Spilwe was a Luftwaffe Gefreiter, Schuhmacher, who had already been an administrator at the Spilwe Kasernierung before its absorption by Kaiserwald. Schuhmacher enjoyed setting dogs upon the prisoners and otherwise complemented Sorge's brutality. Worsening the situation for the prisoners was the second camp elder (Lagerältester), "Mr. X," the nickname of Xavier Abel, the notorious camp elder and German criminal prisoner at Kaiserwald. After replacing the first camp elder, a German Jew named Kohn, Mr. X beat and otherwise harassed the Spilwe prisoners. On January 31, 1944, Sorge was transferred from Spilwe to the Kasernierung at Dondangen. After the September–October 1944 evacuation of Kaiserwald, Sorge assumed command of SS-Baubrigade (Construction Brigade) XII in November 1944, which was organized at Sachsenhausen.

U.S. troops captured him on April 28, 1945, and held him in the SS internment camp at Bad Kreuznach. Sorge's replacement at Spilwe was Dondangen's erstwhile camp leader SS-Oberscharführer Gröschel. Gröschel lost his post at Dondangen because of chronic alcoholism and mismanagement. At Spilwe, he proved susceptible to bribery and drink, in the form of alcohol pilfered by a prisoner, which somewhat tempered his violent behavior.[4]

Spilwe's male and female prisoners worked for the construction firms of Wolf und Döring, Firma Müller, and Organisation Todt (OT), which repaired and maintained the Spilwe airport. The work consisted of laying steel matting on airstrips, hauling heavy construction materials, and other hard labor. Some of the women were transferred to the Kauen/Schaulen subcamp in the spring of 1944, but the ITS erred in claiming that the women's camp closed in April of that year, because Hungarian Jewish women were dispatched to Spilwe from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in June 1944. According to Winter, these women brought the Spilwe prisoners the first reports about gas chambers and crematories.

Josef Katz, a German Jew from Lübeck, was held at both the Spilwe and HKP camps in the spring of 1944. Although he was originally dispatched to work in a garden at HKP, the SS on-site arbitrarily transferred him to Spilwe, where he worked on airfield repair under OT supervision. The Hungarian women at Spilwe, reported Katz, were worked to death. After repeated importuning, Katz succeeded in gaining a place in the garden Kommando at HKP.[5]

The infirmary at Spilwe was little more than a place to die or to be selected for murder. In the spring of 1944, Emil Würth-Tscherne entered Spilwe as a prisoner orderly (Sanitäter). A political prisoner who held the same post at Dachau until late 1943, Würth had no medical experience. During his time at Spilwe, many Jewish women suffered from typhoid fever, which led to numerous selections.[6]

Just prior to the camp's evacuation in the summer of 1944, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a mass selection of Spilwe's weakened prisoners. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner. Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the victims by truck to the "base command" (Stützpunktkommando), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the Lagerarzt at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called "The Needle" (Spritzbach). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

Spilwe was closed on August 6, 1944, when the surviving prisoners were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded the *Bremerhaven* en route to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland. The conditions aboard ship, which held about 6,400 Jews for three days, were lethal. According to ITS, a small group of Jewish men were retained at Spilwe after the closure, to undertake "clearance work" (*Aufräumungsarbeiten*).[7]

In 1959, the Bonn Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced Spilwe's former Lagerführer Sorge to life imprisonment plus 15 years for the murder of 67 prisoners and for 20 additional attempted murders. The charges included homicides committed at Esterwegen as early as 1934 and included cases at Sachsenhausen as late as 1942, but the prosecution inexplicably did not charge him with causing any deaths at Spilwe, HKP, or Dondangen.

SOURCES This subcamp is discussed at some length in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), pp. 97–102. This account must be used with caution, as the author does not cite his sources and often employs the first-person plural, making it difficult to separate his personal testimony from other accounts. The Spilwe subcamp is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 253. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with its listing in the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). The case of Gustav Sorge (8 Ks 1/58) is found in Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* 15:399–658 (Amsterdam, 1976). The testimony of Emil Würth-Tscherne can be found in P III h No. 1007 (Riga-Kaiserwald, Spilve), "Report of an 'Aryan' Political Prisoner," in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, orig. WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp. A published testimony of Spilwe is Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum*

und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944 (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1976) 15: 415–421.

3. As quoted in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), p. 100.

4. P III h No. 1007 (Riga-Kaiserwald, Spilwe), Emil Würth-Tscherne, "Report of an 'Aryan' Political Prisoner," in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, orig. WL, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp, p. 2.

5. Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), pp. 159–163.

6. Würth-Tscherne, "Report of an 'Aryan' Political Prisoner," pp. 1–2.

7. Quoted in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:253.

RIGA-STRASDENHOF (AEG/VEF)

In 1942, the second-largest German electronics enterprise the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) took over the Latvian state-owned electronics factory Valsts Elektrotechniska Fabrika (VEF) in Riga-Strasdenhof (Strazdumviža). Between 1943 and 1944, around 800 female Jewish prisoners from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp worked as forced laborers for the AEG, manufacturing cables.

In 1941, after the German occupation of Latvia, the AEG established a sales office in Riga to promote its products mostly produced in Berlin with the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). Products such as plugs, heating elements, cook tops, and electric ovens, which the AEG sent to Riga until October 1941, could only be sold in compliance with the Reich Economics Ministry (RWM) to the Wehrmacht for its winter quarters, workshops, and accommodations.

In the same period, the AEG prepared to take over the VEF, which had been compulsorily acquired by the German Military Administration. The VEF was the largest Lativan industrial enterprise. One of the best-known VEF products was a small camera, the Minox, which had been mass-produced in Riga beginning in 1938.

When the Wehrmacht took over the factory in the summer of 1941, it appointed an AEG representative as temporary director. Factory production valued at approximately 7 million Reichsmark (RM) was set with the production almost exclusively for the Wehrmacht. The factory was to supply the needs of the army, Luftwaffe, and navy, producing radios, batteries for flashlights, hand held microphones, head microphones, transmitting and receiving devices, as well as other electrical equipment.[1] The AEG continued producing these items even after it leased the VEF factory in 1942. "The new factory," as it was referred to in an AEG directive in October 1942, "shall supply primarily the Wehrmacht, so that for the time being there shall be no supplies for civilian requirements."[2] The factory was formally operated by the AEG through a new company, AEG Ostlandwerk GmbH, but from a technical and production point of view, it was administered by the AEG-owned Apparatewerk Treptow in Berlin. Berlin supplied all the employees for the management of the Riga factory. The majority continued with their careers after the war in management positions in the AEG concern.

The VEF factory was the largest AEG production site in occupied Eastern Europe, even larger than the Krakau Kabelwerk, if measured by the number of employees. In May 1943, it had 4,800 Latvian employees both on the production floor and in offices.

In the late summer of 1943, the AEG began to use female Jewish prisoners from the Kaiserwald concentration camp in the production process. The decision to use a large number of concentration camp prisoners arose probably as the result of a decline in the number of Latvian employees from 4,600 to 3,350. Additionally, Jews, beginning July 1943, could only be used outside the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp in large enterprises vital for the war effort that had their subcamps (called "quartering sites," or *Kasernierungen*) to accommodate the prisoners.[3]

In August or September 1943, around 200 mostly young women were used in the factory to test their suitability. The numbers were eventually increased to approximately 800.[4] Among them were Latvian Jewish women from Riga and Libau as well as German, Lithuanian, Czech, Polish, and Hungarian Jewish women.[5]

The women were taken by truck from the Kaiserwald concentration camp to factory grounds opposite the main VEF factory building on the then Grosse Freiheitsstrasse. Here they were accommodated in a factory building equipped with three-tiered wooden bunk beds. Hygiene was better in the subcamp than in the Kaiserwald concentration camp.

Each day the women had to assemble for roll call, before and after work in the factory. From the end of 1943, the women working in the factory wore prisoner uniforms and wooden shoes. They worked alternatively in three eight-hour shifts in different departments without protective clothing, producing lightbulbs, cables, and batteries.[6] They worked under the supervision of Latvian foremen.[7]

"The people were afraid," according to Eugenia Borvoskaja, a survivor from Riga born in 1922. "They tried to work good [so] they [would] not to be shot or punished."[8]

The food from the Kaiserwald concentration camp was always inadequate.[9] Sometimes the women were secretly given food while working by Latvian workers.[10] The survivor, Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, states that they could secretly roast potatoes in the factory.[11]

According to Else Schwarz-Katz, technical director of the factory Herbert Dallmann declined to make additional food available.[12] On the other hand, he intervened for the return of Zaltzman-Frankel and four other concentration camp prisoners after they had been transported by the SS to the Kaiserwald main camp because they were "good workers."[13]

The use of prisoners ceased in the summer of 1944 in Riga, and the factory was evacuated in the face of the Red Army advance. The AEG transported raw materials such as

copper, lead, and iron from Riga to the Apparatefabrik Treptow in Berlin, where some of it was distributed to other AEG factories.[14] Preparations were made to relocate part of the production process to Thorn in Poland, where production would recommence in a 900-square-meter (1,076-square-yard) cellar in the air-raid-safe fortress called Fort XIII. Fort XIII was the most southern part of a defense ring established in the city of Thorn in the nineteenth century.

The concentration camps for women were also to be relocated from Riga to Thorn. On August 9, 1944, approximately 450 women were taken in goods train cars from the Riga factory grounds to the Thorn central railway station, and they were initially held in Fort XIII.

The female concentration camp prisoners were to work in Thorn on the machines also transported from Riga, but the machines would not work. Wehrmacht soldiers were to be quartered in the cellars of Fort XIII in October 1944. As a result, the women were transferred to a newly erected wooden barrack camp on the Vistula. It had three accommodation barracks. The Thorn-Winkenau subcamp was under the control of the Stutthof concentration camp.[15] The SS camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel, who had been the leader of Kaiserwald's AEG, Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe), and Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) subcamps in Riga.[16]

In addition to the first transport of female prisoners at the beginning of August 1944, there were other transports until mid-October 1944 of female prisoners from Riga in the direction of Thorn.[17] The SS did not transport these women in a train to Thorn but by ship via Danzig to the Stutthof concentration camp.[18] From there, at the direction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, 250 female concentration camp prisoners were transported on September 13, 1944, most likely to Thorn.[19] On October 30, 1944, another 280 women were transported from the Stutthof concentration camp to Thorn. They were to replace 230 women also transported from Riga to Thorn, who were to be sent by the SS to Stutthof.[20] A Stutthof concentration camp strength report from January 1945 puts the number of female concentration camp prisoners in the Thorn subcamp at 510.[21]

The women in the AEG production process in Thorn put rubber around the cables and probably produced weapons, grenades, and munitions. They also built the barracks for the subcamp.[22]

In January 1945, again in the face of the Red Army advance, it was planned to relocate the AEG assembly line from Thorn. The Thorn subcamp was dissolved at the end of January 1945.[23] The remaining female concentration camp prisoners were forced to march by the SS for 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the city of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). Shortly before Bromberg, the women were freed when the SS guards fled the Red Army.[24]

SOURCES The principal secondary sources that discuss the Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG) subcamp are Max Kaufmann, *Chubn Lettland: Zur Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Corre Verlag, 1999), p. 404; and Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die verweigerte Entschädigung für jüdische Zwangsarbeiter* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1981), p. 152. Background on the Minox camera may be found in Hubert E. Heckmann, *Minox—Variationen in 8x11: Die autorisierte Geschichte der Kleinstbildkamera*, foreword by Walter Zapp (Hückelhoven: Wittig, 1992), p. 31. On the Thorn subcamp, see Marek Orski, *Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Danzig: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutwie, 1992); Danuta Drywa, *Zagada Zydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof 1939–1945* (Danzig: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutwie, 2001), pp. 215–216. The Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG) is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:254.

The archival sources on the history of the VEF and the AEG are held in LVVA, the BA-B, LA-B, and BA-MA. Individual documents in the AEG-Firmenarchiv in DTM contain few details on the use of the forced labor. Unpublished survivors' accounts may be found in USHMMA in RG-12.004.02 *02 and *04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994, AEG Correspondence. Published memoirs on the AEG subcamp include Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*, ed. M. M. Shafir (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Jewish Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Right Studies, 2003); Hartmut Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno: Bericht über Hilde Schneider, Christin jüdischer Herkunft, Diakonisse, Ghetto- und KZ-Häftling, Gefängnispfarrerin* (Berlin: Wichern, 2001); and Vanessa Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]," *EI* 7 (June 1999): 35–38.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Rüstungsinspektion Ostland, KTB, September 1–December 31, 1941, entry September 30, 1941, BA-MA, RW 30/1, p. 9.

2. AEG-Direktion, Rundschreiben Nr. 13/42, October 21, 1942, Betr.: "Gesellschaftsgründung im Ostland," DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 5989, p. 1.

3. Wehrwirtschaftsinspektion Ostland, KTB Nr. 8, July 1–September 30, 1943, entry July 26, 1943, BA-MA, RW 30/8, p. 8RS.

4. Wehrwirtschaftsinspektion Ostland, KTB, Nr. 8, July 1–September 30, 1943, Vierteljahresbericht für die Zeit vom 17-30.9.43, BA-MA, RW 30/8, p. 35RS.

5. Interview of the author with Eugenia Borovskaja, March 26, 2000; Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771* ed. M.M. Shafir (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Jewish Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2003); as well as Hartmut Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno: Bericht über Hilde Schneider, Christin jüdischer Herkunft, Diakonisse, Ghetto- und KZ-Häftling, Gefängnispfarrerin* (Berlin: Wichern, 2001), p. 163.

6. Vanessa Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]," *EI* 7 (June 1999): 35–38; Borovskaja interview.

7. Borovskaja interview; and Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 163.
8. Borovskaja interview.
9. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]"; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 164.
10. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]."
11. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
12. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]."
13. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
14. Aufstellungen, LA-B, A Rep. 227-05, Nr. 175.
15. Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 168.
16. Kommandanturbefehl Nr. 73 der Kommandantur des KL Stutthof, October 30, 1944, AMS, I–I13-3.
17. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]."
18. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 273.
19. Kommandanturbefehl Nr. 61, September 12, 1944, AMS, I–IB-3.
20. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 272.
21. Stärkemeldung, January 24, 1945, AMS, I-IIIB-6.
22. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]."
23. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
24. Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 175; Borovskaja interview.

RIGA-STRASDENHOF [AKA SS-BETRIEBE, STRAZDENHOF]

Situated near the Widzemer-Chaussee Bridge on the Jugla River, the SS factory (*Betriebe*) at Strasdenhof (Strazdumviža) was one of the original quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp with the dissolution of the Riga ghetto. According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, the subcamp, misspelled Strazdenhof, held 820 Jewish prisoners on August 18, 1943, with a planned deployment of 3,000 male and female prisoners.[1] After the final liquidation of the Riga ghetto on November 2, 1943, the Kasernierung held approximately 2,000 inmates, including many children and elderly. While most prisoners manufactured SS uniforms on-site at the SS-owned textile factory, other detachments performed street construction. This Kasernierung is not to be confused with the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) subcamp at Strasdenhof, which fell under separate administration.

Under the camp leader (Lagerführer), SS-Unterscharführer Hermann "Usche" Dering, the guards consisted of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from Transylvania. Some prisoner accounts also listed Dering's rank as Untersturmführer. Dering's deputy was Hans Hoffmann. According to survivors, Dering and Hoffmann were responsible for Strasdenhof's harsh conditions. Prisoners were routinely forced to perform "sport," an SS euphemism for penal exercises designed to exhaust, humiliate, and kill; roll calls were used for beatings and humiliation; and the food conditions were completely inadequate for the camp population.[2]

Compounding Dering's and Hoffmann's brutal rule was the first of three successive camp elders, Hans Bruhn. A German "green" prisoner who was at Sachsenhausen and then a Kaiserwald block elder, Bruhn imposed a vicious regime at Strasdenhof. In 1949, survivor Jacob Efrat described Bruhn:

> I was later transferred to Strasdenhof where, to my misfortune, Bruhn [misspelled Bruns] was put in charge at the same time, so that I had to remain under his control for a longer period. He saw to it that the conditions in the camp were so bad that many died daily of starvation and ill-treatment. He supervised any possible attempts at smuggling food into the camp so strictly by examining all incomers at the gates, that it was impossible to supplement the hopelessly inadequate ration. Besides this he instituted the custom of awaiting the prisoners on their return from work in the evening, when they were tired to exhaustion and then forcing them to take part in various exercises, marching in the grounds and generally sapping their last remaining energies. His brutality rose to such heights at the camp that he beat 2 men to death with his own hands and buried them on the banks of the Jugle [*sic*].[3]

Bruhn's successors were Reinhold Rosenmeyer and Rago. According to Efrat, conditions somewhat improved after Bruhn's transfer.

The conditions in this subcamp prompted many escape attempts. According to the first chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust, Max Kaufmann, the following prisoners attempted to flee: Rachil Bermann, Brudner, Luba Drujan, Liolia Gittelsohn, the Keile sisters, Raja (a female prisoner), Salgaller, the Seidemann brothers, and the column leader (Kolonnenführer) Morein. According to Samuel Atlas, 10 prisoners caught hiding in the factory incurred severe beatings from Hoffmann after their discovery.[4]

Eyewitness accounts and West German trial reports document two major selections or "operations" (*Aktionen*) at Strasdenhof, as the roundups of weakened Jews were termed at Kaiserwald. Survivor Bella Gepen Mirkin accused Hoffmann of overseeing the "Children's Operation" (*Kinderaktion*) in March 1944, which resulted in the removal of between 60 and 90 young prisoners.[5] Taken to "base camp command" (Stützpunktkommando), the Kaiserwald euphemism for a shooting site in the forest, the children's selection was part of an overall targeting of Jewish children in the Riga Kasernierungen in the spring of 1944. The second, much larger Aktion occurred in early August 1944, shortly before the camp's evacuation. Estimates place the number of victims in this selection at around two-thirds of the camp's population, as all Jews over 30 and under 18 were boarded on trucks and taken to the forests. Efrat estimated that the SS removed some 1,300 prison-

ers during this Aktion, leaving only 500 in the camp. Hoffmann allegedly coaxed the victims to cooperate by promising their imminent evacuation from Riga aboard ship.[6]

The SS participants in the second selection included Kaiserwald's Sanitätsdienstgrad Heinz Günther Wisner. If this selection followed the pattern found in other Riga Kasernierungen preparing for evacuation in the summer of 1944, then it is likely that Kaiserwald Lagerarzt Dr. Eduard Krebsbach was present as well. Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

When Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe) was evacuated on August 6, 1944, the camp population stood at approximately 700. The survivors boarded the *Bremerhaven* at the port of Riga for a harrowing three-day journey to Danzig, where barges then took them to Stutthof, via the Vistula River.

SOURCES The Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe) Kasernierung of Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp is described in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 408–411. Kaufmann recounts the escape attempts and brutal treatment and places the estimate of the camp population at the time of the evacuation. The subcamp is briefly mentioned in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 354; and in Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe) is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:255. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe) begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Unpublished testimonies on Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe) may be found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp, and are based upon the collection of WL. The testimonies are P III h. No. 1019 (Strasdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring at the Strassenhof [*sic*] Camp," August 8, 1949; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Jacob Efrat, Letter to H. Michaelson, May 11, 1949; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Translated letter of Jacob Efrat to H. Michaelson, July 9, 1949; P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Samuel Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [*sic*]," October 5, 1949; P III h. No. 1019a (Strasdenhof), Bella Mirkin, née Gepen, "'Kinderaktion' (Selection of Children) by SS man Hoffmann," February 29, 1950. A published testimony on Strasdenhof, by a survivor of Vilna ghetto, is Mascha Rolnikaite, *Ich muss erzählen: Mein Tagebuch 1941–1945*, trans. Dorothea Greve, foreword by Marianna Butenschön (Berlin: Kindler, 2002).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. *Testaments to the Holocaust*, http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp: P III h. No. 1019 (Strasdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring at the Strassenhof [*sic*] Camp," August 8, 1949, p. 1; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Jacob Efrat, Letter to H. Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 1; P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Samuel Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [*sic*]," October 5, 1949; P III h. No. 1019 a (Strasdenhof), Bella Mirkin, née Gepen, "'Kinderaktion' (Selection of Children) by SS man Hoffmann," February 29, 1950, p. 1.

3. P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Translated letter of Efrat to Michaelson, July 9, 1949, p. 1.

4. P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [*sic*]," October 5, 1949.

5. Mirkin, "'Kinderaktion,'" February 29, 1950, p. 1; see also P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Efrat, Letter to Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 1.

6. P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Efrat to Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 2; P III h. No. 1019 (Strasdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann," August 8, 1949, p. 2.

SACHSENHAUSEN



Undated photograph of the “roller detachment” marching to work.
USHMM WS#82927, COURTESY OF AG-S

SACHSENHAUSEN MAIN CAMP

Situated next to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL, later Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office, or WVHA) at Oranienburg, just north of Berlin, Sachsenhausen stood at the center of the Nazi concentration camp system. Begun in the summer of 1936, just before the Berlin Olympics, it was the first new concentration camp built after Hitler gave full control of that system to the SS in 1934. As such, Sachsenhausen was intended to be a model facility; indeed, the Nazi press corps toured it for propaganda purposes in March 1938. Nevertheless, the camp's striking triangular layout—an unwieldy blend of art deco and Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon—proved ill-suited to expansion, and subsequent camps would follow more conventional patterns.

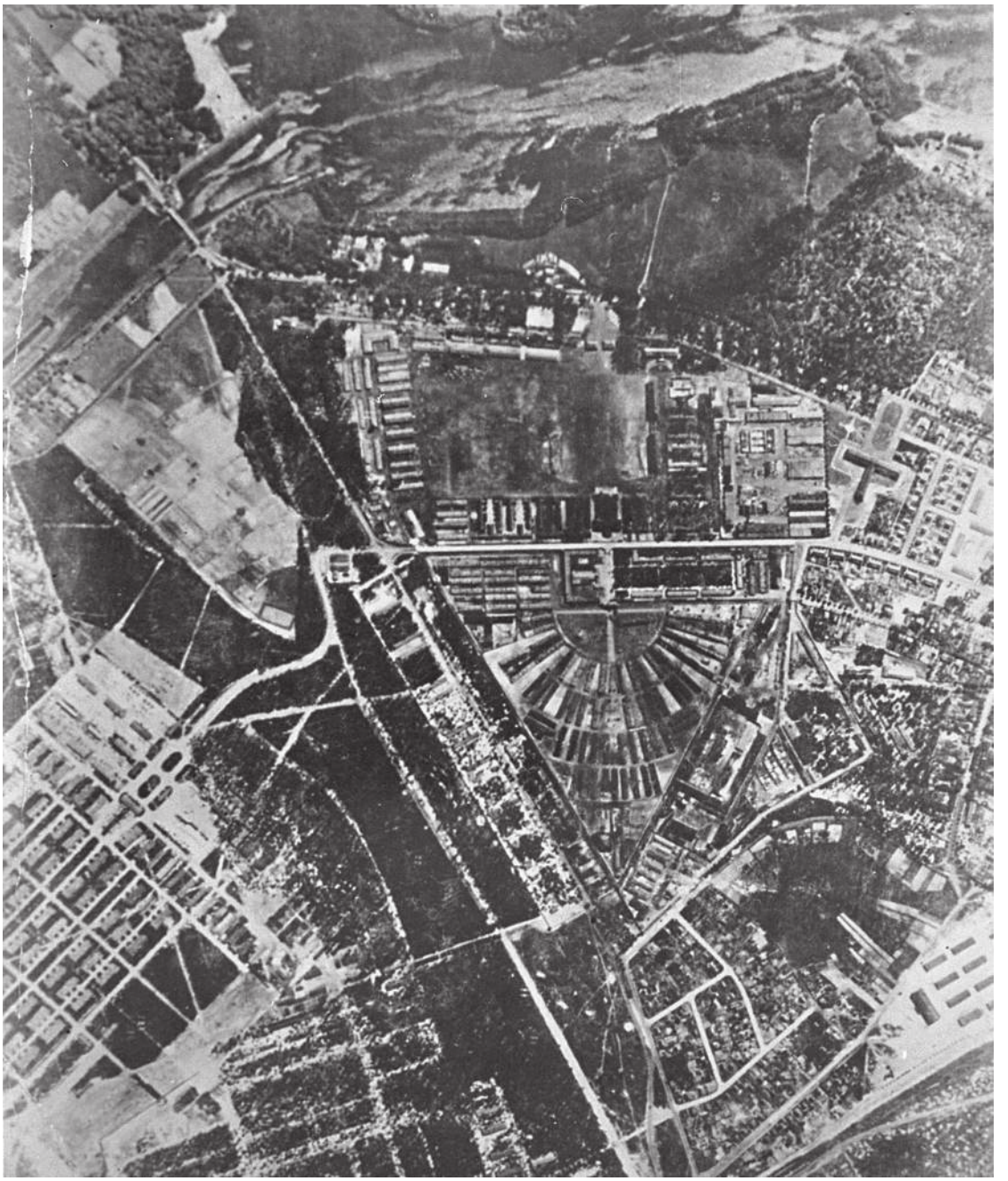
The SS brought the first 50 prisoners to the proposed site from Esterwegen in July 1936, followed by another 200 before the month was out. Construction began immediately. The protective detention camp, where the prisoners would be housed, took the shape of an isosceles triangle, with a narrow, rectangular headquarters area superimposed over the left side of the triangle's base. Entrance to the camp was through an imposing gatehouse, topped by a guard tower. With the camp barracks laid out below in a radial, fanlike pattern, guards in this tower had an unobstructed line of sight virtually throughout the camp. Additional towers punctuated the camp's stone perimeter wall, inside of which ran an electrified barbed-wire fence. Just inside the main gate was the camp's sprawling, semicircular roll-call area. Painted on the ends of the barracks abutting it was one of the implausibly exhortative slogans favored in the 1930s-era camps: "There is one path to freedom! Its milestones are: diligence, obedience, honesty, order, cleanliness, sobriety, truthfulness, spirit of sacrifice, and love of the Fatherland!"

At the beginning of 1937, the number of prisoners at Sachsenhausen stood at about 1,650.[1] Many were former inmates of Esterwegen, who had arrived when that camp closed in September 1936. By early 1938, Sachsenhausen's population had grown to over 2,500. Most inmates were either political prisoners under "protective" detention (47 percent) or criminal prisoners under "preventive" detention (40 percent). The next largest group comprised Jehovah's Witnesses (9 percent), followed by homosexuals (1 percent).[2] These proportions changed dramatically in June, when the arrival of 6,232 "asocial" or "work-shy" prisoners almost tripled the camp's population, pushing it above 9,200.[3] This number gradually receded over the next few months, until November, when the temporary presence of at least 6,000 Jewish prisoners after *Kristallnacht* caused the total to surge briefly above 14,000.[4] By the year's end, this number had retreated to about 8,300, with the asocials constituting an absolute majority (62 percent), the political prisoners a strong minority (32 percent), and the criminals only a relative handful (5 percent).[5]

With the construction of additional barracks in 1939, Sachsenhausen attained a design capacity of approximately 10,000 prisoners. The war, however, soon led to renewed overcrowding. More than 2,500 Polish prisoners arrived during the first six months of the conflict, as did some 1,200 Czech students following anti-German demonstrations in Prague in November 1939. By mid-February 1940, the total number of prisoners had reached nearly 11,900, while Sachsenhausen's first two subcamps, at Wewelsburg and Berlin-Lichterfelde, held over 300 more.[6] In May 1940, another 1,200 Polish prisoners arrived from the Pawiak Prison in Warsaw. Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) began to arrive in August 1941, only to be shot by the thousands. As of early December, some 1,500 remained alive. Not counting the POWs, the number of prisoners at the main camp had fallen to about 8,000 by that time, while the population of the subcamps, which now numbered eight, had risen to around 2,350. The wartime internationalization of the camp continued apace, with Poles reaching 30 percent of the civilian prisoners, and Czechs, 12 percent.[7]

Together with its subcamps, Sachsenhausen began 1943 with more than 16,500 prisoners and ended the year with more than 28,000.[8] At the conclusion of the year, 35 percent were designated as "protective custody" detainees, now a thoroughly heterogeneous, multinational category. Counted separately, Soviet civilian prisoners constituted nearly as large a group, at 32 percent (with the surviving 761 Soviet POWs another 3 percent). Polish prisoners, also counted separately, formed another significant block at 20 percent. The next largest group, amounting to 6 percent, comprised the common criminals in "preventive detention" (as distinct from an additional 1 percent who were actual convicts from the German penitentiary system being held in "security custody"). Asocials constituted another 3 percent; Jehovah's Witnesses, less than 1 percent. Other categories of prisoners were present at Sachsenhausen only in small numbers at this time.[9]

The year 1944 saw explosive growth in the number of subcamps throughout the concentration camp system, and Sachsenhausen was no exception. Most of its new subcamps were located either in Berlin or within the province of Brandenburg. Some of them, including several taken over from Ravensbrück late in the year, held female prisoners. The main camp, however, remained restricted to men, with the exception of the handful of inmates at the camp brothel, opened in mid-1943. Effective January 1, 1945, Sachsenhausen expanded further by taking over responsibility from Mittelbau for the SS-Baubrigaden (Construction Brigades), a group of mobile subcamps assigned to repair bomb damage. As of that date, the entire Sachsenhausen system encompassed nearly 61,000 prisoners, including over 13,200 women. Two weeks later, the total had risen to more than 66,000.[10] In the final months of the war, this number would swell further, with the evacuation of camps closer to the front.



An aerial view of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, revealing its distinctive triangular shape, May 19, 1944.
USHMM WS #32064, COURTESY OF YVA

At Sachsenhausen, as at other Nazi camps, Jewish prisoners were singled out for harsh treatment. Their numbers, however, fluctuated considerably over time. On January 3, 1937, there were only 21 Jewish prisoners at Sachsenhausen.[11] The number remained small until the campaign against the work-shy in June 1938 brought over 800 Jews to the camp.[12] Of these, 457 remained by the time Kristallnacht flooded the camp with Jewish prisoners in November, creating nightmarish conditions. Releases began almost immediately in exchange for commitments to emigrate. As of December 31, 1938, Sachsenhausen had 1,345 Jews, some 16 percent of the camp's total population: 958 were classified as protective custody prisoners, 386 as asocials, and 1 as a homosexual.[13] By February 18, 1940, the number had dropped to 1,218; by December 5, 1941, to 559.[14] In October 1942, most of the remaining Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz, after Heinrich Himmler ordered the expulsion of Jews from the concentration camps within Germany's prewar borders. Sachsenhausen retained only a few with specialized skills needed either for the se-



Sachsenhausen prisoners assemble in columns, 1938. Note the enlarged triangles symbolizing reasons for arrest. The triangle system was only standardized during the previous year.
USHMM WS #76278, COURTESY OF NARA

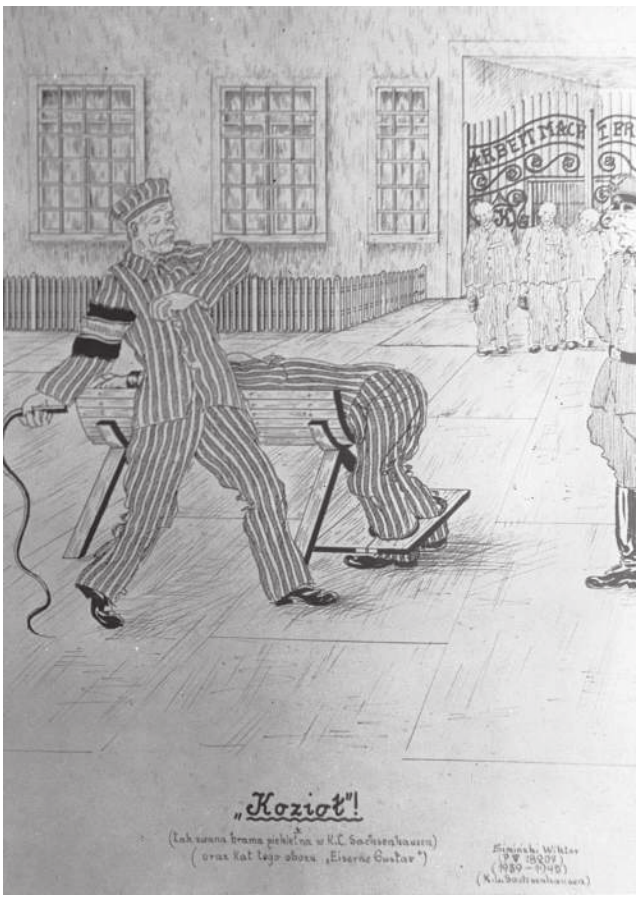
cret Operation Bernhard, which counterfeited foreign banknotes, or for the so-called clock detail, which processed watches stolen from the Jews murdered at Auschwitz. The number of these prisoners grew gradually from 45 at the end of January 1943 to 159 at the end of December.[15] There was no large-scale return of Jews to Sachsenhausen until the second half of 1944, when labor shortages forced Himmler to bring thousands of mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews to concentration camps in Germany. Additional Jewish prisoners arrived as a result of camp evacuations.

Sachsenhausen maintained special facilities to segregate politically prominent prisoners, such as the former Austrian chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg and the anti-Nazi pastor Martin Niemöller. Many of those seized in connection with the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944, also passed through Sachsenhausen. Politically significant POWs were held there as well, including Joseph Stalin's eldest son, who was killed by a guard in April 1943.

Early in Sachsenhausen's existence, the focus of prisoner work assignments was the construction of the camp and other facilities in the immediate vicinity, such as the large industrial and construction yards nearby. By the beginning of 1938, roughly half the prisoners were assigned inside the camp and roughly half in 47 work details outside.[16] In the late summer of 1938, after the SS founded the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt) as a moneymaking enterprise, the prisoners began construction of what was intended to be the largest brickworks in the world, the Klinkerwerk in nearby Lehnitz. Some 1,500 prisoners marched to and from the site each day until 1941, when the camp administration decided to house the prisoners there and turn the Klinkerwerk into a subcamp.

The war inevitably brought about changes in the work done by concentration camp prisoners. In March 1942, plans were made to increase the use of the camps for armaments production, and 6,000 Sachsenhausen prisoners were designated for that work initially. By the end of the year, the camp was heavily involved in war production, manufacturing everything from fighter planes to gas masks. The prisoners at the Klinkerwerk, for example, began to produce shells instead of bricks, while an unfinished stone-processing plant was converted into a facility for recycling military wreckage. The push for increased production continued, feeding the proliferation of subcamps in 1944, as the SS increasingly hired out the prisoners to private firms.

When there was work to be done in the concentration camps, the SS generally had the prisoners do it. This principle extended to much of the organizational work within the camp, which fell largely to privileged prisoners, who carried out such important functions as determining work assignments. They were also in a favorable position to monitor the activities of the headquarters staff and in some cases to obstruct the implementation of harmful policies. At the head of the prisoner self-administration was the camp elder (Lagerältester), who answered directly to the SS officer in



"*Koziol*!" (Stocks!), by Sachsenhavsen prisoner, Wiktor Siminski, shows a prisoner enduring a lashing by a Kapo with the slogan of the camp gate, "Work Will Make You Free" (*Arbeit macht Frei*) in the background, nd.
USHMM WS #26852, COURTESY OF ALEKSANDER KULISIEWICZ

charge of the protective custody camp. This difficult and dangerous post often changed hands, as different groups of prisoners schemed to obtain it for themselves. The political prisoner Harry Naujoks, who was camp elder from April 1939 to October 1942, is generally regarded, at least among his fellow politicals, as having acted with integrity and courage. Some other camp elders had less honorable records, particularly those selected from among the criminals and asocials.

Sachsenhausen had six commandants in less than nine years. The first was Karl Koch, who established the camp and then left in July 1937 to make his reputation at Buchenwald. The incompetent Hans Helwig became Sachsenhausen's second commandant, serving for one year before entering a forced retirement. The hard-driving Hermann Baranowski succeeded him, running the camp with a heavy hand from July 1938 until his death in February 1940. Taking Baranowski's place was the hapless Walter Eisfeld, who immediately fumbled a visit by Himmler, and was removed in March. His replacement, Hans Loritz, came to grief in the great concentration camp corruption scandal of 1942, which brought down the commandants of Dachau, Lublin-Majdanek, Gross-Rosen, and Flossenbürg as well. Anton Kaindl, a grimly efficient administrator, took charge thereafter, shaking up the camp headquarters staff upon his arrival in August 1942 and remaining firmly in power until the end.

Sachsenhausen's earliest guards were members of the Death's Head guard unit SS-Ostfriesland, who accompanied the first prisoners from Esterwegen. When Esterwegen closed in September 1936, the rest of that camp's guards came to Sachsenhausen as well, followed by guards from SS-Brandenburg after the closure of Columbia-Haus in November. In September 1937, the existing SS-Death's Head Units were consolidated, organized by camp, and renamed, with the one at Sachsenhausen becoming the SS-Totenkopfstandarte II "Brandenburg." The autumn of 1939 saw a tremendous turnover in personnel, as SS reservists were called up to release active-duty guards for service in the nascent SS-Death's Head Division. The guard unit was renamed the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Sachsenhausen in about September 1940, then renamed again the SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon Sachsenhausen in January 1943.



"Lorry Fatigue-Party," by Sachsenhausen prisoner Odd Nansen, c. 1944; the sign on the barracks reads, "For freedom."
USHMM WS #73557, COURTESY OF AG-S

Gustav Wegner commanded the guard force from December 1940 until April 1945. He rebuilt the unit from the ground up, paying special attention to the military and ideological training of new recruits. By November 1941, there were 9 companies of guards, numbering over 1,400 men.[17] By December 1944, there were 13 companies, with nearly 2,700 guards, while the camp headquarters staff numbered another 277.[18] As of January 1, 1945, the total number of SS guard personnel assigned to Sachsenhausen was 3,356, including 351 female guards at the subcamps for women prisoners.[19]

The SS-Death's Head guards at Sachsenhausen were little different from those at other concentration camps. The war quickly mingled the prewar cadres, who had specifically volunteered for service as camp guards, with Waffen-SS personnel of every kind. Hundreds of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe received their initial Waffen-SS training at Sachsenhausen in 1942 and 1943; others arrived already trained from different camps or from combat units. In November and December 1943, several hundred mostly Ukrainian guards came to Sachsenhausen from the Trawniki training camp near Lublin, Poland, after the WVHA took control of it and began to siphon off its personnel for use in the Reich. Sachsenhausen acted as the hub in a distribution system that fed these men to camps throughout the WVHA system. In 1944, large numbers of Wehrmacht soldiers were absorbed into the Waffen-SS and assigned to guard duty at Sachsenhausen, as at other camps. Finally, in early 1945, many middle-aged men from around Berlin were called up for guard service at Sachsenhausen.

Prisoners at Sachsenhausen were tormented and killed in many different ways. A gallows in the roll-call area was used for hangings. Shootings were more common and often took place in a special pit in the industrial yard. This shooting pit was next to the so-called Station Z, a killing facility built in 1942 to replace a wooden structure used during the shooting of Soviet POWs the previous year. Station Z held a gas chamber (built in 1943), the camp crematorium, and a room where prisoners who believed they were having their height measured were shot in the nape of the neck through a hole in the wall. Although Kaindl later testified that he ordered the gas chamber built because other killing methods were insufficient, it does not appear to have seen heavy use. Random killings, meanwhile, could take place virtually anywhere in the camp, and no prisoner was ever safe. Sachsenhausen also provided unwilling subjects for often fatal medical experiments.

Nazi concentration camps were noted for their sadistic punishments. In addition to standard techniques such as

whipping or close confinement, Sachsenhausen had specializations of its own, most notably the "Saxon salute" (*Sachsengruss*), in which prisoners had to squat over a bayonet for hours with their arms outstretched. Sachsenhausen also had a special punishment detail. Initially assigned to the Klinkerwerk, its luckless prisoners later tested artificial shoe leather on grueling forced marches around a special track, an ordeal few survived.

Disease, malnutrition, and exhaustion claimed the majority of lives lost at Sachsenhausen. As bad as conditions were, however, they did not become so dire as at many other camps until late in the war. Thus, the death rate for Sachsenhausen was 0.7 percent in August 1943, compared to 2.1 percent for the concentration camp system as a whole during that month.[20] Sachsenhausen officially recorded 6,356 deaths from January 1, 1940, to June 30, 1942.[21] Another 3,807 deaths were recorded during 1943.[22] It was during the chaotic last months of the war, for which few statistics survive, that the death rate spiraled upward, while the final evacuation cost thousands of lives as well. When the Red Army arrived at the main camp on April 22, 1945, only about 3,000 incapacitated prisoners remained there. The rest were marching to the northwest, where those who survived were gradually liberated over the next two weeks.

It is impossible to determine the total number of dead for Sachsenhausen, but the figure of at least 100,000 reached by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1947, and subsequently accepted by many, appears high. A more plausible estimate would be somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000.

SOURCES Far less secondary literature has been published on Sachsenhausen than its importance warrants, but some valuable recent studies include Hermann Kaienburg, *Der Militär- und Wirtschaftskomplex der SS im KZ-Standort Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg: Schnittpunkt von KZ-System, Waffen-SS und Judenmord* (Berlin: Metropol, 2006); and the essay in vol. 3 of *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006). Günter Morsch of the Sachsenhausen Memorial has also edited or coedited a number of useful volumes of collected articles for the series "Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten." Full-length studies of a popular character include: *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente, Aussagen, Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, 4th rev. ed. (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1982); AOS, *Sachso: Au coeur du système concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit/Plon, 1982); Jean Bezaut, *Oranienbourg 1933–1935, Sachsenhausen 1936–1945: Étude* (Maulévrier: Hérault, 1989); Manuela R. Hrdlicka, *Alltag im KZ: Das Lager Sachsenhausen bei Berlin* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1992).

A relatively large number of records from Sachsenhausen survived the war. Most were captured by the Red Army and are now held by the RGVA in fond 1367, a collection that has been selectively microfilmed by the USHMMA. A portion of the guards' personnel records passed from Moscow to the East German security services and now reposes at the BA-DH. Records of the guard unit's 7th Company fell into American hands. Some now reside at BA-BL, as collection "NS4 Sa," and are also available from NARA, as microfilm collection T580, roll 321, Ordner 88. The 7th Company's personnel records, however, went to the BDC (now incorporated into the BA), where they were irretrievably broken up and cataloged by personal name. Some archival materials, mostly copies, are available at the Sachsenhausen Memorial in Oranienburg. Records from postwar Soviet trials of former Sachsenhausen personnel are held at the CAFSSRF, where they remain inaccessible to the general public, although copies of some materials are held by USHMMA. For information regarding West German trials, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Milde, comps., *Die westdeutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1997* (Amsterdam: APA—Holland University Press and K.G. Saur, 1998). The 573-page verdict in the case against Gustav Sorge and Wilhelm Schubert (Landgericht Bonn 8 Ks 1/58) provides detailed information about the camp. Survivor accounts include: Arnold Weiss-Rüthel, *Nacht und Nebel: Ein Sachsenhausenbuch* (Berlin: VVN-Verlag, 1949); Harry Naujoks, *Mein Leben im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1942: Erinnerungen des ehemaligen Lagerältesten* (Cologne: Röderberg, 1987); Albert Christel, *Apokalypse unserer Tage: Erinnerungen an das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Frankfurt am Main: Materialis, 1987); Jan Religa, *Wspomnienia o Sachsenhausen* (Warsaw: Spółdzielcze, 1990). The Sachsenhausen Memorial has published a CD-ROM featuring six hours of interviews with 20 survivors under the title *Gegen das Vergessen: Häftlingsalltag im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: United Soft Media, 2004).

Todd Huebner

NOTES

1. RGVA, fond 1367, opis' 1, delo 17, fol. 362.
2. Ibid., delo 19, fol. 2.
3. Ibid., delo 20, fols. 279–398.
4. Ibid., fols. 134, 137. Records for the key period of November 11 to 20, 1938, are missing, making it impossible to determine either the full number of newly arrived Jews or the peak total the camp attained during that period.
5. Ibid., fol. 1.
6. Ibid., delo 4, fol. 6.
7. Ibid., delo 227, fol. 2.
8. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, n.d.
9. Ibid., prisoner strength figures for 1943, by category, n.d.
10. NARA, T-580, roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d. These figures are unlikely to include the newly acquired SS-Baubrigaden, which were slow to report to their new command.
11. RGVA, fond 1367, opis' 1, delo 17, fol. 362.
12. Ibid., delo 20, fols. 279–398.
13. Ibid., fols. 1–137. See note 4.
14. Ibid., delo 4, fol. 6; delo 227, fol. 2.
15. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, by category, n.d.

16. RGVA, fond 1367, opis' 1, delo 19, fol. 2.
17. Ibid., delo 79, fols. 199–235.
18. Ibid., delo 60, fol. 8.
19. See note 10.
20. NARA, RG 238, Nuremburg Document 1469-PS.
21. Cited in the judgment against Gustav Sorge and Wilhelm Schubert (LG Bonn 8 Ks 1/58), p. 84. This figure excludes the unregistered slaughter of some 12,000 to 18,000 Soviet POWs in 1941.
22. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, n.d.



[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

SACHSENHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The "concentration camp of the Reich capital city" (KZ der Reichshauptstadt) Sachsenhausen was established in 1936 as a model and main camp in Oranienburg to the north of Berlin. The first subcamps were established as bases for future main camps—Neuengamme (1938–1940), Ravensbrück (1938–1939), Gross-Rosen (1940–1941), and Wewelsburg (1940). With the beginning of the war against the Soviet Union, the first regular subcamps were established in Berlin (Kastanienallee and Lichterfelde), in Oranienburg (Heinkel and Klinkerwerk), as well as at SS bases (Prettin, Hohenlychen, Drögen, Brandenburg); 5 of the first 7 subcamps lasted until the end of the war. In 1942, a subcamp was established at an SS position (Glau) and another for a future main camp in Kiev (Ukraine) and at a secret research station for the Reichspost (Kleinmachnow Hakeburg). The first Construction Brigade or Baubrigade ("West") was attached to Sachsenhausen. In 1943, the number of subcamps increased to 26. The system now expanded geographically. In the area around Berlin, many camps were established that were connected to backup quarters for the Nazi Party, SS, and Reich authorities. In the area of the SS bases or SS-Standorte Bad Saarow and Jamlitz ("Kurmark") there were established in 1943 2 larger camps (Bad Saarow and Lieberose), and in the following year, 4 other subcamps. Beginning in 1943, 5 camps were established at private armaments firms, a direction that reached its climax in 1944 when there were 32 subcamps. In 1944, Sachsenhausen had 59 subcamps. Almost all of the subcamps, which ultimately held the majority of Sachsenhausen prisoners, were located in the immediate vicinity around Berlin or in Berlin itself.



Prisoners perform forced labor at the Lehnitz (Klinkerwerk) subcamp of Sachsenhausen, nd.
USHMM WS #32063, COURTESY OF AG-S

In the early subcamps, there were mostly German criminal and political prisoners. Later, the number of foreign prisoners increased. Until 1942, with the exception of Drögen, there were no Jewish prisoners in any of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. From 1944, more and more subcamps were established with Jewish prisoners. The Sachsenhausen concentration camp system of subcamps is closely connected with the history of National Socialism in Berlin, the area around Brandenburg, and the genocide of the European Jews. There were in Berlin-Brandenburg around 90 Sachsenhausen camps holding between 1,000 and up to 10,000 prisoners. The largest camp, with almost 10,000 prisoners, was the Heinkelwerk in Oranienburg. Lieberose, the second largest, was also the largest Jewish subcamp. Camps established in 1944 were mostly located near Berlin armaments producers. From the summer of 1944, increasing numbers of Jewish prisoners were brought from Berlin/Brandenburg to Auschwitz. It is known that Jewish prisoners were in 26 camps. At the beginning of 1945, there were 11,079 Jewish prisoners, of whom one-third alone were held in the Lieberose subcamp. No new camps were formed in 1945. What is important is that at the end in 15 subcamps, mostly the so-called SS-Baubrigaden, there were more than 7,000 prisoners cleaning up rubble, mostly in southern areas of the Reich. Sachsenhausen was in charge of these subcamps. In the confusion of marches and dissolutions shortly before the end of the war, Pölitz near Stettin was transferred from Stutthof to Sachsenhausen. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) subcamps at the troop training grounds in Döberitz and Hermsdorf appear only briefly in SS statistics. The small camps completely disappear from the statistics. The current state of research indicates that there were 92 sites for Sachsenhausen subcamps.

There were 21 subcamps for females as part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. All of them were either created or transferred in 1944 from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Sachsenhausen. More than 13,000 women were held in the camps. On January 26, 1945, there were under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration

camp 55,541 prisoners, of whom 32,347 were held in the subcamps, that is, almost 60 percent.

The degree of difficulty of labor in the camps varied according to the nature of the work. In the Berlin subcamps, the work was mostly in armaments and was performed under extremely difficult conditions. Noteworthy is that the majority of subcamps at SS sites from 1943, where mostly buildings and barracks were constructed (there were also heavy earthworks), were connected to backup quarters.

Until 1944, the majority of deaths in the subcamps were caused by mistreatment by the SS, and in many cases, the SS intentionally murdered the prisoners. Noteworthy of these camps is the Klinkerwerk subcamp, which also functioned as a punishment camp. From 1944, above all in the camps with Jewish prisoners, there were mass deaths, caused by intentionally insufficient food supplies, a lack of medical care, and the generally poor quality of the buildings. A good example is the Lieberose subcamp, where from the autumn of 1944 more than 60 percent of the prisoners died. During an extermination action at the beginning of February 1945, 1,242 prisoners were shot in this subcamp. Around 1,000 sick prisoners had already been taken to be killed in Auschwitz II-Birkenau before they could die from the work at Lieberose.

The SS camp personnel came mostly from the main camp's command office. That is, they had mostly served in the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen in the main camp, from where after a certain period they were transferred to other duties within the camp. From there, mostly as block leaders (Blockführer), or in administration, they were transferred to the subcamps. A small number of camp leaders (Lagerführer) and block leaders in the subcamps were from the Security Service (SD), the Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe. Almost all of these SS-Führer had served as SS soldiers at the front. A large number were wounded and were no longer fit for active service and for this reason served in the concentration camps. Many block and camp leaders served consecutively in different subcamps. Beginning in 1943–1944, more and more ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania were deployed as guards. The Lieberose subcamp had its own SS-Wachbataillon 4 "Kurmark," consisting mostly of Yugoslavian and Romanian ethnic Germans, who answered not to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) but directly to the SS-Leadership Main Office (FHA).

Prisoner solidarity was stronger when there were large national groups in a subcamp (such as the Norwegians in Bad Saarow). Such solidarity could be instrumental in ensuring the survival of individual prisoners. Solidarity was weaker where the SS was able to prevent prisoner solidarity, such as by installing criminals as prisoner-functionaries. The effectiveness of the solidarity was also heavily affected by the degree of brutality by the camp personnel.

Although the source material is scant, escapes were made from all camps. Relatively little is known about sabotage in armaments firms. In Lieberose, Jewish prisoners who defended themselves during the mass murder of 1,300 prisoners by the camp leaders suffered life-threatening injuries.

Almost all of the 72 subcamps in 1945, for which there is documentary evidence, were dissolved between February and April 21, 1945, when they were pulled back into the main camp. The exceptions were Wulkow and Schwarzheide, which were evacuated in the direction of the Theresienstadt ghetto, or cases such as Königs Wusterhausen, Falkensee, and Belzig, which were liberated either in part or wholly by the Red Army.

SOURCES To date there has been no systematic research on the subcamps. The Sachsenhausen Memorial has sponsored a diploma thesis, which for the first time attempts to order known knowledge about the subcamps: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), held under file listing AG-S, D.A. 5147. Each year, the memorial organizes workshops on the subcamps in which historians and local people take part, such as the Tagungsmappe Workshop, SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003). For most of the larger subcamps, essays and sometimes brochures and monographs have been published. Dissertations have been written on the Klinkerwerken Oranienburg and Lieberose. A short text was recently published that gives an overview of the Sachsenhausen subcamps in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006).

Source material comes for the large part from the AG-S, research material from local sources, the BA-L, court archives, and local archives. There are scarcely any primary documents other than the Veränderungsmeldungen in the AG-S. Other important new sources are the increasing number of interviews held since the 1980s with camp survivors.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAD SAAROW

In the summer of 1943, the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt [FHA]) began to relocate its offices from the German capital Berlin. At the same, it began, in the area of Bad Saarow, a major construction program of building a subterranean Intelligence Center (Nachrichtenzentrale) in the Rauener Mountains to the south of Fürstenwalde.

Following the removal of Admiral Canaris as chief of the Abwehr (Counterintelligence), Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ensured that the overflow subcamp for the SS, which had been in development from the autumn of 1943, was linked to the reorganization of the German secret service.

The project "Relocation of SS Offices" (*Verlagerung von SS Dienststellen*) from the capital, which was endangered by bombs, operated from the end of July 1943 under the code name "Siegfried."[1] Project *SS-Nachrichtenbunker* (Intelligence Bunker) operated under the code names "Fuchsbau" (fox den) and "Dachsbau" (badger den).[2]

The areas administered by the SS garrison offices at Bad Saarow included, from 1943 on, these Sachsenhausen subcamps: Bad Saarow (also known, incorrectly, as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin.

The first record of the "SS-Branch Office Bad Saarow" is at the end of May 1943.[3] On August 4, 1943, the head of the SS-FHA, Jüttner, ordered the transfer of Amtsgruppe B (Office Group B) to location I in Radlow; Amtsgruppe C to location I in Radlow, Lindenberg, Glau, and Pieskow; and Amtsgruppe D to Sellendorf/Golsen. Amtsgruppe A had already been relocated.[4] Located in the overflow quarters were villas for Himmler's deputy Gürtler as well as Gestapo Chief Heinrich Müller and Sepp Dietrich, the commander of the Leibstandarte "Adolf Hitler." These buildings were also constructed by prisoners in the Bad Saarow area.[5]

Planning for the SS-Intelligence Project "Fuchsbau" began in July 1943. The SS-FHA negotiated with the State Forestry Administration over land for "Fuchsbau," including barracks in the Dubrow Mountains, to the south of Langewahl near Fürstenwalde. The subcamp would be named "Waldlager Führungsamt der Waffen-SS" (Forest Camp Waffen-SS Command Office). For the remainder of the war, the area was a restricted security zone.[6] In March 1944, the site became officially known as "SS-Führungs-Nachrichten-Abteilung, Ketschendorf" (Command Intelligence Section, Ketschendorf).

Construction was probably completed by the end of the war, with only the technical equipment not yet installed. According to the Military Information Office (Wehrmachtauskunftstelle [WASt], the site was known as "Führungs-Nachrichtenbunker, Alt-Golm" (Command Intelligence Bunker, Alt-Golm).

From August 2, 1943, on, Bad Saarow functioned as the Construction Administration (Bauleitung) center. The Bad Saarow Central Construction Administration (Zentralbauleitung) was responsible for both the overflow quarters and the "Fuchsbau" intelligence center projects.

Officially, Bad Saarow, like Kurmark in Jamlitz, operated as a central Construction Administration within the Reich Nord Building Inspectorate. As of May 1944, the Bad Saarow Zentralbauleitung was in charge of the Bad Saarow, Fuchsbau, Storkow, Kolpin, and Trebnitz Construction Administrations.[7] The Spreenhagen construction site also reported to the Bad Saarow Zentralbauleitung. While the Building Administration of Bad Saarow, Storkow, Koplin, and Trebnitz functioned as SS overflow quarters, the Fuchsbau Bauleitung was in the first instance responsible for the construction of the SS-Intelligence Bunker.

Beginning on January 2, 1944, the Bad Saarow SS-Zentralbauleitung in Bad Saarow was under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer, who was born in Nürnberg in 1912.[8] SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Rapp, born in 1912 in Stuttgart,[9] was supervisor of the Bad Saarow Construction Administration. SS-Unterscharführer Paul Pörschmann,[10] SS-Rottenführer Heinrich Liese,[11] Meynke,[12] and SS-Sturmbannführer König have also been named as local construction superintendents in Bad Saarow who were also said to be in charge of the guards.[13]

The Bad Saarow subcamp was close to the site of the Intelligence Bunker "Fuchsbau." As early as October 1943, a detainee camp with three barracks,[14] in the immediate vicinity of Fürstenwalde in the Rauener Mountains south of the Berlin-Frankfurt (on the Oder) Autobahn, had been established for Fuchsbau.

The most important building site, however, was the SS-Intelligence Bunker, which was to be constructed in the Rauener Mountains.

By the end of October 1943, the prisoners had constructed 5 accommodation barracks for the SS and a building for the Intelligence Command Operation in the immediate vicinity of the camp. The construction of a further 18 buildings had been approved, and an additional 12 were planned for a later date. The subcamp was located right at the Frankfurt/Oder Autobahn in the area known as Ketschendorf.[15] It was constructed for 900 prisoners. The highest number of prisoners, 950, was recorded for October 1944.[16]

The subcamp commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Willy Nurrek, born in 1898 in Scherpingen near Danzig. Nurrek's deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Willy Bonowski, born in 1911.[17] Other block leaders were SS-Rottenführer Heinrich Liese and SS-Unterscharführer Paul Pörschmann. Oberscharführer Karl Leukel, born in 1899 in Eiserfeld, was the supervisor of the guards.

In the end, the subcamp consisted of four barracks for prisoners. The prisoners came from 22 countries. There were Ukrainians, Serbs, Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, French, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, and others, including 100 young people and 200 Norwegians. It is said that there was also a half-Jewish Hungarian who had arrived as an "Aryan" at Bad Saarow via Auschwitz.[18]

The camp had four watchtowers and was enclosed in a charged double barbed-wire fence.[19] The SS daily deployed

100 SS men, who arrived each morning at the subcamp to guard the prisoners.

Survivors have reported several murders arising from the sadism of the guards and from attempts to escape. The Czech potter Fuchs, about 45 years of age, is said to have been shot because he washed himself at a spring after work.[20] A Ukrainian inmate is said to have fled in December 1944 and to have been hanged at the Bad Saarow subcamp, under the supervision of SS-Obersturmführer Höhn from Sachsenhausen.[21]

Sick prisoners were treated in barracks four by a Polish doctor and Polish dentist.[22] Each week 20 to 30 sick prisoners were returned to Sachsenhausen. The camp elder was reportedly Malchow;[23] the cook, the prisoner Wangelin, was from Hamburg.[24]

At the end of December 1944, there were 729 prisoners[25] in the Bad Saarow subcamp. On February 12, 1945, there were only 169 prisoners.[26] From January 1945 on, the guards at the subcamp gate were armed with hand grenades, which hung from their belts.[27]

The subcamp was dissolved on April 15, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated on foot in the direction of the Erkner railway station. About one-third of the prisoners fled during a bombing raid upon their arrival at a Berlin station. This possibly occurred on April 16 and 17, 1945. According to prisoner reports, only about 70 prisoners from the Bad Saarow subcamp arrived at Sachsenhausen.[28]

In October 1945, the British Military Government investigated a probable member of the SS, Will Thormann, interned in the British occupation zone for the mistreatment of prisoners, especially Poles, in Bad Saarow between January 1944 and January 1945.[29] For unknown reasons, a former Bad Saarow prisoner, Franz Herich, was interned after the war in the British internment camp Esterwegen.[30] Also interned by the British was Adam Engelmann. It is not known whether he was an inmate or a member of the SS.[31]

Beginning in 1969, the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland began investigating camps at Fürstenwalde and Bad Saarow.[32]

SOURCES The only published source on Bad Saarow is the memoirs of Lars To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten . . . Nachrichtenbunker "Fuchsbau"* (Fürstenwalde, 1996).

Details of the prehistory of the subcamp and the SS-FHA are located in the BA-B, Bestand NS 33 and NS 3; and BLHA. Memoirs are kept in the AG-S and in Potsdam BLHA. Individual documents about the subcamp and SS guards can be found in the PRO and in the AG-S. The original Veränderungsmeldungen are in the CAFSSRF. Copies of them can be accessed at the AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. See Lans To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten . . . Nachrichtenbunker "Fuchsbau"* (Fürstenwalde, 1996).
3. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 229, which deals with the transfer of SS members of the SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungs-und-Ersatz-Regimentes from Nürnberg to Bad Saarow.
4. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 223, Order of the SS-FHA dated August 4, 1943, "Verlegung des SS FHA in Ausweichunterkünfte."
5. AG-S, P3 Possekehl, Gustav, Report from 1971.
6. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004, file note of the SS-FHA dated August 2, 1943.
7. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139.
8. BA-B, NS 3/1130, pp. 12–14.
9. BA-B, NS 3/1130, p. 9.
10. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, pp. 58, 59, 125. The author describes him as the building superintendent and camp commandant.
11. Ibid., p. 125. He is said to have survived the war.
12. Ibid., p. 85.
13. AG-S, LAG, XI/9, p. 15.
14. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004. Plan of the Fuchsbau Camp, Scale 1:2500, prepared by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Bad Saarow, October 26, 1943. The plan had been in preparation since September 24, 1943.
15. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004. Plan of the Fuchsbau camp dated October 26, 1943.
16. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
17. BA-DH, ZM 1564, A.13, p. 8; former political prisoner Willy Kühne attested to Bonowski's "correct, human behavior." He attempted to obtain extra rations for the prisoners. AG-S, Bestand BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 12/2, Collection D 30 A/12/2 B, p. 68; see also AG-S, LAG XI/9a, p. 3, Zeugenvernehmungsprotokoll of Józef Zientarski, Chojnice, Poland, August 20, 1969.
18. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 95.
19. AG-S, LAG XI/9a, p. 2, Zeugenvernehmungsprotokoll of Józef Zientarski, Chojnice, Poland, August 20, 1969.
20. Ibid., p. 4.
21. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 72.
22. AG-S, LAG XI/0, p. 15.
23. AG-S, Bestand BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, Bestand D 30 A/10/2 B, p. 37, questionnaire of the former Bad Saarow subcamp prisoner Heinrich Deichmann.
24. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 15.
25. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
26. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.
27. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 90.
28. AG-S, P3 Possekehl Gustav, Report from 1971.
29. PRO, WO 309/438 and WO 309/853.
30. List of former members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp headquarters interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably from 1945, in different versions, but see AG-S, LAG X/3.
31. PRO, WO 353/1, Card Index.
32. AG-S, LAG XI/9a.

BEERFELDE

The Beerfelde subcamp was located in the district of Lebus to the northeast of Berlin. It existed from the summer of 1943 and was connected with an SS duty station. There are said to have been about 50 male prisoners in the camp.[1]

Based on Belgian sources, the International Tracing Service (ITS) first made reference to this subcamp in its 1949 catalog.

The Committee of the Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic (Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, KdAW-DDR) referred to Beerfelde in the list of work detachments and subcamps in its 1967 publication on Sachsenhausen.

Subsequent investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations, in Ludwigsburg in the Federal Republic of Germany did not reveal any other details about this camp.[2]

SOURCES Secondary source references for this camp begin with its entry in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 264; and DaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967), p. 60.

The primary sources for this subcamp begin with the ZdL investigation, now BA-L.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. According to the conference binder for the workshop, SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).

2. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2702/66, pp. 12–13, Concluding Report, January 20, 1972.

BELZIG

In 1934, the Treuenbrietzen metalware factory (Gebrüder Kopp, Berlin) began to build the Roederhof munitions factory in Belzig. From 1935 on, it manufactured infantry rifle munitions; from 1938 on, 2cm anti-aircraft munitions as well. The existence of the factory all but eliminated unemployment in the region, even before a two-shift system was introduced, and from 1937 on, involuntary workers from the Rhineland, and later from Austria and the Sudetenland, came to Belzig.

When World War II began in 1939, the demand for munitions rose, and so foreign workers were also ordered to Belzig. In 1942, 1,250 forced laborers and 150 prisoners of war (POWs) were put into a labor camp. Soon the camp next to the munitions factory was being expanded.

In late 1943, construction began on a new barracks camp next to the existing one; the two were separated by an electrified barbed-wire fence. In August 1944, approximately 750 women were transported 140 kilometers (87 miles) from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They were housed in four wooden barracks. Within the fence there was also an infirmary, a working barracks with a punishment cell (known as the death cell), and a combination latrine and washroom. The SS barracks stood outside the fence.

The roughly 750 prisoners included approximately 250 Poles, 200 Soviet citizens, 140 Belgians, 75 French, 7 Czechs, 6 Yugoslavs, 3 Germans, 2 each Italians and Hungarians, and 1 prisoner from Britain.[1]

The imprisoned women had to work 12-hour shifts every day except Sundays and holidays. The Roederhof factory paid the Ravensbrück administration 0.70 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day. Under the supervision of female SS overseers and German master workers, the prisoners had to carry out all the work of munitions production. They received beatings and curses for trivial things, from the guards and the German factory personnel as well. The prisoners could only use the toilets after the SS overseer sounded a whistle.

The women reported that the German overseers, such as Otto Haseloff and Hermann Gericke, also found opportunities to supply the prisoners secretly with food, medicine, and information.

The SS leadership's goal was the systematic physical and psychological annihilation of the concentration camp prisoners. The prisoners experienced inhuman living conditions and hard labor for 12 hours per day in the munitions factory. They wore striped uniforms that they received in Ravensbrück. In the barracks they slept in extremely close quarters, on straw sacks on two-tiered bunks. The rations were meager to begin with, decreased steadily, and would be withdrawn as punishment. Other punishments could include beatings with whips, punishment assemblies that lasted until prisoners collapsed, and individual punishments of the most inhuman sorts; all of this served to terrorize the victims. If a prisoner collapsed under punishment, she would be revived with ice-cold water. In winter, prisoners were also punished by being made to stand for hours in the cold. The result of all this was emaciation to the point of appearing skeletal, sickness, and depression. There was seldom any medical treatment. Assignment to the infirmary usually meant death.

Bans were announced: The arrogance of the SS guards went so far that the prisoners were not allowed to look them in the face. If it happened anyway, the prisoner was immediately punished with blows of every kind. There was no information about the world outside, although every now and then the locals could secretly slip them a newspaper.

No exact count of deaths in Belzig is possible. The commandant, SS-Oberscharführer Gerhard Lehmann, said in his last interrogation on May 5, 1965, that 50 to 60 prisoners died of exhaustion and sickness.

The transport manager for the factory, Mrs. Zimmermann, could remember very well that from the autumn of 1944 until early 1945 a wagon would come from the Ravensbrück Fürstenberg subcamp every three weeks with new prisoners to replace those who had died. In Belzig the wagon would be loaded with the dead and sent to the crematorium at Brandenburg (Havel). There is no documentary evidence on this point, but one can assume that the number of dead was significantly higher than Lehmann indicated.

From the beginning of 1945 on, the deceased prisoners were buried in the Gertraudten cemetery in Belzig. For this point, too, there is no documentation.

The SS command at Sachsenhausen provided Belzig with its commandant, 6 SS men, and 20 female SS overseers.

On November 1, 1944, Lehmann, who had the nickname "Crooked Neck" (Schiefhals), arrived. Earlier he had been in the Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Lieberose concentration camps, and he brought the necessary "experience" with him. His brutality in dealing with the prisoners is perceptible in the available event reports. Belgian prisoner Auguste Lambrecht, prisoner number 10218, reported that Lehmann shot six women during the death march.

In the book, . . . *und Nachts Kartoffelnschälen*, SS overseer Margot Kunz maintained that Belzig was only an "education camp" and that there was no factory work, only labor in the forest. This was, however, only valid for the months of March and April 1945, when there was neither material nor power for armaments production in the factory. Marie Berthier (prisoner number 10025) contradicted Kunz's statement that she had interacted affectionately with the prisoners and that "there was only one box on the ears." Berthier stated that, among others, her comrade Madam Sudaqua, because she was Jewish, was beaten in the forest.

On April 24, 1945, at 11:30 A.M., the city commandant of Belzig gave the order that the camp was to be evacuated in the direction of Görzke, Ziesar, Plaue, and Görden (perhaps the psychiatric clinic). The day before, armored units of the Red Army had taken Treuenbrietzen, only 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away, and so the alarm was raised in Belzig.

That afternoon, the prisoners were briefly informed that the punishment for attempting to escape was death. Some 600 women began the march under SS guard, while 72 ill prisoners were left to themselves in the camp. By the time darkness fell, the column had traveled only 9 kilometers (5.6 miles), to the town of Dangelsdorf, short of Görzke. For 6 women, this was a death march; the SS commandant shot them and left them in the ditch.

On the second day the prisoner column reached the military exercise grounds in Altengrabow. They found emergency quarters in the old sheep farm. The SS guard force diminished little by little; several overseers put on prisoner clothing and left in the direction of the Elbe River.

On May 1, 1945, the prisoners, together with other female forced laborers and POWs, declared their self-liberation.

U.S. troops arrived in Altengrabow from Zerbst on May 3, cared for the prisoners, and took the first women away. Of the 72 women who remained in Belzig, 8 died, and a French woman was shot by the guards. The survivors were freed by the Red Army on May 3, following the peaceful surrender of the city of Belzig.

Preliminary proceedings against Commandant Lehmann led nowhere. No former prisoners were called as witnesses, and the German court released him.

Kunz was sentenced to death by a Soviet military court; later a German Democratic Republic (DDR) court sentenced her to 10 years' imprisonment. In the Federal Republic of Germany (FRD), she was recognized as a "victim of Stalinism" in 1993 and received recompense for her imprisonment in the sum of 64,350 deutschemark (DM). Because of protests, however, especially in the media, the recognition was later canceled. The guard Frieda Werner was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment by the state court in Halle on April 27, 1948. Of the other guards, it is only known that they managed to get over the Elbe into western Germany before May 1, 1945, and so escaped any punishment in the East.

SOURCES Information on Belzig may be found in the following sources: Gerhard Dorbritz, *Schicksale—Dokumentation über das Zwangsarbeiterlager Roederhof in Belzig* (Belzig: 2001); the brochure by Dorbritz, *Rüstungsbetriebe Kopp & Co. (1924–1945)* (Belzig, 2003); Elfi Hartenstein, . . . *und Nachts Kartoffelschälen: Verfolgt*, *Verschwiegen*, *Verdrängt; Frauen berichtet aus Nachkriegslagern; Annäherung an ein Kapitel DDR-Vergangeheit* (Berg am Starnberger See: Verlagsgesellschaft Berg, 1992); and the brochure in Flemish by Rene Motmanns, "Mijn belevenissen tijdens de tweede wereldoorlo—Augusta Lambrecht" (n.p., n.d.).

Gerhard Dorbritz
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTE

1. Figures compiled by the author from interviews with survivors. All figures are approximate.

BERLIN (*ARADO*)

In the fall of 1944, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established at the main offices of the Arado-Flugzeugwerke (Arado Aircraft Works) company in Berlin. While there has been some analysis of the Arado-Flugzeugwerke and the Sachsenhausen subcamp in Wittenberg and elsewhere, sources on the Berlin branch of this firm and the camp slave laborers it employed are generally scarce.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) entry for Berlin (Arado), women prisoners were incarcerated in the camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Berlin (Arado) subcamp of Sachsenhausen. For a basic outline of the camp, on which this entry is primarily based, see the entry for Berlin (Arado) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Few relevant primary source materials were found. In the AG-S, there are some file groupings that mention an "Arado" camp, although the information provided in these documents is not necessarily related to the Berlin office, and it is rather vague. See especially file groups D 30 A/8/4 C; D 30

A/7/8, Teil 1; D 30 A 7/14; D 30 A 9/1, Teil 1. Sources that mention Arado at the USHMM primarily focus on the Wittenberg subcamp. There is one oral history with survivor Irene Fleming, who was taken from Ravensbrück to work at "Arado." Her testimony does not specify which camp or "Arado" plant this was. However, late in the interview she speaks about being in the vicinity of the Elbe, which would place her most likely in the Wittenberg camp. A history of the Arado company was also consulted at the Library of Congress, and there was no mention of any use of labor from the camps. Most analyses of Arado focus on the history of the development of aircraft, and these focus on the plants in Wittenberg, Potsdam, and Warnemünde but rarely on the Berlin office.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

BERLIN (FRIEDRICH-KRAUSE-UFER)

The Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp existed from the end of 1943 as a labor detachment of the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp. It was situated close to unused land owned by the Auer-Gesellschaft on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer near the Moabiter Westhafen. Former prisoner Emil Kamke stated that he was held in Lichterfelde from the middle of 1942 to the end of 1943. In 1943 he was ordered to the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp.[1]

In the change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), the camp is given a separate entry to that of the Lichterfelde camp for the first time on April 21, 1944, and is described as "external detachment Berlin" (Aussenkommando Berlin) with 300 prisoners. On May 20, it had 459 prisoners. The camp is mentioned for the last time on January 10, 1945, with 289 prisoners.[2]

The prisoners were accommodated in converted ships. The prisoners in the "Berlin" labor detachment removed rubble. The reclaimed building material was transported on the Spree River from the Müggelheim labor camp to Köpenick, where it was used to build emergency accommodations. There was therefore a direct functional connection between the Berlin labor detachment and the Müggelheim labor camp. Former prisoner Hans-Christian Witt stated that he worked not only at the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer but also with the SS-Baubrigade II (Construction Brigade II) in Berlin-Müggelheim, in the office for SS settlement policy (*Siedlungswesen*).[3]

According to the Sachsenhausen Veränderungsmeldungen, the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp with 278 prisoners was put under the control of the SS-Baubrigade II on January 11, 1945, as the sublabor detachment "IIa Berlin." Shortly after that, it was relocated to southern Germany.[4] Eleven SS men from the detachment at Friedrich-Krause-Ufer remained, and their leader was probably SS-Sturmscharführer Otto Dittmar.[5]

The Veränderungsmeldungen refer once again to a Sachsenhausen subcamp on March 29, 1945. They refer to a subcamp on the abandoned grounds on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer, the site of the Berlin labor detachment until the middle of January 1945. The Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp with 100 prisoners existed for only a short time and is last mentioned on April 9, 1945, in the surviving Veränderungsmeldung.[6] It is not known when it was dissolved.

The prisoner numbers in the SS-Baubrigade II remained constant for the spring of 1945. This means that the second camp on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer was not populated by the relocation of the Baubrigade IIa from southern Germany. The empty space on the Spree, the result of moving the Baubrigade detachment to southern Germany, was used again as a subcamp. It is not known what the prisoners were used for, but it is likely to have been to remove rubble.

According to prisoner statements, one SS-Hauptscharführer Skopnik was the camp leader (Lagerführer) of the Berlin labor detachment. It was thought that at Christmas he procured sweets for the prisoners in return for money, for which act SS block leader (Blockführer) Gustav Sorge wanted to denounce him to the camp command; Sorge had prisoners in Sachsenhausen questioned about the matter.[7] This could in fact have been SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Skopnik, who was camp leader in the Drögen subcamp and who was, in fact, convicted of assisting prisoners.

According to his own statements, SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder also claimed to have been camp leader in the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp. In 1941–1942, he had been stationed in the Glau subcamp and later in Schönefeld.[8] SS-Oberschütze Georg Schneider, among others, guarded the camp. He was captured by the Americans in 1945. He admitted the prisoners were guarded by police while they were working.[9] Other guards in the subcamp were SS-Schütze Hermann Kopfinger (September 25, 1944, to March 26, 1945) and SS-Oberscharführer Walter Schwank (September 15, 1944, to January 30, 1945); after the war, both were interned by the British in Esterwegen.[10]

SOURCES There is no secondary literature on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp. Just about all sources are located in the AG-S and a few in the ZdL (now the BA-L).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, JD 21, Bd. 20, p. 16, Aussage Emil Kamke, July 13, 1961.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 100 and 101.
3. AG-S, D 30 A/10/2B, p. 137.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 99 and 101.
5. BA-L, UdSSR, 245 Ac, Bd. I, p. 148.
6. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 101.
7. AG-S, JD 2, Bd. 38, p. 166, Aussage Wilhelm Rehmisch, April 17, 1957.
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2488/66, pp. 82–103, Vernehmung Emil Rieder, March 15, 1961; see also AG-S, JD 7, Bd. 4, Bl. 132, Aussage Emil Rieder, August 17, 1961, in which he maintained that he had simply been a guard.
9. AG-S, LAG, XI/1, Schreiben der ZSSta-K, May 29, 1970.
10. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 15, Esterwegenliste.

BERLIN (KASTANIENALLEE)

There is limited information about the subcamp of Sachsenhausen on the Kastanienallee in Berlin. A work commando was sent there to work for a police administration office from September 29 to December 31, 1941, but the work may have extended into April or June 1942.[1] Scholars have estimated that about 50 prisoners were sent to this commando.[2] Ludwig Herwig was a prisoner foreman in the camp from October 1941 until June 1942.[3]

SOURCES The main source of secondary information for this entry is an essay by Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996), which provides an overview of subcamps in Berlin and its environs. Further information about the Kastanienallee commando of Sachsenhausen may be found in Klaus Drobisch et al., *Sachsenhausen. Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (Oranienburg: Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, 1989). There is no record of the camp in the catalog of the ITS.

Further information about the origins of the prisoners, the kind of work they did for the police, life in the camp, or which police service employed the prisoners may be uncovered in the AG-S. Primary source material may be found at the archives of the AG-S, files D 30 A/2, 8-83; D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A; D 30 A/10/ 2B, 5, 84–85; and D 30 A/7/4, 29–32.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Fragebogen des Sachsenhausen-Komitees an alle Sachsenhausener (Richard Bräutigam), AG-S, D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A. See also Zeugenaussage von Wilhelm Epting vor der Krimnalpolizei Frankfurt/Main, D 30 A/7/4, 29–32.

2. Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 230n.21.

3. Fragebogen des Sachsenhausen-Komitees, D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A.

BERLIN (*KOMMANDOAMT DER WAFFEN-SS*)

From May 2 to December 31, 1941, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was created in Berlin for the Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS, an office within the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptaumt, FHA). The subcamp held male prisoners.

SOURCES There are virtually no sources that chronicle any information about the subcamp in the Berlin Kommandoamt. For brief information about the Berlin Kommandoamt subcamp, see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Similarly, listings of Sachsenhausen subcamps and work commandos in the indexes at the AG-S—for example, file group I/4—provide no further information about this subcamp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

BERLIN-HAKENFELDE

The SS established Hakenfelde, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen, in the southern region of Berlin's Spandau district in July 1943. Its function was to house forced laborers. The barracks, which had the capacity to hold 1,000 inmates, stood on Streitstrasse 5–10 across from the Luftfahrtgerätewerk (Aircraft Equipment Works, LGW) firm, a subsidiary of Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (SSW) and Siemens & Halske (S&H).

Siemens, the largest electrical company in Europe, transitioned much of its business efforts to armaments production during World War II. After the Allies bombed and destroyed the major Siemens production plant in the fall of 1943, the company replaced output lost in the air raids by establishing factories near major concentration camps, such as Ravensbrück, to take advantage of forced labor from the camp inmates. Siemens also used laborers from various subcamps and outside work details (Aussenkommandos). Like other subsidiaries of Siemens, the Luftfahrtgerätewerk firm had its own personnel and organizational infrastructure. The factory used forced labor from the Hakenfelde camp, and it also employed outside work details in other sites in the Sudetenland.[1]

In the Berlin-Hakenfelde subcamp of Sachsenhausen, all of the inmates were women, and they worked at the nearby Luftfahrtgerätewerk factory. The prisoners assisted in producing aviation equipment for rearmament efforts. In the Siemens firms that employed prisoner workers, both civil personnel from the company and SS overseers generally supervised the inmates. In firms that used women as workers, female SS auxiliaries supervised the prisoners' work. This was most likely the case in the Luftfahrtgerätewerk factory. There are few, if any, accounts from former inmates about treatment by the guards at work or in the camp.

Further information about the subcamp in Hakenfelde is lacking. The camp was closed in April 1944. However, there is no information about the fate of the Hakenfelde inmates, especially with regard to possible survivors.

SOURCES For a general overview of the Sachsenhausen subcamp of Berlin-Hakenfelde, see Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996); and Karl-Heinz Roth, "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienberg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). See also Hans-Rainer Sandvoss, *Widerstand in Spandau* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte Deutsche Wid-

erstand, 1988), for a brief description of the subcamp. The entry for the Berlin-Hakenfelde subcamp in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, types of prisoners, and so on. For similar information on Berlin-Hakenfelde (for example, its location and opening and closing dates), see Rainer Kubatzki, *Zwangsarbeiter- und Kriegsgefangenenlager: Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland, 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2001). *Siemens 1918–1945* by Wilfried Feldenkirchen, the former Siemens archivist, describes the economic history of Luftfahrtgerätewerk in relation to Siemens & Halske, although there is no analysis of the use of forced labor specifically by Luftfahrtgerätewerk. For a general overview of forced labor used by Siemens and its subsidiaries, as well as information about postwar compensation to former slave laborers, see Benjamin Ferencz, *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); as well as the USHMMA Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection, 1919–1994, RG 12.004.19*14, "Report on the Employment of Slave Labor by the Siemens Concern during World War II, 1961 Feb. 24," and RG 12.004.19*16, "KZ-Häftlinge bei Siemens und Osram, 1983."

There is scarce primary source material on the Berlin-Hakenfelde camp; however, testimony, official reports, and documentation are most likely contained at the AG-S (LAG, XI/4). See especially the research of Klaus Drobisch et al., "Sachsenhausen. Mahnung und Verpflichtung" (R 62/1.) According to Kubatzki, construction files for Berlin-Hakenfelde are stored at the BA, (R4606, 4006). Various oral history and survivor testimony repositories, such as YV or the VHF, may contain witness accounts that would provide additional information about the camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. USHMMA, Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection, RG 12.004.19*16: KZ-Häftlinge bei Siemens und Osram, 1983; by Klaus Drobisch for the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung der Naziverbrechen in Polen Internationale Wissenschaftliche Session zum Thema: Naziverbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit in Polen und Europa, 1933–1945.

BERLIN-KÖPENICK

The Berlin-Köpenick camp was established in August 1944 as a subcamp to Sachsenhausen. The SS created the camp to house women imprisoned in Ravensbrück who had been brought to the Berlin suburb of Köpenick to work in cable factories. Accounts from former inmates and other witnesses from Berlin-Köpenick vary, and many seem to have combined information about the men's and women's sections. Perhaps because it only existed for about eight months, there is little specific information about the Köpenick subcamp.

Two to four watchtowers as well as barbed wire or electrical fencing surrounded the Köpenick camp, which was located in a suburb of Berlin on the Spree River. There were five barracks in the camp complex altogether, although only the women's barracks were used for the Sachsenhausen subcamp. There is no information about exactly how many barracks were used for the female and the male prisoners. Regina Chmielecka-Zych was transferred to Köpenick from Ravensbrück. She was originally deported from Warsaw to Ravensbrück at age 23. In her testimony after the war, she emphasized that there was no contact between women and men.[1] Although witness reports on the use of the barracks vary, some witnesses have noted that there was a barracks for ill inmates and another for punishment.[2] According to one former inmate's testimony, men were sent on work commandos to remove unexploded shells and to clear rubble from the streets after air raids. However, some of the men's barracks may have been located in Müggelheim, a different slave labor camp in another area of the Köpenick district.[3]

In the late summer of 1944, women who were formerly prisoners in Ravensbrück were transported to the Köpenick camp. The women were mostly from Poland but also from Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, the Soviet Union, and Belgium. Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) women from various countries were also among the inmates. Although there is no specific demographic information about prisoners, including decreases, increases, and death rates, one study has found that the subcamp held as many as 500 women.[4] After the Berlin-Niederschöneweide subcamp of Sachsenhausen was destroyed during an air raid in late February 1945, some of those prisoners were absorbed into the Köpenick camp.[5] Henryk Cierzniachowski, a former prisoner in the men's camp, has estimated that about 400 women were brought into the camp at this time; however, no further specific numbers were found.[6]

The women imprisoned in the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp were used as slave laborers by the Carl J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerke Company located at Friedrichshagener Strasse 11. Izabella Wotek, a former Polish inmate, has reported that some of the women from the subcamp were also sent to work at the large AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree factory, which employed thousands of slave laborers from other camps in Köpenick.[7] Some women reported that they were taken to work on a small ship on the Spree. They generally worked in two 12-hour shifts.

There is little information about prisoner culture, such as coping mechanisms or daily life, or about key events in the history of the camp, such as resistance or escape attempts. Living conditions at the Köpenick subcamp were generally poor. The barracks were crowded, dirty, and infested with vermin. The inmates received little food with virtually no nutritional value, such as unsweetened black coffee, small portions of bread, thin soup (sometimes replete with worms), and sporadically, a bit of margarine. Their clothing was dirty (with no possibility of washing) and too thin for the cold weather, and they wore only wooden shoes without socks, even during the winter months. The inmates endured hunger

and daily beatings by the guards, and some were killed during air raids. Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, a survivor transported to the camp at age 50, testified that she was forced to sleep out in the open, despite the freezing temperatures, because she had not made her bed to the satisfaction of the guards.[8]

The guard staff was composed of SS men and women hired as SS overseers (SS-Aufsehrinnen). The SS guard post leadership consisted of Oberscharführer Ernst Drews (Postenführer in Köpenick from January 1 to May 2, 1945), Oberscharführer Otto Wilke (in Köpenick from January 24 to April 18, 1945), Unterscharführer Richard Strahl (January to April 1945), and guard duty officer Unterscharführer Wilhelm Knitter (January 1 to May 2, 1945). Some of the guard staff included Rottenführer Otto Schwaz (December 7, 1944, to May 2, 1945), Rottenführer Michael Edling (September 1, 1944, to April 1, 1945), Sturmmann Hans Soremba (December 16, 1944, to April 1945), Schütze Wilhelm Bormann (January 12 to May 2, 1945), and Schütze Paul Donath (January 24 to May 2, 1945).[9] Witness protocols also named two other individuals associated with the guard staff, Wilhelm Fichthorn and Hermann Polz. There are no details about the names or origins of the female SS overseers.

Sources on the dissolution of the Köpenick subcamp vary. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Berlin-Köpenick camp was closed in early April 1945. The Red Army occupied the area, including the C.J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerke Company, on April 23, 1945. Cierzniachowski has recalled that the men were evacuated from the camp on April 21, 1945, and that the women remained and were evacuated separately. Chmielecka-Zych has noted that sometime in April the camp was bombed, and the women were transported to Sachsehausen. They remained there for a few days and were then evacuated again. Driven out in columns of 500, American and Soviet troops liberated them on May 3, 1945. Nowicka-Stankiewicz's testimony supports this assertion: the women were transported to "a large camp" in April and were evacuated again before they were liberated on May 3. There is no further information about the number of survivors from the Köpenick subcamp.

SOURCES The most complete information on the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp in secondary sources can be found in Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996). The entry for the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, types of prisoners, and so on (although these are not always consistent with other sources). For further information about the history of Carl J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerk, but not specifically the company's use of female slave laborers from the Sachsenhausen subcamp, see Bruno Scholz and Ludwig Turek, *Es wächst die Kraft. Aus der Geschichte des Kabelwerkes Köpenick* (Berlin: Verlag Tribüne, 1964).

There is scant primary source material on the Berlin-Köpenick camp; however, testimony and official reports and documentation are stored at the AG-S (LAG, XI/4). See German translations of the testimony from the Hauptkommision zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen (Poland, Szczecin) in file XI/14 of Henryk Cierzniachowski (Bezirkskommission in Gdańsk), Regenia Chmielecka-Zych, Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, Stefania Rapkowska, as well as Izabella Wotek at the AG-S (R 47/8); she was a Polish slave laborer who reported on prisoners' labor in AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree. See also file D30 A-15 Blatt 1–41: Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstelien, Aussenlagern. According to Rainer Kubatzki's *Zwangsarbeiter-und Kriegsgefangenenlager: Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin Verlag, 2001), documents and official reports on the Berlin-Köpenick camp can be found in the BA (R4606, 4020).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Regina Chmielecka-Zych, testimony to the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen (24.11.1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14. "Chmielecka-Zych" represents Chmielecka née Zych.
2. Regina Chmielecka-Zych, Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, Stefanie Rapkowska, testimony to the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen (1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14.
3. See the testimony of Henryk Cierzniachowski, German translation of the witness protocol to the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk (29.7.1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14. See also Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 250.
4. Ibid., p. 250.
5. Gabriele Layer-Jung and Cord Pagenstecher, "Vom vergessenen Lager zum Dokumentationszentrum? Das ehemalige NS-Zwangsarbeiterlager in Berlin-Schöneweide," GeRu 111 (March 2003): 3–13.
6. Cierzniachowski, testimony, AG-S.
7. Izabella Wotek, Bericht (Archiv Sachsenhausen, R 47/8). As cited in Endlich and Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge," p. 250.
8. Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, AG-S.
9. Blatt 1–41: Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern, AG-S, D 30 A-15.

BERLIN-LICHTENRADE

The Berlin-Lichtenrade camp was established in August 1943 as a subcamp to Sachsenhausen. Like other subcamps, the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp was formed in part to spare the cost and time it would take to transport prisoners to and from various work details outside the main camps. The Lichten-

rade camp barracks structure had already been in use from 1941 to incarcerate Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) from the Ukraine. Until the SS took over the administration of the camp in August 1943, it was not so strictly guarded. Soviet POWs circulated among the population, as they were forced to work on farms and in factories; in turn, they sometimes earned a small amount of extra food.

When the SS took over Lichtenrade, the structure absorbed inmates from the Berlin-Marienfelde subcamp of Sachsenhausen who had survived the British bombing of Marienfelde on August 21 and 22, 1943. Because Marienfelde had been totally destroyed, a new holding facility was needed for the surviving prisoners. The Lichtenrade camp consisted of six or seven wooden barracks and one additional barracks that served as living quarters for the camp guards and housed the camp kitchen.[1] Lichtenrade became 1 of 21 subcamps in the Berlin area. It is unclear if the Soviet POWs remained at the Lichtenrade camp with this new addition of prisoners.

Before the arrival of the 400 to 450 Marienfelde prisoners, a triple-thick barbed-wire fence was erected around the Lichtenrade camp. Watchtowers were also constructed along the camp's perimeter, and their spotlights illuminated the grounds, except during air raids when they were shut off. Most of the prisoners who were transferred from Marienfelde to Lichtenrade in August 1943 were political prisoners from Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Luxembourg. There are few sources that list the exact number, names, and origins of the inmates. Most sources indicate that the prisoners were men; and testimony files indicate that they ranged in ages from 18 to 51.[2]

Living conditions at the Lichtenrade camp were poor, and neither the inmates' meager diet—which consisted of ersatz coffee, bread, and beet soup—nor their thin clothing prepared them for the grueling and dangerous work they had to perform.[3] Lichtenrade was not a killing center; however, many inmates died from starvation, exhaustion, maltreatment from the guards, and the otherwise harsh living conditions. No exact number of prisoner deaths is available. The prisoners suffered daily cruel treatment, including long roll calls outside in inclement weather and verbal and physical abuse from the camp guards. Many inmates were sent for punishment for any slight reason to the Sachsenhausen main camp, where they were jailed, sentenced to punishment details (*Strafkompanies*), beaten with whips or sticks, or hanged.[4]

The prisoners in Lichtenrade were forced to work in detachments that performed various kinds of hard labor throughout the Berlin area. According to one former prisoner, work details, always supervised by camp guards, reached their destinations in trucks or streetcars.[5] Work detachments constructed air-raid shelters in Berlin, and they were sent to Mahlow, a village just south of Lichtenrade, to rebuild a destroyed military hospital. After air raids, Lichtenrade inmates were forced to clear rubble from the streets, and special details were sent to dismantle unexploded bombs.[6] Prisoners were also deployed to help residents who lived on the outskirts of the camp and who needed laborers to reconstruct and repair parts of their homes damaged by bombing attacks. Although it was forbidden, witnesses have asserted that some members of the Nazi administration used prisoners in their private gardens or to construct private residences.

The camp administration was under the jurisdiction of the SS, and the camp commandant, who arrived from his post at Sachsenhausen, was Oberscharführer Daida. His deputy in Lichtenrade was Unterscharführer Hans Zöllner, who came to Lichtenrade in February 1945 from the Lieberose subcamp. Both men not only supervised the administration of the camp but also assisted in punishments and conducted executions, especially of escapees. The officer in charge (Lagerführer) of the camp who directly oversaw the prisoners was Hauptscharführer Höhn, and the block leaders (Blockführers) were SS men Meierhofer, Meier, and another nicknamed "the Bone Breaker."[7] The Kommandoführer, who directed prisoner work details, was Hauptscharführer Theodor Mussmann. One of the SS guards on staff was Schütze Hans Bitto.[8]

While the SS directed the camp, the guard companies in charge of daily surveillance and supervision of work commandos consisted of reserve police battalions from Berlin-Spandau. The guards who oversaw the work commandos that were sent outside the camp were reported to have been less stringent and brutal toward the prisoners than their colleagues within the camp. Two notable officers were Richard Henneberg and Rudolf Liedtke, who allegedly had antifascist sympathies (Henneberg was a member of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] prior to 1933).[9] As in other camps, some inmates, called Kapos, were selected to act as security police and carry out punishments; one particularly relentless and cruel Kapo was Johannes Puhlmann. Other prisoners who held administrative roles in the camp were camp elder (Lagerältester) Franz Szymalla (or Schimalla), who had worked in the Sachsenhausen crematorium; Alfred Bringmann, a political prisoner and foreman from the fall of 1943 on; Johann Baudisch, a political prisoner and kitchen foreman; and Martin Kuhnert, who worked in the infirmary office.[10]

There is little information about postwar trials of any of these individuals. Henneberg was active in local government, and Liedtke eventually ran a business after the war. In accounts of the 1947 trial of the Sachsenhausen camp administration conducted by the military tribunal of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) Daida does not appear on lists of accused individuals.[11] Zöllner was tried by the Düsseldorf Regional Court (Landgericht), although no information about the outcome of that trial could be found.[12]

Presumably due to the camp's close proximity to Berlin-Lichtenrade residential areas, as well as the opportunities presented by forced labor conducted outside the camp, several inmates attempted to escape. Two Polish prisoners fled from a work commando in the fall of 1943 and were later caught and executed in Sachsenhausen.[13] Fritz Reuter, a German political prisoner active in the Communist underground,

and another inmate, Herbert Tschäpe, fled the camp in June 1944. Tschäpe was caught in July and executed in the Gestapo prison at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse in Berlin.[14] Three other prisoners attempted to escape in October 1944. Soon after, they were caught, brought back to the Lichtenrade camp, and executed by hanging in front of the rest of the inmates.[15]

The circumstances and timing of the dissolution of the Lichtenrade camp vary according to former prisoners' testimony. In April 1945, as enemy troops closed in, about 350 prisoners were forced to march to Sachsenhausen. About 50 to 80 prisoners remained behind. The evacuated group was sent on a death march from Sachsenhausen to Schwerin, where the SS shot many of the prisoners.[16] Other witnesses contend that the camp began to evacuate prisoners in early 1945 and that many were transferred to another camp at Müggelheim in Köpenick.[17] It is unclear if the Red Army liberated Lichtenrade or if the camp was already evacuated by the time they arrived in late April 1945.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry comes from Ruth Zantow's essay "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .' Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990). Zantow provides a concise overview of the Lichtenrade subcamp, as well as reproductions of testimony from former prisoners archived at the Sachsenhausen Memorial (see below). For further information about slave laborers—including Soviet, Czechoslovakian, and other prisoners—in Berlin-Lichtenrade, see "Die waren doch nicht freiwillig hier! Zwangsarbeiter in Lichtenrade," by Thomas Quilitzsch, in the same volume.

The most extensive primary source material is located in the AG-S. See especially file XI/15, which contains testimony from former prisoners gathered by the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Sczcecin, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, and the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg; these provide broad information, details on daily camp life, and personal histories of prisoners in Berlin-Lichtenrade. The AG-S also contains general reports on the subcamps in LAG, FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen,'" as well as letters from former prisoners sent to family members. It is unclear what kinds of reports or to which camps these reports correspond; research on-site is most likely needed to clarify this. For further information on the service record of SS officers Daida and Zöllner, see the NARA holdings of the BDC, SS Officer Personnel files, series SSO.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Wladyslaw Walczak, testimony to Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, AKT.Z.: II Ds 63/68/ZR, 30 September 1968, AG-S, XI/15.
2. See Sachsenhausen file XI/15, AG-S.
3. Ibid.
4. Fritz Reuter, written testimony to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969, AG-S, XI/15.
5. Eugeniusz Dulębe, testimony to the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Szczecin, 19 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.
6. Henryk Cierzniachowski, testimony to Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, AKT.Z.: IIDs 63/68/ZR, 16 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.
7. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, XI/15. Hollein does not specify whether Hauptscharführer Höhn is the same August Höhn who was the second Lagerführer in Sachsenhausen and who was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Soviet Military Tribunal.
8. "Liste mit Namen von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern," AG-S, Bestand D 30 A/15, Blatt 1–41.
9. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.
10. Letter from Staatsanwalt Pfeufer to Staatsanwalt Wieland, Zentralstelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen bei dem Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, 15 July 1969, AG-S, XI/15, pp. 2–3.
11. If "Höhn" is the same August Höhn who was the second Lagerführer in Sachsenhausen, then he was tried by the Soviet Military Tribunal and sentenced to life imprisonment.
12. Vernehmungsniederschrift vor Untersuchungsrichter Landgericht Düsseldorf für Hans Zöllner, AG-S, Bestand D 30 A 4/5, pp. 65–66.
13. Reuter to Wieland, June 1969.
14. Ibid.
15. Cziernakowski, in Ruth Zantow, "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .' Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990), p. 344.
16. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, XI/15. See also Vernehmungsniederschrift vor Untersuchungsrichter Landgericht Düsseldorf für Hans Zöllner, AG-S, Bestand D 30 A #4/5, pp. 65–66.
17. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.

BERLIN-LICHTERFELDE

The SS established the first Sachsenhausen subcamp in Berlin in 1942, in the suburb of Lichterfelde. Until its liberation, it housed over 1,400 prisoners. The prisoners had to work in more than 40 work detachments for the SS-Building Administration "Reich Nord." They mainly had to perform forced labor at SS stations, including the administration buildings for the centers for terror and persecution. The prisoners regarded Lichterfelde as a relatively "privileged subcamp" because of the living and working conditions.[1] The numerous work detachments gave the prisoners contact to the outside world, and some were able to escape with the help of civilians.

In 1941, what was then the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB), under the command of SS-Oberführer Hans Kammler, began planning a subcamp for Lichterfelde that was on the Teltow Canal.[2] An SS construction site, housing for SS guards, and a service barracks for the Berlin Waffen-SS Building Administration were all located outside the subcamp. A residential estate for members of the "SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler" was located very close to the subcamp. A number of SS leaders lived on the estate.[3]

The first prisoners were most likely transported from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Berlin-Lichterfelde by the SS on June 23, 1942.[4] Initially, the SS wanted to transfer only German prisoners to the subcamp who did not come from Berlin and who were skilled tradesmen. By 1943, Lichterfelde held about 40 percent Germans and 40 percent Poles. The remaining inmates were Belgians, French, Greeks, Luxembourgers, Norwegians, Austrians, Russians, Czechs, and Ukrainians. There are also said to have been German Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners,[5] as well as seven Russian youths between about 14 and 18 years of age.[6] The subcamp was expanded in March 1943. Until that expansion, according to the SS, there were between 500 and 700 prisoners there. At the beginning of April 1945, there were 1,414 prisoners in the camp.

Punishment was meted out in the subcamp. The forms of punishment included penal standing, the so-called *Sachsen Gruss* (Saxon greeting; squatting for hours with the arms crossed at the back of the head or with the arms stretched out in front), and beatings.[7] There was one execution. Several prisoners died from consuming drinks that the SS contaminated by adding methyl alcohol.[8]

There were seven known escape attempts. Two failed. The first escape attempt from the Lichterfelde subcamp took place at the beginning of July 1942.[9] Austrian Communist Franz Primus was able to escape in May 1944 with the help of civilians.[10] Rudi Wunderlich succeeded in escaping in June 1944 from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). On the other hand, the escape attempt by 22-year-old Wilhelm Novak from the Spinnstoffwerke (Spinning Mill) work detachment failed. Novak was hanged in front of the other subcamp prisoners in August 1944. In 1943, in the inner courtyard of the WVHA, two prisoners were hanged for "looting."

In August 1943, two camp barracks caught on fire during a bombing raid, threatening to incinerate the prisoners who had sought shelter in a shrapnel trench. The SS guards cut the barbed wire, enabling the prisoners to escape the fire.[11]

The subcamp inmates were taken daily by truck, special trams, or the city railway, or marched, to the work detachment sites where work was to be done.[12] The detainees had to construct and maintain SS buildings,[13] construct bunkers for the SS, and increasingly, clean up after air raids.

They worked at the WVHA in Berlin-Lichterfelde; the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) in Berlin-Wilmersdorf; the SS-Main Hospital (Sanitätshauptlager) in Berlin-Lichtenberg; a number of different Waffen-SS food depots in the districts of Wedding, Spandau, and Steglitz; the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt); the Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt); and the SS-Leibstandarte "Adolf Hitler" located in the former Prussian Main Cadet Academy. They also worked in the Nazi Party Chancellery Office, the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) and its Foreign Espionage Department (Auslandsspionage), which was located in a Jewish old-age home that had been confiscated after the deportation of the inhabitants and their nursing staff in 1941, as well as in the "Neue Reichskanzlei" (New Reichs Chancellery), Hitler's base.[14]

During a bombing raid on May 7, 1944, on the "terror center," the offices of the RSHA, where they were working as forced labor, 29 prisoners from Lichterfelde died.[15]

Subcamp inmates had to renovate the private apartments of senior SS commanders such as Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the head of the RSHA, who had moved into an apartment in Berlin-Charlottenburg previously occupied by a Jewish person who had been deported.[16] They also had to construct air-raid shelters for Oswald Pohl, Hans Kammler, and Gustav Lörner.

The Alexanderplatz and Cicerostrasse detachments installed the electrical wiring and connections in the air-raid bunker on the Kurfürstendamm. The Spanische Allee detachment converted a former Jewish sanatorium in Berlin-Zehlendorf into an apartment for "ethnic Germans."[17]

Prisoners from Lichterfelde were also used by private companies and research institutes: for example, in construction work at the Spinnstoffwerken Zehlendorf, which, among other things, produced parachutes and uniforms for the Wehrmacht.[18] Some 300 female subcamp inmates worked to produce these items. They had been transported to Zehlendorf from Ravensbrück at the end of August and the beginning of September 1944.[19] In November 1944, the women were transferred to Berlin-Niederschöneweide, where they were forced to work at Pertrix, a manufacturer of batteries. There is no other known case of such a transfer of a subcamp of Sachsenhausen.

Lichterfelde subcamp prisoners constructed barracks for Lankwitz, a company in Berlin.[20] They were also said to have worked on construction projects for the electronics company Telefunken[21] as well as in the Reich Mail Research Institute (Forschungsanstalt der Reichspost) at Kleinmachnow, which was developing night-vision devices for military purposes.[22] For the Hotel Adlon, near the Brandenburg Gate, they had to remove rubble.[23] The Under den Linden detachment transported exhibits out of Berlin museums.[24]

An open area for research is the role of other work detachments, such as Jungfernstieg in Berlin-Lichterfelde,[25] where inmates probably did construction work for an RSHA branch office.[26] Another open research topic is the use of inmates for the German Reichsbank in Berlin-Mitte.[27]

SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge was one of the subcamp commandants. He was known as Eiserner (Iron) Gustav

for his countless sadistic excesses also on prisoners in the main camp, for example, beating them with iron bars.[28] Sorge was dismissed for suspicion of corruption and returned to the Sachsenhausen main camp. He was later transferred to Latvia. He was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer August Höhn, who led the camp until August 1943. Höhn later advanced to become commander of the Labor Deployment Administration (Arbeitseinsatz-Verwaltung) at Sachsenhausen. He administered the total deployment of prisoners in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

SS-Untersturmbannführer Alfred Sorge, commandant of SS-Bauleitung (Building Administration) "Reich-Nord," is alleged to have beaten subcamp inmates when inspecting construction sites.[29] Sorge had previously led the construction of the "Small Crematorium," the "Shooting Barracks," and "Station Z" in Sachsenhausen concentration camp's industrial area.[30]

At the beginning of 1945, some of the Lichterfelde prisoners were combined with concentration camp prisoners transferred from Hamburg to Berlin to the SS-Baubrigade II to form the Eisenbahnbaubrigade. Upon dissolution of the camp between April 16 and April 21, 1945, the remaining prisoners were transported by the SS from the city railway station at Lichterfelde-West to Oranienburg. Lichterfelde subcamp prisoners were still arriving in Oranienburg on April 21, and they were probably the last of the prisoners who were sent on the death march toward the Baltic.[31]

SOURCES Important details on the history of the Lichterfelde subcamp have been published since the 1980s by local historians and the VVN as well as by Christan Simon, Doris Fürstenberg, and Dieter Fitterling. In 1985, Hans-Peter Sandvoss published "Widerstand in Steglitz und Zehlendorf," a contemporaneous photo that shows the barracks and possibly Rudi Wunderlich. In 1992, the Berlin-Steglitz Bezirksamt published the collection *Steglitz im Dritten Reich. Beträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Steglitz* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992). Klaus Leutner published the brochure *Die Geschichte der Wismarer Strasse 26/36 oder das Aussenlager Berlin-Lichterfelde des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen: Mit einem Vorwort des ehemaligen Regierenden Bürgermeisters Klaus Schütz* (Steglitz, 2001). Through the auspices of the AG-S, Rainer Potratz has published a biography of Rudi Wunderlich as part of the permanent exhibition *Die Baracke 39* and on CD, "Gegen das Vergessen." This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 211.

The LA-B and private archives, like Leutner's, hold files on the history of the Lichterfelde subcamp. The AG-S holds reports by former prisoners as well as the bequest of Wunderlich. In 1957, in the GDR, author Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich published a novel, *Jan und Jutta* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1957), which was based on her own life. It depicts the relationship between a young woman and an inmate from the Lichterfelde subcamp who was able to escape with the help of the woman, who later became his wife. The following memoirs were published in East Berlin: *Zwischen Karneval und Aschermittwoch*, by the artist Hans Grundig (Berlin [East]: Deitz, 1957); and Karl Pioch's *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East], 1978). Franz Primus's memoirs are included in the volume published under the title *Niemand und nichts vergessen: Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984). Wunderlich's memoirs, part of which were prepared underground, were published in 1997 by Joachim Hohmann and Günther Wieland under the title *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen bei Oranienburg 1939 bis 1944—Die Aufzeichnungen des KZ-Häftlings Rudolf Wunderlich* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997).

Thomas Irmer and Klaus Leutner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Report by Rudi Wunderlich, "Flucht aus dem KZ," p. 39, AG-S, LAG XXXV 13; Statement by Gustav Klingbeil, July 31, 1961, AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren (Kaiser Proceedings), vol. 20.

2. Lichterfelde Camp Plan (Sketch) 1:1000, LA-B, B Rep. 212, Acc. 2568, Nr. 4532.

3. Armin A. Woy, "Die Siedlung der 'Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler,'" in *Steglitz im Dritten Reich. Beträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Steglitz* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), pp. 105–112.

4. Joachim Hohmann and Günther Wieland, *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen bei Oranienburg 1939 bis 1944—Die Aufzeichnungen des KZ-Häftlings Rudolf Wunderlich* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), p. 43.

5. Details by Gerard de Ruiter (the Netherlands), April 2000, and Rene Kerschen (Luxembourg), March 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

6. Letter from the commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to SS-WVHA of February 17, 1944. Anzahl und Einsatz der jugendlichen Russen im KL Sh., USHMMA, RG 006.025*26, File 1732.

7. Statement by Franz Schramm from December 18, 1946, in BStU (Branch Halle), MfS BV Halle Ast Nr. 6632, 81.

8. Letter by Rene Kerschen, January 8, 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

9. Veränderungsmeldung Sachsenhausen concentration camp, from July 10, 1942.

10. Franz Primus, "Meine Flucht aus dem KZ," in *Niemand und nichts vergessen: Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über daz KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984), pp. 129–133.

11. Karl Pioch, *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East], 1978), p. 138.

12. Letter from ITS to the Steglitz Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

13. ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 211.

14. Rudi Wunderlich, "Flucht aus dem KZ," AG-S, LAG XXXV 13.

15. Sachsenhausen Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen, May 7, 1944, and May 8, 1944, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen; Pioch, *Nie im Abseits*; AG-S, R 57/35.

16. Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, *Jan und Jutta* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1957).

17. Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

18. Statement by former prisoner Jan Religa, August 12, 1966, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), AG-S, JD 2/58.

19. The strength report from September 5, 1944, refers to 301 women, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

20. Details from Juliusz Brniak (Poland), February 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

21. Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

22. Karl Höfer, "Aussenlager Lichterfelde, Aussenkommando Reichspostforschungsanstalt Klein-Machnow," AG-S, LAG XIII 6.

23. Details from Gerard de Ruiter (Netherlands), April 2000, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

24. Christian Simon, "Ein Gefangenenlager in Lichterfelde-Süd," *StegL-A*, no. 24/25 (1984); as well as Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, in AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

25. Statement of the former prisoner Franz Jäckel, April 9, 1957, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), AG-S, JD2/58l; as well as Pioch, *Nie im Abseits*, p. 140.

26. On RSHA offices, see Christoph Ernst: " 'Unsere Ehre heisst Treue'—die 'Schutz-Staffel' in Steglitz," in *Zeitsplitter: Steglitz im Dritten Reich*, ed. Kulturamt Berlin-Steglitz (Berlin, 1992), p. 34.

27. Forderungsnachweis Nr. Shn. 02646 of April 1, 1945, about the use of detainees by the German Oberwallstrasse, March 1–31, 1945, in AG-S, Slg. Thomas Irmer, Aussenlager Lichterfelde.

28. For Lichterfelde, see statement by Paul Waldhorst from May 5, 1956, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), in AG-S, JD 2/16, p. 196; and see statement by Gustav Klingbeil from July 31, 1961, in AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren, vol. 20.

29. Hans-Eberhard Schultz, "150 KZ-Häftlinge bauten den Bunker: Zeuge der Arbeiten am Fichtenberg berichtet," *BM*, November 26, 1967; statement Ernst Gartlgruber, November 3, 1965, AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren, Bd. XLIII.

30. Thomas Irmer, " 'Die Station Z'—Zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Vernichtungsanlagen auf dem Industriehof des KZ Sachsenhausen 1939–1945," in *Auslobung Realisierungswettbewerb Zentraler Gedenkort "Station Z,"* ed. SBG (Oranienburg, 1998).

31. Pioch, *Nie im Abseits*, p. 153.

BERLIN-MARIENFELDE

Berlin-Marienfelde was established as a subcamp of Sachsenhausen in late 1942 or early 1943.[1] The SS opened the camp as a satellite from which to dispatch inmates to various work details in the immediate Berlin area. One former prisoner noted that the Marienfelde subcamp was previously used as a slave labor camp for the Telefunken Company and was reconstructed as a concentration camp in mid-1943.[2]

According to testimony from surviving inmates, the camp was situated about 4 kilometers (about 2.5 miles) from Berlin-Lichtenrade (see Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Lichtenrade) and about 500 to 800 meters (about 0.3 to 0.5 miles) from the Lichtenrade train station.[3] The camp consisted of six or seven wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. Watchtowers stood at the perimeter of the camp. An SS barracks with an underground bunker was located near the gated entrance.

The 500 to 600 prisoners in Berlin-Marienfelde came from various countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Luxembourg, as well as German political prisoners. Some were transferred from Sachsenhausen or its other subcamps, including Berlin-Lichterfelde. A group of about 150 mainly Polish and Soviet prisoners were transferred from Sachsenhausen in the summer of 1943.[4] This number was augmented by 450 prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek shortly thereafter.[5] Most secondary sources and primary accounts have noted that all of the inmates were men.

The prisoners were sent to work in the surrounding Berlin area, clearing the streets and retiling roofs after air raids, building air-raid shelters, removing unexploded bombs, and constructing artificial ponds that were used to extinguish fires (*Feuerlöschbassins*). They were brought to their work details in automobiles or streetcars under the surveillance of reserve police battalions from Berlin-Spandau (see Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Spandau).

The prisoners were generally starved. They were fed 0.75 liters (3.2 cups) of beet soup and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread daily. The Berlin city administration, rather than the Sachsenhausen main camp, provided food for the camp. The inmates endured long roll calls, and there were many incidents of abuse and beatings from the guards. Some prisoners were sent for punishment to Sachsenhausen; many of them died in the main camp.

SS men oversaw the daily administration of the camp. It is unclear who the commander of the Berlin-Marienfelde camp was, but one former inmate, Fritz Reuter, recalled that this commander was a master baker who had his private residence near the camp. Reuter also noted that the commander used materials collected by prisoners from their missions to clear bombed-out Berlin streets to build a new home for himself.[6] One member of the SS staff was Oberscharführer Daida, who later became the commander of the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp. An especially cruel SS officer, Unterscharführer Otto Keiser, who came from a post at Sachsenhausen, constantly abused the prisoners and hit them with the end of his pistol. The guard staff of the camp and work commandos were reserve policemen from Berlin-Spandau. Two notable officers, said to have had antifascist sympathies, were Richard Henneberg,

who had been a member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) prior to 1933, and Rudolf Liedtke.[7]

A few months after it opened, on August 21 or 22, 1943, the Berlin-Marienfelde camp was evacuated because of an Allied bombing that completely destroyed the camp. According to Henryk Cierzniachowski, a former inmate, the air raid set many of the camp buildings in flames. The prisoners panicked and ran to find shelter beyond the gates of the camp. The guard staff took shelter in their underground bunkers. The SS men, including Keiser and another guard, Unterscharführer Karl Meier, prevented the prisoners from reaching shelter by shooting at the group. One witness estimates that nearly 36 inmates were killed during the air raid, most from the shootings.[8] At least 4 died in the fires that ensued after the bombing, and many others were wounded with severe burns.[9]

After the air raid, the surviving prisoners were driven into an open field, where they stayed until the early morning of the following day. The SS block leader (Blockführer) from Sachsenhausen, Seifert, came to oversee the situation and ordered one part of the group to be transferred to the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp. The prisoners were marched there under police surveillance. Much of the police and SS staff was transferred to Lichtenrade, including SS-Oberscharführer Daida.[10] The other prisoners from Marienfelde, mainly Polish inmates, were transported to a work camp on Greifswalderstrasse.

There is little or no information about postwar trials of any of the SS administration or police guard staff. After the war, Henneberg was active in local government, and Liedtke eventually ran a business. In accounts of the 1947 trial of the Sachsenhausen camp administration conducted by the Military Tribunal of the Soviet Military Administration (SMAD), Daida, Keiser, and Meier do not appear on lists of accused or tried individuals.

SOURCES Both primary and secondary sources that describe the history of the Berlin-Marienfelde camp are scarce, most likely due to the camp's relatively short-lived existence. Most information for this entry comes from Ruth Zantow's essay "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .' Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990). Although Zantow focuses predominantly on Berlin-Lichtenrade, she has reproduced several written testimonies from former prisoners of both the Lichtenrade and Marienfelde subcamps of Sachsenhausen in the appendix. For a concise overview of the Marienfelde camp and a broad examination of the subcamps in Berlin (of both Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück), see Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996). For brief statistical information, such as opening and closing dates and type of prisoner work, see the entry for Berlin-Marienfelde in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), although it is not always consistent with other sources.

Primary source material on the Berlin-Marienfelde subcamp is stored at the AG-S. Testimony from former prisoners gathered by the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Sczcecin, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, and the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, which provide some information, details on daily camp life, and personal history of prisoners in Berlin-Marienfelde, can be found in file XI/15, "Ermittlungsverfahren über das Aussenlager Berlin Marienfelde bzw. Berlin-Lichtenrade." (They are also published in Ruth Zantow's essay.) See also AG-S, file D 30 A/10/2 A, 131, for a letter from former prisoner Wilhem Hollein, which details his experience in the camp. The AG-S also contains general reports on the subcamps in LAG, FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen,'" as well as letters from former prisoners sent to family members. More information on the SS officers Daida, Keiser, and Meier may be located in service records in the NARA holdings of the BDC, SS Officer Personnel files, series SSO.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Ermittlungen wegen NS-Verbrechen im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, Nebenlager Berlin-Marienfelde und Lichtenrade, from Staatsanwalt Pfeufer to Staatsanwalt Wieland, Zentralestelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen, 15.7.1968, AG-S, XI/15.
2. Fritz Reuter, written testimony to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969, AG-S, XI/15.
3. Władysław Walczak, testimony to Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, AKT.Z.: II Ds 63/68/ZR, 30 September 1968, AG-S, XI/15.
4. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland.
5. Rainer Venke, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und nichts vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984).
6. Ibid.
7. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.
8. Henryk Cierzniachowski, testimony to Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, AKT.Z.: IIDs 63/68/ZR, 16 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.
9. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, (H) AS 71/69. Reproduced in Ruth Zantow's essay "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .' Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990), pp. 349–351.
10. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, AG-S D 30 A/10/2A, p. 131.

BERLIN-NEUKÖLLN ("KRUPP") [AKA BRAUNAUERSTRASSE]

A subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp existed in the Berlin district of Neukölln from late August or September 1944 to April 1945. It held around 500 female prisoners, the majority of whom were Polish Jews. They worked as forced laborers in the armaments factory of the National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (National Krupp Cash Registers, NCR).

Most of the inmates at Neukölln had been detainees in the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto. Five or six of them were from Prague, and there were others from Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Romania, France, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Germany. German Romanies were also held in the camp. Most of the women were between 18 and 42 years of age.

After the dissolution of the ghetto, the detainees were transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where most of them were murdered. Those who ended up in Neukölln remained only a few days in Auschwitz before they were transported directly to Berlin, arriving there possibly on August 26, 1944, but more likely on September 1.[1] On their arrival in Neukölln, they were assigned three-digit numbers.

The SS operated the subcamp under the name "Krupp." Sachsenhausen's Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp assumed responsibility for the Neukölln subcamp. SS members from Lichterfelde occasionally inspected the Neukölln camp.[2] A few organizational matters, such as food for the SS, were done through Lichterfelde.

The barracks camp was located at 181–189 Braunaustrasse (later known as Sonnenallee). Until 1944, it held foreign forced laborers. It was surrounded by a fence, interwoven with thin, pliable cane, which according to some prisoners was electrified. The camp was visible from nearby apartment buildings. The prisoners were housed in three barracks, each of which was divided into separate rooms. They were awakened and called to roll each morning at 4:00 A.M. A 10-minute march took them to the factory, the entrance of which had above it a sign with the word "Krupp."

NCR used the inmates for heavy labor in the armaments industry. They had to work two shifts a day, each 12 hours long, electro-galvanizing aircraft parts. The workers suffered from the heat and burns from flying sparks. On several occasions, there were work accidents in which women lost fingers from the presses. Civilian personnel supervised the forced laborers. The prisoners recall in particular the brutal supervision of one German foreman.

No work was done on Sundays, but the women were required to work in the camp. Some of them worked in the camp administration. These women were mostly from Czechoslovakia.

The prisoners were guarded by a group of around 20 female German guards. Some had worked at the Dräger factories in Lübeck where they had been recruited by the SS. Several women had volunteered. Some said that they had been forced to work at the camp by the Government Employment Office (Arbeitsamt) or by their employers. After a training course at Ravensbrück, the majority of them were sent at first to the Berlin-Zehlendorf subcamp. After its dissolution in September 1944, they were transferred to Neukölln. The average age of the known female SS guards was 28 years. The female guards were housed outside the camp in Krupp's former sports building. The female senior guard at the Neukölln subcamp was 39-year-old former factory worker Margarete Trampenau. Several survivors have stated that Oberaufseherin Trampenau treated the prisoners properly and took steps to prevent the female guards from mistreating them.[3]

The camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Bruno Kreibich. He had been a member of the Sachsenhausen Totenkopf-Wachbataillon (Death's Head Guard Battalion) from 1940 to 1944. Two of the women who worked in the camp office stated that he was not particularly interested in the camp and was just glad not to be at the front.[4] He was in charge of four or five SS men, three of whom were ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The SS men were housed in barracks close to the camp entrance.

Daily life for the prisoners in Neukölln was marked by hunger and inhumane living conditions. One of the barracks was equipped with washing facilities, and the women were allowed to shower once a week using cold water. Breakfast consisted solely of bread that was taken from their previous day's bread ration of 125 grams (4.4 ounces). The food was collected from a kitchen barracks outside the camp grounds by the inmates under the supervision of the female guards. Female civilian forced laborers worked in the kitchen. Additional rations were available for the women in the factory. In rare cases, local inhabitants are said to have thrown food over the subcamp's fence.[5] The detainees were dressed in work overalls and also wore pieces of clothing that had been handed out in Auschwitz.

Two women prisoner doctors worked in the barracks' infirmary, which was used for less serious illnesses. Sick and weakened inmates were transported to a medical station for forced laborers at Berlin-Siemensstadt or transported back to Ravensbrück.[6] Twice there were selections by the SS for larger prisoner transports. The survivor Helen G. stated that one night "nine sick women were selected who were in physically poor condition. . . . These detainees were transported away. I can remember to this day their terrible screams. They knew, just as we did, that they were going to be gassed."[7] The 9 prisoners were transferred on March 3, 1945, from Neukölln to Ravensbrück.[8] Another selection of 26 women followed, but it was not completed because the camp was dissolved. At least 1 inmate died from tuberculosis in the camp.[9]

During air raids prisoners were injured and probably several were killed.[10] Prisoners who were in the camp during an air raid could only seek shelter in the trenches. The cellars in the factory served as air-raid shelters.

During the last weeks of the war, the barrack camp was destroyed during bombardments, and the prisoners were held in the nearby cinema. After this was destroyed by bombs,

they were held in a cellar on the factory grounds. The order to evacuate the camp was given by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). On April 18, the prisoners had to walk to a nearby S-Bahn (metro railway) station where a train took them to Oranienburg. They remained one night in Sachsenhausen and were taken the following day by goods train to Ravensbrück. The prisoners remained there for a week. The Polish women, who formed the largest group, were under the care of the Swedish Red Cross and arrived on April 29, 1945, in Sweden. The non-Polish Jewish women left Ravensbrück at the end of April and were driven by the SS in a northwesterly direction. Two prisoners were able to escape.[11]

The commandant of the Neukölln subcamp, Kreibich, was held after the war by the British as a prisoner of war (POW) and remained interned until April 1948. Frieda Schweinhardt was the only female SS guard to be taken prisoner—she was taken by Soviet troops in Berlin and held in a Soviet internment camp until 1950. The Chemnitz State Court (Waldheim) sentenced her to 20 years' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners. She was released early in 1955 and settled in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began investigating her in 1969 for crimes she was suspected of committing in the Neukölln subcamp, but the investigations stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Jochen Spielmann's essay "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, Aussenlager Neukölln, Braunauer Str. 187/189," in *Zehn Brüder waren wir gewesen: Spuren jüdischen Lebens in Berlin-Neukölln*, ed. Dorothea Kolland (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1988), and Harald B. Ramm's essay "NCR—ein KZ-Aussenlager in Berlin-Neukölln," in *Zur Arbeit gezwungen*, *Zwangsarbeit in Deutschland 1940–1945*, ed. Rimco Spanjer (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), both provide concise overviews of the subcamp and incorporate testimony from former detainees and their coworkers. For the history of the NCR in Neukölln before, during, and after the war, see Udo Gösswald's "Memories—Eine Unvollstandige Geschichte," in *Sand im Getriebe: Neuköllner Geschichte*, ed. Dorothea Stanić (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990). Benjamin B. Ferencz's work *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) provides a history of his persistent efforts, along with the Claims Conference, to gain reparations for former slave laborers who worked for Krupp during World War II.

Primary source material can be found in various archives, including at the KaN-AHm, which contains interviews from former fellow employees of the slave laborers in the NCR factory. Testimony from former Neukölln detainees, a postcard from a former detainee in Neukölln to a relative in Vienna, and documents related to postwar restitution issues in relation to slave laborers in Neukölln can be found at the YVA. The BA-L contains statements from the former camp commandant, Bruno Kreibich, as well as testimony from former detainees. The Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection at the USHMMA contains correspondence and notes regarding the administration of the NCR factory, its use of forced laborers, affidavits that describe daily life in the camp, and a list of former detainees in the Neukölln camp who sought restitution from Krupp for forced labor. The sentence of a former SS guard by the Chemnitz District Court can be found in the BStU.

Alexander Korb
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen contain contradictory details on the date that the camp opened. It is mentioned for the first time on August 25, 1944, but no further information is available after that date until September 1, 1944. From that date on, it remains in the reports, AG-S, D 9A.
2. Statement, Bruno K., August 10, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
3. Statement, Květa H., October 13, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
4. Statement, Edita C., June 10, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
5. Harald B. Ramm, "NCR—ein KZ-Aussenlager in Berlin-Neukölln," in *Zur Arbeit gezwungen*, *Zwangsarbeit in Deutschland 1940–1945*, ed. Rimco Spanjer (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), p. 76.
6. Entry lists, Ravensbrück concentration camp, USHMMA, RG.04-006M, Reel 20, pp. 23, 32; and Statement, Edita C., June 10, 1971, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
7. Statement, Helen G., January 26, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
8. Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen, 1945, AG-S, D 9A.
9. Statement, Bruno K., August 10, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
10. Statements, Hertha B., April 28, 1970, and Anna M., November 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
11. Statements, Edita C., June 10, 1971, and Květa H., October 13, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.

BERLIN-NIEDERSCHÖNEWEIDE (*PERTRIX*)

Niederschöneweide is part of the Berlin southeastern district of Treptow-Köpenick. A women's subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was located there. The subcamp was named after the Batteriefabrik (Battery Factory) Pertrix, in which the prisoners worked for seven months starting in October 1944. The 500 mostly Polish and Belgian women who were brought to Schöneweide from Ravensbrück were first housed in a converted boat shed on the Spree River bank and later in barracks on Köllnische Strasse that are now a Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labor.

The Pertrix Chemische Fabrik AG established itself in Berlin-Niederschöneweide in 1928. It was a subsidiary of the Akkumulatoren-Fabrik AG (Battery Manufacturing Corporation AFA). The AFA group of companies was established in 1887 in Hagen by agreement between AEG and Siemens & Halske (S&H) and soon monopolized the production of bat-

teries. During World War II, under Director of Defense Economy (Wehrwirtschaftsführer) Günter Quandt, the AFA produced batteries for submarines, trucks, and the Luftwaffe in Hagen, in Hannover, in Berlin, in Posen, and with the help of concentration camp prisoners, also in Hannover-Stöcken.

The Pertrix factory located at 53a Sedanstrasse in Berlin-Niederschöneweide (present-day Bruno-Bürgel-Weg) had around 1,300 workers and produced batteries, flashlights, and from 1934 on, cartridge cases. In 1937 it was designated a defense industry; in 1939, it changed its corporate status from a public corporation (AG) to a limited liability company (GmbH) but remained a subsidiary of the AFA group of companies. Günter Quandt's son Herbert, who was manager (Betriebsführer) of the AFA-affiliated company in Oberschöneweide, was recorded in the Reich's business card index as owner or director of the Pertrix GmbH. The manager was Viktor Werner.

The use of Jewish forced labor began as early as 1938.[1] They were followed by French prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian forced laborers who were mostly from the Soviet Union. Pertrix was then producing mainly lead batteries for aircraft. Within the so-called Fighter Program (*Jägerprogramm*), Minister for Armaments and War Production Albert Speer gave absolute priority to the manufacture of aircraft batteries in April 1944. In the autumn of that year, the production of batteries reached its peak.

The prisoners in the subcamp were initially housed in a boat shed on the Spree River. The boat club at 101 Berliner Strasse (present-day Schnellerstrasse) was owned by the former restaurant and dance hall "Loreley" that itself housed forced laborers working at the company L'Orange Motorzubehör (car accessories; later owned by DaimlerChrysler AG).[2] In 1971, a former female prisoner drew a sketch of the fenced-in subcamp. The Belgian and Polish concentration camp prisoners stayed there from September 20, 1944, until February 26, 1945, when an air raid took place. The boat shed was partially hit during the air raid and could no longer be lived in.

After the air raid, the prisoners were accommodated in camps in the nearby area. Some of them, mostly Belgian women, were taken by the SS to a camp in Köpenick. Here the women had to dig trenches for the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). Although the women were no longer working for Pertrix, the Sachsenhausen concentration camp probably continued to administer them under the name "Pertrix."

About 200 women, mostly Polish women, were taken by the SS to a nearby so-called Italian Camp. The camp in Köllnische Strasse consisted of 13 stone barracks. A central administration barracks divided the site in two. Two barracks that stood empty were used by the women as housing. The subcamp, as with the boat shed, was in the middle of a residential area and could be seen by the surrounding houses.

There were always around 500 prisoners in the Niederschöneweide subcamp.[3] They were mostly from Belgium and Poland, but there were also inmates from other countries. Before they arrived at Ravensbrück, most of them had spent a few years in police jails or concentration camps. The suffering the Belgian women had to go through differed from that of the Polish women. The Belgian women came directly from police arrest to the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp. From there they were transported, in several transports, at the end of September 1944 directly to Schöneweide.[4]

The Polish women had also been held in police prisons, but from there they were transported to the concentration camp at Auschwitz II-Birkenau and then to Ravensbrück. Finally, the Polish women arrived at the subcamp at the Zehlendorf Spinning Mill (Spinnstofffabrik). Here they were supervised by SS female guards from Ravensbrück and then transferred to Schöneweide.[5] The women were between 16 and 49 years of age. They included "protective custody" prisoners, "foreign civilian workers" (Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, AZA), "asocials," and professional criminals.[6] Although the subcamp was subordinate to Sachsenhausen, prisoners who were seriously ill were taken back to Ravensbrück.[7]

Even though the AFA management had been provided with medical opinions that undernourished humans were especially susceptible to lead poisoning, the malnourished non-German labor force mainly had to work with poisonous materials without any protection.[8] The hygienic conditions in the camp were poor. There was no soap. There was, however, a surplus of vermin. There was no infirmary. The prisoners wore black-and-white-striped clothes with a cross on the back and wooden clogs. Each of the wooden platforms that served as beds was shared by two women.

Statements by witnesses suggest that the food was distributed at the camp. It consisted mostly of ersatz coffee, watery soup, and very little bread. Sometimes there was cheese.[9] One Belgian witness wrote that there was nothing to eat during the night shift. Another witness stated that "we stopped working because they gave us nothing to eat," although they had been promised food. Several prisoners mention a strike that is said to have taken place in February 1945. The SS female guards had the women on a particular shift stand at roll call for hours to find out who the leaders were. Three women were punished by beating following orders from the SS at Sachsenhausen.[10] Now and then there were escapes from the subcamp. According to the daily variation reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), the last group escape attempt occurred on March 31, 1945, when eight Polish women escaped from the subcamp in Köllnische Strasse.

Neither the daily variation reports nor the statements of witnesses enable the reconstruction of murders in the Niederschöneweide subcamp. On the other hand, witnesses' statements consistently refer to shootings on the death marches. "Many people collapsed from exhaustion. They were then fatally shot by the SS men."[11]

On the basis of a later investigation by the West German judicial authorities, a few details on the guards have been provided. There was a woman name Hesse; an SS female guard, Käthe Bechler, who died in 1966; and the camp leader,

SS-Unterscharführer Conrad Adolf Schreiber, who was born in 1896 and whose place of residence the then–German Democratic Republic's (DDR) Ministry of State Security was unable to identify until 1971.[12] The former salesman was described by Polish female former prisoners as a pigeon breeder. Schreiber is said to have been particularly brutal. He beat without hesitation and "never spoke quietly but was always screaming."[13] The SS women also guarded the prisoners while they were working at Pertrix.

The subcamp was dissolved over a three-day period; 23 prisoners left the camp on April 18 in the direction of Sachsenhausen; another 134 and 114 women, respectively, left over the next two days.[14] The women remained for one to three days in Sachsenhausen and were then sent on a death march in the direction of Lübeck and Schwerin. Some of the prisoners said they escaped during the march; others were liberated by the Red Army on May 2, 1945.[15]

The Zentralstelle der bundesdeutschen Staatsanwaltschaften (Central Office of the Federal German State Prosecutors) in Ludwigsburg began investigations in the 1970s on the subcamp at Niederschöneweide. Witnesses' statements made to the Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes and the Belgian Criminal Department of Military Courts did not turn up any "prosecutable crimes" in the Pertrix subcamp. The German investigations therefore ceased on June 30, 1972.[16]

SOURCES Two recent publications at the Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labour give further details on the camp's history: "*NS-Lager entdeckt": Zwangsarbeiterlager Schöneweide wird historischer Lernort*, ed. Förderverein für ein Dokumentations- und Begegnungszentrum zur NS-Zwangsarbeit in Berlin-Schöneweide e.V. (Berlin, 2006); and *Das and Dokumentationszentrum NS Zwangsarbeit Berlin-Schöneweide. Zur Konzeption. Eine Veröffentlichung der Stiftung Topographie des Terrors*, ed. Andreas Nachama, Christine Glauning, and Katharina Sophie Rürup (Berlin, 2006).

The most important archival sources are the files of the ZdL (today BA-L). The relevant witness statements were made between 1968 and 1971 and, given the period of time, are often inaccurate. The CAFSSRF holds the Veränderungsmeldungen on the women's camp at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The Projekt Gedenkbuch der MGR has collected the transfer lists (*Überstellungslisten*) to and from Niederschöneweide. The ASVG-B holds the documents from the questioning of the German civilian population by the BTS immediately after the war. The interviews, made between 1946 and 1951, provide a subjective, at times, exculpatory view but nevertheless provide an overview. Research in address books, on location, and in scattered files in the former NS archive of BStU complement the knowledge base.

Cord Pagenstecher and Gabriele Layer-Jung
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. http://www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv/ddr/files/ddr1209.htm.
2. http://www.lorange.de.
3. CAFSSRF, R 22 MI 42, p. 125.
4. ASVG-B, Dienst Archiv und Dokumentation, Anhang Nr. 83 des Endberichts Nr. 20, R 149/Tr. 76662, without title, n.p.
5. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, o. Bl.
6. CAFSSRF, R 22 9-MI 42 S 125, pp. 7, 27, 52, 76, 79, 94.
7. Rücküberstellungen (Retransfers), September 27, 1944, November 22, 1944, and January 18, 1945, MGR, Projekt Gedenkbuch, Zugangslisten (Entry Lists) Nr. 01121001, 01141201, 01152001.
8. LA-B, 250-03-04 AFA, Nr. 49/2, Confidential Documents 1939, n.p.
9. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. BStU, HA IX/11, RHE West 609, p. 30.
13. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
14. CAFSSRF, R 22 9 MI 42 S 125, 99.
15. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, p. 4.

BERLIN-REINICKENDORF (*ARGUS*) [AKA BERLIN-SCHÖNHOLZ]

The Sachsenhausen subcamp at Reinickendorf was mentioned in 1949 by the International Tracing Service (ITS). A list published in the German Democratic Republic refers to the subcamp as a "repair works" in Berlin. It is listed with many other Sachsenhausen subcamps. An inventory by the Brandenburg Memorials Foundation refers to the camp as "Reinickendorf-'Schönholz.'" It is supposed to have existed from the summer of 1944 to April 1945 for use by the Argus Motorenwerke GmbH. According to some sources, the camp existed from July 1944 to April 20, 1945.[1] It is also possible that the camp was established on August 18, 1944. According to SS files, on September 5, 1944, there were 800 women in the subcamp at Reinickendorf.[2] They arrived in August and consisted of mostly Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück, plus a few Polish women. There was a female doctor among the prisoners. The camp was located close to the Argus company at 28–42 Flotten Strasse. Survivors have also called the camp "Berlin-Schönholz." The camp, consisting of six prisoner barracks and an administration barracks, was clearly visible from the S-Bahn (metro railways) to Tegel and Oranienburg. It was situated in the triangle between the railway stations at Alt-Reinickendorf and Schönholz and between Wilhelmsruh and Schönholz. "The Argus Motoren GmbH was one of the most important companies in the German aircraft industry."[3]

The women worked in two shifts of 12 hours each. They had to do heavy physical work. If they did not fulfill work targets, they were threatened with a transfer back to the main camp. The food was completely inadequate. However, in acts of solidarity forced laborers in the camp were able to supplement some of the women's food. Nevertheless, the women suffered from hunger edema.

In the final weeks, they mostly worked in the vicinity of the camp, digging trenches. They were guarded by members of the Organisation Todt (OT). Some of the women had previously worked at the company Armag.

According to Sachsenhausen change of status reports, there were still 748 women in the Reinickendorf subcamp on March 30, 1945.[4] On April 18, 1945, the women had to march to the Sachsenhausen main camp on foot. Some of them were taken by truck. SS-Oberscharführer Max Bergholz, who had been detachment leader of the camp at Potsdam-Babelsberg until the end of 1944, later admitted that he had been "detachment leader" at "Schönholz" for two weeks from April 21, 1945. It is possible that he accompanied the evacuation to Sachsenhausen.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Andreas Vollenbruch. One of the SS overseers was Hildegrad Wenke. She beat the women in the most brutal manner. Other women overseers were Richter and Emilie Kalisch. As the war came to an end, the brutality increased. It can be documented that 15 women, including a non-Jewish Polish woman, died in the camp; 9 female Jews were transferred back to Ravensbrück.

Shortly after the war, the Waffen-SS assistant Hilde Mehner from Hohenstein-Ernstthal, who had been an overseer in the Reinickendorf subcamp from August 22, 1944, to April 22, 1945, was arrested by the British Military Administration in Berlin-Spandau. She was interned at Fallingbostel. Prior to Reinickendorf, she had been stationed at the Oranienburg subcamp at Auer.

Following a report made to the authorities by former inmate Margarete Farkas, the State Justice Administration in Cologne began investigations in 1960 into former camp commander Vollenbruch. They were still unfinished in 1964. The result of the investigations was inconclusive because the "investigations were complicated and time-consuming." The Hungarian Jewish women had mostly moved back to Hungary. The accused could not be arrested because the statements by 30 witnesses "were too vague." Vollenbruch was accused of having sent 30 Jewish women to Ravensbrück to be gassed and of having shot women who were digging trenches. He is also said to have ordered female guards to beat a pregnant woman to death. A Hungarian Jewish woman, Bozsi Keller, was said to have been badly mistreated by him and then forced to approach the electrified fence, where she died. Vollenbruch was also accused, together with female guards, of forcing women prisoners to stand under the water pipes as a punishment measure. Some of these women died. In winter, women had to carry snow from one place to another using their eating utensils. Another punishment, shaving the heads of the women bald, was infamous among the prisoners. Witnesses reported that during the trench-digging works a young girl, Lili Fischer, was shot by a member of the OT who was guarding the women.

SS-Oberscharführer Max Bergholz, who on his own admission was a detachment commander in Schönholz from April 21, 1945, was arrested in 1945 and interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.[5] His fate is unknown.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the Federal German Republic began investigations in 1969, but they ceased in 1972 after the death of Vollenbruch, the chief suspect. Other suspects could not be identified because the witnesses' statements were too vague. Nevertheless, it was determined that Helene Borkowsky, an overseer accused by the women, had hanged herself in Soviet custody after the end of the war. The camp elder, a Hungarian Jewish woman named Gyözo Kalocsai, was accused by her comrades of beating an exhausted woman to death.[6]

SOURCES The only known article on the subcamp is the essay by Horst Helas and Henning Müller, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Argus in Berlin-Reinickendorf," in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. Helmut Bräutigam, Doris Fürstenberg, and Bernt Roder (Berlin, 2003), pp. 269–279. This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262; and Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandkämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 60.

Archival sources are located in the BA-L, AG-S, and YVA.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger: "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Free University Berlin, 1997). April 20, 1945, is confirmed by a witness statement by Klara König, BA-L, IV 406, AR 503/60, n.p., Statement September 23, 1964.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 100–101.
3. Horst Helas and Henning Müller, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Argus in Berlin-Reinickendorf," in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. Helmut Bräutigam, Doris Fürstenberg, and Bernt Roder (Berlin, 2003), p. 269.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.
5. List of former members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp command office interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945; various texts used here: AG-S, LAG X/3.
6. BA-L, IV 406, AR 862/69, letter from the Zentrale Stelle, Köln, October 2, 1972, n.p.

BERLIN-SIEMENSSTADT [AKA HASELHORST, BERLIN-HASELHORST]

By the end of 1943, ambitious armaments targets contrasted with a sharply deteriorating labor supply. The spring of 1944 brought increased air raids culminating on the night of February 15, 1944, in massive damage to just about all the Siemens factories in Berlin. It was not possible to do without one of the most important suppliers for the navy (including submarine engines and switching devices as well as torpedo-firing

mechanisms) and the air force (aircraft armaments, radar, remote control guidance mechanisms, etc.). The Einsatzstab (Operations Staff) Benkert was established immediately after the bombing raid. It was headed by a director at Siemens, Hanns Benkert, and was charged with "the reconstruction of the Siemens factories and the damaged electronics industry in Berlin."[1] Benkert negotiated from the end of June with SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for more than 2,000 Hungarian Jews—thus relying on the use of prisoner labor. There was a requirement not only for 2,000 male prisoners for construction work but also for 1,000 women, as Siemens wanted to eliminate the chronic labor shortage in its factories at the same time.[2]

The forced labor camp "Haselhorst-Nord," which was located on Paul Stern Strasse, was converted into the Berlin-Siemensstadt subcamp. Technicians from the construction firm Röling & Co, Charlottenburg, which had been contracted by Siemens, and the first contingent of 200 prisoners, which arrived on July 17, 1944, constructed five barracks and a fence. The fence was most likely electrified. The SS area, with its command office, accommodations for guards and prisoners, and SS kitchen, was located in the so-called Pipe just in front of the actual camp. The camp leader was a former German army captain who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Lietsch. Under his command were the roll-call leader Oberscharführer Heinrich P. and his deputy Unterscharführer Gustav S., as well as other SS noncommissioned officers as block leaders. The guards initially comprised 20 older SS men. Later the numbers rose to probably around 50.[3]

Living conditions in the camp were poor. There were initially only improvised washing facilities; later facilities, such as the toilets, were never anything more than extremely basic. The quarters were separated into two large "wings," one for the prisoners and a smaller one for prisoner-functionaries such as the block elder, foremen, and orderlies. The buildings were extremely cold and were not suitable for human habitation in winter. There were heaters, but they were only effective in the prisoner-functionaries' room. The barracks were equipped with three-level wooden bunks. Straw sacks were provided for each bunk. The inmates of the barracks varied as the number of prisoners in the camp fluctuated.[4]

The number of prisoners quickly increased. On August 10, 1944, an additional 500 men arrived from the Sachsenhausen main camp, and the first 500 women from the Ravensbrück main camp arrived on August 27, 1944.[5] The men were then moved to another part of the camp consisting of three barracks. The women occupied the first two barracks that had been built. Numbers continued to increase rapidly—on August 29, 1944, another 199 women arrived, and on August 31, 1944, another 316 men arrived in the camp.[6] There were more transports in the following months. On December 24, 1944, the camp reached its maximum number of 2,454 prisoners. There were 1,767 men and 687 women. The plans of the Einsatzstab Benkert in the summer of 1944 had envisaged that most of the prisoners would be male and female Hungarian Jews. Despite these plans, the prisoners came from just about every German-occupied country. Survivors have said that there were prisoners, often of both sexes, from Bulgaria, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Ukraine. There were probably also a small number of German prisoners.[7] The transport that arrived just before Christmas probably consisted of 751 men, mostly Hungarian Jews. They were accommodated as a group, crowded into one of the wings in barrack 4, which previously had held only 400 prisoners.[8] With the arrival of the female prisoners, there came female SS overseers. Some reports speak of 8, others of 30. This is probably a reflection of the fluctuating camp numbers.[9]

The use of prisoners was of such significance for Siemens that the company took over responsibility not just for the construction of the subcamp but also for supplying food. Two of its employees were attached to the subcamp for accounting and organizational tasks. Systematic misappropriation by SS and prisoner-functionaries and the endemic corruption in the camp meant that the food supplies were inadequate for the heavy physical labor performed by the prisoners. Despite being aware of the problems, the company management did not interfere. It was only when "of hundreds of people only a few were able to work" (Benkert) and the success of the operation was endangered that Siemens intervened. It did so using a double strategy; first, it ensured that prisoners who could not work were promptly returned to the main camps without bureaucratic hindrance using Siemens's own trucks because "the SS was incapable of handling the situation."[10] Those prisoners who could achieve at least 30 percent of the "normal" work quota were issued extra food in their workshops. The return transfers are mirrored in the change of status reports. They show a constant reduction in the prisoner numbers in the camp between transports, a trend that increased markedly with the onset of frost in the winter of 1944–1945. Indeed, the onset of this cold period correlates closely with the return of prisoners to the main camp.[11] The fragmentary source material makes it difficult to determine the consequences of this action. This practice hardly led to any deaths at the Siemensstadt camp[12] since fatalities were effectively "exported" back to the main camps at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück. This policy meant that a stay in the Siemensstadt infirmary was dangerous for the prisoners.

There was also a close and amicable relationship between the company and the SS in organizing the use of the prisoners in work. The prisoners were usually selected by an employee of the firm based in the subcamp.[13] The prisoners had to do construction and cleanup work; they worked in the production of cables and switching gears and in electrical assembly. As early as August 24, 1944, 250 prisoners were digging "blast trenches" for the Einsatzstab Benkert, with the numbers finally reaching a total of around 750.[14] Work was done in the open air. This was difficult for the prisoners who were undernourished and whose clothing was inadequate for the weather. Indeed, the detachments Deckungsgraben I and II (covered

trenches) and Kahnentlader (barge unloading) were regarded as punishment detachments. Prisoners who had committed a "theft" or were accused of some other infraction, and above all Russian prisoners, were placed in these "punishment detachments."[15] Further bombing on October 6, 1944, again caused severe damage at Siemens. For the next two weeks, even those prisoners working in production were used to remove rubble from Siemens factories. In general, managers at the firm expressed their satisfaction with the work done by the exhausted prisoners.[16]

The operation that used the largest number of prisoners, 1,250 at the beginning of January 1945, was the cable factory Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (SKG) in Gartenfeld. The first 900 prisoners (650 women and 250 men) were quickly deployed here,[17] the women working as "operators on mechanical calculating machines; examiners of lacquered cables; spinners; washers; and working on drills and assembly lines; and trimming off rubber,"[18] while the male prisoners were busy "trimming, mixing rubber, pressing synthetic resins, sheathing and stranding cables together, lacquering and tinplating wire." The work was done in two shifts each of 12 hours and was described by the prisoners as heavy labor. Siemens attempted to keep a check on each individual's work and introduced a bonus system. There was a "performance food bonus" for good work, while for insufficient work the prisoners were beaten by the SS or Siemens employees or were reported to the camp, which resulted in punishments such as removal of food rations, standing for hours, or being beaten.[19] The successful escape of a prisoner at the start of the work deployment in the cable factory resulted in a series of measures: in the event of any further escapes, the "Engineer on Duty" was to report immediately to the camp command and mobilize the internal plant security and auxiliary factory security to surround the factory and search it. In addition, columns of prisoners on the move were escorted by electric carts on which searchlights were mounted—it was hoped that these devices would make escape more difficult during the darker months of the year. The extra efforts made were worthwhile: by using concentration camp prisoners, Siemens was able to introduce a second shift, thereby better utilizing the machines in accordance with the contract orders.

The demand for labor diminished in the spring of 1945 because of shortages of energy and material, prompting Siemens to want to remove the compromising presence of the concentration camp prisoners from its factories. The use of prisoners at the factory was cut back, and the prisoners were made available to clean up the city. An air raid during the night of March 27, 1945, destroyed the camp and killed a large number of guards as well as three female prisoners. The prisoners were at first taken to a nearby forced labor camp and then returned to Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück.[20]

The Berlin Sachsenhausen Trial was preceded by comprehensive investigations by British and Soviet military authorities and was eventually conducted exclusively by the Soviets from October 23 to 31, 1947. It had the characteristics of a Stalinist show trial. There was no mention of what had occurred in Siemensstadt. For this reason the decision of the court is of little benefit to historical research. Of more value is the material used during the trial. This material, which included the files of the camp administration and the investigation files of the British Judge Advocate General that had been handed over to the Soviets, disappeared for decades into the Committee on State Security (KGB) archives. The sources that are relevant for Siemensstadt are above all the fragmentary surviving change of status reports from the political department and stores, which permit a calculation of the number of prisoners in the subcamp.

The conditions in Siemensstadt and the use of the prisoners by Siemens were, however, the subject of detailed examination in the denazification proceedings of Siemens director Hanns Benkert. They are kept in the Berlin State Archive (LA-B). For reasons of data protection a special application to the Justice Senator needs to be made via the archive to inspect the files. The files may only be inspected for academic purposes.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated Siemensstadt in the mid-1960s.[21] The matter was then handed over to the Cologne State Attorney, which continued with the investigations.[22]

SOURCES Under contract from Siemens, Arne Hengsbach collated a detailed survey of all buildings associated with the company in Siemensstadt and at numerous other camps; Arne Hengsbach, "Barackenlager Haselhorst-Nord" and "Die Siemens Baracken-Lager im Auftrag der Zentral-Abteilung für Bauten u. Anlagen der Siemens A.G." (unpub. MSS, Berlin, [1979]). In many ways a supplement to this work is the overview of forced labor camps and concentration camps in Berlin by Rainer Kubatzki, *Zwangsarbeiter- und Kriegsgefangenenlager. Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland 1939 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 2001). Karl Heinz Roth evaluates a number of prisoner work detachments for the Siemens concern in "Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, *1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Of particular importance is Roth's structured typology of the use of inmate forced labor for the company. The author verified its validity in the case of Siemensstadt in his "Zwangsarbeit von Konzentrationslagerhäftlingen in der letzten Phase des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Das Beispiel Siemens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussenlager Siemens-Haselhorst und 'Siemenslager' Ravensbrück" (Master's thesis, Technische Universität Berlin, 1997). Roth, however, makes the false assumption that prisoners were already being used in the Gartenfeld cable factory as early as 1943. The monograph by the former director of the AS-M appeared on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG: Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). Worth highlighting here, as well as the monograph's unmistakable apologia, is the detailed reference section that includes references to Siemens archives marked as "uncatalogued temporary archive" and otherwise not accessible to the public. Modernization and technical and social rationalization are of great relevance to the theme of the integration of forced, unskilled labor in modern capitalist

industries. These standard works deal with the indispensable previous history of the use of prisoners' forced labor in production at the main German electrical companies and explicitly deal with the status of female labor: Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas von Freyberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); and Rüdiger Hachtmann, *"Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich": Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Göttingen, 1989). The AS-M is believed to contain an extensive collection of documents. However, the documents are held for the most part in the "uncatalogued files in the temporary archive" and are not available to independent researchers. A number of sources relating to the use of prisoners at the cable factory in Siemensstadt have recently been released and have been referred to in the text. Researchers are therefore forced to rely on the state archives. In addition to the trial files in LA-B, there are the bequests of Bruno Baum (a former concentration camp prisoner); and other important materials are in the BPASED-B(O), which were gathered for the Sachsenhausen Trial and the campaign that was undertaken to denazify and nationalize the "war crimes-implicated Siemens company." In particular there are to be found here numerous statutory declarations by Siemens employees that cannot be seen in the AS-M. The KGB's archival material at CAFSSRF has only recently become available for researchers on microfilm in USHMMA. The denazification proceedings against Benkert are held at BA-B. For reasons of data protection, a special application to the Justice Senator needs to be made via the archive to inspect the files. The files may only be inspected for academic purposes. The Cologne investigation records are held in NWHStA-(D) ZA-K. The material seized by U.S. authorities at the end of the war relating to the administration of concentration camps was in large part—in particular, the material relating to personnel—handed over to ITS. Some of the material was microfilmed by U.S. authorities before it was handed over (NARA) and is therefore accessible at USHMMA, AG-S, and BA-B. Other important documents were collected by the Compensation Treuhand GmbH, which, beginning in the 1960s, began to pay compensation from the larger German companies to Jewish survivors and which required the companies' management files for this purpose. Extracts from these files are to be found in the investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L). These probably very valuable files are now in Collection M32 at the YVA. The author was denied access to these files on the basis they contained confidential personal information. Other smaller archival collections have been referred to in the text. Shortly after the end of the war, Jewish concentration camp prisoner Erich Altmann compiled a detailed report about his imprisonment in the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Auschwitz/Bobrek, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Siemensstadt: *Im Angesicht des Todes: Drei Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern*; *Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxembourg, 1947).

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Referat des Direktors Leifer zur Vorstandssitzung der S&H, April 22, 1944, BA-MA, RL3/4497; Kriegstagebuch Rüstungskommando I (Berlin) 01/1944, particularly the entry for February 16, 1944, BA-MA, RW 21-2/7.

2. Protokolle Einsatzstab Benkert v. June 13, 1944, and July 11, 1944, AUB-ISG; Siemens-Konzern, Protokoll der Werksleiterbesprechung, August 21, 1944, Berlin, LA-B, FDGB 276.

3. Statutory Declaration Paul Werner P., February 24, 1947, LA-B R 7200; Abschlussbericht betr. Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, BA-L, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; Statement by Julia W., January 21, 1970, ZdL ibid., p. 139.

4. Baubeschreibung für Behelfsbauten der "Bauweise Oswalt" [from Family Stadler-Bimsbau], March 24, 1944, LA-B, R7200, Bauzeichnung Behelfsbau Typ RAD/6 Übersicht, Stadler-Bimsbau Berlin, May 12, 1944, 1:100 LA-B, R7200; as an example, the report by Fritz Ei., December 30, 1946, LA-B/BPA, IV-L/15/052; Statement Antoni P., October 11, 1971, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 530; Statement Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL ibid. For the causes of the cold, see statement by [Foreman] Friedrich R. v. March 14, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Statement Paul Werner P. v. March 18, 1947, LA-B, R 7200; Statutory Declaration Paul Werner P., February 24, 1947, LA-B ibid. For the outfitting, see statement by Irena H., née Szy., April 17, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z185/71, S. 229; Statement by Helena Sch., December 15, 1969; "Siemens-KZ-Haselhorst" (Besprechung mit Herrn [Paul] W. aus dem Vorstand des FDGB, ehemaliger Häftling), December 2, 1946, BPA, IVL-2/6/270/1.

5. Veränderungsmeldungen Sachsenhausen [Männer], August 11, 1944, Film RG-006.025*26 2286, p. 26; Veränderungsmeldung Sachsenhausen "Konz.-Lager Sachsenhausen Häftlinge Geld- und Effektenkammer" [Frauen], August 28, 1944, USHMMA, RG-006.025*26 2287, p. 219.

6. Veränderungsmeldung KL Sachsenhausen Effektenkammer [Frauen], August 28, 1944; Veränderungsmeldung KL Sachsenhausen, August 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-006.025*26 2286(54), p. 256.

7. Minutes of "Einsatzstab Benkert," July 11, 1944, BPA, FDGB 276; Management Meeting, August 28, 1944, ibid G; Record of Interview Vera Gregorejewna S., January 13, 1970, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; Statement by Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL ibid.

8. "Freie Gewerkschaft" "Siemens-Konzentrationslager Haselhorst," LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052; Report Franz F. February 5, 1947, ibid.; Statement Paul W. of March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200.

9. Statement by Julia W., January 12, 1970, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; and Final Report Re Subcamp Siemens Haselhorst/Berlin—Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, ZdL ibid.

10. Report Wilhelm V., March 10, 1947, LA-B, R7200; see Benkert in the interview of Paul W., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; also the report by Franz F., February 5, 1947, LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052.

11. For example, see the Veränderungsmeldungen [Männer] between September 1, 1944, and September 24, 1944, and between September 25, 1944, and December 29, 1944.

12. There are hardly any reliable reports about deaths. Investigations by ZdL concluded on the basis of verifiable witnesses reports that three female prisoners died as a result of the bombing raid of March 28, 1945. In the surviving, incomplete change of status reports, the deaths of four other women in the camp are noted. There are no details about male prisoners. ZdL, Abschlussbericht Siemens-Haselhorst, IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 7; Veränderungsmeldung (Effektenkammer), September 27, 1944, January 9, 1945, March 13, 1945, March 31, 1945, and April 1, 1945.

13. Statement Paul W., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200.

14. Minutes of Meeting of "Einsatzstab Benkert," August 24, 1944, and September 10, 1944, LA-B, BPA, FDGB 276.

15. Paul Werner P. in denazification proceedings Hanns Benkert, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 163; Statement Paul Werner P., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Report Fritz Ei., December 30, 1948, LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052, S.4; Statement Danuta Maria Szy., née Zd. April 9, 1970, ZdL, ibid.

16. Dr. Mühlbauer of S&H and the responsible record keeper of the cable factory. See Minutes of Meeting "Einsatzstab Benkert," September 10, 1944, LA-B, BPA, FDGB 276; SKG Weekly Report, October 7–10, 1944, and October 8–October 14, 1944, AS-M, 4947; Justification Report Siemens [October 1, 1945] AS-M: XXXIX/2, p. 30.

17. SKG Weekly Report, August 27–September 2, 1944, AS-M, 4947.

18. For the following citation, see "Rechtfertigungsschrift Siemens" [October 1, 1945], p. 29.

19. Statement Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, pp. 209, 210; Statement Melania Elzbieta No., née. Z., October 7, 1969, ZdL ebenda, p. 315; Record of Interview Vera Gregorejewna S., January 13, 1970, ZdL ibid., p. 231; Record of Interview Bruno M., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Statement Bruno M., March 12, 1947, ibid.; Record of Interview Paul W., March 18, 1947, ibid.

20. Final report of the Subcamp Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; as well as the already cited report by Nicholas Rosenberg.

21. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt betr. Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71.

22. StA Köln: Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wg. Verdachts des Mordes (Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst d. KL Sachsenhausen, Männerlager); StA Köln: Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wg. Verdachts des Mordes (Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst d. KL Sachsenhausen, Frauenlager); both: 130Js35/73 Z (Ger.Rep.118 Nr. 2167–2170).

BERLIN-SPANDAU

The Spandau subcamp was located in the middle of a large industrial area on Pichelswerder Strasse in Berlin-Spandau. The camp buildings consisted of one or two single-level factory units converted for use as lodgings; similar buildings close by had already been in use to accommodate foreign civilian workers and prisoners of war (POWs) since 1942.

The inmates, who were exclusively women, came from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. However, administratively, the subcamp was under the command of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoners were employed by the Deutsche Industrie-Werke AG (DIWAG) in the production of munitions. DIWAG was a state-controlled metal-processing company. Erich Purucker was head of operations. He was a senior bureaucrat in the Armaments Ministry with the rank of SS-Standartenführer.

It is reported that the prisoners were at least occasionally employed at the neighboring armaments factory Spreewerk GmbH, a concern closely related to DIWAG. At its subcamp in Kratzau in the Sudetenland, prisoners were also forced to work for DIWAG. Both companies played an important role in keeping armaments production going in the Berlin area in the last phase of the war.[1]

The first reliable record of prisoners at the DIWAG factory, who were presumably from a concentration camp, is dated Monday, October 2, 1944. A Belgian civilian forced laborer recorded in his diary on this day the presence of political prisoners.[2] Polish prisoners corroborate this date. According to their statements, they arrived in the Spandau camp at about this time in a transport of about 300 women.

Initially, Polish women made up most of the prisoner contingent; they had been arrested and deported in the course of the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944. From about December 1944, a second large group of prisoners arrived in the camp: Hungarian Jewish women deported in the autumn of 1944 from Budapest and other parts of Hungary and destined for the Ravensbrück concentration camp. There were also non-Jewish Hungarian women arrested for political reasons as well as Serbian women, women from Yugoslavia, Poland, and a few women from the Soviet Union, France, Italy, and Germany. According to a number of Hungarian prisoners, the German prisoners were classified as "asocials," although they included political prisoners.

The different prisoner categories were held separately, the Jewish prisoners being kept apart from the others. The usual system of prisoner "self-administration" existed in the camp. Only the name of the female camp doctor is known—a Polish doctor named Irena Kononowicz (1910–1969). Another female camp doctor, probably from Hungary, is supposed to have died in the camp. Prisoner doctors from Sachsenhausen are also thought to have been deployed to provide medical attention. One pregnant Polish woman was returned to the Ravensbrück concentration camp after medical examination by a number of doctors.

From the end of 1944, there were on average between 1,030 and 1,040 prisoners in the Spandau subcamp.[3] The prisoners were mostly young women in their early twenties. There was little variation in the prisoner numbers. The subcamp received allocations of prisoners either from Ravensbrück or the Auer subcamp at Oranienburg. Those who left the camp were mainly sent to Auer. A DIWAG bookkeeper calculated the cost to his company of deploying the prisoners in January 1945 at 88,119.30 Reichsmark (RM) and in February at 88,682 RM.[4]

The subcamp's change of status report for 1945 recorded the deaths of eight women, aged between 18 and 37. No

reference is made to the causes of death. Survivors stated that the prisoners wasted away and died due to lack of medical attention and exhaustion. There are no documented cases of killings by guards. The dead were taken to Sachsenhausen. Hungarian Kató Gyulai told of a young woman who died a week before liberation and of corpses that were brought to Sachsenhausen around April 21, 1945. Another woman died of exhaustion on that transport. Other prisoners are said to have died soon after they were liberated from illnesses contracted during their imprisonment. The first documented death was on December 16, 1944; most deaths occurred in the months of March and April—a clear indication of the prisoners' increasing exhaustion. As the records are incomplete, it must be assumed that there were deaths in the Spandau subcamp other than those documented. All the documented cases relate to Hungarian women; all who died were categorized as Jews other than one "protective custody" prisoner. One can therefore conclude both that this group of prisoners was not in good condition when it arrived at the camp and that in the camp they were exposed to worse conditions than the other prisoner groups. These deductions are supported by the statement of a Polish prisoner.

The camp was primitive and makeshift. In a large hall there were three-level wooden bunks. The bunks were covered by cardboard mattresses and pillows, which were filled with wood shavings. There was also a blanket. Connected to the dormitory were washrooms and latrines, some of which were still being constructed when the prisoners arrived. The prisoners were clothed in worn-out, thin prisoners' garb and shoes with wooden soles.

Some prisoners had hoped that the assignment to the work details would improve their situation. They were quickly disappointed. The prisoners suffered in the cold rooms. Hygienic conditions were completely inadequate, and the camp was full of lice. The inadequate and extraordinarily poor food inflicted rapid weight loss and deterioration on the already weakened women. According to the prisoners, they received daily about 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread, beet soup, a few potatoes, a little substitute coffee, and every now and then some jam, artificial honey, or a piece of sausage. When liberated, many prisoners weighed only about 30 kilograms (66 pounds).

Unlike with other firms that employed concentration camp prisoners, the prisoners in the factory were not strictly separated from the German and foreign civilian workers. There were two shifts, each of 12 hours. After instruction by German and foreign workers, the prisoners had to work on gun molds, which weighed between 7 and 20 kilograms (15 and 44 pounds), lathes, drills, and grinding machines and accomplish related activities. Some prisoners benefited from their contact with the civilian workers because they occasionally gave them food and other necessary items.

It was difficult for prisoners to develop informal structures within their community since most had only been imprisoned for a short period of time. It was easier for the political prisoners because of their common political beliefs and because of experiences gained during previous imprisonments. One Hungarian-Yugoslavian group aimed to organize assistance and food but also the exchange of political and military intelligence. Those who were racially persecuted, unless they had family members or friends in the camp, initially had to rely on themselves. Communication was relatively easy, as most of the prisoners came from Hungary. Cultural activities were organized as part of the survival strategy. Poems were recited, songs were sung, or there were attempts to organize "cabaret evenings." However, the demoralizing daily prisoner grind gradually put an end to such activities. Thefts also undermined solidarity.

There were apparently conflicts between the prisoners who worked in the kitchen, who were mostly "asocials" and prostitutes from Germany but who also included some Polish political prisoners. The other camp prisoners regarded them as the camp "elite," as they were able to obtain extra food and profit from barter.

There is a record of two prisoners escaping in February 1945. One of the prisoners was a woman from the Soviet Union. She was categorized as "AZA" (foreign civilian worker). The other was a German. She was categorized as "Aso" (asocial).

Little is known about the camp personnel. The female overseers were assessed in an especially negative light by the surviving prisoners. They commonly used physical violence and shouted at and insulted the prisoners. Some witnesses describe mistreatment of prisoners by guard dogs. One girl is supposed to have suffered serious bite wounds.

Former prisoners were usually able to catch names of guards only in passing. In the first weeks, an SS-Führer aged about 40 was commandant; he was called "the red dog" by Polish women prisoners because of his red hair and strict manner. He was succeeded as Lagerführer—probably as early as October 1944—by SS-Unterscharführer Eitel Faenger (1903–1950), who had previously been commandant in the Glau-Trebbin subcamp. Jewish prisoners recall a certain "Peter," who was addressed this way by a female SS overseer. This "Peter" was identified as being Faenger by Hungarian prisoners—who spoke his name phonetically as "Finger," identifying him as "Peter Finger."

Of the SS female overseers, many witnesses name a certain "Anni" who was a senior overseer and whose surname was perhaps "Roth." She was about 25 years old, dark blonde, and attractive and is described as a cruel woman. Other female overseers known for their brutality were called Helga, Hilde, and Grete. Only two SS guards could be identified by name after the war. Friede Emma B. was recruited as an SS overseer together with other female workers from the Arado factory in Wittenberg. She was sent from Wittenberg to Berlin-Spandau. According to her own statements, she was popular among the prisoners; however, the regional court in Halle sentenced her in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity committed in the camp in Wittenberg. Incidents in

Spandau did not form any part of the judgment at that time. Another SS overseer known by the name Ursula K. could not be traced by the authorities.

The camp was dissolved between April 21 and 22, 1945, at the time when the Red Army began to enter Berlin. The sick prisoners and those who could no longer walk were transported by truck to Sachsenhausen. A day later, the SS drove the majority of the prisoners by foot in a northwesterly direction. These prisoners were finally liberated on either April 23 or 24, 1945, near the small Brandenburg town of Nauen.

After the war in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the state attorney made investigations into the Spandau subcamp. These were dropped in 1973 since there were no reliable statements that could form the basis of a prosecution against named individuals.

SOURCES In 1990, the Spandau Council published a brochure: Helmut Bräutigam, *Aussenlager Spandau. Das Konzentrationslager bei der Deutsche Industrie Werke Akiengesellschaft* (Berlin-Spandau, 1990). This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol. 1. (Arolsen, 1979).

The concentration subcamp Spandau at the DIWAG is one of the subcamps whose existence is barely documented. The pretrial documents of the ZdL (at BA-L) 1968 to 1971 and its investigation, which was based on these documents and dropped in 1973 by the ZSSta-K, contain only a few witness statements collected from Hungarian Jewish and Polish women as well as information about the second Lagerführer, Eitel Faenger, who had been dead since 1950. The Spandau Youth History Project (Jugendgeschichtswerkstatt Spandau) holds, besides a German translation of Kató Gyulai's memoirs, interviews from 1988 and 1989 with former Hungarian prisoners Kató Gyulai, Rosi Hazai, Blanke Horowitz, Iren Kása, Ibolya László, and Marianne Pinter. The AG-S holds copies of the Veränderungsmeldungen of the female section of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The originals are held by the RGVA (Call Number R 22.9 M I 42). These reports contain details of the numbers including fluctuations, nationality, prisoner categories, and deaths (Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen im Frauenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen from December 31, 1944, to April 18, 1945, D 1 A 1/26). The Bezirksamt Spandau holds the building files of DIWAG and the Spreewerk, which, while they do not contain any direct reference to the subcamp, are useful in reconstructing the location of the subcamp, the immediate surroundings, and living conditions (Bezirksamt Spandau, record group Bauaufsicht, records of Strasse "Freiheit"). The BA-BL holds DIWAG internal files; they contain only two minor references to the existence of the Spandau subcamp (BA-B, R 121, File Nr. 1016; to the Kratzau subcamp, No. 1035). Other documents are held by ITS. The diary of Belgian civilian worker Jan van der Avoort from Oud Turnhout, Belgium, contains notes about the concentration camp prisoners; a copy of the diary is held by ASMS. The memoirs of the Hungarian, Gyulai, written as a MSS in 1947, were published in German in 2001: Kató Gyulai, *Zwei Schwestern: Geschichte einer Deportation*, ed. Linde Apel and Constanze Jaiser (Berlin, 2001). Mrs. Gyulai, who lives in Budapest, Hungary, has the original MSS.

Helmut Bräutigam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 121/1035
2. Dairy of Jan van der Avoort, Oud Turnhout, Belgium, entry dated October 2, 1944. A copy of the diary is in ASMS.
3. AG-S, D 1A 1/26, Report on the number of prisoners in the female section of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp between December 31, 1944, and April 18, 1945; the original is located in RGVA, Call Number: R22.9 M I 42.
4. BA-BL, R 121/1016.

BERLIN-TEGEL

There is scarce information about the Sachsenhausen subcamp that was located in the Tegel suburb of Berlin in the Reinickendorf administrative district. Most evidence suggests that the Berlin-Tegel subcamp was distinct from the slave labor camp associated with the Rheinmetall-Borsig factory in Tegel. The subcamp existed for only a few months, from November 1944 until February 1945.

The Berlin-Tegel subcamp held about 40 to 50 men who were prisoners transported from the Sachsenhausen main camp. There is no further information about the demographics of the prisoners, but one source has noted that they were primarily foreign prisoners.[1] The second commando leader (Kommandoführer) of this group was SS-Rottenführer Alfons Knirsch.

The Borsig factory used the prisoners in the Berlin-Tegel subcamp to search for and sweep unexploded bombs. The work was extremely dangerous, and the mortality rate for the prisoners was high. However, because the food rations were relatively plentiful—they were the same supplied to the local police—there were numerous volunteers brought daily from the main camp at Sachsenhausen for this work.

The Berlin-Tegel subcamp was liquidated in February 1945.

SOURCES Sources on the Berlin-Tegel subcamp of Sachsenhausen are generally scarce. The main secondary source of information on this camp is the Berlin-Tegel entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Primary source material is stored at the AG-S in Oranienburg. Limited information can be found in file group I/4, Index der Aussenkommandos und Aussenlager; III/6, Petitjean, Kleine Geschichte des Lagers; Bestand D 30 A/8/1, 52–54,

Hellmut Bock, Bericht über das Konzentrationslager; and D 30 A/15, Blatt 1-41: Liste mit Namen von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Unknown author, "Chronik und Bericht über Sachsenhausen," AG-S, I/4, p. 72.

BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

There is scant information about the subcamp of Sachsenhausen established in the southwestern Berlin suburb of Wilmersdorf. The few sources that do note the creation of a subcamp in Wilmersdorf provide varying information about when the camp existed. Some sources mention that from the beginning of January until early July 1943 a subcamp for male prisoners existed in Wilmersdorf, although the exact location of the camp, the company or office that used the prisoners for labor, and the number or origins of the prisoners are unknown.[1] However, documents at the Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives (AG-S) place the subcamp earlier, from August 1941 to an unknown date—possibly August 1943. It is unclear if the differences in the dates signify two different subcamps in Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

According to the witness statement former inmate Martin Schmidt provided to the Staatsanwaltschaft in Bonn, a contingent of about 100 men was brought from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Berlin-Wilmersdorf, where they were forced to construct offices for the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt) for SS-Obergruppenführer Plebsch in August 1941. The inmates were housed in a former Jewish-owned business. Schmidt recalled that SS-Oberscharführer Schröder supervised the group, although he could not remember any other details about Schröder.[2]

The guard staff consisted of members of the SS, including SS-Unterscharführer Emil Bentrup (September 1941 to August 1942); SS-Rottenführer Albert Hoppe (December 21, 1941, to an unknown date); and Kommando leader SS-Unterscharführer Otto Jöhnk (August 21, 1941, to August 16, 1943).[3]

SOURCES There are few sources, either primary or secondary, on the Berlin-Wilmersdorf subcamp of Sachsenhausen. A brief mention of the camp can be found in Rainer Venske, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und Nichts Vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984). See also the entry for Berlin-Wilmersdorf in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. Hans Gräfer's "Die Slaven sollen für uns arbeiten. Zwangsarbeiter in Wilmersdorf," in *Wilmersdorfer Bruchstücke. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bezirkes Wilmersdorf*, ed. Arbeitskreis Geschichte Wilmersdorf, vol. 1 (Berlin: Omnis, 1997) may yield additional information.

Primary source materials on Berlin-Wilmersdorf are mostly located at the AG-S and the ZDL-L. In the AG-S, see especially file groups D 30 A 10/2 A; D 30 A 15; JD 2/17; and JD 21/28. Files that may be useful at the ZDL-L include IV 419 AR 3322/65 and IV 406 AR 759/69.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. See Rainer Venske, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und Nichts Vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbilding und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984), p. 189. See also the entry for Berlin-Wilmersdorf in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979).

2. "Zeugenvernehmung von Martin Schmidt im Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Gustav Sorge und Wilhelm Schubert wegen Mordes, Staatsanwaltschaft Bonn," AG-S, JD 2/17, pp. 117–125. See also Zeugenaussage Martin Schmidt, Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landgericht Köln, AG-S, JD 21/28, pp. 79–82.

3. Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern, AG-S, D 30 A 15, pp. 1–41.

BERLIN-ZEHLENDORF

With 301 female concentration camp prisoners, the Sachsenhausen Berlin-Zehlendorf subcamp was established in the autumn of 1944 on the grounds of the firm Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG, a spinning mill company in the southwest Berlin district of Zehlendorf. It was probably the only subcamp in the Berlin-Brandenburg region to have been transferred to another company within a few weeks of its opening.

The establishment of the camp on the grounds of the Spinstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG on 3 Wupperstrasse followed a long struggle over the use of labor between the company and the Berlin Armaments Inspectorate III. A group of 189 Polish female forced laborers had been withdrawn from the spinning mill even though this resulted in production shortages that the company had warned about.[1] The relevant employment office was not in a position to replace the lost labor. Even the establishment of a substitute "labor education camp" (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) at the spinning mill did not, from the firm's point of view, have the desired effect. The reason for this was that there was a high prisoner turnover, meaning the prisoners could only be used for basic tasks. Besides, the ad-

ditional expenditure required for the guards was regarded as too high when the low number of useful, trained prisoners was taken into account. The solution was to construct a subcamp: "The Oranienburg Gestapo has stated that it will make available around four hundred political prisoners who are to remain in custody for a lengthy period and who, as a result, are suitable candidates for basic work training."[2]

However, commencement of operations at the subcamp was delayed since, according to the war diary of the Armaments Inspectorate III, "the necessary guards (forty to fifty women) must be raised from volunteers among the existing factory workforce. In the meantime the required accommodation has been arranged."[3] In arranging accommodation, supplies, and the training of the prisoners as well as in negotiating with the responsible authorities, the company was able to draw on its existing experience and infrastructure gained from its previous use of forced laborers: "work-conscripted" Jewish men and women from Berlin, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Polish civilian workers of both sexes, Italian military internees (IMIs), and male Sachsenhausen concentration camp prisoners from the Lichterfelde subcamp.

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp kept change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) for female prisoners from the end of August 1944. On September 1, 1944, these reports list the Zehlendorf spinning mill as having 301 prisoners.[4] At that point in time, Zehlendorf was the smallest of the Sachsenhausen women's subcamps, having just 6 percent of the total prisoners registered. It is probable the numbers remained constant until the relocation of the camp.

The prisoners working at Zehlendorf were non-Jewish Polish women; 4 of the former prisoners, from whom statements survive, were originally arrested in various locations in Poland between 1940 and 1942 and transferred to Auschwitz. From there they were transferred in the summer of 1944 to Ravensbrück; 2 of the survivors remember that they arrived in Ravensbrück on July 24, making it most likely that they left Auschwitz on a transport on July 22, 1944, which comprised 998 women.[5] Another survivor has stated that she only arrived in Ravensbrück from Auschwitz at the end of August.[6]

The SS guards were women with an average age of about 25 years. Of the nine SS overseers whose names are known, two volunteered, as did a great many others, while a third, according to the Kassel labor office, was "conscripted" to SS duty.[7]

The guards whose names are known did not come from Berlin. After a four-week training period in the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, the female SS overseers were first deployed as escorts for the transfer of the Polish prisoners to Zehlendorf. After their arrival there, they became part of the guard.

According to Polish survivors, the SS commandant at the subcamp was a 35-year-old SS man by the name of Michael.[8] Survivors remember that he once set his dog on a female prisoner and then beat her. The reason for the attack may have been a strike by the prisoners.[9] The former prisoners are not aware of deaths in the Zehlendorf subcamp; neither do the change of status reports give any indication of fatalities.

According to the survivors, the work conditions exposed them to a special risk: the Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG manufactured, among other things, parachutes from synthetic silk for the armed forces. In the spinning department, the threads ran through basins that were filled with sulfuric acid and water. The prisoners often had to put their hands into the basins to reconnect broken threads and to fetch the so-called *Kapillar*, a small golden tube that fell into the water when the threads broke. In doing so the women injured their unprotected arms and their eyes. The women were threatened with beatings if one of the tubes was lost.[10] Other prisoners did less dangerous work such as weeding on the factory grounds. The work shifts were of 12 hours. The women were guarded by Germans while they worked, but it remains unclear whether the guards were SS or internal plant security.

Living conditions in the Zehlendorf subcamp were characterized by malnourishment and accommodation beneath human dignity. The subcamp consisted of a wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. It bordered a camp for IMIs and was separated from it by a tall wooden fence. All 301 women were held in one barrack, which was therefore very crowded. The women slept in three-tiered beds on sacks filled with sawdust. According to Janina P., "There was great hunger in the camp."[11] The food consisted of rotten winter vegetables and small portions of bread, margarine, jam, and horse sausage. The women were dressed in striped prisoner clothes and wore wooden clogs. Several survivors have stated that they suffered from the filthy conditions. There were only limited washing facilities.

According to Lydia R., a committee of SS men arrived in the camp one day and ordered the removal of the women. The Armaments Inspectorate's war diary reveals that partial damage to the factory by an Allied air raid prompted the committee's visit and the subsequent decision to move the prisoners: "As a result the three hundred female prisoners who had been deployed to increase production could no longer be effectively used and were again made available for reassignment by the deployment office."[12] However, the women did not return to the Sachsenhausen deployment post but were sent to the Pertrix-owned Akkumulatorenfabrik (Battery Factory) AG Hagen in Niederschöneweide in the Berlin district of Köpenick. The Niederschöneweide (Pertrix) subcamp first appears in the change of status reports on September 20, 1944, with the notation "formerly Zehlendorf." This leads to the conclusion that the transfer of the women to the subcamp at Niederschöneweide was not merely the transfer of a group of prisoners but of the whole subcamp to a new location. Those SS overseers known by name, however, were transferred to another subcamp. Most of them ended up at the Neukölln subcamp in Berlin. Only the senior guard among the SS overseers accompanied the prisoners to Niederschöneweide.

As a result, Zehlendorf was the most short-lived of the Sachsenhausen subcamps: according to the SS files, the camp at the spinning mill existed for just under three weeks.

The SS overseers at the Zehlendorf subcamp twice preoccupied German courts after the war. The SS overseer Frieda Schweinhardt was taken prisoner by Soviet units at the end of the war and interned in many different Soviet special camps (*Sonderlager*) until her trial in 1950. In one of the "Waldheim Trials" held in the German Democratic Republic, she was charged as one of the main accused and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment and confiscation of property.[13] She was released early from prison in 1955 and moved to the Federal Republic of Germany, where she was not the subject of any further charges.

In 1971, the State Attorney in Cologne investigated the guards of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. As part of the investigation, assistance was sought from the People's Republic of Poland in interviewing survivors. However, the investigations did not result in any proceedings, as there was no evidence of any homicides.

SOURCES This contribution is based on archival documents found in five archives. Of particular importance are the Veränderungsmeldungen for female prisoners of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Copies are to be found in the AG-S. The originals are located in the CAFSSRF. The war diary of the Armaments Inspectorate III is held in BA-MA and provides details on the history of the formation of the Zehlendorf subcamp. The BA-L (formerly ZdL) holds the results of the investigations by the Sta. Köln into the subcamp's former overseers. The collection contains witness statements by former Polish prisoners and by former overseers. The only court judgment relating to the subcamp was made by the LG Chemnitz and is held in the BStU.

Alexander Korb
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Erlass (Decree) No. 98781440, May 13, 1944, KTB der Rüstungs-Inspektion III (Rüln III Ib), April 1, 1944–June 30, 1944, BA-MA, RW 20-3/B.
2. Ibid., p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
4. Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldung 1944, AG-S, D 9A.
5. Statements Cecylia-Martha B., September 24, 1971, and Janina P., June 11, 1971, BA-L, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68. For the transport of July 22, 1944, see Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 861.
6. Statement Janiana W., August 12, 1971, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68. On August 24, 1944, a transport of 434 prisoners left Auschwitz for Ravensbrück. See APMO, Mat. RO., vol. VIIId., p. 62.
7. Statement Frieda Schwerter, divorcée, Schweinhardt, May 21, 1970, ZdL, IV 406 AR 645/69.
8. Statement Janiana W., 7.6.1971, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68.
9. Ibid., Statements Janina P. and Lydia R.
10. Ibid., Statement Cecylia-Marta B.
11. Ibid., Statement Janina P.
12. BA-MA, RW 20-3/B, p. 114.
13. Judgment of LG Chemnitz, June 2, 1950, BStU, HA IX/11, RHE West 609, p. 40.

BERNAU

According to a schedule held at the Sachsenhausen Memorial Museum, there was a work detachment at the SD-Führerschule (Officer School) Bernau from the summer of 1943 to the spring of 1945. Bernau is about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from Berlin. There were up to 150 male prisoners located at Bernau. However, neither the initial list prepared after the war nor a master's thesis written on the Sachsenhausen subcamps refers to the camp at Bernau. The camp commandant's office does not refer to the Bernau camp in the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*).

SS-Obersturmführer Carl Rathgeber was in command of the Sipo and SD-Führerschule in Bernau from 1942 to 1944. While stationed in Bernau, he was made a police inspector. He died in 1964. The purpose of the school was to train SD noncommissioned officers for service in special detachments in the East.

There was a Sachsenhausen work detachment in Bernau as early as the autumn of 1941. Prisoners were sent to work in a large park that included orchards and gardens; there they picked and stored apples. During bad weather the prisoners had to do demolition work at a summer residence, which was located on an island in a small lake in the park and was said to have belonged to an Englishman. There were 10 prisoners based here. They were guarded by three to four SS men. The prisoners were brought to Bernau from Sachsenhausen every day by truck. Another report stated that in 1941–1942 there was a bakery detachment (Kommando Bäckerei) in Bernau. German prisoner Karl Kunz was the foreman. At the end of 1942, there is a record of Polish prisoner Stefan Obłucki from the Bernau work detachment being treated in the Sachsenhausen infirmary.

A political prisoner has stated that he was based at the Bernau Supply Office (Versorgungsamt in Bernau) from mid-1943 to the end of March 1944. He also referred to that detachment as the Bernau construction yard (Bernau Bauhof). Most probably, the detachment had by this time become a subcamp to accommodate the prisoners at their workplace. In the summer of 1943, another prisoner arrived at Bernau. There were by this time 25 prisoners in the Bernau Castle Park (Bernau Schlosspark). They were accommodated on the first floor in the old castle.[1] The whole castle area was surrounded by barbed wire and mesh. The prisoners worked in the castle nursery, glassing a hothouse and cleaning the fishpond and the park. The guards were supplied by the SD-Führerschule. Head of construction was Josef Decker, a so-called Bible student (Bibelforscher, i.e., a Jehovah's Witness) prisoner. The SS block leader Gustav Sorge stated that about a hundred prisoners were used as construction labor at the SD-Führerschule in Bernau,[2] Germans, Poles, Dutch, and Russian prisoners were deployed there. Later the same detachment worked at Schloss Friedenthal, another Sachsenhausen work detachment.

A Norwegian prisoner stated that there was a carrier pigeon detachment based in Bernau from the beginning of

October 1943. A German prisoner also talks of "a carrier pigeon farm" at Bernau.

There was apparently a group of Communist prisoners in Bernau. At the beginning of May 1944, a special commission of the Gestapo carrying out investigations in Sachsenhausen placed a prisoner agent in the Bernau subcamp to watch over the Communists who "were forming a cell and holding informal meetings."[3]

As late as the beginning of January 1945, there is a record of the prisoner Johann Idzikowski of the Bernau work detachment being treated in the infirmary at Sachsenhausen.

According to the few statements by former prisoners, there were no deaths and no mistreatment of prisoners at Bernau. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased for this reason.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources on Bernau. All the sources are in AG-S or BA-L.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 523/67, p. 46, Statement Georg Brinkmann, March 24, 1969.
2. AG-S, JD 2, Bd. 43, p. 88, Statement Gustav Sorge, May 7, 1957.
3. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 7, p. 6, Sonderkommando Aktennotiz, May 4, 1944.

BIESENTHAL

Biesenthal was registered as a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as early as 1949 in a listing of the International Tracing Service (ITS). However, the sources are unknown.

According to lists at the Sachsenhausen Memorial from July 1, 1944, there was an outside detail of 150 men at a provisional police camp in Biesenthal, 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) northeast of Berlin.[1] In addition, the prisoners were also deployed at a training area. The former commandant of Sachsenhausen said after the war that 100 to 150 men had been deployed by the police at Biesenthal.[2]

A former prisoner of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp declared after the war in an undated document on Biesenthal: "construction detail police school, approximately eighty men, adequate food initially, later bad."[3]

In the documents of the East German General State Attorney's Office, the SS office in Biesenthal is also referred to as a police training camp. Some 100 prisoners were supposedly deployed there.[4] This information originates from a publication of the East German Anti-Fascist Committee that had been drafted by former prisoners.

According to the change of status reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 110 male prisoners were present in Biesenthal at the end of December 1944; on February 12, 1945, there were 147. The Biesenthal subcamp is mentioned for the last time in the daily statistics of the main camp on April 9, 1945. The number of prisoners then in Biesenthal was 129. Around this time, the subcamp must have been closed.[5]

As the chief of staff to the command of the Berlin Municipal Police, SS-Brigadeführer and Generalmajor der Polizei Walter Abraham was in charge of the police school at Biesenthal.

The leader of the camp from November 1944 was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hoffmann, originally born in Rehau and a porcelain painter by profession. According to his own account, he had previously been leader of the Werder and Ketschendorf subcamps, probably between January 1941 and March 1943. [We were unable to find any record of a subcamp in Kretschendorf.—Ed.]

Hoffmann was first detained after 1945 in the British internment camp of Esterwegen. In a written procedure in accordance with the Law Concerning the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism of March 6, 1946, he was ranked as "minimally incriminated" (*Minderbelasteter*) in January 1948 by the camp denazification court at the U.S. internment camp Nürnberg-Langwasser. He was sentenced to a half-year's probation and ordered to make a 500 Reichsmark (RM) reparations payment.[6] He also received written confirmation of the conclusion deduced from information from former prisoners that as a detail leader he had not committed any crimes against humanity, including in Biesenthal. The court released Hoffmann from the internment camp with immediate effect. Hoffmann died in 1961 in Wunsiedel.

From 1967, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated possible crimes in the Biesenthal subcamp, but investigations were closed without result in 1972.[7] East Germany also processed a judicial assistance request from the ZdL in Cologne with no results.[8]

SOURCES There is no literature concerning the Biesenthal subcamp. The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 261.

Most of the records can be found at the BA-L and at the AG-S, and a few can be found at IfZ, BA-B, and BLHA.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997). See also Liste Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, n.d.
2. BA-B, Film 42053, NI-280, statement by Anton Kaindl, June 15, 1946; see also Zusammenstellung, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H Nr. 8/1.

3. Zusammenstellung, n.d., Walter Nowak, IfZ, Ed 106/77.
4. BA-B, DP 3/2015.
5. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 99–101.
6. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen list of the interned SS members of Sachsenhausen concentration camp.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 734/67.
8. BA-B, DP 3/2015.

BRANDENBURG (HAVEL)

The subcamp of Brandenburg (Havel) was first recorded in the SS daily reports with 30 prisoners on July 9, 1941, and 25 prisoners on October 29.[1] As of February 1944, between 50 and 65 prisoners were regularly deployed at Brandenburg, and in February 1945, between 75 and 85 were reported there. The camp was last mentioned in the daily reports on April 9, 1945.[2] According to prisoners' statements, they were not transferred to the main camp after the subcamp was closed but rather were marched from Brandenburg directly to Mecklenburg in the direction of Wittstock. The Red Army liberated them at Rathenow.

Other sources record that the camp existed between May 13, 1941, and April 18, 1945, at the SS-Military Depot (Zeugamt) in Brandenburg and that it had 30 prisoners.[3] The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg indicated in its investigation documents that the camp was first mentioned on March 13, 1941, with 30 prisoners.[4] The former commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, Anton Kaindl, stated during an interrogation by the British that 50 to 70 prisoners were deployed at the SS clothing depot in Brandenburg.

The prisoners worked in the captured materials store of the SS Brandenburg military depot and had to organize the stock, draw up lists of the existing materials, and prepare them for delivery. This included SS uniform equipment. Initially, this work was carried out on the upper floors of a cellblock wing in the Old Prison, which was the transfer and storage location for all equipment and clothing for the Waffen-SS and SS offices in Berlin.

The site of the subcamp had a long history. One of the earliest SS concentration camps had existed in the Old Prison from as early as August 1933 until February 2, 1934. About 600 prisoners had been imprisoned there in inadequate, unhygienic conditions. Communists were the principal victims of this camp. Some of them died under torture. Between February and October 1940, over 9,500 people were murdered in a gas chamber on the Old Prison grounds during the "euthanasia" operation (*Aktion* T4) that operated under the cover name State Care Institute (Landes-Pflegeanstalt) Brandenburg on the Havel.

Around 1943, a new SS clothing depot was opened half an hour's march away in a silo on a peninsula of the Havel.

French, Polish, German, Dutch, and Soviet prisoners as well as Luxembourg policeman Norbert Karels, who was killed at the beginning of 1945 in Sachsenhausen, were deployed at Brandenburg. One of the German prisoners was Jewish. In August 1942, a group of Dutch prisoners from the Speer detail from Sachsenhausen was brought to Brandenburg. The SS released the prisoner Martinus Tettero from Brandenburg on February 2, 1945, and the prisoner Joh. Szizhinsky on March 19, 1945.

In February 1944, Polish prisoner Zygfried Siminisc tried to break into a nearby camp where a winter aid and captured goods depot was housed; on February 10, 1944, he was sent for half a year to the "shoe-testing" (*Schuhläufer*) punishment detail at the main camp. On July 28, 1944, German prisoner Heinrich Busch was also assigned for unspecified reasons to the Schuhläufer punishment detail at the main camp in connection with the investigations of the Gestapo special commission at the Sachsenhausen camp.

The prisoners' food was supplied by the clothing depot and possibly also by the Brandenburg-Görden Prison. Sick prisoners were treated in the main camp's infirmary. The living conditions were described as pleasant compared to Sachsenhausen. It is reported that soccer and boxing were allowed on Sundays. The prisoners were allowed to grow their hair and wore good shoes. The senior prisoner at the camp was German Willi Franz Rojek.

The prisoners were housed at their workplace on the first floor of the Old Prison in Brandenburg. Two prisoners slept in each cell.

Detail leader of the Brandenburg camp was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Samorey; his staff included SS-Unterscharführer Otto, SS-Unterscharführer Heinz, SS-Schütze Josef Becker, SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Einecke, SS-Sturmmann Josef Pay, and SS-Schütze Josef Mörtelbauer or Würtelbauer.

There are no reports of abuse by those responsible for the concentration camp prisoners. Prisoners confirm that the camp leader Samorey treated them correctly. A Dutch prisoner was supposedly punished for an act of theft by being made to go up and down a staircase repeatedly while carrying a sandbag. However, in March 1945, the leader of the clothing depot, SS-Hauptscharführer Edwin Fritz, a musician by trade, shot seven Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in the neck in front of the concentration camp prisoners in the yard of the Old Prison because they had stolen food after an air raid. For a time the leader of the newly constructed SS clothing and equipment factory in Brandenburg was SS-Scharführer Friedrich Bloos.

After the war, guards SS-Rottenführer Ludwig Pella and SS-Unterscharführer Otto Schlenker, photographer SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Walter, and detail leader SS-Unterscharführer Paul Samorey were imprisoned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.[5] Samorey had been taken prisoner by the Soviets on May 3, 1945, but he had managed to escape. The British released him at the end of December 1947.[6]

The chief of the clothing depot, Fritz, was also imprisoned in the British internment camps at Fallingbostel and Sandbostel, and he died while still under investigation on January

5, 1948.[7] Another guard, Albert Andree,[8] and a member of the clothing depot, Kurt Einecke,[9] were also interned in British camps.

Former member of the SS clothing camp Anton Grössing was briefly in Soviet captivity, from which he was released due to his inability to work; he was rearrested in the American zone. He was granted amnesty in April 1948 by the Fürstenfeldbruck denazification court after being interned for 11 months in the Dachau concentration camp.[10] The temporary leader of the newly constructed SS clothing and equipment factory in Brandenburg, Bloos, was also interned after the war, first in the U.S. internment camp Ludwigsburg, then in Moosburg until 1947.

The ZdL investigated possible crimes in the Brandenburg subcamp without result from 1967 until 1972.[11] In 1968, East Germany processed without result a request of judicial assistance from the main office in Cologne.[12]

SOURCES Except for the cited volume from the Brandenburg records archive, there is no literature specifically on the Brandenburg subcamp. Almost all archive sources are from the BA-L, the AG-S, the PRO, and BA-B.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. AG-S, D 30 A, T. 2, pp. 60, 73.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 100–101.
3. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Ausenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997).
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, presents results of the investigation concerning the subcamp Brandenburg (Havel) from August 10, 1968, n.p.
5. List of the former members of the headquarters staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British camp CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945, different records; AG-S, LAG X/3.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, p. 35, Statement Paul Samorey, November 26, 1968.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, p. 37, Statement Paul Samorey, November 26, 1968.
8. PRO, London, WO 309/1759.
9. PRO, London, WO 309/1764.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, B1. 43, Statement Anton Gössing from March 2, 1969.
11. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67.
12. BA-B/SAPMO, DP 3/1968.

BRIESEN [AKA FALKENHAGEN]

The National Socialist authorities opened the camp of Briesen on October 26, 1943. It was a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp whose prisoners had to work at a large construction site nearby. The regime planned an underground factory for the production of the poison gas Sarin. The industrial complex received the name Turon. However, the mass production of poison gas failed because of a shortage of raw materials. Therefore, the newly built factory produced alternative chemical products necessary for the German armaments industry.

A company called Luranil-Baugesellschaft GmbH-Baustelle Falkenhagen, Briesen (Mark) was the builder of the planned factory building. Luranil was a subsidiary company of IG Farben with headquarters in Ludwigshafen am Rhein and assigned the construction project to two regional operating companies, Dyckerhoff & Widmann and Heinemann & Busse.

The construction site and the subcamp were placed in a forest next to a country road connecting the Brandenburg villages of Briesen and Falkenhagen, east of Berlin and close to the towns of Fürstenwalde an der Spree and Frankfurt an der Oder. Some sources called the subcamp Briesen, others Falkenhagen. An explanation for this variation can be found in the number of inhabitants of both communities: although closer to the small village of Falkenhagen, Briesen was larger and therefore better known.

The prisoners had to work under the supervision of foremen and were led by skilled workers. The authorities at the construction site subdivided them into 14 commandos (Kommandos)—13 construction commandos and 1 commando for metalworking. SS guards including two dog handlers observed the daily 500-meter (547-yard) march of the prisoners between the construction site and subcamp.

The camp was made up of two parts: one area was occupied by the SS, and another area was allocated to the prisoners. Both parts were divided by a wire-mesh fence. In addition, the prison camp was surrounded by two electric barbed-wire fences and secured with four watchtowers. A footpath ran between the two fences, enabling the guards to patrol. Furthermore, the whole forest was surrounded by a fence that was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high.

The prisoners lived in five to seven wooden huts—German and Jewish prisoners in separate huts—and slept in wooden bunk beds. They used a shower room with 25 to 30 shower facilities, as did the guards.

The part of the camp used by the SS had an orderly room, living space for the guards, some working areas, and the camp kitchen. The Sachsenhausen concentration camp delivered food once a week.

The SS counted about 500 prisoners on February 7, 1945. A maximum number of prisoners was reached with 700 to 800 persons.[1] Most of them were Soviets, Poles, southern Slavs, and French. There were about 13 Jewish, 10 Dutch, and a minimum of 7 German prisoners. The German prisoners were in most cases so-called prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*). They represented a connecting link between the subcamp command and the other prisoners.

The first chief of the subcamp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who was transferred to the subcamp Oranienburg (Heinkel-Werke) at the beginning of 1944. His successor was SS-Untersturmführer Helmut Sturmhövel. He was transferred to the subcamp Berlin-Lichterfelde

on March 1944. The only ranking SS member who stayed in the Briesen subcamp during the whole period of its existence was SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Braun. He was the labor service leader (Arbeitsdienstleiter).

The 30 to 40 guards—including two dog handlers—were part of the 2nd SS-Wachkompanie Oranienburg and later part of the 7th SS-Wachkompanie Berlin-Lichterfelde.[2] They evacuated the subcamp after the Red Army had started an offensive near the town of Küstrin at the beginning of February 1945. The first deportation train, with about half the prisoners, left Briesen on February 4, 1945, and reached Sachsenhausen on February 7. The last deportation train changed direction and brought prisoners to the Buchenwald concentration camp at the beginning of February 1945. A truck transport with sick prisoners left the Briesen subcamp with the same destination at the end of January 1945.[3] Finally, the authorities evacuated the whole area on April 30, 1945.

Eyewitnesses remembered the murder of a young Sinti (Gypsy) because of his escape attempt in December 1944.[4] There was only one interviewed person by the German fact-finding committee who talked about more than one murder at the subcamp. His name was Doose, and he was a former guard. However, further investigations could not find indications of more than one murder. German authorities suspected Doose of being a liar.[5]

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Briesen subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the Briesen box, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (available at BA-L), under file IV 406 AR-Z 40/71.

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL Bd. I, pp. 66, 162, 366, Ergebnis der Vorermittlungen betreffend das Nebenlager Briesen/Falkenhagen (KL Sachsenhausen), March 24, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 40/71).
2. Ibid., pp. 21, 66, 158.
3. Ibid., p. 203.
4. Ibid., p. 695.
5. Ibid., pp. 21–22.

DAMMSMÜHLE

Dammsmühle Castle is located in Schönwalde in the district of Niederbarnim. According to documents, 25 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were located there in a labor detail on January 2, 1943; by July 3, 1943, there were only 20.

The camp Dammsmühle-Schönwalde is mentioned in the book on the Sachsenhausen concentration camp published in 1967 in East Germany by the Antifascist Resistance Fighters' Committee. The number of prisoners is estimated at 25. The Sachsenhausen Memorial indicates January 2, 1943, as the date of the establishment of the subcamp and July 3, 1943, as the closing date with 27 male prisoners supposedly housed at the subcamp, which served the SD officer school in Dammsmühle Castle.

An older list held by the Sachsenhausen Memorial indicates August 1942 as the date of establishment, with 25 male prisoners deployed to do construction and excavation work.

According to the recollections of prominent former Sachsenhausen concentration camp prisoner, Communist Willy Sägebrecht, he arrived in Dammsmühle at the beginning of 1943 with 35 other prisoners.[1] Some 28 of his group had been imprisoned in Sachsenhausen for membership in the Communist Party, another 4 as criminal prisoners.

The former guard at Dammsmühle, Romanian-German Viktor Halicki, also confirms that about 40 prisoners were under guard in Dammsmühle.

At the time of the Nazi Party's seizure of power, Dammsmühle Castle belonged to British industrialist Harry Goodwin Hart, who was married to a Jew. During the absence of its owners, the Berlin Supreme Court awarded the castle, then designated as "enemy property," to a new owner, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, who acquired it after a forced sale. The chief of the Security Police and of the SD, Reinhard Heydrich, was supposedly based there while he planned and led the faked attack on the Gleiwitz radio transmitter station.

The prisoners were deployed exclusively in the maintenance of the castle grounds and the garden. They ran a garden business with greenhouses and a small farm of 8 to 10 hectares (20 to 25 acres). Due to a lack of modern equipment, they worked mainly by hand. The farm produce was intended for the SS-Main Office in Berlin. At times individual prisoners would be deployed in ditch-clearing work in Basdorf and at the Schönwalde sawmill.

Rumors in Dammsmühle and the vicinity incorrectly associated the subcamp with the counterfeiting workshop in Sachsenhausen.

The food was delivered once a week from Sachsenhausen. The prisoners had to cook themselves.

The SS in Dammsmühle seem to have refrained from the otherwise usual harassment of the prisoners. The group around the Communist Sägebrecht supposedly even sang Communist songs and the "Moorsoldatenlied" (an anti-Hitler song written by a prisoner) on the occasion of a cabaret evening they had organized.

Initially, the prisoners were housed in an old building in an area that had been deforested years before; later they put up new accommodation barracks there. Sägebrecht acted as foreman. Together with Heinz Junge and Otto Heyer, he is supposed to have founded a party group among the Communist prisoners, enabling them to enlist the criminal prisoners in resistance work and to fend off the camp leader's attempts to divide the inmates. They also seem to have managed to obtain newspapers as well as other news about the situation in Germany through contact with certain guards. The group around Sägebrecht also supposedly threw their own anti-Hitler leaflets from a truck while driving through Bernau.

Heyer took over the position of foreman after Sägebrecht was transferred to the infirmary in Sachsenhausen for treatment in April–May 1943.

The camp was guarded by members of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), mostly SS noncommissioned officers. The leader of the detail was an SS-Obersturmführer. Only three guards are known by name—Mathias Roth, Erich Dräger, and Viktor Halicki, who said that he did his service in Dammsmühle and then was ordered to go to the front on the Oder River.

The date when the camp was finally closed is not documented. There is proof that office employees of the "RSHA Berlin, Dammsmühle subcamp" were still working at the Dammsmühle Castle until October 1944.

The Central Office in Cologne investigated possible crimes in the Dammsmühle subcamp and requested judicial assistance from East Germany. Investigations were carried out, and it was concluded that the Dammsmühle subcamp had been established for the commander of the SD-Officer School in Bernau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Rathgeber, and that he had apparently already died. The former prisoners Erich Plumenbohm, Heinz Junge, Johann Petri, and Klaus Pieper characterized Dammsmühle as an especially good detail in which there had been no ill-treatment of prisoners.[2]

SOURCES There is little literature dealing directly with the Dammsmühle subcamp except for the booklet by Horst Hup, *Schloss Dammsmühle* (Bernau, n.d.). The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 576; in KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 61; and in the older Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, *Űbersicht über die Entwicklung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Sachsenhausen 1940–1945* (Sachsenhausen, n.d.).

Most of the primary sources come from the archive of the AG-S and from the BA-L. Willy Sägebrecht published his memoirs of Dammsmuhle as *Nicht Amboss, sondern Hammer sein: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1968).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Willy Sägebrecht, *Nicht Amboss, sondern Hammer sein: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1968), p. 277. His statement "in early 1944" is a mistake.
2. BA-B, DP 3/2015.

DÖBERITZ

The Döberitz subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was first mentioned in 1949 in a catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS). The information relied on the details provided by the Belgian Tracing Service. A document published in 1969 by the ITS mentions that prisoners were deployed in the construction and maintenance of military facilities.[1] According to the details held at the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the subcamp was established on June 1, 1944. About 100 prisoners were deployed at an SS military depot, at a depot of the Luftwaffe, and at the Wehrmacht camp at Dallgow.[2] The former commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp stated after the war that the prisoners from Döberitz, about 50 to 100 men, were deployed working for the Luftwaffe. A former prisoner of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp referred to labor deployment at the Döberitz subcamp as follows: "some kind of SS military depot, camp work, only forty-five men."[3] A Dutch document lists 150 prisoners working at the army facilities.

Among the prisoners there appear to have been French, Polish, Soviet, and possibly Belgians. Sick prisoners were transferred to the infirmary at Sachsenhausen. This is documented, for example, in the cases of French prisoner Georges Tessiers and Polish prisoner Stefan Czajkowski in January 1945.

According to the change of status reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, there were 60 prisoners by mid-January 1945 and 50 prisoners by the end of March in Döberitz. The subcamp, by then containing 40 prisoners, was closed on April 5, 1945.[4] Shortly before this date prisoner Wladimir Maschenski, registered as a "BV" prisoner (*Berufsverbrecher*—a classification meaning a criminal under "preventive arrest"), escaped on March 23, 1945.

From 1967 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg investigated the Biesenthal subcamp for possible crimes, but it closed the proceedings without result in 1972.[5] East Germany processed a request of judicial assistance from the Central Office in Cologne, also without result.[6]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 261.

Besides the information from the ITS lists from 1949 and 1969, there exist only a few sources held at AG-S. Other sources for this camp are held at BA-L, BLHA, and IfZ.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 735/67, p. 11; see also Zusammenstellung, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H Nr. 8/1.
2. Conference folder workshop SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003); see also AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger: "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997); and Liste Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, n.d.

3. Zusammenstellung, n.d.; Walter Nowak, IfZ, München Ed 106/77.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, Vols. 99–101.
5. BA-L, IV 406 AR 735/67.
6. BA-B, DP 3/1916.

DRÖGEN

In the spring of 1941 a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established close to Ravensbrück, near Fürstenberg/Havel, at Drögen. In 1949, the International Tracing Service (ITS) put the date of the establishment of the camp, based on official documents, as May 2, 1941. The number of prisoners was reported to be 156. A former prisoner, however, has stated that he was transferred on April 1, 1941, from Sachsenhausen to Drögen. The Sachenhausen change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) refer to the camp for the first time on April 15, 1941, with a complement of 160 prisoners.[1] On August 1, 1941, there were 230 prisoners; at the end of October, 270; and at the end of December, 253.[2] The camp, which eventually held up to 350 male prisoners, only existed as a Sachsenhausen subcamp until November 30, 1942; then it was subordinated to Ravensbrück.[3] According to an overview of all Sachsenhausen subcamps issued in 1990 by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the concentration camp prisoners in Drögen were used to construct a Security Service (SD) school.

Originally, it was planned to establish an explosives factory in Drögen, for which a forced labor camp would be built. In February 1941, it was half complete. The explosives factory, however, was never finished. During the same period, there were plans for an SS and SD school for the Security Police (Sipo) in the same location. The first building and facilities originated from the expansion and new construction in the new project. The prisoners constructed, for example, a command office, an entrance area, a roll-call square, typical brick buildings for housing, as well as schoolrooms, a sports field, a shooting range, and remodeled garages. A few prisoners worked in the officers' mess and as barbers in the police school. Others had to work for SS officers on their private property, working in and tending to the gardens.

Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were also used in the police school, but they were not held as prisoners in the Drögen subcamp. It is thought that a few of them were shot by SS men in the police school, in a sand pit, not far from the laundry, which functioned as a shooting range.[4] Another, a Russian civilian, was shot by an SS-Hauptscharführer after escaping and being recaptured close to the camp. Before being shot, he was held for days in a cellar in the police school.[5]

In the summer of 1941, the personnel from the Border Police School (Grenzpolizeischule) Pretzsch were transferred to Drögen. The expansion of the school by the prisoners continued.

When the prisoners were constructing the sports field, they had to carry 3 cubic meters (106 cubic feet) of sand each hour in tipcarts. Accidents often occurred as a result of the excessive work demands. For example, when removing gravel from a nearby gravel pit, prisoners were occasionally buried alive under the gravel and died. While working, the prisoners were guarded by members of a police unit under the command of an SS officer. The SS was said to have treated Poles and Jews in a particularly brutal manner.

The prisoners, mostly German political prisoners, Czech students, Soviet civilians, and Dutch, were accommodated in five permanent houses on the police school grounds. The accommodation was fenced in with barbed wire. It is thought that there may also have been foreign Jewish prisoners in Drögen. If so, they were few in number and were later transferred to the main camp. A few Jewish Germans were also prisoners in Drögen; they were, possibly with other Jewish prisoners, transferred in October 1942 to Auschwitz. In September 1942, prisoners were transferred from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Drögen to work inside the school, for example, laying tiles (as well as cleaning and other jobs in the school).

The food was described as "relatively good." It was delivered from Ravensbrück and cooked in the police school's kitchen. Sick prisoners were transferred to the main camp for treatment.

Around 180 prisoners, which probably included all Jewish prisoners, were transferred in October 1942, possibly as a result of the camp's dissolution, to Auschwitz. Around 40 remained in Drögen.[6]

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was initially SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Skopnik. He was replaced in June 1941 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Richard Bugdalle. He later returned to Drögen. He was arrested at the end of 1942 for theft and giving favors to prisoners and was sentenced in 1943 by the SS and Police Court (SS- und Polizeigericht) Berlin-Dahlem to three years' penal servitude. For a time, SS-Unterscharführer Erwin Seifert was sent to Drögen as camp leader. Bugdalle's successor was SS-Führer Schröder.

The head of the police school was SS-Oberscharführer Dr. Hans Trummler. The camp was guarded by a police unit, led by SS-Oberscharführer Bauer. The camp elder (Lagerältester) was a criminal, probably Eduard Besch. Political prisoner Hermann Felix was Kapo. Felix had developed a poor reputation when he was in the main camp and was called "Mad Felix." From March 1942, he was an official orderly in the guards' rooms and was permitted to wear a uniform without markings. After 1945, he remained in the Soviet occupation zone, was convicted in 1946 for making anti-Soviet statements, and was held in a number of camps in the Soviet occupation zone, finally being released from a camp in the Soviet Union in 1953.[7] Another prisoner foreman was political prisoner Curt Fiesel, who was well known as someone who liked to hit others. According to others, the prisoners Felix, Besch, and Schmitz alternated as camp elder.

Although there were many cases of mistreatment, especially by the Kapo Felix, there were no deaths caused by the SS. However, one prisoner, a Pole, died after being mistreated

by SS-Unterscharführer Seifert with the broken shaft of a pick axe in the camp's office. The Polish prisoner had been reported by the construction company Riechling in Neustrelitz for unsatisfactory work and was severely beaten by Seifert. The prisoner died the next morning.

It is also reported that the temporary camp leader, Bugdalle, mistreated the prisoners, especially Poles and Jews, by beating them. A Neustrelitz firm claimed that he reported the prisoners who had not worked satisfactorily to the Kapo, who then beat them.

At the end of 1942, there was only one area left on the site to be built. Once the school for 500 to 700 trainees commenced operations, around 30 concentration camp prisoners remained in Drögen to work in the kitchen and the gardens and to undertake repairs. It was now under the control of Ravensbrück. (The camp may have operated as a subcamp of Ravensbrück until May 8, 1945. There is no information about the fate of this smaller group of inmates.)

The first camp leader, Skopnik, fell into British hands at the end of the war and at the end of 1945 returned to his family in Fürstenberg/Havel. He was arrested by the Soviets and questioned as to who was responsible for the Sipo school. He was later deported and in 1949 sentenced to 25 years in the Soviet Union for membership in the SS and espionage but not for crimes committed in Drögen. He returned from the Soviet Union in 1955.[8]

The head of the police school, SS-Oberscharführer Trummler, was executed on October 22, 1948, in Landsberg.[9] The occasional camp leader, Bugdalle, was sentenced in 1960 by the München I Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) to life imprisonment for homicides committed in Sachsenhausen.[10] In 1968, the former camp leader Seifert was charged with the murder of a Polish prisoner in May 1942 in Drögen. He was arrested and in the so-called Kaiser Proceedings was sentenced to life imprisonment on April 20, 1970, in Munich.[11]

Between 1969 and 1972, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated Drögen as a Ravensbrück subcamp. The investigations ceased as there was a lack of evidence to support the prosecution of any crimes. The German Democratic Republic assisted the Central Office in Cologne, at its request, but without any noteworthy results.

The ZdL also investigated the murder of the Soviet POWs. The results were handed over in 1970 to the Frankfurt am Main State Prosecutor.

SOURCES There have been no specific publications on the Drögen subcamp except for the essays by Jens Banach, "Die Rolle der Schulen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD: Einführung" (pp. 58–81), and Florian von Buttlar, "Entstehungs- und Baugeschichte" (pp. 88–93), both published in Florian von Buttlar, Stefanie Endlich, and Annette Leo, eds., *Fürstenberg-Drögen: Schichten eines verlassenes Ortes* (Berlin, 1994). The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 576.

The primary source material is mostly held in the BA-L and AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 2, p. 9.
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 60, Veränderungsmeldung des KZ Sachsenhausen, August 1–2, 1941; AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 2, p. 75; BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 237, Abschlusverfügung, September 30, 1968.
3. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger: "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997). See also Tagungsmappe Workshop, SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 191, Vernehmung Paul Schneider, February 16, 1968.
5. Ibid., p. 321, Vernehmung Otto Krause, March 18, 1970.
6. Ibid., p. 36, Vernehmung Otto Krause, March 30, 1967. See also AG-S, D 30 A/10/2A, pp. 38, 112.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 85e, Auszüge aus der Entschädigungsakte von Hermann Felix.
8. Ibid., p. 149, Vernehmung Hermann Skopnik, December 1, 1967.
9. Ibid., p. 190, Vernehmung Paul Schneider, February 16, 1968.
10. Ibid., p. 237, Abschlussverfügung, September 30, 1968.
11. Ibid., p. 367, Abschlussverfügung, July 8, 1974.

FALKENSEE (WITH STAAKEN)

At a meeting on March 4, 1943, between representatives of the Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate, RBBD) Berlin and the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik (Demag) Fahrzeugwerke Falkensee GmbH (Demag Vehicle Factory Falkensee), a subsidiary of Demag AG Duisburg, the Demag representatives stated, "Demag intends as quickly as possible to use a large number of prisoners from the Oranienburg concentration camp for urgent work . . . and to accommodate them at the Reichsbahn camp at Staaken [Nennhauser Damm]."[1] For this purpose, Demag leased the Staaken Reichsbahn camp from the Deutsche Reichsbahn until its concentration camp at its Falkensee factory was completed in July 1943. Demag paid the Deutsche Reichsbahn a total of 30,800 Reichsmark (RM) in rent.

As early as March 11, 1943, the prisoner administration office at the Sachsenhausen main camp accounted for 302 prisoners at Falkensee.[2]



In a caricature by an unidentified artist, Ludwik Zuk-Skarszewski conducts the camp orchestra at Falkensee, 1944. Represented in this sketch are Ludwik Zuk-Skarszewski, conductor; Eugene Lacoste, accordion; Tadeusz Glinksi, Helicon; Zygmunt Paloszewski, trumpet; Roman Chrzanowski, trombone; Feliks Radomski, banjo. The names of the other four musicians are unknown.
USHMM WS #27634 COURTESY OF ALEXANDER KULISIEWICZ

The detail was commanded by SS-Obersturmbannführer Kurt Ludewig, formerly in command of the outside detail "Klinkerwerk." He had been a member of the SS since 1932 and in 1940 began his career with the SS-Totenkopfverband (Death's Head Unit). The first prisoners, mainly from Norway and the Soviet Union, arrived in March 1943. The prisoner-functionaries were exclusively German. Ludewig deliberately chose them from the ranks of prisoners classified as "professional criminals" or "asocials." Only the Norwegians, regarded as "Aryans," were quartered together as a group in one room, and only they could appoint an agent from among their own number.

By May 10, 1943, there were 1,254 prisoners in the camp. In April and May, additional prisoner transports arrived from France and Poland. There were German prisoners (always in the minority and estimated to number about 150), primarily "professional criminals" and "asocials," but also "politicals," Jehovah's Witnesses, and "Gypsies." There were 2 Jehovah's Witnesses who worked in the clothing depot; they were always polite and approachable to their non-German fellow sufferers in the camp. Many male members of the Romany "Weiss" family labored in Demag's work column number seven, which manufactured shells. They maintained a strong bond with each other.

During this period, the prisoners, working in 12-hour shifts and under the most primitive conditions, built the stone barracks of the future Falkensee concentration camp as well as a camp for forced laborers in the Falkensee district of Falkenhöh. Making the task even harder was a 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) march both to and from the building site. It was not only Demag's construction bosses but also smaller building firms from Falkensee that made money from hiring the concentration camp prisoners' labor (charged per day and per prisoner).[3]

The death rate was high due to the hard working conditions and the inhuman regime presided over by the camp commandant, Ludewig, his roll-call leader Fritz Ficker, and their criminal henchmen, the prisoner-functionaries. The infirmary was infamous—there were only two beds. The foreman of the infirmary tortured prisoners to death, and a Polish prisoner doctor examined prisoners looking for any as-yet-undiscovered Jews.[4]

Prisoner statistics for the period March to July 1943 record strong fluctuations. However, since deaths were only recorded through the main camp at the Oranienburg civil registry office, there is no documentation of death rates specifically for Falkensee. (According to accounts of Norwegian and French prisoners, the death rate for the period of almost four months in Staaken was 40 percent.)

The Staaken camp was handed back to the RBBD Berlin on July 10, 1943. One can assume that no later than this date the newly built Falkensee subcamp on the Finkenkruger Weg, not far from the Demag factory, was in use. At first the wooden barracks were occupied. They later served as barracks for the SS guards and Hitler Youth flak crews. Solidly built prisoners' barracks were first occupied on October 17, 1943.[5]

One of the earliest of the prisoners' recollections, especially among French prisoners, is the murder of Polish prisoner Anton Krupa on Bastille Day, July 14, 1943. Krupa had hidden in the foundations of one of the unfinished barracks at Falkensee. He intended to flee once the prisoners had marched off from Staaken. He was betrayed and arrested. In Sachsenhausen he was interrogated for about a week. He was then hanged at the Falkensee camp during a prisoner roll call.

After the prisoners arrived at the Falkensee camp, they were put to work in various Demag assembly lines, building vehicles and manufacturing shells. They were brutally exploited in 12-hour shifts.

Some prisoners were trained to use the machines.[6] The company management was particularly interested in preserving the skills of these trained prisoners. Others had to do very heavy physical work in the foundry; the Kapos confiscated the extra rations prisoners were given for such work (sausage and so on) for themselves.

Column 11 was formed at the beginning of 1944. Following partial destruction of the factory, it was allocated separate barracks within the camp to repair infantry weapons.

It was at this time that column 13 was also formed. It comprised about 20 workers who were strictly isolated from the other prisoners. They were accommodated in the factory cellars. Their task was to complete the *Aggregat 4* (A4) rocket (for propaganda purposes, its name was changed to *Vergeltungswaffe* [revenge weapon, V-2]) with electrical switches. On April 22, 1944, the prisoners of this detail, mostly electricians or skilled metalworkers, were transferred to the Dora concentration camp.[7]

Since the days of the Staaken subcamp, an illegal organization among the political prisoners had been trying to occupy important "prisoner self-administration" posts. Their goal was to "eliminate" the influence of the "green and black triangles" (criminal and asocial prisoners).[8] Barrack one in Falkensee, whose barrack foreman was Christian Mahler, a Communist from Hamburg, was an "oasis"[9] for the prisoners because of its "human" atmosphere.

Especially prisoners from the other barracks, who had experiences with German criminal prisoners regarding themselves as part of the "master race," spoke with respect of the atmosphere in Mahler's barrack. In contrast to Mahler, other barrack foremen or room foremen stuffed themselves with the special rations intended for those prisoners in their barrack doing heavy physical labor. Later on, the political prisoners took control of the infirmary, resulting in improved conditions.

In the summer of 1944, Demag lodged a complaint with the responsible SS authority about the poor condition of the leased prisoners, which was causing low rates of production. As a result, the worst slave drivers, commandant SS-Obersturmführer Ludewig and block leader SS-Oberscharführer Ficker, were removed. From then on, the prisoners were spared roll calls at night and similar harassments by the camp leadership.

The new commandant was Hauptmann Ernst Kannenberg of the Wehrmacht, posted for service on the "home front," who was appointed on June 1, 1944. Kannenberg also held the rank of an SS-Hauptsturmführer,[10] a fact that he would later deny. This manager, of German nationalist outlook, constantly hoped that he would be demobilized because of a war wound. A new work column (860 men for the RBBD Berlin-Grunewald) was formed in August 1944.[11]

The camp's eight prisoner barracks held 880 prisoners on May 31, 1944. On November 22, 1944, there were 2,475 prisoners.[12] On average, 77 people were crammed into each room. For every two rooms, there were eight washbasins and as many latrines.

In August 1944, a large number of Polish prisoners, survivors of the Warsaw Uprising, arrived at the camp. In November 1944, the Alkett firm took over the armaments factory.

In February 1945, the prisoners got a taste of what could lie ahead for them: the arrival at Falkensee of "more dead than alive" Jewish prisoners from the evacuated subcamp of Lieberose who had survived a murderous eight-day march, sleeping in the open (in February!). They were given some warm soup and slept in the buildings. Norwegian prisoners were able to make contact with the Jewish prisoner Wolfberg. Disguised, he was added to the list of prisoners to be handed over to the International Red Cross. The Scandinavian prisoners from Norway and Denmark left the camp in the direction of the main camp in February–March 1945 as part of *Aktion Bernadotte*.

The concentration camp commandant, Kannenberg, who was influenced by his cook Max Reimann, a Communist, delayed and finally prevented the evacuation of the camp in the chaotic month of April. He secretly fled the camp during the night of April 25, 1945. The camp administration was then taken over by a camp committee chosen by the prisoners.

On April 26, 1945, a unit of Red Army soldiers appeared at the camp. The camp was evacuated within two hours, as around the camp persistent fighting was taking place with Wehrmacht and SS troops.

In 1947, Kannenberg was sentenced for war crimes to 25 years in a labor camp by a court of the Soviet military administration in Potsdam. Investigations by the Senior State Attorney's Office in Cologne on the "subcamp Staaken-Falkensee" and the role of Ludewig and others did not result in any prosecutions.[13]

SOURCES Former prisoner Kristian Ottosen has published in Norwegian a history of the Falkensee subcamp: *Liv og død: Historien om Sachsenburg-fangene* (Oslo: Ascheburg, 1995). The book has an addendum listing all the names of the Norwegian prisoners in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The AG-S holds the original of the barrack book of barrack one of the Falkensee subcamp. Christian Mahler, the barrack foreman, kept the book, recording a list of the prisoners in alphabetical order including details of their nationality, prisoner number, prisoner category, surname, first name, birth date, place of birth, profession, date of arrival (the departure date was struck through), room, and work detail. In addition, there is a collection of reports of former prisoners, mostly prepared for the Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen, a section of the Komitees der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der DDR. The reports were to assist in court proceedings against National Socialist perpetrators and serve as an educational tool. They contain details about the German political resistance and SS crimes. Fritz Bredemeier, Gustav Buttgereit, Christian Mahler, Bruno Schulz, Herbert Simon, and Karl Stenzel have written about their experiences in Falkensee. This group of records also contains a "seitheriges Ermittlungsergebnis betr. die Nebenlager Staaken-Falkensee Demag zu Hermann-Göring Werken," with the results of the investigation by Osta. Köln by 1969. In the 1980s, a comprehensive questionnaire with 30 questions was sent to surviving French prisoners. About 100 replies can be viewed in AG-S. Since the middle of the 1990s, the AG-S has collected copies of documents relating to Sachsenhausen held by other archives—there are the below-mentioned daily Veränderungsmeldungen for the prisoners' money and personal effects administration held at the USHMMA and the Falkensee survivors' accounts (Peter Farun) from the YVA. The verdict of the LG Münster in the trial of Dr. Baumkötter, Dr. Gaberle, and Dr. Adam discusses the public hanging of Pole Anton Krupa at Falkensee on July 14, 1943. At the USHMMA, in Record Group RG-06 War Crimes Investigations and Prosecution, .025 CAFSSRF, are records of war crimes trials held in the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1992 (bulk dates 1945–1947), and *26 Sachsenhausen, 1939–1951 (N-19092, vol. 100), and daily Veränderungsmeldungen on the money and personal effects administration from the years 1944 and 1945. The BA-BL holds details on the perpetrators, particularly the commandants of the Falkensee subcamp. The

details are to be found in the Collection BDC, SS Personnel Card Index—Kurt Ludewig and Ernst Kannenberg. The BA also holds records of the Reich Corporate Index; Collection R 3101 of the RWM includes the card index "Demag-Fahrzeugwerke G.m.b.H. Falkensee" and the card index "Alkett-Altmärkische Kettenwerk G.m.b.H, Werk Spandau." The BA-DH contains some of the records of Section IX/12 of the BStU: Ernst Kannenberg's personnel files (Negative No. P89,A 5; ZB 2969, Obj. 4 with a denazification certificate in Russian, Polish, and German; MM 1367-1-114; StVE K.220, A.12); and Kurt Ludewig's personnel files (ZB II 1103, A.1, p.96; ZB 150/56, Ojb.5; ZM 1514, A 1, S. 177; Negative No. P93 D9; MM 1367-1-121; ZR 924, A. 1, S.58; sowj. DAL; ZM 1502, A.24, S.21). The HM-F holds a bundle of documents on the subcamp. It contains building drawings of the camp barracks and the construction instructions of Frickel Architects, Hannover, dated March 24, 1943. There is also a copy of an almost contemporaneous report by Hermann Stickelmann, a political prisoner, dated April 20, 1947, and a copy of the diary of political prisoner Bruno Schulz, relating to the history of an infirmary for seriously ill former concentration camp prisoners established after the liberation in Falkenhöh. The LA-B, Collection RBBD Berlin, SU 18663, contains the building file for the Staaken camp for the period March to June 1943. It also contains the lease between Demag and the DR for the lease of the camp. This collection also contains the building files for the RAW, Falkensee (12 volumes), classification SU 18669. Demag's firm archives are now held in the archives of the MA-M. The Alkett archives are now in possession of ZAR-D. These documents contain slivers of information about the history of the factory. The Markali family holds some documents, including a hand-illustrated songbook from Falkensee written by Norwegian songwriter Dagfin Rimestad. The author holds videos of interviews with Sigurd Syversen (Norway); Karl Stenzel (Germany); Leo Van Deene (the Netherlands); Jean Sabut, Robert LaGorce, Andre Izaguirre, Guy Lesimple, Yves Parranaud, all from France; and the written memoirs of Sofus Tofte (Norway). The memoirs of French-speaking author Roland Picart (prisoner number 65478) have been published as *Falkensee*, 2 vols. (Vaucluse: Imprimerie Meffre, Vaison-la-Romaine, n.d.); they contain a list of the French prisoners in the Falkensee camp. Also noteworthy is AOS, *Sachso: Au couer du systéme concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit, 1982).

Klaus Woinar
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. LA-B, RBBD, SU 18663.
2. ITS, Ia, Extract from a report on prisoner numbers, Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp.
3. HM-F, Binder KZ.
4. AG-S, Memoirs of Gustav Buttgereit, Document R-44-37, p. 1.
5. AOS, *Sachso: Au cover du systéme concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit, (1982), p. 206.
6. Memoirs of Sigurd Syversen, in the possession of the author.
7. AG-MD, New Arrivals from the Falkensee labor camp on April 22, 1944.
8. Memoirs of Karl Stenzel, in the author's possession.
9. AOS, *Sachso*, p. 206.
10. BA-BL, BDC, SS Personnel Card Index, Kannenberg, Ernst.
11. Memoirs of Leo van Deene, in the author's possession.
12. USHMMA, RG-06.025*26. Sachsenhausen.
13. AG-S, VVN, LA-B XI 8a.

FALLERSLEBEN

The history of the short existence of this camp remains somewhat vague but is closely connected to the construction of the Volkswagen (VW) factory in Fallersleben in 1942. Hitler issued an order to the SS in January 1942 to "complete, extend and start the operation of a light metal foundry at the Volkswagen factory in Fallersleben." Professor Porsche, the head of the operation, considered the task of the SS to be the "provision of a work force and related material." The Volkswagen works promised the Waffen-SS the preferred delivery of light field cars (*Kubelwagen*) in return. The work detail Fallersleben was at this time still subordinated to the Neuengamme concentration camp.[1]

It seems that the first prisoners came from Neuengamme, possibly shortly before or at the same time as the ones who arrived from Sachsenhausen on April 26, 1942 (or already on April 8).[2] More prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Fallersleben on June 23, 1942. The camp was mentioned in the letter exchange with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) as the "KL Arbeitsdorf." The task was supposed to have been the construction of a large factory.

It is not easy to throw light on the relationships between the different camps. Although the first prisoners came from Neuengamme and they considered the camp to be a subcamp of Neuengamme, other former prisoners stated clearly that the camp was subordinated to Sachsenhausen. The release of prisoner Gustav Thorun on May 22, 1942, can count as an indisputable support for this fact: the prisoner had been transferred from Sachsenhausen to Fallersleben in April 1942. "The release documents were issued by the KL Sachsenhausen."[3]

It has been determined that the labor leader of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Hecht, who was born in 1909 in Leese, in the district Nienburg. Before that Hecht was block leader and later head of the mail censorship office in Sachsenhausen. The prisoners confirm that he "beat prisoners inhumanely and that he often deprived them (especially the Jewish prisoners) of food."[4]

SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Schitli, born in 1912 in Osnabrück, was named the SS leader of the camp. He is recorded as missing from the end of March 1945. He was possibly also the camp leader. SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger from Pforzheim was probably the deputy or acting camp leader. SS-Oberscharführer Thieme, who was deployed at Fallersleben, was accused of "physical and psychological torture."[5] August Kolb was promoted in No-

vember 1941 to SS-Obersturmführer and was deployed on March 1, 1942, at "Concentration Camp Fallersleben near the City of the Strength through Joy Car" (KL Arbeitsdorf b. Stadt der K.d.F. Wagen Fallersleben).

The prisoners' camp is supposed to have been located "in the foundry within the factory premises in Wolfsburg."[6] Mainly German prisoners, but also Polish, Dutch, and French prisoners, were housed here. A total of 500 to 600—although according to other sources, only 200—prisoners were deployed at Fallersleben, among them Jewish prisoners.[7]

The camp had at least nine prisoners' huts, a former prisoner reported. However, three other former prisoners have testified that the prisoners were supposedly not housed in huts on the premises of the light metal foundry that was under construction but in underground air-raid shelters.

All working sites for the prisoners were located within the VW factory premises. The prisoners in the metal buckling detail and the concrete labor detail were engaged in excavations and the erection of an enormous factory building for the light metal foundry. The work was suspended and "the work detail transferred to Sachsenhausen"[8] because of the frost that started in October 1942.

The prisoner Houber from Cologne was supposedly shot and killed by a guard during outside work as a punishment for illegal trafficking with cigarettes and food. This supposedly happened when he was chased outside the guards' duty line by another SS man. However, only one former prisoner has testified to this.

There are also reports of harassment and brutal acts committed by SS-Hauptscharführer Hecht during work, including testimony that he left "five Gypsies" "to die" completely exhausted after he had subjected them to protracted labor accompanied by his slave driving. An SS man called Sachse supposedly punished prisoners with 25 blows after suspecting them of planning to escape. In addition, one Sunday prisoners were made to landscape a garden 200×150 meters (656×492 feet) in size under blows from SS-Hauptscharführer Hecht and Kapos. The overall mortality in the camp was apparently high.

The Fallersleben subcamp was supposedly closed with the transfer to Sachsenhausen of 85 prisoners on October 5, 1942, and of other prisoners to Buchenwald on October 11, 1942.[9] Most of the prisoners brought to Sachsenhausen were immediately transferred to the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp.

One of the SS men in charge of the Sachsenhausen subcamp, SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger, became a prisoner of war (POW) or was interned in a Soviet camp. He committed suicide in the POW camp in Sagan, Poland, or in the penal camp Workuta in the USSR in the summer of 1945.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in West Germany investigated the subcamp Fallersleben as early as 1967.[10] A second procedure was handed over to the State Attorney's Office in Braunschweig in July 1975. It was closed without result in March 1976.[11]

SOURCES There is no literature concerning the subcamp Fallersleben as a branch of Sachsenhausen. For the opening and closing dates of the Sachsenhausen subcamp, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp. 257, 485, 493, 628.

The archives for Sachsenhausen/Fallersleben can be found mainly at BA-L and AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 17, protocol of a discussion between Professor Porsche and SS-Gruppenführer Pohl on January 29, 1942.
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 20; Franz Grünewald, April 10, 1942, p. 28; Heinrich Hesshaus, April 1942, p. 36; Wilhelm Hesshaus, mid-April 1942, p. 10; Julius Mlynarczyk, end of April–beginning of May 1942.
3. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 72; interrogation Gustav Thorun from February 13, 1969.
4. AG-S, D 30 A/12/2 B, p. 68, report Willy Kühne.
5. Ibid.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, sheet 28, interrogation Heinrich Hesshaus from June 20, 1968.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 2, entry from July 29, 1968, to the procedure IV 404 AR 1401/67; Conference folder workshop "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003), ed. Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten.
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, sheet 38, interrogation Wilhelm Hesshaus from June 25, 1968.
9. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951, repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 628.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1401/67.
11. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 117.

FÜRSTENBERG (ODER)

From the outbreak of war in 1939, an armaments industry based on forced labor developed in the town of Fürstenberg/Oder. The Sachsenhausen subcamp there existed from the summer of 1944 to the beginning of February 1945. It stood on the grounds of an abandoned glass factory, the Neue Hütte (New Glass Factory), which had ceased production in 1930. The site can be found on present-day Beeskower Strasse at the corner of Oderlandstrasse.

The prehistory of the camp is still somewhat vague. According to information from the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG Berlin, it took over from Degussa AG a facility for the manufacture of airplane gun mountings and automatic

weapons in the district of Schönfliess, which manufactured for a branch of a factory based in Guben.[1] However, Degussa at this time did not own a factory in Fürstenberg/Oder.

The bombing of the Reich capital prompted Rheinmetall to find alternative sites outside Berlin. In August 1943, the aircraft armaments division of the Frankfurt/Oder Armaments Command (Military District III) allocated to "Rheinmetall-Borsig AG Berlin-Tegel" the site known as "Neue Glashütte, Vereinigte Glashüttenwerke AG" Werk F, Fürstenberg/Oder" (United Glassworks), located immediately to the north of the Degussa site. Once production was relocated from the capital to Fürstenberg/Oder, Rheinmetall also relocated the manufacture of *Maschinengewehr-131* (MG-131) parts from Litzmannstadt (Łódź), which was under threat from the Red Army, westward to the city on the Oder River.

Also in 1944, production from the Guben factory was relocated to Fürstenberg/Oder. It was in this factory at Schönfliess that Rheinmetall began to use concentration camp prisoners, from September 30, 1944, at the latest. That female concentration camp prisoners were used, as in Guben, is revealed in a situation report from the Guben factory for the period July 1, 1944, to September 30, 1944, which records the transfer of production from Fürstenberg/Oder. The report, however, does not state exactly when in this period the female concentration camp prisoners began production in Fürstenberg/Oder. The formerly Guben-based production in Fürstenberg/Oder was carried out under the trade name Oder-Gerätebau Aktiengesellschaft (Oder Tool Manufacturing Company Ltd.) and involved the manufacture of parts for the MG-131 machine gun and small parts for the *Maschinenkanone-103* (MK-103). The site consisted of barracks and warehouses. Organisation Todt (OT) built many permanent structures for storage and production purposes for Oder-Gerätebau on land put up for sale by the Fürstenberg/Oder municipality and that Oder-Gerätebau wanted to buy from OT after completion of construction.

The female concentration camp prisoners were put to work dismantling and sorting airplane scrap. Aircraft wrecks were stored at the Neue Glashütte. The roughly 150 to 350 Jewish female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp had to extract raw materials and scrap metal from airplanes that had either been shot down or crashed. The raw materials and scrap metal were melted down at the nearby aluminum smelter at Finkenheerd. According to an undated report of the German Democratic Republic's Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, VVN), an external detail of 350 mostly female Jewish concentration camp prisoners from Sachsenhausen were at Fürstenberg/Oder. Their task was to "reclaim raw materials, scrap metal, aeroplane parts." It was "heavy work."[2]

Other groups of prisoners were apparently put to work building a power station on the Oder River for the state-owned Märkische Elektrizitätswerke. It is possible that male prisoners were involved in this project. However, this has not been substantiated.[3]

The use of male concentration camp prisoners at Fürstenberg is documented solely by their inclusion in the death lists drawn up for the change of status reports in Sachsenhausen. Records of the deaths of male prisoners in the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp start at the beginning of 1945 and list four Hungarian prisoners (who died on January 3, 4, and 12, 1945), two Dutch Jews (January 8 and 23, 1945), as well as a Latvian (January 25, 1945) and three Poles (January 7, 10, and 17, 1945), the latter being political prisoners. However, there is no separate reference to a male camp at Fürstenberg/Oder in the change of status reports.

The women were apparently quartered in the Neue Glashütte, the evacuation site for the Guben-based Rheinmetall operations. Plans for a camp for about 400 female concentration camp prisoners on the site of the Neue Glashütte dated from the beginning of November 1944. In December 1944, the Fürstenberg company Wilke & Streckebach, working on behalf of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugeschäfte Fürstenberg/Oder (Working Cooperative of Fürstenberg/Oder Building Firms) carried out extensive conversion work on a half-timbered building. The building had previously been used by the Oder-Gerätebau as a storage depot. The documents recording the costs for the "penal camp" or "concentration camp" for "female prisoners" indicates that the quarters were equipped by Oder-Gerätebau with beds, stools, and other pieces of furniture that were the property of the firm. Toilets were built, a kitchen was put in, and six large stoves were installed in the open-plan rooms. The windows were made compatible with blackout regulations, and 30 windows were nailed across with barbed wire. The building was surrounded by a 2.6-meter-high (8.5 feet-high) barbed-wire fence. In addition, barbed-wire barriers were put in place. The roll-call area was in an open warehouse on the site.[4]

The first mention of the Fürstenberg/Oder prisoners in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports is on October 30, 1944, when a record of 50 prisoners appears. At the end of December 1944, following the apparently successful conversion of the storage depot building into lodgings, the number of prisoners rose considerably to 200. At the end of January 1945, the SS statistics recorded the highest number of prisoners—650.[5] At the end of November 1944 and the beginning of January 1945, the SS transferred 3 Latvians and 4 other prisoners, most probably sick female concentration camp prisoners, to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

Anton Knirsch was a member of the camp guard. He was born in 1905 in Pirkelsdorf. Following the dissolution of the camp, he was transferred to Ravensbrück.[6] Willy Schenk, born in 1892 in Vieselbach, was also a member of the guard. Prior to Fürstenberg/Oder, he was stationed as a guard at the Sachsenhausen/Briesen subcamp.[7] Both were interned after 1945 in the British occupation zone.

The Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp is last mentioned in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports on January 29, 1945. The camp was dissolved on February 1, 1945, and the prisoners were marched to Sachsenhausen. According to records of the VVN, the camp "was evacuated in February 1945. Survi-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

vors of the march were liquidated in the Sachsenhausen crematorium."[8]

On either February 18 or 20, 1945, 149 prisoners of unknown gender from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp were shot in Sachsenhausen. SS-Unterscharführer Horst Hempel, the roll-call leader at Sachsenhausen, participated in the shootings. In 1946, a Soviet military tribunal became interested in the transport of the prisoners from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp to Sachenhausen. An accused SS leader at the main camp, Emil Sauter, confirmed that he was aware that the prisoners from Fürstenberg/Oder had been exterminated in the crematorium.[9] Although Hempel admitted his participation in the crime to the Soviet secret service, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD),[10] the murders were mentioned neither in the indictment nor in the verdict of the Soviet Sachsenhausen Trial in Berlin in 1947. Neither were the murders of the Jewish prisoners from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp taken into consideration when Hempel was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the regional court in Düsseldorf for crimes committed in Sachsenhausen.[11] The execution squad in Sachsenhausen was under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, who was condemned to death by a U.S. military court in 1946 and hanged in Dachau.

SOURCES The only work specifically about Fürstenberg/Oder is the recently published essay by Thomas Irmer, "Spuren nach Sachsenhausen. KZ-Häftlinge, Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Fürstenberg/Oder," *Eisenhüttenstadt. Erste sozialistische Stadt Deutschlands*, ed. Arbeitgruppe Stadtgeschichte (Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), esp. pp. 39n.21, 40–42. The topic is also mentioned by Joachin Hübner, "Rüstungsbetriebe in Fürstenberg," in the same volume; in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999); as well as in Andreas Ludwig, *Eisenhüttenstadt: Wandel einer industriellen Gründungstadt in fünfzig Jahren* (Potsdam, 2000). On the transfer of Jewish women from Ravensbrück, see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, 2:260.

There are relatively few archival sources. A description of the camp drawn up in the DDR is to be found in the SAPMO collection at BA-BL. Individual reports about the hunt for the perpetrators are found in the PRO and in the AG-S (copies are from the CAFSSRF), and the daily reports are in the AG-S. The SM-E holds references to the construction of the camp in the Wilke & Streckebach collection in the file "Kostenvoranschläge für die Fa. Rheinmetall-Borsig."

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Joachim, "Rüstungsbetriebe in Fürstenberg," in *Eisenhüttenstadt. Erste sozialistishe Stadt Deutschlands*, ed. Arbeitgruppe Stadtgeschichte (Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), p. 28, where there is a reference to a letter from Rheinmetall Berlin AG in 1996.

2. BA-BL, SAPMO, Dy 55/V278 5/14, Card Index Fürstenberg/Oder.

3. Andreas Ludwig, *Eisenhüttenstadt: Wandel einer industriellen Gründungstadt in fünfzig Jahren* (Potsdam, 2000), p. 16, but no source is given.

4. SM-E, Collection Wilke & Streckebach, Kostenvoranschläge für die Fa. Rheinmetall-Borsig, For these points, thanks go especially to Barbara Schulz and Axel Drieschner, who in 2003 arranged an exhibition on the Fürstenberg/Oder Stalag.

5. AG-S, Collection CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.

6. PRO, WO 309/1771.

7. PRO, WO 309/1779.

8. BA-BL, SAPMO, Dy 55/V278 5/14, Card Index Fürstenberg/Oder.

9. AG-S, JSU 17, Collection FSB-Archive Moscow, N-K509975 BD, p. 52 (Interrogation on 8 September 1946).

10. AG-S, Decision of the Soviet Military Tribunal, December 27, 1946, File 1593, p. 149. Hempbel admitted the deed on the same day; see ibid., File 1594, p. 164.

11. Verdict of the LG Düsseldorf, 8 Ks 2/59.

FÜRSTENWALDE

In July 1942, in an unused joinery at 31 Lindenstrasse, the SS established a subcamp in Fürstenwalde for the SS company Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW). At first the camp was administered by the Buchenwald DAW and therefore came under the auspices of the Buchenwald concentration camp.[1] According to another source, the camp was founded on January 2, 1943. From April 15, 1943, the Fürstenwalde subcamp fell under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[2] The initial 10—and, by July 1943, 79—prisoners were accommodated in a barrack. They made windows for bomb-damaged houses in Berlin and windows for a number of concentration camps as well as kitchen furniture and lockers for prisoners in the Lieberose subcamp.[3] The working day for all concentration camp prisoners in DAW factories was increased from December 3, 1943, from 10 to 11 hours.[4] There were German, Polish, Ukrainian, Norwegian, French, and Belgian prisoners in Fürstenwalde. The German prisoners consisted of political, criminal, and so-called asocial prisoners.[5]

The detail leader was at first SS-Unterscharführer Willi Riemenschneider (born in 1905 in Hannoversch Münden) and from January 1944, SS-Obersturmführer Büttner. In the DAW factory at Fürstenwalde, Herr Saeger was the sales manager, and Herr Heuhausen was the foreman. Herr Kropp was also employed as a technical salesman.[6] The guard was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Karl Leukel (born 1899 in Eiserfeld). The head of the kitchen was SS-Rottenführer Toni Feisthammer. Both of these men were dismissed in the spring of 1943 for corrupt dealings.[7] The successor detail leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willy Nurrek (born 1898 in Scherpingen near Danzig). The roll-call

leader was SS-Unterscharführer Willi Bonowski. SS-Rottenführer Emil Klatt, Walter Hempel, Paul Weisner, Georg Mayer, Franz Wennemoser, Ferdinand Lindtner, and Kurt Wenzel were all members of the guard. Lindtner, Weisner, Wennemoser, and Wenzel were transferred to the Briesen [aka Falkenhagen] subcamp on the dissolution of the camp.[8] According to Klatt, he served with the SS-Nachrichten-Regiment 500 in Ketschendorf following the dissolution of the Fürstenwalde subcamp.[9]

Other SS functionaries were SS-Rottenführer Alfons Knirsch, Hartmann Blasius Schrittwieser, Herbert Kopiska, Mücke,[10] SS-Unterscharführer Neuhaus, Schmidt, and SS-Scharführer Oskar Hofmann.[11]

Knirsch was interned after 1945 in the British internment camp at Esterwegen. He admitted that from January 7 to May 22, 1943, he had been a guard at the Fürstenwalde and thereafter at the Glöwen subcamp. SS-Sturmmann Ferdinand Lindtner, who from May to June 1944 was a member of the guard at the Fürstenwalde subcamp, was with him at Esterwegen, as was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hofmann, who was first stationed in the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Werder and Biesenthal, and from March 1943 was in Fürstenwalde as detail leader of that camp.[12] Klatt, Mayer, Weisner, Wennemoser, and Wenzel were also interned after 1945 in British internment camps. While in the British internment camp at Neuengamme, Walter Hempel was registered as a war criminal for serving with the SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon (Death's Head Guard Battalion).[13]

Prisoner numbers remained relatively constant. In the middle of May 1944 there were 80 prisoners in the Fürstenwalde subcamp. Survivors stated that rations were 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread per day, 0.75 liters (3.2 cups) of white cabbage or Swede soup per day at the noon meal, and 0.25 liters (1 cup) of coffee each morning and evening.

The foreman from the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944 was Fritz Busching, a criminal prisoner.[14] Political prisoner Karl Schmellentin was foreman from March 1944 to the dissolution of the camp, when he was returned to the main camp.[15] Schmellentin stated that in addition to Poles, French, and criminals, there was one other German prisoner in the camp apart from him. This man worked in the outside detail in the hall of the "Reichshallen" entertainment center where, under guard, he painted kitchen cupboards and was even allowed to meet his wife.[16]

In June 1944, a significant contract for prisoner lockers for the Lieberose subcamp was completed. The wooden lockers were delivered unpainted and untreated.[17]

Criminal prisoner Ernst Pfeiffer, who escaped and was recaptured near Halle, was hanged in the industrial yard of Sachsenhausen on July 7, 1944. A Czech prisoner who fled with him was also recaptured near Halle; his fate is unknown.[18]

The completion of the work was part of the reason for the dissolution of the camp on July 31, 1944. Some of the prisoners were then transferred from Lindenstrasse to the Sachsenhausen main camp and others to the Bad Saarow (Fuchsbau) subcamp, which had existed since 1943, with SS-Führer Nurrek and Leukel accompanying the Bad Saarow contingent.

SOURCES The secondary sources on this camp consist of the work of student Claudia Bär: "Recherchen zum KZ-Aussenlager Fürstenwalde/Ketschendorf," in *InBe*, ed. Regionalarbeitstelle für Ausländerfragen, Jugendarbeit und Schule e.V. (Brandenburg, 1995). Henrike Hoffmann recently wrote "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen—Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 2001), which is available at the library of the Sachsenhausen Memorial, Collection 6320.

The BA-B (Collection NS 3) holds documents on the DAW. Memoirs of former prisoners and perpetrator details are to be found in the AG-S and the PRO. Also available are the memoirs of political prisoner Karl Schmellentin: *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär* (Berlin, 1986).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, R 49/25.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-B, NS 3/463.
4. BA-B, NS 3/845, p. 18.
5. See Claudia Bär, "Recherchen zum KZ-Aussenlager Fürstenwalde/Ketschendorf," in *InBe*, ed. Regionalarbeitstelle für Ausländerfragen, Jugendarbeit und Schule e.V. (Brandenburg, 1995), p. 6.
6. BA-B, NS 3/118.
7. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 3.
8. PRO—all references are from the Collection WO 309.
9. PRO, WO 309/1771.
10. Possibly Hartmann Müche; see AG-S, LAG XI-9a, letter from GKBZHwP to DDR Sta., January 13, 1970.
11. AG-S, LAG XI-9, p. 4.
12. AG-S, LAGX/3, Esterwegen list of interned Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS members.
13. PRO, WO 309/1768.
14. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 7. Busching was convicted in 1952 in the FRG and then moved to the GDR.
15. Henrike Hoffmann, "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen—Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde," (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 2001), p. 13; see Karl Schmellentin, *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär* (Berlin, 1986), p. 188.
16. Schmellentin, *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär*, pp. 189, 192.
17. Ibid., p. 193.
18. AG-S, LAG XI/9, letter from the ZLNW-K to the Gsta. DDR, November 7, 1968. See Hoffmann, "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen–Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde," p. 15.

GENSHAGEN

As early as 1934, the board of Daimler-Benz AG planned to build a plant for the mass production of engines, in the ex-

pectation that its establishment would place the company in the leading role for engine manufacturing for the German military. In 1935, Daimler-Benz and the Reich Air Ministry decided to establish a factory for the mass production of aircraft engines in the Genshagen Heath, a forested area 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) south of Berlin. The factories, spread over a 4-square-kilometer (1.5-square-mile) area, were designed so that in the case of war production they could quickly be stepped up to mass-produce aircraft engines for fighters and bombers.

The 6,828 "workforce members" in Genshagen produced 1,427 aircraft engines in 1938. In 1939 an increase to only 6,860 workers was enough to raise output to 2,249 engines. In 1940 the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) awarded the factory the Goldene Fahne (Gold Flag), its highest award. It was a National Socialist model factory. At the same time, the first prisoners of war (POWs) and laborers from occupied countries in Western Europe were brought to Genshagen. At the end of 1942, among the 13,146 factory employees in Genshagen were 6,011 foreigners of whom 2,778 were Russian forced laborers. Annual production had increased to 4,920 engines. Production was further increased enormously and in the spring of 1944 reached a monthly output of 1,000 units—and this with a slightly reduced labor force.

British historian Neil Gregor has described this process of production increase, carried out above all at the expense of civilian forced laborers, as factory work was increasingly made to resemble work in a concentration camp. In the fall of 1944, the managers at Daimler-Benz obtained female prisoners from the concentration camp for women at Ravensbrück as forced laborers for work in their National Socialist model factory.

In early 1944, the threat of air raids to the Genshagen factory and the government designation of air armaments as a priority prompted the relocation of a substantial part of the facilities to southern Germany, specifically the caverns of the gypsum mine "Friede" at Obrigheim am Neckar. A heavy bombing raid on Genshagen on August 6, 1944, which caused 150 deaths and the destruction of several factory buildings, resulted in the evacuation of further sections of the factory with their skilled labor forces and expensive and, in wartime, irreplaceable special machinery. All that remained in Genshagen were the more basic engine assembly lines, which were equipped with more simple machinery. Production on these lines was so piecemeal that although the high speed at which these repetitive tasks had to be performed left the prisoners exhausted, the work could quickly be learned by people who had never had any experience with factory work or even skilled metalwork. The workers could be women and even young girls; neither did they have to be fluent in German. Indeed, it was of advantage to peace on the home front if the few remaining German foremen and skilled tradesmen in the factory buildings could not communicate with their subordinates and discuss how they had ended up in this forced labor, where they came from, and what they had experienced at the hands of German occupying troops and special detachments at home.

So the Daimler-Benz Genshagen factory management acquired female labor from one place where it was still to be found in abundance in the last year of the war: in the fall of 1944 representatives of Daimler-Benz combed the female concentration camp at Ravensbrück for the strongest and healthiest candidates. The most suitable women appeared to be those that had most recently arrived, in special transports from Warsaw and Budapest, where they had been abducted just a few weeks before from their homes, schools, and streets. Between September and December, Daimler-Benz selected more than 700 Poles, 125 French women, 80 Hungarian Jewish women, about 50 "criminal" or "asocial" German prisoners, a group of Ukrainian women, and a few Russian, Serbian, Belgian, and Greek women from the roll-call square at Ravensbrück to assemble its famous aircraft engines, which for years had powered the Messerschmitt (Me) fighters and Heinkel (He) bombers that had brought death to the homelands of these same women.

A total of 1,100 women from Ravensbrück had to work as forced laborers from the fall of 1944 in the largest aircraft engine assembly line in Europe, proudly called the Deutschlandhalle, or Great Hall of Germany, by the people at Daimler. About 30 SS female overseers accompanied the women from Ravensbrück: some of whom had themselves previously worked in armaments factories and had undertaken a two-week training course in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their new assignment. An electric fence was installed around the factory. Eight SS men provided external security. They had undergone a short training course in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, a shorter course (two weeks) than the SS women in Ravensbrück. The camp commander was 32-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich August Wilhelm Mantzel. He had served in the business administration of the Waffen-SS between 1940 and 1944. On January 29, 1944, he was transferred to the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon in Sachsenhausen.

The outside detachment was placed under the command of the closest main concentration camp, Sachsenhausen. This had become the practice from September 1, 1944, irrespective of the origin and gender of the prisoners. Driven on by the SS women overseers, the prisoners initially had to work a 12-hour day. This was later increased to 16 and then 24 hours, and if by the end of the month the production targets had not been reached, the prisoners had to work 36 hours without sleep. The dormitories were air-raid shelters and cellars located under the factory buildings. They were equipped with several-tiered bunk beds. The result was that the women did not see daylight for months. It was a concentration camp in a factory.

Those who thought of escape were stopped by the electric fence. Once the women were made to march past a section of fence in which hung the charred body of a Russian woman holding a pair of pliers in her hand. Whether this was an

escape attempt or a scene staged by the SS remains unclear. The effect on the prisoners was nevertheless the same.

It certainly made it easier for the women to survive Genshagen that they could see ever more signs that the end of Nazi rule was getting closer and that it would only be for a relatively short time that they would have to live and work in concentration camp conditions. However, although production began to fall due to the failure to deliver parts from Obrigheim or from power cuts, this did not mean that the women were able to get any more rest. On the contrary, they were tormented even more by being made to do senseless cleanup work on the site even in the bitter cold.

Another factor helping the women to survive was that among their number were women who had been in the resistance in their home countries and that the camp clerk, Frieda Franz, a German Communist, had been in camps for years and had experience in subverting the system. All the surviving women thankfully tell how important assistance from Franz was.

Hungarian Jewish woman Edit Bán, later Edith Kiss, a sculptress and painter from Budapest, was saved by Franz from being transported back to Ravensbrück even though Bán had been placed on the retransfer list because she was so undernourished that she could no longer work. Franz, who had to type the list, changed Bán's name to "Banke," the name of a German woman who had recently died. In doing this, she saved unique testimony to the feelings of the women throughout their abduction, concentration camp imprisonment, and sufferings in forced labor: within a few weeks of Bán's return home, she painted the 30 gouaches of her "deportation album."

After the SS had burned all the camp files on April 19, 1945, the evacuation of the Genshagen subcamp to the Sachsenhausen main camp began. The Jewish women were not, unlike the other Genshagen prisoners, driven on a death march but were transported to Ravensbrück in closed rail wagons. The intention was to murder them in the camp's gas chambers. However, when they arrived in Ravensbrück, the SS had already murdered the prisoners in the gas chamber detachment and blown up the gas chambers so that the advancing Red Army would not find any traces.

In April 1947, a mass grave was found near Ludwigsfeld on the Berlin Ring Autobahn. It contained the corpses of 500 "Eastern workers" and 19 female concentration camp prisoners. Witnesses to the exhumation say they were probably Czech women. Some had clearly been shot in the nape of the neck. Despite years of research as part of a project at the Ravensbrück Memorial, these women have not been identified.

SOURCES The Genshagen subcamp essay is based on the research the author has done over the course of two decades and the books and films that have appeared in this time. The results of that research will come together in his work "*Innere Bilder wird man nicht los.*" *Edit Kiss und die Frauen im KZ-Nebenlager Daimler-Benz-Genshagen* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2007). The Genshagen factory was first comprehensively described in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch* (Nördlingen, 1987); and the accompanying file and documentary publication *Die Daimler-Benz AG 1916–1948* (Nördlingen, 1987). Originally, his dissertation at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Bernard P. Bellon's book appeared as *Mercedes in Peace and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). As a result of the facts that appeared in these books on Daimler's role in the war and the use of forced labor, the Daimler-Benz concern commissioned its own research through the GUG, which after several years of research and interviews published its results in 1994 under the title "Zwangsarbeit bei Daimler-Benz," *ZfU* 78 (1994). This volume remains today the most comprehensive analysis of the forced labor system in a German armaments company. One failure in the book is that survivors from Eastern and Central Europe are insufficiently represented even though they made up by far the largest proportion of slave laborers at the Daimler-Benz enterprise. The MBAG-A (now DCAG-UA) commissioned a work on the Genshagen factory, *Daimler-Benz-Motoren-GmbH-Genshagen: Eine Flugmotorenwerk bei Berlin* (Stuttgart, 1990). This work was not designed for public presentation; however, it uncritically reproduces the depiction of the factory in the German Labor Front's (DAF's) *Leistungsbericht* 19 (1940). There are two copies of this volume in the DCAG-UA and one copy in the NARA. Neil Gregor in *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), German title *Stern und Hakenkreuz* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1997), focuses on economic developments and company decisions that cumulatively barbarized the treatment of the Russian forced laborers between 1942 and 1944. Between 1997 and 1999, the Ravenusbrück Remembrance and Memorial Site (MGR) ran an exhibition on the Genshagen factory and history of its concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers under the title "Wir waren ja Niemand." Two young German researchers have published the following works: Linde Apel, "Zwangsarbeit jüdischer Frauen im Aussenlager Genshagen"; Apel, *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2003); pp. 276–280; Doreen Eschinger, "Ungarische Jüdinnen in Ravensbrück am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs—Überlebenschancen und Überlebensstrategien im Lageralltag" (master's thesis, Humboldt University Berlin, 2003), pp. 87–95. Since 1990, the author has interviewed women who once worked as forced laborers in Genshagen and has followed them in their struggle for moral and material recompense. Seven documentary films have appeared as a result by 2004, including, with Rainer Burmeister, *Für Lohn und Würde: Zwangsarbeiterinnen klagen gegen DaimlerChrysler* (30 minutes; BRD, 1999).

The author's private archive holds an extensive collection of memorabilia, photos, pictures, documents, and recordings of interviews (both sound and film). The other most important archival collections are the DCAG-UA (Collections Kriegswerke 1, Forstmeier, GUG-Interviews, Leistungsbericht Goldene Fahne, vol. 19); and the IWM (Speer Collection on the Relocation from Genshagen to Obrigheim/Neckar). The AG-R and AG-S hold little material. The transfer lists "Oktober 1944 KZ Ravensbrück—Aussenlager Genshagen" are of particular importance as they contain the names of 900 prisoners transferred to Genshagen as well as the list of the transfers back, the names of the sick, and

those women who could no longer work, some of whom died in Ravensbrück or were murdered. The file collection NL Genshagen/KL Sachsenhausen 406 AR-Z 21/71 of the ZdL at BA-L contains a collection of files relating to investigations into prisoner deaths in the Genshagen subcamp. The files of the proceedings against former Genshagen factory security officer William Knoll (born October 25, 1899) at the Bergedorf denazification tribunal are held at the BA-K (Z 42 III/3781).

Helmuth Bauer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GENTHIN

The Silva GmbH, a branch of the Magdeburg-based Poltewerke, was the owner of a camouflaged ammunition factory. It was hidden in a forest near Genthin, a village that is about 120 kilometers (74.6 miles) west of Berlin and 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of the town of Brandenburg. The factory building was located close to Reichsautobahn Nr. 1 connecting the towns of Magdeburg and Brandenburg.

The Genthin subcamp, whose prisoners were forced to work in the production of ammunition for tanks and antiaircraft guns, existed from March 16, 1943,[1] to May 6, 1945. At the beginning about 300 prisoners,[2] most of them women and girls from the Soviet Union and Poland, made up the permanent workforce at the ammunition factory. In September 1944 and following the Warsaw Uprising, SS authorities deported another 300 to 400 Polish women to the Genthin subcamp. At first it was a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp whose authorities handed over command to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on October 29, 1944.

Although the command changed, neither prisoners nor guards were affected by this measure. The number of prisoners continued to increase, and SS guards counted about 1,000 prisoners in 1945, who were not only Polish and Russian by origin but also Czech, French, Yugoslav, and Ukrainian. They were guarded by 10 SS female and 10 SS male members. SS-Scharführer Steffen was the first Truppen-Kommandoführer of the subcamp and led it between March 1943 and December 1944. His successor was Unterscharführer Otto Wahl, who commanded guards and prisoners from January 1945 till the liberation of the subcamp in May 1945.[3] He was supported by Hermine Braunsteiner, a Vienna-born Lagerführerin of the subcamp who worked in Genthin from the beginning of 1944 until the day of the subcamp's liberation.

The prisoners were surrounded by a wooden fence that was secured with electrified barbed wire. Moreover, the guards used two watchtowers for better control and guarded the prisoners on their 10-minute walk from and to the nearby factory building. The SS Unterscharführer Wahl drew a plan of the subcamp. The prisoners slept in two-story or three-story plank beds and were forced to work in 12-hour shifts in a factory building that produced ammunition for the Wehrmacht until May 5, 1945.

The SS authorities decided to evacuate the Genthin subcamp on May 6, 1945, after the U.S. Army had reached the Elbe River. The destination of the forced march was the Sachsenhausen concentration camp more than 100 kilometers (62 miles) away. However, the convoy was stopped about 3 kilometers (almost 2 miles) outside Genthin by a group of higher SS members who argued that the prisoners would hinder military traffic on the roads. They sent them back to the subcamp, where the guards left them alone.[4] One day later, on May 7, 1945, a group of Red Army soldiers reached the subcamp and liberated the prisoners.

There were no murders reported in the subcamp itself. However, one woman was deported from Genthin to the Ravensbrück concentration camp and hanged because of sabotage.

On November 22, 1949, a Vienna court gave SS-Lagerführerin Hermine Braunsteiner a prison sentence of three years because of her strict and brutal regime at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. After her release in April 1950, she made friends with U.S. soldier Russell Ryan. They emigrated to Canada and in October 1958 to the United Sates. Due to the so-called Majdanek Trial, she was extradited from New York to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1973, where the trial ended at a Düsseldorf court in 1981. Braunsteiner was sentenced to double life imprisonment. Johannes Rau, the prime minister of North-Rhine Westphalia, pardoned her, and she was released in April 1996. She died three years later, on April 19, 1999, in the town of Bochum.

SOURCES For further information relating to Lagerführerin Braunsteiner, see Deutsches Historisches Museum at www.dhm.de/lemo/html/biografien/BraunsteinerRyanHermine.

Primary documentation on the Genthin subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the box Genthin, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (now BA-L).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL Aktenvermerk, January 24, 1968 (IV 409 AR-Z 468/66).
2. Ibid.
3. Aussage des ehemaligen Truppen-Kommandoführers Otto Wahl bei seiner Vernehmung durch das Staatliche Kriminalkommissariat Darmstadt, May 20, 1970.
4. Ibid.

GLAU

As with Lieberose, the Glau subcamp centered on the use of prisoner labor by the Waffen-SS. Since December 1941, the Waffen-SS had maintained SS-Artillery Targeting School I near an artillery practice range at Glau, near Trebbin, in the district of Teltow. In the Glau Mountains there was an SS gunnery school and a facility to jam radio transmissions. A prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was located at the southern

edge of the Glau Mountains.[1] A photo of the camp shows seven barracks along a camp road.[2]

Glau was also an SS garrison administrative center, headed by an SS-Obersturmführer from Austria.[3] The center was owned by Reinhold Ludwig, born in 1909 in Eisenach. He was interned by the British after 1945.[4] The Glau project was identified by the Nazi Party leadership with the code number "RFSS 2431."[5]

The subcamp, which was established either at the end of 1941 or 1942, was next to the POW camp (a prisoners' barrack[6] was separated from it only by barbed wire),[7] between the villages of Glau and Blankensee. In 1935, the SS compulsorily acquired land owned there by Josef Weissberg's Christliche Siedlungsgesellschaft (Christian Settlement Society), after Weissberg had been convicted and banished.[8] The camp's external security was a double barbed-wire fence. There were no guard towers.[9]

The prisoners were put to work on expanding the practice grounds by constructing roads and barracks for between 200 and 300 men, a shooting range, a sewer system, and a 1.5-kilometer (almost 1-mile) entrance road to the barrack , as well as on transport operations.[10] Here there is a further parallel with Lieberose. The work had to be completed double-quick. At times, the prisoners had to work on the building site, standing in water with bare feet.[11] The prisoners also had to pull dummy tanks, which were fired at as part of the training exercises.[12] There was a construction office at the Glau troop training area. It consisted of an SS-Hauptscharführer, SS-Untersturmführer, two or three SS-Unterführer, as well as a number of civilians.[13] Prisoners were also said to have been put to work in the garages of the SS school. The prisoners constructed a tower for anti-aircraft defense on a hill in a forest. The work detachments were under the command of "professional criminal" prisoners, who are described as the "worst sort."[14] The prisoners probably also worked on a rabbit farm.[15]

The conditions, including the food, are said to have been better in Glau than in the main camp. The prisoners possessed two blankets each.[16] However, it was reported that the German prisoner cook, Hansen, sold meat from the prisoners' kitchen to the detail leader.[17]

SS-Scharführer Krämer took command of the detachment prior to May 1942.[18] He acted humanely.[19] From May to the end of August 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Martin Knittler was in command of the Glau subcamp. During this period there were about 50 Soviet, Polish, and Czech prisoners in the camp.[20] (The Soviet Union sentenced Knittler to lifelong forced labor. In 1958, he committed suicide in prison.) After Knittler, the detachment leaders were frequently changed. They were SS-Oberscharfüher Albrecht Djuren, described as "the most rabid persecutor of intelligence,"[21] missing and presumed killed since 1945; SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Rett from Kaiserslautern (killed in action on January 4, 1944); SS-Oberscharführer Grossman; SS-Scharführer Schneider; SS-Scharführer Mussmann; SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder; and SS-Unterschar- or Oberscharführer Fänger.[22] SS-Sturmscharführer Georg Müller stated that he was in command from July 11, 1944, until the dissolution of the camp. In 1945 he was interned by the British in Esterwegen.[23]

There were between 15 and 18 guards, mostly young German SS but later ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), who were based at the Glau troop training ground as part of the SS training unit. The names of the brothers Klein, who came from Batschka in Hungary (possibly Josef and Jakob), are known. Survivors described them as being brutal and barbaric. It is claimed that they shot a Dutch prisoner named Jan van der Klein and two Russian prisoners on the way to work. The shootings were condoned by the detachment leader,[24] Fänger. Another Hungarian ethnic German, Hack, also a member of the SS personnel, is said to have mistreated the prisoners for no reason while they were working and also to have shot two Russian prisoners.[25] Valtentin Jaromir, born in 1918 in Kobier, Upper Silesia, was also a member of the guard. He had previously served at Dachau and the Sachsenhausen subcamps at Potsdam and Rathenow. He claimed, however, to have served primarily as a gunner. He was interned in 1945 in the British occupation zone.[26]

The former head of the SS-Bauleitung Berlin and later head of the SS-Bauinspektion Reich Nord, SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Sorge[27] was a frequent visitor to the Glau subcamp. Sometime in the summer of 1944 while he was at Glau, a Russian prisoner, Wladimir Sikorskij, was shot by the detail leader (SS-Sturmscharführer Müller) because he had stolen potatoes from the cellar of an SS dormitory.[28]

The camp elder was a German political prisoner, Will Rutat, who had previously fought in Spain and later worked in the Ministry of National Defense in the German Democratic Republic. The camp clerk was until the spring of 1944 Georg Stein from Luxembourg, followed by René Trauffler, also from Luxembourg.[29] It is likely that Trauffler was returned to Sachsenhausen in November 1944.[30] Paul Koch then became the camp clerk, and Hermann Bertram became foreman.[31] Polish prisoner Sbiczek Kajie worked as an assistant clerk in construction management, and Polish prisoner Tadeusz Kowalski was used as a technical draftsman.[32] The prisoner Stein is said to have obtained an illegal radio, which could receive Allied news broadcasts, which he passed on to the main camp.[33]

A list of names of 65 prisoners working on the Glau building site on August 5, 1942, has survived.[34] At the beginning of 1943, the Glau work detail included 177; in the middle of February 1944, 139 prisoners. In the spring of 1944, half of the detail was transferred to the Sachsenhausen/Grünheide subcamp.[35] In the summer of 1944, no more than 180 prisoners were put to work at the troop training ground in Glau. On February 12, 1945, there were still 31 prisoners at the Glau subcamp.

It was reported that the detail leader intended to shoot the prisoners before they were evacuated but that the Sachsenhausen main camp commandant decided otherwise.[36]

In 1968, the Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westfalia in Cologne (ZLNW-K) investigated the homicides in the Glau subcamp. The Polish-based Main Commission

for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes also investigated these homicides. The investigations did not result in any prosecutions.[37]

SOURCES The only work specifically written on Glau is a school paper by Nadine Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin (unpub. MSS, Luckenwalde, 2003). Photographic evidence may be found in Helmut Bräutigam, "Fremdarbeiter in Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit," *InBe* 17 (1996): 71.

Memoirs of former prisoners and details about the perpetrators are to be found in the AG-S, BLHA, and PRO. A published prisoner testimony on Glau is Georg Stein, *Die Cäsur der Entscheidung* (Luxembourg, 1946).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Nadine Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin" (unpub. MSS, Luckenwalde, 2003), p. 8.
2. Helmut Bräutigam, "Fremdarbeiter in Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit," *InBe* 17 (1996): 71.
3. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
4. PRO, WO 309/1773.
5. BA-B, NS 4-2451.
6. According to some sources, there were two prisoners' barracks and an SS barracks. See AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 9, Record of interview of the Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
7. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
8. Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 8.
9. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 6, Record of interview of the Polish prisoner Jan Zbigniew Karczewski in the Glau subcamp.
10. Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 9.
11. AG-S, LAG II/10, Report by the former Glau subcamp prisoner Gerg Heinzmann.
12. Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 10.
13. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
14. AG-S, LAG II/10, Report of the former German prisoner Heinzmann in the Glau subcamp.
15. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/8/2A, p. 295, Report by Georg Heinzmann. Peter Gregoire has also mentioned working on a manor. See Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 11.
16. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 9, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
17. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 11, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
18. AG-S, LAG, XI/10, p. 2.
19. Georg Stein, *Die Cäsur der Entscheidung* (Luxembourg, 1946), p. 163.
20. AG-S, Interrogation of Knittler by the Soviet Military Tribunal, December 20, 1946, File 1560, p. 257.
21. Stein, *Cäsur*, p. 164.
22. AG-S, LAG XI-10, p. 2.
23. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen list of Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS members.
24. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
25. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 6, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jan Zbigniew Karczewski in the Glau subcamp.
26. PRO, WO 309/1769.
27. BA-K, Z 42 IV/5891. Sorge was sentenced by the denazification court in 1948 to 10 years' imprisonment.
28. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 10, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
29. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
30. Sachse, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 9.
31. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/8/2A, p. 295, Report by Georg Heinzmann.
32. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
33. Stein, "Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin," p. 166.
34. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 12.
35. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep 35H, Collection D 30A/10/2, p. 141, Report of Karl Witt.
36. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 11, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
37. AG-S, LAG XI/10.

GLÖWEN

The Glöwen subcamp was one of six Sachsenhausen subcamps to which only Jews were transported in 1944. It was only in Glöwen that there existed a number of larger groups that together numbered more than 770 male and female Jewish prisoners. The subcamp was established in the summer of 1944 at a munitions and machine storage area of the Dynamit Aktien Gesellschaft (DAG). It was located between Berlin and Magdeburg, not far from Havelberg.

The DAG installation, originally known under the name of "Roland" for security reasons and located in a 500-hectare (1,236-acre) forest, was planned as a large facility for the production of nitrocellulose. Construction began in October 1938, and around 50 construction firms from the region were involved in the work. Some 175 foreign laborers and 50 German Jews, as part of the "self-contained labor deployment" (*Geschlossenen Arbeitseinsatz*), were used as forced laborers.[1] French prisoners of war (POWs) were also used.

In 1942, the camp was converted to a regional storage facility for captured weapons and machines and was known as "Lager Glöwen." A disassembly installation (*Entlaborierungsanstalt*) was established for the Cologne explosives factory Meissner & Söhne, to recycle explosives from munitions left over from World War I and from captured munitions.[2] The production of detonators was planned.

The buildings erected at the facility were covered with earth for camouflage purposes. The earth in turn was planted with fir trees. Aircraft buildings were painted with camouflage paint, and when they were used as munitions stores, they were surrounded by earthen walls.

Glöwen had a rail connection, and railway equipment was located on the site. At the beginning of 1945, around 10 to 12 cars were turned around daily. It was planned to increase that rate to between 50 and 70 cars.

At times it was planned to relocate other facilities to Glöwen: for example, the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (Demag) tank tracks assembly from Falkensee and the Arado aircraft factory from Rathenow in Brandenburg, both of which used prisoners from Sachsenhausen.[3]

In August 1944, around 300 Polish Jewish men and women were transported from the Pionki forced labor camp near Pionki in the direction of Glöwen. In Pionki, they worked as forced laborers for the largest explosives factory, which after the occupation of Poland had been taken over by the Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG). Around 3,000 Jewish prisoners from Radom were held on the factory site as forced laborers. Many of them were held there after the evacuation of both Radom ghettos in August 1942.

When the Red Army pushed into the Radom area in July 1944, it was decided by the armaments factory and the Armaments Ministry's Main Committee for Gunpowder and Explosives (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff) to relocate the gunpowder factory to Glöwen.[4] Once the factory had been disassembled, the majority of the Jewish forced laborers were deported to Auschwitz. Raul Hilberg has pointed out that, as in Pionki other Jewish forced laborers in German occupation industries, such as Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP), or Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG), were pulled out and deported.[5]

Around 300 Jewish forced laborers from Pionki, including 30 women, were transported in four rail cars via Tschenstochau (Czçstochowa) to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They were to rebuild the factory in Glöwen. They were chosen largely because of their tradesmen's skills, but some were arbitrarily chosen. Eventually, the SS transferred the women to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The men were first held in "quarantine" in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and only later were they taken to Glöwen.

On August 16, 1944, 499 Hungarian Jewish women were transported from the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig to Glöwen.[6] The women had been arrested after the occupation of Hungary and transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From there the SS transported them to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp and, when that was evacuated, then to the Stutthof concentration camp.

The male and female prisoners at Glöwen were taken to the subcamp's barracks, which in part were located in a "community camp" (*Gemeinschaftstlager*) constructed for German civilian workers. The barracks were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. There were four watchtowers. The subcamp included a camp kitchen that was supplied by DAG, an infirmary, and a workshop. The prisoners made sure that a fellow prisoner, aged 10, worked in the kitchen and repairing the prisoners' wooden shoes. They wanted to protect him from the more physically demanding work.[7]

The men and women were separated. If they made contact through the barbed wire that separated them, they could be punished by being forced to stand for prolonged periods or by being beaten. Survivor Abraham B. recalled, "It was not only forbidden to speak with other inmates but also to look out of the camp. I was punished because while on the way to work I had said to the women who were marching by 'good morning.' I had to stand the whole day at attention for several hours wearing a rucksack filled with stones."[8] Nevertheless, the prisoners were able, for example, to make their own candles and a cloth bag. They exchanged these outside the camp for Sabbath candles. The women had asked the men for candles, which the men had made from paraffin that was available in the camp. In return, the women sewed the cloth bag.

Hunger, the cold in the particularly cold winter of 1944–1945, and the persecution by a number of SS men were the greatest dangers in the Glöwen subcamp. The SS man who was the camp's economic officer and in charge of supplies for the camp is remembered by survivors as being a particularly brutal SS man. It was he who implemented the punishment of 25 blows with a cane.[9] Another method was used to make the prisoners comply. This was the threat to return the prisoners to the Sachsenhausen main camp. "Transport back to the main camp at Sachsenhausen was always a threat that we heard from the SS men: 'If you continue like that you'll be back in Sachsenhausen.' "[10] Survivors have stated that four male prisoners died in the Glöwen subcamp through exhaustion and hunger.[11] At least two prisoners who could no longer work and who were ill were taken back by rail to Sachsenhausen. Three female prisoners became ill from typhus, and one of them died.[12] In the spring of 1945, a woman gave birth, and she and her infant were taken back to Ravensbrück where they were probably murdered.

There were 16 SS male guards at the Glöwen subcamp[13] and around 10 young SS wardresses. Investigations carried out in 1967 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg into the former camp leader and other members of the guard at the Glöwen subcamp were stopped because it was not possible to prove any homicides.[14]

Inside Glöwen, the prisoners for the most part were supervised by DAG factory security officers.[15] At the beginning of 1945, the factory and work security supervisor noted that factory security had "become more lax with the Jews, especially the Jewesses." The factory security officers "should not be allowed to engage in any form of conversation or transaction with the Jewesses. Regardless of the position of anyone involved the matter will be immediately reported to the police."[16]

Inside the camp grounds, the concentration camp prisoners were divided into work groups. Some of the groups were supervised by German engineers who had previously been based in Pionki.

The male prisoners, dressed in inadequate clothing, basically did unloading work without tools. At first they had to unload the machines from Pionki and later machines from other firms. Some prisoners did carpentry and electrical installation work. In addition, work was to be done on extracting gunpowder.[17]

The female prisoners also had to work on disassembling munitions and manufacturing detonators. The head and chief engineer of the DAG technical department, Heinrich Schindler, planned to produce 150 million detonators each month.[18] However, the requisite production facilities were never finished. Instead, the women worked in a variety of work detachments, working in the fields, gardens, or small workshops such as a bakery in the area.

In September 1944, the "Special Gunpowder Committee" (Sonderausschuss Pulver) of the Main Committee, Gunpowder and Munitions (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Munition), which consisted of representatives of the munitions firms, called a meeting of the committee representatives in Glöwen.[19] As a result, the Pionki factory facilities were divided between the munitions' firms.

In October 1944, the DAG Berlin construction office, which had been relocated to the town of Glöwen, demanded an additional allocation of 15 accommodation barracks, as it was possible that the use of prisoners to manufacture detonators would be expanded.

On December 16, the SS administration in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp indicated to DAG that a withdrawal of prisoners from Glöwen was planned for January 15, 1945.[20] This was objected to by the Army High Command (OKH), which wanted the prisoners to remain to work on transporting machines and goods and in production.[21] A demand was also made that the male concentration camp prisoners, who were still formally part of the Pionki Gunpowder Factory, transfer to the DAG.[22] The DAG wanted to continue to use the concentration camp prisoners in the production of detonators, which was supposed to begin in February 1945. Planning envisaged the use of prisoners in a DAG factory in Allendorf[23] or in two other factories in Thüringen.[24]

Most probably the SS dissolved the male camp on February 14 and then the female camp on April 14, 1945.[25] In mid-February 1945, the SS divided the male prisoners into three groups. More than 100 were transported to the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Rathenow. There, they riveted aircraft wings at the Arado aircraft factory. The factories were located aboveground and had no protection against air raids. Working with air pressure devices in 12-hour shifts in such facilities meant that the prisoners often suffered from frostbite. The concentration camp prisoners were not allowed to enter the underground production facilities that would have offered protection from the cold and air raids. The SS guards fled in April 1945 shortly before the arrival of the Red Army.

The second group was transported to Bergen-Belsen, where most of them died from starvation. The third group was transported back to Sachsenhausen in February 1945 and, following its dissolution, was sent on a death march in the direction of the Baltic.

The female prisoners remained in Glöwen until its dissolution in mid-April 1945. They then set out on a weeklong march to the Ravensbrück subcamp at Malchow. A DAG factory was also located here. They were freed in Malchow by the Red Army on May 2, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Glöwen was researched by the author for the GMS exhibition "Die Baracke 38—Jüdische Häftlinge im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945" and described in the following two essays. "Zwangsarbeit im Beutelager—Das KZ Aussenlager Glöwen," in *Havelberg: Kleine Stadt mit grosser Vergangenheit*, ed. Stadt Havelberg (Havelberg: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1998), pp. 169–187; and "Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—Die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen," in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175. Earlier research did not follow the Pionki transports beyond Tschenstochau. See Sebastian Piatkowski, "Oboz pracy przymusowej dla Zydow w Pionkach," *NaZag* 21 (n.d.): 14.

The SS was supposed to destroy the "Lager Glöwen" files at the beginning of 1945. Dynamit Nobel AG states it no longer has the relevant files. During the author's research, he located handwritten documents of the factory and work security supervisor for the "Lager Glöwen," which had been discovered by the Bundeswehr when removing ordnance and which are now located in the BLHA (Bestandssignatur: BLHA Pr. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG). The AG-S holds seven files of documents that are the results of research the author did in the BA-B, BLHA, WWA-D, IPN, AMS, and APR, as well as research done on location in Pionki, Havelberg, and Glöwen. The AG-S holds the interviews that the author's colleagues Eva Brücker, Maike Leffers, Anneke de Rudder, and Monika Schmidt and he made in 1996 with the Glöwen survivors Irachmil Bahir, Jizack Flekier, Abram Lancman, Amek Mandel, Joseph Rotbaum-Ribo, Mordechai Rozenczaig, Morris Rubinstein, and Marika Weinberger. The interviews were made in Israel, the United States, Britain, and Australia. Survivor Abraham Lancmann published his memories of Pionki, Glöwen, and Rathenow in *Mlodość w czasie Zagłady*, trans. Anna Przedpelska-Trzeciakowska (Warsaw: "Rytm," 2002).

An initiative by local pupils in 2005 to erect a monument at the former subcamp is documented in Thomas Irmer/Ulla Seeger, *Erinnerung an eine "geliehene Zeit"* (Berlin, 2007).

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BLHA, Schreiben an das Kommando des Rüstungsbereichs Potsdam, August 13, 1940, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG.

2. Sprengstoff-Erzeugungsmeldung vom Februar 1945, BA-B, R3/3053, Bl. 94. The report reveals that production in Glöwen was not great in comparison to other sites.

3. BLHA, Jahresbericht 1944 der Tätigkeit des Lagers Glöwen, January 17, 1945, und Anlage Schreiben des OKH an die DEMAG-Fahrzeugwerke, Falkensee, v. 29.6.1944, in Mitteilung des OKH an die B-Gutverwaltung der DAG in Glöwen, o.D., BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

4. Schreiben an den Hauptausschuss Munition und Pulver, September 12, 1944, BA-B, R3, Nr. 3054, Bl. 362. The

letter indicates that it was intended to relocate a munitions factory from Bromberg in the same manner as the Pionki relocation. The letter includes the following: "Selbstverständlich soll gewahrt bleiben, dass die Mehrzahl der Produktionsanteile in den Händen der Stammfirmen des zu räumenden Werkes ist, sofern die militärischen Forderungen dieses vertretbar lassen" (Naturally, the majority of the production facilities will remain in the ownership of the firms being evacuated unless military requirements dictate otherwise).

5. Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1990), 2:567.

6. Befehl Nr. 55 des Kommandanten des KZ Stutthof, August 16, 1944, AMS. Documents in the Stutthof State Museum include the transport list with the names of 499 women.

7. Interview with Joseph Ribo by Thomas Irmer, AG-S, Bestand B 38.

8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 406 AR 745/67 Aussage A.B.

9. ZdL IV AR 745/67d., pp. 233–234, Aussage N.G., and pp. 292–295, Aussage Jakob H.

10. Ibid., pp. 233–234, Aussage N.G.

11. ZdL IV AR 745/67, Schreiben von Abram W. of March 18, 1950; see also Lancmann, Abraham.

12. ZdL IV AR 745/67, Aussage von Gerda Z.

13. See Aufstellung SS-Wachmannschaft, AG-S, LAG X 3.

14. ZdL, AZ. IV 406 AR 745/67; see also IV 406 AR-Z 141/1971 (Rathenow).

15. BLHA, Vgl. Namensliste Werkschutz, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

16. BLHA, Vermerk des Betriebs- und Werkschutzleiters Otto Adams, February 22, 1945, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

17. Schnellbrief des OKH an den Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff, December 18, 1944, Betr.: Umsetzung von 268 Juden (Häftlinge) von Pionki z.Zt. Glöwen, in BLHA, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

18. See IWM, CIOS-Report Item No. 2, File No. XXXII-38, "Explosives: Summary of Capacity and Production in Germany," July 1945.

19. Schreiben des Sonderausschuss Pulver an das OKH, September 12, 1944, BA-B, R3, Nr. 3054, Bl. 365. For a corresponding meeting in Glöwen, the following were notified: Direktor Dr. Marquard, WASAG; Dr. Langmesser, DSC; Dr. Kühne, Verwertchemie; Direktor Ehringfeld, Eibia; Direktor Dr. Schulz, Wolff & Co.; Dr. Ott, Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff; as well as Herr Stürk vom Sonderausschuss Pulver. See also BA-B, R3/3054, Bl. 331, Schreiben des Sonderausschuss Pulver an den Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff of September 28, 1944, Betrifft Sitzung in Glöwen 28.9.1944, Vorgang: Verteilung von Maschinen etc. des Werkes Pionki.

20. Schreiben des OKH an die Waffen-SS des KZ Sachsenhausen of January 6, 1945, Betr.: Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge in Glöwen, in BLHA, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Anlage zum Rundschreiben Nr. 14/45g., p. 3, in BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG.

25. Angaben nach Bundesgesetzblatt Nr. 64/1806, Teil 1, 1977.

GRÜNHEIDE

The Grünheide subcamp located on the eastern edge of Berlin, not far from Erkner, is not mentioned in the International Tracing Service's (ITS) catalog of camps and prisons published in 1949.[1] A 1960s publication on Sachsenhausen lists the camp with the notation "barracks building."[2]

According to a listing by the Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, the camp existed from the spring of 1944 to January 1945. Around 70 male prisoners were deployed as a construction detail at an SS station.[3]

A diploma thesis, prepared under the auspices of the Sachsenhausen Memorial, lists the camp as existing from the summer of 1944 to the beginning of 1945. The prisoners were used by the SS or the Wehrmacht.[4] Following the listing "according to camp statistics," there were as many as 180 prisoners in the camp.[5] In an overview of all subcamps produced by the Sachsenhausen Memorial before 1990, it stated that the use of the prisoner labor was: "Barracks construction for SS war reporters, Wehrmacht buildings."[6] A committee of former prisoners compiled a postwar list that mentions Grünheide as having 180 prisoners working at the "2. SS-[Bau-] Brigade."[7] Another document prepared by a former prisoner states the following: "Grünheide: Small detachment thirty-five men. Barrack construction for SS war reporters. Center for propaganda reports."[8]

It is said that in the summer of 1944 a transport of around 50 men from the Glau subcamp was sent to Grünheide.[9] The prisoners at first had to camp under the open sky before they established their first accommodation barrack in a forested area. The barrack was surrounded with barbed wire. SS-Unterscharführer Rausch of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) was in charge of construction.

It is thought that later another 100 prisoners were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Grünheide.[10] The Sachsenhausen change of status reports state that on June 1, 1944, there were 50 prisoners in the Grünheide subcamp. The highest number of prisoners is recorded for the end of October 1944 when 70 prisoners are registered at the camp. On February 12, 1945, there were still 65 prisoners at Grünheide.[11]

The prisoners went on to erect three more barracks, an air-raid bunker for the SS, and trenches made out of prefabricated slabs. The site was said to be overflow quarters for war reporters, where women also worked, although only one of the finished barracks is supposed to have been used.

The prisoners were Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, and Norwegians. The camp elder was for a short time the criminal prisoner Curt Reuter. He was chosen

because he spoke French. He was a barrack elder in the main camp and from September 1943 worked on operations in the prisoners' infirmary.

The prisoners saw the camp at Grünheide as a subsidiary camp of the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp—they were supplied from there, and inspections were made from that camp. The camp was also controlled by the camp command in Lichterfelde through SS-Oberscharführer Erwin Seifert and SS-Obersturmführer Ludewig.

Security at the camp was provided by 12 to 15 SS from the RSHA. The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Finger, who admitted to being the only SS man from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp based in Grünheide. He had been based at Sachsenhausen from the beginning of 1941, followed by three years at the Berlin-Kaiserallee commando and, from the end of August 1944, at the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp. He was transferred on August 28, 1944, to Grünheide, where according to his own statement he remained until February 1945.

There are no known instances of prisoner mistreatment in Grünheide, and no accusations were later made against the construction chief, the camp leader, and the SS guards. Finger, who later lived in the German Democratic Republic, denied being the camp leader in Grünheide when questioned by the General State Prosecutor of the German Democratic Republic. He stated that he was only a member of the guard. Finger was a member of the Seventh Sachsenhausen SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon, which was stationed in Berlin-Lichterfelde.

As the front approached, the whole Grünheide prisoner detachment was evacuated to Lichterfelde. In April 1945, some of the prisoners were sent via the Heinkel subcamp and then on the death march from the main camp to Mecklenburg.[12]

All that is known about criminal proceedings against those in charge is that the supposed camp leader, Finger, was interned as a "guard" in 1945 in the British internment camp at Esterwegen and was, according to his own statement, convicted by a jury in Bielefeld in December 1947.[13] His sentence was considered already served because of the time he spent as an internee in Esterwegen and Eselsheide.

Investigations begun in 1967 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1971, as there were no grounds for any charges in respect to crimes of violence at Grünheide.[14] A request for legal assistance by the Zentralstelle in Cologne to the German Democratic Republic resulted in the former camp leader, Finger, being questioned in the German Democratic Republic. He was not a member of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) or any community organization but was nevertheless given a certificate of good character. He was said to be quiet, industrious, and willing to help. The West German investigating authorities were merely told that Finger had only been a member of the guard. The file was then closed.

SOURCES There are no known secondary sources on the Grünheide subcamp. The archival sources are found in the BA-L and AG-S. There are a few archival sources in the BA-B and PRO.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).
2. KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 61.
3. SBG, Workshop Conference Binder "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück 17. und 18. Oktober 2003).
4. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997).
5. BStU, RHE-West 330/1, p 237.
6. AG-S.
7. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35 H, Nr. 8/1, p. 459.
8. IfZ, Ed 106/77, Aufstellung des ehemaligen Häftlings des KZ-Sachsenhausen Walter Nowak, n.d.
9. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 10, Record of interview Wilhelm Fischer, October 24, 1967.
10. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 63, Record of interview Curt Reuter, July 2, 1970.
11. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 99 and 101.
12. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 13, Record of interview Wilhelm Fischer, October 24, 1967.
13. PRO, WO 309/1765, List of Former Members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp command office interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945, various lists; here: AG-S, LAG X/3; BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 75, Schreiben der Gsta. DDR an die ZSSta-K, June 9, 1970.
14. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67.

HENNIGSDORF

The Sachsenhausen subcamp at Hennigsdorf was established in October 1944 near the Hennigsdorf factories of the second-largest German electrical concern, the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG). About 650 female concentration camp prisoners, most of them Polish women, were used for forced labor in the armaments production at Hennigsdorf, located to the northwest of Berlin. The first use of concentration camp prisoners in an industrial firm in the Berlin-Brandenburg region was probably planned in Hennigsdorf in 1940.

By 1940–1941, between 20 and 45 male prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp worked in a rolling mill of the Mitteldeutschen Stahl- und Walzwerke (Central German Steel and Rolling Mill) in Hennigsdorf. The company had been a part of the Flick concern since 1926. In May 1940, the board of directors of the rolling mill negotiated with SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Burböck of the Inspectorate of

Concentration Camps (IKL) in Oranienburg about details regarding transport, food, accommodation, and payment.[1]

The concentration camp prisoners were taken daily by truck to Hennigsdorf. On top of the work, which was physically demanding and done in 12-hour shifts, the prisoners had to unload scrap metal as well as clean the melting pots and change the fire clay stones in the blast furnaces.[2]

The Hennigsdorf factories of AEG to the northwest of Berlin, established in 1909–1910, produced in 1934–1935 some 10 percent of the total production of all AEG factories.[3] They manufactured products such as electric locomotives and industrial ovens and household devices such as refrigerators and insulation. With the beginning of the war, Hennigsdorf supplied components for air armaments, munitions, and tank construction. In Hennigsdorf the AEG used countless foreign workers from Western and Eastern Europe, as well as French and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[4] As part of the 1942–1943 "camp construction project" (*Lagerbauaktion*), around 20 barracks for more than 4,000 people were built to the west of the Hennigsdorf factory on the Hohenzollern Canal.

In July 1942, representatives of the AEG Hennigsdorf insulation material factory and the German occupation administration at the Łódź ghetto agreed on the use of 200 ghetto inmates for the process used to separate glimmer. The AEG representatives in Łódź stated: "As this work is a very simple process needing neither technical skill nor strength, children and youths can be used." Glimmer, a mineral composition found in rocks deep under the earth, was used in the electrical industry as an insulation material. The glimmer supplied by AEG Hennigsdorf had to be cut by the ghetto inmates with knives and molding tools into three different sizes. The ghetto administration informed AEG that "in view of the specificities of the Ghetto and due to measures for the solution of the Jewish question no responsibility could be assumed for the actual use of the labor." At the beginning of August 1942, an AEG skilled tradesman from Hennigsdorf taught 150 ghetto inmates how to separate glimmer. According to details from the Elder's Council, there were 650 ghetto inmates at the end of 1942 and 500 in April 1943 involved in the production of glimmer, 45 percent of whom were youths. When production stopped because of AEG delivery problems, the ghetto administration threatened to withdraw the Jewish forced labor. It was reduced in June 1943 by about 50 percent, and in November 1943, AEG terminated the production contract supposedly because "the use of machines in cutting glimmer had progressed to such an extent that it was no longer profitable to split glimmer by hand and no longer responsible to use labor for such purpose, especially given the importance of labor for the war economy."[5]

The Hennigsdorf subcamp, as with another subcamp at the AEG operations in Berlin-Köpenick, was one of the last subcamps established by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1944 at an industrial enterprise. The majority of the 650 female concentration camp prisoners, who were transferred on October 10, 1944, from Ravensbrück to Hennigsdorf,[6] were Polish women arrested after the Warsaw Uprising. At the end of 1944, Hungarian Jewish women were transferred to Hennigsdorf.[7] There were probably also female prisoners from the Soviet Union,[8] as well as from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and France. During that same time period between September 28 and October 9, 1944, around 680, mostly Polish female prisoners, were transferred to the subcamp established at the AEG-Kabelwerk Oberspree in Berlin-Köpenick.[9]

The Hennigsdorf subcamp was surrounded by two barbed-wire fences. It was located in former barracks for foreign workers located to the west of the AEG factory grounds. It included an infirmary, kitchen barracks, washing and toilet facilities, as well as rooms for the female SS guards.[10] "Hennigsdorf," according to the then-25-year-old Janina Krafczyk from Warsaw, who together with her mother had been transported to the subcamp, "appeared luxurious in comparison to Ravensbrück because everyone had their own bed."[11]

The SS initially gave the women civilian clothes, which were marked with a white-painted cross. The clothes probably originated from Jewish women who had been deported.[12] At the beginning of 1945, prisoner overalls were handed out to the women.

For some of the women, daily religious observance in the camp gave them a reference point for sticking together. Krafczyk stated, "We made a beautiful altar between the windows. . . . An altar with little flowers made from cable and a small cross. We turned to it when we prayed or sang."[13]

The altar was constructed by the women out of bits of cable and plastic that they smuggled out of the factory. Some scratched into leftover materials drawings depicting, for example, the daily march to work. Those pieces were used as jewelry items to make presents or else for barter purposes.

While SS men guarded the external camp from the outside, inside the camp the female prisoners were watched by 32 SS women. The female SS also guarded the women on their daily 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) march to the factory and while working. They divided the women into different work detachments. It is said that some female SS treated the women brutally.[14]

Kept separately in a specially constructed building of the screw factory, the female concentration camp prisoners did skilled work in a variety of departments. They had to produce the mechanical detonators for mines and flak grenades, assemble aircraft engines, and execute drill and soldering work. The women were also involved in the production of gramophone records and processing glimmer.[15] They were taught by AEG civilian workers during the weekly, alternating 12-hour day and night shifts. The civilian workers treated the women differently: Krafczyk recalled that she "was drilling deep holes into the metal plates. . . . At one moment I lowered my head too low. The foreman jumped over to me, grabbed my head and pulled me up from behind. Apparently my hair had come very close to the drilling machine When he saw that . . . he was very attentive, he seized me by the head. . . . He did not talk a great deal, indeed I never heard him talk. I

never saw him talk with the wardresses. But now how he scolded the wardress! Why did we not have scarves! The next day we all had scarves, which we wore only when in the factory."[16] There were other AEG civilian workers who would not get involved: "There were two engineers, one for each shift. One hardly looked at me. Once the other noticed that the pistons were smoking because tin residue had made them filthy. . . . It was only he who would clean the pistons for me and would be friendly to me. The other one did nothing. I could have fallen over dead and he would not have noticed."[17]

At the beginning of 1945, the shifts were reduced to eight hours because of material shortages. When the factory buildings were severely damaged during an air raid on March 18, 1945, the forced labor stopped completely. Instead, the female prisoners had to clean up rubble and later work on fortifications.[18]

When the subcamp was dissolved in April 1945, the women were forced on a death march to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Some of the prisoners, including Krafczyk and her mother, remained at the village of Sommerfeld and were later liberated by a Polish detachment of the Red Army.[19] Others died along the way from exhaustion or were shot by the SS.[20] The remainder of the prisoners were forced to march to Ravensbrück.[21]

SOURCES Due to only fragmentary sources being available, all the more valuable are the details supplied by former female prisoners. The biography of Janina Krafczyk was put together by the author for the Sachsenhausen Memorial permanent exhibition "Die Baracke 39—Der 'Alltag' der Häftlinge des KZ Sachsenhausen" and the CD-ROM *Gegen das Vergessen*. For forced labor and AEG, see Thomas Irmer, ". . . eine Art Sklavenhandel—Zwangsarbeit bei AEG/Telefunken in Berlin und Wedding," in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. ABR (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), pp. 154–166. On Berlin-Köpenick, see Irmer, "Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen," in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175. On forced labor in Hennigsdorf, see Helmut Fritsch, *Zwangsarbeit in Hennigsdorf 1940 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Hennigsdorf, 2001).

Documents on forced labor at AEG Hennigsdordt are kept in the ASt-Hen, the BLHA, and BA-L. The AG-S contains the interviews with former female prisoners from the Hennigsdorf subcamp, including that of Krafczyk. YVA holds the correspondence with the Łódź ghetto administration.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk der Direktion der Mitteldeutschen Stahl- und Walzwerke Friedrich Flick KG, May 28, 1940, Betr.: Arbeitskräfte aus dem Konzentrationslager Oranienburg, ASt-Hen, Te VI/5/8.

2. BA-L, ZdL, Abschlussverfügung des Ermittlungsverfahren 24 AR 1/62.

3. Bericht AEG-Fabriken, BA, Deutsche Bank, P3362, p. 15.

4. For forced labor and AEG, see ibid.

5. All quotations from Korrespondenz Getto- Verwaltung/Ältestenrat/AEG Fabriken Hennigsdorf 1942/43, YVA, JM 919.

6. Überstellungsliste von K.L. Ravensbrück nach K.L. Sachsenhausen Arbeitslager Hennigsdorf, October 6, 1944, IPN.

7. Details from Erös Andor and Sandor Pal, Budapest, July 20, 1945, YVA, 015/2359, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Abteilung für Dokumentation, Hennigsdorf, Protokoll Landeskomitee für die Fürsorge der Deportierten, Budapest, July 20, 1945. See also Veränderungsmeldung (Frauen-Lager), March 27, 1945, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

8. Veränderungsmeldung (Frauenlager), April 9, 1945, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

9. KZ Ravensbrück, Arbeitseinsatz: Arbeitslager Oberschöneweide (KZ Sachsenhausen), 1. Überstellung, September 28, 1944; Überstellungsliste von KL Ravensbrück nach KL Sachsenhausen, Arbeitslager Berlin-Oberspree (AEG), I. Überstellung: 300 Häftlinge, October 2, 1944; Überstellungsliste vom KL Ravensbrück nach KL Sachsenhausen, Arbeitslager Berlin-Oberspree (AEG), II. Überstellung: 400 Häftlinge, October 9, 1944, IPN.

10. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B´38/39.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Aussage Fritz Witt, BA-L, ZdL Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68; and Interview with Janina Krafczyk, in AG-S, Bestand B´38.

15. Aussage von Dorothy P., April 20, 1950, ZdL, Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

16. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B´38/39.

17. Ibid.

18. Details from Erös Andor and Sandor Pal, Budapest, July 20, 1945, YVA, 015/2359, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Abteilung für Dokumentation, Hennigsdorf, Protokoll Landeskomitee für die Fürsorge der Deportierten, Budapest, July 20, 1945.

19. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B´38/39.

20. Aussage Dorothy P., ZdL, Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

21. ZdL, Abschlussbericht Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

KIEW

From July 1942 to spring 1943, a subcamp of Sachenhausen was created in the city of Kiev, which was then part of the Soviet Union (today it is in the Ukraine). There is little information about this camp, perhaps because there were only four

or five prisoners transported to Kiev for work. According to the International Tracing Service entry for this camp, the inmates, all men, were brought to Kiev to assist in the opening of safes that belonged to Soviet authorities. They were employed for this activity by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer, HSSPF).

SOURCES There are few primary and secondary sources on the Kiew subcamp of Sachsenhausen. Information for this entry comes from the Kiew entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

The Kiew subcamp is mentioned in one primary source stored at the AG-S in Oranienburg, in file group I/4, Index der Aussenkommandos und Aussenlager. However, no additional information, besides the fact that there was a work commando sent to Kiev, is provided.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

KLEINMACHNOW

In the summer of 1944, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen concentration camp for female prisoners was established at Kleinmachnow, near Berlin. It was located right on the factory premises of the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, a subsidiary of Robert Bosch GmbH. Organizationally, it reported to the main Sachsenhausen camp. The women in the camp were from the Ravensbrück concentration camp and had been selected by employees of the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH to do forced labor for the armaments factory.

About 800 female prisoners, mostly young women, were transferred in September and October 1944 in two transports from the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp to the Kleinmachnow subcamp. As of March 30, 1945, precisely 749 prisoners, who with very few exceptions came from Poland, were interned there. They had been brought to Germany after the German occupiers crushed the Warsaw Uprising by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa). Among the prisoners were a number of Jewish women from Poland. They lived and survived in the camp using pseudonyms, revealing their Jewish origin only to a few fellow prisoners.

The subcamp consisted of an approximately 6,700-square-meter (72,118-square-feet) large factory floor, which was separated from the rest of the works by a double fence of barbed wire, the inner one of which was electrified. The air-raid shelter below the floor served as accommodation for the prisoners. At any given time, about 30 women had to stay in each of the unheated, dark and damp rooms. Working around the clock in 12-hour shifts, they carried out primarily precision work. What exactly they produced, the prisoners did not know; they were only told that they were making aircraft engine parts for Bosch. Their sole employer was the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, which had been founded on behalf of the Reich Air Ministry and produced fuel injection pumps, magneto ignitions, starters, and other equipment especially for aircraft engines, all in accordance with Bosch designs.

As a rule, survivors reported that the German foremen and overseers treated them well, although the female SS guards hit them and tortured them, with roll calls lasting hours. Gynecological experiments were carried out on some of the prisoners at the Sachsenhausen main camp (according to other statements, also at Ravensbrück); one woman is said to have died from them. Other deaths are not known. One pregnant woman was sent back to Ravensbrück, and from there she was taken to Bergen-Belsen, where she gave birth to a child that died a few days later. Numerous survivors had gynecological problems after the detention, which they ascribed to a drug that had been added to their food to prevent menstruation.

The commandant of the Kleinmachnow subcamp was Walter Dankworth from Berlin, born April 4, 1903, who belonged to the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen. From 1941 to the end of the war, he was a member of the SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Units). Before that he had worked at Siemens as an engineer and had then volunteered to provide technical assistance to the police. After three months of military training, he was assigned to the guard company of Sachsenhausen and held guard duty in various subcamps. In December 1944, having been promoted in the meantime to SS-Unterscharführer, he took over the Kleinmachnow subcamp, which he ran up until its evacuation to the Sachsenhausen main camp. Eight guards were assigned to him, probably likewise members of the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachenhausen, as well as the camp's female guards.

Evidently there existed in the camp a small-scale barter system through which some women were able to get additional clothes and food. They sewed shopping bags from cleaning rags for the machines and also made jewelry from metal shavings. They exchanged these articles with some of the foremen and fitters for bread.

In April 1945, as the Red Army approached, the Kleinmachnow subcamp was evacuated, and the women were sent back to the Sachsenhausen main camp. Paul Vogelgsang, a manager at the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, had a train of streetcars made available for the transport, escorted by the female guards and watched by camp leader Dankworth. On April 22, 1945, the women, together with all other prisoners of Sachsenhausen, were driven to the infamous death march in the direction of Schwerin.

SOURCES Very little is known about the approximately 170 concentration camp subcamps in Berlin and its surroundings. The first study of the subcamp Kleinmachnow, Angela Martin, *"Ich sah den Namen Bosch." Polnische Frauen als KZ-Häftlinge in der Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), contains a substantial chapter about the previously unknown history of Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH and its deployment of forced laborers.

For Martin's report, 45 survivors were interviewed, while other eyewitnesses have recorded their memories of forced labor and relocations in writing. These sources can be seen at the Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt e.V. Preliminary Inquiry Files in the Sta. Köln, part of an effort to prosecute unidentified SS members suspected of murder and provide additional information about the living and working conditions in the camp and can be found in NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118/2109,2110. They contain numerous testimonies from survivors as well as records of depositions of the camp leader and a female guard. The proceedings were abandoned in May 1972 because the suspicion of violent crimes at the Kleinmachnow subcamp was impossible to prove even after all of the investigatory possibilities had been exhausted. The AG-R and AG-S have only lists of intakes and transfers that give indications of the occupancy of the Kleinmachnow subcamp and the prisoners' origins.

Angela Martin
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KOLPIN

Alongside the establishment of the SS military training camp "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region, only 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin, the density of SS duty stations in the area surrounding the capital of the German Reich increased further from the summer of 1943 on with the emergence of the SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow.

It was likewise in the summer of 1943 that the SS-Leadership Main Office (SS-Führungshauptamt, FHA) started two related projects in the Fürstenwalde/Bad Saarow/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

Simultaneously with the relocation of its offices to the Bad Saarow area from Berlin, which was in danger of bombardment, the FHA began a large building project, the construction of an underground intelligence center in the Rauener Mountains south of Fürstenwalde.

The two projects were apparently connected. Both an overflow camp for SS duty stations and a large intelligence bunker were built in the space, which was in use from the second half of the year 1943 onward.

The project "relocation of SS duty stations" (*Verlagerung von SS-Dienststellen*) out of the Reich capital was carried out from the end of July 1943 under the code name "Siegfried."[1]

The SS garrison headquarters that was established for these two projects, Bad Saarow, encompassed an area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal (Schlaube valley).[2] As of August 9, 1943, there also existed an "SS-Standortverwaltung Bad Saarow." Several subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp—Bad Saarow (also mistakenly called Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin—were located from 1943 on within the jurisdiction of this garrison headquarters.

The Kolpin subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp. The SS-Zentralbauleitung Bad Saarow was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer, who had been born in Nürnberg in 1912. As of May 1944, project offices for the central construction administration were located adjacent to the main building sites at Bad Saarow, as well as at Storkow, Trebnitz, and Kolpin,[3] each of which was also a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Karl Jüngling, who had previously been briefly in command of the Lieberose subcamp.[4] After 1945, while in the British internment camp at Esterwegen, he stated that he held this position from October 20, 1944, to February 2, 1945.[5] The camp was guarded by 25 to 30 ethnic Germans.[6]

One SS-Hauptscharführer Müller, said to have been responsible for Kolpin, reported "good and friendly treatment" of the prisoners. He also claimed to have tried to get additional food for them. His actual role, however, is unknown.[7] The block elder in block one was political prisoner Wilhelm Kottkamp.[8] The foreman in Kolpin is said to have been the prisoner Blutschuth.[9]

According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who was roll-call clerk at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April 1944, the subcamps at Bad Saarow, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin were considered one unified labor camp. SS records term Bad Saarow a work camp, and Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen as labor details.

The Kolpin outside detail, however, was not listed separately in the SS records. It may have been a sublabor detail of the Bad Saarow subcamp.

According to accounts given by former prisoners, the camp was established in the summer of 1944 and accommodated between 150 and 400 prisoners. Other sources, however, suggest that the Kolpin subcamp was set up only in the fall of 1944.[10]

It is documented that the prisoners were deployed in the building of overflow quarters for the Office of Foreign Affairs/Counterintelligence of the Wehrmacht, later absorbed in the Military Office of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).

The camp was dissolved on February 15, 1945.

SOURCES Scant documents on the prehistory of the camp are found in the BA-B (Collection NS 33). Memoirs of former prisoners and information on the perpetrators are preserved in the AG-S and at BLHA.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, fol. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, fol. 189, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung "Bad Saarow," n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, fol. 139R.
4. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.
5. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of the former SS members at the KZ Sachsenhausen who were held at the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
6. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.

7. According to former political prisoner Willy Kühne, AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 12/2, shelf mark D 30 A/12/2 B, fol. 68–69.

8. AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, shelf mark D 30 A/10/2 A, fol. 138, confirmation of Wilhelm Kottkamp's detention by the VVN Essen.

9. AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, shelf mark D 30A/10/2 B, fol. 37, questionnaire of the former prisoner Heinrich Deichmann at the Bad Saarow subcamp.

10. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.

KÖNIGS WUSTERHAUSEN

"Besides the clearance detail, which remained in Łódź until it fell to the Russians, there are also other people who survived for much stranger reasons. With the help of Biebow and his deputy Seifert, about five hundred Jews, mostly foremen and their families (there were even thirty children among them) were kept in a tailor's shop under the pretext that they had to dismantle the workshops. This enabled the five hundred to remain in Łódź until October 20, 1944, at which point the women were taken to Ravensbrück, while the men followed the workshops to Königs Wusterhausen, a labor detail of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp."[1]

Thus reads the concise history of the origins of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Königs Wusterhausen, as recorded by Gerald Reitlinger.

In connection with the large-scale deportation of Jewish and non-Jewish forced laborers to the so-called Old Reich to strengthen the struggling National Socialist war economy, a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was established in the fall of 1944 in the Brandenburg city of Königs Wusterhausen, southeast of Berlin.[2]

Its origin can be traced back directly to the Führer's decree to the German Housing Relief Service (Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk, DWH), from September 9, 1943. Reichswohnungskommissar Robert Ley was in overall charge of the DWH, the last of the emergency housing programs in National Socialist Germany, intended to create temporary homes to accommodate "national comrades" who had been bombed out.[3]

On November 19, 1943, Reichsminister Albert Speer, in his dual capacity as commissioner for the Four Year Plan and plenipotentiary for the building industry, issued for the Berlin firm Kelterborn & Stenvers the "War Contract No. 160—Urgency level domestic 43 Y w 1," for the construction of 4,500 temporary homes made of light concrete in the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto.[4] Although production hardly advanced beyond the testing and preparation phase in the time remaining prior to the evacuation of the ghetto in August 1944, the number of Jewish men and women sent there to do the work grew constantly.[5]

When the approaching Red Army made the liquidation of the ghetto unavoidable, the German ghetto administration official responsible for the construction of temporary homes, Franz Seifert, searched for a production site in the Old Reich and finally decided on Königs Wusterhausen.[6]

As Reitlinger suggests, it is in fact unusual that a large number of the prisoners (approximately 500 Jewish men, women, and children) working to produce temporary homes in the Litzmannstadt ghetto, after dismantling and loading production facilities and raw materials onto freight trains, were taken directly to the Old Reich, thus avoiding the more usual—and life-threatening—selection process at the Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp.[7] However, the information available suggests that pragmatic rather than humanitarian motives were at play here. Both the ghetto official Seifert, who was pressing ahead with the relocation of the temporary homes factory, and Fritz Stenvers, the partner at the Berlin firm Kelterborn & Stenvers responsible for the construction of the temporary homes, were very interested in utilizing the experience and knowledge of the Jewish prisoners already working in the Litzmannstadt ghetto producing temporary homes. They were joined by the head of the labor department in the ghetto, Aron Jakubowicz, who was the deputy of the Jewish elder there, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski.

Whereas the men were first taken to the so-called quarantine at Sachsenhausen, women and children were brought to the Ravensbrück women's camp. Eventually, they were transferred to Königs Wusterhausen in what appears to have been a total of three transports. In November 1944, after civilian construction workers had prepared the terrain, a first group of approximately 150 men from Sachsenhausen was brought to Königs Wusterhausen to erect the buildings on the site. A second transport followed just before Christmas 1944, and finally, on February 27, 1945, approximately 250 women (among them several Hungarian Jews) were transferred from Ravensbrück to Königs Wusterhausen. As a result, families that had initially been separated by the transport from the dissolved Litzmannstadt ghetto were reunited at Königs Wusterhausen. Still, due to the chaotic conditions, the effective production of temporary homes was no longer possible. Instead, the prisoners were used to do other jobs such as manufacturing ammunition boxes and fieldwork outside the camp.

Statements collected in Israel in 1971 from former prisoners unanimously contend that there were no intentional murders in the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp. Nevertheless, even here at least four women and a small child died due to the inhumane conditions, lack of hygiene, poor nutrition, and insufficient medical care. There are additional indications that others died from exhaustion or were murdered on the death march from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Rostock following the evacuation of the camp in April.

The camp commandant at Königs Wusterhausen was Willi Seifert from East Prussia. He was in command of about a dozen SS supervisors from the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen, who were responsible for guarding the camp. The supervision of the female prisoners was the responsibility

of three female SS guards, one of whom was accused of particular cruelty in several witnesses' statements.

The evacuation of the camp by the SS guard forces in April 1945 apparently could not be carried out as planned. It had been intended to be accomplished in several stages, but it seems that only the first group (about one-third of the prisoners) was taken to Sachsenhausen and then forced to take part in the infamous death march toward Schwerin. After the SS guard forces had fled the camp in haste, the remaining prisoners were freed by the Red Army on April 26, 1945. Because of the confusion, however, the camp appears to have been shelled mistakenly by Soviet tanks, resulting in further deaths.

The subcamp was not the only forced labor camp in Königs Wusterhausen. Several other camps of different kinds for foreign workers existed in the city and the surrounding area. This was revealed through investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1966. During the course of these investigations, the former camp commander, Seifert, declared himself insane in order to avoid prosecution. In June 1971, the case was closed, as the depositions of former prisoners in Israel did not allege any homicides, which at this time were still within the statute of limitations and therefore would have been legally pursuable.[8]

SOURCES The only historical account of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Königs Wusterhausen is Frank Stier, *Kriegsauftrag 160: Behelfsheimbau im Ghetto Litzmannstadt (Łódź) und im KZ-Aussenlager Königs Wusterhausen durch das Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk* (Berlin, 1999). This article is based on Stier's book. According to Stier, the city council of Königs Wusterhausen commissioned research into the history of the subcamp 50 years after the end of the war, acting on the initiative of David Grünstein, who as a young man had been held prisoner at Königs Wusterhausen. For the earliest reference to the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp, see Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung: Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939–1945*, German trans. by J.W. Brügel, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1961), p. 342n., citing Bendet Herschkovitch, "The Ghetto in Litzmannstadt," *YAJSS* 5 (1950): 85–122.

The few primary sources discovered to date on the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp are preserved at the ASt-KöW, AGS, APŁ, BA-B, as well as ZdL (now BA-L) and others. They are cited in the above-mentioned publication. Probably the most important of them are the testimonies of former prisoners, recorded at Tel Aviv in the early 1970s and now held in BA-L.

Frank Stier
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Quotation in Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung: Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939–1945*, German trans. by J.W. Brügel, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1961), p. 342n., citing Bendet Herschkovitz, "The Ghetto in Litzmannstadt," *YAJSS* 5 (1950): 121.
2. Anhang, Schreiben des Stellvertretenden Bürgermeisters von Königs Wusterhausen an den Landrat von Teltow, September 21, 1944, BA-B, DP 3 V 43/70.
3. Dr. Fischer-Dieskau, legislative measures of the Reichswohnungkommissar, BA-B, NS 41 RAM 1515, fol. 170–172.
4. Reichsminister Speer, Kriegsauftrag 160, APŁ, 554 Reichsminister Speer DWH, fol. 6.
5. Beschäftigtenberichte, Aktennotizen Auskämmungsaktion APŁ, GV 219, fol. 16–17.
6. Telegram from Stenvers to Seifert, September 5, 1944, APŁ, GV 557, n.p.
7. BA-L, ZdL NL Sh IV AR/2704/66.
8. Ibid.

KÜSTRIN

According to a survey on the subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, there was one at Küstrin-Fasterheide from May 16, 1943, to April 30, 1945, for 300 male prisoners who were deployed at the Deutsche Zellwerke AG, Phrix-Werke, IG Farben.[1] Likewise, the former commandant of Sachsenhausen, Anton Kaindl, stated while interned in a British camp that there were approximately 300 prisoners at Küstrin.[2] Similar details were published by the Antifakomitee (Anti-Fascism Committee) of the German Democratic Republic, which speaks of 300 prisoners at the "labor camp Fasterheide, cellulose factory (Phrix-Werke) IG Farben."[3] The Sachsenhausen Memorial, on the other hand, lists a total of 500 prisoners for the camp.[4] A list put together by former prisoners, meanwhile, gives the number as about 400 prisoners, who they state were used for the erection of army buildings.[5] Another prisoner recalled immediately after the war: "Building project (armaments factory), approximately four hundred men, mostly French, physical condition satisfactory, as the French frequently received care packages from the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). Evacuated to Buchenwald in February 1945."[6] The French survivors' organization for the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, however, only gives the names of 18 French prisoners for Küstrin. In the official list of the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Küstrin subcamp is referred to as "labor camp Fasterheide." It was mentioned on May 17, 1943, for the first time as having 30 prisoners, but on May 25, 1943, that number was already put at 300.[7] Whatever the case, there were still 282 prisoners in Küstrin in early July 1943.[8] The name Fasterheide was not actually known to the prisoners because the same camp had previously accommodated foreign forced laborers and was then called Fasterheide. The forced laborers, like the later concentration camp prisoners, were deployed at the Zellulose- & Zellwolle AG. It is possible that the concentration camp prisoners were accommodated in two separate camps because a number of the eyewitnesses do not recall any Soviet prisoners or a deployment in the tank factory. The camp was located about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) north of Küstrin, directly at the mouth of the Warthe River. The factory was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the camp. A Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp also existed close by the subcamp.

According to SS records, the number of prisoners remained relatively constant between July 1943 and July 1944 at just under 300. The camp reached its highest occupancy, probably with 373 prisoners, in early September 1944, whereas in early October 1943, there were only 283 prisoners at Küstrin. The camp must have been dissolved between January 13 and February 12, 1945.[9] In fact, a survivor later stated he had been held prisoner at Küstrin from June 1943 to January 1945.[10] Wachmann Eduard Weigelt mentions January 30, 1945, as the end of his assignment at Küstrin.[11] When the camp was dissolved, one group of prisoners was evacuated on foot to Sachsenhausen. Whether or not prisoners were killed during this march is a controversial question among the survivors. Other prisoners were brought to Buchenwald upon evacuation from Küstrin. No evidence exists to prove the assumption of the Zentralstelle in Cologne that the prisoners had to march to Lübben, perhaps to the Sachsenhausen subcamp there, from which point they were taken on trains to Buchenwald.

Apparently, there existed two additional labor details beyond the deployment of prisoners in a paper mill of the Zellwerke AG, where the prisoners, divided into four groups, were assigned to concrete work and occasionally to the construction of temporary homes outside the factory.

For one, according to an account by Soviet prisoner J.F. Potapow, the prisoners worked with the most primitive means, even for building a tank factory and for the repair of vehicles and tanks in a small mechanical workshop. The erection of the tank factory was stopped in the summer of 1944. Repair of the tanks was sabotaged. It seems that prisoners were also used for unloading wood at the port. The camp, consisting of four barracks and a kitchen, was secured by barbed wire and guard towers. One of the block elders was named Stephan. The camp elder was political prisoner Erich Czeczor, who enjoyed the confidence of the camp command and was even allowed to go on leave to the town of Küstrin with an escort. He helped the Soviet prisoners get additional food, shoes, and cigarettes. The cigarettes made it possible to put the guards in a lenient mood. Within the camp, perhaps in a separate part of it, there were Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles alongside the Germans. The working conditions were particularly bad for the Russians, and the guards were cruel to them. A bond of solidarity existed among Soviet and German political prisoners in the camp, which the camp elder Czeczor called the "illegal camp committee." There were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners at Küstrin.

Czeczor was the camp elder from the late summer of 1943 to 1944 and also served this duty later at the subcamp Briesen. In his capacity as block elder at the main camp, he behaved sadistically toward Polish prisoners. It is believed that he had been an SS member earlier and was demoted because of his Communist activities and brought to the concentration camp. According to his statements, he was Obertruppführer at the Reich Labor Service and was suspected of maintaining contacts with subversive persons in Kassel. According to a 1933 document from the Hannover Police, Czeczor, who joined the Nazi Party in the same year, stated that he went undercover as "Commander of the anti-fascists at Hann[ersche] Münden" in order "to gain valuable elements from the communist movement for the National Front."[12] Within the Nazi movement, he belonged to the group around the Strasser brothers. In Küstrin, he appointed at first only Germans as block elders and foremen but eventually also allowed Russians as barracks elders and foremen. Later, Paul Wolf of Magdeburg is said to have been camp elder. According to his own account, Karl Heinz Lorenzen was camp elder for six to seven weeks immediately after the departure of Czeczor. He said he later acted as foreman of the temporary home building detachment in Küstrin.

In December 1944, a group of prisoners left Küstrin and marched south on foot, ostensibly in the direction of Lübben, where they were allegedly brought to Buchenwald in railroad cars.[13]

The camp's first leader, from the summer of 1943 to the turn of the year 1943–1944, is supposed to have been SS-Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who was born in 1886 in Idar-Oberstein. He is also referred to as commander of a guard detachment and later became leader of the Briesen subcamp. One SS-Unterscharführer Möckel, who has not been precisely identified, demonstrably acted as "detachment commander" at the "Küstrin labor camp" at the end of 1944. Various prisoners testified that he did nothing that deserves particular blame. A prisoner, who was at Küstrin from December 1943 to December 1944, named a certain Novotny, who hailed from the Sudetenland, as camp leader. On the other hand, he identified SS-Führer Ernst Möckel as head of the labor detail at Küstrin.

Several other SS leaders are known by name, including the chief of the guards, Gustav Berndt, who stated he served at Küstrin from May 1943 to February 1, 1945; the Wachmänner Hans Bitto, who claimed he was at Küstrin until March 1945; Willi Dalügge; Eduard Weigelt, who specified his exact dates for Küstrin as May 28, 1943, to January 30, 1945; Rottenführer Hans-Eduard Poppe; Josef Fells; and a cook, the ethnic German SS-Oberschütze Johann Kriks. Some 25 to 30 privates belonged to the guard forces.

Wachmann Poppe was denazified in 1948 in Bielefeld in a court proceeding and fined 500 Deutsche Mark (DM) because of his affiliation with the SS. He had previously been interned in the British-occupied zone, as were the Wachmänner Dalügge, Weigelt, Berndt, and Bitto.

The presumed first leader of the camp, SS-Sturmbannführer Heidrich, probably died in 1946 in a British internment camp.

From 1967 to 1970, the Central Office in Ludwigsburg and Cologne inconclusively investigated those responsible for the camp. The investigators considered the excesses associated by a Soviet survivor with Küstrin to have been confused with the motor pool detachment Wald of the Sachsenhausen main camp.[14] The German Democratic Republic also processed a

request for judicial assistance from the Central Office in Cologne, but their investigations did not result in any evidence of the killing of prisoners.[15]

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg also briefly investigated accusations against the former camp elder Czeczor for abusing prisoners at the main camp.[16]

SOURCES Aside from the occasional mention in more general surveys, there is no specific literature on this subcamp. Documents are to be found above all at the BA-L and AG-S. The memoirs *Die unsichtbare Front*, and Karl Heinz Lorenzen, *Haltungen haben einen Preis* (Flensburg, 2002), contain references to Küstrin.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

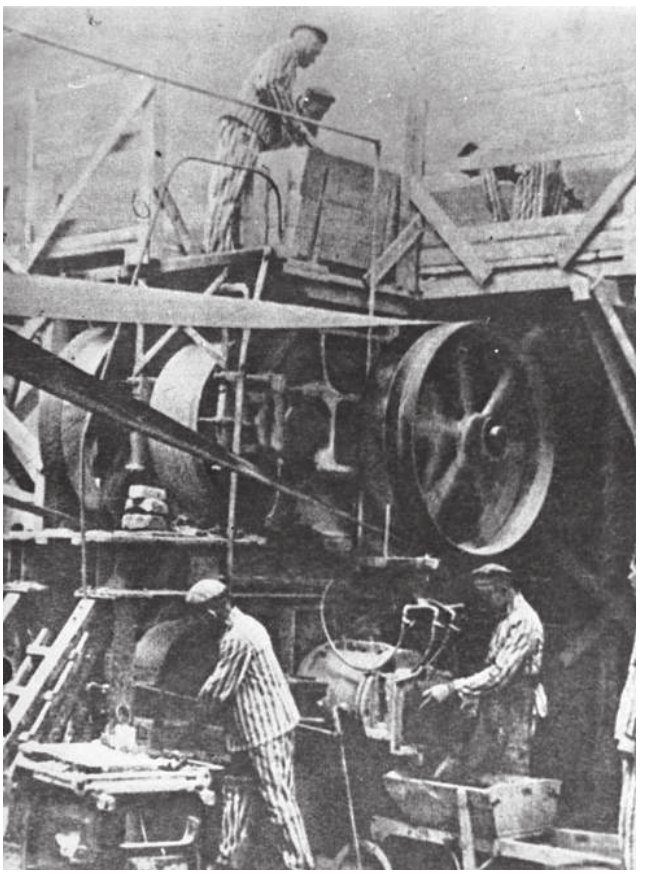
NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Master's thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997). See also the list at AG-S, n.d.
2. BA-B, film 42053, NI-280, deposition of Anton Kaindl, June 15, 1946.
3. KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967).
4. Conference papers of the workshop SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
5. Compilation, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H No. 8/1.
6. Compilation, n.d., Walter Nowak, IfZ, München Ed 106/77.
7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 268.
8. Ibid., p. 577.
9. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.
10. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1B, fol. 74.
11. PRO, WO 309/1784.
12. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, supplement, n.p.
13. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, fol. 263, deposition of Georg Brinkmann on August 15, 1969.
14. AG-S, LAG XII/5, final decree of the Central Office in Cologne, July 6, 1970.
15. BA-B/SAPMO, DP 3/1965.
16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, supplement, decree of July 24, 1967, n.p.

LEHNITZ [AKA KLINKERWERK]

Beginning in August 1938, the SS assigned prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to build what was to be the world's largest brickworks (*Klinkerwerk*), close to a lock just north of Lehnitz, near Oranienburg. The location was chosen both for its proximity to the main camp, which provided the labor, and because it was possible to transport the bricks at low cost on the Hohenzollern Kanal (the present-day Oder-Havel Kanal), which was part of the Gross-Schifffahrtsweg Berlin-Stettin (main Berlin-Stettin shipping route). A section of the site had already been in use since 1936 as a firing range by the SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment), which was stationed at Oranienburg Castle.

The rationale behind the project was the National Socialist desire to promote its image through monumental architecture, particularly the redevelopment of Berlin into the projected world capital of "Germania." There was to be a north-south axis leading to a "Great Square" with a "Great Hall" that was to have a capacity of 180,000 people, the creation of which would have destroyed all of the historic fabric in its path. Responsible for the realization of Hitler's megalomaniac ideas was Albert Speer in his capacity as Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt Berlin, an authority created in 1937. The necessary bricks were to have been produced at the Lehnitz brickworks. To this end, the SS founded the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd., DESt) The clay came from a pit at nearby Zehlendorf. The large-scale brickworks with its modern tunnel kilns and drying presses was to have been a model SS enterprise with the highest economic and technical stan-



Undated photograph of prisoners performing forced labor at the Lehnitz (Klinkerwerk) subcamp.
USHMM WS #19179, COURTESY OF AG-S

dards. However, since the wrong clay was chosen for this process, the project turned out to be an expensive mistake, demonstrating the inability of the SS to achieve efficient production in their concentration camp enterprises. To cover up the fiasco, they switched to the traditional wet-press method with artificial drying for the bricks. The rebuilding effort, which dragged on for years, was managed by the engineer Erduin Schondorff, whom the SS subsequently entrusted with running all of the brickworks throughout the German Reich and in the occupied countries. The prisoners had to rip out the tunnel kilns with their hands. In 1942, a policy was adopted for the whole German Reich—not least because of this experience—to bring the prisoners to the factories rather than, as in the early phase of the concentration camp system, to bring the factories to the concentration camps.

In the early years, about 1,500 prisoners marched daily from the Sachsenhausen main camp to the wooded area at the Klinkerwerk for construction of the enormous workshop halls, laying out the docks, and erection of the pertinent factory buildings and dwellings. They had to do the construction work in a primitive manner, with only wheelbarrows and shovels. The Klinkerwerk outside detail was seen as a particularly frightening punishment and even a death sentence. "Every prisoner would rather accept any other labor detail than being sent to the brickworks. . . . The fact is that the brickworks has gotten a bad reputation among the prisoners, because the wastage of human lives is so huge. . . . As the prisoners are available in unlimited numbers and are so incredibly cheap (after all, a dead man costs nothing more than a telegram to his mother or some other person), it really doesn't matter if today there are only three dead bodies and tomorrow thirty. Indeed, in the end the brickworks is little more than a regular execution site."[1]

The average survival time for the deployment at the Klinkerwerk was estimated at six months. Every day prisoners died there from exhaustion or committed suicide. They were shot dead "while attempting to escape" if they crossed the chain of sentries in their despair. They sank into the moor or the ditches, fell into the water while unloading barges, or were dragged to their death by the carts. "A turning platform was intentionally prepared so that the carts overturned and it was impossible for the four members of the crew to lift it up again. Many prisoners were beaten to death with clubs while doing this job. The so-called chain of sentries was drawn so tight that no prisoner was able to take more than two steps from the cart. Those who collapsed from exhaustion and hunger were killed by sharpshooters standing by with shots in the head."[2]

It was a place of suffering, particularly for Jews, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and those individuals classified as asocial who had been arrested in 1938 as part of the operation "Arbeitsscheu Reich" (Reich workshy) but also for political prisoners rated as "recidivist," prisoners from occupied regions, and all other groups of prisoners that were supposed to be subjected to particularly oppressive measures and disrespect. After 12 hours of work, which in principle had to be done at double time, the returning prisoners pulled a cart with the day's deceased and injured back to the main camp. In particular, among the workers in the clay pits, there were hardly any survivors. According to the reminiscences of prisoner Harry Naujoks, one of the camp commandants, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Heidrich, was fond of repeating the phrase: "People here are either healthy or dead." On the firing range, SS privates used prisoners who had to do construction and earthworks in adjacent areas as living targets. "We had soon found out that the SS privates were far less interested in shooting at the targets than they were at us prisoners, and directly 'hunted' individuals pushing wheelbarrows."[3] In one 1942 massacre, between 180 and 200 homosexuals were killed.

In 1941, the Klinkerwerk was given the status of an independent subcamp of Sachsenhausen, with its own administration. The prisoners had to build a barrack complex southeast of the workshop hall, which was surrounded by an electrified fence. After its completion in April 1941, only the prisoners of the Speer detachment came each day from the main camp. The stone-processing works, which was constructed by this detachment from 1940 on, was to hew Swedish granite and other valuable stones in order to produce clinker stones. It was, however, never completed, because the planning for the monumental "Germania" was deferred due to war developments. Instead, beginning in 1942, the prisoners of the Speer detachment had to disassemble salvaged material such as cables and mines from the occupied countries and to load any precious metals of military importance regained onto ships.

In 1942–1943, the brickworks was partly adapted for arms production. By the middle of 1944, 10,000 mortar shell slugs were produced in Lehnitz every day. To achieve that, a foundry was built, where the prisoners had to carry the molten metal in so-called bags from the smelters to the molds. This "bag carrying" resulted in horrible burns and was also calculatedly used to murder prisoners. The brick laboratory, which had initially developed alternative methods of processing clay to replace the failed dry-press concept, experimented now—in the interest of Speer, who since 1942 was also armaments minister—with the use of ceramics for explosives in order to save steel.

The exact number of prisoners at the Klinkerwerk subcamp, and likewise the number of deceased, is unknown. At the beginning, 1,600 to 2,000 prisoners worked in the factory and in the clay pit. About 80 prisoners were deployed in the bakery, established in 1939 next to the brickworks, which produced bread and baked goods for the SS troop camp and the SS duty stations in Oranienburg and the surrounding area, as well as for the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps. These prisoners were also housed in the Lehnitz barracks. In 1944, the SS counted 3,600 prisoners in Lehnitz. The camp had been planned for 1,500 people. In 1943, however, about 3,000 prisoners were crowded together in the 10 lodging barracks. Early in 1944, a two-story brick building was added to the camp for the prisoners working in the mortar-shell foundry.

In the Cologne Trial against SS-Oberscharführer Otto Kaiser (1963–1965 and 1967–1970), it was established that there were two to three deaths every day in Lehnitz, although the dying who could still be carried back to the camp were not included in this figure. Many victims were buried on the spot; however, most of the corpses were cremated in the crematory of the main camp. Following an order issued in December 1944, stating that all traces of the cremated remains around the crematory were to be hidden, in late January 1945, 8 to 10 tons of human ashes were scattered into the canal in front of the brickworks. On April 10, 1945, an Allied bombing raid destroyed most buildings at the brickworks. More than 200 prisoners, perhaps even more than 270, lost their lives that day; the dismembered bodies in the bomb craters were never recovered. For this reason, the site of the brickworks became a large cemetery.

Following the bombing raid, the SS dissolved the Lehnitz subcamp and sent the prisoners back to the main camp. Upon its evacuation on April 20 and 21, 1945, the prisoners were forced to set out on a death march; the weak and sick remained behind and were liberated by the Soviet and Polish Army on April 22.

In the October 1947 Berlin Sachsenhausen Trial before the military tribunal of the Soviet military administration in Germany, the former commandant of the Lehnitz subcamp, Heinrich Fresemann, was sentenced to life imprisonment, together with 13 other principal defendants. They were sent to the Soviet Union, to Workuta on the Arctic Ocean, and used as forced laborers in the coal pits. Fresemann died there in the spring of 1948.

SOURCES The most intense research on the Lehnitz Klinkerwerk subcamp has been done by Joachim Müller. In the book that he and Andreas Sternweiler edited, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 2000), one of the contributions deals with the cruel events at the brickworks: Müller, "'Unnatürliche Todesfälle': Vorfälle in den Aussenbereichen Klinkerwerk, Schiessplatz und Tongrube," pp. 216–258. In two editions of the *GeRU*—10–11 (2001): 103–104—Müller summarized the results of his research: "Das Klinkerwerk Oranienburg: Aussenlager und Vernichtungsgelände des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen." There is also brief information in the pamphlet offered by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, Kerstin Engelhardt, *Strafkommando und Aussenlager Klinkerwerk 1938–45* (Sachsenhausen, 1997). It is based upon the investigations by Müller. An open-air documentary prepared by Bernd Graff and sponsored by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, shown 2000–2001 in the courtyard of the Oranienburg Castle, presented the history of the Klinkerwerk in text and image; it will be shown at the memorial as *Geschichtspark KZ-Aussenlager Klinkerwerk*. Further information is to be found in Heinz Heger, *Die Männer mit dem Rosa Winkel*, 3rd ed. (1973; Gifkendorf, 1989); Albert Christel, *Apokalypse unserer Tage: Erinnerungen an das KZ Sachsenhausen*, ed. Manfred Ruppel and Lothar Wolfstetter (Frankfurt am Main, 1987).

Documents on the Klinkerwerk, both originals and copies, as well as eyewitness reports, were collected by the AG-S. Important documents are to be found above all at the BLHA. A published prisoner testimony on the subcamp is Harry Naujoks, *Mein Leben im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1942: Erinnerungen des damaligen Lagerältesten* (Cologne, 1987), chapter 24.

Stefanie Endlich
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Report by the political prisoner Emil Büge on the situation in 1940, AG-S, I/3, p. 105.
2. Kurt Müller and Karl Raddatz, report from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, written on May 15, 1945, AG-S, D 30 A/34, p. 12, copy of the original at the BLHA.
3. Heinz Heger, *Die Männer mit dem Rosa Winkel*, 3rd ed. (1973; Gifkendorf, 1989), p. 52.

LIEBEROSE [AKA "LIRO"]

Documents show that in June 1943 plans for four new training grounds were developed for the Waffen-SS. With a local garrison administration and headquarters in Jamlitz, a village with 300 inhabitants and the Lieberose state railway station, the SS training area "Kurmark" was only about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin.[1] According to his own account, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler wanted to set up the new SS garrison this close to Berlin so that in the event of a coup he would have been able to arrive quickly at the center of power of the SS troops.

A provisional SS development camp had existed since November 9, 1943, in a dance hall in Jamlitz. Technically, it reported to the section for "Häftlingseinsatz bei SS-Dienststellen"—deployment of prisoners at SS duty stations in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In practice, however, it reported to the SS-Standortkommandant (garrison commander) and thus to the SS-Führungshauptamt (Leadership Main Office, FHA). The first prisoners arrived there from Sachsenhausen and were mostly German or foreign political prisoners and so-called professional criminals (BVs).[2] From the very beginning, the prisoners worked under the command of the Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS, ZBL) "Kurmark," which reported to the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration). The first project, completed by the end of March 1944, was to build 6 lodging barracks, a kitchen, and an infirmary between the railway station and the village. By December 1944, there were 18 barracks built. On April 12, 1944, the SS transferred 400 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Polish political prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to the camp, now called the Lieberose labor camp.[3] The prisoners called Lieberose "Liro."[4] On June 5, 1944, the first transport of Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz arrived at Jamlitz, consisting of 2,400 Hungarian Jews.[5] Within the six months leading up to December 1944, an estimated 6,000 to 10,000 Jewish prisoners from more than 10 European countries were taken to Jamlitz, either directly or via Sachsenhausen. They were joined there by a total of

about 1,000 non-Jewish prisoners. They had to build roads, railway embankments, air-raid shelters, barracks, and firing ranges. Among their other tasks, they were also put to work at an SS-owned estate at Leeskow, in the fishery, at the sawmill, or with farmers. In the final stages of the war, they worked on the camp grounds and at an SS contractor's yard in a small workshop, manufacturing electronic products. The biggest labor detail, Unterkünfte Ullersdorf (Ullersdorf lodgings), meant walking about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) north every day. The work, which had to be done with the most primitive tools and without proper rations, was lethal. The method of killing was "extermination by work." For example, the prisoners had to march barefoot to the construction site, carrying a hollow block on their shoulders. Survivors also reported that hangings took place in the roll-call area as punishment for turning cement sacks into underwear. The sick prisoners were gathered in recovery wards and periodically taken to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were exterminated. Lists exist with the names of about 1,000 Hungarian Jews who suffered this fate.[6] It is estimated that 80 percent of the Jewish prisoners had lost their lives by the time the camp was dissolved, either because of exhaustion from work or at the gas chambers of Birkenau.

Prisoners from the Waffen-SS detachment at Jamlitz were deployed by companies from Berlin (Elektrolux Ltd., Hans Lautenbach Betonbau, Otto Quade Strassenbau, Bims- und Faserstoffbetonwerke Anton Racz), Cottbus (Richard Reckmann Gleis- und Tiefbau, Hermann Kircher Elektrotechnische Spezialwerkstätten, Hans Thiemann Sanitär und Heizung), Guben (Arno Schaefter Ingenieurbüro für Licht, Kraft und Radio), and Lieberose (Kölling Elektrikermeister, Wunderlich Bauingenieur), as well as by the firm Schnepper & Isphording in Hamm/Westphalia. Those in Jamlitz viewed the Reckmann company as a "death detail." In the spring of 1944, the same company built the "ramp" for the arrival of the Hungarian Jews at the extermination camp Birkenau.[7]

Inside the Lieberose camp, the prisoners were subject to the whims of the camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Kersten, and his block leaders, whereas during work they reported to the ZBL and therefore to the FHA. SS block leaders as well as members of the ZBL supervised both the camp guards and the work of the individual detachments. The camp guards from the SS-Guard Battalion 4 Kurmark were recruited mostly from ethnic Germans in the Banat, who had been drawn to the SS-Freiwilligen-Division "Prinz Eugen." The guard force also reported to the Standortkommandant SS-Standartenführer Alexander Fick.[8]

The functionary positions among the barrack elders were divided roughly equally between political prisoners and professional criminals. The infirmary was dominated by the political prisoners and the kitchen by the BVs.

The activities of a small group of political prisoners at the infirmary created an element of solidarity. The group consisted of the Soviet camp doctor Dr. Viktor Braschnikow; the block elder Siegmund Sredzki, a German Communist; the writer Gunther R. Lys; and a Jewish doctor, Dr. Hans Landshut. Among other things, they made an effort to limit the influence of the criminals on the camp leader. Improvement of the conditions for the Jewish prisoners was only partially possible (getting medicine from the main camp or letters attesting that prisoners were unfit for work and the double-edged establishment of the above-mentioned recovery wards in the summer of 1944, which for the SS were a collecting point for extermination transports to Birkenau). Some of the Jewish prisoners celebrated forbidden religious holidays. Singing and services for Shabbat, as well as a Sukkoth, are documented. Survivors reported that on Jewish holidays the SS block leaders were meaner and more cynical.

According to the accounts of former political prisoners, an attempted escape by Soviet prisoners was prevented by the activists around Sredzki, above all because the mass of Jewish prisoners would have suffered from the additional terror by the SS. On July 20, 1944, for fear of a mass jailbreak, the SS surrounded the camp with flamethrowers.[9]

A special case of solidarity among the Jewish prisoners was the so-called bread association (Brotbund), which consisted above all of Polish Jews who were brought to Jamlitz from the mason's school (*Maurer Schule*) at Auschwitz I in December 1944. These young people had complained about the unjust distribution of bread, and some of them got 25 lashes on their backs. Schmuel Cohn was almost beaten to death. He was able to survive only with the help of the group, which now shared their bread with him. The bonds among the members of the mason's school still exist.

Upon the camp's dissolution on February 2, 1945, about 1,200 convalescent prisoners began to be murdered. In an act of desperation, a Jewish ear specialist from Budapest, Dr. Erdösz, managed to seriously injure the camp leader, Kersten, with a spoon handle.[10]

Hugo Gryn, who later became a rabbi in London, reported that a small group of Jewish prisoners at Jamlitz killed an SS private from the guard force during their work.[11]

On February 2, 1945, approximately 1,600 prisoners were forced to march to Sachsenhausen. At least 40 weakened prisoners were killed by Rottenführer Erich Schemel, and dozens more died from exhaustion.[12] Of the about 1,200 Jewish prisoners who arrived at Sachsenhausen, the murder of 400 is documented.[13] In the course of the month, some Jewish prisoners from the Lieberose subcamp were taken from Sachsenhausen above all to the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria but also to Bergen-Belsen, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, and Dachau.

The approximately 1,350 sick prisoners that had been left behind in Jamlitz were shot dead on the camp grounds between February 2 and 4, 1945, by SS guards, block leaders, and members of the SS-Bauhof, as well as camp leader Kersten and garrison commander Fick.[14] A mass grave with the bones of 577 dead bodies was found in 1971 a few kilometers east of Jamlitz in a gravel pit. The skeletons were exhumed and cremated, while the gold in their teeth, which

the SS had not been able to recover in 1945 in their rush, was then extracted by authorities of the German Democratic Republic.

Eight judicial inquiries were made on the Lieberose subcamp, both in the West German zones of occupation and in the Federal Republic of Germany. These resulted in five judgments from the denazification court and three at the regular court. Poland twice made petitions for extradition, which were refused, and once investigated on its own. The German Democratic Republic responded to two requests for information by the Federal Republic of Germany, and after the discovery of the mass grave, the Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security, MfS) investigated between 1971 and 1975. There were five proceedings altogether against camp leader Kersten. For 22 months, he was held in the British internment camp Neuengamme, and in 1954 in Lübeck, he was sentenced to 7 months on probation. A second trial resulted in his acquittal in 1965, but he died during a procedure in 1970. At a trial in 1965 in Fulda, it was possible to sentence Corporal Schemel to four and a half years' imprisonment; however, he was released early. Even the investigations by the State Attorney's Office in Cottbus since 1998 could not solve the murder of about 1,200 Jewish prisoners at the Lieberose subcamp in Jamlitz.

In late 1945, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) arrested the electrician Otto Maass from Cottbus, an eyewitness to the shootings between February 2 and 4, 1945, and interned him at Jamlitz and Buchenwald, although he had stood up for the persecution of the murderers by the Cottbus antifascism committee. In 1946–1947, at the Sachsenhausen Trial in front of a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin, Lieberose played almost no role. On the contrary, the prosecution of the perpetrators was neglected, although the NKVD knew several of the murderers by name and the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal was interested in the crimes committed at Jamlitz.

SOURCES The following secondary sources recount the history of the Lieberose subcamp of Sachsenhausen: Cordula, Kappner: *Von Burgpreppach über Auschwitz in das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen: Der Weg des Kindes Gerhard Eckmann; eine Spurensuche* (Hassfurt, 2001); Andreas Weigelt, "Die Asche der jüdischen Häftlinge auf 'Galgenberg' in Lieberose," in *Helden, Täter und Verräter: Studien zum DDR-Antifaschismus*, ed. Annette Leo and Peter Reif-Spirek (Berlin, 1999), pp. 37–64; Weigelt, *Zur Geschichte des jüdischen "Arbeitslagers Lieberose": 1943–1945 in Jamlitz, einem Nebenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen; ein Bericht* (n.p., 1997); Weigelt, "'Die Juden sollen zittern!': Zur Geschichte des jüdischen 'Arbeitslagers Lieberose' 1943–1945 in Jamlitz, einem Aussenlager des KZ-Sachsenhausen sowie zur gleichnamigen Wanderausstellung," *GeRu* 82 (1998): 14–20; Weigelt, "Jüdischer Häftlingseinsatz für das SS-Führungshauptamt: Der SS-Truppenübungsplatz 'Kurmark' und das KZ-Nebenlager 'Arbeitslager Lieberose' in Jamlitz 1944–45," in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg: Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Berlin, 2000), pp. 177–189; and Weigelt, "Konspirativ gesteuertes Gedenken: Das Beispiel des KZ-Aussenlagers Lieberose," at www.buergerkomitee.org/hug/h54-dateien/weigelt.html.

Primary sources for the Lieberose subcamp of Sachsenhausen may be found in BA-B; AG-S; APMO; and Sta. Düsseldorf, Fulda, and Nürnberg/Fürth. An unpublished testimony is Gunther R. Lys, "KZ-Liro" (MSS, Haifa, 1976); and a published testimony is Hugo Gryn, *Chasing Shadows: Memories of a Vanished World* (London, 2000).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 19/1373.
2. Report by Andrej Sarapkin.
3. List of transports, AMGR.
4. Gunther R. Lys, "KZ-Liro" (MSS, Haifa, 1976), n.p.
5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.
6. AG-S, CAFSSRF.
7. APMO, D-2.Bau/2480.
8. BA-B, BDC, SSO-file Bruno Thurm.
9. Lys, "KZ-Liro," n.p.
10. Ibid.
11. Hugo Gryn, *Chasing Shadows: Memories of a Vanished World* (London, 2000).
12. Sta. Fulda, Ks 2/65.
13. Sta. Düsseldorf, 8 Ks 2/59.
14. Sta. Nuremberg/Fürth, 13 Js 21/65.

LÜBBEN

The Lübben subcamp was established in April 1944. At the time, there were five prisoner-of-war (POW) camps known by name in the city. French prisoners were accommodated at inn Zum Wendenfürsten, while two POW camps for officers were located on the grounds of the state hospital and at Frauenberg Mountain. Soviet POWs were lodged in camps at the Südbahnhof (south railway station) and at the Wendt ammunition factory.[1]

Beginning in April 1944, the concentration camp prisoners of the Lübben subcamp were deployed at the Spiegelberge Mountains in Ostergrund, where they had to do heavy construction and concrete work for the Wehrmacht. They built bunkers for overflow bases of the headquarters, including a series of bunkers in the Bergstrasse in Lübben. In 1945, the bunkers were blown up by the Red Army, but their remnants still exist.

The subcamp itself, however, was located in Lubolz, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Lübben. By late April 1944, 60 concentration camp prisoners were accommodated there,[2] a number that remained relatively constant until October 1944. According to other statements, the subcamp was established only on July 1, 1944.[3] It appears that 200 prisoners at most were deployed in Lübben. In a later card index, the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, VVN) in the German Democratic Republic termed the food provided by the Wehrmacht as

"tolerable."[4] On April 25, 1944, the construction officer of the army personnel branch petitioned the industrial inspection board at Cottbus for a raise for heavy work, which was granted on the grounds that it was a matter of "prisoners of war." In doing so, the army personnel branch suppressed the fact that the prisoners reported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were administered from there. The June 8, 1944, letter of approval from the industrial inspection board at Cottbus to the army personnel branch based at Lübben, Jägerkaserne (Huntsmen's Barracks), referred to the 60 concentration camp prisoners as Russian POWs who had to do concrete and earthworks as part of a special duty (z.b.V.) company.[5]

In November 1944, work on the bunkers at Lübben was included in the "minimum building program" of the Defense Ministry, which promised the delivery of 300 tons of cement in order to complete the bunkers as soon as possible. This was communicated by Armaments Minister Albert Speer to SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Jüttner on November 9, 1944.[6]

The guards probably were supplied by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In September–October 1944, 17 SS privates were transferred from the SS-Standortzug Lübben to the Waffen-SS Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen at the main camp, while another group was transferred in the opposite direction from Sachsenhausen to Lübben.[7] It is not known whether this refers to members of the camp guard. On September 29, 1944, two Soviet prisoners escaped from the camp. Another Soviet prisoner, who managed to get away on October 2, 1944, was picked up again on October 3.[8]

It is not unthinkable that concentration camp prisoners were also deployed for the expansion of the branch office of the Göring Research Office (Forschungsamt). Located in the Postbauten in Lübben, not far from the Lieberoser Strasse, the office was part of the intelligence service for reconnaissance of enemy and neutral (nonmilitary) radio communications. The "B" and "C" offices had existed in Lübben since 1933 and intercepted Soviet radio transmissions in particular. In 1943, one of the main divisions of the Research Office was transferred from the Schillerstrasse in Berlin-Charlottenburg to Lübben. Early in 1944, they were searching for a site in Lübben to build the new main office of the Research Institute, and allegedly 130 barracks for it, a project that was not finished by the end of the war. In late 1944, Lübben was considered the most important radio reconnaissance office for the surveillance of the United States and Japan.

On February 12, 1945, there were still 45 prisoners at the Lübben subcamp.[9] The camp was dissolved on April 23, 1945, shortly before the Soviet Army entered the city.[10]

In the course of numerous judicial inquiries conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany on various subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, it was only determined that little was known about the Lübben subcamp.[11]

SOURCES Sparse archival documents on the history are located in the BA-B, ASt-Ctb, and AG-S. Records with information on escapes and daily reports are preserved at the AG-S (CAFSSRF).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, SAPMO-DDR, Dy 55 V 278, 5/14, letter from the VVN district council of Lübben to the VVN state federation at Potsdam, June 23, 1950.
2. ASt-Ctb, A II, 7.3., vol. 22, Hk 494/6, NL bonus cards, Letter from the OKH/Bauoffizier to Gewerbeaufsichtsamt Cottbus, April 25, 1944.
3. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
4. BA-B, SAPMO, Dy 55 V 278, 5/14.
5. ASt-Ctb, A II, 7.3., vol. 22, Hk 494/6, NL bonus cards.
6. BA-B, R 3/1584, Folio 141, Letter from Speer to the Chef der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres, SS-Obergruppenführer Jüttner, November 9, 1944.
7. BA-DH, ZM 1514, File 1, Collective File fol. 21, 38, 58, and 62.
8. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
9. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.
10. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.
11. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from the ZLNW-K to Gsta. DDR, June 29, 1970.

NEUBRANDENBURG

The 1949 International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog of SS camps listed a Sachsenhausen subcamp for male prisoners at Neubrandenburg, based on Belgian and German postwar accounts. According to a list drawn up by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the subcamp existed between the summer of 1943 and the spring of 1945 and held about 300 male prisoners who were deployed at the Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (MWN) armaments factory.[1] According to other information, though, the camp had already existed in 1942.[2] An investigating authority, meanwhile, determined that the camp was not established until December 1944;[3] however, the daily variation reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camps for the years 1944 and 1945 do not mention the subcamp.

A subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for female prisoners at Neubrandenburg had already existed since the late fall of 1942. These women, up to 2,500, worked—as did other female forced laborers since 1939—at the MWN, which had been relocated from Berlin-Britz to Neubrandenburg in 1934. In March 1944, Heinrich Himmler intended to increase the number of prisoners to 4,000 women, but this goal was only partially met. Both groups of prisoners, the men from Sachsenhausen and the women from Ravensbrück, were held in the overcrowded barracks camp east (Barackenlager Ost) about 800 meters (875 yards) from the camp. The subcamp for women was in existence until April 27, 1945.

The workshop hall for the women adjoined the one for the men.

A transport of between 100 and 150 male prisoners is documented from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Neubrandenburg in the late fall 1944.[4] It is possible that this was the first transport. Likewise, a transport from Sachsenhausen is documented for December 1944.[5] In late 1944, about 30 prisoners from Buchenwald arrived at the Neubrandenburg subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, apparently all metalworkers.[6] According to statements by the former commandant of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, Suhren, a total of 500 or 600 men were deployed at Neubrandenburg.

The prisoners were held day and night in two factory buildings near the east entrance, which they were permitted to leave only to receive supplies or for a short walk in the yard during the midday eating break. According to other statements, there were additional lodgings outside the workshop halls. This could refer to the former laundry next to the factory's east entrance.

The prisoners produced aircraft parts in several manufacturing halls. Allegedly, these included parts for the retaliatory weapons V-1 and V-2. According to a survey, bomb-release devices and "Fz. G. 76" were produced at Neubrandenburg. The work was done daily in two 12-hour shifts. Certain prisoners, particularly Jews, were also deployed at the metallography division in a chemical laboratory.

Except for 1 Czech, the prisoner-functionaries were Germans. There were prisoners of diverse nationalities and also Jews. Around January 10, 1945, 120 prisoners arrived at Neubrandenburg, mostly Polish and Soviet prisoners as well as Hungarian and Romanian Jews from Buchenwald, some of whom had previously been in Auschwitz.[7] At an unknown date, 65 of them were selected and then transported to an undetermined destination. By this time, there were apparently between 100 and 200 French, Dutch, Italian, and Belgian prisoners at the camp.[8] Some of the Poles who arrived there from Buchenwald had taken part in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

In March 1945, one detachment disassembled metalworking machines at the MWN and reassembled them at the Ravensbrück subcamp for female prisoners at Neubrandenburg. This appears to have functioned as an alternative manufacturing site for a new program to produce control and regulator systems for the Fi 103 (piloted V-2). Construction had already started on it before June 1944.

Also in March 1945, a last transport arrived at Neubrandenburg, probably from Gross-Rosen.[9]

The block elder was German political prisoner Georg Flohr. He abused prisoners and stole food. Some of the foremen were Poles. A Sudeten German criminal who arrived from Gross-Rosen in March 1945 became first Kapo. He is likewise described as a sadist. It is said that he whipped Soviet prisoners who had tried to escape. It is possible that his name was Hans Wolfe. Through the barbed wire, women observed that as a punishment, on Sunday mornings, prisoners were drilled to the point of exhaustion.

It seems that the SS camp leader, who held the rank of Sturmbannführer, was simultaneously head of production at the aircraft factory.

It is said that the guards were supplied by the Wehrmacht, but it has not been possible to confirm this. The factory building was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence and guard towers. According to other accounts, the guard force consisted of SS privates who originated from Croatia, Bessarabia, and Moldavia. They seem to have been particularly cruel to the prisoners.

Compared with Auschwitz and Buchenwald, the prisoners who arrived in January 1945 in particular regarded the conditions in Neubrandenburg as bearable, considering that there were heated accommodations and short roll calls. However, the food provisions, which were delivered from the women's camp, were insufficient even though civilian employees in the kitchen tried to give the men additional food. The barracks had bunk beds.

A Jewish prisoner died from stomach cramps in the sleeping area set up in the workshop hall after the guards had refused to help, even though there was a small infirmary in a factory building where a French prisoner served as orderly. Seriously ill prisoners seem to have been transferred to Ravensbrück.

Shortly before the camp was dissolved, the deputy camp leader punched and kicked a Russian who was bound with barbed wire. Because of the lack of health care, the prisoners fell ill with typhoid and phlegmon. It is believed that every week, about four prisoners died from the hardship of the work.

A few days before the dissolution of the camp, a Soviet officer and a Polish prisoner made plans to escape but were betrayed and arrested. However, nothing was done to them. Before the camp was evacuated, the Jewish prisoners appear to have been taken away.

On April 27, 1945, the male and female prisoners were forced by SS guards, who had just arrived, to march in the direction of the town of Lübz in Mecklenburg. Numerous prisoners were shot dead along the way, but some managed to escape. Prior to the march, the prisoners had been ordered to destroy the chemical laboratory and all of the documents in the factory. On May 6, 1945, the march was liberated by the Red Army in the area of Malchow.[10]

Hugo Zahn, born in 1904 in Erfurt, was interned in the British zone of occupation after 1945 and stated that he had been a concentration camp guard in the Neubrandenburg guard battalion.[11]

Criminal investigations in the early 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the Federal Republic of Germany brought no convictions, first, because it was not possible to identify the camp personnel, and, second, because no murders had been ascertained.[12]

SOURCES The only literature known specifically written about the Neubrandenburg subcamp is a pamphlet published in the DDR: Heinz Barche, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Leben*,

Ausbeutung und antifaschistischer Widerstandskampf weiblicher Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Neubrandenburgs (1943–1945), *Dokumente Berichte Kommentare* (Neubrandenburg, n.d.). Neubrandenburg is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265.

Primary sources are located mostly at the BA-L and at the PRO.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (workshop papers of a conference held at the Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 162, deposition of Zenon Miodynski on June 30, 1971.
3. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 185, closing remark on January 17, 1972.
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 170, deposition of Jozef Motylewski on August 30, 1971.
5. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 106, deposition of Johannes Jacobus van Nieukerken on August 21, 1969.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 155, deposition of Edward Czarniecki on June 15, 1971.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 5, "prisoners' office KZ Buchenwald, Weimar-Buchenwald, on January 10, 1945, transport Neu[branden]burg."
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 36, deposition of Kazimierz Kasprzak on June 26, 1968; Folio 50, deposition of Mieczyslaw-Jan Lenartowicz on August 20, 1968.
9. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 51, deposition of Mieczyslaw-Jan Lenartowicz on August 20, 1968.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 162, deposition of Zenon Miodynski on June 30, 1971.
11. PRO, WO 309/1785.
12. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972.

NEUDAMM

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was created in Neudamm (formerly Kreis Koenigsburg/Neumark), which was then located in Germany. Today "Neudamm," or Dębno, is located in Poland, south of the city of Szczecin (Stettin).

SOURCES There are virtually no sources that chronicle any information about the subcamp in Neudamm. The listing for Neudamm in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides no additional information except that a subcamp of Sachsenhausen existed in the town.

Similarly, listings of Sachsenhausen subcamps and work commandos in the indexes at the AG-S, for example, File Group I/4, also provide no further information about this subcamp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NEUHAMMER

The Neuhammer subcamp is not listed by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as one of its subcamps. Nevertheless, it did exist, albeit for a short period of time. The Sachsenhausen change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) refer to the camp for the period between January 20 and February 18, 1944. There were 54 prisoners, but on February 11, there were 63 recorded prisoners.[1]

Neuhammer in Silesia, not far from Sagan, was the site of the Wehrmacht troop training ground. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler delivered a speech there on January 11, 1944, in the Führerheim Westlager to the commanders of the 13th SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgsdivision (Kroatien) shortly before its deployment to Croatia.[2] It is possible that the prisoners were somehow connected with construction work for this or other SS units.

A few publications refer to the training ground as an SS troop training ground. After Himmler took over the Reserve Army following the failed assassination attempt on Hitler on July 20, 1944, Ukrainian and Hungarian SS divisions gathered there. They were reorganized, and from there they were sent to the front until the site was closed in the middle of February 1945.

There were many forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) working on the troop training ground. There is a report on the liberated POW camp in Neuhammer. On February 15, 1945, the Red Army discovered in a forest close to Neuhammer two graveyards for Soviet POWs. It found out that the graveyards held 18,000 Soviet soldiers. The prisoners had been shot. They included officers of the Red Army. An investigating commission exhumed bodies and questioned witnesses. Photos are included in the report. One shows a wooden fence at one of the cemeteries on which there is a large sign. The sign written by the Germans has the words: Russian Cemetery (Russen Friedhof). The Red Army added in Russian the following words: "The Fascists tortured here thirteen thousand Soviets to death." Other photos show Soviet soldiers inspecting the cemetery and the exhumation and reinterment of Soviet soldiers. The material gives no clue how the investigations proceeded against the perpetrators.[3]

The International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to Neuhammer, Kreis Sprottau, Lower Silesia, for the period from June 9, 1944, to the beginning of March 1945. The camp is referred to as a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The prisoners were used by the 13th Gebirgsdivision and at the beginning of March 1945 were evacuated to Stolzenhain near Karlsbad. A later ITS catalog does not refer to Neuhammer.

SOURCES There is no specific literature on the Neuhammer subcamp. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeich-*

nis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 120; but not in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

The only sources are held in AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 101.
2. BA-B, NS 19/4012, p. 6.
3. GARF, f. 7021/115, d. 2, l. 127.

NIEMEGK

The subcamp at Niemegk, about 60 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Berlin, was established in the summer of 1944. Initially, the prisoners were temporarily accommodated in a village gymnasium, but later a wooden barrack was built for them.[1] It appears that at the beginning between 40 and 50 prisoners were deployed at Niemegk, including 20 Norwegians as well as Dutch, Poles, French, and Czechs (including 1 "Gypsy"), Russians, and Germans (including 1 Jehovah's Witness). Homosexual prisoners were held captive at Niemegk as well. A peculiarity among the prisoners was the British pilots who had crashed between Magdeburg and Genthin and who were imprisoned for a short time at the gymnasium and the Niemegk subcamp.[2] It seems that they were later shot in the forest.

Criminals and "asocials" served as prisoner-functionaries. The camp elder, Georg Pfriem, was transferred to the Kolpin subcamp in January 1945. Other prisoners termed him a "slave-driver" who would beat them. The camp recorder was a criminal from Berlin, Arthur Sasse, who stated that he had been in Niemegk since May–June 1944. The foremen were Rudolf Nawrotzki, an asocial prisoner, and Alfred Berger, a Jehovah's Witness. A homosexual prisoner, Leo Classen, was the doctor.

In late August 1944, the camp was recorded for the first time in the main camp statistics as having 50 prisoners.[3] It reached its highest occupancy, with 60 prisoners, shortly before Christmas 1944.[4] This number remained constant until mid-February 1945.[5] Half of the prisoners were political, while others were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), and 1 was a Jehovah's Witness. There were also many petty or even dangerous criminals. According to statements made by their fellow prisoners, the Norwegians shared their Red Cross packages with the other inmates.

Between January and March 1945, there were 10 to 20 Polish children at Niemegk, the youngest of whom was seven years old. They were accommodated in a barrack that was separated from the subcamp by barbed wire. They were to be "Germanized" and adopted by German families.

The task of the Niemegk subcamp was to construct an overflow camp for the SS-Hauptamt (Main Office). Of 24 projected barracks, 12 were built, but only half of them were ever ready for occupancy. The barracks were set up in the forest behind the then sports field, and at this point the prisoners were also held there. Food was stored in 2 completed barracks, while in 3 others relatives who belonged to the Hitler Youth, or women in SS uniform, were accommodated as well as members of the so-called Germanische Legion of the SS. In 2 other barracks, regular SS members were quartered, possibly while recovering after various inpatient treatments. The leader of this overflow quarters appears to have been a certain SS-Obersturmführer Clausen. It is also reported that members of the "Vlassov" Army were transferred to this base for training purposes.

Due to the heavy labor, which included woodcutting, there occurred numerous injuries and illnesses. One Norwegian, Bergkvist, had an accident while felling trees and died from his injuries because the SS provided help too late. Of the 20 Norwegians, altogether 8 had to be taken to the infirmary at Sachsenhausen during the first months. From time to time, the camp elder ordered big piles of wood to be shifted from one place to another and then back again. He beat the prisoners as they did this work.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Johann Herfurth, who was born in Koblenz in 1902. He was shot dead at the end of the war by U.S. soldiers in Grieben.

The head of the SS training camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Brockmann, who was also in charge of the German soldiers defending Niemegk.

Another officer belonging to the camp command is said to have been a former captain of the Wehrmacht from Hamburg who was transferred to the SS and who in 1946 was sentenced to death by a Soviet court.[6] This could refer to Hauptmann Gattermann, who was shot in Grieben on May 8, 1945, together with the camp leader, Herfurth. His adjutant was Hans Georg Schmidt, a factory owner from Pforzheim who held the rank of an officer. The guard force consisted of 30 SS privates, Hungarians, and Romanian Germans from the Banat region. The only prisoner barrack was secured with barbed wire and two guard towers.

According to statements from survivors, there were no abuses by the SS in the camp. A Polish child who was accommodated nearby, however, witnessed the killing of a prisoner at work by an SS-Unterführer with the first name of Hubert. This same child also observed that during a roll call eight Russians and Ukrainians were hanged on gallows.[7]

According to statements from the camp recorder, the camp was dissolved on April 25, 1945, as the front approached. The prisoners were released with papers that had already been issued two days earlier by SS guards who led them across the German front line and let them go.[8] The abovementioned document was signed by the foreman Rudolf Nawrotzki. According to other accounts, April 22 was the last day the camp existed. Only on May 2, 1945, did the Red Army take over Niemegk. In the meantime, the prisoners

either tried to get through with the release certificates or hid themselves.

Beginning in May 1945, the camp barrack was used for the imprisonment of alleged and actual former National Socialists. Responsible for this camp were the former foreman of the subcamp Niemegk, Nawrotzki, who also served as chief of police, and the former camp recorder (and by this time mayor), Sasse. It was planned that the camp would house up to 2,000 German prisoners.[9]

The preliminary investigations on the Niemegk subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg were handed over after three years to the Central Office at Cologne, on April 30, 1970, for further action. But because of the "lack of sufficient factual evidence" and the death of the main suspect on October 14, 1970, the case was dismissed.[10] A corresponding request for assistance to the attorney general of the German Democratic Republic did not lead to any inquiries there.

SOURCES The only known publication on this subcamp is the report by Pierre van Kraay, in *Niemegk meldet Panzeralarm*, ed. Siegfried Dalitz (n.p., 1995).

Archival documents are located primarily at the BA-L and at AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 59, deposition of Arthur Sasse on November 28, 1968.
2. Ibid.
3. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 100.
4. Ibid.
5. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 95, final remark dated April 27, 1970.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 75, deposition of Tadeusz Tabor on May 20, 1968.
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 58, deposition of Arthur Sasse on November 28, 1968; and Folio 63, deposition of Wiktor Szabelski on May 13, 1968.
9. Chronicle of the city of Niemegk, vol. 7, supplement to Pierre van Kraay, *Niemegk meldet Panzeralarm*, ed. Siegfried Dalitz (n.p., 1995), n.p.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 51/67, note of dismissal by the Central Office at Cologne 24 Js 59/70 (Z) on October 14, 1970.

ORANIENBURG (*AUER-WERKE*)

The Auer-Werke was the owner of two large factory buildings in the town of Oranienburg, 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Berlin. One property was located close to Oranienburg's main station, and the other one was situated near Lake Lehnitz and close to a railroad track at the southeastern outskirts of the town. Initially organized as a limited liability company (GmbH) and led by the Jewish family Koppel, who fled from Germany to Switzerland during the National Socialist era, Auer-Werke became a subsidiary of the Frankfurt am Main–based Degussa AG in 1933.

During World War II, scientists of the Auer-Werke were involved in a project to develop an atomic bomb. Nevertheless, their main products were military equipment for the navy and Luftwaffe as well as gas masks for civilians and the Wehrmacht.

The SS authorities connected the factory near Lake Lehnitz, the "Auerwerk II Seegelände," with a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. This subcamp on the grounds of the factory existed from July 1, 1943, to March 15, 1945. At first it was under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp but only provided with Sachsenhausen prisoners. Sachsenhausen took command of the Auer-Werke subcamp in October 1944.

An electrified barbed-wire fence, about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and under voltage, prevented escape attempts out of the camp, which was made up of about 10 wooden huts, including a separate hut for Jewish prisoners. The prisoners lived in 7 or 8 of these huts and slept in bunk beds of plain wood with shavings instead of mattresses. The subcamp also had a hut that was used as a kitchen and a laundry. In September 1944, workers built an infirmary with a capacity of 100 beds, where a Russian doctor, a Polish doctor, and a Russian first-aid attendant were on duty.

The first prisoners, about 50 in number, arrived from the concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück. Most of them were women and girls from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The number of prisoners increased steadily: the guards counted 1,841 prisoners in February 1945. They were not only from Eastern Europe but also from France, Italy, Yugoslavia, and the Netherlands—only a few prisoners were German by origin.

The first chief of the approximately 20 female guards, who stayed in a separate hut outside the camp, was a woman called Gertraud Steisslinger, whose maiden name was Schöber.[1] She gave orders until July 1944, when she was relieved by her successor, a woman called Hesse who was chief of the female guards until the destruction of the Auer-Werke and parts of the neighboring subcamp by an Allied air raid on March 15, 1945. Hesse led the subcamp together with the Oberscharführer Karl Meinhardt, who commanded six to eight male guards.[2]

The prisoners had to work 72 hours a week, mainly in the production of gas masks. After the destruction of the Bygk-Guldenwerke chemical factory, which was situated nearby, SS authorities forced subcamp prisoners to help with clearing-up operations. They classified the work the prisoners were forced to do as easy manual work and underlined the reason why most prisoners were girls or physically weak women.

Eyewitnesses remembered 5 deaths in the subcamp until March 1945.[3] More than 300 prisoners died during the air strike of March 15, most of them because they did not have permission to leave their places of work during the attack. The Polish doctor and eyewitness Irena Cirsinska counted 60

dead and 120 injured prisoners.[4] Some women and girls tried to escape from the factory buildings and the subcamp area after the air strike had destroyed parts of the industrial and housing complex. SS guards collected survivors who could not flee and led them to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which was about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away. The prisoners were sent to an area of the camp called "Kleines Lager," which had previously been used for the isolation of Jewish prisoners until the end of 1942.

On April 21, 1945, SS authorities decided to evacuate the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, whose 3,000 unmovable sick prisoners—including a few women from the Auer-Werke subcamp—were liberated one day later by Red Army soldiers. The SS forced about 33,000 prisoners, including the majority of the former Auer-Werke subcamp, to march toward the Baltic Sea. This undertaking cost the lives of about 6,000 prisoners. On their march to the coastline, SS guards constructed a provisional camp in a forest near the town of Wittstock. Finally, they disbanded the camp and released the prisoners on April 29, 1945, because of dominant Allied military operations in this area. Within the following days and weeks, Soviet and U.S. soldiers picked up former Sachsenhausen prisoners from a territory stretched over the rural districts of the Mecklenburg towns of Parchim and Schwerin.

SOURCES Secondary references useful for this essay are Monika Knop, "Jüdische Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern 1944 bis 1945," in Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden, eds., *Jüdische Häeftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945* (Berlin, 2004), for an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamp and with a focus on Jewish prisoners.

Primary documentation on the Auer subcamp is located in the AG-S, especially in the Box Auer, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by the ZdL (now at BA-L), and also in Sammlung Thomas Irmer, Inhalt Auer. Ordner No. 9.

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. ZdL, Bd. III, p. 113 (Arbeitsdienstpass mit Lichtbild), Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

2. ZdL, Bd. III, pp. 38R, 42, 47, 53, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

3. ZdL, Bd. III, p. 384, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

4. ZdL, Bd. III, Bl. 380, p. 400, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

ORANIENBURG (*HEINKEL-WERKE*)

The Heinkel-Werke GmbH had its headquarters in the town of Rostock at the Baltic coastline. But there was also a branch in the town of Oranienburg, about 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Berlin, which was established in 1937. The Oranienburg branch constructed two aircraft factories called "Werk I" and "Werk II" in the southeastern districts of the town. In the autumn of 1941, Heinkel Oranienburg was the first German aircraft company to start a close cooperative association with the SS. The SS sent small groups of prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as temporary workers to the factory buildings. At first, the prisoners were forced to work during the day at the Heinkel factories and returned every evening to the concentration camp.

During the summer of 1942, authorities constructed a prison camp on the grounds of the Heinkel factory Werk I and ordered 15 SS members to guard its prisoners. The number of SS guards increased over time and reached 130 in the spring of 1943. Responsible for the guarding of the prison camp was the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Sachsenhausen with Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebroek as the first subcamp's chief. He led the prison camp from August 29, 1942, to October 10, 1943, and was relieved by his successor Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who led the camp until its evacuation.

The increasing number of guards corresponded with the increasing number of prisoners: the Heinkel statistics included a count of 800 prisoners in September 1942; 1,900 prisoners in December 1942; 3,707 prisoners in March 1943; 5,479 prisoners in June 1943; 6,012 prisoners in September 1943; 6,026 prisoners in December 1943; 6,240 prisoners in March 1944; and 6,966 prisoners in June 1944. The Heinkel camp thus developed into the biggest of the approximately 96 Sachsenhausen subcamps and Kommandos that were all founded between 1938 and 1945.

The first prisoners had to live temporarily in the basement of a former dining hall near factory building number 8 and in converted changing rooms. Later, huts were built next to the factory buildings, each with a capacity of 500 prisoners. Most prisoners originated from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France, with fewer coming from Norway and Germany.

The prisoners were forced to work in the construction of the Heinkel (He) 177 fighter plane. They worked together with German workers and about 600 foremen. On December 31, 1943, the number of prisoners reached 43.8 percent of the whole workforce.

An Allied air strike destroyed the factory buildings on April 18, 1944, and killed 400 to 500 prisoners. From this time on, the SS authorities forced about 1,000 survivors to work at the so-called Klinkerwerk, a large brickworks that produced bricks for Albert Speer's building projects in Berlin. Furthermore, the Heinkel subcamp developed into a reception camp for evacuated camps from the eastern regions. Most prisoners were first penned up in assembly shop number 8. The SS started a selection and an execution campaign aimed at those persons who were sick and worthless in the eyes of the authorities and guards.[1]

A huge number of prisoners were murdered, but it is not possible to give exact numbers. When Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebrock was chief of the subcamp till October

1943, acts of sabotage were rare and punished with a minimum of three executions.[2]

On April 20, 1945, the SS organized the so-called evacuation[3] and led the prisoners to the communities of Kremmen, Löwenberg, Reinsberg, Buetzow, Parchim, and Krywitz, where the prisoners were liberated by Soviet soldiers on May 4, 1945.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Heinkel subcamp is located in the AG-S, especially in the Box Heinkel, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by the ZdL (now at BA-L). For a broad overview of the SS cooperation with German aircraft companies, see Lutz Budrass, *Flugzeugindustrie und Luftruestung in Deutschland 1918–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1998); and Rainer Fröbe, "Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Haeftlingen und die Perspektive der Industrie, 1943–1945," in *Europa und der "Reichseinsatz": Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (Essen: Klartext, 1991).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. Zeugenaussage des ehemaligen Gefangenen Heinrich Hesshaus, wonach ca. 120 jüdische Häftlinge getötet wurden, LKA-N-W (Protokoll: Düsseldorf, September 21, 1967) [LKA-N-W Dez. 15].
2. Zeugenaussage von Erich Köpf, LKA-B-W (Protokoll: Kislau, October 5, 1967) [I/7 (NSG)-18-158/67].
3. Zeugenaussage des ehemaligen Gefangenen Heinrich Hesshaus, LKA-N-W (Protokoll: Düsseldorf, September 21, 1967) [LKA-N-W Dez. 15].

POTSDAM-BABELSBERG

The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog from the summer of 1949 states that the Potsdam-Babelsberg subcamp was assigned to Berlin and cites the Belgian Tracing Service as a source, thereby suggesting that Belgians were held there. According to information supplied at the time by the Berlin Office for the Registration of War Victims (Amt für die Erfassung der Kriegsopfer), the subcamp was described as a "camp for politicals."[1]

A list of subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp prepared after the war describes Potsdam-Babelsberg as follows: "Red Cross, eighty men, bunker construction, weakened prisoners often brought to the camp in exchange for stronger ones, accommodation adequate, food the same."[2] Other records estimate up to 200 prisoners.[3]

The existence of this subcamp can only be confirmed as of August 1944. At the end of August 1944, 100 prisoners were assigned to the camp, a number that did not change until the end of 1944. In mid-February 1945, only about 90 prisoners remained in the camp.[4] In addition to working at the headquarters of the German Red Cross (Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, DRK), prisoners also worked in the studios of Universum Film AG (Ufa) Babelsberg. Both had contracted the private construction company Bunkerbaufirma Polensky from Berlin to build bunkers. The prisoners were housed on the grounds of the German Red Cross depot, located at the intersection of the Berlin-Potsdam and Wetzlar railway lines.

A former German Red Cross employee has reported on the camp inmates' work for the German Red Cross. Prisoners fared "relatively well," guards did not interfere when they took food from the German Red Cross kitchen, and they "also all emerged well" from the camp.[5]

On September 8, 1944, German prisoner Otto Schenk was sent for six months to the "shoe-runner" (*Schuhläufer*) punishment detail of the main camp. Though part of the detachment working at the German Red Cross, he had stolen items from a camp barracks.

According to German prisoner Walter Heinold, "Foreman Kurt as well as certain criminal prisoners" particularly stood out, in that they "beat Poles, Ukrainians, and political prisoners."[6] This report underscores the tensions that existed between different groups of prisoners.

German prisoner Paul Felder was released on March 16, 1945. A few weeks thereafter, on April 27, 1945, the camp is thought to have been finally disbanded.[7] In the daily reports, the last reference to the camp dates from April 9, 1945, when it held 88 prisoners.[8]

The SS, who were in charge, are said to "have helped all prisoners who fell ill and needed food" inasmuch "as the [higher camp] administration had not fairly distributed [the supplies]."[9]

The names of the following SS camp personnel are known: SS-Oberscharführer and Kommando leader Max Bergholz (June to December 31, 1944); and the guards SS-Schütze Karl Bischof (May 1944 to March 1944), SS-Sturmmann Lorenz Bittenbinder (May 1944 to April 1945), SS-Schütze Anton Belt (October 1944 to April 1945), Rottenführer Michael Edling (June 1 to August 1, 1944), SS-Rottenführer Alexander Kiss (July 22, 1944, to May 3, 1945), Rottenführer Emil Offenhammer (November 12, 1944, to May 2, 1945), SS-Sturmmann Johann Schramm (July 1944 to March 1945), Johann Glatz, Valentin Jaromin, Erich Offenhammer, and Wilhelm Wiest. SS-Oberscharführer Bergholz, who served as Kommando leader of the Potsdam-Babelsberg subcamp until the end of 1944, later stated that he was commando leader of Schönholz, a subcamp located at the Argus Motorenwerk in Berlin-Reinickendorf, for two weeks starting on April 21, 1945. He may have accompanied the evacuation from that camp to Sachsenhausen.

While in British internment, former SS-Rottenführer Kiss, a Romanian guard at the subcamp in Babelsberg, said he had been a member of the Babelsberg Honor Company (Ehrenkompanie) from July 22, 1944, to May 3, 1945. Guards Bischof, Schramm, Glatz, Jaromin, Erich Offenhammer, and Wiest were also interned by the British.

In 1971 and 1972, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg undertook an investigation of Babelsberg. However, even the ITS was unaware of the names of any prisoners. As a result, the investigation was dropped in 1972.

SOURCES An unpublished study that mentions Potsdam-Babelsberg is Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), and is available in AG-S, D.A. 5147. This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262.

Archival material is mostly to be found at AG-S. Prisoner Paul Wittig is interviewed in the film *Missbrauchte Helfer: Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz 1921–1945*, Ein Film von Wolfgang Bergmann (45 minutes), at www.lichtfilm.de.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262.
2. IfZ, Ed 106/77, Aufstellung des ehemaligen Häftlings des KZ-Sachsenhausen Walter Nowak, n.d.
3. Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen." (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), available at AG-S, D.A. 5147.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99 und 101.
5. Paul Wittig, in *Missbrauchte Helfer: Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz 1921–1945*, Ein Film von Wolfgang Bergmann (45 minutes), at www.lichtfilm.de.
6. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1 B, p. 104.
7. According to Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen."
8. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99 und 101.
9. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1 B, p. 104.

PRETTIN (LICHTENBURG)

The Lichtenburg camp in Prettin on the Elbe (Saxony-Anhalt), established at the sixteenth-century Lichtenburg Castle, was originally one of the first early camps in the German Reich. Established in June 1933, the early camp had held male prisoners in "protective custody" until it was dissolved in 1937. A women's protective custody camp (*Frauenschutzhaftlager*) was created in Lichtenburg from December 1937 to May 1939 (see Early Camp/Lichtenburg). A subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established there in early October 1941.[1] [For additional information on the evolution of the concentration camp system and the early camps, see Karin Orth's introduction "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps."] The number of prisoners allocated to the subcamp was relatively low, and although it remained in operation for nearly three years, there is little official documentation pertaining to the subcamp.

Prior to its use as a camp during the Nazi era, the Prettin Lichtenburg Castle had a long history of serving as a detention facility. Plans for the castle date from the fourteenth century, and by 1582, it was fully constructed. During the Napoleonic wars, the French built a prison cell for about 800 prisoners on the grounds of the castle; another cell block was erected there in the late 1870s. Later, during the political turmoil of the 1920s, hundreds were imprisoned at the castle for their participation in left-wing armed uprisings in the district.

Prior to its establishment as a Sachsenhausen subcamp, Lichtenburg Castle operated as an early camp for political prisoners, homosexuals, Jews who had committed "race defilement" (*Rassenschande*) crimes, and other "enemies of the state." In 1937, during the Nazi government's attempts to reorganize and consolidate the camp system, they transferred the inmates from the men's camp to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. Following this liquidation, women, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses, were brought to Prettin from a camp in Moringen. The women were transferred to Ravensbrück in 1939, and the camp remained empty until 1941.

The Second Replacement Battalion (Ersatzbataillon) of the SS-Death's Head Formations (Totenkopfverbände), elite units of the SS that guarded the camps, was then stationed at the Lichtenburg Castle. The unit remained there until it was summoned to Prague to prepare for combat on the Eastern Front in the winter of 1941. About 10 SS men stayed behind to staff the clothing production camp (*Bekleidungslager*) that had been established for the troops at the castle.[2] In early October 1941, the SS were allotted 15 prisoners from Sachsenhausen to work at clothing production. Independent from the clothing plant, there were 40 more SS officers stationed at the castle in the main administrative Arsenal Office (Hauptzeugamt).

By March 1942, an additional 50 inmates from Sachsenhausen were transported to the Lichtenburg Castle to be used for labor in the Arsenal Office. The inmates were housed in the *Zellenbau*, a cell block on the grounds of the castle located near the SS quarters. Most testimonies from former prisoners from the Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives (AG-S) have emphasized that they received decent treatment. The prisoners were permitted to circulate around the Lichtenburg area throughout the day, and at night they were locked in the block. The same kitchen that provided for the SS men also supplied the inmates' food. The prisoners were occupied with loading and unloading work, workshop, and office duties. One exception to the general reports of fair treatment can be found in the testimony of former inmate Oskar Blömer, who recalled that during an inspection of the camp, SS-Scharführer Otto Kaiser beat a prisoner to death. Kaiser was tried in 1967.[3]

There is little information about the prisoner culture or demographics of this camp's population, if it changed over the course of the camp's three-year existence. From a short list in the judge's final injunction (*Abschlussverfügung*) in the AG-S, many of the prisoners were from the German Reich and ranged in ages from 35 to 45.[4]

Moreover, there is scant information about individual SS men who staffed the clothing production camp and the

armaments office. The chief of the clothing camp was Obersturmführer Germann Cristel, who was appointed in September or October 1941. After he was transferred to another SS division on an unknown date, Cristel was replaced by Sturmführer Hans Koch. Hauptscharführer Ludwig Viehmeyer acted as adjutant to the chief of the armaments office; he also supervised the prisoners' living quarters. Rottenführer Willi Thiessen oversaw the prisoner work division of the armaments office. Sturmscharführer Kaspar Wallner was appointed head of the clothing production camp, and he remained in this position until the end of the war. Unterführer Anton Blobner oversaw the prisoners' work in the clothing production camp; he died in January 1945. Rottenführers Josef Echle, who died in June 1948, and Fritz Pedeyn also guarded the prisoners while they worked. The SS guard staff at the Prettin subcamp ranged in ages from 31 to 46.

The subcamp at Lichtenburg Castle functioned until late April 1945, when the Soviet Army invaded the area and the SS guards retaliated and were forced to evacuate. The remaining prisoners escaped, although there is no record of how many inmates survived this ordeal.

SOURCES The main secondary source of information for this entry is Klaus Drobisch, *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (Wittenberg: Kreisverwaltung Wittenberg, 1997), which focuses predominantly on the history of the castle and its uses as an early camp. Drobisch also provides a brief overview of the subcamp. For similar broad information and a brief description of the subcamp, see also Stefanie Endlich, "Das Konzentrationslager Lichtenburg," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); and the Lichtenburg entry, this volume. Further analysis of the shift in administration and restructuring of the Lichtenburg camp prior to World War II can be found in Charles W. Snydor Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death Head's Division* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2001). Information about the opening and closing dates of the Prettin subcamp, the types of prisoners, and nature of prisoner work can be found in the (ITS), *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979).

Primary source material about the Lichtenburg concentration camps and the Sachsenhausen subcamp is located in the archives of the AG-L in the Museum Schloss Lichtenburg (Prettin). Photographs from these archives are reprinted in the accounts of both Drobisch and Endlich. Information about the WVHA, which most likely administered the work in the clothing production camp, can be found in the records of the BA-K—for example, File Group 415, Verwaltungschef SS: "Neubau des FKL-Ravensbrück—Anregungen des Direktors des FKL Lichtenburg, March 1939." The LHSA-Ma contains files related to the establishment of a concentration camp at Lichtenburg Castle. Other primary documentation can be found in the AG-S, especially in the general reports on the subcamps in LAG FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachenhausen,'" in particular, File XII/9, which contains partial copies of investigations conducted by the ZdL.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. The ITS catalog lists the opening date of the subcamp as October 3, 1941. Klaus Drobisch, in *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (Wittenberg: Kreisverwaltung Wittenberg, 1997), has cited the date October 4, 1941.
2. Abschlussverfügung des Kölner Staatsanwaltes Pfeufer (n.d.), reproduced in the AG-S, LAG XII/9, p. 1.
3. Ibid., pp. 4–5.
4. Ibid., pp. 3–4.

RATHENOW

The town of Rathenow an der Havel is situated about 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Berlin. A subcamp of the Sachenhausen concentration camp existed there between September 20, 1944, and April 25, 1945. The prisoners—at first about 500 in number—worked in the nearby Arado airplane factory. The company was founded in Warnemünde at the Baltic coast in 1917 and established a branch in the town of Brandenburg in 1934. The National Socialist authorities nationalized the whole company one year later. A new headquarters in the town of Nowawes (present-day Babelsberg) and a factory building in Rathenow/Heidefeld were founded in the fall of 1936. Workers of the Rathenow factory manufactured Heinkel aircraft under license. The Rathenow branch specialized in the construction of wings for fighter planes up to 1944. During World War II, the Arado company established 24 new production centers all over Europe.

After the evacuation of more than 2,000 prisoners from the Herzogenbusch concentration camp (Dutch: Kamp Vught) in the Netherlands to the Sachenhausen concentration camp at the beginning of September 1944, SS authorities deported nearly 300 of these prisoners to the Rathenow subcamp, who then made up the majority of the subcamp prisoners. Most Rathenow prisoners had a Dutch, Belgian, or French background, although there were also prisoners from Poland, the Soviet Union, Norway, and Germany. On February 20, 1945, about 150 to 200 Polish Jews from the evacuated Glöwen subcamp were deported to Rathenow, and guards counted nearly 1,000 prisoners altogether. About 50 of the 250 Dutch prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses, and between 12 and 15 prisoners were German. The average number of prisoners was between 500 and 800, while a maximum figure was reached with about 1,000 to 1,200 prisoners in February 1945. The Jewish prisoners were housed in a separate hut. They also had to work under extremely hard conditions: the SS au-

thorities did not allow them to work inside the factory building, which had an underground production center. Even during the cold winter, the Jewish prisoners had to rivet wings with air pressure outside the factory building.

Authorities usually transported sick prisoners to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp or created so-called Kartoffelschälkommandos in the subcamp, where sick persons had to do the housework instead of working in the factory.

The subcamp included about 4 hectares (10 acres) and was located south of the town of Rathenow in a district called Heidefeld. The subcamp was made up of one large hut, eight medium-sized huts, and two small buildings placed in a five-cornered area. They included a hut for the prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*)—mostly Germans who represented a connecting link between other prisoners and the subcamp command as well as the kitchen hut. The subcamp was surrounded by two electrified barbed-wire fences with a footpath 4 meters (13 feet) wide between the fences. Five wooden watchtowers marked the corners of the subcamp. Two huts outside the camp were reserved for the guards.

The prisoners were forced to work in two 12-hour shifts. They had to work not only in the construction and planking (*Beplankung*) of wings for fighter planes but also in the construction of wings for rockets of the "revenge weapons" (*Vergeltungswaffen*) and in the production of screws.

About 30 to 50 SS guards controlled the camp as well as the prisoners on their way from and to the factory building, which was 500 meters (547 yards) away. The chief of the subcamp was Otto Schulz (other sources said that the chief of the subcamp was a man called Vahle).[1]

An Allied air strike destroyed large parts of the factory building on April 18, 1945. Up to this time, camouflage battle dresses were produced there until the liberation of the subcamp by Red Army soldiers on April 26, 1945.[2]

Eyewitnesses reported the murder of 12 prisoners, but beyond all doubts, 2 prisoners from Belgium were shot dead because of sabotage,[3] and about 40 prisoners died because of malnutrition in the last weeks of the subcamp's existence.

SOURCES For an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamp with a focus on Jewish prisoners, see Monika Knop, "Jüdische Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern 1944 bis 1945," in *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945*, ed. Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (Berlin, 2004).

Primary documentation on the Rathenow subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the Box Rathenow, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (now at BA-L).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. ZdL, pp. 268, 270, 321, 456, 467, 483, 493, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

2. ZdL, pp. 128, 171, 433, 434, 442, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

3. ZdL, pp. 169, 538, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

SCHÖNEFELD [AKA AL HENSCHEL]

The Schönefeld subcamp with about 600 female prisoners existed from July 1944 to April 1945 on the grounds of today's Berlin-Schönefeld airport. The women had to do forced labor in the Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (HFW), a company founded by Oskar R. Henschel in 1933. The site of the main aircraft works and test runway were at Schönefeld, then a suburb located at the southeastern outskirts of Berlin.

After Allied air raids in the fall of 1943 had led to losses in production, the central goal of National Socialist armaments policy became to redouble efforts and force increased production, particularly in aircraft armaments. In the summer of 1944 and as part of this effort to compensate for production losses caused by the air raids, the HFW asked for female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp in order to deploy them in the Schönefeld works.

In July 1944, part of the Schönefeld factory was converted into a Ravensbrück subcamp.[1]

Under the supervision of SS-Scharführer Fritz Giese, a group of 12 male concentration camp prisoners set up a kitchen, washroom, and living quarters in Production Hall No. 7. Prisoner quarters, initially with 150 beds but later increased, were located on the first floor of the factory building (No. 7a). It would eventually be surrounded by an electrified fence, and in addition, a detention cell was installed in September 1944. The SS took over the new camp on July 26, 1944, once the installation was complete.

Soon thereafter, about 500 female prisoners were transported by truck to the subcamp from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[2] At the end of August, another group of 120 female prisoners was brought by the SS from the Ravensbrück subcamp at Barth near Rostock, arriving at Schönefeld on September 1, 1944.[3] On the same day, Schönefeld came under the jurisdiction of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and was thenceforth called the "Henschel external camp" (AL Henschel) in the SS.[4] When, on March 1, 1945, 14 more women were brought from Ravensbrück to Schönefeld, the total number of prisoners employed at HFW reached its high point of 634. Most of them came from France, Poland, and Russia, though there were also German Roma (Gypsies), Yugoslavs, a Belgian, a Latvian, and a German woman labeled by the SS as "asocial" and "political." There may have been at least 7 Jews among the women prisoners.[5]

The first SS-Lagerführer, Giese, aged 34 in 1944, was ordered to Eberswalde to again assume command of the construction of a Ravensbrück subcamp soon after the female prisoners arrived. He was replaced by 45-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder.[6] He was replaced in January 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Schulz, who was about 35.

The SS guard staff consisted of about 10 SS men, most of whom were said to have been ethnic Germans from Romania and Hungary.[7] Most of the female SS guards, in the summer of 1944, had been assigned to do service with the SS by the companies for which they previously worked. In all, there were at least 15 female SS guards who saw service at the Schönefeld subcamp, under the command of a senior female guard, of whom 12 are known by name. SS personnel were probably accommodated in a barracks outside the camp proper.[8]

The female prisoners primarily produced wings for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 aircraft. Half the women were awakened around 5:00 A.M. and had to work a 12-hour shift. According to survivors, those women who had to work the night shift from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. hated it more because of the cold.[9] The survivor Henriette Cartier-Worms described her working conditions in a statement she made for the trial against the major war criminals that was held at the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg: "My work involved drilling eight-mm holes in steel or hardened aluminum with a heavy, seven kilo [15.4-pound] steam hammer. I had to use this steam hammer for the entire shift, which means twelve hours long. . . . We worked on an assembly line whose output was continually being increased. At the beginning, the line came around every three hours, but at the end of our stay, it was every forty minutes, which left hardly a free moment. . . . I was forbidden to sit down in the factory. . . . We could only go to the latrines at fixed times. That was especially bad for us, because we all suffered from diarrhea."[10] A duralumin alloy was applied to harden the airplane wings, which ate into the skin on the women's hands and caused abscesses. Cartier-Worms also mentioned that while at work the women prisoners suffered at the hands of the German civilians who worked for Henschel.

By the end of 1944, much of the production in other areas of the HFW Schönefeld had either stopped or had stagnated, but the "camp in assembly hall 7 was a last bastion of what could be called conventional industrial production."[11] In its report for the month of October 1944, the HFW notes how "good has been the production of Me 109 wings by concentration camp prisoners."[12] However, according to survivors, production ceased in mid-January 1945 due to breakdowns in energy supply and the lack of raw materials and was not resumed. From then on, the women were used for heavy and dangerous physical work outside the camp, including cleanup work in Berlin and digging antitank ditches to defend the city.

Rations sank dramatically once production at HFW ceased in January 1945. The hygienic conditions also dramatically deteriorated, as the water supply system broke down.

"Many young women died very quickly of tuberculosis. Usually the ill, and those whose performance at work was insufficient, were sent back to the camp and I subsequently learned of their deaths,"[13] Cartier-Worms reported. There was a sick ward in Assembly Hall 7, attended to by two women prisoners, but it only dealt with minor illnesses and injuries. The seriously ill were taken at first to Ravensbrück and, beginning in 1945, to the women's subcamp of Sachsenhausen called Oranienburg (Auer-Werke).

There were probably multiple deaths on the grounds of the Schönefeld subcamp, and a former female guard remembers at least one. The SS change of status reports noted that on March 6, 1945, 21-year-old German Roma Anna Baramysi had died in the subcamp. Those who had died were to be cremated at the Baumschulenweg crematorium in Berlin-Treptow.

The total number of inmates in the subcamp sank dramatically in its last weeks, as larger groups of female prisoners were either evacuated or escaped. A female Polish prisoner was transferred to Sachsenhausen on April 8, 1945, and from there she and 5 other prisoners were released two days later. On the same day, 2 female Soviet soldiers whose prisoner-of-war (POW) status the SS had converted into concentration camp detention, managed to escape from the subcamp. On April 18, 1945, 65 women prisoners were taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[14]

When the Red Army reached the Berlin city limits on April 21, 1945, the SS camp commander ordered the subcamp dissolved. That afternoon, the remaining 537 women were divided into several groups and forced to head in the direction of Oranienburg. The first stage involved a night march through bombed-out Berlin. According to a French survivor, prisoners who during the march remained behind out of exhaustion were shot by the SS. Close to Nauen, the SS abandoned the majority of the women, and it is here that they were liberated by Soviet soldiers on April 24, 1945.[15]

At least four SS members of the Schönefeld subcamp were interned by the Allies after the war. They were all released by 1947. A former female SS guard was extradited to Poland and sentenced to a three-year prison term for being a member of the SS.[16] The only sentence that was explicitly related to crimes committed in the subcamp was handed down on December 22, 1949, by a French military court in Rastatt. The former camp guard Hildegard Glimpel was sentenced to a three-month jail term for mistreating prisoners.[17] Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased investigating in 1971, as there was no evidence of the premeditated murder of camp inmates.

SOURCES The principal secondary source of information for this entry is an essay by Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWG* 2 (1993): 89–136, which provides a brief overview of the camp and an in-depth analysis of the history of HFW, its use of slave labor, and a history of its administration in relation to the Nazi government.

Primary source materials about the Schönefeld subcamp of Sachsenhausen are stored at the AHFW and at AG-S. For a detailed account of life in the Schönefeld camp complex, see the second volume of Christian Bernadac's *Le camps des femmes: Ravensbrück*, vol. 2 of *Mannequins nus* (Paris: France-

Empire, 1971–1973), which is based on the unpublished manuscripts of two former inmates. Testimony from another former inmate, Henriette Cartier-Worms, has been published in Peter Neitzke and Martin Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1988); however, Cartier-Worms's testimony is edited and separated under thematic headings, and therefore it is not a straight narrative about her experience in the Schönefeld camp (she was also interned in Ravensbrück). For detailed information about work conditions at the HFW factory, see the USHMMA, RG-02.038, J.H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück: A Record of Imprisonment Testimony" (October 15, 1945). This is a memoir written by an anonymous survivor who, although she did not necessarily live in Halle 7 at Schönefeld, performed slave labor for Henschel and describes the work conditions there.

Alexander Korb
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The factory topography and the camp can be seen in Allied air photographs taken on February 22, 1944, and in two sketches by a former supervisor. The photos can be seen at www.bvbb-ev.de/assets/images/Schfd1944-beschriftet-2.jpg (September 16, 2003); the sketches at Preliminary Investigation by BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

2. J. H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück: A Record of Imprisonment Testimony" (October 15, 1945), USHMMA, RG-02.038/1, p. 10. Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger estimate the arrival of the prisoners as being between July 26 and 31, 1944: "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 2 (1993): 122. Another 80 women reached the camp on September 7, 1944: Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen, September 7, 1944, AG-S, D 9A.

3. The transfer lists hold the names and prison numbers of the transferred women; see USHMMA, RG-04.006M, Reel 20.

4. Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen 1945, AG-S, D 9A.

5. Preliminary Investigation Result, BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

6. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Paderborn, 2003), p. 447.

7. Preliminary Investigation Result, BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

8. Marquordt [*8.1916 in Wolfenbüttel], May 12, 1969, in Clausthal-Zellerfeld, BA-L, IV 406 AR 645/69, p. 34.

9. J. H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück," p. 11.

10. See the statement by Henriette Cartier-Worms, in Peter Neitzke and Martin Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1988), p. 105.

11. Budrass and Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz," p. 131.

12. Technical Report, Entry 2.10./b, MB October 1944, AHFW, cited in ibid., p. 132.

13. Cartier-Worms, in Neitzke and Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg*, p. 112.

14. Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen 1945, AG-S, D 9A.

15. J.H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück," p. 18

16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2488/66, p. 227.

17. Record of Interview Hildegard Glimpel [*5.1923 in Säbischdorf], May 12, 1969, in Leverkusen, ZdL, 406 AR 2488/66, p. 69.

SCHWARZHEIDE

In the summer of 1944, the SS set up a subcamp of Sachsenhausen at Schwarzheide, close to the Dresden-Berlin autobahn. It held 1,000 Czech Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz, and they worked at the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) lignite hydrogenation factory. It is likely that less than half of the prisoners survived the Schwarzheide subcamp and the subsequent death marches.

The Schwarzheide factory was located in southern Brandenburg at the edge of the Lausitz coal-mining district. It was the third of four hydrogenation plants built by Brabag, an enterprise founded in 1934 at the request of the Reich Economics Ministry but with the compulsory cooperation of the coal and mineral oil industry. The conversion of lignite into gasoline, into diesel oil, and in particular into high-octane aircraft fuel was to be forced so as to reduce dependence on imported oil, the key raw material needed to arm for war.

According to Fritz Kranefuss, the spokesman for the Brabag board of directors, plans were laid by the end of 1943 to use concentration camp prisoners as forced laborers in the hydrogenation plants.[1] Production was to be relocated underground, but the expertise provided by Prof. Carl Krauch, IG Farben director and designated specialist for chemistry, concluded it was technically impossible.[2]

In June 1944, the Armaments Ministry, following increased Allied air raids, established a working group to coordinate the reconstruction of those hydrogenation works that had been destroyed.[3] Concentration camp prisoners did the work.[4] After May or June 1944, about 10,000 concentration camp inmates, mainly Hungarian Jews, were forced to do the cleanup and construction work just at the four Brabag plants.[5]

By the end of 1944 or the beginning of 1945, the Schwarzheide works had become the most important supplier of fuel to the Wehrmacht's Army Group Center, hence also a "main strategic target" in Brandenburg for Allied long-distance bombers.[6] The first air raid on the Schwarzheide works took place on May 28, 1944. After six additional raids during the summer of 1944, production at Schwarzheide fell by 30 percent, according to the Armaments Ministry.[7] By early 1945, shortly before Germany's defeat, it was thought about 75 percent of the works had been destroyed.

In June 1944, the SS disbanded the "Theresienstadt Family Camp" in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. This block of the camp

was in sector B II b, an area where Czech Jews from the evacuated Theresienstadt ghetto were held. Several thousand men and women under 40 were selected to do forced labor; the remaining 10,000 or so (comprising older men, women, and children under 16) were murdered in the gas chambers. Some 1,000 Czech Jews were sent, in boxcars, to Schwarzheide to do forced labor and arrived on July 1, 1944.

The Schwarzheide subcamp was established in a former housing barracks near the Dresden-Berlin autobahn. In May 1944, the SS transferred an advance work detail to it, composed of non-Jewish prisoners, mainly German Communists, who had been held at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They assumed leading positions among the prisoners, including camp elder and chief of the infirmary.

The SS camp leader and certain SS men were deemed particularly brutal. One SS man wanted to shoot a concentration camp prisoner who had been injured outside the grounds of the camp during an air raid. A prisoner foreman was shot by a different SS man because he interceded on behalf of weakened fellow prisoners in his work detail.[8] Another concentration camp prisoner was beaten to death by an SS man because he had picked up a cigarette butt off the ground.

Approximately 20 different work Kommandos were employed at the Schwarzheide works, constructing bunkers and production facilities as well as a power plant. The work included lugging 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks or loading and unloading trucks. Each Kommando worked a 12-hour shift, either day or night, and per shift were allowed only one half-hour break.[9] To shield weaker prisoners, camp elder Paul Bergmann assigned those of a stronger constitution to the more physically demanding work.[10] Prisoners were also used to clear rubble and do repair work after air raids, with one Kommando laying new cables and lines. There were bomb disposal details that had to disarm many of the 113 duds among the approximately 3,000 bombs dropped on the works, and each detail consisted of 10 concentration camp prisoners.[11]

In addition to persecution by the SS and the exhausting or deadly dangerous work, air raids themselves also endangered prisoners, as they were wholly unprotected and not allowed to enter the air-raid shelters. Instead, they were locked in the subcamp's barracks. Aerial photos taken by the Royal Air Force at the beginning of March 1945 clearly show that during the carpet bombing of the grounds, efforts were made to spare the nearby subcamp.[12] Nevertheless, it was hit once.

Yet prisoners had ambivalent feelings about air raids, for though they were dangerous, they also were a symbol of coming liberation. Survivor Pavel Stransky said: "We looked forward to the next air raid! It meant a sweet rest for us. We had reached a point where we no longer feared the bombs. It was more important to have a break from the work, though we underestimated the danger. . . . Shrapnel bombs were dropped at the time, and a few prisoners were injured by them in the legs."[13]

At times, as many as one-third of the prisoners were in the subcamp's infirmary, though it had no medical equipment. Prisoner doctor, and gynecologist, Herbert Lewin later said: "We had to carry out emergency amputations with a disinfected carpenter's saw, and instead of an anesthetic, we held the prisoners down."[14] Lewin was one of the few Berlin doctors active in public health matters during the Weimar Republic and was particularly concerned to improve the basic health care and nutrition of underprivileged women.[15] Lewin founded the Association of Jewish Workers (Bund Jüdischer Arbeiter), though it would be banned by 1934. In 1941 he was deported from Cologne, where he had worked since 1937 as head of the Jewish Hospital's Gynecology Department, to the Łódź ghetto and from there, in 1944, to Auschwitz. That same year, Lewin was moved from Auschwitz to the Sachsenhausen Heinkel subcamp and from there to the Schwarzheide subcamp.

The SS transported the corpses of 114 concentration camp prisoners to the city crematorium at Dresden-Tolkewitz.[16] Dead prisoners also had been hurriedly buried in mines and bomb craters. It is possible that the SS began, as they probably also did at the Falkensee subcamp, to construct a crematorium on the grounds of the subcamp. Survivors suspect it could also have been a gas chamber.

At the beginning of February 1945, the SS had the concentration camp prisoners begin constructing tank traps in the area around the Brabag works and transferred certain prisoners to other work assignments at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, about 300 Jewish concentration camp prisoners "incapable of working" were transported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were replaced by about 300 non-Jewish prisoners from the Heinkel subcamp. It is also alleged that exhausted concentration camp prisoners were brought from Schwarzheide back to Auschwitz and to Bergen-Belsen in February and March 1945.

In March 1945, SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler ordered the former commander of the SS-Central Construction Administration (Zentralbauleitung, ZBL) Auschwitz, SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff, to implement Special Measure (*Sondermassnahme*) I/7 (Schwarzheide).[17] This special project probably had something to do with the use of prisoners by Bischoff for construction, though it never came to pass.

During the disbanding of the Schwarzheide subcamp, 40 concentration camp prisoners who could no longer walk were taken in two buses, on April 17, 1945, to Sachsenhausen—and then forced on the death march from there; 1 inmate who remained behind in the Sachsenhausen infirmary was freed by the Red Army on April 22.[18]

The remaining 500 prisoners from the Schwarzheide subcamp, Jews and non-Jews alike who could still walk, were forced from Schwarzheide on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Prisoners marched in rows of five and to begin with; those in the outside positions had to carry a

fence made of palings and rope.[19] During this death march, which went via Kamenz, Sebniz, and the mountainous region of the Sächsische Schweiz, about 80 men died either from exhaustion or at the hands of SS men who shot prisoners who tried to escape or who could no longer walk.[20]

When the SS seized a starving French prisoner who had stolen food, they shot—as "punishment"—4 other prisoners.[21] In the Czech town of Varnsdorf, the SS hanged a Polish prisoner after he unsuccessfully tried to escape into a factory building.[22] On April 28, 1945, in Varnsdorf, Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners were separated, and the non-Jewish prisoners later were freed near Langenau. The Jewish prisoners had to climb into open freight cars that otherwise transported coal and were taken, standing, to Leipa (Ceska Lipa in Bohemia). Along the way, some exhausted prisoners even drowned in the water that had pooled at the bottom of the cars after several days' rain;[23] 17 prisoners starved to death during the two days the train stood in Leipa, as they were given no food to eat.[24] From Leitmeritz (Litomerice), on May 7, 1945, the prisoners had to march in the direction of Terezin, though a few kilometers before reaching it, the SS guards fled.[25] About 227 concentration camp prisoners had at this point survived the death march;[26] 3 former prisoners would still die between May 8 and 10, after liberation, due to the aftereffects of the death march.[27]

SOURCES The author researched the history of the Schwarzheide subcamp and a number of individual concentration camp biographies to prepare the permanent exhibits at the Sachsenhausen Memorial titled "Die Baracke 38—Jüdische Häftlinge im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945" and "Die Baracke 39—Der 'Alltag' der Häftlinge des KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945." Some of this work appeared in the essay "Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—Die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen," in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen*, *Funktion und Rezeptio*n, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175.

The AG-S holds interviews with the survivors Jacov Tsur and Jiri Lom as well as five ring binders containing the results of the author's research. They include biographical documents and survivors' letters to the research group "Internationale Spurensucher," detailing the death march. Other documents can be found in the AG-T and at Beit Terezin in Israel. Documents on the Brabag-Werk Schwarzheide are held in the BHLA and the A-BASF (BASF is the owner of the former Brabag factory). An unpublished memoir by Tsur and Richard Svoboda, "Das Aussenlager Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen," can be found in USHMMA, Schwarzheide Collection, Acc. 2001.214. The archival collection was put together in the A-VEB-S in the DDR. In *The Book of Alfred Kantor. An Artist's Journal of the Holocaust*, preface by John Wykert (1971, repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1987), Auschwitz and Schwarzheide survivor Alfred Kantor shows in impressive colored drawings, completed after liberation while he was in the Deggendorf DP camp, the persecution and everyday life in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Schwarzheide. Former Schwarzheide prisoner Jiri Fränkl published his account *Der brennende Himmel* (Prague, 1995), which concentrates on Auschwitz. The autobiography of Pavel Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer: Von Prag durch Theresienstadt*, *Auschwitz*, *Schwarzheide und zurück. Tschechisch-jüdische Schicksale 1939–1997* (Konstanz, 1997), gives a forceful depiction of Schwarzheide. Tsur's biography also figures in the CD-ROM the author compiled for the AG-S, titled *Gegen das Vergessen—Der Alltag der Häftling im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945*. Tsur also published the report "Der Transport" about the transport from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz; it can be found in the narrative written by Nea Wiessberg-Bob and Thomas Irmer, *Heinrich Richard Brinn (1874–1944): Fabrikant-Kunstsammler-Frontkämpfer. Dokumentation einer "Arisierung*," with Michel Friedman, Hermann Simon, and Jacov Tsur (Berlin: Lichtig Verlag, 2002), pp. 214–219.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schreiben Fritz Kranefuss an SS-Obersturmbannführer Brandt, December 21, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1677, p. 2.
2. Schreiben GBChem Prof. Krauch an Himmler, December 18, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1677, p. 3.
3. Rundschreiben RMfRK June 8, 1944, Betr.: Generalkommissar für die Sofortmassnahmen, BA-B, NS 19/3592.
4. Schreiben Edmund Geilenberg/Arbeitsstab an SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer/SS-WVHA, July 10, 1944, BA-B, R 3112/179.
5. Tobias Bütow and Franka Bindernagel, *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).
6. Olaf Groehler, "Der Luftkrieg gegen Brandenburg in den letzten Kriegsmonaten," in *Brandenburg im Jahr 1945. Studien*, ed. Werner Stang and Kurt Arlt (Potsdam, 1995), pp. 9–37.
7. Aufstellung Produktion der Werke in Prozentsatz der Normalproduktion, November 20, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1677.
8. Statement by Frantisek Glückner at the Kolin District Court, September 9, 1969, in AG-S, LAG XIII/16.
9. Statement by Richard Meisl at the Tabor District Court Tabor, September 10, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16; Aussage von Pavel Kubie vor dem Kreisgericht Prag-Ost, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.
10. Interview with Jacov Tsur by Eva Brücker and Thomas Irmer, AG-S, Bestand B 38.
11. The numbers come from the A-BASF.
12. LVermA Brandenburg Luftbild Schwarzheide, Film Nr. 046, Bild-Nr. 4036, March 24, 1945.
13. Pavel Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer: Von Prag durch Theresienstadt*, *Auschwitz*, *Schwarzheide und zurück. Tschechisch-jüdische Schicksale 1939–1997* (Konstanz, 1997), p. 31.
14. Prof. Dr. Herbert Lewin, "Erlebnisse 1933/45" (Bericht von Herbert Lewin vom März 1955, aufgenommen von

H.G. Adler), IfZ, MZS 1/7 (Wiener Library P III Au [Lodz-Theresienstadt] Nr. 8).

15. Lewin worked in the Reichsverein für Volksernährung and was a member of the SPD.

16. Einäscherungsregister 1944/45 Urnenhain Krematorium Dresden-Tolkewitz.

17. Schriftstück "Vollmacht Nr. 7," March 26, 1945, BA-B, NS 3/457, Bl. 5.

18. Report by Oldrich Stransky, AG-S, R 66/22.

19. Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer*, p. 33.

20. The numbers are based in part on the lists of prisoner orderly Heinrich Roeder who kept notes during the death march. See the statements by the brothers Jiri und Richard Meisl before the Tabor District Court on August 28 and September 10, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.

21. Statement by Pavel Kubie at the Prague-East District Court, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.

22. Statement by Frantisek Glückner before the Kolin District Court, September 9, 1969, AG-S, LAG XIII/16.

23. Statement by Pavel Kubie before the Prague-East District Court, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16; Bericht über den Marschweg des Todesmarsches von Schwarzheide nach Terezin by Marek Poloncarz, AG-S, R 61/25.

24. Report by Karel Karlovsky, Prag 1996, AG-S, Sammlung Thomas Irmer.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Bericht über den Marschweg des Todesmarsches von Schwarzheide nach Terezin by Marek Poloncarz, AG-S, R 61/25.

SPREENHAGEN

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became more dense, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."[1]

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal.[2] The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area this garrison headquarters administered.

The Spreenhagen subcamp was closely connected to the Bad Saarow subcamp. The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer (born 1912) from Nürnberg. Administrative suboffices for construction were located at Storkow, Trebnitz, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen, as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp, while Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen are reported as labor Kommandos. According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who recorded roll calls at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April 1944, the Bad Saarow, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen subcamps were called a "unified labor camp."

The Spreenhagen subcamp was probably established in May 1944, initially with 50 prisoners, though by August this number had nearly doubled, and by the end of 1944, 133 prisoners were housed at Spreenhagen.[3] The prisoners were employed to construct the SS overflow duty stations. In the autumn of 1944, the SS-First Armored Infantry Training and Reserve Battalion (Panzergrenadier-Ausbildungs- und Ersatzbataillon) was stationed in Spreenhagen.[4] On September 23, 1944, 2 Soviet prisoners and a Polish prisoner successfully escaped from the camp.[5] By February 12, 1945, the camp was no longer mentioned in the SS statistics.

Labor Kommandos that most likely came from this camp worked to build SS provisional quarters, following three designs, on Spreenhagen communal land during 1944–1945. In part, however, construction could not be completed.[6]

SOURCES A few archival documents are held at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and at BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSSRF).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/108, p. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 180, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.
3. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
4. BA-DH, ZM 11514, File 1, Sammelakte, p. 35.
5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.
6. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 204A, Nr. 2286a.

STORKOW

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became denser, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership

Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."[1]

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to Schlaubetal.[2] The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area administered by this garrison headquarters.

The Storkow subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp. The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer (born 1912) from Nürnberg. Administrative suboffices for construction were located at Trebnitz, Kolpin, Spreenhagen, and Storkow,[3] as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp and Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen as labor Kommandos. According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who recorded roll calls at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April of 1944, the Bad Saarow, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen subcamps were called a "unified labor camp." Former prisoners have estimated the number of prisoners at the Storkow subcamp at 250.

The Storkow subcamp existed as of April 1944. As with Spreenhagen, it was first intended as a branch of the Bad Saarow subcamp and only later became an independent subcamp.[4] In mid-April 1944, the subcamp held 120 prisoners, though that number continued to be reduced until there were only 69 left by the end of the year.[5] Prisoners worked to build the SS overflow duty stations. One of the offices known to have been relocated to Storkow was Department XVII of Office Group D of the SS-FHA.

From March 15, 1944, to February 2, 1945, SS-Unterscharführer Karl Schlote (born 1912), a member of the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen, commanded the Storkow subcamp.[6] After war's end in 1945, Schlote was held by the British at the Esterwegen internment camp together with former SS-Rottenführer Josef Kranebitter, who admitted to having been a guard at the Storkow subcamp between September 6, 1944, and February 3, 1945.[7] His statement suggests the camp may have been established already on March 15, 1944, and one must assume the camp was closed on February 2 or 3, 1945, inasmuch as the subcamp is no longer mentioned subsequently in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports.

In the 1960s, West German judicial authorities investigated crimes potentially committed at the Storkow subcamp.[8]

SOURCES A few archival documents may be found at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and at the BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSSRF).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 189, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139R.
4. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from the ZLNW-K to the Gsta.-DDR, June 29, 1970.
5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
6. BA-DH, ZM 1564, A.13, p. 8, AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp held in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
7. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former Sachsenhausen concentration camp members interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
8. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from ZLNW-K (Az. 24 AR 186/68 (Z)) to the Gsta.-DDR, June 29, 1970. The camp is not mentioned in the memoirs of a Storkow Communist—Franz Becker, *Vom Berliner Hinterhof zur Storkower Komendatura* (Berlin, 1985).

STRAUSBERG

A camp for female prisoners existed in Strausberg, Oberbarnim District, Brandenburg Province (present-day Märkisch Oderland District in the State of Brandenburg), between November 15, 1944, and April 20, 1945. It was administered from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and the prisoners worked at the Märkische Walzwerk GmbH (Mark [Brandenburg] Rolling Mill, Ltd.) in Strausberg.

The Fritz Werner AG machine factory in Berlin-Marienfelde had been founded in 1914 and developed out of a small firm that primarily manufactured technical equipment for munitions factories. Once the arms limitations imposed by the Versailles Treaty were lifted, the company specialized in making machines that manufactured light arms, as well as machine-tool and munitions machines. In 1934, Fritz Werner AG complied with a request from the Army Armaments Office that it build its own munitions factory. The Berlin machine company established a subsidiary with the cover name Märkische Walzwerk GmbH and by the end of 1934 began building a munitions factory at the southeastern edge of Strausberg, on Hegermühlenstrasse. Between 1935 and 1939, this became an efficient factory, producing ammunition for 7.92mm-caliber guns as well as munitions parts up to 2

centimeters (0.8 inches) in length. Modern munitions machines built in the Berlin-Marienfelde plant were used for this production, and the Strausberg munitions factory served as a testing ground for these newly developed munitions machines.

During World War II, the Märkische Walzwerk substantially increased its production. Foreign forced laborers particularly from the Netherlands, Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union began to be used by 1941 to help manufacture munitions. By the fall of 1944, the works employed approximately 1,500 foreign forced laborers, 720 of whom were women; by the end of 1944, a total of about 3,200 workers were employed in the munitions factory.

The ever-increasing demands for ammunition led to an expansion of the production plant at the works. After mid-1943, the Märkische Walzwerk took over the property and the manufacturing building of the neighboring shoe factory Wilhelm Reichenwallner KG. This shoe factory had been acquired in 1931 by Berlin manufacturer Herman Diamant and, until 1938, operating under the name Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (HEDIA), had made evening and luxury shoes for women partly for the domestic but primarily for the export market. Diamant was a Jewish entrepreneur, however, and the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) of the Gau administration Kurmark forced him to sell his factory to the Wilhelm Reichenwallner KG, with SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Reichenwallner, from Munich, taking over control of the enterprise. Herman Diamant emigrated in 1939 to the United States, via Copenhagen.

The Märkische Walzwerk established a materials depot and quarters for foreign female forced laborers in the former shoe factory. The lower floors were converted into a production area, used after mid-1944 for the manufacturing of 7.92mm short ammunition for the Sturmgewehr 44 (assault rifle). However, neither German nor foreign forced laborers were available for this new production area, so Fritz Werner AG demanded female labor from a concentration camp through the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp established a subcamp for 100 women in the Märkische Walzwerk in mid-November 1944.[1] The prisoners had begun to arrive by transports from the Ravensbrück concentration camp beginning in April 1944 and, by the beginning of November, were transferred to the administrative control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The national composition of the prisoners cannot be definitively established, though on the basis of available information, the Strausberg subcamp held prisoners from the Soviet Union, Germany, and Poland.

Within the complex of the munitions plant, the prisoners were housed in the main building of the former shoe factory. The munitions and loading machines had been installed on the lower two floors of the shoe factory; a room where the prisoners slept was located immediately above the production halls. The prisoners' kitchen was located on the first floor, right next to the munitions machines. Prisoners did not need to leave the building to get from their quarters to the munitions machines or to eat. Most workers at the plant were not allowed to enter this production area, so as a result what went on in the former shoe factory remained hidden to them as well as to the inhabitants of Strausberg. Only foremen, suppliers, and technicians were permitted to enter this isolated part of the munitions factory.

The commander of the Strausberg subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Hellmut Stahl (born 1892), a clerk from Berlin. In May 1944, he was transferred from the Wehrmacht to the Sachsenhausen SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon and, after training, was appointed leader of the Kommando.

Beginning in 1943–1944, the most important production sections of the Strausberg munitions factory worked two 12-hour shifts a day, and one can assume the female prisoners in the subcamp were not exempt. However, the production targets for the Märkische Walzwerk in the old shoe factory evidently were not met, inasmuch as additional labor was called for. On March 10, 1945, the Sachsenhausen concentration camp transferred an additional 52 prisoners from the Oranienburg (Auer-Werke) subcamp to the Strausberg subcamp, which now held 150 prisoners.[2]

One contemporary witness reported on the extreme lack of medical care for the women. He recalled that a makeshift sickroom had been installed next to the dormitory where the prisoners slept. The room also served to isolate patients so as to prevent the spread of infection and thereby to avoid losing further working hours. A female prisoner had the task of providing care but had no medical equipment or medicine at her disposal; the factory doctor forbade the SS from providing any sort of medical care for the prisoners. The woman prisoner charged with providing care built her own electric cooker from bits of electrical material lying around the factory so as to be able at least to prepare hot tea for the sick women. The female guards would not enter the sickroom because, in their opinion, "the plague" raged there.[3]

By April 1945, the front was getting closer to Strausberg every day. The munitions factory had removed some of its machines to Berlin, but munitions production continued in Strausberg. The order to evacuate the city was given on April 19 or 20, 1945. No reliable information remains on what then happened to the 150 female prisoners. According to statements by the director of the munitions factory, the Nazi administration at Eberswalde gave orders to march the women to Wandlitz, north of Berlin. The Strausberg subcamp is last mentioned on April 19, 1945, in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp reports of total daily strength.

SOURCES In the literature, one finds the camp mentioned but without further information. There are brief mentions of the Strausberg subcamp in Rolf Barthel's *Geschichte der Stadt Strausberg* (Berlin, 1987), p. 198); and in Günter Matthes's "Zwangsarbeit in Strausberg während des zweiten Weltkrieges," *VRDA* 12 (2002): 6–7.

There is very sparse primary information about the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Strausberg. No surviving prisoners have contacted the AG-R or AG-S. No former prisoners have written their memoirs. No postwar trials are known in which male or female guards were charged, or in which former prisoners at Strausberg gave statements. There are no surviving written records of the former Märkische Walzwerk in Strausberg. Only scattered references to the existence of the subcamp or to individual, mostly foreign prisoners can be found in the museums and at the memorials at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück.

Günter Matthes
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, R 229 M 142.
2. Ibid.
3. Details from witness G. Leske, Strausberg, November 20, 1998.

TREBNITZ

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became more dense, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."[1]

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal.[2] The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area administered by this garrison headquarters.

While not part of the SS garrison administration Bad Saarow, the Trebnitz subcamp in the Seelow district was part of the project to relocate SS offices to locations east of the capital city. The Trebnitz subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp.

The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer (born 1912) from Nürnberg. As of May 1944, administrative suboffices for construction were located at Storkow, Trebnitz,[3] Kolpin, and Spreenhagen, as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp, while Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen are reported as labor Kommandos.[4]

The subcamp was probably established in May 1944. As of the end of March 1944, 120 prisoners were put to work at Trebnitz, a number that had increased to 301 by the beginning of October 1944.[5] A few prisoners had been transferred from the Fürstenwalde subcamp to Trebnitz.[6] In forested areas, the prisoners had to construct alternative quarters for an SS office. They were housed in a camp surrounded by four guard towers. One of the barracks contained a two-room infirmary as well as a storeroom. The kitchen and toilets were in two, separate wooden buildings.

Many Norwegians, who were used as workmen or craftsmen, were among the prisoners, along with Poles, Germans, and Soviets. One of the prisoner foremen was Erich Reuter, probably there as a Special Detachment Wehrmacht (Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht, SAW) prisoner.[7] According to other sources, three barracks for the prisoners existed inside the camp, and a guards' barracks and the camp office were located outside the camp. A Polish prisoner doctor and medical orderly were also said to have worked in the camp.

After September 1, 1944, the leader of the camp was SS-Untersturmführer Albert Dallwitz.[8] According to survivors, he was in command of about 20 SS men, ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary.[9] Known names of guards include SS-Schütze Wilhelm Gutermuth, Alfred Münker, and Josef Padberg; Oberschütze Andreas Rutterschmidt and Julius Schift; Sturmmann Karl Assmuss and Johann Pelger; Rottenführer Heinrich Philipp and Daniel Rossmann;[10] as well as Jakob Grag, Jakob Sumser, Martin Trontch, and Johann Zink.[11] Other guards included Franz Heist, Paul Marzahn, Mathias Schäfer, and Franz Steiner.[12]

At the end of December 1944, there were still 264 prisoners in the Trebnitz subcamp. Once the Red Army broke through German defenses at Küstrin at the beginning of February 1945, the camp was evacuated to Sachsenhausen. According to statements by the SS guards held after 1945 at the British internment camp at Esterwegen, the last date for the Trebnitz subcamp most often mentioned was February 1.[13] The prisoners were to have been marched by foot, but after one day they were brought by train to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[14] The Sachsenhausen daily reports no longer mention the Trebnitz subcamp after February 12, 1945. For the most part, by then the prisoners had been moved to the Heinkel Works subcamp in Oranienburg.[15]

On March 15, 1945, one prisoner was transferred from Trebnitz to the SS-"Dirlewanger" Division in Jamlitz for training. This was the location of the Lieberose subcamp that had been dissolved at the beginning of February 1945. That prisoner saw action at the front at the Oder River and was captured and imprisoned by the Soviets until 1949.[16]

After the war, the Bielefeld denazification court investigated camp commander Dallwitz. However, there was insufficient evidence to start a prosecution.[17]

Investigations by the Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westfalia in Cologne carried out from 1968 to 1970 in Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union remained unsuccessful. No grounds were found to suspect that prisoners had been killed.[18]

SOURCES A few archival documents are held at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and in the BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSSRF) and at the PRO.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 180, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139R.
4. AG-S, CAFFSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
5. Ibid.
6. BStU, RHE-West 458-463 (alt RHE 105/68 and RHE V 102/68), pp. 461–463.
7. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 1, Letter from NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, October 10, 1968.
8. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 5, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
9. BStU, RHE-West 458-463 (alt RHE 105/68 and RHE V 102/68), p. 463.
10. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
11. PRO, all references from Collection WO 309.
12. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 6, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
13. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.
14. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 3, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, October 10, 1968.
15. Ibid.
16. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/14/1B, pp. 107–188, Prisoner confirmation for Willy Jaeger 1950/51.
17. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 5, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
18. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 7, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.

USEDOM

From January 15, 1945, to April 23, 1945, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established in the northern Pomeranian town of Usedom, on the coast of the Ost-See. The subcamp or Kommando may have also been known as the Kommando Ongart, although it is unclear if this refers to a specific locality, company, street, or person.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Sachsenhausen subcamp established in Usedom. The principal source of information for this essay is the Usedom entry in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. For brief mention of the "Kommando Ongart," see *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente*, *Aussagen*, *Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East]: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1986), p. 74.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

VELTEN

Soon after the National Socialists took power in 1933, the SA set up a torture center at the Meissnershof, an uninhabited manor lying between Velten and Hennigsdorf in the Hohenschöpping forest district. To hide the brutal treatment of prisoners, it was given the cover name "SA Driving School." It was one of the early concentration camps established by the SA that later became part of the Oranienburg concentration camp. The Meissnershof center lasted only from March until December 1933, at which point the remaining prisoners were transferred to the Oranienburg concentration camp.

By April 1943, 14 camps housing forced laborers from throughout Europe existed in Velten. They had been established as part of the program to support armaments production during World War II. In the summer of 1941, an additional camp was set up next to the Velten Maschinenbau GmbH Ikaria to house approximately 1,000 forced female laborers from the Soviet Union.[1]

The latter Velten subcamp, a women's camp, was first under the control of Ravensbrück, but control was later transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Depending upon the source consulted, this camp was set up either in March 1943 or only in October 1944 and was located between Berliner Strasse and the Hohenschöpping commuter railroad station, close to the Velten Maschinenbau, an armaments producer.

Female prisoners were used at this plant to assemble airplane parts, and they also manufactured the aircraft cannon Oerlikon for the Heinkel airplane works in Leegebruch.[2] Prisoners worked in Hall G, right next to the street, and were supervised by female SS guards.[3] Another place prisoners worked, according to the literature, was the Havelschmelzwerk GmbH on Berliner Strasse 8. Prisoners worked 12-hour days.[4]

About 125 women were crammed together in a single barracks.[5] Between 500 and 800 women are said to have been in the camp, and they came from the Soviet Union, Romania,

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Hungary, France, and Germany.[6] The camp elder was a Pole named Wanda.[7]

A Communist resistance group operating inside Maschinenbau had taken up contact with the Soviet forced laborers in the Velten women's subcamp. Young women who belonged to this resistance group could listen to Radio Moscow at the home of Fritz Meissner, a Communist member, and they translated the news. Meissner, who had access to one of the concentration camp barracks, was able to pass the information on to the female inmates. In addition, the resistance group was said to have collected money and rations and brought them into the camp.[8] The group was also supposedly successful in helping a woman named Lydia to escape, either in March or April 1945.[9]

At the beginning of October 1944, the Sachsenhausen records showed 669 women at the Velten subcamp.[10] On March 30, 1945, it held 709 women.[11]

SS-Unterscharführer Loose headed the Kommando; his deputy was a certain de Ries.[12] At least in part, the guards were ethnic Germans. One of them was SS-Schütze Hans Bitto (born 1900 in Julwes, Romania), who served at Velten from August 1943 to September 1944 and then at the Sachsenhausen subcamps at Briesen [aka Falkenhagen] and Berlin-Lichtenrade.[13] Siegfried Schubert was part of the Kommando and remembers serving with Rottenführer Paul Bloss, Balzer, and Bürger, men named Wlepinski and Grawschewski, and an ethnic German from Croatia, Robert.[14]

The prisoners are said to have been evacuated on April 20, 1945, in the direction of the Lübeck Bight. They were liberated by the Soviet Army on May 11, 1945.

SOURCES The secondary sources are contained in the essays in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999); and Siegfried Katzorreck and Günter Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf in den Jahren 1933–1945 auf dem Territorium des heutigen Kreises Oranienburg* (Oranienburg, 1973).

The few archival sources dealing with the history of the camp are in BA-B (Collection NS 33). Other documents relating to the perpetrators and with details of the daily rates are in the AG-S (CAFSSRF) and in the PRO.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Siegfried Katzorreck and Günter Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf in den Jahren 1933–1945 auf dem Territorium des heutigen Kreises Oranienburg* (Oranienburg, 1973), p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., pp. 44, 58.
4. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092 BD. K 500571, p. 36, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Katzorreck and Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf*, p. 45.
9. Ibid., p. 58.
10. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
11. Ibid., vol. 101.
12. Ibid., BD. K500571, p. 37, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.
13. PRO, WO 309/1760; AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS interned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.
14. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092 BD. K 500571, p. 37, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.

WERDER

The Werder subcamp was one of the smallest of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. It was first identified in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog of 1949. The subcamp is first mentioned in contemporary records on March 20, 1943, with 4 prisoners, and the same information also appears in a Sachsenhausen daily report of March 22, 1943. A publication assembled by former prisoners also refers to only 4 prisoners at Werder. The Sachsenhausen Memorial states that Werder was an outside Kommando with 10 male prisoners and that it existed from March 20, 1943, to June 27, 1944.[1] The Sachsenhausen change of status reports for the period between May and June 1944 always refer to 6 male prisoners at Werder, though the camp is no longer mentioned in these reports by the end of August 1944.[2]

Local inhabitants say the prisoners were housed in the so-called Lichau-Keller on the Friedrichshöhe and on a barge on the Havel River.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hoffmann (born 1908 in Rehau), a porcelain painter. According to his statement, at other times he also had been detachment leader of the subcamps at Biesenthal and Fürstenwalde.

After 1945, Hoffmann was at first held at the British internment camp at Esterwegen. In 1948, pursuant to the Law on the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism (Gesetz zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus) of March 6, 1946, a denazification court at the U.S. internment camp at Nürnberg-Langwasser categorized him as "less incriminated" (*Minderbelasteter*), fined him 500 Reichsmark (RM) in reparations, and gave him a six-month sentence on probation.[3] It stood in his favor that former prisoners attested that as head of various Kommandos, and in Werder as well, he had not committed any crimes against humanity. Hoffmann was immediately released from the internment camp by order of the court.[4] He died in Wunsiedel in 1961. No court proceedings were ever conducted against those responsible for the Werder subcamp.

SOURCES The Werder subcamp is mentioned only in Regina Scheer's *Der Umgang mit den Denkmälern. Eine Recherche in Brandenburg* (Potsdam, 2003); and *Das nationalsozialistische*

Lagersystem (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 62. For the number of prisoners, see KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967).

The few other details here came in part from BA-L and from the AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SBG, ed., Tagungsmappe Workshop "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
2. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99–101.
3. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen-Liste der internierten SS-Angehörigen des KZ Sachsenhausen.
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 734/67, pp. 11–13.

WITTENBERG

By the summer of 1944, the Arado Aircraft Works had a severe labor shortage. Many of the men had been called up to serve in the Wehrmacht, and 20 percent of the civilian women had quit because the work was too heavy. Management decided to replace them with about 1,200 prisoners from Ravensbrück, the women's concentration camp. However, 30 women already working at Arado had to be recruited first to serve as guards for the concentration camp prisoners; once selected, they were sent to Ravensbrück and there were trained for about 14 days.

Two barrack camps were set up in August 1944. One camp, directly next to the factory, was fitted out for 750 prisoners. Beforehand, it had held forced laborers who were transferred to another camp. The second camp, intended for about 500 prisoners, lay in an open field about half an hour away by foot. A nearby housing development had a good view into the camp, and residents would have seen from there how a woman was found on the electrified perimeter fence. Both camps were encircled by two electrified fences. The three prisoner barracks in the camp on the open field had no flooring, just bare earth. There was only one toilet and one sink for 500 women.

Ernst Schmaedig, the National Socialist works manager at Arado, was in overall command and determined what work the women did. Life in the subcamp itself was determined by its commandant, Rudolf Schneider.

In September 1944, about 750 prisoners arrived at the Arado subcamp; in October, 500 more, about 250 of whom were Jews. Kurt Kummer, the Arado Aircraft Works' doctor, selected the women himself at the Ravensbrück roll-call grounds, though administratively this camp was under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The daily reports on the numbers of prisoners, arrivals and departures, and reports of deaths were sent to Sachsenhausen.

The approximately 250 Jews came overwhelmingly from the Łódź ghetto, having been sent to Ravensbrück after the ghetto was disbanded. They arrived in August 1944 and were then sent on to subcamps. The other prisoners came from Germany and 12 other nations, mainly Eastern Europeans, though some Western Europeans as well.

Under the direction of a civilian foreman, the women worked in a large production hall, assembling aircraft parts, or they dug trenches as protection against shrapnel during bombing raids. Shifts were 12 hours long, the day shift lasting from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Regardless of the weather, a group of about 120 female prisoners was forced to march the 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the Faserfabrik (Fiber Factory) Mühlanger. There, they worked on aircraft parts machine presses; one female German prisoner lost three fingers while working here. She was taken to Dr. Kummer at the works' infirmary, where, without anesthetizing the woman, he gave the orderlies he was training (young anti-aircraft artillery helpers) a didactic presentation in first aid.

Camp prisoners included those labeled political, criminal, "asocial," and Gypsy. (There was no underground organization within the camp itself.) The prisoners' only thought was to survive, and in that they were encouraged by a few of the civilian workers who would keep whispering, "Hold out—the Russians are coming!" to the exhausted prisoners, a message that was a great boost to their morale. Survivors have said that a few civilian workers even secretly helped them by hiding food or socks or underwear in the aircraft parts at the factory.

As was generally the case in the subcamps, a great deal of mistrust existed between the prisoners, as the women barely knew one another. The strongest solidarity existed between the Jewish prisoners, as they were acquainted from their time in the ghetto. On one occasion, the SS accused the Jews of having stolen something and as punishment deprived them of food for a whole day. Two of the women who spoke a little German were chosen, in the name of all the Jewish prisoners, to complain to the head engineer in the factory building they labored in, for without food they would be completely unable to work. The engineer thereupon ordered a ration of soup to be served, and because of the complaint, the SS guards did not punish the workers on that day. The engineer in charge was responsible for meeting production targets for Arado, Heinkel, Junker, and Messerschmitt aircraft, and he did not care to have unproductive workers simply because they were being punished. On the part of a courageous skilled worker, this example indicates that prisoners could have been helped more often than they were.

However, prisoner solidarity at Arado was made difficult due to the system of informers the concentration camp leaders had put in place. Franziska Bellrich, a woman convicted several times for engaging in fraudulent marriages, had assumed the role of camp elder, among other things administering punitive beatings in the evenings to those prisoners the female guards indicated. Bellrich also was accused of em-

bezzling prisoners' money, did a lively trade in laundry and clothing, and organized the informers among the criminal prisoners. Even in 1994, Bellrich was still being sought by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg for the crimes she had committed against the prisoners; she went underground after 1945 in West Germany and was not located.

The camp commandant Schneider and head guard Margarete Kässner also regularly administered punishments in the evenings. The female guards also took the opportunity to punish the women brutally during the day for the slightest misbehavior, such as drinking water in the toilet room or talking while at work. The female guards reported such infringements in the evenings, or after the night shift, so prisoners were then often punished a second time. Collective punishments for all prisoners, such as standing at roll call regardless of the weather or being deprived of food, were also common.

One shooting, of a Russian prisoner who tried to escape, also took place while the camp was in existence, though it occurred outside its grounds. Another prisoner died as a result of a beating he received from Dr. Kummer. No exact death statistics exist, though the Sachsenhausen concentration camp files show 10 deaths between January and April 1945. My own research showed 18 deaths, overwhelmingly through exhaustion. The files also indicate that small groups of two to five women were periodically being sent back to Ravensbrück, with new women replacing them.

In January 1945, a truck transport took 23 women to Ravensbrück, where they were murdered in the gas chamber. Deaths were not to take place in the subcamp, however, since for every dead prisoner, forced laborer, or prisoner of war (POW), the Arado management had to pay 16 Reichsmark (RM) to the mortuary. To keep payments at a minimum, a mobile crematorium was built at Arado. It was discovered after liberation, though it never went beyond the experimental phase. The subjects of the experiments were dead Jews and maltreated Russian POWs; their bodies showed signs of mistreatment.

The Arado camp had another peculiarity. The works' medical doctor, Dr. Kummer, was also the doctor for the forced laborers, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners. He established an infirmary but did not treat any of the Jews. To ensure that the prisoners would remain productive, he selected a Polish Jew, the pediatrician Dr. Miriam Litwin (born January 1, 1914), as the camp doctor. She had to work in the infirmary and took responsibility for caring for the sick and in that manner could also help the Jewish prisoners.

By the end of April 1945, the Red Army was getting close to Wittenberg. By this time, the managers had fled, and the aircraft works had shut down. Before he fled, camp commandant Schneider discharged the concentration camp personnel, and only a few guards remained to watch over both camps.

The water was turned off in both camps, but the electrified fences remained live. There was nothing left behind to eat. On April 21, the camp in the field was liberated by the Red Army. They found three dead prisoners in the camp. All the barracks were taken over by the Russian soldiers, who needed to use them either as a hospital or as a base of operation. The women were ordered to make their way east, into liberated territory, though they did so under constant attack by the Wehrmacht, as it still believed Wittenberg could be defended successfully.

The camp immediately next to the Arado works liberated itself. A courageous skilled tradesman from the factory was permitted by a guard to disconnect the electrified fence so that the prisoners could seek their freedom. A few prisoners remained in the camp, as they did not know where they should go. In August 1945, these women lodged complaints with the Wittenberg police against the concentration camp personnel.

Interrogations of the female concentration camp guards, to the extent they could still be found in the Wittenberg area, began in early 1946. In 1949, the so-called Wittenberg Concentration Camp Guards Trial was held before the Halle District Court. The accused at this trial included camp commandant Rudolf Schneider (born January 5, 1891), head guard Kässner (born June 5, 1904), and seven other female guards. Schneider, a fish merchant by trade, was married with two children and had been transferred as a guard on May 14, 1943, to Sachsenhausen and then to Wittenberg, where he was promoted to Sturmscharführer on February 1, 1944. According to the Berlin Document Center, he had no blemishes on his service record and was described as a good leader. Though charged in 1949, the search for him proved unsuccessful.

Kässner, a housewife, had been employed at the Arado Aircraft Works and was a member of the SS. She was sentenced by the court in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for beating the prisoners. The other seven female guards on trial were given lesser sentences, and one was acquitted, as she had behaved properly toward the prisoners.

Supervisor Margot Kunz (born June 21, 1921), charged with administering aggravated beatings, was tried by a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin and given a 25-year sentence. She remained in jail for 10 years during the German Democratic Republic and was released following an amnesty.

Kunz subsequently married, becoming Mrs. Pietzner, and following German reunification in 1990, she sought to be formally recognized as a victim of Stalinism. In 1993, this rehabilitation was granted by then German Justice Minister Kanther. Mrs. Pietzner was thereupon granted compensation amounting to 63,000 Deutsche Mark (DM). Ongoing protests in Germany and abroad forced a rescinding of this rehabilitation by 1996, when she was again declared guilty. She died in 1998.

Camp doctor Kummer (born December 1, 1910) had become a member of the SS in 1937. He fled Wittenberg in 1945. The Soviet Military Administration found him living in a village; he was taken to the jail at Bautzen and died there.

Works manager and engineer Schmaedig (born July 2, 1900) was unmarried and lived in a hotel. Witnesses at the

trial said "Schmaedig was a pig" whom even the civilian workers feared. In 1945, he fled to the West and committed suicide.

SOURCES There is one book by Renate Gruber-Lieblich, *". . . und morgen war Krieg . . .": Arado Flugzeugwerke GmbH Wittenberg, 1936–1945; Ein KZ-Lager entsteht"* (Wittenberg: Self-pub., 1995). This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 573.

The author worked up the history of the subcamp between 1991 and 1995, the first time it had been researched. The ZdL (now BA-L) had the protocols of 36 interviews with Jewish survivors—IV 40 6 AR 857/67 (November 5, 1970). The BA-B holds the files that formerly were part of the BDC. Here one can find the SS personnel files for those who served at the Arado factory and the concentration camp. The archive also contains documents about the armaments production at the Arado Flugzeugwerke GmbH. The BA-B holds the papers of MfS, and there one can find documents related to the trial of supervisor Kunz/Pietzner as well as the files of the 1949 Wittenberg Concentration Camp Guards Trial before the Halle District Court. The AG-S has a list of arrivals and departures from the Wittenberg subcamp as well as lists of the deaths. The AG-R has lists of those recruited as female guards as well as the movements of the prisoners. The private archive of Renate Gruber-Lieblich has records of interviews with Dr. Miriam Litwin, the camp doctor, who lives in Israel, and the prisoner Genia Zonabend, who worked in the factory and lives in Sweden. Both women came from the Łódź ghetto, and the interviews were conducted in 2000.

Renate Gruber-Lieblich
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WULKOW

At different times, two subcamps existed near Wulkow, a village close to the Oderbruch, former marshlands about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the east of Berlin. From 1942 on, a subcamp that was probably part of the Sachsenhausen complex existed on the road to Hermsdorf. Prisoners held there had to load and unload airplanes at the nearby Neuhardenberg airfield.

A second camp was established in March 1944 in the forest between Wulkow and Neuhardenberg. Starting in April 1944, a group of about 40 Jewish prisoners from the Theresienstadt ghetto was used to construct a secret, partly subterranean barracks complex for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).[1] The RSHA administrative offices were to be relocated and secret documents stored here. One of these offices was Adolf Eichmann's Gestapo bureau. At his trial in Jerusalem, Eichmann testified that he took "a whole group of engineers, architects and workers with [him] from Theresienstadt to the Mark Brandenburg in the summer of 1944, when it became necessary to build an overflow office for the Gestapo (Amt IV)."[2]

Eichmann was known to the Wulkow prisoners, though one can assume they were unaware of the full extent of his activities. He was seen a few times together with the camp leader, Stuschka, and spoke with prisoners, using Yiddish expressions only the initiated would know. "One part of the camp, with its additional buildings, was soon called just 'Eichmanndorf.'"[3] The project, initially planned as Gestapo overflow quarters, later was expanded to be able to accommodate the Führer's headquarters, as a replacement for the "Wolf's Lair" (Wolfsschanze) located in East Prussia.[4] The project was known by its cover name "Barracks' Construction Zossen" (*Barackenbau Zossen*), even though Zossen itself lay south of Berlin.[5]

Two Wehrmacht sites also existed near the RSHA alternative quarters and the prisoners' camp. One was a secret building site for a subterranean bunker, located to the south of the RSHA overflow quarters, probably intended for the Wehrmacht. Workers at this site were prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The other site, north of the prisoners' camp, was constructed in the winter of 1944–1945.

On March 2, 1944, the first group of 50 male prisoners was brought to Wulkow, via the Trebnitz railway station, from the Theresienstadt ghetto. These were German and Czech Jews; some accounts put their number at 200 or 235. The men had volunteered to work in the Reich proper. The talk in Theresienstadt had been of working at "Zossen," with assurances given that dependents of these workers would not be deported. According to witnesses, the Gestapo kept its promise. The Czech engineer E. Kosiner was the leader of this group of prisoners, and it is said that these workers brought a tractor, a field kitchen, and parts of barracks with them from Theresienstadt.[6]

The camp was finished in five and a half weeks, and when completed, an additional 40 men were then sent from Theresienstadt.[7] Altogether, 235 workers, mostly skilled tradesmen, were said to have been brought from Theresienstadt to Wulkow in three transports. According to other reports, the high point was reached in August 1944, when the camp held 360 men and 20 women.[8] In the summer of 1944, 25 women arrived from Theresienstadt; their task was to keep the barracks clean and wash the prisoners' clothes. The first prisoners apparently enjoyed a degree of freedom and even guarded themselves.

SS-Obersturmführer Franz Stuschka (born 1910), from Graz, Austria, and a member of the SD, was the brutal camp leader and building foreman. Oberscharführer Stiasny, Hanke, and Proschek and an SS-Unterscharführer were in charge of security; all four of them came from Vienna.[9]

Camp leader Stuschka persecuted the prisoners above all on their free Sunday afternoons, granted only once a fortnight. The men had to carry tree logs from one part of the camp to the other, and the women were forced to carry rocks for no purpose. Stuschka would have the prisoners stand for

hours, and for no reason, at the roll-call area. He later placed a metal cage in the shape of an egg here and would punish prisoners by locking them in it, regardless of the weather. On one occasion, using only their bodies and without implements, women were forced to clear the mud from the roll-call area. Stuschka had about 45 prisoners sent to Berlin and to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for punishment. About nine youths, apprehended for stealing food, were first imprisoned in the bunker and mistreated by Stuschka, then transferred to Sachsenhausen in late November 1944, and shot there.

The prisoner Leo Neumann was also murdered at Sachsenhausen. As an adolescent, he had forged his documents in order to pass as an "Aryan" and later joined the Waffen-SS. A chance inspection of the records showed discrepancies, and he was dismissed from the SS and sent as a Jew to Wulkow, via Theresienstadt.

It is also reported that Stuschka, angered at being denied a promotion, took it out on the prisoners on November 9, 1944, and there was mourning for the "dead and the many injured."[10] Stuschka had a room, known as the "Chamber of Laughter," located in one of the barracks near his command office, and he mistreated prisoners there. Stuschka also shot a Berlin Jew, Horst Prinz, whom he had first beaten because Prinz had defied Rafaelsohn, the camp elder. Prinz overpowered Stuschka while he was being tortured and fled the room; Stuschka shot him down, in full sight of the other prisoners. Stuschka also had an earthen bunker constructed next to his barracks, and there he imprisoned up to 20 half-naked prisoners for more than a week.

SS-Oberscharführer Hanke, on the other hand, was described as the complete opposite, never verbally abusing prisoners or modifying the word "Jew" with any vile descriptors. He addressed prisoners formally ("Sie" rather than the informal "Du") and indirectly saved their lives.[11] It is said that he later committed suicide out of a sense of guilt and shared responsibility for the crimes perpetrated by the SS.[12]

There were 10 SS guards, ethnic Germans from Romania (Siebenbürgen). They were commanded by SS-Obergefreite Schmidt.[13]

There were successful escapes from Wulkow. In the winter of 1944–1945, two men and a woman escaped, during a heavy frost, and were successfully hidden by friends in the Niederlausitz region until the end of the war. A Jew from Stettin who had escaped was recaptured and taken to Sachsenhausen. He did not survive. Other prisoners killed themselves on the electrical fence.[14] It is thought that of all the prisoners brought to Wulkow, a total of 50 died, whether through murder, suicide, as a result of being transferred to Sachsenhausen, or during escape attempts.[15]

Prisoners were brought supplies by a freight car that came twice a month from Theresienstadt. Average rations were said to be 10 percent higher in Wulkow than at Theresienstadt. Flour was brought at least once from nearby Letschin. There was occasional contact, arranged by private firms, between prisoners and relatives from Berlin or the surrounding area.

Initially, the SS deployed a camp guard composed of prisoners, and they were first commanded by Georg Einstein, a nephew of Albert Einstein. Perhaps partly due to this, prisoners were not fearful of "being transported to Auschwitz." Einstein was later succeeded by Willy Görner. The Wulkow guard staff was augmented, in April 1944, by a troop of Theresienstadt ghetto guards. In the fall of 1944, Paul Rafaelsohn, from Gelsenkirchen, was appointed head of the prisoner guards; he had been living in a "privileged mixed marriage." He became Stuschka's assistant, and for that reason, he was condemned to death in Prague in 1947.

In the first days of August 1944, a second construction site, known as "Building Site Z—Intelligence," was opened by the SD, using a "Jewish work detail."[16] The Nazi Party Chancellery had issued the construction order to build this alternative site for the Berlin office. Intelligence-gathering equipment was to be housed here, and intelligence gathering was to continue unabated: "This site was to ensure as high a degree of protection from incendiary bombs and near misses as possible." It was surrounded by an earthen wall, and the roof was protected by a layer of sand. The site itself consisted of living, working, and kitchen barracks, as well as a bunker for the files and an intelligence bunker made entirely of concrete.

The central construction here was the intelligence barracks called "Bärau," also known as "alternative camp Bärau." The firm Max Treder & Co, Berlin-Charlottenburg, was the main contractor for the electric installations.[17] The Building Site Z is said to have been occupied by October 1944, among others by a Berlin architect named Zeichner.[18] A Berlin police unit assumed the responsibility to guard this construction site by the beginning of October 1944.[19]

The RSHA began to transfer its offices, in part, to Wulkow in the fall of 1944 but never completed the transfer due to the advance of the Red Army. SS-Obergruppenführer Heinrich Müller, head of the Gestapo, is said to have commanded from here. One prisoner who had to repair exterior blackout coverings described Müller's quarters as a room with a large writing table in the middle, a life-size picture of Hitler behind it, and numerous paintings with Jewish religious themes. Martin Bormann, head of the party Chancellery, inspected Building Site Z on numerous occasions.

Work apparently ceased for the Wulkow prisoners by the end of 1944, and the SS were withdrawn from Building Site Z. On January 10, 1945, the thunder of the artillery on the front at the Oder River could be heard in Wulkow.

On January 18, camp leader Stuschka gave the order to nail the windows of the prisoners' barracks shut. Prisoners now could only leave the barracks to relieve themselves. On January 19, all the prisoners were forced to march into a section of the forest, where an execution squad awaited them. But at that moment, a Wehrmacht unit appeared, and the planned massacre could not be carried out. The prisoners had to march back into the camp.

In the night from February 2–3, 1945, 198 male and 17 female prisoners were sent back to Theresienstadt in railway

cattle cars, via Trebnitz, Jüterborg, Halle, and Würzburg. They arrived on February 10, 1945.

SOURCES The Wulkow subcamp is listed in BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999), p. 374.

Unpublished memoirs about Wulkow can be found at YVA. The BA-B holds documents dealing with the construction at Wulkow. The following memoirs have been published: Klaus Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben: Ein autobiographischer Bericht* (Berlin, 1982) and Walter Grunwald, *Drei Vergangheit: Autobiographie eines jungen Menschen. Erster Teil 1919–1947* (n.d.). Former prisoners have also published a brochure titled *Das Konzentrationslager Wulkow 1944–1945* (Prague, 1995). Excerpts of the Eichmann Trial quoted in this essay are from Jochen von Lang, *Das Eichmann-Protokoll* (Vienna, 1991).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Klaus Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben: Ein autobiographischer Bericht* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 179–180.
2. Jochen von Lang, *Das Eichmann-Protokoll* (Vienna, 1991), p. 164.
3. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 196.
4. Ibid., p. 195.
5. BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999), p. 374.
6. Walter Grunwald, *Drei Vergangheit: Autobiographie eines jungen Menschen. Erster Teil 1919–1947* (n.d.), p. 70.
7. Ibid., p. 71.
8. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 180.
9. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.
10. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 184.
11. Ibid., p. 185.
12. Grunwald, *Drei Vergangenheit*, p. 78.
13. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.
14. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 223.
15. Ibid., p. 288.
16. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.
17. BA-B, NS 6/59.
18. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 192.
19. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 12.

SS-BAUBRIGADEN AND SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADEN



SS-Baubrigade II prisoners remove debris from the destroyed residence of a Nazi Party leader in Bremen after an Allied bombing raid, 1944.
USHMM WS #29406, Courtesy OF BPK

The SS-Baubrigaden and SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden should be viewed as particular types of subcamps. First established in the autumn of 1942, they were the first larger prisoner detachments deployed in major cities of the German Reich, thus exposing for the first time the living conditions of the concentration camp prisoners to a broader German public. As a rule, an SS-Baubrigade consisted of 1,000 prisoners, while an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade consisted of around 500 prisoners, each having SS leaders and guards. Table 1 (p.1357) lists all 13 Baubrigaden existing at the end of the war. There were around 9,500 prisoners in the Baubrigaden before the evacuation transports and death marches began in the spring of 1945. The total number of those who went through the Baubrigaden between 1942 and 1945 is estimated to be at least 17,000 male prisoners.

Prisoners and SS personnel came mostly from the Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen concentration camps. While administratively the SS-Baubrigaden remained subordinated to these three camps, in the early summer of 1944 four of the five existing SS-Baubrigaden at this time were concentrated in the area around what was to become the Mittelbau [aka Dora] concentration camp. The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden, which were established in the late summer of 1944, utilized prisoners mostly from Auschwitz and Dachau. The transfer of control of all Baubrigaden to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in the summer of January 1945 was of a purely formal nature and did not alter the relationships between the main camps and the subcamps.

The conceptual origins for the Baubrigaden can be traced back to planning in the SS office "Haushalt und Bauten" (budget and buildings) at the end of 1941. Heinrich Himmler, in view of the successful war of conquest in the East, gave the order to develop a plan for a peace-building program (*Friedensbauprogramm*), with a view to supporting his plan to "Germanize" the East.[1] The SS would largely rely on its own resources when constructing SS and Police bases, including settlements, camps, and supply depots in the conquered territories. On February 10, 1942, the head of the Amtsgruppe C-Bauwesen in the recently formed SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), doctor of engineering and later Generalleutnant der Waffen-SS Hans Kammler, submitted his "Suggestions for the Establishment of SS Construction Brigades" (*Vorschlag für die Aufstellung von SS-Baubrigaden*). According to this paper, an SS-Baubrigade, each consisting of 4,800 "prisoners, prisoners of war [POWs], Jews and foreign auxiliary labor," would be established in each area under the control of a Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF). Kammler assumed a construction volume of between 20 and 30 billion Reichsmark (RM) and the need for 175,000 prisoners, which as mobile labor detachments would be dispatched to construction sites.[2]

As a result of developments in 1942—the Wehrmacht's advance in the East had come to a halt, the murder of the European Jews had begun, and the armaments industry had started to prepare itself for a long war of attrition and demanded prisoner labor—the SS construction program had to be changed radically. In light of the intensified bombing of German cities, reaching its first climax in the summer of 1942, Himmler changed the nature of the SS-Baubrigaden project for defensive purposes. At the end of August 1942 and the beginning of September 1942, he personally inspected the extent of the destruction. Convinced of the threatening crisis of legitimacy for the National Socialist regime, he ordered that SS-Baubrigaden be put together, to be deployed in cities targeted by aerial attacks.[3]

The establishment of prisoner detachments to clean up the destroyed cities was closely coordinated with Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions (Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition) Albert Speer, who had been in office since February 1942. On September 15, 1942, under Speer's chairmanship, high-ranking representatives from the Armaments Ministry and the WVHA discussed the year's pressing problems: the destruction of the Jews, the increase in armaments production, and the management of the damage in the bombed cities. A day later, Speer's representatives worked out with the chief of the WVHA, Oswald Pohl, the details for the establishment of an initial three SS-Baubrigaden, each with 1,000 prisoners.[4] Speer kept both Adolf Hitler and Himmler constantly informed about the plans. Until the end of the war, Speer repeatedly intervened in the use of the Baubrigaden.

Starting in September 1942, the first Baubrigaden, each with 1,000 prisoners, were sent to Bremen, Osnabrück, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Cologne. Close cooperation between the cities' administrations and the SS became the camps' characteristic element. The cities not only supplied the necessary infrastructure; in addition, "leaders of the immediate measures" (*Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen*) attached to the municipal construction administrations coordinated the rubble removal and the use of the prisoners. In so doing, the cities accepted the visible brutality with which the SS treated the laborers and at times expressly praised the SS terror. The Bremen construction senator (*Bausenator*) wrote to the WVHA in January 1943: "I will not miss the opportunity to state my recognition of the extraordinary work done by the Baubrigade in removing the air-raid damage in Bremen. I especially would like to emphasize the appropriate work deployment, which I attribute in the first instance to the strict supervision by the SS leaders and men."[5] The strong demand by mayors and regional party leaders (*Gauleiter*) for prisoner laborers resulted in the deployment of the Baubrigaden being extended several times and the establishment of the first subcamps in larger cities.

The SS-Baubrigaden were commanded by SS officers, who for the most part had the rank of Obersturmführer and who had similar powers to those of camp commanders. These SS-Führer were mostly trained architects or engineers and had worked already for a long time in SS construction projects, reporting to the Amtsgruppe C. Additionally, there was a Lagerführer, 5 SS noncommissioned officers (Unterführer), and 25 men from the Amtsgruppe D who acted as guards. They were complemented by guards from the local police and Auxiliary Police and, from 1943 on, by Wehrmacht soldiers.



SS-Baubrigade III, Köln, takes a break from clearing rubble in October 1943, taken by Josef Fischer. The annotation reads: "View from our kitchen window. A work column takes a rest. They are inmates from one of the concentration camps, which were erected en masse. Ca. Oct. 1943."
NS-Dok

The prisoner detachments moved into the cities for up to a week at a time. They mostly did heavy physical labor such as breaking up and transporting away the rubble, loading and unloading, and recovery of reusable materials, or they constructed bunkers or emergency accommodations. They were often assigned to the physically demanding Corpse Detachments (Leichenkommandos) that had to recover bodies from the rubble and place them in coffins. Work in the bomb detonation detachments (Bombensprengkommandos) was feared because many prisoners were killed while recovering unexploded bombs. With inadequate tools and poor clothing, working up to 12 hours a shift, lack of food, and almost nonexistent medical care, the prisoners in the Baubrigaden were also subject to a high degree of terror from the SS guards and Kapos.

In 1943, the emphasis for the Baubrigaden shifted from working for the cities' administrations to benefiting German industry. Indicative of this transformation was the establishment of the SS-Baubrigade IV, which was sent in August 1943 to Wuppertal following an aerial offensive against the Ruhr. The Armaments Ministry had determined that it was less the damage than the absence of workers after bombing raids that caused a decline in armaments production. The SS-Baubrigade IV would create dwellings for the workers in the Ruhr as well as reestablish the companies' infrastructure.[6]

Since the autumn of 1942, shootings and execution of concentration camp prisoners for real or supposed escape attempts or for looting took place increasingly under the eyes of the German public. The Düsseldorf poet Emil Barth is one of the few to document in writing the prisoner columns. He noted in his diary on December 7, 1943, on the prisoners in an SS-Baubrigade: "Out of the silence of those rooms built almost air-tight into the social structure and to which Dostojewsky in his time gave the name of the charnel house . . . already for a long time a gloomy army has been drawn into our cities to clean up the rubble: a cursed shadow people, dishonored, enslaved, lost, like figures in the twilight of the underworld, swaying on the rubble and stones, almost melting into the colorless mass of the ruins."[7] The surrounding community reacted with a mixture of disgust, fear, and withdrawal to the SS-Baubrigaden camps, which were mostly established in the center of the cities. To be sure, there were gestures of sympathy vis-à-vis the prisoners, such as secretly giving them food. However, substantial help during an escape or direct intervention during visible acts of violence was an exception. The attitude toward the SS-Baubrigaden shows that the city population had to a large degree accepted the concentration camp system, thereby providing a basic factor for the preservation and expansion of the central instruments of National Socialist rule.

Nevertheless, the prisoners regarded the majority of the SS-Baubrigaden as better camps. The work in the deserts of rubble was difficult to guard and gave the prisoners an opportunity to find food, which was of central importance to survival. In addition, in the largely destroyed cities there were better opportunities to escape, especially during bombing raids. Information on events at the front was easier to gather, and illegal communication much easier to organize in the Baubrigaden than in the main camps, due to outside contacts. Escape attempts were supported by those who were determined opponents of the regime, above all by male and female foreign forced laborers who would organize false papers or refuge.

The SS-Baubrigaden consisted as a rule of male non-Jewish prisoners. An exception is the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X, which consisted overwhelmingly of Hungarian Jewish men who had escaped destruction in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Based on the system of prisoner self-administration (*Häftlingsselbstverwaltung*) in the main camps, German prisoners usually formed the thin layer of leaders as prisoner-functionaries, while the large majority of the prisoners were of Polish or Soviet nationality. There were often internal struggles in the SS-Baubrigaden, lasting for months, over who would occupy one of the functionary positions. To the extent that the prisoners were able to act with solidarity and to remove violent or especially collaborative functionaries, they managed to limit abuses and lower the death rate.

An analysis of the death rate in the SS-Baubrigaden shows that at times it was higher than the death rate in the main camps. There were also considerable differences between individual SS-Baubrigaden camps. At one extreme was the subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II in Osnabrück, where 86 out of 250 prisoners died within six months; the other end of the scale was the SS-Baubrigade IV in Wuppertal with only 1 recorded death within a nine-month period, out of 600 prisoners.[8] Diverse death rates resulted from the behavior of the SS leadership, the type and length of the work, the prisoners' food supply, the internal relationships of violence, and the behavior of the outside community.

The more the German Reich was pushed into a defensive position, the more the SS-Baubrigaden were deployed in areas crucial to the war effort. The SS-Baubrigade I took the lead in March 1943, when it was relocated to the occupied British Channel Island of Alderney. Hitler had ordered that the Channel Islands, the westernmost German outpost facing Great Britain, were to be converted into unconquerable fortresses. The prisoners worked with Wehrmacht soldiers, Organisation Todt (OT) units, and forced laborers on the inhabited island in converting it into a fortress. The first plans were developed here to murder all prisoners in the event of an Allied advance. In August 1943, Himmler instructed the leaders of the SS-Baubrigade I: "If during an attack the prisoners give the slightest indication of creating difficulties, you are to intervene immediately and shoot the guilty ones. If turmoil persists, then without a moment's hesitation you are to shoot all the prisoners."[9]

In the spring of 1944, Kammler relocated just about all SS-Baubrigaden to his new areas of responsibility, the V weapons construction program and the underground relocation of the armaments industry. From March 1944, 2,500 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade I and IV had to build sites for the V weapons at various locations in northwestern France, under the direction of the Army and Luftwaffe. Beginning in May 1944, the SS-Baubrigaden III and IV, and later the SS-Baubrigaden I and V after being recalled from the West, worked on relocation projects in the Harz Mountains and were subordinated to the Dora concentration camp, which became independent in October 1944.

In the autumn of 1944, Kammler appointed the commander of the SS-Baubrigade V, SS-Sturmbannführer Gerhard Weigel, as Inspector of All Baubrigaden (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden), as Kammler was no longer capable of fulfilling this role due to his many special tasks. At this time, the Allied offensive had substantially damaged the rail network, especially the marshaling yards. The Amtsgruppe C with its SS-Baubrigaden was in a position to react quickly. In close cooperation with the Armaments Ministry and the local railway directorates, the SS established nine SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden by the end of the war, whose prisoners had to live in converted goods wagons. In these concentration camps on rails, the prisoners were sent to strategically important railway junctions to restore destroyed facilities. The guards included a range of railway employees who underwent a short training course in Dachau.

The first signs of the dissolution of the SS-Baubrigaden appeared with the last phase of the evacuation of the concentration camps in the Reich, although the functioning of the SS-Baubrigaden was to be maintained until the end. Kammler directed the SS-Baubrigaden to the area of the planned Alpine Fortress (Alpenfestung), where the Germans meant to make a last stand to hold Bavaria, Upper Italy, and Upper Austria. The objective of the weeks-long evacuations, which began in March 1945 and were marked by shootings and mass escapes, was the Mauthausen subcamp system, but not all of the 10 SS-Baubrigaden sent there would reach their destination. The dissolution of the remaining 3 SS-Baubrigaden occurred as part of the evacuation of Mittelbau (III, IV) and Neuengamme (V).

None of the SS leaders commanding SS-Baubrigaden were convicted after the war. They argued, successfully, that as architects or engineers they had only been in charge of technical matters. Some convictions occurred as part of denazification proceedings for membership in the SS. For crimes committed in the SS-Baubrigaden, mostly lower SS ranks or a few prisoner-functionaries were sentenced in cases in which their direct involvement could be proven.



SS-Baubrigade II removes corpses from the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg, following the Allied bombing raids of July 1943.
USHMM WS #79113, StA-HH

SOURCES Before becoming the subject of a dissertation—Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005)—the SS-Baubrigaden were, for the most part, only referred to briefly in monographs on concentration camps. Only a few construction brigades have been dealt with in regional studies; for the SS-Baubrigade I: Andreas Kussmann, *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988); SS-Baubrigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996); for a few SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden: Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf

Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* (1993): 480–514; and Gerhard Köhn, "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme bei Hamburg in Soest und Bad Sassendorf (11. SS-Baubrigade) 1945," *SoZe* 98(1986): 101–124. Little attention was paid to early survivor memoirs, such as by Willy Kreuzberg, *Schutzhäftlinge erleben die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947); or Fritz Bringmann, "Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade Osnabrück," in *KZ Neuengamme. Berichte*, *Erinnerungen*, *Dokumente*, by Bringmann (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1981), pp. 38–50. Further references are included in Ursula Fisser-Blömer, "Zwangsarbeit in Osnabrück. SS-Baubrigade, Kriegsgefangenen- und 'Arbeitserziehungslager,'" *Antifa-Be-Os* 6(1982): 23–29; Rainer Fröbe, "Hans Kammler. Technokrat der Vernichtung," in *Die SS. Elite unter dem Totenkopf. 30 Lebensläufe*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Enrico Syring (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), pp. 305–319; T.X.H. Pantcheff, *Alderney. Fortress Island-The Germans in Alderney*, *1940–1945* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co., 1981).

In addition to the fact that subcamps became the subject of research only relatively late, and that local camps were taboo topics for local city histories for a long time, the poor state of research is largely due to the extreme lack of primary sources. In the absence of a coherent central collection on the SS-Baubrigade, there are only a few conceptual sketches and reports in the BA-B (NS 19/14, NS 19/771, NS 19/1572, NS 19/2065, NS 4 Buchenwald). In the archives at German memorial sites one can find only memoirs of former prisoners of the SS-Baubrigaden. For the Buchenwald concentration camp, the THStA-W holds a relatively detailed contemporary report (KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten). One of the most important sources comprises the investigation files and court proceedings at the BA-L, which holds not only problematical interrogation records but sometimes also diary sketches by former prisoners or copies of prisoner lists. The files in the former BDC as well as the files of the denazification proceedings (*Spruchgerichts-* or *Entnazifizierungsverfahren*) in the BA or in German state archives are of importance in reconstructing administrative relationships. Also useful are holdings of city archives, especially those dealing with building construction as referred to in the notes to this entry.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

Table 1
The SS-Baubrigaden and SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden

Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Baubrigade I (SS-BB I)	October 1942	Sachsenhausen	Düsseldorf, with a camp in Duisburg
		Neuengamme (March 1943)	Alderney (March 1943)
		Buchenwald (August 1944)	Kortemark (July 1944), with a camp in Proven
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Sollstedt (September 1944), with a camp in Hohlstedt
SS-Baubrigade II (SS-BB II)	October 1942	Neuengamme	Bremen, with camps in Osnabrück and Wilhelms-Haven
			Hamburg (August 1943), with a camp in Bremen
			Berlin (April 1944)
		Sachsenhausen (April 1944)	Nürnberg (February 1945, as an Eisenbahnbaubrigade)
			Landshut (March 1945)
SS-Baubrigade III (SS-BB III)	September 1942	Buchenwald	Cologne, with camps in Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, and Bensberg
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Wieda (May 1944), with camps in Nüxei, Osterhagen, and Mackenrode
SS-Baubrigade IV (SS-BB IV)	August 1943	Buchenwald	Wuppertal
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Ellrich (May 1944), with a camp in Günzerode

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

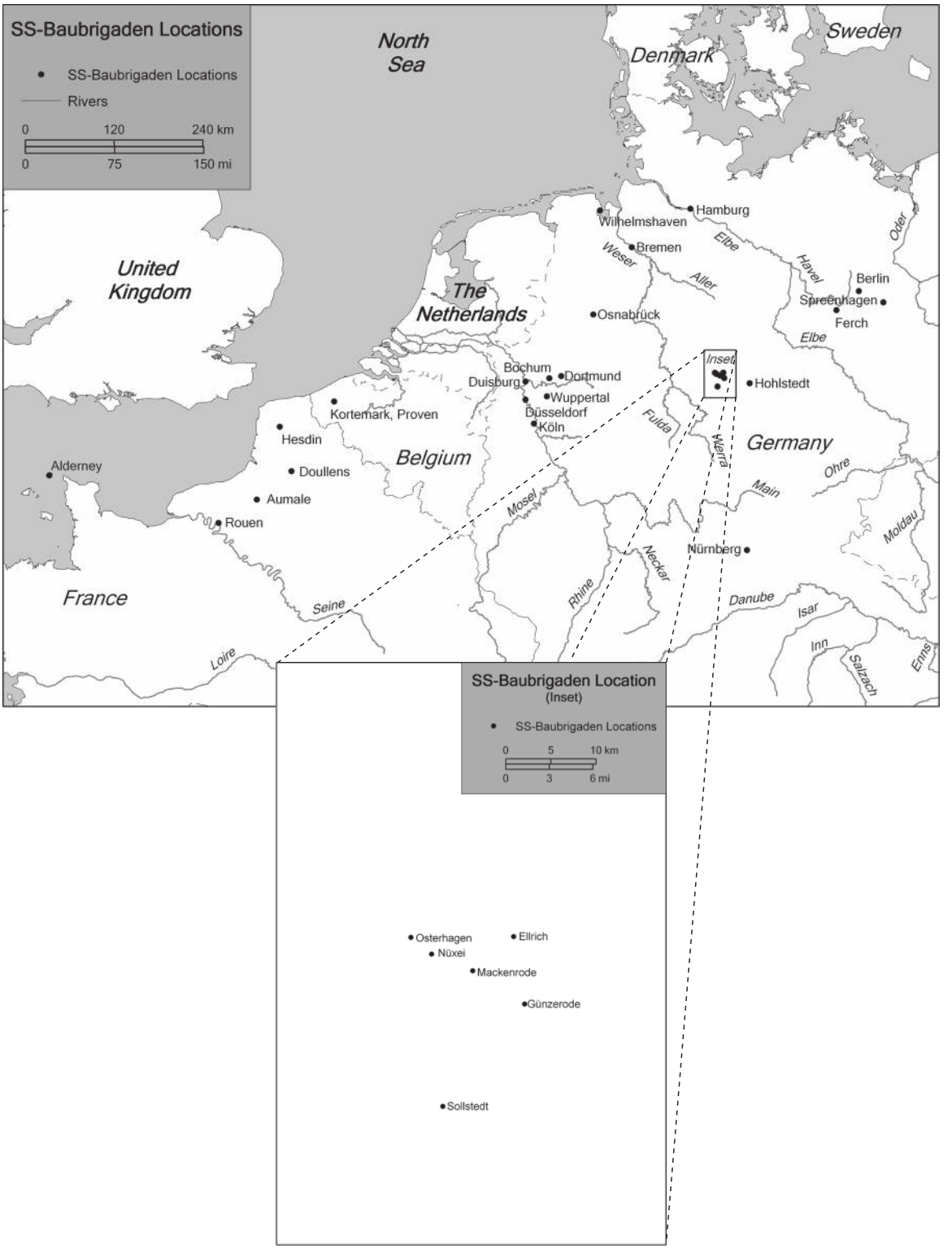
Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Baubrigade V (SS-BB V)	March 1944	Buchenwald	Amiens, Aumale, Doullens, Hesdin, Lille, Rouen, as well as additional camps in the French Departements Haute-Normandie and Nord-Pas-de-Calais
			Returned to the Mittelbau camp in Nordhausen (September 1944)
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Shared out to various subcamps, then formation of SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade V (SS-EBB V, created from Baubrigade V)	September 1944	Buchenwald	Sangershausen
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Osnabrück
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade VI (SS-EBB VI, created from SS-EBB I)	September 1944	Buchenwald	Berga-Kelbra
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Bingerbrück Cologne
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade VII (SS-EBB VII, created from SS-EBB II)	September 1944	Auschwitz	Karlsruhe
		Buchenwald (October 1944) Mittelbau (October 1944)	Stuttgart
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade VIII (SS-EBB VIII, created from SS-EBB III)	November 1944	Mittelbau	Heringen
			Stuttgart Offenburg Darmstadt
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade IX (SS-EBB IX)	November 1944	Sachsenhausen	Stuttgart
			Offenburg Darmstadt
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade X (SS-EBB X)	December 1944	Buchenwald	Offenburg Haslach

Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade XI (SS-EBB XI)	February 1945	Neuengamme	Soest
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade XII (SS-EBB XII)	December 1944	Sachsenhausen	Bad Sassendorf Kamp am Rhein
SS-Eisenbahn-baubrigade XIII (SS-EBB XIII)	January 1945	Dachau	Bad Kreuznach Reichertshofen Neuhof bei Fulda Oberlahnkreis

Source: Compiled from Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004).

NOTES

1. Reichsführer-SS, January 31, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/2065, pp. 8–9.
2. SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt Amtsgr. Ch. C 65/Sei., February 10, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/2065, pp. 20–33.
3. Reichsführer-SS, September 9, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 11.
4. See Protokoll der Sitzung: Der Chef des SS-WVHA Ch. Po./Sa. VS-3314/42, September 16, 1942, ibid., pp. 131–133.
5. Der Senator für das Bauwesen, January 13, 1943, in StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
6. SS-Gruppenführer Dr. Ing. Kammler, Bericht Nr. 6, February 14, 1944, to SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt re "Einsatz der SS-Baubrigaden," BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 33–36 (quoted: p. 33).
7. Emil Barth, *Lemuria. Aufzeichnungen und Meditationen* (Hamburg: Claassen & Goverts, 1947), p. 85.
8. Figures for Osnabrück from "Totennachweis Häftlinge," May 4, 1942, to December 16, 1942; December 17, 1942, to February 27, 1943, FGNS-H, Hans-Schwarz-Archiv; Ast-Os, Heger Friedhof; Russisches Ehrenfeld 1939–1945, Gräberliste dated January 7, 1971, AG-NG; BA-B (also at HSTA-W), NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, Nr. 160, Nr. 161.
9. Reichsführer-SS, Tgb. Nr. 1722/43, August 19, 1943, quoted from T.X.H. Pantcheff, "Britain's Only SS Concentration Camp," *WWII-I* (May 1988): 31–35.l


SS-Baubrigaden Locations
SS-Baubrigaden Locations
Rivers
0 120 240 km
0 75 150 mi
North Sea
Denmark
Sweden
United Kingdom
The Netherlands
Belgium
Germany
France
Hamburg
Wilhelmshaven
Bremen
Osnabrück
Berlin
Spreenhagen
Ferch
Bochum
Duisburg
Dortmund
Wuppertal
Düsseldorf
Köln
Kortemark, Proven
Hesdin
Doullens
Aumale
Rouen
Alderney
Hohlstedt
Inset
Nürnberg
Weser
Elbe
Aller
Havel
Oder
Fulda
Werra
Ohre
Main
Mosel
Moldau
Necker
Rhine
Danube
Isar
Inn
Salzach
Enns
Seine
Loire
SS-Baubrigaden Location
(Inset)
SS-Baubrigaden Locations
0 5 10 km
0 3 6 mi
Osterhagen
Ellrich
Nüxei
Mackenrode
Günzerode
Sollstedt

ALDERNEY (KANALINSEL) (SS-BB I)

The only concentration camp on British soil existed between March 1943 and June 1944 on the Isle of Alderney, one of the Channel Islands lying off the coast of Normandy. The Wehrmacht occupied these islands at the end of June 1940, and Alderney was the base for the SS-Baubrigade I. Adolf Hitler paid special attention to the military fortifications of the islands and ordered that they should be made into impregnable fortresses as part of the "Atlantic Wall."

The SS-Baubrigade I was assigned to Alderney as a result of an agreement between Hans Kammler, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) construction bureau, and Xaver Dorsch, head of the Organisation Todt (OT) and under Albert Speer.[1] The background to the use of concentration camp prisoners was the decision made in mid-1942 that, if possible, only those foreign workers would be deployed on the Channel Islands who could be placed under particularly close guard, thereby eliminating the possibility of sabotage or espionage. As it was, the harsh living and working conditions on Alderney meant that many forced workers from the East soon died or became incapacitated and had to be replaced.

Alderney, which is only eight square kilometers (three square miles) large, is the third largest Channel Island after Jersey and Guernsey. Other than a handful of locals, all 1,500 inhabitants had been evacuated to Great Britain before the German troops occupied the island. In the spring of 1943, around 3,800 Wehrmacht soldiers and 4,000 workers from the OT lived on Alderney. Of the latter, as many as 3,000 were foreigners, most of them Soviet forced laborers, and they were quartered in four barracks camps distributed across the island. Each camp was named after an island in the North Sea.

Sylt, one of these barracks camps, was constructed in August 1942 for workers from the East and was occupied by the prisoners of SS-Baubrigade I. They had been sent from Düsseldorf on February 22, 1943, in a transport holding 730 prisoners from Sachsenhausen and 270 from Neuengamme, and they arrived on the island on March 5, 1943. The barracks camp construction, located on the grounds of the former British airfield, was not completely finished, so many prisoners had to live outside for a longer time. In the first months, the water supply was very inadequate.

When the SS took control of the Sylt camp, they strengthened the security measures, enclosing the interior of the camp, which included the prisoners' barracks, with an electrified barbed-wire fence. Around that was a fenced-in exterior ring, and the SS barracks and offices were in the western part of this exterior ring.

Camp commandant Maximilian List lived in a newly constructed building outside the fences. More than 60 SS men were assigned to guard the construction brigade, half of them Germans from the Reich, the other half SS men recruited from Alsace, Croatia, Poland, the Sudetenland, and Slovakia.

Dr. Otto Panzer, the OT-Frontführer and head of construction administration for the OT-Section "Adolf," coordinated the work deployment of the forced laborers and thereby also the deployment of concentration camp prisoners on the island. The engineer Leo Ackermann, an OT construction supervisor, replaced him, most likely in September 1943. Such supervisors allocated the prisoners to the work sites, while the SS was responsible only to guard them.

Concentration camp prisoners had to work 12 hours a day and once a month had a half-day on Sunday off. They were almost exclusively employed in heavy physical labor, building tunnels or roads, and excavating material used for construction purposes. When they worked on building fortifications during 1943, their work was supervised directly by OT companies.

The prisoners were terrorized at their work by the SS, certain violent Kapos, workers of the OT, and Wehrmacht officers. In a November 1943 report from Kammler about the SS-Baubrigade I, one reads: "During the construction of the fortifications, there was a sixty percent increase in productivity during the first nine months of 1943 as compared to 1942. This was accomplished with the concerted and combined efforts of all participating parties."[2] Kammler attributed this to the high productivity shown by the concentration camp prisoners, in which he had a vested interest, though it is also true that the presence of these prisoners increased the pressure on the other forced laborers. The OT used the Sylt camp as a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) once the subcamp was in place.

The SS-Baubrigade I was Germany's westernmost subcamp and, in the case of an invasion, would have fallen into the hands of the British and the Americans. Already in August 1943, Commandant List was given directions from Heinrich Himmler personally on how he was to deal with the prisoners to avoid this eventuality at any cost. A secret order of August 19, 1943, reads: "In the event of an attack, if there are prisoners who give the slightest signs of making difficulties, you are immediately to intervene and shoot the guilty parties. If this does not quell the disturbance, then you are to shoot all the prisoners without hesitation."[3]

The situation for the concentration camp prisoners was oppressive on this island, occupied as it was solely by military personnel and members of the paramilitary OT. Aid to prisoners was expressly forbidden, and one could not even consider trying to flee from this heavily mined island. Poor hygienic conditions, malnutrition, and heavy physical labor led to the quick spread of disease. A number of sick prisoners are said to have been taken out of the infirmary by SS men and shot dead. In June 1943, 200 prisoners were classified as unfit for work, and on instruction from the military commander of the island, List ordered that they be returned to the Neuengamme concentration camp.[4] In early July 1943, about 150 prisoners were taken to Cherbourg, and several of them were able to escape once they reached French soil. Himmler opened disciplinary proceedings against List, as well as

against Kurt Klebeck, head of the guard troop, but dropped them again by October 5, 1943.[5]

List and Klebeck were replaced in the spring of 1944, as they were needed for other tasks, and SS-Obersturmführer Georg Braun took command of SS-Baubrigade I in March 1944.[6] Braun was 32 at the time, a surveyor by profession, and had served at the French and Polish front before being transferred for a 4-month stint at the central construction office in Lublin. In April 1942, he was transferred to Oranienburg (Amtsgruppe C), where he worked in various departments, including for 10 months as adjutant to Hans Kammler. A former prisoner described Braun as an unpredictable, mostly drunken SS officer who remained a fanatical Nazi to the very end.[7]

At the end of 1943, the construction brigade was assigned to help build launching ramps for the V-2 rocket at St. Omer and, to that end, was transferred on December 17, 1943, to the "Rommel Barracks" in Cherbourg on the French mainland. However, Dorsch successfully intervened with Himmler, and the construction brigade was transferred back to Alderney on January 7, 1944.[8]

When, during the night of June 24–25, 1944, the SS-Baubrigade I was finally withdrawn from the island, only 636 of the 1,000 original prisoners remained.[9] Some 54 had escaped during the transport to Alderney, and about 210 prisoners had been selected to be transported back to Neuengamme. About 100 deaths can be reconstructed from the surviving records, many of which can be ascribed to malnutrition and epidemics. But other killings can be identified as the result of violent crime: numerous prisoners were shot.[10] Among the dead, one also finds the victims of a "prisoners' war" that raged on Alderney. Several prisoner-functionaries turned out to be particularly brutal and corrupt; some were murdered by other prisoners, others by the SS.

After an odyssey through the English Channel lasting several days, the construction brigade reached St. Malo on July 1, 1944.[11] From there, they continued on by train on July 4, 1944. As rail transport in France had come almost to a standstill due to precision bombing attacks, the train had to make a wide detour around Paris and travel via Rennes, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Dijon, Nancy, Toul, Namur, and Ghent to its final destination at Kortemark, Belgium. The SS officers in charge, Georg Braun and Otto Högelow, showed ruthless severity during this flightlike relocation. Will Kreuzberg wrote of the evacuation: "Yes, we got to know the bloodhound and his sidekick in their naked form during the following weeks."[12]

Högelow threatened that for every Russian who escaped he would shoot another Russian, and for every escaped German, another German. Yet the prisoners were encouraged in their resolve to escape by the openly sympathetic French population they encountered. In Angers, where the train rolled slowly through and where a prisoner who had died was buried at a railway embankment, the French had yelled out to the SS: "You murderers! Take your corpses with you!"[13] When the train finally arrived at Kortemark on July 28, 1944, only 572 prisoners of the original 634 remained; 27 had managed to escape, 9 had died during the trip, and 26 had been shot, 17 of them during an escape attempt in the Toul area on July 26, 1944.

Because Alderney was "the only concentration camp on British soil," speculation about unimaginable acts of cruelty, even of gas chamber killings, that might have taken place on this Channel Island began in Great Britain soon after the war. T.X.H. Pantcheff, a military intelligence officer, was sent by the British War Office to the liberated Channel Islands already in May 1945 to investigate, and his subsequent publications indicated the subcamp was not an extermination camp. In fact, a comparison of the Düsseldorf and Alderney locations is particularly instructive, as the key members of the SS were identical in both places, and the replacement of List and Klebeck did not lead to any qualitative changes at Alderney. Every sixth prisoner died in Düsseldorf, while it was every tenth prisoner who died on Alderney. That means significantly fewer prisoners died in a relatively closed-off area populated only by German military units than did in a camp in the middle of a large German city.

After the war, not a single SS member was convicted for crimes committed on Alderney. List lived on, undisturbed, in the Federal Republic of Germany, into the 1980s.

SOURCES T.X.H. Pantcheff published a study that paid particular attention to the Alderney subcamp: *Alderney, Fortress Island* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co., Ltd. 1981); and also an article about his subsequent research, "Britain's Only SS-Concentration Camp," *WWII-I* (May 1988): 31–35. In 1982, Solomon H. Steckoll collected a series of articles that had been published in the newspaper *The Observer* into a book, *The Alderney Death Camp* (London, 1982). It would only be 20 years later that a German publication addressed this subcamp in more detail, and this permitted some of the factual errors in earlier works to be corrected: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The archival sources are relatively plentiful. Former prisoner Willi Kreuzberg published his memoirs about Alderney just after the war, *Schutzhäftlinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947). In addition to the reminiscences collected by Pantcheff after the war, the ZdL (now BA-L) also holds numerous eyewitness reports (IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77). Other reports are held at the Hans Schwarz Archive in the FGNS-H, and here one can also find the originals of the reports of prisoner deaths. This information and a list of burials, which can also be found at the ASM and the AG-NG (which contain data on deceased prisoners), provide important sources of information.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-WVHA, Report No. 5 about the deployment of the SS-BB, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 24; and telegram from Kammler to the RFSS, Persönllicher Stab, in ibid., NS 19/1572, 1.

2. SS-WVHA, Report No. 5 about the deployment of the SS-BB, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.

3. RFSS, Tgb. Nr. 1722/43, 19.8.43, cited in T.X.H. Pantcheff, "Britain's Only SS-Concentration Camp," *WWII-I* (May 1988): 35.

4. Discipline Proceeding Files of Maximilian List, born February 9, 1910, in BA, BDC/SSO.

5. Letter from the RFSS Adjutant, October 7, 1943, ibid.

6. See the files in ibid., BDC/SSO Georg Braun, born November 15, 1911.

7. Report by Erich Frost, April 17, 1950, in ibid.; BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 248.

8. Report by Curt Hille, March 10, 1950, in BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 250f; and SS-WVHA, Report No. 6 about the deployment of the SS-Baubrigaden, February 14, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 33.

9. Calculations by Fings based on the literature referred to in the source essay, trials, and death lists.

10. Interview by Manfred Faust and Karola Fings with Roman Melnyk on December 15, 1999, ASt-Hü; Report by Helmut Knöller, AG-NG, Nr. 1317; ZdL, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 265, and IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 27.

11. See diary entry in the Marinekommando West Ktb., July 1, 1944, BA-MA, RM 35 II/64, p. 4.

12. Willi Kreuzberg, *Schutzhäftlinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947), p. 11.

13. Witness statement by Walter H, June 1, 1967, ZdL, 410 AR 63/77, p. 695.

AUMALE ("INGA") (SS-BB V)

Between April and August 1944, there was a subcamp for the SS-Baubrigade V stationed in Doullens in Aumale, which lies between Rouen and Amiens in northwestern France. The prisoners worked for the Luftwaffe constructing launch pads for V-1 rockets. The code name of the Aumale subcamp was "Inga."

The guards, the majority of whom were soldiers, were quartered in an abandoned castle. A barracks' camp was constructed on the grounds of the castle. In July 1944, there were 571 prisoners in the camp; in August there were 541.[1] The prisoners were taken to work daily in the surrounding forests by truck, at times traveling distances of up to 50 or 60 kilometers (31 to 37 miles).

Władysław Wikler, the prisoner's doctor in Aumale, reported that the sick from the Hesdin and Rouen subcamps were also brought to Aumale. He also stated that prisoners committed acts of sabotage so that the V-1 rockets could not be launched. A few prisoners were killed detonating the rockets, and some prisoners were hanged for sabotage.[2]

Numerous prisoners in Aumale, as in the other camps of the SS-Baubrigade V, tried to escape and make contact with the French resistance. Kazimierz S. remembers that as a result the SS implemented punishment actions in the camp: "I would also like to add that I often saw prisoners' bodies at the camp gate in Aumale. I heard they were the corpses of prisoners that had been shot because others had escaped from the camp. As a result, the prisoners, fearful of being shot, kept an eye on each other to make sure no one tried to escape from the camp."[3]

Toward the end of August 1944 the camp was dissolved. The prisoners were transported, via Doullens, to the Harz, where, in October 1944, they were placed under the control of the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp.

SOURCES There are only a few files and survivors' reports that provide information about the Aumale camp, which can be found in THStA-W, NS-Dok, and BA-L. The Doullens subcamp's archival and secondary sources offer some starting points for further research.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB V (=Field Post Nr. 15.566), July 30, 1944, and August 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 54.

2. Władysław Wikler, n.d., in NS-Dok, Z 10.561.

3. Kazimierz S., April 7, 1970, BA-L, ZdL Ludwigsburg IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 2194.

BERLIN (SS-BB II)

In the spring of 1944, Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) relocated all SS-Baubrigaden to the Harz Mountains. From this point on, the emphasis was to be on the construction of subterranean armament facilities and no longer on removing rubble in the larger cities. Only SS-Baubrigade II was sent to a metropolis—to the capital of the Reich, Berlin.

Preparations for relocating this brigade began in March 1944. On March 30, Amtsgruppe D of the WHVA ordered the relocation of the SS members of this brigade from the SS-Death's Head Unit at Neuengamme to Sachsenhausen.[1] The construction brigade arrived in Berlin in mid-April 1944.

Though he was being investigated on charges of corruption in Hamburg at the time, Johannes Karger remained SS commandant of this construction brigade until at least the end of 1944.[2] Shortly before the brigade left Berlin on February 14, 1945, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Raab assumed command.[3] The SS guard contingent was augmented by reservists made available by the city of Berlin.

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp remained responsible for the prisoners even after their transfer to Berlin, and they were assigned new numbers without having to be processed through that camp. According to the final quarterly report of the SS-WVHA, the SS-Baubrigade II comprised 1,055 prisoners at the end of March 1944.[4]

The construction brigade moved into the bombed-out administrative offices of the Auergesellschaft AG, located at 24/25 Friedrich-Krause-Ufer in the Moabit district of Berlin.[5] SS-Oberscharführer Anton Stockmeier was head of the Kommando, and his room and the guards' office were on the ground floor.[6] Prisoner dormitories were on the first floor,

and accommodation for the guards was on the second. Windows facing the street or the Berlin-Spandauer-Kanal were bricked up to prevent escapes.[7]

From this location, prisoners were taken into the city, under guard and by tram, to remove piles of corpses and to clean up rubble, principally at the Hansa-Ufer (embankment) on the Spree River. Prisoners pulled down buildings that had been destroyed and reinforced walls that were threatening to collapse—dangerous and difficult work, according to survivors. Stones or bricks that could be reused were sorted from the rubble, cleaned, and then loaded onto ships. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko remembered the advertising slogans he had read in the Berlin trams even more than 50 years later: "Respecting others in traffic reduces your cares" and "Well lathered is half-shaved."[8]

Gradually, more and more prisoners were transferred to a construction site at Müggelheim, and by October 1944 at the latest, the SS-Baubrigade II was divided. Some prisoners, the so-called Auer Kommando, remained at the building of the Auergesellschaft AG and were formally designated as SS-Baubrigade IIa, while others were part of the Müggelheim Kommando, formally designated as SS-Baubrigade IIb, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Christan Thode. Two smaller subcamps existed at Ferch and Spreenhagen.[9]

Müggelheim lies in the Köpenick district of Berlin, and according to survivors, prisoners had to build makeshift housing and small apartments for soldiers and SS members, and their dependents, who had been bombed out of their homes. Thus, one can conclude that this construction brigade was acting on behalf of the Berlin SS-Bauinspektion. In June 1944, the SS-WVHA (Amtsgruppe C) had issued an order, following a directive from Heinrich Himmler, according to which the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Inspection Offices were to build makeshift housing for bombed-out or evacuated members and dependents of the Waffen-SS, the general SS, and other "loyal followers."[10] To save on men and matériel, such housing was to be self-constructed when at all possible, and the use of prisoners was only permitted if "important war-related construction programs" would not thereby be hindered.[11] Amtsgruppe C apparently intended to employ this particular construction brigade for its own purposes.

Prisoners in this brigade lived in Müggelheim in a barracks camp, lit at night, that was encircled by barbed wire and guard towers. Food was brought from Sachsenhausen, and the guards lived in small houses around the camp, some of which were still under construction. Even civilians lived in these small houses.[12] Smaller groups of prisoners were continually deployed for special projects, including building a bunker at Gosen or doing carpentry work at a shipyard.[13]

But the main work of the brigade was to build houses, using stones or bricks reclaimed from the rubble as construction material. These were brought from the Hansa-Ufer down the Spree River. Some prisoners used what strength they had left to sabotage this work that was being done for the benefit of SS families. According to a report by Georg M., his work detail diverted so much cement and lime that the work almost came to a standstill for a prolonged time period.[14]

According to statements from former prisoners and SS guards, the small Müggelheim detachment grew from around 100 to around 800 prisoners and became the largest subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II. While no definitive figures about the Berlin construction brigade exist, reports on arrivals and departures of SS men in early 1945 allow one to conclude that the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer detachment must have had several hundred prisoners. In January 1945, almost the entire guard was replaced, with those born after 1900 replaced by men born in the 1880s and 1890s who had been drafted by the SS at the end of 1944 and had attended a short training course in Oranienburg. At the end of January, 59 SS men were standing guard at the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer, and 71 at Müggelheim.[15]

Around mid-February 1945, some of the prisoners in SS-Baubrigade II were transferred to Sachsenhausen. Others, some from the camp in Müggelheim and some from the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer camp, were combined with prisoners from the Lichterfelde subcamp to create a group of 504 men.[16] The prisoners were carted to Köpenick in a construction train and left Berlin on February 25, 1945, as "2. SS-Baubrigade (E)."

While the members of the SS were not called to task after the war, their victims often suffered for decades from the terrors they lived through. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, who survived the SS-Baubrigade II in Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, Hamburg, and Berlin, said in a 1992 interview:

> I dream most of all about the roll call parade grounds, and lining up. I dream in particular about how they led us to the work squads, but hundreds of people who had fallen were lying there. Or how they deliberately threw a cap beyond the boundary, and shot people just to get three days' leave. When I dreamt that, I screamed: "Come back! Don't go there!" That was what I dreamt at first, but then the dreams began to lessen. I still dream even today, once about how I crawled over corpses when we worked in Berlin, that something exploded, I fell, and it ripped into me. I awoke and was still whole. In those first years, I dreamt of how I was strung up by the Gestapo.[17]

SOURCES The SS-Baubrigade II in Berlin was first researched as part of a larger study of all the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Before this, data could only be found in the more general studies of the Sachsenhausen subcamps or of the Berlin camp system. They did not go much further than what could be found in the lists compiled by the ITS.

Contemporary records that could provide more detail about the construction brigades have hardly survived. Lists of the guards may be found at the RTKIDNI, Collection 1367, Concentration Camps and Prisoner of War Camps in Germany. Of special importance are the investigations by the

ZdL (now BA-L), IV 406 AR 594-596/73, which include testimony by former prisoners and guards, as well as the reports by prisoners that are held at the AG-NG and at the Hans Schwarz Archive at the FGNS-H.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Neuengamme Kommandantur, May 3, 1944, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/143, p. 23.
2. SS-WVHA, Verdict, November 15, 1944, BA-B, BDC/SSO.
3. Note, February 11, 1974, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433.
4. SS-WHVA, April 29, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 41.
5. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, ZdL, IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 109.
6. Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 2. SS-BB Berlin, January 10, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, p. 32.
7. Otto M., September 12, 1973, ZdL, IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 329.
8. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1576.
9. Note, February 11, 1975, ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433; and SS-WVHA, II. SS-BB, March 20, 1945, February 20, 1945, January 25, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, pp. 36–41.
10. SS-WVHA, June 10, 1944, BA-B, NS 3/3124, pp. 6–13.
11. Ibid., p. 12.
12. Heinrich D., September 1, 1937 (*sic*), ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 224; and Alexander P., March 28, 1973, in ibid., p. 109.
13. Richard G., September 12, 1973, in ibid., p. 228.
14. Georg M., June 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2.
15. SS-WHVA, II. SS BB March 20, 1945, February 20, 1945, January 25, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, pp. 36–41.
16. See Note, February 11, 1974, ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433; and Bureau de Renseignements de la Croix-Rouge néerlandaise, La Haye, 1952, Étude sur le sort des prisonniers hommes evacuées le 5/6-9-44 du KL Herzogenbusch au KL Sachsenhausen, p. 17, CEGESOMA, Rap. 435, Tr. 91.823.
17. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.

BOCHUM (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*) (SS-BB III)

On June 19, 1943, 40 prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade III at the Duisburg subcamp were transferred to Bochum. There they were assigned to a Luftwaffe demolition squad (Sprengkommando).[1]

The transfer of prisoners from Baubrigade III, stationed in Cologne, to the demolition squad was the result of a directive from Heinrich Himmler. Faced with a high death rate among firefighters and the members of security and auxiliary services who were engaged in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler had issued a directive on November 3, 1942, stating that "in all cases, insofar as the situation permits," prison inmates or concentration camp inmates were to be used for the dangerous work of uncovering and disposing of unexploded bombs. This followed a directive Adolf Hitler issued in October 1940.

Commanders of the Ordnungspolizei (Order Police) were made responsible for their quarters, food, and security.[2] A few days after this directive was issued in November 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe D instructed the concentration camp commandants to prepare suitable prisoner details. In those concentration camps where construction brigades already existed, prisoners were to be selected from the brigade.[3] An additional factor was that in the early summer of 1943 the Royal Air Force was increasingly using time-delayed fuses in the bombs it dropped over the Rhineland and Westphalia, and their removal was regarded as particularly dangerous.

It is not known where the prisoners were quartered, though it is possible they were held in a prison. In the abovementioned directive, Himmler had stated: "To save on guard units, concentration camp prisoners used for this work are to be kept in police prisons for the duration."

Until August 12, 1943, regular reports sent to Buchenwald gave the strength of the squad at 40 prisoners. After August 13, there were only 26, but by December 13, it had risen to 29.[4] In the extant Baubrigade III reports after this date, there is no further mention of this subcamp, so one may assume it was disbanded at the end of 1943.

The drop in the number of prisoners in August 1943 can be traced back to a tragic accident. On August 12, 1943, in Bochum, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Born and 13 prisoners were killed when an unexploded bomb detonated. One severely injured prisoner survived the blast but died two days later in Bochum's Protestant hospital.[5] According to a political prisoner who was a member of the Kalkum detonation squad, the explosion occurred because the ordnance technician acted improperly. In a 1988 interview about the incident, Kurt Selbiger said: "[It was] a bomb with a delayed fuse as well as an additional displacement fuse. That was a major impediment to digging up such bombs: if the bomb was moved, this displacement fuse was prematurely activated. It was very, very difficult to disarm this type of fuse. And then the ordnance technician ties the bomb to a car and has a dozen prisoners grabbing the rope to help pull the bomb out of the hole. . . . And then they all went to heaven."[6]

The bodies of the prisoners whose names are known were cremated in Cologne's Westfriedhof cemetery.[7]

A photographic record of the Bochum Fire Brigade includes photos of concentration camp prisoners at work. One photograph, showing prisoners with a recovered bomb near the city's car fleet park, has been published to date.

SOURCES For more information on the SS-Baubrigaden, see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Primary sources for this camp and the SS-Baubrigaden more generally may be found in the following collections: NWHStA-(D), ASt-N, IfZ, THStA-W, ASt-Dü, and ASt-Kö. A published photograph of the SS-Baubrigade III, Bochum, at work may be found in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), p. 11. The photograph is reproduced from collection "Bo37" of ASt-Boc.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statistics on Prisoners' Deployment, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 227, June 1943; and SS III. BB in NWHStA-(D), Ger. Rep. 118/1183.
2. RFSS November 3, 1942, ASt-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WHVA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman, Nr. 34.
4. Statistics on Prisoners' Deployment, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, July, August, and December 1943.
5. SS-BB III, August 13, 1943, in ibid.; Buchenwald concentration camp, Nr. 9, 313, and SS III. BB, August 16, 1943, in ibid., p. 309.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Slg. Kussman, Nr. 40.
7. SS-BB III, Cremation Record in Historical Archive, ASt-Kö, Collection 753-25.

BREMEN (SS-BB II)

In October 1942, the SS-Baubrigade II was assembled at the Neuengamme concentration camp and comprised 1,000 prisoners; 750 of them were sent to Bremen and 250 to Osnabrück, both of which Heinrich Himmler had visited in early September 1942 during his tour of cities destroyed during bombing raids.[1] In Bremen, heavily bombed during the night of June 25, 1942, the city administration, the Gau leadership, and the Weser-Ems Gau Chamber of Commerce all made efforts to obtain labor for the city. The manager of the latter wrote to the Reich Labor Ministry in September 1942: "We are in a war zone. You can see this when you visit Bremen. . . . The last heavy attack on Bremen caused immense damage and created a large number of new problems. One of the most important concerns labor, for what we lack above all are people who can remove the enormous amount of rubble."[2]

At this point, SS-Hauptsturmführer Gerhard Weigel, in his capacity as leader of the SS-Construction Brigade II, was already in negotiations with the Bremen city administration. The most important issue to be resolved was accommodation, but there were also questions about the specific deployment of labor, payment, and guarding the prisoners. Weigel inspected a barracks camp owned by the Francke Werke, located on the Warturmer-Heerstrasse, and declared it suitable.[3] The 750 prisoners were moved there no later than October 14, 1942.[4]

However, the office of the Senator for Construction (Senator für Bauwesen) noted that as the camp "did not meet the necessary requirements for guarding concentration camp prisoners," a different site had to be found.[5] Thus, in 1942, a camp then being built for the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) in the stable buildings of the Hindenburg barracks, located on Bossdorfstrasse, was requisitioned. Prisoners were quartered in the stable buildings, while barracks for the SS, lavatories, the canteen, and a kitchen still had to be built. The Senator for Construction Matters paid rent to the Bremen military administration for the use of the stable buildings and the grounds.[6] From the Bremen registry office death notices, one can ascertain that relocation occurred between December 18 and 22, 1942, as prisoner Petris Jonis is recorded as dying at the camp on the Warturmer-Heerstrasse on December 18, 1942, while the address of Alexej Trubatsch, who died on December 22, is given as Bossdorfstrasse.[7]

The SS-Baubrigade II remained in Bremen until April 1944, though their numbers shrank continually. Some prisoners went with the SS-Baubrigade I to Alderney in February 1943, a larger detachment went to Wilhelmshaven, and the greatest part of the prisoners, and thus the main camp of SS-Baubrigade II, was transferred to Hamburg after August 1943. At this point, only 272 prisoners remained in the camp.[8]

SS-Hauptsturmführer Weigel was a notable early member of Nazi organizations and had considerable experience in responsible positions in concentration camps as well as at SS construction offices. Born on February 23, 1908, in Flöha, Saxony, Weigel joined the Hitler Youth when he was 16, then the SA in Bautzen in 1929, and switched to the SS in 1930. Trained as a heating engineer, he only became firmly established in party positions by 1933, after a longer period of unemployment.[9] From 1934 on, he was part of the SS contingent at the Sachsenburg concentration camp, and following the dissolution of that camp, he participated as an engineer in constructing the Buchenwald concentration camp. After working at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, at the SS administration office, and with the SS-Verfügungstruppe (Special Assignment Troops), Weigel joined the SS-Bauinspektion at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Reich Süd. In January 1942, he then became head of the Bauinspektion at the HSSPF for Russland Süd in Kiev and remained there until he was transferred to the SS-Baubrigade II.

Weigel negotiated with the authorities and directed the deployment of the prisoners, but he was less visible to the prisoners than were the camp leaders in Bremen, Osnabrück, and Hamburg who reported to him. Weigel was assigned a deputy, Diplomingenieur Johann Karger, who was in command of the technical deployment, and when Weigel was ordered to take command of the SS-Baubrigade V in March 1944, Karger took over as commander of the SS-Baubrigade II.[10] As of mid-October 1942, only 30 SS men were available to serve as a guard detail, so it was necessary to recruit local help to strengthen prisoner surveillance.[11]

As in other cities, the construction administration coordinated the brigade's deployment. In Bremen this was divided

between two offices; a Director of Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) was responsible for dealing with war damage, thus also for removing rubble. Fritz Köster, described as an "uncompromising National Socialist" and an "extremely capable organizer," was in charge of Department III and was thus responsible for labor deployment and for setting up camps. Oberbaurat Wilhelm Wortmann directed Department IV and was responsible for damage removal and cleanup work.[12] In addition, Paul Wegener, Gauleiter of Weser-Ems, and Senator Hans-Joachim Fischer, who headed internal administration and occasionally the construction administration as well, also dealt with the concentration camp prisoners. After Wilhelmshaven had been hit by a bombing raid, it was Fischer, also Wegener's deputy as Reich Defense Commissioner, who offered that city SS-Baubrigade II prisoners.[13]

The prisoners' work was of great importance for Bremen. A report of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) stated that by December 1943 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II in Bremen had worked on more than 100 sites in the city, cleaning up rubble and undertaking rescue operations. In February 1944, there were still 346 prisoners working at 28 sites.[14] The population soon became familiar with seeing prisoners in their blue-and-white-striped clothes, colloquially calling them "Zebras."[15] It did not escape the city authorities in charge that what the prisoners were able to accomplish was due to being terrorized by the SS. Fischer, the Bremen Senator for Construction Matters, wrote the WVHA on January 22, 1943: "I take this opportunity to record my recognition of the extraordinary work the construction brigade has done in removing bomb damage in Bremen. I especially want to emphasize here this valuable deployment that I regard as due primarily to the strict supervision SS leaders and men have exercised."[16]

It is known that 168 men from the Bremen construction brigade camp died between October 1942 and April 1944, 123 of them in the first five months. Alexander P., a former prisoner, stated that there was "no order in the camp."[17] Prisoners were regularly and indiscriminately beaten; bread was thrown to them, and only those strong enough got some of it. Fritz Bringmann, a prisoner medic who was transferred from Osnabrück to Bremen in May 1943, reported high levels of illness and many extremely weakened prisoners. The poor state of health in his opinion was the result of a ruthless pace of work, long shifts, the many roll calls, and poor nutrition.[18] The brutal behavior of SS-Rottenführer Brunken, who as roll-call leader strode about the camp with a stick or whip, hitting anyone who did not greet him correctly enough, only worsened matters. Brunken regularly mistreated prisoners in the infirmary, and in at least one case, he personally shot a recaptured prisoner.[19] A number of prisoners died because they were refused access to air-raid shelters during bombing raids.[20] Prisoners also died after having to stand for hours at punishment roll calls imposed after unsuccessful escape attempts.[21]

The situation in Bremen eased markedly when the majority of the SS-Baubrigade II was transferred to Hamburg in August 1943, along with camp leader Gerhard Weigel.[22] In the course of 1943, some of the SS personnel were also withdrawn and replaced by older guards. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko reported: "And then the lame appeared, those who had been shot up at the front. They had been at the front for two years, and had seen what that meant. They behaved better toward us."[23] The situation was also helped by an improvement in the supply of food. A report for the period from July to September 1943 mentions that the city of Bremen allocated additional rations to the SS-Baubrigade II "in recognition of its extraordinary work."[24] In fact, former prisoners report that in 1943 supplies improved.[25] However, it is not possible to say to what extent this improvement can be attributed to the city. It is certain that beginning the fall of 1943, Bringmann passed on several hundred kilograms of potatoes in a sealed storeroom to fellow prisoners. When the loss was discovered, Bringmann had to flee, according to him on April 4, 1944.[26]

As in other construction brigades, when it became known that the camp was to be transferred from Bremen to Berlin, efforts to escape increased, supported in particular by the forced laborers and imprisoned opponents of the regime. At the high point of the use of forced labor in 1944, Bremen held about 200 camps with about 25,000 foreigners, both male and female.[27] Bringmann said:

> At that time, there were tens of thousands of forced deportees who had to work in the firms. They were also used to clear rubble and as a result came in contact with our comrades. What bound them together was their similar background, that they had been violently separated from their relatives, and their common interest in returning home alive. . . . It did not take long for help to be offered in the form of forged identity papers or as permits from relatives who worked in labor camps for Eastern workers in Hannover, Braunschweig, Osnabrück, and other places. With these identity papers and often with pre-bought train tickets, good preconditions were in place for a quick departure from Bremen. We arranged and provided appropriate clothing, food, and money.[28]

According to Bringmann, 15 prisoners were able to escape in this manner between the fall of 1943 and the spring of 1944, and only 1 was recaptured.

Neither the leaders of the construction brigades nor others belonging to the SS guard were ever prosecuted after the war for crimes committed in the Bremen camp. The dead are buried in the Osterholz cemetery in Bremen.

SOURCES As part of an investigation into the SS construction brigades, the Bremen camp has only recently become the focus of research in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh,

2005). Prior to this, it was only mentioned in passing in other works about Bremen during the Nazi era, such as Inge Marssolek and René Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1986). On the history of Bremen during the Nazi era, see Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, vol. 4, *Bremen in der NS-Zeit* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995).

Primary source material for SS-Baubrigade II at Bremen is widely dispersed. The most important is the Hans Schwarz Archive in the FGNS-H (memoirs and the *Totenbücher* from Neuengamme) as well as the AG-NG (memoirs and other collections of material). Another source is the files of the Senator für Bauwesen in the StA-Br (Collection 4,29/1) and the files at the ZdL (IV 406 AR 245/69), available at BA-L.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. RFSS, September 9, 1942, BA, NS 19/14, p. 11.
2. Dr. Karl Kohl, September 23, 1942, A-HkBr, SZ I 15, vol. 9.
3. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
4. The first documented death occurred on this day. See Prisoner Death Notifications from May 4, 1942, to December 16, 1942, FGNS-H, Hans Schwarz Archive.
5. Senator für Bauwesen, August 31, 1942, AG-NG, Material Collection, Ng. 6.4.92.
6. Ibid.
7. Data Bank of the AG-NG; and Prisoners' Death List in FGNS-H.
8. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.
9. See BA, BDC/PK,/RS,/SSO for the information referred to here.
10. BA, BDC/SSO.
11. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
12. Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, vol. 4, *Bremen in der NS-Zeit* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 530, 594.
13. For details on Wegener and Fischer see Inge Marssolek and René Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1986), pp. 365; as well as File Note November 5, 1942, ASt-Wil, 4600/6.
14. SS-WVHA, February 14, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 34.
15. Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, p. 358.
16. Senator für Bauwesen, January 20, 1943, in StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
17. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 108.
18. Fritz Bringmann, December 20, 1977, AG-NG, Report Nr. 150.
19. Fritz Bringmann, June 2, 1946, AG-S, IV/26.
20. Prisoner Death Notifications and Subcamp Death Notifications in FGNS-H; and Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, pp. 358, 417.
21. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.
22. Fritz Bringmann, November 20, 1949, BA, BY 5/V 279/74.
23. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.
24. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA, NS 19/14, p. 27.
25. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.
26. Report Fritz Bringmann, March 25, 1984, AG-NG, Nr. 141; and Interview with Fritz Bringmann, July 29, 1981, AG-NG, Nr. 153.
27. Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, p. 413.
28. Report Fritz Bringmann, December 20, 1977, AG-NG, Nr. 150.

DORTMUND (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*) (SS-BB III)

On order of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, the Cologne-based SS-Baubrigade III sent 40 prisoners to Dortmund on May 31, 1943. There they were assigned to the Luftwaffe bomb disposal squad (Sprengkommando).[1] This transfer can be traced back to a directive of Heinrich Himmler.

Faced with a high death rate among firefighters and the members of security and auxiliary services who were engaged in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler had issued a directive on November 3, 1942, stating that "in all cases, insofar as the situation permits," prison inmates or concentration camp inmates were to be used for the dangerous work of uncovering and disposing of unexploded bombs. This followed a directive Adolf Hitler issued in October 1940.

Commanders of the Order Police were made responsible for the accommodation, rations, and security of the prisoners.[2] A few days after this directive was issued in November 1942, Amtsgruppe D instructed concentration camp commandants to prepare suitable prisoner details. In those concentration camps where construction brigades already existed, prisoners were to be selected from the brigade.[3] An additional factor was that in the early summer of 1943 the Royal Air Force was increasingly using time-delayed fuses in the bombs it dropped over the Rhineland and Westphalia, and their removal was regarded as particularly dangerous.

It is possible that the SS-Baubrigade's inmates were held in a prison. In the above-mentioned directive, Himmler had stated: "To save on guard units, concentration camp prisoners used for this work are to be kept in police prisons for the duration."

There is little data, and only a few prisoner names are known, about the Dortmund bomb disposal squad. At the beginning of July 1943, the SS-Baubrigade III reported that there were 75 prisoners in the squad, and by July 20, there were only 34. These 34 remained there until August 23, 1943, when the subcamp was closed.[4]

The names of the first 40 prisoners are in the above-mentioned SS-Baubrigade III document, dated May 31, 1943. The 5 prisoners killed on June 9, 1942—the Yugoslav Hermann Bobeck, the Poles Stanisław Affek and Edward Kapłónski, and the Ukrainians Petro Jajez and Michailo Saloid—when an unexploded bomb detonated in Derne, near Dortmund, were probably among them and were probably also part of the Dortmund bomb disposal squad.[5]

SOURCES The Dortmund bomb disposal squad was cited only in one publication that dealt with the SS-Baubrigade III, Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), p. 112.

The THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald) has a few records on the SS-Baubrigade III, Dortmund. There are no known survivors' reports.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB III, May 31, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Report 118-76.
2. RFSS, January 3, 1942, ASt-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman Nr. 34.
4. SS-BB III, July 2, 1943, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 85/67, p.2; KL Buchenwald Statistics—Deployment of Prisoners, THStA-W, NS Buchenwald Nr. 227, July 1943; ibid., August 1943.
5. SS-BB III, June 15, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 342.

DOULLENS (BUCHENWALD) [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE WEST] (SS-BB V)

The SS-Baubrigade V, also known as SS-Baubrigade West, existed from March to October 1944 and, with its complement of about 2,500 prisoners, was the largest of all the SS construction brigades. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered it formed on December 29, 1943. It was tasked with building V-weapon sites in the northwestern part of occupied France.[1]

Prisoners for the new brigade initially were selected from the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III, which was expanded on January 17, 1944, with the addition of 1,000 prisoners from Buchenwald. In March, further transports included prisoners from Buchenwald and from the Neuengamme SS-Baubrigade.[2] In selecting prisoners, care was taken to ensure none among them spoke French, to make it difficult for them to be in contact with the civilian population. However, a number of prisoners hid their linguistic abilities, as they hoped to escape once they were in France.

Some 60 percent of SS-Baubrigade V were Soviet citizens, 30 percent were Poles, and the remainder were Germans, Czechs, or Yugoslavs.[3] The construction brigade left Cologne in four transports between mid-March and early April 1944, the first (with 500 prisoners) going to Liques, the second (with 576) to Hesdin, the third (with 750) to Rouen, and the fourth (with 700) to Aumale. However, a total of 2,518 prisoners arrived in France, as 4 prisoners had managed to escape from each of the last two transports. The first two transports were directed to the area west of St. Omer and south of Calais, where they were to construct V-2 sites for the Army. The 1,442 prisoners on the other two transports were to construct V-1 sites for the Luftwaffe further south, in the area around Aumale and Rouen.[4]

The SS-Baubrigade V was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Gerhard Weigel, previously leader of the SS-Baubrigade II, who upon being appointed to lead SS-Baubrigade V also was promoted to SS-Sturmbannführer, effective June 21, 1944.[5] Weigel accompanied the first prisoner transport and organized the quarters for the next transports. He also conducted the initial negotiations with the military offices of the LXV Army Corps, and together with Colonel Zimmermann of the Supreme Command—West (Oberbefehlshaber West), he determined the sites of the deployment;[6] 95 SS men were assigned to guard duty, and 26 men were sent to deal with administrative and technical matters, all of them having come from Buchenwald. The Army and Luftwaffe, respectively, made 61 and 213 soldiers available.[7]

In order to have prisoners quartered as closely as possible to the construction sites, the brigade gradually set up at least 14 camps in the Haute-Normandie and Nord-Pas-de-Calais *départements*. Several hundred prisoners were quartered in the large halls of the citadel at Doullens, often referred to as the "main site." Weigel is supposed to have directed the activities of the construction brigade from there.[8] Larger subcamps existed for a long period of time in Aumale, Hesdin, and Rouen. Other locations of deployment listed are Amiens, Arras, Beauval, Bergueneuse, Cassel, Mimoyecques, Montdidier, St. Omer, and Vignacourts. Prisoners were allocated to camps and construction sites according to need. In July 1944, there were four large camps, given the cover names "Lisa I," "Lisa II," "Inga," and "Heilag," and by August there were 8.[9]

In the main, prisoners worked at "special construction sites" of the LXV Army Corps, building launch sites as well as bunkered supply depots. Heavy physical labor was required and included excavation, laying concrete, and moving building materials. In addition, prisoners were repeatedly set to work at "immediate tasks important to the war effort," such as repairing roads or rail lines after bombing raids. They also built bunkers, and after the Allied invasion of Normandy, they dug trenches, removed unexploded bombs, and repaired the damage to fortified positions.

The heavy physical labor was immensely difficult for prisoners, some of whom weighed less than 50 kilos (110 pounds). In June 1944, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C, Hans Kammler, wrote that because of the time pressure, prisoners were constantly "kept working at a furious pace."[10] Tomasz Kiryłłow, a survivor, has described what this really meant: "Piotr grabbed

the wheelbarrow, yanked it forward and stumbled. The SS man hit him in his chest with his rifle butt. Piotr protected himself with his arms and pulled back, his eyes filled with horror. I liked him. I had to watch how he tried to turn away from the blows of the SS whip. Blood ran from the wounds on his head. Finally, he pulled himself up and tried to move. 'Stop!' an SS man screamed, aimed his machine gun and fired. Piotr Majczenko turned his face to his murderer, took a few steps forward, and then sank to the ground."[11]

The situation in Normandy meant that, for the first time, a construction brigade was working in an occupied country. That meant the SS was surrounded by an overwhelmingly hostile civilian population, and it was nearly impossible to prevent contacts between prisoners and the French population. Right in front of the SS guards, and apparently without fear, French men and women approached the prisoners, asked them questions, and gave them food. When prisoners were taken to work by truck, they were helped in the villages they passed through. The SS men became increasingly nervous, as resistance fighters targeted these transports.

It was difficult terrain for the SS, particularly since the increased bombing raids on the French Atlantic coast made it harder and harder for guards to know what was going on. Prisoners also had become more and more restless and refractory after D-Day. Given the military situation, Weigel had considerable difficulties maintaining discipline among the SS men, with Army and Luftwaffe guards in particular accused of lapses in duty. In one detachment, either May or June 1944, there must have been a mass breakout after a Wehrmacht post was attacked and overrun.[12] Prisoners were now threatened with random reprisal: for every prisoner who escaped, some of those left behind would be shot indiscriminately.

Yet despite this draconian threat of punishment, escapes remained common. At the end of June 1944, 91 prisoners were reported as having escaped, and 11 had been shot either while escaping or while trying to escape.[13] The high number of successful escapes was due to the great willingness of the French population to render assistance; only 2 prisoners who had fled in France were recaptured.

As a result, Commander Weigel was even more determined to break the link between prisoners and the surrounding population. On July 7, 1944, he put together a large transport of 350 prisoners suspected of planning escapes or of being in contact with the French, to be sent to Buchenwald.[14] He also ordered further disguising measures: the SS-Baubrigade V was renamed the "SS-Baubrigade VII," and some of the prisoners were given civilian clothes and permitted to grow out their hair so as not to be recognized as concentration camp prisoners.[15]

Initially, Weigel actually was able to slow the prisoner exodus. However, before the SS-Baubrigade V was to be transferred back to Germany, the number of escapees increased again—many prisoners not wishing to return under any circumstances. In fact, in the statistics kept by the Buchenwald concentration camp, the Normandy numbers stick out: during 1944, no other subcamp had so many prisoners successfully escaping in such a short time. Almost 20 percent of the escapees noted in these Buchenwald records until mid-September were from the SS-Baubrigade V.[16]

The actual use of V-weapons, on whose launching sites prisoners had worked, only began after the Allied landing in Normandy with a June 11, 1944, order from the LXV Army Corps. There were initial difficulties, but by the end of July, some 5,000 V-1 rockets had been launched against Great Britain. Anti-aircraft Artillery Regiment 155 was in charge of firing the rockets, but the Allied advance forced the LXV Army Corps to order this regiment to retreat on August 12, 1944. The Allied advance probably also prompted the SS-Baubrigade V to begin preparing to evacuate.

During August 1944, prisoners from the Aumale, Hesdin, and Rouen subcamps were gathered together in Doullens; the SS-Baubrigade V returned to Germany by rail via Lille. During a bombing raid in Lille on August 31, 27 prisoners died.[17] Survivors said that among these victims were prisoners wounded in an earlier bombing raid and being cared for by the French in their homes. The next day, the SS are said to have collected 10 to 15 of the wounded, stuck them in a bunker, and killed them with hand grenades.[18]

Between August 30 and September 11, 1944, 1,824 prisoners arrived at the Harz Mountains, in three large groups with about 550 prisoners each and in three smaller groups with less than 100 prisoners each. As no appropriate accommodations were available, they were divided up among SS-Baubrigaden III and IV, as well as the camps of the Mittelbau complex.[19] Despite this, SS-Baubrigade V continued to exist in an administrative sense through September, the number of hours they worked (on projects B15 and B17) being calculated by Special Inspectorate II.[20] Mittelbau, which had become an independent concentration camp by this time, assumed responsibility for 648 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V by the end of October—though by this time the construction brigade itself was in Osnabrück and had been renamed as an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade.[21]

SOURCES It was only late in the research into the SS-Baubrigaden that this particular brigade was examined in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Documentation of the SS-Baubrigade V is very spotty. In addition to contemporary reports, which are in the BA-B (NS 19/14, pp. 51–58), there are also collections of material titled "NS 4 Buchenwald" and "KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten" to be found at the THStA-W. The ITS Sachdokumenten collection holds documentation on the administrative continuation of SS-Baubrigade V. Of particular significance are the trial documents of the former ZdL held at BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 207/73). Here one can find copies of the transport lists which permit an almost complete reconstruction of the names of the prisoners in SS-Baubrigade V. There are references to the SS-Baubrigade V as well in the interviews with former forced laborers archived at NS-Dok. Kiryłłow, who success-

fully escaped from the Hesdin camp, has also written an impressive memoir, Tomasz Kiryłłow, "*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren*": *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-WVHA, December 29, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/2065, p. 57.
2. Transportmeldungen, January 17,1944, March 9, 1944, March 25, 1944, April 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
3. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 53.
4. Ibid., p. 52.
5. Gerhard Weigel, born February, 23, 1908, BA-BL, BDC/RS.
6. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 37; and SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, in ibid., p. 52.
7. Ibid.
8. Kurt D., February 15, 1973; Karl J., September 17, 1972; Hans H., April 4, 1952, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 242, 250, 491.
9. SS-BB V (Feldpost Nr. 15566), July 30, 1944, August 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
10. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
11. Tomasz Kiryłłow, "*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren*": *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 134.
12. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
13. Ibid.
14. Transportmeldung, July 7, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; Pawel Potockij, May 1989, in NS-Dok, Z 10.547.
15. Hans Groth, February 29, 1964, in FGNS-H, Archive Hans Schwarz, 13-7-3-7.
16. Fluchtstatistik, September 15, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 143.
17. Namentliche Aufstellung, October 9, 1944, in ibid., NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
18. Felix L., September 6, 1973; Günter R., August 13, 1973; Günter R., March 20, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 632, 683, 823.
19. KL Mittelbau, Abt. Arbeitseinsatz, October 11, 1944, in ibid., p. 7.
20. Abrechnung, September 1944, ITS Sachdokumenten—Ordner Buchenwald 54, p. 25.
21. Transport Report, October 29, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

DUISBURG (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB III)

Between February 1943 and May 1944, there was a subcamp of the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III in Duisburg. The prisoners' main task was to clear the city from rubble. The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp on the corner of Korn Strasse and Emmerich Strasse, in the suburb of Meiderich. The SS-Baubrigade I from Sachsenhausen was previously quartered here.

A few days after the SS-Baubrigade I was transferred to Alderney on February 21, 1943, the commander of the Cologne camp, Karl Völkner, took control of the remaining 342 prisoners. During the transfer, the commander of the guard detail of SS-Baubrigade I and four unknown members of the Duisburg city administration were present.[1] The commander of the camp in Duisburg was SS-Oberscharführer Franz Janitschke. Prior to this appointment, he had been a security guard in Cologne. Völkner had all the prisoner-functionaries transported back to Buchenwald and replaced them with other prisoners.

Völkner instigated a thorough selection of the Sachsenhausen prisoners now registered in Buchenwald. On the day he took control, 59 of the 342 prisoners were in the infirmary and 5 were in the hospital. In his report, sent to Buchenwald on the takeover, he wrote: "The condition of the prisoners is so bad that on Monday, February 22, 1943, only fifty prisoners could go to work. . . . The condition of their dress (Zebra), underwear and shoes is the worst imaginable."[2] During the course of the day he forced another 100 prisoners to work, although their ability to function was limited. In order to keep numbers high for the work details, Völkner, on March 6, 1943, returned all weakened or sick prisoners to Buchenwald.[3] On March 13, the Duisburg camp received a transport of 270 prisoners from Buchenwald.[4]

The barracks camp was completely destroyed during a bombing raid on the night of April 26–27, 1943. The prisoners had no chance to seek refuge during the raid; 30 prisoners died, and another 28 were severely injured. The Diakonen Institute at Kuhlenwall 64 was selected as the new quarters. The buildings of the Institute had been severely damaged in the summer of 1942 and had partially been reconstructed by the autumn so as to accommodate "workers from the East." The SS took over the building in April 1943.[5] During the next few weeks, the prisoners had to finish the repairs to the Diakonie building. Once that was done, they were accommodated in the infirmary.[6]

Engelbert Oberhauser, who with another prisoner was transferred from Buchenwald to Duisburg in the summer of 1943, reported that

> [t]he camp was in a hospital, burnt out during a bombing raid, a former convent of the Zisterzensier Order. It had extremely strong walls. Completely burnt to the ground, it stood in the ruins of the city centre. The Duisburg concentration camp was situated in the remaining commercial buildings. As an emergency measure the prisoners' accommodation was covered with paper maché and boards. The truss was completely burnt. The prisoners were dressed in Zebra and to a large extent in civilian rags. Among them were several German prisoner-functionaries; mostly the prisoners were Soviet and Polish SS slaves. . . . Full of lice, dirty and half-starved we learned the evening roll call. The buttocks of many were exposed; for most, only their knees stuck out of

> their ripped trousers. They returned from work—demolition, cleaning up and defusing bombs. As we two lined up for roll call, we looked like lords among beggars with our new Zebra clothes, given to us before the transport left Buchenwald.[7]

For months, the conditions in the Diakonen Institute remained catastrophic. A report prepared in September 1943 indicates that the camp was being extended. A bombing raid again heavily damaged the building. The camp became plagued with lice, and a delousing chamber was built. There was a lack of washing facilities, and the kitchen was equipped with the bare minimum.[8] The catastrophic conditions did not prevent Völkner from asking for an additional 500 prisoners.[9]

Numbers in the camp varied considerably. Prisoners were often transferred to other detonation squads, to Buchenwald or to other camps. During the summer there were just under 400 prisoners; in October 1943, there were 1,018, the highest-known number; and in the spring of 1944, there were just over 800.[10]

The Duisburg "Office for Immediate Measures" (Amt für Sofortmassnahmen) was a special authority located within the city's Building Administration. The prisoners worked at the request of the office in cleaning up and repairing damage caused by bombing raids. In March 1944, on instructions from the city, the prisoners were required to work additionally on Sundays and recycle bitumen roof sheeting so that the small allotment holders had roof sheeting to repair the buildings on their garden sheds.[11] Occasionally, the prisoners had to work for private companies, including August Gähringer, between September 1943 and the end of January 1944, and the German General Electric Company (AEG). The largest prisoner detachment worked at Franz Münnemann; 40 prisoners are documented as working there daily between October 1943 and January 1944.[12]

Many prisoners were seconded over a period of weeks from Duisburg to detonation squads in the Ruhr, which were under the control of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West. In June 1942, 120 prisoners were brought to the SS-Baubrigade III subcamp in Düsseldorf on Kirchfeld Strasse. These prisoners operated as a detonation squad until at least August 1943.[13] Other prisoners were sent to Bochum and Essen to retrieve unexploded bombs.[14]

During the spring of 1943, the number of deaths in the Cologne camp decreased significantly. The death rate remained high in Duisburg, however. Camp commandant Franz Janitscke was responsible for the conditions in the Duisburg camp. According to the prisoners, he was autocratic. Janitschke was born on March 1, 1897, in Oberglogau (Upper Silesia). By trade he was a carpenter and had joined the SS in 1935.[15] In 1939, he joined the SS-Death's Head Storm Unit at the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he remained until September 1942, when he was transferred as a guard of the SS-Baubrigade III to Cologne. The prisoners in Duisburg were guarded by 10 SS men. While they were working, they were guarded primarily by local police.[16]

There were at least 49 other deaths at the SS-Baubrigade III subcamp in Duisburg, in addition to the above-mentioned 30 victims of the bombing raid. Of these, 15 died while defusing bombs; 2 were killed while cleaning up; for 20 the cause of death was said to be "Lungs—TB" or "Cachexy" (excessive loss of weight); 4 are said to have been shot while "trying to escape"; and 1 is alleged to have "committed suicide" by hanging.[17]

At the end of March 1944, 400 prisoners were withdrawn from Duisburg to help form the newly created SS-Baubrigade V.[18] The subcamp was finally dissolved on May 9, 1944: the remaining 131 prisoners were taken to Cologne, where a day later they were taken with prisoners from Cologne to Wieda in the Harz Mountains.[19]

Following preliminary inquiries by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) regarding crimes committed against prisoners in the SS-Baubrigade III, the Cologne State Prosecutor began investigations in 1968. Janitschke was one of the three accused; based on survivors' statements, he was suspected of taking two French prisoners to Cologne, where they were killed, and of shooting two Russian prisoners in the nape of the neck during a bombing raid. The State Prosecutor could not prove Janitschke's involvement, and the proceedings ceased in 1975.[20]

SOURCES Details about the events in the Duisburg subcamp were first published in 1996 in a monograph on the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996). See also Eric Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986). Earlier publications by men and women of Duisburg only dealt with the period up to the destruction of the barracks camp in Duisburg-Meiderich: Rolf Ingerfurth and Andrée Wolff, "Ein Gefangenlager in Duisburg-Meiderich (Ratingsee) zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus" (MSS, Duisburg, 1981), in ASt-DU, 41/302.

The ASt-DU holds the files of the Building Office as well as a few documents on the use of the concentration camp prisoners (Collection 600, Nr. 794, 865, 866). The most important collections of documents are the THStA-W (Collections NS 4 Buchenwald as well as the Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Prisons, in particular Nrs. 9 and 10); the ZdL (IV 429 AR 1304/67), now BA-L; and NWHStA-(D) (Court Rep. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). The Ruhr Museum, Essen, has six photographs taken by Willy van Heekern that show concentration camp prisoners removing rubble in Duisburg in 1943.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB III, February 24, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 383.

2. Ibid.

3. Transport List from-to Duisburg, in NWHStA-D, Court Reports 118/1177.

4. SS Camp Doctor Schiedlausky, March 19, 1943, HStA-W, KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten (Prisons), Nr. 9, pp. 53–56.

5. Street Directory, Duisburg, 1939; Diakonen-Anstalt (Institute) Duisburg, June 12, 1951, HAStK, Acc. 606/19, p. 446.

6. Hans P., February 6, 1959, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 516; and Werner B., October 1, 1969, in ibid., IV 429 AR-Z 16/73, p. 123.

7. Engelbert O., June 29, 1971, AG-B, 62–86–1.

8. Buchenwald Camp Doctor, September 6, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.

9. SS-BB III, August 19, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 213, p. 111.

10. See HStA-D, Court Rep. 118–1177; and Numbers' Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, Nr. 136a, Nr. 210, Nr. 161.

11. Building Office, March 17, 1944, ASt-DU 600/794.

12. Building Office (Debit Ledger of the Office for Immediate Measures), Ibid., 600/866.

13. See Prisoners' Numbers' Lists, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227.

14. Building Office, Debit Ledger of the Office for Immediate Measures, ASt-DU 600/866, Entry Nr. 805735–805739.

15. BDC/RS, BA-B; and Franz Janitschke, January 31, 1973, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 150–154.

16. Waffen-SS Doctor Weimar-Buchenwald, May 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 242; as well as Mychailo S., January 28, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85–67, pp. 171–172.

17. See tables in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 224–235.

18. SS-BB III, March 29, 1944, NWHStA-D, Court Rep. 118/1177.

19. Monthly itemization in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 77–78.

20. ZLNW-K, January 30, 1975, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 160–191.

DUISBURG (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS BB I)

On October 15, 1942, 400 of the 1,000 prisoners made available to the SS-Baubrigade I by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were sent to Duisburg to perform cleanup work after bombing raids. The Duisburg camp itself was administered from the headquarters of SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, though it had its own command structure as well as its own SS and police guards.

Local Nazi Party (NSDAP) functionaries and police are reported as having taken part in discussions over a suitable location for this subcamp. According to one set of memoirs, an NSDAP member suggested Sterkrade, a city district of Oberhausen, as a site, since locating a camp there would also intimidate the surrounding population. The counterargument was that Communists living in Sterkrade might hide prisoners who managed to escape. For that reason, Duisburg was chosen instead.

A fenced-in camp with four housing and one "commercial" barracks was built for the prisoners in the Meiderich district of the city. According to the recollection of a nearby resident, the camp at the corner of Korn and Emmerich Strassen was erected "overnight," and in the ensuing months, four or five barracks were added to it.

Prisoners were put to work following directives issued by the city administration's "Office for Immediate Action," headed by Duisburg's Mayor Freytag.[1] Invoices between the city and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for food, lodging, and the labor performed were handled by the Düsseldorf construction brigade.[2]

The prisoners' main task was to clear rubble from the city. The city administration was so pleased with their work that the mayor personally requested that the WVHA extend the prisoners' time beyond the planned two months.[3]

Neighboring residents could look directly into the camp. Nevertheless, by the 1980s memories of the camp were vague. One eyewitness tried to explain it this way: "You could see into the camp from a few apartments, but most people in Meiderich did not know what kind of a camp it was. To begin with, most thought it was a labor camp, and no one had any idea that this was a subcamp of a concentration camp. National Socialist indoctrination meant hardly anyone gave a thought to what was going on inside the camp."[4]

The reason for this limited view was the widespread belief that concentration camp prisoners were in any case "criminals" and opponents of the regime, whose imprisonment and tough handling were therefore justified. This is reflected in Walter Ring's city chronicle of Duisburg, published soon after the war: "Passers-by on the street could see the work [of rubble removal] being done by the closely guarded prisoners in their zebra-striped clothing, but could not get closer to them. It was said that they were professional criminals and anti-socials (*Asoziale*)."[5]

The torments and arbitrary brutality typical of the SS could be seen in Duisburg as well: "On the Sundays when prisoners did not have to work, the SS ordered them into the courtyard. Prisoners had to collect small rocks in buckets, but when a bucket was full, it was dumped out and the whole process began again. Those who didn't work quickly enough risked a beating."[6] Inside the camp, the only protection against bombing raids was a trench dug out of the earth, with a makeshift cover over it. According to residents in the area, the SS even hindered prisoners from using these trenches. These neighbors themselves felt the camp endangered them, since during night bombing raids, the camp remained brightly lit in order to prevent escapes.[7]

The prisoners also were punished for acts committed by corrupt SS who enriched themselves on goods retrieved from the rubble. In cleaning up the rubble from a Duisburg *Gymnasium* (state-maintained secondary scheme), for example, bottles stored in the city's wine cellar underneath it

disappeared—according to a former prisoner, they were stolen by SS men. However, a police officer investigating the loss accused three Russian prisoners of the theft, and they were sent back to Sachsenhausen and were said to have been hanged there.[8]

Three members of the SS-Baubrigade I, all German, are buried in Duisburg.[9] There are no exact numbers for others who died. The SS-Baubrigade I began withdrawing from Duisburg during February of 1943. One small group of prisoners was taken to Düsseldorf on February 19 and, together with prisoners already there, left three days later in freight cars heading to the British Channel Island of Alderney. Some 342 prisoners remained in Duisburg-Meiderich and were then integrated into the SS-Baubrigade III on February 21 in Cologne, thus coming under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp.[10]

The first systematic investigations began in the 1970s, though the State Prosecutor in Ludwigsburg responsible for the investigations found insufficient evidence to justify a prosecution. Only the camp elder from Duisburg, Adolf Fehrenbacher, was sentenced to a multiyear jail term for the crimes he committed later in the war.

SOURCES In the early 1980s, a trade union youth group composed of Gymnasium pupils drew attention to the fact that a subcamp of a concentration camp had existed in Duisburg during World War II. That initiative led to a publication in 1986 of their research and survey results, though this long remained the only (and difficult to obtain) information about the SS-Baubrigade I camp: see Eric Hannoschöck, et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986); Annelie Klother, "Wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg," in *Tatort Duisburg 1933–45. Widerstand und Verfolgung im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Rudolf Tappe and Manfred Tietz (Essen: Klartext, 1993), 2:634–637. It would only be much later that a proper examination of the camp history, correcting some previously incorrectly interpreted data, would follow: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The ASt-DU hold only a few sources (Bestand 600, Bauverwaltungsamt). As the Duisburg subcamp was only a subsidiary camp of the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, it did not feature significantly in postwar investigations by the ZdL (IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77), now BA-L.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Verfügungen des Amtes für Sofortmassnahmen 1942–1945, ASt-DU, 600/794.
2. See Sollbuch des Amtes für Sofortmassnahmen 1943, in ibid., 600/865.
3. SS-WVHA Ch. C 10/10Dr. Ka/Sei., November 25, 1942, in BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 16.
4. Statement by Mr. N., an eyewitness, in Eric Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986), p. 14.
5. Heinrich Averdunk and Walter Ring, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, new ed. by Walter Ring (Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1949), p. 343.
6. Statement by Mrs. W., an eyewitness, in Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen*, p. 9.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. Report by Reinhold M., April 24, 1966, in BA-L, 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 133.
9. List of Concentration Camp victims buried in Duisburg, ASt-DU, 607/266.
10. SS-BB III, Übernahmemeldung vom 24.2.1943, in ThHStA-W KZ Buchenwald, Nr. 9, p. 383.

DÜSSELDORF (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB III)

On July 19, 1943, 120 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade III were brought from the Duisburg subcamp to Düsseldorf in order to be deployed by order of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to retrieve unexploded bombs.[1] The deployment of prisoners for demolition squads by the SS-Baubrigade III stationed in Cologne was due to an order by Heinrich Himmler. In the face of the high number of fatalities of firemen and members of the security and rescue services in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler advised the offices responsible for the removal of unexploded bombs on November 3, 1942, to follow an order by Adolf Hitler dating back to October 1940. According to that order, the dangerous exposure and removal of unexploded bombs was "in all cases as far as possible" to be done by inmates from prisons or concentration camps. The senior commanders of the Order Police were responsible for the quarters, food, and further security of the prisoners.[2] A few days later, Amtsgruppe D instructed the commanders of the concentration camps to hold appropriate groups of prisoners ready. In those concentration camps that had organized construction brigades, prisoners were to be taken from these camps.[3] Another factor in the decision was that the Royal Air Force, in the early summer of 1943, had dropped an increasing number of bombs with delayed fuses in the Rhineland and Westphalia. The removal of these fuses was extremely dangerous.

The prisoners were accommodated in a school building at Kirchfeldstrasse 74-80 in that part of the city known as Friedrichstadt. A month earlier, 50 prisoners from the "Kalkum" detonation squad had been quartered there. On June 30, 1943, Wasil Bliznjuk (born in 1921) and Semjon Plushnikow (born in 1911) were killed while digging out unexploded bombs.[4] The remaining 118 prisoners remained at Kirchfeldstrasse until August 23, 1943.[5] Thereafter, the camp appears to have been dissolved—presumably the prisoners were returned to the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III.

SOURCES There is no available research into this camp, which existed for only five weeks. The prisoners of this bomb search squad have not been given any attention because the buildings at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 were used for a long time

to accommodate the Buchenwald subcamps Kalkum and Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statistics—Prisoner Deployment, June 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, June 1943.
2. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StA-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WHVA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman, Nr. 34.
4. SS-BB III, July 1, 1943, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 34.
5. Statistics—Prisoner Deployment, August 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227.

DÜSSELDORF (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was one of the first generation of construction brigades, sent by Heinrich Himmler into the destroyed cities of western and northwestern Germany. On October 13, 1942, 1,000 prisoners marched from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to the Oranienburg railway station. Two days later, they arrived at Duisburg. There the detachment was divided: 400 prisoners remained in Duisburg, while 600 prisoners on October 20, 1942, proceeded to Düsseldorf.

The SS-Baubrigade I took up quarters in an undeveloped area at Stoffeler Kapellenweg, district Stoffeln, Düsseldorf. There the Düsseldorf Road Construction Authority had already commenced construction of barracks for the accommodation of prisoners. Next to where the hotel present-day Haus Kolvenbach is to be found was the barracks camp. Housing did not adjoin the site, but a public park used frequently for recreation was not far away, and next to the camp, there were the Stoffeln Cemetery and small garden plots.

The commander of the SS-Baubrigade I was Maximilian List.[1] He was born on February 9, 1902, in Munich, where he graduated in 1930 from the Higher Technical College as a building engineer. In February 1937, he began his career with the SS-Construction Office. From August 1941 he commanded the SS-Building Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) Ostland at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Riga, until September 25, 1942 when he was recalled to take command of the SS-Baubrigade I. List is seldom mentioned in surviving prisoners' reports; instead, SS men from Amtsgruppe D under his command are emphasized. Admittedly though, a former prisoner holds List responsible for the terror at work that reigned in the construction brigade: "On instruction of Hauptsturmführer (Captain) List, they [the prisoners] were forced to the workplace by all means possible, including beatings. Those who could not walk were beaten, as were the comrades who suffered from diarrhea. When these frail prisoners were driven into the camp in the evening, the SS, with Hauptsturmführer List at the head, had only a smile to spare for them."[2]

List administered the construction brigades' camps in Düsseldorf and Duisburg with a staff structured in a way similar to the concentration camps' headquarters. Deputy Commander and head of both camps was SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Klebeck, who was in charge of prisoner security, accommodations, and supplies. At both locations, additional camp leaders, work commanders, and commanders of the guards were instrumental in determining the atmosphere of the camps. In Düsseldorf there were SS-Unterscharführer Roland Puhr (the camp's deputy commander), SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Högelow (commander of the guard), and Kurt Wittwer (commander of the labor detachments). All three remained with the construction brigade when it was transferred in February 1943 to Alderney. All three, as well as Klebeck, were charged on numerous counts of unlawful killing after the war. Wittwer, by trade a bricklayer and builder of stoves and a member of the SS since 1932, was feared in his role as construction foreman: "Everyone trembled when he came. He was ruthless with the prisoners and did not even spare the sick."[3] After the war, Wittwer in turn described Puhr, who was the subject of investigations regarding a number of murder charges, as a totally brutal and scheming person.[4] Högelow was repeatedly described as a "political fanatic" who mistreated prisoners for slight reasons and who also participated in shootings.[5] The SS guards were reinforced by local police working in the field.

The prisoners, most of them Soviet and Polish nationals, had to march daily into the city, where they had to clear rubble from the city. More than 100 deaths are known. Notwithstanding the deaths, there must have been a constant supply of new prisoners because the brigade's strength, at the time of its withdrawal from the city, was stated as 600.[6] The use of the prisoners was under the direction of the city's Air Protection Office, Labor Assignment Department. It was responsible for the "recruitment of German and foreign laborers of every type" and for their distribution, accommodation, food, and payment.[7] The importance of the quota of prisoners for cleaning up the city is apparent, because the prisoners represent nearly one-fifth of the 3,300-strong labor force that was available for this work in January 1943.[8]

Germans living in the vicinity of the camp could see how the prisoners, under blows, shifted earth from one place to another and back again. The neighborhood could see how the SS men threw rocks at the prisoners and how prisoners were pushed from the roof of a barrack, and the residents could hear screams and shots at night. It was soon generally known that after work the prisoners were punished in the camp by the SS men. Repeatedly, residents in the neighborhood saw dead prisoners.

To see the debilitated prisoners became an everyday occurrence also for the rest of the population. However, as Emil Pascha reported, in a few cases it seems to have generated a shocklike reaction: "As the overcrowded train slowly went past you could not help but see the faces of those miserable

yellow-tainted people, their skulls shaved close, nothing but skin and bones. Their appearance was shattering—the passengers slowly turned their faces in silence and the women wiped their tears."[9]

Even when there was an initial desire to help, people preferred to stay away from the camp fence and the prisoners. According to Heinz Zimmermann, who was then 14 years old: "The prisoners swayed more than they were walking. They were closely guarded by SS guards. Not one of us, including our mothers, dared to give food to the prisoners. We were too scared."[10] Few bystanders registered the reality of conditions in the concentration camps. The limits of perception are reflected by Emil Barth in his diary entry on the camp: "I will never forget that human community is based on violence and suffering. But it is demoralizing to look eye to eye with the victims—victims who, not to mention the innocent, agonizingly force the question whether or not, even with the individual case of perfect guilt, guilt is acquitted with guilt."[11]

Heavy labor, hunger, and violence were the main causes for the 111 deaths, registered in the first five months of the existence of the SS-Baubrigade I Düsseldorf. Embezzlement resulted in minimal food rations. According to Alfons Kupka, a former prisoner, "[T]he food was extraordinarily poor. . . . Roll Call Leader Puhr with the help of the cook expropriated food so that the physical constitution of the whole detachment was very poor; almost all had degenerated to 'Muslims' [*Muselmänner*]."[12] Sick and enfeebled prisoners received no medical care. Despite their condition, they had to go to work. In the evenings, the weakest were mistreated and were often forced during the winter of 1942–1943 to spend the nights outdoors. Two SS members, Puhr and Wittwer, were later accused of deliberately killing prisoners.

Dr. Albermann was the SS doctor for the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf. He completed the death certificates so that the deaths could not be construed as occurring due to violent crimes. Only in 6 cases are deaths by tuberculosis or septicemia recorded in the cremation records at the Düsseldorf-Stoffeln Cemetery. In all the other more than 100 cases, deaths were recorded as being due to "circulatory weakness," "heart seizure," or "heart attack."[13] It did not escape Julian von Tempski, senior city inspector at the Stoffeln Cemetery in charge of the supervision of cremations, that the death certificates did not match reality. He stated as early as May 1946, "Among the dead were many who had been shot or hung. In most cases, death certificates were prepared stating that the relevant person had died from a weak heart or heart seizure and the like."[14]

A rather large group of around 55 Jehovah's Witnesses were assigned to SS-Baubrigade I. Some of them had been in the Sachsenhausen Punishment Detail because they had regularly gathered together in the "Bible Researchers" blocks.[15] They were able to make contact with fellow female believers in the city just a few days after their arrival in Düsseldorf. The women brought them food at the construction sites, and by this means they were able to send letters to their relatives.[16] These connections were either not noticed by the SS and police guards or were silently tolerated. It was generally known that Jehovah's Witnesses, because of their religious convictions, would not attempt to escape from concentration camps. One Jehovah's Witness stated that in the camp they were singled out for torture by the Kapos. The Kapos soon fell out among themselves and one by one drove each other to their deaths.[17] Not one of the 111 dead of the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf was a Jehovah's Witness, which can be partly explained by the strong sense of solidarity among the Jehovah's Witnesses and their complete isolation from camp corruption.

The SS-Baubrigade I was withdrawn from Düsseldorf on February 22, 1943. None of those responsible for crimes committed in Düsseldorf were convicted after the war.

SOURCES For his book *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988), on the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, Andreas Kussmann interviewed former inhabitants of the camp neighborhood. While especially these sources gave a graphic picture of the reaction of the neighborhood, the organizational connections of the subcamp to the city bureaucracy are explored in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The most important of the dispersed sources are the investigations IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77 in the BA-L. The ASt-Dü, inventory IV, contains records of the Building Administration. A copy of a list of the dead of the SS-Baubrigade I survived in the Düsseldorf Cemetery Administration. It is printed in Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, pp. 202–211.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BDC/RS and BDC/SSO, BA-B.
2. Cited by Andreas Kussmann, *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988), p. 108.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 91.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. See "Darstellung der Arbeitskräfte für Sofortmassnahmen und Luftschutzbauten," ASt-Dü, IV 877.
7. Mitteilung der Stadtverwaltung Düsseldorf 9 (1942), Nr. 12, p. 84, "Massnahmen der Stadt Düsseldorf zur Behebung von Notständen nach Fliegerangriffen," ASt-Dü, IV 481.
8. See "Stand der Arbeitskräfte für Sofortmassnahmen und Luftschutzbauten," ASt-Dü, IV 877 and VII 1486.
9. Cited by Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 181.
10. Ibid., p. 190.
11. Emil Barth, *Lemuria. Aufzeichnungen und Meditationen* (Hamburg: Claassen & Goverts, 1947), pp. 90–91.
12. Report by Alfons Kupka, September 8, 1947, AG-S, IV/26.

13. See the list in Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 202; BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 916–918.
14. BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, vol. 4.
15. See a report by a former prisoner dated April 17, 1950, BA-L, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 246.
16. Report by Helmut Knöller, AG-NG, Nr. 1317.
17. Ibid.

ELLRICH (BUCHENWALD, SACHSENHAUSEN, AND MITTELBAU) (SS-BB IV)

The SS-Baubrigade IV was stationed from May 1944 to April 1945 in Ellrich, a small village in the Harz Mountains. As with the SS-Baubrigade III, which was also at the same time transferred from the West to Wieda in the Harz, the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade IV were to be deployed, on the orders of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) (Amt C), to construct a new railroad track. This railroad line ran through the Helme Valley. It was about 22 kilometers (13.7 miles) long and was designed to relieve the railroad connection between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. The SS-Baubrigade IV was assigned to the eastern construction zone.

The SS-Baubrigade IV, which had been transferred from Wuppertal, began work with 529 prisoners at Ellrich on May 17, 1944; 300 additional prisoners, mostly French, were transferred on June 7 from Buchenwald to the construction brigade. There were 826 prisoners on October 28, 1944, following the camp's administrative assignment to the newly founded concentration camp at Mittelbau. The camp reached a peak with approximately 1,240 prisoners on January 15, 1945, once the Sachsenhausen concentration camp assumed administrative responsibility.[1] Both changes in affiliation to a main camp did not alter the location or the type of deployment of the SS-Baubrigade IV. Mittelbau used for it the pseudonym "Erich II," distinguishing it from the camp in the same town known as Ellrich-Juliushütte (Erich I).

The rooms of the Bürgergarten Inn, once a well-known restaurant, served as living quarters. However, only a small number of prisoners were quartered there. The administration and the kitchen were located at the Ellrich camp; the largest group of the prisoners lived in a subcamp in Günzerode and were led from there to the railroad line to work. For the time being, Otto Diembt, who had been in charge at Wuppertal, remained the head of SS-Baubrigade IV. Moreover, several known SS men were part of the guard detail as well as Luftwaffe soldiers, who were taken over by the SS in the summer of 1944.

The conditions of the SS-Baubrigade IV were particularly affected by the gradual change in control to the Buchenwald subcamp Dora. From about the middle of June 1944, this camp, the largest Buchenwald subcamp in the spring of 1944, step-by-step took over the functions of the main camp. The conditions in the camps, which were controlled by the newly founded Mittelbau concentration camp in October 1944, were significantly worse than the conditions under which the SS-Baubrigade IV prisoners had to live in Wuppertal. It is noteworthy that the camp commander, Diembt, tried to check the increased likelihood of death on the prisoners that followed the Mittelbau incorporation. Former prisoners have testified that Diembt, as in Wuppertal, also behaved properly in Ellrich, arranged for the conditions in the camp to be bearable, obtained additional vegetables for the prisoners from nearby farmers, and admonished civilians who beat the prisoners while at work.[2]

The SS-Baubrigade IV had an especially close connection with the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp. The Ellrich-Juliushütte camp in close proximity cast a shadow also on the lives of the construction brigade prisoners. The prisoners had heard, in part from the local population and in part from Diembt, that the conditions were very brutal in this camp.[3] Emil W., who worked in the office of the construction brigade, had to enter Erich I more than once. In doing so, he saw many corpses, consisting of only skin and bones, in the filthy camp, which was on the grounds of a former factory. According to Emil W., the conditions were "difficult to describe in words" and "the most gruesome that I have ever seen in my life."[4] There was discussion in the construction brigade that prisoners in Ellrich-Juliushütte were shot for the smallest trifling. It was made clear to the prisoners by Diembt that he distanced himself from what was happening in Erich I. Emil W. stated that "his aversion to the nearby commanderships and rejecting any communication with them was generally known."[5]

It also appears that Diembt prevented prisoners of his construction brigade from being transferred to Dora. The judgment delivered by the denazification court on Otto Diembt on April 2, 1948, states: "The situation in the camp in Ellrich became even more precarious, since there was a second subcamp where prisoners were miserably treated and where severe failures were noted. Moreover, [in] nearby Nordhausen there was the infamous camp Dora. The commandant of this camp tried to prompt his superior authority to deploy the accused's prisoners, on account of their visible healthier condition, in the underground ordnance factory at Nordhausen. The accused was able to frustrate the attempt."[6]

It is not possible to verify these statements concerning the death rate in Ellrich with verifiable data. Three prisoners died prior to Mittelbau officially assuming control in October 1944.[7] There are no reliable records after this date. Robert Rousseau, a former French prisoner, called Ellrich an "infamous camp" in which "countless French died."[8]

According to a statement made by Diembt in 1963, the dispute he had with the commandant of the Mittelbau concentration camp at the beginning of 1945 also centered on the question of a possible evacuation of the camp. He then stated that he did not want to evacuate the camp but to hand it over "after the collapse." This is said to be the reason for his removal on January 31, 1945.[9] Officially, his removal was based on "irregularities in caring for troops and prisoners."[10] Diembt was promoted the day before his dismissal to SS-Obersturmführer, posted to Mittelbau, and from there to

Neuengamme. In March 1945, he took command of a company known as Kampfgruppe (Battle Group) Dusenschön in Schleswig-Holstein.

Diembt's successor was SS-Untersturmführer Erich Scholz, who was born on May 18, 1911, in Tarnowitz, Upper Silesia. He studied architecture in Berlin and since August 1940 had been a member of the SS-Main Office of Finance and Construction. In September 1942, he was transferred from the WVHA to the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions. There he was an adjutant to the Armaments Delivery Office of SS-Brigadeführer Staatsrat Walther Schieber. It was from here that he was transferred on February 1, 1945, to the SS-Baubrigade IV.[11] Former German prisoners explicitly described Scholz immediately after the war as well as later as very human. Of central significance for this predominantly positive assessment of the survivors was his behavior during the dissolution of the camp in April 1945.

Indeed, the evacuation of the camp of the SS-Baubrigade IV in the spring of 1945 was atypical. Former prisoners stated that Scholz discussed all questions regarding the evacuation in "a downright comradely manner" with them and tried to save their lives.[12] Scholz tried in the last days of the war to obtain the confidence of a few of the prisoners. However, his concern for the well-being of the prisoners neither included a group of about 200 Jewish prisoners, who in the last days of the war were transferred from the SS-Baubrigade III to Ellrich, nor those incapable of marching. He is said to have made these prisoners available for the infamous "Transport Brauny," which in the night of April 6–7, 1945, gathered together in the camps of Mittelbau the last prisoners incapable of marching. According to both Scholz and survivors, he was forced by the commander in charge of the city of Nordhausen to commence his decampment. In any event, Scholz delayed the evacuation as long as possible since the SS-Baubrigade IV was the last of the Mittelbau subcamps to leave its station.

After the remaining prisoners from Günzerode had marched to Ellrich, a group of roughly 1,000 prisoners and their guards set off on April 10, 1945. According to Scholz and survivors, no one was killed on the four-day march through the Harz. The SS-Baubrigade IV, its numbers decimated by escapes, reached Güntersberge on April 14, 1945. There, Scholz issued to all prisoners, who asked for it, a "Release from Protective Custody" form. He also formally discharged the SS guards. The SS-Baubrigade IV was thus dissolved. Most of the prisoners left. Scholz and a handful of SS men with a convoy of about 20 prisoners surrendered the next day to the Americans.

If one takes into consideration only the SS-Baubrigade IV prisoners forced to march, then the estimate by Joachim Neander that 50 of the 1,000 prisoners died in the Harz, immediately after the liberation, appears to be realistic. Compared with other marches in this region, the march of SS-Baubrigade IV had by far the lowest death rate. However, if one takes into account those approximately 300 Jewish or sick prisoners whom Scholz is said to have handed over to Transport Brauny and who then were massacred at Gardelegen, then every fourth prisoner died.[13] There is no doubt that Scholz behaved comparatively correct with the remaining prisoners; whether that was out of conviction or consideration of his impending imprisonment may be left aside. Of note is that amid the chaos in the last days of the war, it was possible to hand to the Allies alive a large group of prisoners, even if this was knowingly done only in exceptional cases.

SOURCES See especially Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994); Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion, ed., *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945* (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000); and Joachim Neander, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Mittelbau' in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur. Zur Geschichte des letzten im 'Dritten Reich' gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers under besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase" (Ph.D. diss., Bremen University, 1996)—these have all rendered outstanding service to research the SS-Baubrigade IV in the Harz. Karola Fings's *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005) concentrates on the particular situation of the SS-Baubrigade within the context of the Mittelbau concentration camp. These works also contain references to the postwar report of Erich Scholz and reports of survivors, which, in part, are held by the AG-MD. Here are also kept copies of transport lists from Warsaw (Buchenwald Concentration Camp No. 36, Mittelbau Concentration Camp, No. 9). Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000), has also made use of the records of the early Dora Trials at NARA. The BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 69/72) holds the files of the inquiry into the SS-Baubrigade IV. Of importance are, moreover, the sources held by THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, KZ Buchenwald and Prisons).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Work statistics May–July 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 81, 112, 136a, 149; transport lists, June 6, 1944 (incorrectly dated July), AG-B, 59–110, vol. 2.

2. Emil W., May 23, 1967, Albert M., December 19, 1967; Richard O., January 21, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z, pp. 96–100, 104–106, 179R; Theodor E., January 29, 1947, BA-K, Z42 V/608.

3. Richard O., October 11, 1967, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 101–103.

4. Emil W., May 23, 1967, ibid., pp. 99–100.

5. Emil W., February 6, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608.

6. Hiddesen De-Nazification Court, April 2, 1948, ibid.

7. August 18, September 17, October 3, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

8. See the text that accompanies his drawing of the Bürgergarten Inn, 1986, printed in "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda

sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 98.

9. Otto Dienst, August 29, 1963, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 90.

10. Erich Scholz, May 8, 1972, in ibid., pp. 301–303.

11. Ibid.; as well as BDC/RS, SSO, RKK, in BA-B.

12. Erich H., Erich K., Ernst Sp., Josef Sch., April 18, 1945, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 215–216.

13. See Joachim Neander, "Die Evakuierung der Lager der SS-Baubrigaden III und IV im April 1945," in Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche, *Bau der Helmetalbahn*, pp. 134–159.

FERCH (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB II)

The SS-Baubrigade II, which was stationed in Berlin starting in April 1944, had a subcamp located in Ferch (County Potsdam-Mittelmark). It is mentioned in a list of the guards of the SS-Baubrigade II as of January 10, 1945. SS-Unterscharführer Erich Schmidt is listed as the only guard.[1] Apparently, Schmidt remained in Berlin even after the SS-Baubrigade II, including his detachment, was transferred to Nürnberg on February 25, 1945.[2]

Perhaps the SS-Baubrigade II prisoners were assigned to a camp of the SS-Construction Management, which is believed to have existed with 180 prisoners in Ferch in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES As investigations by the ZdL in 1973 (IV 406 AR 596/73), held at BA-L, were inconclusive, no additional information is available on this subcamp.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB II, January 10, 1945, RGVA, Moscow, 1367/1/14, pp. 32–36.

2. Ibid., March 30, 1945, p. 36

GÜNZERODE (BUCHENWALD, SACHSENHAUSEN, AND MITTELBAU) (SS-BB IV)

From the summer of 1944 until April 1945, in the small village of Günzerode in the Harz Mountains, there existed a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade IV stationed in Ellrich. While the administration and kitchen for the construction brigade were located in Ellrich, up to 800 prisoners were quartered in Günzerode to be deployed for the construction of a new railway line. This so-called Helme Valley Railway (Helmetalbahn) was a subsidiary line designed to relieve the traffic on the western line from Nordhausen to Osterhagen.

The camp was probably constructed in the middle of July 1944. René Morel, a survivor of the camp, stated in 1998:

> Fifty-four years ago I was in Günzerode on the construction ground of the strategic railway line. . . . It was very heavy forced labor carried out with picks and shovels. I arrived in Günzerode on July 15 and stayed there for one hundred and twenty-four days. There were six hundred prisoners—about two hundred French, two hundred Russians, two hundred Poles, a few Czechs, and one Greek. We slept in three-level bunk beds on a sheep farm in the southern part of the village. It had been fixed up to be a small concentration camp. There were no barracks. We consisted of five work squads, each of one hundred or two hundred prisoners, and a detachment of twenty prisoners, who worked as electricians. . . . The Construction Brigade was constantly reinforced by further prisoner transports. A large number of prisoners died from diseases or mistreatment and the ranks had to be replenished.[1]

The conditions of the Günzerode subcamp were clearly worse than those in Ellrich. This, in part, is due to lack of medical care and also the inferior food supply. In addition, there was the heavy and debilitating work. Morel, who was 16 when he was arrested, made a statement about the work conditions: "We walked [to work] and as we did not pass through any villages we did not have to march. . . . We rose at 5.00 am; work began at 6.00 am. . . . In the autumn of 1944 it rained every day. The Helmetal flooded until November, and therefore our clothes were always wet. As the machines got dirtier and dirtier they also ceased to function properly. I cut open my shoes as my feet were always bleeding; I was still growing."[2]

The Günzerode camp commander was an SS-Hauptscharführer. The remaining guards consisted of a few SS men and Luftwaffe soldiers. Unlike at Ellrich, where a German Communist as the camp elder had tried to improve conditions to the level of being somewhat bearable, survivors comment only negatively about the prisoner-functionaries in Günzerode. Morel describes a Communist from Mainz as brutal. Paul Dubois also reports on corrupt prisoner-functionaries in Günzerode, "It is obvious that these pillars of the Nazi regime, despite the fact that they had been arrested, acted like bandits and lived like princes, well fed, while we died from hunger and cold."[3]

Little is known about deaths in the Günzerode camp. This is due to the lack of research and poor documentation. It is known that immediately after liberation survivors accused Ulrich Holz, born on March 22, 1922, in Altenfliess, of murdering the Polish prisoner Edward Sokolowski. A witness describes the crime as follows: "On February 15, 1945, the prisoner fled our Günzerode subcamp. He was discovered the next day in our barn at the Flaries mill near Günzerode. The prisoner, who knelt before SS-Oberscharführer Holz with raised hands, was shot in the head by him from above (Proof: the confirmed entry wound) at a distance of about three paces. Neither had the prisoner resisted his capture nor had he tried to escape. It is noticed, as a description of Holz, that he had already previously refused to sign a notice that prisoners were no longer to be beaten."[4]

The camp in Günzerode was gradually dissolved between March 23 and April 10, 1945, by transferring prisoner groups to Ellrich. There, at noon on that last day, the SS-Baubrigade IV began the evacuation march.

Investigations into Holz commenced in the 1970s but were halted on October 26, 1973, by the Limburg State Court, on the basis that there was insufficient evidence for a conviction.[5]

SOURCES The following sources can serve as bases for further research on the Günzerode camp: Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Cited in Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 94.
2. Ibid., p. 95.
3. Paul Dubois, May 4, 1945, in NARA, M-1079 Roll 2, p. 33, cited in Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001), p. 442.
4. Erich H., Erich K., Ernst Sp., Josef Sch., April 18, 1945, BA-L, IV AR-Z 69/72, p. 215.
5. Landgericht Limburg, October 26, 1973, ibid., p. 372.

HAMBURG (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

Between July 25 and August 3, 1943, the Royal Air Force and the U.S. Air Force reduced the city of Hamburg to rubble during four nighttime and two daylight bombing raids. In barely a week, 34,000 people were killed, which was almost as many as had been killed to date by aerial warfare in the whole of Germany. Another 125,000 were injured, and more than half of all the homes in Hamburg were destroyed.[1] On August 7, following this series of attacks, which are known in the literature as "Operation Gomorrah," the majority of the SS-Baubrigade II was transferred from Bremen to Hamburg for cleanup operations.[2] Hamburg remained the main center of operations of the SS-Baubrigade II until it was transferred to Berlin in April 1944. The Bremen camp was administered as a subcamp.



Under SS guard, prisoners from SS-Baubrigade II clear rubble in the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg after the Allied raids of the previous month, August 1943.
USHMM WS # 79115, StA-HH

Once in Hamburg, the construction brigade was reinforced so that, in August, 930 prisoners could be deployed. The prisoners came, in part from the Wilhelmshaven subcamp, directly from Neuengamme, or from a bomb explosives squad stationed at the Fuhlsbüttel prison.[3] The SS commander was at first Gerhard Weigel. He was replaced in March 1944 by Johann Karger [see Bremen (SS-BB II)]. The SS guards were reinforced with local police assistants.

The SS-Baubrigade II was stationed in the "Dead Zone," which encompassed parts of the heavily destroyed city areas of Hammerbrook, Hamm-South, and Rothenburgsort, and which, in accordance with the instructions of Hamburger Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann, had been cordoned off.[4] The largest part of the construction brigade was temporarily accommodated in a bunker at Süderstrasse 301. For a few weeks the construction brigade used the enclosed swimming baths at the corner of Süderstrasse and Heidenkampsweg as additional accommodations. The prisoners were fed at the swimming baths and left from there for work. In the evening, they returned first of all to the baths where they were fed and roll call took place. The bunker in Süderstrasse was where the prisoners slept.[5]

At a later date, the whole construction brigade was quartered in former classrooms on the first floor of the elementary school at Brackdamm 14/16.[6] The move appears to have taken place during November 1943, as the pastor at the Stephan-Kempe-Church in the Dead Zone, Heinrich Dahmlos, made the following note on November 29, 1943: "The entire area around the Stephan-Kempe-Church is still sealed off until today. Not a soul lives in the area other than the political and criminal prisoners who are quartered in the school on Brackdamm and who store their supplies of vegetables in the public shelter underneath the church."[7]

The first task of the SS-Baubrigade II was to seal off the areas declared as part of the Dead Zone. According to a report of the SS-Business Administration Main Office

(WVHA), the prisoners erected a 650-meter (711-yard) wall and 1,900 meters (2,078 yards) of barbed wire to block the streets.[8] The prisoners' work is recorded in three photographs, which were probably taken at the request of the Police Commissioner. Signs indicated that the restricted area could only be entered with written permission from the police.[9]

Unlike in other cities, the Hamburg building administration did not direct the use of the prisoners but was merely occupied with allocating accommodations for them.[10] This is due to the particular situation in Hamburg following the mass attacks. Police Commissioner Hans Kehrl had requested 450 concentration camp prisoners from Neuengamme during the first attack, in order to deploy them for the especially unpleasant work of retrieving corpses and the dangerous task of removing unexploded bombs. As the city administration failed to retrieve corpses, the Repair Service of the Air Raid Protection Police assumed this task. The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II were also part of the Chief of Police's "Auxiliary Force." They are said to have been deployed in accordance with instructions of the Air Raid Protection Police.[11]

Once the prisoners sealed the Dead Zone, they were initially occupied with the essential task of recovering corpses, which were present in their thousands in the burned-out area. In the summer heat, the prisoners recovered the already bloated corpses, pulled them from the canals, sorted the body parts, and laid them out to be taken away. This was horrible work. According to Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, their "hair stood on end."[12] There is a series of photos that records this work. It shows the SS and Police guards supervising the work from a proper distance.[13] The recovery of bodies remained the main task of the construction brigade for a long time. According to reports of the WVHA, by the end of September 1943 the prisoners had buried a third of the bomb victims of Hamburg. In January 1944, the Repair Service was still looking for more than 5,000 bodies under the rubble. Some 57 recovery squads were deployed to recover the bodies. The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II formed 37 of these squads. One month later, 40 of the 45 squads consisted of concentration camp prisoners.[14] One detachment, initially consisting of 20 but later 80 prisoners, worked at the Ohlsdorf Cemetery and either dug mass graves or unloaded and transported the bodies that came from the city.[15]

In addition, recovery detachments were also used to secure building material and also supplies such as items of furniture and clothing and items of value. The resultant corruption and misappropriation came to the attention of the Berlin authorities.[16] In the course of time, according to one survivor, 48 railway carriages, filled with cars, radios, typewriters, clothes, alcohol, furs, and other objects, were moved illegally to Berlin from Hamburg by the SS-Baubrigade II.[17] This cannot have been the only case of private racketeering, but it is an example of robbery on a grand scale, protected at the highest level. A note in a report, which was sent by Hans Kammler (Head of Amt C of the WHVA) to Heinrich Himmler in April 1944, supports this conclusion. There it is stated: "Some of the valuable items recovered from the destroyed houses and factories have been made available in the Neuengamme concentration camp to the Central Building Administration and Amt W I."[18]

The deployment of the construction brigade in Hamburg meant for the Neuengamme concentration camp prisoners a partial breakdown of their isolation. A report of the Neuengamme camp association states: "Many of the Neuengamme prisoners' connections with the Hamburg population originate also from the period 1943/44. During this time different resistance groups kept contact with the anti-Fascist groups within the camp. The prisoners of war and the forced laborers, above all, made contacts. Leaflets arrived at the camp, assistance was organized, news was exchanged—without which organized resistance would not have been possible."[19] It was possible for individual prisoners from the construction brigade to escape. Thus, in April 1944, the camp elder, Karl W., thanks to the help of a guard and a resistance group consisting of workers from Blohm & Voss, was able to flee.[20]

There are limited details on the number of deaths in the camp of the SS-Baubrigade II in Hamburg. In the death lists of the Neuengamme infirmary, there are 4 entries for the period from August 1943 to April 1944, which referred to the SS-Baubrigade II in Hamburg. According to this list, 23-year-old Pole Rydszard Nowak was executed there on October 1, 1943. Another Pole, Franciszek Kubiak, died from a fractured skull in November. In addition, a German and Belgian prisoner died, respectively, in December 1943 and March 1944.[21] When compared with other camps, 4 deaths in a detachment that at least in August 1943 consisted of around 930 and for the first quarter of 1944 had an average of 772 prisoners is a small number. It is true that the "death books" are in general not a reliable source, but the numbers are supported by statements of former prisoners. The Kapos were for the most part political prisoners who "properly did their duty."[22] The ability to obtain supplies from the rubble was also of considerable significance for the prisoners.

After the war, several prisoners accused SS members of the construction brigade of throwing gas bombs into the shelters with the aim of killing and robbing the occupants. Due to these accusations, preliminary proceedings were commenced in 1948 against Johann Karger in Hamburg. The results are not known as the files were destroyed by the Hamburg State Prosecutor before the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) became interested in the SS-Baubrigade II.[23] Gerhard Weigel was also never the subject of any legal proceedings. In Hamburg, there is nothing that commemorates the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II.

SOURCES Despite the comparatively good primary sources, it was only relatively late that the Hamburg SS-Baubrigade II became the subject of research; see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Previously, a few photographs and documents as part of an exhibition had been shown in Neuengamme and printed in Ulrich Bauche et al., eds., *Arbeit und Vernichtung. Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945.*

Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumenthaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg: Aussenstelle des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1990), pp. 219–224.

It is true that there is no complete collection of sources, but contemporary documents are infrequently to be found in the StA-HH, above all in the collections Baudeputation (321-2), Baubehörde I (321-3-1), Architect Gutschow (322-3), Polizeibehörde (331-1), and Senatskanzlei (131-2, 131-3). The WVHA Reports on the construction brigade are held by the BA-B (NS 19/14). Of particular significance are the judicial files of the BA-L (IV 406 AR 245/69) and the reports of former prisoners in the archives of the AG-NG and the FGNS-H (Hans Schwarz Archive).

On the impact of the bombings of Hamburg, see Ursula Büttner, "Hamburg im Luftkrieg. Die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Folgen des 'Unternehmens Gomorrah,'" in *Städte im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Ein internationaler Vergleich*, ed. Marlene P. Hiller, Eberhard Jäckel, and Jürgen Rohwer (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1991), pp. 272–298.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Geheimbericht des hamburgischen Polizeipräsidenten über die schweren Luftangriffe auf Hamburg im Juli/August 1943, StA-HH, 731-6/I.

2. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 26–27.

3. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 242–244; Günther R., March 20, 1975, ibid., IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 820–822; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, ibid., IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148.

4. Senatskanzlei, Protokoll, August 11 and 12, 1943, StA-HH, 131-2/B 3; Architect Gutschow, minutes of a meeting held on August 9 and 11, 1943, ibid., 322-3/B 8.

5. Cemetery Administration, August 24, 1943, and September 24, 1943, StA-HH, Cemetery Administration 58; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, ibid., IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148; Georg M., March 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2; Baudeputation, Monatsbericht October 1943, StA-HH, B321-2/B121; Günther R., March 20, 1974, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 820–822; Antoni Papiernik, September 8–9, 1991, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1573; Ernst B., February 28, 1946, BA-K, Y 5/V 279/70.

6. See Karl W., September 5, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-3; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148; Ernst F., April 18, 1950, in BA, BY 5/V 279/74.

7. Cited by Renate Hauschild-Thiessen, *Die Hamburger Katastrophe vom Sommer 1943 in Augenzeugenberichten* (Hamburg: Verlag Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1993), p. 97.

8. SS-WHVA, report November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 27–28.

9. P 52.858, P 52.859, P. 52860, StA-HH, 731-6, I/18 A 1 27.

10. Building Authority, monthly report October 1943, StA-HH, B 321-2/B 121.

11. Polizeipräsident, October 15, 1943, StA-HH, 331-1 I Polizeibehörde I/1144.

12. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1576.

13. Photographs in StA-HH, 731-6, I/3a, Part 2, Annexure 9, P. 19, Pictures 3 and 4.

14. Polizeibehörde, January 3 and March 1, 1944, StA-HH, 331-I, Polizeibehörde I/650.

15. Baudeputation, September 24, 1943, ibid., B321-2/B-122.

16. For more details, see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

17. Karl W., September 5, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-3.

18. SS-WHVA, 29.4.1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 41.

19. Report in FGNS-H, Estate of Hans Schwarz, 13-7-5-5.

20. Subcamp death reports, March 31, 1943, to March 17, 1944, FGNS-H, Estate of Hans Schwarz.

21. See BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p. 233. The proceedings in Hamburg had the reference 14 Js 262/48.

22. Georg M., March 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2.

23. See BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p.223. The proceedings were conducted in Hamburg with the reference 14 Js 262/48.

HESDIN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB V)

A subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade V stationed in Doullens existed in Hesdin, a small village in the northwest French region Pas-de-Calais, from March 1944 until probably August 1944. The camp housed between 500 and 600 prisoners who were to build a base for the V weapons (*Vergeltungswaffe*). They were accommodated in a Napoleonic cavalry barracks, La Frézelière, which was surrounded by a high wall and barbed wire. From here, work detachments were sent to an Organisation Todt (OT) camp in Bergueneuse and a camp in the vicinity of Mimoyecques.

A few details of the camp history are known, thanks to the memoirs of Tomasz Kiryłłow.[1] Kiryłłow, as a 17-year-old, was forcibly removed from White Russia for forced labor and, following an act of sabotage in a factory, was first transferred to a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*). From there he was then transported to Buchenwald. He was part of the second transport of the SS-Baubrigade V, which in March 1944 was sent to France via Cologne. As with many other prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V, he hoped to be able to escape there. He wrote the following about the departure from Cologne: "The screaming SS men drove us into the goods wagons. As usual there was very little space. Nevertheless, we were in good humour—we were travelling to France, the land of our dreams."[2]

In fact, the situation for the prisoners in France was significantly better than in Germany, because the population there openly showed their sympathy to the prisoners. On their arrival in Hesdin, during the march to the barracks, the population's support was obvious. Upon seeing them, someone yelled: "They are indeed thin, these unfortunates." French men and women questioned the prisoners and, once they had heard that they were political prisoners, brought them food. Kiryłłow wrote, "After work we returned along

Rue Farée. It seemed that in this street every inhabitant was our friend. Food packages were secretly thrown from windows and doors."[3]

The prisoners worked mostly in the surrounding forests, where they built bunkers and shelters. A smaller detachment was busy in a mechanical workshop in Hesdin, working with lathes and repairing vehicles. Kiryłłow described the work done in the forest as follows: "The sweat ran down my face. Above me stood an SS man. I loaded the barrow as quickly as I could, but the SS man was not satisfied. He asked me. 'Can't you work?' Obviously he did not like me. . . . Before the departure from Buchenwald I weighed forty-eight kilos [106 pounds]. The barrow laden with soil weighed definitely more than that. It was only my will that kept me on my feet."[4] Kiryłłow was spared, but a little later the same SS man shot his friend Piotr Majczenko.

In addition to the daily struggle for survival, the prisoners were mainly occupied with how to make contact with the French resistance and organize an escape. After a few prisoners had already escaped, the controls in the camp were tightened. The SS examined the prisoners for smuggled civilian clothes or searched for secret messages written in French. Once, when a note was found on a prisoner during a search on which was written in French a plea for food, the SS men beat the man to death. The camp elder, Heinz Schäfer, a Communist prisoner, was punished by the camp commander, by being sent to a bomb search detachment. According to the Buchenwald concentration camp "Death Book," Schäfer died on May 28, 1944, in Hesdin when a dud detonated.[5]

By this time, Kiryłłow had already escaped. He had managed to make contact with the commander of the resistance group Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français in Blangy-sur-Ternoise, Marcel Huleux. In the following weeks the group tried to help more prisoners escape from the camp. After the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade V from northwest France, Kiryłłow remained with the partisans in the country around Hesdin.

Sometime in August 1944, the subcamp was dissolved, and the prisoners, probably via Doullens, arrived back in Germany. They were distributed among various Buchenwald camps in the Harz Mountains. In October 1944, they were taken over by the newly built Mittelbau concentration camp.

SOURCES A small camp museum was established in Hesdin. There, among other things, are kept lists of the names of prisoners. Besides the memoirs of Tomasz Kiryłłow, "*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren.*" *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), the sources on the Doullens subcamp (BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald) offer starting points for further research.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Tomasz Kiryłłow, "*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren.*" *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), pp. 124–201.
2. Ibid., p. 127.
3. Ibid., p. 146.
4. Ibid., p. 134.
5. THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald and Prisons, Nr. 5, vol. 14.

HOHLSTEDT (MITTELBAU) (SS-BB I)

The camp in Hohlstedt, a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade I stationed in Sollstedt, was constructed in October 1944. About 200 prisoners were held at first in forest bunkers until they had constructed the barracks. Among the prisoners was a large group of former members of the Wehrmacht. The prisoners worked mostly for the German railways at the Sangershausen railway junction, but from time to time, they were engaged in other tasks. The guards were not only from the SS; some were armed members of the German railways.

The survivors of Hohlstedt recall particularly bad food, mistreatment at work, nightlong roll calls in the rain, the cold, and executions, above all of Polish and Soviet prisoners.

Around April 6, 1945, the prisoners at the Sollstedt camp were sent to Hohlstedt. The evacuation of the SS-Baubrigade I to the Mauthausen subcamp Steyr-Münichholz began a day later.

SOURCES Only a few statements recorded in investigation proceedings, which are kept in the BA-L (IV AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77), provide information about this camp. Jens-Christian Wagner has collected other widely distributed bits of information on this camp in his monograph on the Mittelbau concentration camp: *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KÖLN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB III)

The SS-Baubrigade III in Cologne was established on September 21, 1942; it was one of the first concentration camp subcamps and was formed to clean up destroyed cities. It was stationed in Cologne prior to the SS-Baubrigade I and II and remained there until May 1944. It formed a number of subcamps in Rhineland and Westfalia.

The establishment of the subcamp in Cologne was the result of steps taken by Gauleiter Josef Grohé as well as later provisional lord mayor Robert Brandes. Following the Royal Air Force major offensive on May 30–31, 1942, both sought support in Berlin for the heavily destroyed Rhine metropolis. Grohé personally repeatedly contacted Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and in the autumn of 1942 accompanied him, when he was on an inspection of bombed cities and stayed in Cologne.

On September 21, 1942, an advance detachment of 300 Buchenwald prisoners arrived in Cologne. They were accompanied by the camp commandant, Hermann Pister, and Karl Völkner, who was to be the commander of the construction brigade.[1] The prisoners were accommodated in the center of



SS-Baubrigade III removes corpses in Cologne in this annotated photo by Josef Fischer, July 1943. The annotation reads, "Inmates of a concentration camp carry corpses on a ladder to the truck, early July 1943." NS-Dok

the city, in the trade fair area of Cologne Deutz at the Rhine, opposite the cathedral. The prisoners began with the construction of their quarters in the northeast corner on the first floor of the Congress Hall (Kongresshalle), the present-day Rhine-Hall (Rheinsaal). On the ground floor were the canteen and a changing room. The premises immediately in front of the hall was fenced off and used as a roll-call parade ground. The only entrance to the camp was in the vicinity of the trade fair tower. At the entrance was a guardhouse. The SS guards patrolled outside the fence with dogs. The SS guards and camp administration were quartered in the trade fair tower and the neighboring buildings.

By the beginning of November 1942, the number of prisoners had been increased to 1,000. By March 1943, due to deaths, the transport of sick prisoners to Buchenwald, and the transfer of prisoners to other camps, the number of prisoners had dropped to 531. In the summer of 1943, Cologne was the subject of renewed large Allied air attacks. Thereafter, Himmler, following an agreement with Albert Speer, ordered that the construction brigades in the Rhineland be doubled in size.[2] By July 1943, the SS-Baubrigade III had more than 1,000 prisoners at its disposal. Between September 1942 and May 1944, all in all around 6,000 prisoners went through the camps of the SS-Baubrigade III.[3]

The commander of the Construction Brigade III Köln was Karl Wilhelm Völkner, who was born on February 26, 1898, in Quedlinburg, in the Harz Mountains, had worked as a master plumber, and joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and the SS in 1932.[4] Völkner, who had been decorated as an aviator several times during World War I, was called up to the Luftwaffe in August 1939. He was dismissed from service and joined an SS-Death's Head Unit and transferred in January 1940 to an SS-Guard Bataillon at the Buchenwald concentration camp. He was promoted on January 30, 1943, to SS-Obersturmführer, receiving the status equal to a commander of a construction brigade. Former prisoner Toni Fleischhauer described Völkner as follows: "He was not inclined to personally commit acts of violence. On the contrary, he was usually happy to warmly greet each prisoner. When he was drunk, he showed sentimentally accentuated comradeship. . . . To me his strongest characteristic was his pronounced desire to have possessions. He understood his function as incorporating the possibility to enrich himself. So he tried to please his superiors. That meant that he supplied, according to demand, presents or dead people."[5]

On average, 30 SS men were assigned to guard the approximately 1,000 prisoners. The largest part of the guards consisted of local police. In November 1943, 910 prisoners worked on each Sunday in Cologne guarded by 3 SS guards and 90 policemen.[6]

Daily, the prisoners were tortured by the SS men, especially during the first three months. Alexander Malofejew wrote: "They beat the prisoners and they succeeded to suppress their human dignity to such an extent that they paid no regard to age or nationality (I am thinking here of the German prisoners). You were beaten because you did not pay sufficient attention to the SS or simply because wounds in your face should not heal, because you walked too slowly in the camp, because you spoke German, because you did not speak German, because you worked too slowly, etc."[7]

It was only with an increased deployment of older policemen and auxiliary police forces that, according to former prisoners' reports, the terror receded. The worsening military situation changed the guards' mentality; as Askold Kurow notes, "They [the policemen] became human only after Stalingrad and when Köln lay in ashes."[8]

Also, the internal power structure was of considerable significance for the prisoners' conditions of survival. During the first five months, there was a power struggle between a corrupt clique of prisoner-functionaries and political prisoners. Alfred Müller, the camp elder from Buchenwald sent to Construction Brigade III Köln, called by the prisoners "Bloody Müller," was found hung in December 1942. It was not possible to clarify whether this was a targeted resistance act, suicide, or murder by another "criminal" Kapo. In February 1943, camp leader Völkner, under pressure from political prisoners, transferred the rest of the disliked Kapos to Neuengamme, which resulted in a marked drop of the death rate. Most of the deaths in the Construction Brigade III Köln camp from this time were the result of delayed explosions of bombs, bomb attacks, or work accidents.[9]

The city office of the Head of Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) located in the Building Administra-

tion Office, and which had an office on the premises of the Cologne Trade Fair, was responsible for the allocation of work detachments throughout the city. The prisoners removed rubble from houses and streets; they also recovered and loaded valuables such as wood, tiles, or metal at just about every destroyed site in the city area. The prisoners rescued people trapped in the rubble after air raids, recovered corpses, and were deployed to dig graves in cemeteries. During the months of July, August, and September 1943, the Baubrigade III alone recovered 4,500 corpses and "placed them in coffins during day long operations."[10] Prisoner crews were often drawn on to assist where there were shortages: in building air-raid shelters, working on public utilities, constructing auxiliary homes, or working in "vital" war industries.

Prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade III Köln were, under the supervision of craftsmen, dispatched along with inmates from other subcamps to almost all cities in the 6th Defense District to work in the dangerous "bomb disposal squads." For example, the detachments worked from March to September 1943 in Elberfeld-Barmen, Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Aachen, Jülich, Mönchengladbach, Krefeld, Wesel, Gelsenkirchen, Bottrop, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Hagen, Witten, and Schwelm. Between July 1943 and March 1944, the demolition squads of the SS-Baubrigade III eliminated, according to SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) reports, around 8,000 bombs.[11] Most of the time, after their mission, the prisoners returned to the camp of the construction brigade. Over a longer period, bomb disposal squads were established in Bochum, Dortmund, and Düsseldorf.

The level of illness among the prisoners was permanently high. This was due to the inadequate diet and the physically and mentally demanding work. For medical care, there was only an inadequately equipped infirmary with 12 beds for the prisoners. At the same time, the prisoners had already arrived half-starved and ill from Buchenwald. Alozy Wasilewski provides an example—he was 180 centimeters (71 inches) tall but weighed only 56 kilograms (123 pounds).[12] By transporting off selected prisoners, the SS-Baubrigade III was able to maintain productivity. The selections were done by SS-Oberscharführer Gustav Schmidt from Buchenwald and a contract doctor, SS-Untersturmführer Erich Möllenhoff, from Cologne. Between September 1942 and February 1944, more than 400 prisoners declared unfit to work were transferred to Buchenwald and replaced with other prisoners.[13] In addition, there were transfers to Buchenwald as disciplinary measures, for example, when prisoners attempted to make contact with the civilian population. From the prisoners' point of view, the subcamp was distinguished from the main camp in that the terrain of rubble offered better escape opportunities to the work detachments. It also appears that support especially from forced laborers and opponents of the regime, albeit only a few, was relatively high in the Cologne area.

From April 1943 the Cologne State Police used the camp of the SS-Baubrigade III to hold so-called work education prisoners (*Arbeitserziehungshäftlinge*). Some of the prisoners had been arrested on political grounds and were held there by the Gestapo until a "Protective Custody Order" was issued. The largest group of *Arbeitserziehungslager* (AEL) prisoners were Poles or Soviets who spent a few weeks with the construction brigade and were then again released to their jobs. Several hundred Gestapo prisoners, marked with a white stripe on the exterior of their clothing, were incarcerated with the construction brigade. On May 8, 1944, a few days before the SS-Baubrigade III was transferred to the Harz Mountains, there were still 287 concentration camp prisoners and 576 Gestapo prisoners in the camp.[14]

In May 1944, the withdrawal of the construction brigade from Cologne began, despite the protests of the Gau Administration and the City Administration. The majority of the prisoners were assigned to the SS-Baubrigade V. On May 10, 287 prisoners from Construction Brigade III Köln and 131 prisoners from the Duisburg subcamp were transported to Wieda in the Harz.[15] Other subcamps of the Buchenwald concentration camp remained: the bomb disposal squad at Kalkum, the detachment Napola at Bensberg, the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory at Essen and Düsseldorf, as well as camp "Berta" at Rheinmetall-Borsig.[16]

None of those responsible for the Construction Brigade III Köln camp were ever put before a German court for crimes committed there. In the 1960s, a few of them were living undetected in Cologne and obviously without any fear of the judiciary: such as Karl Völkner, Erich Möllenhoff, or Josef Grohé. Following prior investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), the Cologne State Prosecutor began a systematic investigation in 1968. In 1975, however, the investigation ceased.

The existence of the subcamp first came to the attention of the people of Cologne in the 1980s because of the committed efforts of a number of individuals. Since 1993, a memorial stone, erected on the banks of the Rhine at Deutz, commemorates the SS-Baubrigade III. Since 1990, the city of Cologne, in recognition of the responsibility it had for the deployment of concentration camp prisoners, has conducted a program enabling survivors of forced labor to visit the city.[17]

SOURCES Karola Fings's *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996) provides a monograph about Construction Brigade III Köln. In comparison with other SS-Baubrigaden, there is sufficient documentation on Construction Brigade III Köln. In addition to contemporaneous sources in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald and Prisons) as well as the investigation files of the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR 1304/67) and NWHStA-(D) (Ger. Rep. 118/1174-1190, 1138-1349), the most important sources are around 30 interviews with survivors of the camp, which are kept in the NS-Dok.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Heinrich Himmler, September 18, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 136; report on numbers, September 21, 1942, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 146; statutory declaration

by Völkner, December 12, 1961, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 43.

2. Oswald Pohl, July 8, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 19; Himmler telephone diary note, July 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1440, p. 29.

3. See the tables in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stad* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 218–233.

4. BDC/SSO, RS, in BA-B; and denazification court proceedings against Völkner, BA-K, Z 42 V/3772.

5. Report Toni Fleischhauer, n.d. (November 1962), BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 26–27.

6. SS-Baubrigade III, December 4, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229, p. 115.

7. Alexander Malofejew, July 9, 1987, NS-Dok, Biographical Collection Forced Labor.

8. Askold Kurow, n.d. (ca. 1982), ibid.

9. See tables in Fings, *Messelager*, pp. 231–235.

10. WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 28.

11. WVHA, November 9, 1943, February 16, 1944, April 29, 1944, ibid., pp. 29, 35–36, 42.

12. Alozy Wasileski, Letters and Documents, NS-Dok, Z 10.554.

13. Fings, *Messelager*, p. 125.

14. KL Buchenwald (Work Statistics), May 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, p. 80.

15. Ibid., pp. 77–78.

16. KL Buchenwald, Prisoner Office, June 23, 1944, in NWHStA-(D), Court Reports 118/1176.

17. Karola Fings, *Begegnungen am Tatort. Besuchsprogramme für ehemalige Zwangarbeiter/innen, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge. Ein Leitfaden* (Düsseldorf: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 1993).

KORTEMARK AND PROVEN, BELGIUM (NEUENGAMME, BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was stationed in Kortemark and Proven, Belgium, for barely five weeks, from July 28 until September 2, 1944. When it became necessary to withdraw the SS-Baubrigade I from Alderney, due to the Allied landing in Normandy, the prisoners were to construct launching pads for V-1 rockets in Belgium. The responsible Wehrmacht Field Construction unit organized the necessary accommodations in the planned operational area in Flanders, north of Poperinge between Diksmuide and Kortemark.[1]

Of the original 1,000 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade I, only 570 made it to Belgium. Two camps were constructed to hold the prisoners: the main camp at Kortemark held about 350 prisoners in a school in the suburb of Markhove, and a group of around 220 prisoners were sent to Proven near Ypres. Due to this change, the construction brigade was now under the command of the Buchenwald concentration camp; on August 5, 1944, there followed the administratively required rewriting of the prisoner numbers.[2] The assumption of responsibility by Buchenwald made sense so far as the work of the SS-Baubrigade I corresponded to that of SS-Baubrigade V. Its SS commander, Gerhard Weigel, instructed the SS-Baubrigade I in the works in Belgium.

With the stationing in Belgium the SS were confronted with a totally new situation. For the first time they and the SS-Baubrigade I were operating in hostile territory. The hostile attitude of the French population, attacks by partisans, and the fact that none of the prisoners who escaped were recaptured showed that maintaining control over the camp was much more difficult. In Belgium, the SS were confronted not only with a population openly helping the prisoners but also with armed attempts to help prisoners escape.

When the train reached Belgium, the prisoners found full sympathy on the part of the population. Willi Kreuzberg stated: "Everyone waved and greeted them! The Belgians quickly grasped who we were. Cigarettes were thrown to us. The SS became anxious and pushed those back who could be seen from the windows. We were not intimidated. We felt, that whoever managed to escape here would be accepted and hidden."[3] The contrast to the situation in Germany was almost unbelievable for the prisoners. Helmut Koeller remembered: "We prisoners in Flanders had perhaps a life; it was the best of all times in the concentration camp! The Belgian people brought us prisoners everything; tobacco in abundance (many of us had hoarded whole pillows of it!), bread and fruit, sweets, sugar, milk, etc. In addition, the Belgian Red Cross brought us three times a week sweets, fruit and tobacco!"[4]

Since the supply lines broke down due to acts of sabotage, the workload of the prisoners was to a certain extent bearable. Targeted acts of sabotage, destruction from air raids, and the advance of the Allied forces caused 10 of the 12 landing ramps built by the prisoners never to become operational. Belgian farmers, who supplied the water needed to set the concrete at the sites and who were overwhelmingly part of the Belgian resistance, also helped prisoners to escape. The brazenness with which the escapes were organized almost on a daily basis was a clear indication to the SS that they were operating in enemy territory. Once a detachment with three prisoners and two Wehrmacht guards drove with a truck to a building site, a car followed them, giving the prisoners a signal to jump and to flee. When the prisoners hesitated and pointed to the guards, the civilians in the car drew a machine pistol and directed it at the guards.[5]

Searches for escaped prisoners were not only fruitless, but the SS guards had to consider that they could be killed by resistance fighters when searching for the prisoners. Therefore, if there was an indication of an escape, the guards made rigorous use of their weapons. The former prisoner Heinrich Dick described how, from a 10-man detachment that worked at a building site in Popering, no one was left:

> Once when we delivered cement on a lorry to a building site six Russians escaped. The SS guard ran after them, fired at them, but returned unsuccessfully. He then shot the remaining three Russians with a pistol. I was the only survivor of ten men. . . .

> Hoegelow (chief of the SS-guards) learned of this incident shortly thereafter, when we returned to the camp. We were not permitted to go out the next day because the guards were searching for the escapees. They did not capture any, but one of the guards was missing. He was found in the evening—shot with his dog. Hoegelow then said that those who saw the incident would be taken away. Since I was the only survivor it could only have meant me. I therefore fled the camp the next day together with a Russian.[6]

The prisoner losses for the few weeks in Belgium were enormous. When the construction brigade was forced to withdraw due to the advancing Allied forces, there were around 130 prisoners missing. Most of them must have escaped since there were only 8 registered deaths for that period.[7] Many prisoners fled on the day on which they were to be transferred. Under no circumstances were they going to be transported to Germany in view of the imminent liberation. On the morning of September 1, 1944, a group of 39 prisoners overran the SS post inside the walled-in schoolyard in Markhove and fled in different directions. Several prisoners were shot, but most of them indeed succeeded in escaping.

The transport of the SS-Baubrigade I that followed was marked by the simultaneous retreat of German troops, the parallel flight of German civilians, and direct war activities—all through a landscape in which ammunition and food depots had been blown up and were burning, as well as bridges and railroad tracks that had been destroyed. The SS, now extremely nervous, fought with all available means through the war zone. As with the retreat from Alderney, here, too, the SS troupe had to make forced stops because of destroyed or captured areas that had to be circumvented.

Via Ghent and near Brussels, the train reached, after four days since departure, the Dutch border town of Budel. There the train was derailed since the partisans had destroyed the tracks. Wittwer, the SS Labor Service leader of the construction brigade Commander Georg Braun, and Chief of Guards Hoegelow forced civilians to search for a new locomotive and the prisoners to lay bypass railroad tracks. Wittwer returned with several captured Dutch men, who were interrogated by Braun and Hoegelow. Six of them were shot on the spot.[8]

On September 6, 1944, at about 12:30 P.M., the train reached the German border. The former prisoner Helmut Knoeller described the suddenly changed situation: "Here in Germany was a completely different picture: The civilian population cheered the soldiers."[9] After another four days, the SS-Construction Brigade I, comprising 441 prisoners, arrived at its new destination, Sollstedt in Thüringen.

Among the escapees from Kortemark was Robert Prokop who had reached England via France, where he had joined a Czech Brigade. He returned to Kortemark with the Czech Brigade and learned that during an escape 15 prisoners had been killed and that the SS had buried them in a ditch alongside the road. The victims were later reburied in a mass grave at the local cemetery.[10]

After the war, not one of the responsible SS leaders was the subject of judicial proceedings for crimes committed in Kortemark. Investigations against Braun and Hoegelow for the shooting of Dutch civilians in Budel ended without results.

SOURCES The first written report about the camp was published as early as December 1944 in Kortemark by escaped prisoner Jan Woitas: G. Krijger, *Duitschlands Folerkampen, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Amersfoort, Duisburg, Dusseldorf and the Island Aldereney* (Kortemark: n.p., n.d. [December 1944]). It was only 60 years later that the camp was described in a study of the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Few documents on this camp can be found in files at the BA-L (410 AR 63/77 and IV 404 AR-Z 57/67), as well as in the archives of the AG-NG, AG-S, and FGNS-H (Hans Schwarz Archive).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. WVHA, report on the SS-BB I and V—Construction of the Sites and Supply Facilities for V1 and V2 in the West, July 22, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 51–58.
2. See the Certificate of the ITS for Lang, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77; Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Head of Administration, September 26, 1944, ITS Archive, ISD-Technical Documents-Buchenwald File Nr. 184, pp. 100–111.
3. Willi Kreuzberg, *Schutzhäftlinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947), p. 29.
4. Helmut Knoeller, October 27, 1944, AG-NG, Nr. 1274.
5. Ibid.
6. Interview with Heinrich Dick, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 219–220.
7. See the registration lists of SS-Construction Brigade Prisoners with numbers commencing at 88000 from August 3, 1944, to September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 136a.
8. Proceedings in BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 13–14, 59–60, 94–95.
9. Helmut Knoeller, October 27, 1944, AG-NG, Nr. 1274.
10. Interrogation Robert Prokop, BA-L, IV 404 AR-A 57/67, pp. 260–272.

MACKENRODE (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Between July 1944 and April 1945, Mackenrode, a small village in the Harz Mountains, was the site of a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III, which was stationed in Wieda. The prisoners were assigned to construct the 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) Helme Valley Railway, a railway stretch from Osterhagen to Nordhausen, thereby relieving the existing railway from Nordhausen to the west. On July 21, 1944, the

first 150 prisoners were housed in a barracks camp not far from the village near present-day Federal Road (Bundesstrasse) 243. On July 30, another 150 prisoners occupied the barracks. The camp that consisted of three barracks located on Peterswiese was fenced in and had four guard towers. Mackenrode, with up to 475 prisoners, was the largest subcamp of SS-Baubrigade III. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Dotzauer was the camp commander. Directly opposite the entrance to the camp was a barrack for the guards, who were overwhelmingly soldiers from the Luftwaffe.

Aime Bonifas, who on September 2, 1944, was transferred from the external camp Laura via Dora to Mackenrode, described the peculiar closeness of the prison camp to the village as follows: "The camp was right next to the village of Mackenrode. We can recognize all the houses and the high tower of the Evangelic-Lutheran Church. The sight of the church in the days that followed was often a puzzle. It is not for me to judge and I do not know who congregated in the church, but how can one talk about heaven when you are so close to such injustices."[1] He wrote the following about the reaction of the local population: "Our construction sites were in several villages. The few locals who were seen on our way showed only contempt for us. Once a young girl spat on us."[2]

In order to construct the railway, the prisoners had to undertake heavy earthmoving work and clearing, mostly without the assistance of machinery or horses. The various work detachments had to walk several kilometers to the work sites. Work was often done on Sundays. Conditions in the camp deteriorated with the onset of winter. The prisoners waded through snow and mud, often without shoes, with torn clothes, without sufficient food, and without any hygienic care. From February 1945, a 150-strong prisoner detachment worked in Tettenborn; from there the existing railway line was to be connected by a branch line to the Helme Valley Railway. It is not clear whether a permanent camp had been set up for the duration of several weeks.

There are only a few reports of instances of death or acts of violence against the prisoners in the camp. An Italian prisoner, who was a stoker on a locomotive, was doused with boiling water during an accident in November 1944. He was taken to the infirmary in Wieda, where he died. In February 1945, it is said that the Belgian Josef Fruyt was beaten to death in the camp for stealing potatoes. From a report to the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) B 13, dated February 6, 1945, it is evident that two days earlier 10 prisoners from Mackenrode had been detailed for construction work, but the foreman changed the orders and had the prisoners load potatoes at a farm instead. It was here that the prisoners, including Fruyt, were said to have stolen potatoes.[3]

On April 6, 1945, the prisoners were taken on foot from Mackenrode to Wieda, where on April 7, 1945, the evacuation march of the SS-Baubrigade III began.

Six victims of the Mackenrode camp—a French man, a Belgian, two Poles, and two prisoners from the Soviet Union—were buried in the village cemetery. The bodies were exhumed after the war and reburied in Nordhausen.

SOURCES Further research could be based on Aime Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983); and Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Hemetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aime Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Hemetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

NÜRNBERG (SACHSENHAUSEN) [AKA 2. SS-BAUBRIGADE (E)] (SS-BB II)

The SS-Baubrigade II, last stationed in Berlin, in the middle of February 1945 was transformed into an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade. Prisoners from the camps in Müggelheim and Friedrich-Krause-Ufer were gathered together in Berlin-Köpenick. They, together with other prisoners from a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Berlin-Lichterfelde, had a strength of 504 men.

The prisoners were put on a train in Köpenick, which, as the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E), left the capital city on February 25, 1945. From February 14, 1945, the brigade was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Karl Raab, who was born on January 6, 1895, in Atzgersdorf near Vienna. The guards, numbering between 60 and 70 men, were SS men deployed in Berlin. The destination of the construction brigade was the destroyed Nürnberg railway station, where cleanup work was to be done. As the train entered the station, the prisoners experienced a heavy bombing raid. Wenzel W. described this in his memoirs in 1957: "We prisoners experienced this attack in closed railway goods wagons. Only a few prisoners survived."[1]

On March 12, 1945, following a large bombing raid on the city, around 30 starving prisoners set off on a search for food. As a deterrent, the SS instigated a horrible spectacle. Accord-

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

ing to a report from 1946, the prisoners were forced "to kneel with their foreheads on the ground for several hours during cold weather in fear of being shot if they moved."[2] For theft, 3 of the prisoners were hanged from a railway wagon.[3] According to the statement of a survivor, a prisoner did the hanging. Willy K. described the execution in March 1947 as follows: "Unfortunately one of our prisoners assumed the repulsive role as executioner for a bottle of alcohol and cigarettes. The prisoner, a German, was lynched by the other prisoners in Landshut after the liberation."[4]

Landshut was the last destination of the construction brigade, which arrived there via Regensburg, in the middle March 1945. At night the train was shunted to Ahrain and during the day the construction brigade traveled to the Landshut Railway Station for cleaning-up work.

For the last months of the war, there are scarcely any sources, and reliable information about the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) is not available. Details on the number of transfers of prisoners in the main camp or on escaped or dead prisoners are not possible, but it can be assumed that in the confusion of the last weeks of the war many prisoners were able to escape. A guard said in 1973: "The constant bombing raids and attacks by low flying fighters caused us to suffer losses. Prisoners and guards were killed or injured. . . . Because of the air raid alarms we only worked at night. Many prisoners used this as an opportunity to disappear."[5]

Almost a month later, on April 27, some of the prisoners of the 2. SS-Baubrigade II (E) set off on foot from the Bavarian town of Landshut in several columns in the direction of Wasserburg. It is said that some of the prisoners remained with the train or, after the dissolution of the columns, returned to the train. On the march, the columns gradually broke up. On the way, a group of prisoners stayed in a barn, and several groups fled. Also, the SS disappeared. Survivors report that those not capable of marching were shot. Raab was last seen with the construction brigade on April 29, 1945. The remaining SS men fled from the approaching Americans on May 1. During the following night, the columns were freed. Another column is said to have been taken to Graz.[6]

Shortly after the liberation, a few prisoners returned to Landshut. They found the construction brigade's train had been burned out.[7] Many survivors of the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) were marked for the rest of their lives by the many years they had spent in the concentration camps. Georg M. wrote the following in 1949: "After the entry of the Yanks I and many of my comrades from many nations celebrated in Landshut a reunion. We stayed there for six weeks recovering. I then made my way home. But I discovered that I no longer had a home. In September 1945, I lay down and almost forgot to get up. From this time my health is broken."[8]

The State Prosecutor at the State Court in Nürnberg-Fürth investigated the hanging of three prisoners at the Nürnberg Railway Station but terminated the investigations on January 20, 1969. Later investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on crimes committed by those in charge of the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) did not result in a trial.

SOURCES Without the files of the Nürnberg State Prosecutor investigation (18 Js 680/67; BA-L, IV 1666/66) and the ZdL investigation (BA-L, IV 406 AR 594-596/73), it would not be possible today to reconstruct the last months of the SS-Baubrigade II, even in the outline presented here. They constitute the central source. See also Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 242–243.
2. Paul F., February 18, 1946, ibid., IV AR 1616/66, p. 8.
3. Peter G., August 13, 1973, ibid., IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 275.
4. Willy K., March 4, 1947, ibid., p. 230.
5. Paul R., August 20, 1973, ibid., p. 299.
6. Georg Merten, June 30, 1962, FZG, 13-7-0-2; Georg M., July 18, 1973, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 239–240; Peter G., August 18, 1973, ibid., pp. 274–275; Alexander P., March 28, 1973, ibid., IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 110.
7. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 244.
8. Georg M., May 27, 1949, ibid., IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 176d.

NÜXEI (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Between May 1944 and April 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III, based in Wieda, had a subcamp in the Harz Mountains in the village of Nüxei, which consisted of only a few houses. The prisoners were to build a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) railway line, designed to relieve the existing line between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. Probably in the middle of May 1944, 100 prisoners began fitting up a barn on a farm in Nüxei as accommodations for a camp. The SS confiscated a meadow after 2 prisoners escaped and had the camp constructed next to present-day Federal Road (Bundesstrasse) 243. An area of about 50 meters×50 meters (164 feet×164 feet) was fenced in and furnished with guard towers and searchlights. The quarters of the guards were in the immediate vicinity of the camp.

The camp is unusual because of its proximity to the village population. Wilhelm Walter, the owner of the farm, wrote in 1972:

> One Sunday morning three trucks with about one hundred "Zebras" [concentration camp inmates in striped prisoner clothing] appeared on my farm. The guards seized my barn for use as a camp. . . . Immediately a mezzanine floor was constructed in

> my barn to create two sleeping levels. The guards (Luftwaffe soldiers) were accommodated in the local pub and in two rooms of one of my worker's cottages. Once the beds etc. had been put in place, the camp was occupied by about three hundred prisoners. . . . Given the small area it was impossible to keep the prisoners separated from the German population and from the forced laborers.[1]

After Karl Völkner, the SS camp commander of the SS-Baubrigade III, was relieved from his post in the summer of 1944, the prisoners in the Wieda and Nüxei camps were transported away and replaced with 300 new prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp Dora. At the same time, conditions in the camp got worse. Walter reported on this as follows: "Everything changed on the evening of July 20. When the prisoners returned from work they were not allowed back into the camp. . . . All the prisoners were marched off in the direction of Wieda on the same evening. The Luftwaffe guards were immediately withdrawn. The new prisoners appeared the next day under the most severe guard of the SS."[2]

One of the new prisoners was Albert van Dijk, born in the Netherlands in 1924, who has described the Nüxei camp in detail in his memoirs. He wrote the following about the work: "At first we thought that we had come to a rest camp, but we soon found out that we had made a mistake. . . . The railway had to be built at an unimaginable pace, and large soil excavation was necessary which had to be done with primitive tools. . . . Soil was taken away in wheelbarrows on the run. The prisoners collapsed under the load of the railway ties and rails, which they had to carry. They were pulled up and continued to carry their load groaning. But the foremen demanded even more; the pace of work was increased excessively."[3]

Work on the railway ceased between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945 because of low temperatures. During this period, the prisoners from Nüxei worked in two large underground installations in Woffleben, lengthening the grueling daily routine considerably.

> The columns from the tunnel construction site marched in when we, who worked on the ramp or in the workshops, had already been standing and waiting for hours on the roll call square. We ate standing—in snow and frost. We slept without blankets; many prisoners lay on the bare floor as the stronger prisoners had taken the straw sacks from the weaker ones to use them as cover. The bread rations were constantly reduced; the small portions of margarine ceased; the soup was made from frozen and rotten rutabagas. Worn out shoes and clothes were not replaced and frostbite was very common. Hardly a day did pass without someone dying.[4]

Marcel Orset, a survivor, remembered the horrors of the last winter during the war: "Nüxei, was a slow struggle against death; I have terrible memories of the winter, frozen feet, a serious leg injury; the danger of being transported away, the destruction, the dead comrades. The work? Not as brutal as in Osterhagen. Life in the camp? A lot of misery. In comparison to the hell in Osterhagen and if it had been summer one could have survived."[5]

Although the camp and surrounding community lived close together, it did not mean that the local population developed empathy for the prisoners and contributed something to improve the situation. On the contrary, it seemed that the situation worsened—the lack of sympathy for the starving prisoners, the pursuit of self-interest, and the missing political insight into the conditions of the concentration camp community helped in part to worsen the situation.

Van Dijk recalls a peculiar incident that occurred at Christmas in 1944. On the roll-call square Walter and representatives of the Mackenrode (Hohenstein) church had placed a large fir tree and had set a basket of presents at its base. The church choir arrived at the camp and sang Christmas carols. The would-be benefactors resented it when only the German Kapos joined in the singing. According to van Dijk:

> As they refused to sing, the prisoners, as punishment, stood for longer than two hours almost like columns of ice around the Christmas tree with the barest of clothing in the frost. It was not even allowed to stamp your feet. The members of the church choir left to their houses, to the warm hearth. They took the basket with the little packages bitching about the incorrigible prisoners. Candlelight streamed from the window of the farmer's house and happy children's voices could be heard. The hands of the clock on Mackenroder church tower moved to twelve. Christmas had begun.[6]

Van Dijk describes an event that the farmer Walter left out of his report. A starving prisoner had caught a chicken that had entered the camp through the barbed-wire fence. He and a Russian prisoner were caught killing it. According to van Dijk, Walter, after the evening roll call, entered the camp in a rage and demanded punishment. A Kapo broke the wrist bones of the Russian, thrashed van Dijk, and crushed one of his fingers. Van Dijk was put on public display with a sign saying: "I am a chicken thief."

On April 5, 1945, the prisoners were taken on foot from Nüxei to Wieda, where the evacuation march of the SS-Baubrigade III began on April 7.

SOURCES The organization AgSSüHR has collected reports and documents about the Nüxei camp; see Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt:Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

Further research on Nüxei can be based on the primary and secondary sources provided for the Wieda subcamp.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Wilhelm Walter, April 1972, cited by Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.
2. Ibid., p. 127.
3. Albert van Dijk, "Das Aussenkommando Nüxei" (MSS, n.p., n.d.), cited in ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., p. 73.
5. Marcel Orset, *Misère et mort, nos deux compagnes* (Chalons-sur Saòne: Self-published 1948), quoted in ibid., p. 75.
6. Ibid., pp. 72–73.

OSNABRÜCK (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

The SS-Baubrigade II was formed in October 1942 in the Neuengamme concentration camp with 1,000 prisoners; 250 of them formed a subcamp in Osnabrück, which stayed there until May 1943. The decision to send a labor detail to Osnabrück also to remove debris from bomb damage was made on relatively short notice.[1] The city mayor, Erich Gärtner, may have had influence on the allocation of concentration camp prisoners, as in his capacity as head of both Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) and Air Defense, he was responsible for all matters of removal of debris after bombing raids.

The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II arrived at Osnabrück no later than October 17, 1942, for on this day the first death is documented.[2] In the first few months of 1943 there was no further large bombing raid on Osnabrück. Therefore, the prisoners were withdrawn in May 1943, probably at the beginning of the month, and transferred to Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, and later Hamburg, despite the protests of the mayor.[3]

The labor detail occupied the Overberg School in a residential district of Osnabrück on the street of the same name. The gymnasium located between the two wings of the building served as the prisoners' accommodation. Looking from the street, the left wing had been destroyed by a direct hit of a bomb, and only its basement could be used. Here were the bath of the school, the storeroom, and the kitchen, in which students were taught cooking. In the basement of the right wing were the boiler room, the prisoners' kitchen, an infirmary, a small workroom, and a windowless partition. On the ground floor of the right wing were the quarters for the SS and the police reservists. The schoolyard was used for roll calls.[4]

Of all the construction brigade camps, the Osnabrück camp had the highest death rate; 86 prisoners died between October 1942 and March 1943 and are buried in the Heger cemetery—that is, within five months, one-third of the prisoners died. Responsible for the atrocious conditions was primarily the camp leader, who, together with a corrupt clique of prisoner-functionaries, terrorized the remaining prisoners as well as the surrounding community, which did not intervene despite the visibly dramatic conditions in the camp.[5]

Initially, the camp commander in Osnabrück was SS-Hauptscharführer Brinkmann. He was replaced in November 1942 by SS-Oberscharführer Walter Döring. Döring, born on March 1, 1906, in Eisenach, already had a career of several years as an SS man and as a concentration camp supervisor. From 1934, the trained butcher served as a member of the SS in Weimar, was then transferred to the SS barracks at the castle Lichtenburg in Prettin for disciplinary reasons, and from there went to the Buchenwald concentration camp in June 1937. In January 1941, he was sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp first as block and then as roll-call leader. Shortly before being ordered to Osnabrück, Döring is alleged to have been involved in the killing of a Soviet prisoner of war (POW).[6] One of Döring's closest confidants within the camp community was the first Kapo, Wilhelm Leers. Leers was born in 1903 in Cologne. In February 1940, he was sent by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police in Cologne as a "professional criminal" to Neuengamme.[7] In Neuengamme, Leers revealed himself as a sadist, and this accounts for the criticism by political prisoners of his selection for Osnabrück. Of the remaining Kapos destined for Osnabrück, all of whom were citizens of the Reich, there were two political prisoners, Ernst Bonhoft and Fritz Bringmann, sent as orderlies.[8] The remaining prisoners of the labor detail transported to Osnabrück were mostly Soviet citizens, but a few Poles, Yugoslavs, and Dutch are also mentioned.[9]

From January 1943, the unit of guards, besides a handful of SS men, consisted mostly of local auxiliary police, who as a rule were either self-employed or worked in the service sector, for example, as waiters or barkeepers, and the majority of them were born in the 1880s and 1890s. It is possible to conclude from the surviving personnel files that the police reservists, once they started "guarding prisoners," performed their duties without any noteworthy incident. There are no instances documented of frequent absences due to illness, of applications for transfer, or of disciplinary proceedings.[10]

The "Regime of Terror" established by Döring and Leers included the embezzlement of food on a grand scale, so that within a few weeks most of the prisoners lost weight in a "terrifying manner."[11] Iwan Andrejewitsch Slipatschenko desperately searched in the rubble for food to survive: "I could have eaten the sole of a shoe if it had been attractively packed. Goodness knows what I ate."[12] In addition to the hunger, lack of clothing and the high pace of work were the main reasons for the prisoners' visible deterioration. With Döring's arrival

in Osnabrück, the pace of work was increased, and rations were again reduced.[13]

Of the 250 prisoners, around 100 had physically wasted away by the end of 1942. On Döring's instructions, no more than 10 sick were allowed in the inadequate infirmary. When the prisoner orderlies brought up the untenable conditions with Döring, he demanded that they kill the sick with injections of gasoline, which they steadfastly refused despite mistreatment by Döring.[14] As Döring wanted to get rid of the sick, he sent them to work where they were forced to work until they collapsed. Then they were doused with water and left lying in the cold until the prisoners returned to the camp. Bringmann wrote the following about this "treatment": "The majority did not survive until the return to the camp and died during the course of the day. The others got very rarely something to eat in the evening, but the cold water treatment was continued until they also met their fate."[15]

Leers also abused the prisoners with great brutality both on Döring's command and without. Once he chased a sick Soviet prisoner to work, beating him again and again, and when he was finally too weak to go, he hung him in the prisoners' quarters with his hands tied behind his back. Here he mistreated the helpless prisoner until he was unconscious—a torture that the prisoner did not survive.[16] The 86 prisoners whose deaths are recorded in the Osnabrück camp were except for 1 all of Soviet nationality. One can conclude that the small "layer of leadership" in the camp consisting of German prisoners, which with a few exceptions belonged to Leers's clique, knew how to ensure their survival by means of brutality and corruption. The only possibility for the Soviet prisoners was to try and escape. Only a few were able to escape, and those caught had to expect to be shot. In at least two cases, Döring personally murdered the recaptured prisoners.[17]

Not only the guards but also the local inhabitants were daily witnesses to the brutal treatment of the prisoners. The school janitor, Fritz L., remained at his position, and the cooking courses, headed by the teacher Agnes W., continued for various groups of students.[18] The violence that was meted out to the prisoners was visible. Agnes W. reported in 1950: "The schoolyard was open and the neighborhood children played there. They must have seen that the prisoners were treated badly, and they must have told their parents for the mothers complained to the SS or the Kapos. I was told by a woman, whose name I no longer remember, that she received the following reply: 'If the children are not hard yet, then they will have to become that way.' "[19]

The prisoners worked daily at several locations right in the middle of the city. The population could see that many of the prisoners were "completely run down, exhausted, and lacking any strength," collapsing while they labored.[20] They were also witnesses to the mistreatment meted out at the work sites. In 1950, a police reservist described the situation with the following words: "The prisoners were badly mistreated on the building sites. I saw countless cases. The so-called SS foremen and the Kapos committed the acts. The prisoners were beaten on the head with wooden bars, so that they collapsed covered with blood and sometimes could not continue working for a considerable time."[21]

Comparing the change in the death rate over time with reports by surviving prisoners, it becomes clear that the systematic resistance by anti-Fascist and Communist prisoners finally led to an improvement in the conditions of the camp. Both Bringmann and Bonhoft as well as George Merten, who was deliberately sent in December 1942 from Neuengamme to Osnabrück, were instrumental in dismantling the power structure in the camp.[22] With high personal risk, they resisted the instructions of Döring and repeatedly criticized his commands. Finally, they used the opportunity during his absence on leave at the beginning of March 1943 to draw the attention of the main camp to the intolerable conditions by pointing out the low efficiency of the camp. They systematically tried to weaken the front of the corrupt and brutal Kapos, fighting back against Leers in quite dangerous conflicts for months. Döring was replaced in March 1943 by an SS-Hauptscharführer Gehrts (possibly spelled Gerds or Geerdts); Leers fled in April 1943 from the enraged fellow prisoners.[23]

The Hamburg State Court sentenced Döring to prison for life in 1951; on appeal the sentence was reduced to two years. He was charged again in the middle of the 1950s and sentenced to a term of eight years in a penitentiary. Leers had been sentenced to death by a British military court as early as 1946, but the sentence was commuted, and in 1954 he was released from prison. Both town doctors, who issued the falsified death certificates, were questioned in the 1950s but never prosecuted.[24] Nothing at the Overberg School commemorates the infamous subcamp.

SOURCES The history of the Osnabrück construction brigade camp was given particular attention in a study of the SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Before that, it had been mentioned with a marginal comment in an extremely apologetic city history, which covered up the responsibility of the city of Osnabrück for the camp and the extent of the crimes: Karl Kühling, *Osnabrück 1933–1945. Stadt im Dritten Reich* (Osnabrück: H.Th. Wenner, 1980), p. 149. Relatively early a survivor of the camp published important witness reports: Fritz Bringmann, *Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade in Osnabrück* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1981).

Sources are to be found in the ASt-Os and the NStA-Os, Dep. 3 b XV and Dep. 3 b XIX, of which a few extracts have been published in an early volume on the Osnabrück camp: Ursula Fisser-Blömer, "Zwangsarbeit in Osnabrück. SS-Baubrigade, Kriegsgefangenen- und 'Arbeitserziehungslager,' " *Antifa-Be-Os* 6 (1982): 23–29. Also relevant are the judicial files held by the BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, IV 406 AR 221/74, as well as the documents in the AG-NG (Interviews and Reports Nr. 141, 150, 153, 1576, 1602) and the FZG (Archive Hans Schwarz Totenbücher des KZ Neuengamme).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br 4, 29/1-1307; SS-WVHA, Amt C, October 10, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 106.
2. Häftlings-Totennachweis ITS, BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p. 239.
3. See statements in ZdL, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 50, 54; correspondence in StA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX 167.
4. Sketches in BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 38–39, 47.
5. See table of all deaths in Osnabrück in the appendix of Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).
6. BA, BDC/RS, and Fritz Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 6.
7. NWHStA-(D), BR 2034 VH I/170.
8. Fritz Bringmann, *Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade in Osnabrück* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1981), pp. 38–50.
9. Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74.
10. Thirteen personnel files of the reservists deployed to guard the concentration camp prisoners could be located; see StA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX, Akz. 46/86, Nr. 9, 34, 119, 234, 257, 279, 502, 632, 664, 716, 776, 808, 830.
11. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, p. 39.
12. Interview with Iwan Andrejewitsch Slipatschenko, AG-NG, Nr. 1602.
13. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, pp. 42, 44–45.
14. Ibid.; and Fritz Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 6–7.
15. Report by Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74.
16. Report by Fritz Bringmann, June 26, 1945, in BA-K, BY 5/279/70.
17. Report by Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74; and Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 6–8.
18. Walter Döring, July 13, 1950, BA-L IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 46; Agnes W., Fritz L., Albert J., November 3, 1950, ibid., pp. 65–69.
19. Ibid., pp. 65–66.
20. Josef T., July 20, 1950, ibid., p. 53.
21. Heinrich K., July 20, 1950, ibid., p. 50.
22. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, p. 38; Georg Merten, March 30, 1962, FZG, 13-7-0-2.
23. Fritz Bringmann, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 35.
24. Ibid., pp. 90–131, 154–161; ibid., BA-L, IV 401 AR 688/75.

OSTERHAGEN (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Osterhagen is a small village in the Harz Mountains. Between July 1944 and April 1945, one of the three subcamps of the SS-Baubrigade III, stationed in Wieda, was located in Osterhagen. The prisoners were to construct a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) railway designed to relieve the railway line between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. The camp, which had previously been a brickworks, lay to the southeast of Osterhagen at the bottom of a valley. It consisted of three barracks and was surrounded by a fence with watchtowers. From July 5, 1944, 300 prisoners were detained there.

Osterhagen was the most notorious of all the SS-Baubrigade III camps. Aimé Bonifas, who was transferred from the Laura subcamp via Dora to Mackenrode on September 2, 1944, and arrived in Osterhagen on December 25, 1944, after a short stay in Wieda, described his transport to this much-feared camp in his memoirs:

> The lorry carried us away quickly, I have no idea from which of the Wieda branch camps. . . . [G]uard towers loomed suddenly in a sweeping desolate landscape, a name which we could not believe to be true, which we dared not speak, which kept our mouths clamped tightly shut: Osterhagen, the infamous punishment camp. I was sent there, to this hellish camp, simply because numbers had to be kept up, because this beast had to continue consuming. . . . A real death hole, not a tree in sight, icy desolation, an area of despair. It was enough to make one howl. . . . I was more than used to the faces of prisoners, but here, more than anywhere else, I was shaken by their expressions, as if they were hunted animals. They bore the stamp of never-ending suffering.[1]

The Osterhagen camp was visibly more badly equipped than all the other camps of the SS-Baubrigade III. The hygienic conditions were particularly appalling. There was no water supply, and the filthy water brought in by truck was never sufficient. The prisoners had to wash in the open air in the icy cold. The clay surface of the camp was not sealed, with the result that the prisoners were completely filthy when it rained. Disease and epidemics were widespread. According to Bonifas, "The hygienic conditions in Osterhagen are so deplorable that we were completely covered in lice. It was a real plague. Large lice, with a black cross, that quickly multiplied, ran about everywhere and laid their eggs in the tiniest folds of our clothes. . . . They sucked the last little bit of life out of us. We were the dead waiting to be called. Many comrades died because they were quite literally eaten by the lice."[2]

This, the most isolated of the SS-Baubrigade III camps, was commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Choina, described as a most brutal man. Georges Pieper, the camp elder and Kapo in the SS-Baubrigade III office in Wieda, described Choina shortly after the liberation as follows: "The Osterhagen Camp under the command of Choina was particularly infamous. He had the prisoners work in complete darkness and once the food was distributed the prisoners had to eat it cold. Warm soup was delivered in a lorry in the middle of the day and was distributed at 10 p.m. The prisoners in the Osterhagen camp were also beaten more than elsewhere. It was only in the rarest of cases that sick prisoners were taken to Wieda for treatment—it was rather the case that they had to work until they dropped dead."[3]

According to Bonifas, the "law of the jungle" ruled in Osterhagen. Choina had insured the support of particularly corrupt prisoner-functionaries who tormented, humiliated, robbed, and beat the prisoners at every available opportunity. Each time the prisoners returned to the camp, there was a punishment roll call: "Each evening when you arrived at the block the green Kapo pulled out an exercise book in which he had written the numbers of the prisoners who had not worked hard enough during the day. It was often French men, mostly sick and at the end of their strength. Each was beaten five or ten times with a rubber truncheon and sometimes their soup was taken away from them. There was no quicker way to the crematorium!"[4]

Under the Kapos' blows, often without shoes, and in ripped clothing, the undernourished prisoners had to perform heavy manual labor. When bad weather stopped work on the railway from the beginning of January to the middle of February, the prisoners were taken in open railway wagons each morning at 4 A.M. from Osterhagen to Niedersachswerfen, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Here they had to do heavy transport work—an additional strain that resulted in many deaths before work resumed on the railway line. The longer the winter lasted, with temperatures down to minus 20 degrees Celsius (minus 4 degrees Farenheit), the more prisoners died. "The end of the winter in Osterhagen was a nightmare. On March 2, [1945,] my work detail had to unload soil from the wagons and shovel against the wind which was particularly strong. The temperature was very low. On this day alone six of our comrades collapsed from exhaustion, five of them French. . . . Again the dead flooded the camp. People died everywhere at any time, day and night, often without a glance or a word or a handshake with a friend."[5]

The prisoners' corpses were brought to Dora and from March 1945 to the Erich subcamp in Ellrich. A few of the dead are said to have been buried in a mass grave in the Osterhagen cemetery from where after the war they were returned to their places of origin. Three corpses are said to have been exhumed from the campgrounds in the summer of 1945.

The camp was dissolved on April 6, 1945. The prisoners marched to Wieda, from where the evacuation march began a day later.

SOURCES Numerous reports and documents on Osterhagen are contained in AgSSüHR, ed., *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945* (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000). In addition to the report by Aimé Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), the Wieda subcamp's primary and secondary sources are the starting points for further research on Osterhagen.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aimé Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), pp. 147–148.
2. Ibid., pp. 158–159.
3. Georges Pieper, May 2, 1945, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 46.
4. Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801*, pp. 152–153.
5. Ibid., p. 166.

ROUEN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB V)

The SS-Baubrigade V based in Doullens had a subcamp in Rouen, about 97 kilometers (60 miles) to the northwest of Paris, between April and probably August 1944. A former World War I prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, located at a racetrack, served as the prisoners' accommodation. The approximately 500 prisoners lived in barracks of corrugated iron, known as Hindenburg Huts. The task of the SS-Baubrigade V was to construct launching pads for the V-1 and V-2 rockets. From Rouen, labor details were sent to the military airport at Montdidier and to Amiens.[1]

Zygmunt P., who managed to flee during a bombing raid on April 25, 1944, said the following about Rouen: "Our accommodations in Rouen were the so-called 'Corrugated Iron Barrels.' In one such 'barrel' were fifty prisoners. There were no beds and we slept on the concrete foundation that was covered with dirty, rotten straw. We were driven to work by trucks to the shore of the English Channel which was sixty kilometers [37.3 miles] away. There we had to repair the defense facilities destroyed by Allied air raids. Air-defense soldiers guarded us; their supervision was easier to bear, as they did not mistreat or abuse us while we worked."[2]

The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Stahmer. After the war, he was accused by survivors of having caused the deaths of prisoners. He was said to have ordered the prisoners to continue working during bombing raids. Indeed, on April 23 and 25, 1944, 14 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V died in Rouen as a result of an air raid.[3]

Camp elder Friedrich B. testified in a postwar investigation about the murder of a Polish prisoner. The man was injured on the upper arm during a bombing raid and because of the bombing could not be taken to a hospital. The prisoner orderly cared for him for a few days in the poorly equipped prisoner infirmary. When the arm swelled more and more, they pretended that the prisoner would be taken to a hospital, and he was put on a truck. Friedrich B. continues the story: "I heard a shot and was told to strike him from the list. He had been shot. I saw how he was thrown from the truck."[4]

In May or June 1944, a detail of the SS-Baubrigade V attacked a Wehrmacht post, and a mass breakout ensued. Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and Gerhard Weigel, head of the SS-Baubrigade V, noted in a report to Heinrich Himmler: "As a result of the situation (invasion, air raids, etc.,) the prisoners were very unwilling to work and undisciplined. In particular, measures had to be taken against the Polish prisoners as in several instances they incited the other prisoners to refuse to work and in the majority of cases they were the

instigators of escape attempts and above all, of the large surprise attack on the Wehrmacht post."[5]

The attack on the Wehrmacht post could have happened in the Rouen camp. Karl J. has reported about a similar incident: "I remember just now that a labor detail of Russian prisoners attacked the guards wearing black collar tabs (soldiers of the Luftwaffe Construction Company) and fled. I do not know how many escaped. Nothing happened to the soldiers—they were just tied up. One of the escaped prisoners received serious injuries on the run in an exchange of fire with a Wehrmacht captain when a bullet grazed his head."[6]

Former prisoner Walter St. has reported that after a mass escape the SS in Rouen ordered a roll call of the prisoners, selected a few at random, and shot them.[7]

The Rouen subcamp was dissolved no later than August 1944 and transferred to the Harz Mountains via Doullens and Lille. The prisoners were distributed to various Buchenwald subcamps over which the newly formed Mittelbau concentration camp took control in October 1944.

SOURCES There are only a few documents and memoirs that provide information about the Rouen subcamp—especially BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73. Further research could be based on the primary and secondary sources for the Doullens subcamp.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Karl J., September 17, 1972; Friedrich B., December 14, 1972; Emil I., May 25, 1973, all BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 247, pp. 646–667.
2. Zygmunt P., January 15, 1970, ibid., p. 336.
3. SS-BB V (Feldpost-Nr. 15566), October 9, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
4. Friedrich B., December 14, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 647.
5. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
6. Karl J., September 17, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 250.
7. Walter St., May 19, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 379–382.

SOLLSTEDT (MITTELBAU, BUCHENWALD, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was stationed in Sollstedt, a town in Thüringen, between September 10, 1944, and April 5, 1945. It once numbered 1,000 prisoners, but by the time it reached Sollstedt after service in the Rhineland, on the Channel Islands, and in Belgium, it only had 441 prisoners.[1] In October 1944, this unit came under the administration of the Mittelbau concentration camp, and the prisoners were assigned numbers from the 100000 series.[2] The assumption of control by Sachsenhausen in January 1945 did not change the relationship with Mittelbau as the main camp. At the end of the war, the strength of the construction brigade was again almost 1,000 prisoners because of transports from Mittelbau.

In Sollstedt, the prisoners had to improve the tunnels of a potash shaft mine and pack and store items of clothing for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt B (Truppenwirtschaft), and for the Luftwaffe Clothing Office Bielefeld. The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp located at the bottom of a valley near the shaft. They had to construct the three to five barracks themselves. The food for the camp was brought from Mittelbau. One work detail of the brigade worked in another potash shaft mine near Hainboltshausen until April 1945. At the end of 1944, the SS-Construction Brigade I established a subcamp in Hohlstedt.

The former power struggles between the different prisoner groups broke out again in Sollstedt. The dreaded Adolf Fehrenbacher assumed the role of camp elder during the transport from Alderney. In the memories of survivors, Sollstedt stands out as a place of murder of Jewish and Wehrmacht prisoners. For the first time, a larger group of Jewish prisoners, almost exclusively from Poland but also including a few Frenchmen and Hungarians, was transferred to the SS-Baubrigade I on March 21, 1945. This group, in particular, was subject to mistreatment by Fehrenbacher and by the commander of the guards, Otto Högelow.[3]

From December 1944 a larger group of Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht, SAW) prisoners were part of the construction brigade. The SAW men were without exception soldiers who, after having been subjected to various disciplinary measures by military courts, were found not fit to serve in a Wehrmacht punishment battalion. Such cases could be sent by the military to the police or the Gestapo for incarceration in a concentration camp for a limited time. As "Transitory Prisoners II," such soldiers, if they had not been condemned to death, were sent to Buchenwald from August 1944 and from November to the Mittelbau concentration camp. An SS-Baubrigade I list named "Transitory Prisoners II (SAW) detained here" and dated March 1, 1945, shows 296 persons in this group.[4]

At least 34 deaths occurred in Sollstedt up to the middle of April 1945. Several handwritten entries give the deaths as occurring between April 5 and 13, 1945. Survivors hold the commander of the construction brigade, Georg Braun, responsible for the deaths. It is alleged that, on his orders, SAW members were forced to "run the gauntlet" as punishment for infractions. He forced these men with the words "I want to see blood" to run between the camp prisoners who were lined up in two rows and had them beaten to death; some were said to have been shot after the chase.[5]

In February 1945, the SS-Baubrigade I in Sollstedt, without changing its location or status, took on the tasks of a railway construction brigade. On February 10, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, the "Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden" (Inspector of Selected Construction Brigades), assigned SS-Commander Braun to the Reichsbahn (German National Railways) Directorate at Halle-Northeim. The main task remained that of

storing items in the mines. During an inspection of Sollstedt on February 10, 1945, Weigel praised the "good progress" of storing clothes and equipment for several divisions of the Waffen-SS.[6]

Shootings, mass escapes, and aimless transports throughout the German Reich characterized the evacuation. On April 5, 1945, the Sollstedt prisoners were forced to march 72.4 kilometers (45 miles) in 24 hours to the Hohlstedt subcamp. During the march, prisoners who were unable to continue are said to have been shot. At midday on April 7, 1945, around 900 prisoners were loaded onto a train at the Wahlhausen Railway Station.[7]

At first, the train headed north and reached Berlin-Grunewald on April 10, 1945, where it is reported to have received an order to head to Norway. Near Wittenberge on the Elbe, the transport had to retreat in front of Soviet troops. It was here at the latest that SS-Commander Braun might have received the Kammler order he mentioned in 1952 that the SS-Baubrigade I was to go to Steyr. It is possible that the construction brigade now became a railway construction brigade and was given a new order. SS-Oberscharführer Högelow stated in 1952 that the construction brigade in Hohlstedt "was reassigned again and this time as a Railway Replenishment Construction Unit" and was deployed as such until the whole transport dissolved.[8]

The train altered direction and traveled via Pirna and Prague to Pilsen, which, according to a record of a former prisoner, it reached on April 21, 1945. After a further journey, lasting a week, the construction brigade reached Steyr on April 28, 1945. At least 20 prisoners died on the journey or were shot when they sought cover under a railway wagon during a bombing raid. The train was reportedly used by more than 160 prisoners to escape and was subjected several times to bombing attacks. It is not possible to determine how many prisoners reached Steyr. From Steyr they were transferred to the Mauthausen subcamp Steyr-Münichholz. Two days after reaching Mauthausen, on May 5, 1945, American tanks freed the camp.

After the war, the commanders of the SS-Baubrigade I escaped criminal punishment. Because of his membership in the SS, Högelow was imprisoned in Esterwegen until 1949; subsequently kept in detention for trial, he was released in 1951. Later investigations against him were fruitless. The Freiburg State Court sentenced Fehrenbacher in 1955 to a term of seven years in a penitentiary.

SOURCES The camp was described in an outline for the first time by Frank Baranowski, *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Druck, 1998). Jens-Christian Wagner's, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001) used this work in a study on the Mittelbau concentration camp. The Sollstedt subcamp received more attention in a book on the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The most important sources are the investigative files at BA-L, 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. File note dated October 10, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald Nr. 47, p. 169.
2. See the report of the Dutch Searching Service from August 1948, AG-NG, Ng. 6.4.90.
3. See Waffen-SS-BB I, "Namentliche Liste der am 21. März 1945 vom KL Mittelbau zur hiesigen Einheit überstellten 250 Häftlinge," March 25, 1945, SVG, Tr 184.600/31-R.429.
4. SVG, TR 184.600/21.
5. See the "Geständnis Högelows" written by prisoners dated May 1945, BA-L, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, pp. 128–130.
6. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771, entry for February 10, 1945.
7. See Helmut Knöller's report, AG-NG, Nr. 1317.
8. Otto Högelow, June 16, 1952, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, p. 52R.

SPREENHAGEN (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB II)

For a short time at the end of 1944, the SS-Baubrigade II stationed in Berlin since April 1944 had a subcamp in Spreenhagen (County Oder-Spree). A list of the guards of the SS-Baubrigade II of January 1945 mentions this subcamp for the first time; SS-Rottenführer Wilhelm Kopiska is listed as its commander.[1] A report to the Kommandantur of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, dated January 25, 1945, includes a note that the Spreenhagen labor detachment was reassigned to the SS-Construction Management in Bad Saarow (County Oder-Spree) on January 1, 1945.[2]

As the Sachsenhausen subcamp Ketschendorf in Fürstenwalde (County Oder-Spree) maintained a construction site among other places also at Spreenhagen, it is likely that the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II had to work there too.[3] The SS-Construction Management organizations "Reich Nord" and "Kurmark" maintained several sites at Bad Saarow, where prisoners of a Sachsenhausen subcamp located in Bad Saarow had to work.[4] Therefore, it is also possible that the prisoners of the construction brigades were transferred there in January 1945.

SOURCES Reviewing the records of the investigations by the ZdL about the Berlin camps of the SS-Baubrigade II held at BA-L (IV 406 AR 594-596/73) did not yield any further information.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB II, January 1, 1945, RGVA, 1367/1/14, pp. 32–41.
2. Ibid., p. 41.
3. Stefanie Endlich, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), 2:275.
4. Ibid., 2:239.

WIEDA (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

The SS-Baubrigade III was based in Wieda, a small village in the Harz Mountains, from May 1944 to April 1945. The location put it in the radius of the Mittelbau concentration camp complex then being established.

Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was responsible for establishing this camp. After the sites for assembling the long-distance A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket (the later V-2) were bombed, Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler, and Heinrich Himmler decided in mid-August 1943 to push for the enlargement, "with the heavy utilization" of concentration camp prisoners, of an underground facility in the Harz Mountains. Himmler appointed Kammler to carry out the construction.[1] The whole project was coordinated under the so-called Mittelwerk GmbH, established in September 1943.

Kammler wanted to use the SS construction brigades to build a new rail line so the existing Osterhagen to Nordhausen line could be used exclusively for armaments industry transportation. The Mittelwerk GmbH entrusted management and construction of the rail line to the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), which in turn revived an older plan to build a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) track (called the "Helmetalbahn") south of the existing line and through the Helme valley. The Berlin company Tiefbau AG Julius Berger undertook the major excavation work.

The construction of Helmetalbahn dominated the prisoners' life until the end of the war. SS-Baubrigade III was assigned the westernmost of the three construction zones, the section from Osterhagen to Mackenrode. The administration for this section was in Mackenrode, and the SS-Baubrigade III established three subcamps along this part of the line: at Osterhagen, Nüxei, and Mackenrode.

After the Cologne camp with its remaining 311 prisoners of the SS-BB III was dismantled, and the Wieda camp was set up, the brigade began its work on May 16, 1944. Then 700 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp joined them on June 7, 1944.[2]

An empty clubhouse of a marksmen's association formed the center of the camp in Wieda. Around it were other buildings that served as the brigade's administrative offices, a kitchen, a laundry, and an infirmary, and the grounds were fenced in and outfitted with watchtowers. On average, about 100 prisoners were housed here. Living conditions in this auxiliary camp generally were better than in the subcamps, especially as Wieda had the central kitchen. In addition, inmates here did not have to do exhausting construction work but, instead, either remained in the camp, built barracks in Niedersachswerfen, worked for private persons, or were set to work in or by the communal administration.

Brigade guards lived in barracks built for them close to the camp. Unlike in Cologne, where police and auxiliaries had been recruited, here the SS relied on Luftwaffe soldiers, in any case available because the Luftwaffe was having difficulties with its supply lines. They came under the command of the SS as of September 1, 1944. In January 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III guards included an SS leader, 42 SS noncommissioned officers, and 132 SS men.[3]

The integration of the Wieda camp into the system of camps centered on Mittelbau meant death loomed more sharply over the prisoners. A small infirmary was set up in Wieda for minor cases, while other cases were sent to the Buchenwald auxiliary camp Dora or, starting in May 1944, to the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp that became part of Mittelbau and after January 1945 to the Boelcke-Kaserne. After June 1944, all transports to and from the construction brigade went through Mittelbau, without exception. As of July 1944, the guard details came under the control of the "SS-Standort Mittelbau"; and by October 1944, the construction brigades in the Harz came under the control of what had become the independent Mittelbau concentration camp. The transfer of control in January 1945 to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was pro forma.

In the first few weeks, a surprisingly strong interaction developed between the Wieda camp and the surrounding community. Soldiers serving as guards played soccer with the prisoners on the sports field, and it is said that after the game they all marched singing through the village. One female villager reported: "In the first weeks after the camp was set up, it was like the annual fair. After work, in the evenings, the prisoners sat in the cleared area in front of the marksmen's tent, and some of them, especially the Gypsies, had instruments, mandolins or guitars, and made music. Many villagers, both young and old, stopped on the main street in front of the barbed-wire fence to listen in."[4]

This apparent lack of discipline in the camp resulted in the dismissal, in June 1944, of Karl Völkner as leader of the construction brigade. He had been in command since September 1942 and was now transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Until July 20, 1944, a certain SS-Oberscharführer Freys, who had been at the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, temporarily replaced him. SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Behrens replaced him in turn.

Following Behrens's appointment, conditions in the camp deteriorated, and prisoners were replaced. On July 27, 1944, groups of prisoners from SS-Baubrigade III were taken away to Dora from the sites where they were working. Two days later, around 1,000 new prisoners from Dora filled the four camps. With this ruthless replacement, relationships that had developed over the course of a year and a half between at least some of the prisoners were broken. Paul Rassinier, who learned about the SS-Baubrigade III while in the Dora infirmary, accurately remarked that "in less than two months, Wieda became as hard and inhumane as Dora."[5] Behrens remained the leader of SS-Baubrigade III until just before the end of the war but was replaced in early April 1945 by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Merkle.

Some 16 deaths are registered as having occurred up to the time the brigade came under the control of Mittelbau.[6] During the summer, the living conditions deteriorated rapidly, so

that by the end of August 1944, 300 prisoners incapable of working were taken away to the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp.[7] The main reason for prisoner exhaustion lay in the heavy construction work demanded of them; the pace of work dictated by Kammler and the Armaments Ministry was also repeatedly increased.[8] According to Georges Pieper, camp elder (Lagerältester) and Kapo in the construction brigade's office and hence a good source, death rates increased markedly in the winter of 1944–1945: he recalls 74 prisoners dying between December 30, 1944, and April 7, 1945.[9] In early 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III received Jewish prisoners for the first time: about 200 of them were transferred from Dora, though by the end of March they were transferred to the SS-Baubrigade IV.

For the most part the railway line was double-tracked, and many bridges and sections were already finished when work had to stop at the end of March 1945 due to the advancing Allied forces. In a report prepared after the war by the building department of the Reichsbahn office in Kassel, the mass use of prisoners received only scant mention: "In 1944/45, a new rail line for goods traffic from Osterhagen to Nordhausen was built to relieve the Northeim to Nordhausen line, length about thirty kilometers [18.6 miles.] . . . Several thousand men (prisoners and concentration camp inmates) worked on it. Work stopped at the end of the war due to the American advance."[10]

On April 5, 1945, the prisoners from the Nüxei and Mackenrode subcamps were taken to Wieda, and the next day, so were the prisoners from the Osterhagen subcamp. On April 7, 1,135 prisoners were marched, in a northwesterly direction, through the Harz Mountains. A train took those who were ill, numbering somewhat more than 300.

On April 9, 1945, SS-Baubrigade III, now reassembled, left the Wernigerode railroad station in a single train: camp leader Merkle had by now disappeared. The train made it as far as Letzlingen, a village north of Magdeburg at about the same latitude as Berlin. About 900 prisoners were able to flee here during a bombing raid, though during the course of the day, 200 were recaptured and returned to the train by SS guards. The SS then forced these 200 on a march at whose end, on April 24, 1945, 50 prisoners remained to be liberated. Some in this group were able to escape en route, but most had collapsed dead by the wayside or had been shot.

A second group of around 600 prisoners who had been recaptured near Letzlingen was marched in a southeasterly direction. Here, too, there were mass escapes and shootings, whereby civilians and men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) particularly distinguished themselves. Around 500 prisoners of this group were liberated near Burgstall on April 14, 1945. The ill, who remained behind on the train at Letzlingen, were probably the victims of the infamous massacre at Gardelegen. According to estimates by historian Joachim Neander, of the 1,135 prisoners who left Wieda, only about 700 lived long enough to experience liberation.

SOURCES A local group, the AgSSüHR, has collected considerable material about the SS-Baubrigade III camp, including maps, photographs, and reports by survivors and eyewitnesses. See Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn: Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133. Since the 1960s, Manfred Bornemann has also collected material and evidence about the camp in *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau: Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994). Joachim Neander's dissertation investigated this particular death march in detail. See Neander, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Mittelbau' in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im 'Dritten Reich' gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bremen, 1996). A recent monograph has also addressed the particular situation of the SS-Baubrigade III in Wieda and its relation to the Mittelbau concentration camp complex: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Sources are scattered, although the aforementioned literature provides initial guidance. Important collections of sources can be found at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten). The AG-MD holds copies of the transport lists from Warsaw (KL Buchenwald Nr. 36, KL Mittelbau Nr. 9), reports from survivors, and some of the files of the local building administration at Mackenrode. The investigation files of the NWHStA-(D) (Gerichte Rep.: 118/1174-1190, 1338-1349) are also of relevance, as are the holdings at the ZdL (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR 1304/67) at BA-L.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. RFSS Heinrich Himmler, August 21, 1943, BA-B, R 3/1583, 31a.

2. Stärkemeldungen, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 77, 112, 117; ibid., NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; KL Buchenwald, Transportliste, June 6, 1944 (incorrectly dated July), AG-B, 59-110, Bd. 2.

3. Stärkemeldung SS-BB III, January 25, 1945, CChIdK, 1376-1-14, p.35.

4. Emilie Denecke, June 1963, cited by Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau: Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994), p. 211.

5. Paul Rassiner, *Die Lüge des Odysseus* (Wiesbaden, 1959), p.145, cited by Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn: Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie*

den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 63.

6. Tagesmeldungen, May 13, June 7, June 29, October 10, 12, 14, 23, and 27, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

7. Change Reports, in THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Dora Dok./K 395.

8. Reichsarzt SS und Polizei, June 23, 1944, BA, NS 48/26.

9. Georges Pieper, May 2, 1945, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 46.

10. Oberbauabteilung RBD Kassel, April 25, 1954, BA, R 5 Anh. I/46, p. 141R.

WILHELMSHAVEN (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

Prisoners from the Bremen-based SS-Baubrigade II often worked in Wilhelmshaven in 1943, and a subcamp as well as a bomb search detail existed there for a time.

Initially, this strategically important harbor city was to receive 500 prisoners,[1] as a massive area bombing on the night of September 14, 1942, had caused more damage than all of the previous attacks. In early October 1942, Walter Temp, the city's director of construction and head of its construction administration since May 1939, began the relevant negotiations. The Naval Station detail received permission to house the prisoners at Breddewarden, a work camp of the naval garrison.

November 3, 1942, saw the heaviest attack to date on Wilhelmshaven. Bremen's Senator Fischer, as Deputy Reich Defense Commissar, again offered Wilhelmshaven 500 prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade II, and Temp wanted to make them available for cleanup work to the Naval director's office and to the dockyards. But he was unable to recruit the necessary guards, as neither the Naval Station nor the city commandant wanted to make the needed forces available. In pleading tones, Temp wrote to the police president on November 12, 1942: "I am thus forced to draw to your attention that because of this failure, the possibility of removing or cleaning-up the bomb damage in Wilhelmshaven appears to be threatened, and that in a manner that is almost irresponsible. . . . It is therefore requested that the police make available sixty guards for the prisoners in 'protective custody,' possibly augmented by Luftwaffe and SS men."[2] But the police president could not help either. When four construction companies then occupied the quarters that had been proposed, the possibility of using the prisoners was regarded, at least for the time being, as a dead issue.

Wilhelmshaven only received a detachment of the SS-Baubrigade II in the spring of 1943, although the exact date it began its work is unknown. However, it likely began in the wake of the U.S. Army Air Forces offensive that had repeatedly carried out daylight air raids against Wilhelmshaven, starting on January 27, 1943. The city was so heavily bombed on March 22 that for the first time the district leader painted a picture of the downfall of Wilhelmshaven. It is therefore likely that the 175-strong prisoner detachment, whose existence in Wilhelmshaven until August 7, 1943, is confirmed, was sent to the city after this March attack. It was recalled to Bremen on August 8, 1943, as the larger part of SS-Baubrigade II then was to be transferred to Hamburg.[3]

It has not been possible to determine in which building the prisoners in Wilhelmshaven were housed. A former prisoner stated that the camp was located at the navy harbor, but he himself was only in Wilhelmshaven in the fall of 1943.[4]

After the Wilhelmshaven camp was disbanded in August 1943, prisoners from the construction brigade did return to Wilhelmshaven as members of bomb detection squads. Since February 1943, there had been considerable problems with unexploded ordnance. From September 29 to October 21, 1943, and again from November 5 to December 22, 1943, 30 prisoners were sent each time to the city to do the dangerous work of disarming and removing unexploded bombs.[5]

There is scarcely any information about the conditions prisoners faced: no survivors' reports from the SS-Baubrigade II refer to Wilhelmshaven details. Eyewitness Wenzel W. mentions Wilhelmshaven simply as a location where they were deployed.[6] Only Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko reports on working in the Wilhelmshaven bomb detection squad. According to him, the sites were cordoned off, and prisoners had to disarm the bombs themselves. In his time there, eight prisoners were killed while doing this dangerous work.[7] However, none of the prisoners in this commando are listed by name in the Neuengamme death registers.[8]

SOURCES The use of the SS-Baubrigade II commando was first mentioned in a longer study of the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ : Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). An older study on forced labor in Wilhelmshaven does not mention these prisoners: Günther Heuzeroth and Peter Szynka, *Die im Dreck lebten: Ausländische ZwangsarbeiterInnen und Kriegsgefangene in Wilhelmshaven, Delmenhorst, Bremen und Bremerhaven; Ereignisse, Augenzeugenberichte und Dokumente* (Oldenburg: Druck und Verlagscooperative GmbH, 1994). For background on the bombing of Wilhelmshaven, see Rolf Uphoff, *Als der Tag zur Nacht wurde—und die Nacht zum Tage: Wilhelmshaven im Bombenkrieg* (Oldenburg, 1992), pp. 98–108, 128–145. For information on Temp, see Ingo Sommer, *Die Stadt der 500.000: NS-Stadtplanung und Architektur in Wilhelmshaven* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1993), pp. 29, 375; and Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern: Planungen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte im Westen Deutschlands 1940–1950*, vol. 2, *Städte* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), pp. 1035–1051.

There are very few relevant primary sources. In addition to the above-mentioned reports of former prisoners, an exchange of letters exists in the ASt-Wil (4600/6), and there are a few references in a file from the RFSS (BA-B, NS 19/14). Other references may be found in ZdL (at BA-L), AG-NG, and FGNS-H.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. File Note, October 15, 1942, ASt-Wil, 4600/6.
2. Letter, November 2, 1942; and File Note, November 5, 1942, in ibid.
3. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.
4. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 109.
5. SS-WVHA, February 14, 1944, in BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 34.
6. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, ZdL IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 242.
7. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.
8. Toten-Nachweis von Aussenlagern, March 31, 1943, to March 17, 1944, FGNS-H, Archive Hans Schwarz.

WUPPERTAL (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB IV)

Between August 1943 and May 1944 the SS-Baubrigade IV consisting of prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, was stationed in Wuppertal. The first 50 prisoners reached the city on August 24, 1943.[1] Gradually the prisoner numbers were increased—at first to 100 on September 9, then to 400 on October 13, and to 592, the highest number, at the end of November.[2]

The decision to establish this SS construction brigade was said to be that of Albert Speer. A Royal Air Force offensive against the Ruhr, which started in the spring of 1943, resulted in a marked reduction in armaments production. Wuppertal, on the edge of the Ruhr, had largely avoided the large air raids until 1943, although major attacks on the districts of Barmen (May 29, 1943) and Elberfeld (June 25, 1943) had caused considerable destruction. The SS-Baubrigade IV was to carry out "reconstruction in the Ruhr industrial area." A report by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated February 14, 1944, states: "The SS-Baubrigade IV is being deployed in rescue operations and opening up the main streets for transport. The rubble caused by buildings which collapsed due to rain and frost is being removed. Excavation and repair of the destroyed gas and water conduits is taking place. The work is continuing so as to, in the first instance, create accommodations for workers in the Ruhr."[3]

The head of the Office for Emergency Measures in Wuppertal, the city's building councilor Hermann Kell, and SS-Standartenführer Kurt Benn coordinated the operation. Senior Administration Officer Benn as head of the Action Staff Wuppertal City Administration and as member of the Action Staff of the District had good connections to the special staffs of the police, Nazi Party, and mayor. The construction of the camp lasted until September 1943. Benn could give all offices directions to remove bomb damage, and he directed workers to particular sites for the removal of rubble.[4] During this time the prisoners were already working for the city administration.[5]

The SS-BB IV was accommodated at Königshöher Weg 7, a Catholic school in the Elberfeld district of Arrenberg, whose buildings had been destroyed in the summer of 1943. The advance detachment of 50 prisoners first had to establish quarters at Königshöher Weg. An inspection report prepared by the Buchenwald concentration camp doctor in September 1943 states the following: "The Wuppertal subcamp was occupied on August 24, 1943. The prisoners have been accommodated in a school, which has been badly damaged by bombs, but whose renovation is taking place with all available means. Prisoners as well as troops are accommodated provisionally in the not yet renovated school classrooms. Washing and bathing facilities are provisional and are in the process of being installed. The toilets are adequate. A kitchen is not available at this time. Food for the prisoners is cooked in two field kitchens."[6]

The leader of the SS-Baubrigade IV was at first SS-Obersturmführer Arthur Knaust, an engineer, born on June 26, 1909, in Güsten (Sachsen-Anhalt). He was replaced in October 1943 by SS-Obersturmführer Dietrich. Otto Diembt, promoted to SS-Obersturmführer on January 30, 1945, commanded the brigade from December 1943 to February 1945. Diembt was born on March 18, 1907, in Bad Flinsberg. From 1926 to 1939 he worked as a bookkeeper in his hometown. He took part in the French campaign. After that he was a member of the SS-Fourth Death's Head Unit in the Buchenwald concentration camp. After a six-month training course in Dachau and the SS-Junker School in Braunschweig, he was sent to the SS-Baubrigade.[7] The guards consisted primarily of police from the 6th Police District, who were based in the nearby Arrenberg Strasse. In the school yard there was a barracks for the guards.[8]

The SS-Baubrigade IV in Wuppertal has not been widely researched. Survivors after the war stated unanimously that there was no mistreatment or violent deaths.[9] In fact, of the 600 prisoners, there is only 1 documented death in February 1944.[10] To a large extent this can be attributed to the behavior of Diembt, who after the war received an unusually positive certification from several prisoners. Richard O. said the following about him in 1971:

> Otto Diembt is probably the only camp leader, who I met during my almost ten-year imprisonment who has deservedly earned that we former prisoners stand up for him and with good conscience. When I, a former protective custody camp prisoner, make such a statement for an SS officer and camp commandant, I do so as a moral duty and with gratitude, because we were treated decently by him and above all we have him to thank for our lives. Hundreds of Poles, Russians, French, Czechs, Romanians, Hungarians, and Greeks can confirm at any time that Otto Diembt always treated us prisoners as humans.[11]

According to the former prisoner Josef Sch., Diembt had always treated him "tactfully and correctly" and that he had never forgotten that "human beings stood in front of him."[12]

Another prisoner, Theodor E., shortly after the war raised his voice for Diembt and stated that Diembt had constantly discussed with the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade IV the work, work hours, the prisoners' wishes, and the food supply. Theodor E. stated that Diembt, after assuming his position in Wuppertal, had first ensured that the prisoners from midday on Saturday did not have to work for the rest of the weekend and individually were even allowed to leave the camp. This freedom was only taken away when a directive was received from the Buchenwald camp commandant.[13] Contemporary documents confirm this. Apparently, until the middle of January 1944, the prisoners had to do much less work than elsewhere. On Saturdays there was less work than on weekdays. Until May 1944, there was as a rule no work on Sundays.[14] Diembt had to change this practice at the beginning of 1944—a conference on January 18, 1944, determined that "immediately work on Saturdays shall be for the same length of time as on the other weekdays."[15]

Wuppertal had a particularly favorable prisoner structure and a relatively good supply of food. The German prisoners, who were the prisoner-functionaries, were for the most part political prisoners who did not encourage favoritism.[16] While the supply of food appeared to have been poor, it improved over a longer period when the large detachment was deployed to the heavily destroyed slaughterhouses in Elberfeld. Richard O. stated: "After six weeks we were close to starvation. Then 250 men were deployed to the slaughterhouse. . . . We were there about a year. We recovered and were even able to get some of the food to the prisoners in the camp with the result that not one of the prisoners had to suffer from hunger. From the butchers we received sausages and meat."[17]

There were also many contacts with the resistance organization and the "Eastern workers" (*Ostarbeitern*), who were in the surrounding forced labor camps. The prisoners Karl Possögel, Sergej Selkin, and Dimitrij Maksimov formed a resistance group that was to prepare an armed resistance. Pamphlets and oral propaganda were composed with the German workers and the Ostarbeitern, translated, and distributed. As there were many small work detachments in the city, it was difficult for the SS and police guards to stop contact with the civilian population. Diembt is said to have instructed the SS not to prevent such contact.[18]

The few escape attempts in Wuppertal also indicate that the conditions in the subcamp were relatively bearable. There were six escape attempts from the SS-Baubrigade IV, five of which occurred shortly before it was transferred to the Harz. All the attempts were a success, and none of the escapees were recaptured and returned to Buchenwald.[19] In Wuppertal, unlike other cities, there appears to have been more help from the local population.

Noteworthy is an event that former prisoner Karl Possögel described. On a Sunday, 50 prisoners, guarded by an SS guard, demonstrated in the city. Possögel stated that in April 1945:

> One Sunday the prisoners carried out a regular demonstration in Wuppertal. The police were off duty on Sundays, and so one Sunday a Kommando of approximately fifty prisoners went to work under their Blockführer alone. After doing two hours' work the prisoners in their convicts' clothes and with shaven heads marched off into the center of Elberfeld. For about two hours they went in disciplined formation through the streets singing their camp songs, and with the Blockführer following two hundred yards in the rear, so that people would not think he belonged to the procession. No action was taken against the prisoners on their return to the camp.[20]

Although in Wuppertal there was 1 death, it should not be forgotten that between August 1943 and May 1944, 58 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.[21] What happened to a large transport in the middle of December 1943 is not known, as neither names nor prisoner numbers have survived. Possibly this transport followed a selection either shortly before or after the camp leader was changed and in which prisoners who were sick or who had fallen out of favor were transported away. What happened to 29 prisoners can be explained: after an average stay of three months in Buchenwald, 7 had died, 3 stayed in the camp until it was liberated, 11 were transferred to other Buchenwald subcamps, and 3 were released. There is no information as to what happened to 5 prisoners; 7 prisoners died after they were transferred to Buchenwald, including 5 who were transferred there while Diembt was the camp leader.

The dissolution of the camp began in Wuppertal on May 7, 1944.[22] The SS-Baubrigade IV was sent to Ellrich, a village in the Harz Mountains.

SOURCES The Wuppertal camp has only relatively recently been researched in a study on the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ : Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Primary sources for the SS-Baubrigade IV begin with the relatively complete documents in THStA-W (Collections "NS 4 Buchenwald," "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten"). There are significant gaps in the ASt-W for the period from 1933 to 1945, which makes research difficult. The files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 69/72) at BA-L and denazification proceedings against Otto Diembt (BA-K, Z 42 V/608) are of particular importance. Diembt was acquitted. Additional material may be found at ITS and NARA.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KL Buchenwald (Lagerarzt), September 6, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.

2. The numbers are recorded in ibid., NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

3. SS-WVHA Amt C, February 14, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 36.

4. Stadt Wuppertal (Wasserwerke), November 12, 1943; and Stadt Wuppertal (Gaswerk), November 22, 1943, ASt-W, S XV 23.

5. KL Buchenwald, Forderungsnachweis, September 1943, ITS Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald Nr. 51, p. 320.

6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp (Camp Doctor), September 6, 1943, in THStAW, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.

7. BDC/SSO, in BA.

8. Otto Diembt, August 29, 1963, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 90; and Franz K., April 17, 1972, in ibid., p. 287.

9. See Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2, as well as statement by four other former prisoners in ZdL, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 96–98, 179, 265, 287.

10. Wuppertal, February 4, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

11. Richard O., January 21, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 179R.

12. Josef Sch., February 9, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608, p. 15.

13. Theodor E., January 29, 1947, in ibid., p. 9.

14. See the lists in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 18, 38, 51, 81.

15. SS-BB IV, January 19, 1944, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 7.

16. Emil W., May 23, 1967, in ibid., p. 98.

17. Richard O., January 21, 1971, in ibid., p. 179R; auch Bericht des Schlacht- und Tierhofes für das Jahr 1943, ASt-W, S X 25.

18. Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2; and Judgment of the 18. Spruchkammer des Spruchgerichts Hiddesen, April 2, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608, p. 54.

19. Research on these cases is based on THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, and compared with the database "Fluchten" (Escapes) in the AG-B.

20. Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2.

21. The transfers were compiled from information in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; and research was conducted in AG-B by Harry Stein.

22. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, p. 81.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE V (OSNABRÜCK) (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (SS-EBB V) was the first of eight SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden that the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA) established in the late summer of 1944 as mobile concentration camp prisoner detachments. As a rule, each of these "concentration camps on rails" consisted of 504 prisoners plus guards. Their primary task was to repair the destroyed German railroad network. The trains, which were up to 50 railroad cars long, were refitted in the factories of the concentration camps in the SS's own Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW). About half of the railroad cars housed the prisoners. In addition, there were railroad cars for the kitchen, infirmary, equipment, commandant's office, and accommodation for the guards. Most of the trains carried a Wehrmacht anti-aircraft detachment with two four-barreled anti-aircraft guns as protection against bombing attacks.

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade originated from the Buchenwald SS-Baubrigade V, which in September 1944 was transferred from Normandy to the Harz Mountains. The prisoners, who at first were distributed to various subcamps, were gathered together in Sangerhausen and on October 5, 1944, shipped to Osnabrück. The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade was allocated 180 prisoners, who were sent from Buchenwald and the Mittelbau concentration camp to Heringen. This group was destined for the planned SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade III. However, in the end, it was not formed.[1] Administratively, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade was originally part of the newly independent Mittelbau concentration camp from the end of October 1944 and was taken over by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in January 1945.

The leader of the SS-EBB V was SS-Obersturmführer Helmut Landau, who was born on February 8, 1906, in Krefeld. Landau, an architect, joined the Nazi Party in 1931 and from April 1940 was part of the WVHA (Office C-Construction). In March 1944, he was ordered to the general staff of the SS-Baubrigade V and in the middle of October 1944 took command of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade.[2] In December 1944, there were 62 guards.[3] The largest number of the guards was railroad men, who were assigned for short periods to SS battalions in the concentration camps and then assigned to the railroad brigades. Most of them were born in the 1890s, and they were almost without exception of low SS rank; 21 names of transferred railroad men to the SS-EBB are known.[4]

The trains of the construction brigades were mostly stationed on sidings near train stations, so that the prisoners could reach their work location quickly. The SS-EBB V was quartered at the Osnabrück switching yard; a smaller detachment was based in Hasbergen.[5] The SS-EBB works stood clearly in the context of the deployment of the V weapons. After the war, Landau stated: "The Brigade had the task to remove bomb damage at railroad facilities in this area, so that at night at least one railroad track could be used along this route. This was necessary to transport satisfactorily the V-1 weapons."[6]

Heavy physical labor was the main work for the railroad construction brigades: filling bomb craters, removing destroyed railroad tracks, and laying them anew. In Osnabrück there was also a "city detachment" that stayed to clean up the city. This detachment was popular among the prisoners as it was notable for relatively correct prisoner foremen and SS guards and because it was possible to obtain additional food. This was also the case for the "construction field command" of the construction brigade, whose prisoners built temporary accommodations for SS people in an allotment garden.[7] The deployment of the prisoners in the city can be traced back to

the initiative of Osnabrück mayor Erich Gärtner, who even endeavored to be assigned the coordination of the prisoner deployments.[8]

From the autumn of 1944, SS-Sturmbannführer Weigel was the Inspector of All Construction Brigades (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the WHVA. He reported to Hans Kammler (WVHA, Amtsgruppe C) after an inspection of the SS-Baubrigaden on February 12 and 13, 1945: "The performance of the SS-BB [Baubrigaden] is exemplary. According to the commanders, the Organisation Todt [OT], which is also deployed there, has not reached the same standard."[9] This high performance was extracted from the weak prisoners only through terror. Survivors of the SS-EBB V reported that during their 10 hours of work they had barely a five-minute-long break. They were not even allowed to go to the toilet. Instead, there was a saying: "Work, don't shit."[10] A survivor stated the following about the conditions of the prisoners in Osnabrück: "Just about all the prisoners were sick. Many were only skin and bones; others could barely stand on their legs. Everyone had to work. Now and then I saw that in the evenings a prisoner was carried back to the railroad car. When it was going really poorly for someone he could stay in the infirmary car."[11]

At the end of 1944, the SS-EBB V comprised 410 prisoners.[12] Due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to determine what happened with the remaining prisoners. Probably some had been selected as "incapable of work" and sent to the nearest concentration camp, Neuengamme, and not to their assigned camp. Danish survivors reported that both in the middle of December 1944 and March 1945 some 80 prisoners from Neuengamme were sent to the SS-EBB in exchange for sick prisoners admitted from Osnabrück.[13]

There is evidence for two cases of homicide. An SS guard is said to have shot a Polish prisoner who was being removed from a work group.[14] In addition, an SS man is said to have tortured to death a Soviet prisoner who had escaped. The captured prisoner was returned to the SS-EBB, abused, shot, and then finally killed at close range with several shots to the head.[15] Many prisoners are said to have died during bombing raids. There are also reports of work-related deaths: one prisoner, according to Theodor S., was run over by a train in Osnabrück while fetching water.[16]

Exact numbers are difficult to obtain because the contemporary sources only identify one victim of the SS-EBB.[17] According to survivors' statements, the construction brigade victims were thrown into a damaged building in the vicinity of the railroad lines and once a week were taken to a crematorium in Osnabrück.[18] At the Heger cemetery in Osnabrück, where the prisoners of the subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II were buried, no victims of the SS-EBB were identified other than the above-mentioned casualty.

An undated but contemporary list of 470 names of the SS-EBB prisoners shows that in addition to Soviets (193 prisoners) and Poles (172), Germans (48) were strongly represented. In addition, there were French, Yugoslavs, Italians, "Gypsies," Luxembourgers, Belgians, Dutch, and a Hungarian Jew.[19] A group of 35 Danes who were transferred via Neuengamme to the SS-EBB V survived the war.[20] Before their departure from Neuengamme, they received warm clothing and two packets of food from the Red Cross. At the contruction brigade they lived in two railroad cars, stayed close together, and generally worked on the better assignments in the city. On April 2, 1945, the Danes could leave the subcamp as a result of the Bernadotte mission, which resulted in Scandinavian prisoners being released from concentration camps during the last weeks of the war.

At the beginning of April 1945, the remaining prisoners were evacuated by train at first to Bremen, where for three long weeks they had to load locomotives on to ferries to be transported across the Weser River. At the end of April, the prisoners were taken to Nordenham and put on the ship *Apollo*. After a two-day trip through the Kiel Canal, they reached the Flensburg Fjord at the beginning of May 1945.[21] It is alleged that several murders were committed during the evacuation. In a statement signed shortly after the war's end, a survivor stated that an SS Rottenführer single-handedly killed 18 nontransportable Soviet prisoners with a hand grenade. Another Rottenführer was accused of shooting four Russians on May 1, 1945. Outside of Flensburg, the prisoners were loaded onto the damaged ship *Rheinfels*, crammed in with other prisoners from Stutthof and Neuengamme. On May 3, 1945, all the SS guards left their posts, and on May 5 the prisoners were liberated. While the German prisoners were taken to a recuperation camp in Flensburg, the Swedish Red Cross made a ship available to take the foreign survivors to Malmö.[22]

None of those responsible for crimes committed in the SS-EBBs were convicted. Landau was able to successfully conceal his role as SS leader of the Baubrigade and was sentenced to three years' prison solely for being a member of the SS.[23] Anton Schettler, who was born on October 10, 1910, in Pestovac, and was charged with shooting the recaptured Soviet prisoner, was declared dead, with the result that no proceedings were opened against him.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V first became a subject of research in connection with a dissertation about all of the SS-Baubrigaden, published by Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). This is partly due to the fact that there are few contemporary sources, so the outline of the Eisenbahnbaubrigade V can only be reconstructed by combining widely disparate sources.

Especially important primary sources are the archives of former ZdL (now BA-L), which contains copies of contemporary sources, especially statements from the survivors (IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, IV 406 AR-Z 227/73). There is also some relevant documentation in CChIdK. A published witness testimony is Jørgen H. P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne: En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fngsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KZ Mittelbau Camp, October 11, 1944, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 7; Transportmeldungen, October 8, 1944, in ibid., IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, pp. 59–62.

2. BDC/SSO RS, Helmut Landau, born February 8, 1906, BA-BL; BA-K, Z 42 VI/1536.

3. Schlussvermerk, August 16, 1973, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, p. 493.

4. KZ Neuengamme, Kommandantur, March 13, 1945, CChIdK,1367/1/14, p. 56.

5. Karl J., September 17, 1972, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 252; and Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne: En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fngsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), p. 211.

6. Helmut Landau, February 28, 1973, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 639.

7. Josef J., August 25, 1971, in ibid., p. 37; and Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 212.

8. Protokolle, November 10, 1944, NStA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX, Nr. 124.

9. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS-Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.

10. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 213.

11. Felix L., February 6, 1973, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 631.

12. KZ Mittelbau, December 31, 1944, in ibid., 406 AR 85/67, p. 43.

13. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, pp. 211, 214.

14. Josef J., August 25, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 37.

15. Hans L., July 20, 1973, in ibid., p. 642.

16. Theodor S., January 25, 1973, in ibid., p. 572.

17. The German prisoner Hermann Enderun, identified through the Data Base of the AG-NG and documents at the Hege cemetery in Osnabrück, 1970.

18. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 214.

19. "Verzeichnis der Häftlinge der 5. SS-Baubrigade (E)" (n.d.), ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, pp. 81–90.

20. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, pp. 211–214.

21. Documents of Anton A., prior to February 1947, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 530.

22. See prisoners' statements in ibid., IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 28–30, 253, 669; ibid., IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 37, 145–149; ibid., IV AR-Z 182/73, pp. 108, 243.

23. Spruchgericht Recklinghausen, September 28, 1948, in BA, Z 42 VI/1536.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VI [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE VI (E)] (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI (SS-EBB VI), one of eight mobile "concentration camps on rails," was first established as the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade I at the Buchenwald concentration camp. On September 12, 1944, 504 prisoners stood ready to be transported at the Buchenwald Railway Station.[1] At the beginning of November 1944, the unit was renamed. Until then it had been listed under various names (also "Mittelbau/VIth SS Construction Brigade"; "1st SS Railroad Train, Construction Brigade 6").[2] On October 28, 1944, the newly independent concentration camp Mittelbau took over the 514 prisoners of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI. On January 1, 1945, it was taken over by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp along with all other SS-Baubrigaden.

The command of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI was assigned to Walter Fikeis, born in Vienna on June 7, 1914. Fikeis, an Austrian engineer, had been a member of the SA since 1932 and with his appointment as camp commander was promoted to SS-Obersturmführer. Since 1942, he had worked in the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings. Before 1944, he was at first a member of the Central Construction Administration of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), Caucasus, and subsequently was with the Central Construction Administration "Reich Süd" in Dachau.[3] The guard included 65 SS members, about half of whom belonged to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C and the other half to Amtsgruppe D.[4] Among them was a major group of older railroad men who had been drafted into the SS battalions of the concentration camps. Hans R., a former senior Reichsbahn official, stated at the beginning of the 1970s that in November 1944, pursuant to a decree of the Reich Ministry of Transport, the Nürnberg Railway Administration registered him as a "railway construction expert" with the Waffen-SS. Accordingly, on November 24, 1944, he received training in the Dachau concentration camp and, with 15 other railway officials, was dispatched to the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI.[5]

At first the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI also had a functional relationship with the armaments and rocket center being established in the Harz Mountains. Its destination was Cologne, where the railway station "Köln-Eifeltor," an important traffic connection for the transport of V weapons (*Vergeltungswaffe*) to the southwest, had been heavily destroyed. On September 12, 1944, the prisoners were loaded onto a ready construction train at the Weimar railway freight station.[6] That same evening, the train departed and the next day reached the railroad station Berga-Kelbra near Nordhausen. The construction brigade remained there until September; at times the prisoners worked in Sangerhausen, where they had to dig trenches for the laying of telephone cables. On October 1, 1944, the SS-EBB VI left Berga-Kelbra. But it first pulled up in Bingerbrück (near Bingen on the Rhine River), where it arrived on October 2, 1944. There it repaired railway tracks on the right side of the Rhine, which also provided an important connection to the Saar River and France. Only on November 1, 1944, did the construction brigade finally arrive in Cologne. Because of the constant bombing raids on that city, the construction brigade stayed in a tunnel near Brühl. From there, the prisoners were taken daily by railroad to work at the Köln-Eifeltor railway station.

In a 1998 interview, Iwan Wassiljewitsch Werenitsch describes the work of the prisoners: "The station was always being bombed. Our main work was as follows: rebuild the

foundation, remove the destroyed rails, level the ground, lay ties, seal, screw down, that is, build new tracks."[7] In addition, after bombing attacks the prisoners had to uncover unexploded bombs in the area of the railway station and in the immediate vicinity and retrieve the bodies.

At the end of 1944, 465 prisoners were still counted in the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI, although up to that point at least an additional 61 prisoners had been transferred to the construction brigade.[8] Presumably the largest portion of the approximately 100 missing prisoners managed to escape. In the fall of 1944 the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden, which operated in areas difficult to guard, belonged to a group of subcamps that offered particularly good opportunities for escape. For this reason, the resistance movement in Buchenwald took care that specially endangered prisoners were located in such camps. In September 1944, it put several Soviet prisoners on the list of transports for the SS-Eisenbabhnbaubrigade VII so that they could escape. It also managed to dispatch there two "escape point coordinators."

Already during the night of departure on October 1–2, 1943, 23 prisoners in a train car near Kassel had forced open the doors and escaped. The furious SS officers thereupon threatened as punishment to send every tenth prisoner to Mittelbau or to string him up on the gallows—not the least because the SS leaders were threatened with disciplinary proceedings if there were high numbers of escapes.[9] Proceedings were initiated against Fikeis for failure of the guard in the field and for the negligent release of prisoners—which, however, remained pending until the end of the war.

This escape was part of a controversial decision among the prisoners. Alexander Agafonow, then a prisoner in the SS-EBB VI, writes:

> A bold and, in my opinion, rash escape: in the center of Germany, near Kassel, surrounded by a fanatic populace cowed by terror, quick acting youngsters of the Hitler Youth and then escaped prisoners in striped inmates' clothing! At the first attempt to get hold of clothing or food the populace will raise the alarm and the chase will begin. No, I thought, the chances for the escapees are equal to nil. Only obsessed braves or men driven to despair act this way. Gustav and Ernst had been urged to risk the escape only near Köln, in no case earlier.[10]

In fact, the conditions for escape in Cologne were favorable. In November 1944, the SS-EBB VI was located only 21 kilometers (13 miles) away from the Allies; the battles could be heard.[11] Further, it was easily possible to escape during the confusion caused by bombing raids. Often, the SS could not determine definitely whether the prisoners had escaped or had been dismembered beyond recognition during a raid. Therefore, those that remained behind were spared the threatened punishment actions. A young Russian who was helped by forced laborers from his hometown made the first successful escape in Cologne. Agafonow, too, was able to flee later during a bombing raid and was helped by female workers from the East located in a camp nearby.[12]

Because of the difficult transport conditions at the end of 1944, hardly any transports of individual prisoners to the political department of the concentration camps were carried out any more as punishment. Instead, a car of the SS-EBB VI was converted into a prison, in which, for instance, Russians were jailed who had been caught looting and were to be transferred from Bingerbrück to the Gestapo in Mainz.[13] Also, often at random, forced laborers were impressed into the SS-Baubrigade. Thus, after 2 Russians had escaped during an air-raid alarm at the beginning of March 1945, Fikeis simply arrested 4 Italian workers who from then on had to stay with the construction brigade.[14] However, large prisoner transports took place until the last days of the war. In the spring of 1945, SS-EBB VI sent 76 inmates to Buchenwald, for which in return it received 100 inmates.[15]

At this point the SS-EBB VI was already in retreat. Despite the quickly approaching Western Allies, the construction brigade was transferred as late as February 9, 1945, from Cologne to Zündorf on the right side of the Rhine.[16] Work was now performed on the Gremberg railway station, until on March 1 the train traveled on to Troisdorf. On March 8, 1945, one day after American troops crossed the Rhine over the bridge at Remagen, the redeployment began toward the East. The train advanced only a kilometer (0.6 miles) at a time and reached Nordhausen on March 11, which made the prisoners fear the worst. However, the train continued moving and reached Freital via Dresden. There, until April 8, cleanup work was resumed. On April 23, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI reached Passau via Dresden, Chemnitz, Plauen, and Pilsen and, five days later, Salzburg, where on May 4, 1945, the prisoners were liberated.

After the war, Fikeis was presumed missing. An investigation that only was initiated in the 1970s was abandoned in 1973.

SOURCES The files of the Cologne State Attorney's Office held at THStA-(D), Court Rep. 118/2104-2106) as well as at the BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 95/73) are among the most important sources. In addition, the journal-like chronicle of former prisoner Jules Carette, "Souvenirs de Buchenwald & de la 1e SS-Eisenbahn-Baubrigade. Einheit Bauzug" (MSS, Lille, n.d.), and the memoirs of Alexander Agafonow, *Erinnerungen eines notorischen Deserteurs* (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1993) are of particular importance. Otherwise, there are no specific publications about the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI. It was only discussed in connection with a dissertation about all SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Buchenwald concentration camp, handwritten notice, n.d., ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 47, p. 51;

transport list dated September 1944, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 95/73, pp. 138–141.

2. Buchenwald concentration camp, Bewegungsmeldungen 12.9.-21.10.1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; KZ Buchenwald, Anschriften der Kommandos, ca. September 1944, ibid., NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.

3. Walter Fikeis, born June 7, 1914, BA-B, BDC/SSO, RS.

4. SS-EBB VI, January 25, 1945, RGVA, 1361/1/14, pp. 61–62.

5. Statement Hans R., HStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 118/2105, p. 232.

6. Jules Carette, "Souvenirs de Buchenwald & de la 1e SS-Eisenbahn-Baubrigade. Einheit Bauzug" (MSS, Lille, n.d.).

7. Iwan Wassiljewitsch Werenitsch, September 8, 1998, NS-Dok, Z 10.664, p. 10.

8. Concentration camp Mittelbau, Stärkemeldung December 31, 1944, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 43.

9. Alexander Agafonow, *Erinnerungen eines notorischen Deserteurs* (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1993), pp. 186–187; Carette, "Souvenirs," entry for October 1–2, 1944.

10. Agafonow, *Erinnerungen*, p. 186.

11. Carette, "Souvenirs," entries from October 25 to November 3, 1944.

12. Agafonow, *Erinnerungen*, p. 189.

13. Carette, "Souvenirs," entry for October 6, 1944.

14. Ibid., entry for March 3, 1945.

15. "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos," ca. April 1945, AG-B, 61-0-15-2; Arbeitsstatistik, February 23, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.

16. Carette, "Souvenirs," entries from February 9, 1945.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VII [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE VII (E)] (AUSCHWITZ, BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII (also known as SS-Baubrigade VII (E)) was formed in September 1944 with 505 prisoners as the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade II in the Auschwitz concentration camp. The task of the railroad construction brigade, a mobile concentration camp, was the repair of railroad lines. It was to have been transferred to Buchenwald by September 19, but this only occurred on October 13, 1944.[1] On October 20, 1944, the railroad construction brigade was renamed, and on October 28, 1944, the newly independent Mittelbau concentration camp took over the 498 prisoners. The assumption of control by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on January 1, 1945, was, as with most of the SS-Baubrigaden, merely a formality.

On September 18, 1944, the train carrying 505 prisoners left Auschwitz and reached Karlsruhe on September 26, 1944. Karlsruhe appears not to have been the planned destination but was chosen because, according to former prisoners, large-scale attacks on Karlsruhe began on the day the train arrived in the city.[2] The train was parked on a railroad track near the newly constructed autobahn bridge at the Karlsruhe-Durlach junction. Almost a month later, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII (SS-EBB VII) left Karlsruhe and two days later reached Stuttgart, where it remained until almost the end of the war.[3] At first, the construction train stood in the Prague tunnel, a railroad tunnel to the north of the main railroad station, with guards posted at either end. The prisoners could move within the tunnel before they were locked in the wagons after evening roll call. Other trains traveling through the tunnel during an air-raid alarm ran over 3 prisoners on October 30, 1944. As a result, the train was removed from the tunnel a few days later. The tunnel remained a refuge from the air raids, and sometimes the prisoners had to seek refuge there several times a night.[4]

Kurt Schäfer, an engineering graduate born on June 8, 1911, in Karlsruhe, was commander of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII. He had been a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since 1931. Schäfer was ordered to Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and was probably active in Auschwitz when he took over the construction brigade.[5] What was unusual was that Schäfer's wife and four-year-old daughter traveled with the concentration camp train.[6] While Schäfer was not incriminated by survivors, his deputy is alleged to have been especially brutal. For example, he forced prisoners to hop like frogs and kicked them at the same time. Once he is alleged to have shot a prisoner tortured in this way.[7]

Nevertheless, the SS-EBB VII has been described by survivors as an "oasis among the concentration camps." Ryszard Krosnowski and Aleksander Miziewicz wrote the following:

> Naturally there was heavy labor, poor food, and some of the SS men treated us inhumanely. But in comparison to the conditions that prevailed in the last months of the war in other concentration camps, the construction train was bearable. The reason for this was probably—besides the difference to the classic concentration camp—the type of work, which allowed food to be organized, as well as the guards who supervised the prisoners. At the beginning, the SS men who guarded the construction train had been pulled from the front and had not gone through camp training. They didn't know about how things worked in the other concentration camps, and to a certain extent behaved decently.[8]

The comparatively low level of brutality in this subcamp, in addition to the already mentioned reasons, is based on the rather unique composition of the prisoners. They consisted almost without exception of Poles (three-quarters) and Russians (a quarter). There was no group of German prisoners to take control, and until the end of 1944, as for all construction brigades, there were no Jewish prisoners. These two groups worked hard to maintain solidarity.[9]

The daily routine for the construction brigade ran as follows: Wake at 5:30 A.M., leave for work at 7:00 A.M., half an hour for lunch, workday ends at 5:00 P.M. After the evening roll call at 7:00 P.M., the prisoners were shut in the container cars. The brigade worked until 2:00 P.M. on Sundays.[10]

Since the original files of the SS-EBB VII have survived, it is possible to reconstruct a relatively accurate profile of this construction brigade.[11] Of the 505 prisoners who left Auschwitz on September 18, 1944, 107 were listed as permanently or temporarily absent by April 1, 1945. The largest group, 38 prisoners, was transferred to Auschwitz (3 prisoners), Mittelbau (19), or Sachsenhausen (16) because they were physically weak; 36 had escaped; 10 had been handed over by the SS for punishment—7 to the Gestapo and 3 to the Leonberg subcamp. Temporarily, 11 prisoners were held in hospitals; 12 men died, at least 8 by train accidents or during bombing raids, 1 from poisoning; 2 prisoners were shot by members of the SS. In the same time period, there were 54 arrivals from other camps (4 from Mittelbau, 49 from Buchenwald, and 1 from the SS-EBB VIII); 4 came back from the Gestapo, 7 from the hospital, and another 7 were recaptured after their escape. On April 1, 1945, the day of the evacuation preparation, there were 470 prisoners in the SS-EBB VII. Compared to the prevailing terrible conditions in the main camps at this time, the death rate of 12 prisoners among 569 prisoners is relatively low. However, this does not take into account the fate of the prisoners transferred back to the main camps.

Schäfer did not transfer the prisoners back to the main camp for punishment but to the local police stations in Karlsruhe or Stuttgart, for example, when the prisoners were caught with food taken from the rubble. There was usually an additional entry in the records that a prisoner had refused to work, stirred up trouble, or was planning to escape. In the last weeks of the war, the Stuttgart Gestapo no longer wanted this responsibility. The prisoners were handed back to the construction brigade. As a result, Schäfer introduced other punishment measures. A container car was stripped down to serve as a "Bunker" prison, in which prisoners were locked up for disobedience, contact with civilians, escape attempts, or other supposed infractions. In addition, Schäfer sent prisoners to the Konzentrationslager (KL) Leonberg, a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp in the vicinity of Stuttgart.[12]

On February 20, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, since autumn 1944 Inspector of All Construction Brigades in the WVHA, ordered "special measures for work-shy foreigners" following a visit to Stuttgart. In connection with the SD and Gestapo, there was to be erected within the SS-EBB VII a "Work Education Camp for Foreigners in Empty Railroad Wagons."[13] A few days later, on February 23, 1945, the Stuttgart Gestapo transferred the first "education prisoner." Up to 30 forced laborers were transferred to the construction brigade. The education prisoners were provided with the same living and work conditions (as the rest of the brigade); however, they could be let go after a short period of time.[14]

According to the accounts of survivors, the evacuation of at least a part of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII was unusual. After receiving the order to leave from Stuttgart authorities, SS-Obersturmführer Schäfer decided to divide the train into two parts because of the poor transport situation. The first transport left the city on April 2, 1945, in the direction of Friedrichshafen and, according to a statement of a survivor, arrived in Aulendorf, north of Ravensburg on the upper reaches of Lake Constance.[15] This group was evidently driven on a forced march, where some prisoners were killed.[16]

The second transport with about 200 prisoners left Stuttgart on April 3, 1945, under the command of Schäfer, also in a southerly direction. Three days later it arrived at Biberach. Because of the nearby French troops, everything was in disarray, and the SS men had to fear that they would soon be imprisoned. In this situation, according to two survivors, the prisoners recommended to Schäfer that in case Biberbach was captured, he should disguise himself as an officer in the Wehrmacht, and they would give him a character reference. In exchange, Schäfer would give the construction brigade over to the French. With the exception of two SS men, Schäfer thereupon dismissed all of the guards. The prisoners continued to work in Biberach until April 23, and Schäfer continued to maintain the appearance of a functioning concentration camp.

After an order to vacate, the train started out on April 23, 1945, with a new locomotive. Near Bad Schussenried the prisoners, now in unlocked container cars, overpowered the locomotive engineer and were thus freed. The German troops had already left Schussenried, and the French soldiers, after giving the prisoners weapons, continued their advance. In the now-leaderless city, the prisoners acted as an occupation administration until a proper military administration could be installed. Survivors Krosnowski and Miziewicz wrote about the last days in Schussenried: "Two months after liberation the little town came permanently under French military occupation—and the prisoners, once they had regained their strength and become used to their freedom, dispersed, each to meet his own fate."[17]

After 1945, Schäfer became a prisoner of the French but was not prosecuted because of his activities in the SS-EBB VII. Preliminary proceedings started in the Federal Republic of Germany were halted in 1972. In Schussenried the memory of the "Polish Train" remains alive. A collection of contemporaneous reports includes the following: "The people of Schussenried at first did not know what was happening. In the first few days there were hardly any French in Schussenried. The Poles seized the opportunity and took command. No one dared do anything against the Poles.[18] The people of Schussenried reluctantly accepted that "the Poles" had been given the official city halls as accommodation by the French occupying administration. Nine of the freed prisoners died in Schussenried as a result of their imprisonment in the concentration camps. There is no memorial to these victims on their gravestones.

SOURCES Records on the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII are comparatively extensive. Ryszard Krosnowski took documents

with him when he escaped and gave them to Polish forced laborers in Stuttgart for safekeeping. From there, they reached the Polish Red Cross and the Auschwitz Memorial (APMO, D-Au-I-3, Microfilm Nr. 1960, fol. 1–80). Copies of the documents can be found in the BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205. In addition, the files of the above-mentioned investigation at BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 150/72) as well as the reports of the survivors Ryszard Krosnowski and Aleksander Miziewicz ("7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," *HvA* 5[1962] are important sources. The door of "Haus Silber," the former Gestapo prison in Stuttgart on Dorotheen Strasse, still has the writing of a former prisoner of the 7th Construction Brigade—"Capo Michat, 7. SS-Baubrygady K. L. Auschwitz Gef.-Nr. 162262 Polak Radom Zeromskiego 3"—documented by Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), p. 628. Further sources have been made available in a dissertation on the SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse in Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), p. 881; KZ Buchenwald, note on work statistics, October 10, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 47, p. 169; KZ Buchenwald, Bewegungsmeldung, October 13, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
2. Ryszard Krosnowski and Aleksander Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," *HvA* 5(1962): 45.
3. SS-Baubrigade VII, October 27, 1944, BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3, p. 42.
4. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," pp. 49–50.
5. Kurt Schäfer, born June 8, 1911, BA-B, BDC/RS, SSO.
6. Attorneys Schäfers, December 12, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 150/72, p. 244.
7. Julian R., May 18, 1975, Ibid., p. 306.
8. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," p. 46.
9. Ibid., pp. 46–56; prisoners' list with 488 names, BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3, pp. 5–13 (369 Poles, 116 Russians, 1 Norwegian, 1 Lithuanian, and 1 stateless person).
10. Instruction Kurt Schäfer, n.d., BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3, p. 67.
11. For the following, APMO, D-Au-I-3, pp. 1–80.
12. Ibid.; Krosnowski and Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," pp. 49–53.
13. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
14. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," p. 52; BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3.
15. Walter Hermanutz, "Die Jahre 1945–1947 in Schussenried. Der gestrandete KZ-Zug am Bahnhof Schussenried" (MSS, Schussenried, 1999), p. 1.
16. Kriminalaussenstelle Biberach/Riss, March 8, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 150/72, pp. 129–141.
17. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, "7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade," pp. 55–56.
18. Hermanutz, "Die Jahre 1945–1947 in Schussenried," p. 2.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VIII (SACHSENHAUSEN AND MITTELBAU)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII (SS-EBB VIII), consisting of 504 prisoners, was formed on November 20, 1944, in Sachsenhausen. A few days later the prisoners were taken over by the Mittelbau concentration camp under the numbers 100504 to 101006 [*sic*].[1] As with all other SS construction brigades, from January 1945 it formed part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoners were overwhelmingly Polish and Russian, but there were also French, Germans, Dutch, Italians, Yugoslavians, and Latvians.[2]

Along with the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII was ordered to repair railroad tracks near Stuttgart. The Stuttgart rail network, as well as the city itself, had been severely damaged during continued bombing raids.[3] The Daimler-Benz, Robert Bosch, and Heinkel-Hirth plants, important for fighter production, had already dispersed some of their production facilities, but the attacks endangered the many remaining plants important to the Luftwaffe, as well as the military supplies that were sent through Stuttgart. In September and October, additional attacks resulted in the collapse of traffic around the main railroad station as well as at many stations in the suburbs.[4] The SS-EBB VIII was sent to Stuttgart-Cannstatt where a destroyed train tunnel was to be repaired and a sidetrack laid down. The prisoners of this construction brigade at times also worked on the Stuttgart Castle and its park.[5]

In December 1944, the construction brigade was transferred from Stuttgart to Offenburg. The Offenburg supply railroad station was located on the upper Rhine River on the Basel-Mannheim route. As a transshipment center, it was an important location due to the strategically important trade with Switzerland and Italy. On November 27, 1944, the train station was the target of a large attack, which paralyzed the transport system on the right bank of the Rhine.[6] The SS-EBB VIII reached Offenburg on December 20, 1944.

SS-Obersturmführer Walter Becker, an architect, was in command of the construction brigade until the end of the year. He was born on September 24, 1892, in Mannheim and had joined the SA in 1929 and the SS in 1932. Starting in April 1940, he was part of what became Amtsgruppe C "Construction" of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). From 1940, he was head of construction in Breslau, and later in Posen and Nikolajewsk.[7] Becker was followed on January 1, 1945, by SS-Untersturmführer Herbert Zoeger, a businessman born on October 14, 1901, in Fröbeln (Silesia). Until his appointment with the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII, Zoeger had no full-time function within the SS.[8] Survivors agreed that Becker was a "very bad man," and under his

leadership, hunger and terror ruled. It is alleged that in Stuttgart he personally shot a prisoner after a roll call. He is said to have volunteered for frontline service and was therefore replaced by Zoeger.[9] Zoeger, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly described as humane. In total, the SS guards numbered 73 men, including a number of former railroad men, most born in the 1890s and almost without exception all with a low SS rank.[10]

The SS-EBB VIII was stationed in Offenburg on a track between a school and an inn, in clear view of the local residents. On the initiative of the city mayor, the prisoners were later transferred to a former "Camp for Workers from the East." The mayor was not concerned that the prisoners could be the victims of air raids but rather that the long train could draw the attention of the Allied bomber pilots to the city.[11] The train itself remained at the freight station.

Between February 21 and 23, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, the "Inspector of All Construction Brigades" in the WVHA, visited Offenburg. He reported to Berlin: "General inspection of the work at the large shunting yard. The work of the 8th SS-Construction Brigade is particularly noteworthy as within a short time the through traffic—above all supplies for front line troops—is rolling at night. I ordered night work. This, however, can only be done under difficult conditions because heavy and constant artillery from Strasburg disrupts the work. The losses suffered by the 8th SS-Construction Brigade and the 10th SS-Construction Brigade are considerable."[12]

Included in the "heavy losses" were 10 prisoners who, according to survivors, were killed during bombing raids. On February 15, 1945, the construction train at the freight railroad yard was hit and almost completely burned up.[13] Weigel thereupon ordered that the construction brigade should move to Darmstadt to rebuild the train. The SS-EBB VIII remained in Darmstadt for just two weeks and was then deployed in the suburb of Erzhausen.[14]

In the middle of March 1945, the construction brigade moved with stops for cleanup work through Halle, Plauen, Pilsen, and Passau to Freilassing near Salzburg. It could not go any further, as Salzburg was about to fall. In his denazification proceedings in 1947, Zoeger stated that in the middle of April he received orders from Berlin to shoot the prisoners when he could not advance any further. He decided that on May 2, 1945, when he could not get in contact with a superior, to take responsibility for releasing the prisoners himself.[15] Survivors stated that on this day Zoeger delivered a speech and declared that he would release them on his honor as a German officer. Details of the release were then negotiated with a group of prisoners.[16] According to a survivor, five Soviet prisoners then tried to escape, whereupon the SS opened fire and shot one of them.[17] Zoeger dismissed the SS guards in the direction of Salzburg, distributed to the prisoners official release passes, and received in return a declaration testifying in his favor from many of the prisoners. On the night of May 2–3, 1945, the train, with the help of German railroad employees traveled to Bergen near Traunstein. There, according to a survivor, all the prisoners of the SS-EBB VIII, "including those driven to the very depths of human existence," were set free.[18]

Two survivors independently stated that the number of prisoners freed in Bergen was 216; a third put the number at 262. On January 1, 1945, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII consisted of 436 prisoners.[19] What had happened to the remaining prisoners? According to a survivor—who did office work, probably working in the administration—at least 80 prisoners had been sent to Sachsenhausen, Dachau, or other camps; around 15 had died during bombing raids or because of illness; and 100 had escaped.[20] Zoeger himself stated in 1972 that in Halle he sent two railroad cars full of the sick in the direction of Sachsenhausen because a military hospital had refused to take custody of them, and Zoeger did not want to travel with the sick anymore. Furthermore, according to the recollections of another prisoner, some prisoners—possibly in Passau—were transferred to the SS-Baubrigade XI and traveled with it to Ebensee.[21] In addition to the abovementioned shooting of 5 prisoners, 3 prisoners were believed to have been shot in Offenburg—a prisoner who had reached down to grab a cigarette butt, a mentally disturbed prisoner, and a recaptured escapee.

The SS camp leader, Becker, heavily incriminated by statements of survivors, stated in 1947 in a Nürnberg internment camp that as an architect he did not have an opportunity to be "politically active."[22] By the time the Ludwigsburg State Prosecutor's Office investigated the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII in the 1970s, Becker had already died. In order to credibly defend himself in front of the court during his hearing, Zoeger claimed to have experienced an inner change after taking over the construction brigade. He stated that what remained of his belief in the National Socialist leadership collapsed on the day that he first saw the prisoners. It is true that up until this time Zoeger had not had professional contact with the concentration camp system. The certificate that the prisoners gave him on May 2, 1945, the day of their release, was helpful. The text of the declaration, signed by 14 Polish and Soviet prisoners, read: "On January 1, 1945, Herr Herbert Zoeger took command of the SS-EBB VIII, which consisted of Polish and Russian political prisoners. The entire time up until the present day Herr Zoeger did all that he could to improve our living conditions and protect our health and lives. With our own free will we sign this document with gratitude."[23] Preliminary proceedings started by the Regional Court in Offenburg were discontinued in 1974.

SOURCES There is nothing at the Offenburg Railroad Station to memorialize the prisoners of the SS-EBB VIII. Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73(1993): 481–485, relied mostly on the files held by the BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 171/73) and on the inspection report of Gerhard Weigel at the BA-B (NS 19/771), but he also found some papers in the ASt-OG (NL Rombach; 18-2-16 Plans). Scattered single sources on the SS-EBB VIII were found in a dissertation on the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen*,

der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, p. 43.
2. Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, prisoners' lists, November 30, 1944, AG-MD, Film B1, pp. 195–205.
3. Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), pp. 457–479.
4. Bundesbahndirektion Stuttgart, "Die Leistungen der Deutschen Reichsbahn im Bezirk der früheren RBD Stuttgart während des 2. Weltkrieges," Stuttgart 1954, BA-B, R 5 Anh. I/85, p. 3.
5. Walter G., April 5, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 197–199; Zenon L., March 18, 1972, ibid., pp. 272–276; and Witold K., June 26, 1972, ibid., pp. 407–408.
6. Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73(1993): 481–485.
7. Walter Becker, born September 24, 1892, BA-B, BDC/RS, SSO.
8. Herbert Zoeger, born October 14, 1901, in ibid., BDC/PK, RS, SSO.
9. Nikolaj W., November 14, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 16–19.
10. SS-EBB VIII, January 15, 1945, RGVA, 1361/1/14, pp. 15–16.
11. Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen," p. 496.
12. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
13. "Bericht über wichtige Ereignisse während des 2. Weltkrieges im Bezirk der Reichsbahndirektion Karlsruhe," BA-B, R 5 Anh. I/44, p. 36.
14. Herbert Zoeger, August 1, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, p. 304.
15. Herbert Zoeger, August 16, 1947, in ibid., p. 460.
16. Zenon L., March 18, 1972, in ibid., pp. 272–276.
17. Adam Z., March 16, 1973, ibid., pp. 277–280.
18. Wiktor A., April 22, 1972, ibid., p. 400.
19. SS-EBB VIII, prisoners' list of names, January 1, 1945, AG-S, R 122/14.
20. Nikolaj W., November 14, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 16–19.
21. Jerzy J., April 22, 1972, ibid., p. 405.
22. Personnel file Walter Becker, ibid., p. 185.
23. Declaration signed by several unnamed prisoners, May 2, 1945, ibid., p. 476.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE IX (SACHSENHAUSEN)

The first volume of the *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German-Occupied Territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* of the International Tracing Service (ITS), edited in July 1945 in Arolsen, contains the following reference to the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade IX (SS-EBB IX): "CC Kdo. of Sachsenhausen, established around the end of Nov. forty-four, of five hundred pris., this Baubrigade was employed in railway repair work in Stuttgart until end of Dec. Work was continued in Offenburg near Strasbourg, until end of Febr. 45, then the brigade moved to Darmstadt and, half an hour before the Allied troops entered Darmstadt, via Frankfurt/M., Würzburg, Nürnberg, Regensburg, Pilsen, Salzburg, and Linz, to Ebensee (Netherlands Red Cross)."[1]

Based on this source, researchers, including state prosecutors, assumed that SS-EBB IX had actually existed.[2] However, a recent investigation indicates that the creation of this construction brigade was planned but never actually carried out.[3]

The basis for this conjecture is that for the SS-EBB IX in contrast to the rest of the SS construction brigades—not one contemporary source has been found. Even though the Dutch report suggests that the files of this construction brigade were completely burned at the end of February 1945 in Darmstadt during an attack on the administration car of the construction brigade,[4] it is still remarkable that neither prisoner lists are available from the ITS,[5] nor are there variation reports, kept in electronic format, in the AG-S that contain any reference to the SS-EBB IX.[6] According to the Dutch report, up to 250 prisoners of this construction brigade are said to have been killed in bombing raids. However, the documents kept at the cemeteries in Stuttgart, Offenburg, and Darmstadt, the supposed sites of the brigade's deployment, contain no reference to victims of the SS-EBB IX.

Gerhard Weigel, the "Inspector of All Construction Brigades" in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), visited Offenburg between February 21 and 23, 1945, the period in which the SS-EBB IX was said to have been stationed in Offenburg. He mentioned the SS-Baubrigaden VIII and X but not IX.[7] In addition, the supposed evacuation goal, the Mauthausen Ebensee subcamp, has no record of the brigade—unlike the SS-Baubrigaden XI and XII.[8] The AG-M likewise does not hold any documents on the SS-EBB IX.

Bernd Boll based his assertion that the SS-EBB IX was in Offenburg on diary entries of the mayor who wrote about "two long trains with concentration camp prisoners" on December 25, 1944. This does allow for the possibility that two construction brigades were stationed in Offenburg at that time. However, the construction brigade trains were, owing to their length of up to 50 railroad cars, often parked in two rows on different tracks, so this cannot be seen as sufficient evidence for the existence of the SS-EBB IX.[9] Inquiries by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have revealed no further evidence about the SS-EBB IX to date. The name of a single SS officer for the brigade cannot be ascertained.[10]

A comparison of lists of names eventually supplied an explanation. Five of six known Dutchmen who, after the war, were regarded as missing from the SS-EBB IX, or who—as survivors of the SS-EBB IX—were considered by the Ludwigsburg State Prosecutor as possible witnesses, are to be

found on the prisoners lists for the SS-EBB VIII from January 1, 1945.[11] As the sites the survivors mentioned and the details of their activities correspond to those of the SS-EBB VIII, one can now assume that the survivors' statements, which until now have been attributed to the SS-EBB IX, should be attributed to the SS-EBB VIII.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German-Occupied Territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945*, vol. 1, ed. ITS Hq. (Arolsen, July 1949), reprinted in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 367.
2. Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73(1993): 480–514; BA-L, IV 406 AR 1122/71.
3. Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).
4. Studie über die "SS-Baubrigaden," herausgegeben vom Auskunftsbüro des Niederländischen Roten Kreuzes (Nationales Ermittlungsbüro), la Haye, April 1949, BA-L, Binder Collections 311h, Picture Nr. 259ff; State Prosecutor Amsterdam, April 18, 1975, ibid., IV 406 AR 1122/71, p. 71.
5. ITS, 24.1.1972, ibid., p. 9.
6. Statement by the AG-S to the writer, March 19, 2001.
7. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
8. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, p. 378.
9. Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen," p. 496.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1122/71.
11. SS-EBB VIII, Häftlingsnamensliste, 1.1.1945, AG-S, R 122/14.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE X (BUCHENWALD AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X (SS-EBB X) was the only SS construction brigade that was made up of Jewish prisoners. It was established in December 1944 with 504 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp and sent on January 2, 1945, to Offenburg to repair the railroad infrastructure there. Three days later, as with the other SS construction brigades, it came under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[1] The train was stationed in the heavily damaged Offenburg train station, an important transportation center in the Southwest. In contrast to the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade VIII, who arrived in Offenburg about two weeks earlier and who were housed in a former forced labor camp, the prisoners of the SS-EBB X had to live in the railroad cars.[2]

The head of SS-EBB X was SS-Obersturmführer Ludwig Petz, who was born on June 9, 1912, in Munich. He was an architect and since 1938 had worked full-time at various SS construction sites. Beginning in November 1941, he was a member of the Construction Inspectorate "Balkan," part of the Higher-SS and Police Leader's (HSSPF) office in Serbia. On October 15, 1944, he was appointed head of the SS-EBB X.[3] The guards consisted almost exclusively of railroad employees who were called up for a short time in accordance with an October 29, 1944, agreement between the German Ministry of Transport and the Waffen-SS. After a four-week training course in the Dachau concentration camp, they were assigned to the railroad construction brigade.[4] The 60 railroad men were mostly around 45 years old. The eldest was born in 1884 and the youngest in 1905.[5]

Except for 11 prisoners, the SS-EBB X comprised Hungarian Jews as well as a smaller group of Polish and Czech Jews.[6] The use of Jewish prisoners in a construction brigade was later stopped—whether by Heinrich Himmler personally or the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) cannot be ascertained. It was expressly ordered that only "Aryan" prisoners could be used in the construction brigades. Instructions for a transport of prisoners to the SS-Baubrigade XII in Buchenwald in February 1945 stated that "two hundred Aryans" were to be made available.[7] The reason for this instruction is that in the construction brigades it was never possible to prevent contact completely with the surrounding community and escapes were numerous. The SS-EBB X's prisoner-functionaries were 11 non-Jewish German prisoners who were transferred from Dachau and Mauthausen to Buchenwald.[8]

One of these functionaries, Josef D., described the construction train as follows:

> The Eisenbahnbaubrigade consisted of a staff of SS men (ca. six men, ca. forty to fifty SS guards, ca. twelve Kapos, and ca. five hundred Jewish prisoners). A special train was assembled at the train station at Buchenwald for them, which consisted of approximately fifty to sixty cars. The prisoners were put in cattle cars. The guards were billeted in a simple passenger car. The staff was in well-equipped saloon cars. In addition, there was a car for tools and supplies and for the prisoners' kitchen. The SS staff and guards had special cooking facilities. The car for us Kapos was equipped with wooden bunks and wood shavings. There were twelve of us in the car. The Jewish prisoners, on the other hand, were cramped together and had to sleep two or three to a wooden bunk without a straw bag. The wooden bunks were double-storied. There were a good forty to fifty prisoners in a car.[9]

At any one time, groups of 98 Jewish prisoners and 2 prisoner-functionaries were put to cleanup work on the Offenburg railroad facilities. A survivor reported as follows: "The work conditions on the construction train were very poor. The food was miserable. Many prisoners were in a terrible condition; they had hernias and other illnesses. The equipment was poor. The prisoners had to do work on the

rails with their bare hands."[10] What made conditions worse was that the prisoners had no protection during the bombing raids. In the beginning they sought protection in the surrounding compound. Then this was forbidden, according to Gerhard M.: "This type of self-protection was banned by a railroad official from Offenburg. When fighters attacked we had to seek cover under the railroad cars. However, as the cars were the targets we suffered heavy losses."[11] A report after the war by the Karlsruhe Railroad Directorate on an attack on the Offenburg freight yard on February 18, 1945, stated: "sixteen prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade X were killed and thirty injured."[12]

At the beginning of March 1945 the SS-EBB X was withdrawn from Offenburg. From March 7 to March 25, 1945, the train stood on a railroad line between Leutershausen-Wiedersbach and Schalkhausen. The prisoners had to repair railroad facilities at Ansbach, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. From April 2, 1945, the train was stationed in a patch of forest about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Ansbach, in the direction of Munich.

A former non-Jewish prisoner stated that for the Jewish prisoners "it was not possible to speak favorably about most of the guards."[13] Jewish survivors have not mentioned any unusual brutality by the guards. The reports on the prisoner-functionaries do not give a clear picture. Two prisoner-functionaries are accused specifically of mistreatment, and others are said to have disapproved of mistreatment and in part prevented it.

One Jewish survivor found particularly demeaning the punishment meted out to six prisoners in the SS-EBB X for stealing food—they were whipped in Offenburg at the beginning of March 1945. He recalls that they were at first threatened that they would be shot or hanged. Finally they were whipped by a Kapo. The next day they were whipped again, and finally they had to drop their trousers and thank the "SS leadership."[14] A former prisoner-functionary said that he had personally interceded with Petz on behalf of the prisoners and prevented them from being shot.

So far as the available numbers can determine, it appears that the death rate in the SS-EBB X was not higher than in other railroad construction brigades. Of the 504 prisoners, 414 reached the evacuation destination. According to survivors, 20 or 30 prisoners were exchanged for other prisoners from Sachsenhausen.[15] Altogether the survivors mention up to 40 dead from bombing raids and around another 20 deaths; 4 murder victims are mentioned: 1 or 2 prisoners are said to have been shot in Offenburg for misappropriating food—a Polish Jew was beaten to death in Ansbach, and another was hanged. During the relatively short period of time between March 8 and April 2, 1945, there were 17 victims, according to the diary of a former prisoner. However, the causes of death were not named.[16]

On April 2, 1945, the construction brigade left Ansbach and passed through Fürth and Nürnberg. After April 14, 1945, the train was stuck in Undorf near Regensburg—a destroyed bridge prevented it from moving. Rumors circulated among the prisoners that they were all to be shot in a forest. An SS guard is supposed to have said that Himmler ordered that all of the prisoners on the construction trains were to be blown up with hand grenades. According to one survivor, only about 10 SS men stated that they would carry out this order. Petz is supposed to have distanced himself from those plans.[17] As the train was no longer operational, Petz finally had the prisoners start walking on April 19. They marched mostly at night due to bombing raids.

Apparently a few prisoners were shot on the march, but the numbers are uncertain. Former prisoner-functionaries have stated that there was a shooting detachment that shot prisoners who could not march any further. On the other hand, a Jewish survivor has stated that no more than five or six prisoners were shot on the march. On April 27, 1945, the aforementioned 414 prisoners reached the Dachau concentration camp, where on April 29, 1945, they were liberated.[18]

Petz and his closest colleagues ran off near Moosburg, after going two-thirds of the way.[19] By the time the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated the SS-EBB X, Petz had died. The Regensburg police, which in 1974 questioned 125 people in various locations about the concentration camp prisoners, stated the following after the lack of cooperation from the local population: "It is not possible to state whether the interviewees in fact could no longer remember as in several places we were confronted with a lack of understanding and an unwillingness to cooperate. The people today did not want to have anything to do with what happened. Besides, many were afraid that they could be prosecuted for looting the construction train. Probably almost all of the interviewees looted the train."[20] In 1975, the more-than-1,000-page comprehensive file was closed with a recommendation that it not be reopened.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X was first written about in an essay on the use of Offenburg as a marshaling area: Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73 (1993): 480–514. In consideration of the special situation of the Jewish prisoners in the SS construction brigades, a dissertation was dedicated almost 10 years later and has since been published as Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). For the dissertation, other widely scattered sources, almost all of which have been mentioned in this essay, were used.

The most important primary sources are the judicial files at ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 254/72), now BA-L, with additional documentation in THStA-W, BA-B, CChIdK, and NARA.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Karteikarte über Häftlingsüberstellung Eisenbahnbaubrigade X mit 504 Häftlingen am 5.1.1945 nach Sachsenhausen, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 132, p. 18.

2. Josef D., March 8, 1974, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, pp. 495–500.

3. BA-BL, BDC/RS, SSO, Ludwig Petz, born June 9, 1912.

4. Reichsbahnoberinspektor B., September 27, 1948, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 462.

5. 8. SS-EBB, January 30, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, p. 29.

6. Transportliste, January 2, 1945, and Transportzettel, NARA, Buchenwald-Film 34, fr. 31208-31216.

7. Arbeitsstatistik, February 23, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.

8. Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers K.L.B., n.d., ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 98.

9. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in ibid., p. 495R.

10. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in ibid., p. 499.

11. Georg M., June 5, 1972, in ibid., p. 315.

12. "Bericht über wichtige Ereignisse während des 2. Weltkrieges im Bezirk der Reichsbahndirektion Karlsruhe," in BA, R 5 Anh. I/44, p. 36R.

13. Josef D., March 8, 1974, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 497R.

14. Jozef L., November 26, 1974, in ibid., p. 455.

15. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in ibid., p. 495.

16. Gerhard M., March 3, 1946, in ibid., p. 46.

17. Leon S., May 10, 1972, in ibid., p. 303; Josef D., March 8, 1974, in ibid., p. 498.

18. Figures and dates according to the files of ITS and correspondence with the ZdL in ibid., pp. 404, 411, 499, 821, 822, 1018.

19. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in ibid., p. 499.

20. Polizeidirektion Regensburg (Police Command Regensburg), 15.5.1974, in ibid., p. 534.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XI (NEUENGAMME AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The establishment of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI (SS-EBB XI) was planned since November 1944. The railroad construction brigade left the Neuengamme concentration camp for the first time on February 13, 1945, with 504 prisoners. It did not leave prior to that date because the train to carry the prisoners and supplies was not yet completed. Its destination was the freight and switching yard at Soest, a junction for all east-west transport, which had almost been completely destroyed on December 4–5, 1944, and where the prisoners were to undertake repair work. Temporarily stopped by a bombing raid just before Lippstadt, the SS-EBB XI reached the city of Soest on February 15, 1945.[1] As with all other SS construction brigades, it was formally made part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp beginning in January 1945.

Since the Soest train station was the target of Allied bombing attacks on an almost daily basis, the train, with its 50 cars in which the prisoners and the SS security detail lived, could not stay there. Until February 25, 1945, the train was stationed on a stretch of rail at Lippstadt in Benninghausen. This meant long marches to work, which resulted in the train being returned to Soest. On February 28, 1945, it was almost completely destroyed in Soest. The prisoners were taken to a barn on the Schulze-Lohöfer farm near Bad Sassendorf.

Franz Heider, an engineer born on September 13, 1910, in Steinach in Thuringia, was the leader of the SS-EBB XI until March 1945.[2] Although Heider had been a member of the Nazi Party and the SS since 1931, it was only with this appointment that he reached the rank of SS-Untersturmführer. He had been denied promotions for two years because in 1943 he did not take the shortest route on an assignment. Heider had been a member of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) since 1942 and was the head of the SS-Construction Inspectorate "Balkan" in Serbia with the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) from July 1942 until its retreat in October 1944. Survivors described Heider as "bearable." According to the camp elder (Lagerältester), Adolf K., he banned the beating of prisoners.[3] Heider himself stated that he was reassigned from the construction brigade in March 1945 to construct airfields in southern Germany and the neighboring regions of Austria. According to a report from the camp elder, with Heider's successor, Kurt Wittwer, came "for the first time the famous methods of the SS into the brigade." SS-Oberscharführer Wittwer was born on May 4, 1912, in Berlin and brought with him two years in the SS-Baubrigade I, where he was infamous among the prisoners.[4] Wittwer and another SS-Hauptscharführer, along with two Kapos, are alleged in particular to have brutally abused prisoners who attempted to escape.

Most of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union and Poland. But there were also prisoners from Denmark, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Among the German prisoners, who were the construction brigade's prisoner-functionaries, there appears to have been great rivalry. It was also reported that in Benninghausen a German Kapo beat to death Dutchman Jan Derk Bunink, who was born on January 7, 1926, in Zwolle.

The SS security detachment numbered 85 men in total, most of whom were old railroad employees who were temporarily posted to SS-EBB XI.[5] Among them was Edmund P. who at a denazification court in Regensburg in 1947 tried to create the impression that he had nothing to do with the concentration camp prisoners:

> I am a career railroad man and was forcibly called up to the Waffen-SS on December 28, 1944. I was trained in the so-called SS Training Camp [*Übungslager*] Dachau. There I was trained as an infantryman for about six weeks. Finally, I and other railroad men were sent to a fourteen day course at the Dachau Railroad Station. On March 10, 1945, we were transferred to the Eisenbahnbau train XI at Soest, Westphalia. We were immediately sent in to repair destroyed railroad stations. I was the Eisenbahn-Rottenführer and supervised the repair work. I did not watch prisoners, who were totally occupied with work. In addition there were no assaults on the prisoners.[6]

Survivors' reports show a completely different picture of conditions in the SS-EBB XI. At war's end, only 206 prisoners reached the evacuation destination. In Soest, the prisoners were mostly exposed to the massive bombing raids because they either had to continue working or were not allowed to seek protection in bunkers. A former prisoner had the following to say about the bombardments: "In the morning the guys would repair the tracks and in the afternoon the Tommies [the British] came and blew it all up again."[7] An attack on Soest on February 28, 1945, killed 33 prisoners of the SS-EBB XI; 31 were wounded, and 33 prisoners were counted as incinerated or missing.

At the beginning of March 1945, about 30 additional prisoners died from poisoning because the guards did nothing to help them. According to a survivor, who as the detachment clerk recorded the deaths in SS-EBB XI, a railroad car with methyl alcohol was broken open in the freight yard. A large group of prisoners consumed the alcohol and soon showed symptoms of poisoning such as vomiting, diarrhea, and delirium. Because the prisoners were left to themselves, Heinrich L. stated that 24 died during the day at the railroad site and an additional 6 in camp.[8]

A survivor has stated that as a result of the poor rations only 100 to 120 prisoners were in a position to march out to work. Another survivor has stated that despite some food handouts from the population that prisoners died daily from epidemics or undernourishment.[9] Up until the last days of the war, prisoners who could no longer work were selected and replaced with new workers. For example, on March 19, 1945, 128 sick and wounded prisoners were sent to Buchenwald,[10] in exchange for 100 Soviet prisoners who had departed Buchenwald on March 13, 1945.[11]

Due to the lack of sources, it is not possible to determine an exact number of victims of the SS-EBB XI. However, extrapolating from the death rates for various nationalities leads one to the conclusion that the death rate was relatively high. Of the 36 Danes in the brigade, 14 died—in contrast to the SS-EBB V, where all 35 Danes survived the war;[12] 3 of the Danes were victims of bombing raids, but the majority, 10 Danes, died during the evacuation. Of the 51 Dutch, 22 were repatriated, 21 died, and 8 were listed as missing.[13]

The evacuation march of the SS-EBB XI, which began on April 4, 1945, was the worst in comparison to that of other railroad construction brigades. About 30 sick and wounded prisoners and five Kapos remained in Bad Sassendorf. Prisoners who could no longer walk were shot on the three-day march via Lippstadt and Paderborn to Höxter, where a train was awaiting them. On April 7, a transport with sick prisoners was sent from Halle to Sachsenhausen. The remaining prisoners left Halle on April 15 and retreated, sometimes on foot and sometimes on a train, over Chemnitz and Plauen to Pilsen (Plzen). The prisoners tried to escape if a favorable opportunity presented itself. A few succeeded. There was another selection in Pilsen. A transport with sick prisoners went to Dachau, while a small group marched to Dachau. Again, prisoners were left dead or dying along the way. The column did not reach Dachau but was liberated in Anzing. (Survivors named the place "Anzingen." There is an Anzing near Dorfen, to the west of Munich, and an Anzing nearer Munich. Which location is meant is not known. Both are situated on the same railroad line.) The main transport of the SS-EBB XI traveled from Pilsen to the Mauthausen/Ebensee subcamp, where on May 4, 1945, the remaining 206 prisoners were registered.

The victims of the Soest railroad construction brigade are buried in a plot at the cemetery in Bad Sassendorf.

SOURCES Comparatively early, Gerhard Köhn published an article about the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI in a local historical magazine: "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme bei Hamburg in Soest und Bad Sassendorf (11. SS-Baubrigade) 1945," *SoeZe* 98 (1986): 101–124. Köhn relied almost exclusively on the files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR 776/67), now BA-L. He was able to supplement many details because of his local knowledge. A new monograph on the SS-Baubrigaden has made available other sources on the SS-EBB XI: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). The Soest memorial to the victims, which was erected in 1945, avoided using the words "concentration camp" and neglected to describe the circumstances of death. It says: "Here rest ninety-five citizens of various nationalities, who died far from their homes in the difficult years 1941–1945." See Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager, ed., *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme e.V.* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 2000), p. 205. It was only on May 7, 1995, on the initiative of the Soest archivist, that a new memorial stone was dedicated. On the registration of the Eisenbahnbaubrigade's survivors at Ebensee, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 378.

In addition, a chronicle of the railroad man Wilhelm Trockel (ASt-So, Sj 61) was valuable, as it contained some information about the "concentration camp train." In particular, materials from the AG-NG (Ng 6.4.91; Erinnerungsbericht Nr. 518), AG-S (IV 26), CChIdK, and FGNS-H (13-7-5-5) are noteworthy. A Danish publication describes in detail the living conditions of the prisoners and provides a detailed sketch of the evacuation route: Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fængsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 11, 1972, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, p. 153.
2. BA-BL, BDC/RS, SSO Franz Heider, born September 13, 1910.
3. Adolf K., September 8, 1947, AG-S, IV 26, p. 17.
4. BA-BL, BDC/RS Kurt Wittwer, born May 4, 1912.
5. SS-EBB XI, March 20, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, pp. 64–70.

6. Edmund P., June 16, 1947, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, p. 287.
7. Karl N., n.d., FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.
8. Heinrich L., July 10, 1968, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, pp. 91–93.
9. Jan J. Kreuwen, May 20, 1990, AG-N, Nr. 518.
10. Buchenwald concentration camp, March 22, 1945, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, pp. 190–192.
11. Buchenwald concentration camp, March 13, 1945, ibid., p. 187.
12. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, pp. 244–248.
13. Excerpts from a Report by the Dutch Red Cross, 1945, in FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XII (SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII (SS-EBB XII), consisting of 504 prisoners, was established in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The majority of the prisoners were Soviets and Poles, but there were also French, Dutch, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Italians, and Hungarians. A few German prisoners were included as prisoner-functionaries. The task of the railroad construction brigade was to build and refurbish railroad lines for the Ardennes offensive, the last large German offensive in the West.

On Christmas Eve, December 24, 1944, the construction brigade left the camp and remained in Lahnstein, near Koblenz, until January 8, 1945. Then it was transferred about 50 kilometers (31 miles) up the Rhine to Bad Kreuznach, where it remained for almost two months.[1] In Bad Kreuznach the train was stationed on the "Red Ley," a gorge on the Nahe River.[2] Prisoners and guards lived on the 50 cars of the train, which was provided with a supply car, a kitchen car, and a tool car. At the beginning of March 1945, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII was sent to Grossen-Buseck via Mainz and Frankfurt am Main. The prisoners had to work at the nearby railroad station at Giessen, which had almost been destroyed.

The prisoners were put to work at the request of the Mainz Railroad Directorate. This is confirmed in a report by SS-Sturmbannführer Gerhard Weigel, who had been the "Inspector of All Construction Brigades" (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) since the autumn of 1944. On February 17, 1945, Weigel inspected the construction brigade and held talks with SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Goetze and the vice-president of the Mainz Railroad Directorate, Dr. Schrag, as well as senior railroad officials Steissenreuther and Dr. Kampf. On March 2, 1945, he reported to Hans Kammler, the head of Office Group C of the SS-WVHA: "There are no particular complaints at the SS-BB [Baubrigade] XII. According to the statements by the Mainz Railroad Directorate, their deployment is very worthwhile."[3]

Goetze was the head of the SS-EBB XII. He was born on March 9, 1908, in Berlin and was a doctor of engineering. Goetze joined the SS in 1933 and before his assignment with the construction brigade had worked on SS construction projects.[4] After the war Goetze tried to play down his actions in the construction brigade. The infamous Gustav Sorge, a long-serving SS man in the construction camps, supported him. Sorge was a longtime SS member and was very familiar with the concentration camp system. He got the nickname "Iron Gustav" due to his brutality in street and hall fighting against political opponents in 1931–1932. Sorge organized the creation of the construction brigade in Sachsenhausen and was appointed as the brigade's leader but had to resign after getting wounded in Lahnstein.[5] Along with a handful of SS who belonged to the Leadership Staff, the guard detachment consisted of 70 SS men born in the 1890s. The overwhelming majority of these men, as with the other SS construction brigades, were former railroad workers called up to the SS for a short period of time.[6]

One of these railroad workers, Otto Stumpf from Bad Kreuznach, said the following after the war on his recruitment:

> As a railroad worker I was ordered to Sachsenhausen on December 14, 1944. There, several thousand colleagues waited on their coming, difficult lot. It was all the more sad for there were only older men, between the age of forty-five and sixty, almost none of whom were party members. There were even comrades there that could hardly speak German as they came from Poland or Czechoslovakia. . . . Coming back to Sachsenhausen, I must say that it was not possible for me to get a glimpse of the concentration camp there, or to speak with anyone on the inside. Its condition first gave me cause to think that everything was not quite right with the camp. After the construction train was ready, I had the opportunity to speak with the prisoners personally about the woeful circumstances in the concentration camp. After every answer one could see the joy that they possessed, that they could now leave this camp.[7]

The conditions in the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII were marked by undernourishment and violence, like the other concentration camps; 37 victims of the railroad construction brigade were buried in the Jewish cemetery between Bad Kreuznach and Bretzenheim. Hunger, strict isolation, and a special brutality by the SS and Kapos, led by Sorge and the Kapo Otto Dümpelmann, stand out as the causes of the deaths. The above-mentioned guard added the following: "The SS staff was mostly young men who had not served at the front. Their sole task was hand-in-hand with the Kapos to torture us and the prisoners and to pilfer supplies and money from the construction train."[8]

Survivors have reported many violent deaths. A drunken SS man is said to have shot the Kapo Fiete Leistner in Bad Kreuznach.[9] Among the victims in Grossen-Buseck, where the construction brigade was stationed during the beginning of March and where 11 dead prisoners were registered

between March 12, and March 24, 1945, was a victim of an execution.[10] The prisoner had escaped during a bombing raid on March 18, 1945, but was quickly caught in some nearby houses. An SS leader gave the order to hang this man. The hanging was justified on the basis that the man was wearing civilian clothes and therefore had "looted." Otto Dümpelmann carried out the execution. Dümpelmann was a former Luftwaffe soldier who was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp because of numerous disciplinary punishments. Because of his healthy condition, he was known by the nickname "Fat Otto."

On April 10, 1962, during its proceedings against Dümpelmann, the Giessen jury court stated that the following events occurred:

> In the meantime it was early afternoon and the prisoners had to step in front of the burned wagon. The SS also assembled. The prisoner was brought forward and after a short statement on the fate of looters the prisoner had to step onto the wagon's running board, where the accused put the rope, tied to the wagon's lamp holder, around his neck. The prisoner then had to jump or he was pushed. The rope broke. He was lifted, lifeless, from the ground, possibly by prisoners commanded to do so. The accuser took his belt off, attached it to the lamp holder, and then set the noose around the throat of the victim, and left him hanging in the noose.[11]

The SS-EBB XII also transported large numbers of prisoners during the last days of the war. A total of 156 sick and weakened prisoners are said to have been sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.[12] In return, 200 new prisoners arrived from Buchenwald at the beginning of March 1945.[13]

The SS-EBB XII left Grossen-Buseck on March 23, 1945, and traveled to Eisenach via Alsfeld and Bad Hersfeld. Here the train had to be evacuated, and the prisoners marched on foot to Erfurt. On April 1, 1945, the train headed to Dresden via Leipzig. It remained there for a few days and then headed for Linz via Pilsen (Plzen). Here, according to the statement of a railroad man, about 300 prisoners were released on the initiative of the railroad workers.[14] The construction train with 214 prisoners reached the Mauthausen subcamp of Ebensee on May 4, 1945.

After 1945, no one from the leadership group of the SS was brought to justice for crimes committed while in the railroad construction brigade. Sorge was convicted in 1959 of a number of murders committed in other camps and sentenced to life in prison. Only the murder committed by the Kapo Dümpelmann was punished. Dümpelmann was sentenced to two and a half years in prison in 1962 as an accessory to homicide.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII was mentioned in detail for the first time in a dissertation, published as Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Far-flung local histories also give worthwhile information: Klaus Steup, *Aufrecht gehen . . . wenn alles in Scherben fällt: Busecker Alltag in der Nazi-Zeit. Erinnerungen und Dokumente* (Grossen-Buseck: Selbstverlag, 1986); "Mobiles Konzentrationslager hinterliess Blutspur: Der Heimatforscher Bernd Vorläufer-Germer hat Spuren einer 'SS-Brigade' entdeckt," *FR* (Hochtaunuskreis), November 12, 1999. The admission of the SS-EBB XII survivors to Ebensee is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 378.

Important primary sources are the judicial files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 33/74) at BA-L. The judgments on Sorge and Dümpelmann were published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1978), vols. 15, 18, a collection of German judicial decisions on National Socialist crimes published in Amsterdam. Mention is made of the SS-EBB XII in THStA-W, CChIdK, and FGNS-H. Otherwise, one must tediously search other sources. A collection of letters and reports in the AVVN-D (Bad Kreuznach correspondence) gives cause for optimism that local historical research will bring further details to light.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1978), 18: 386; File Notes State Prosecutor, June 16, 1976, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 33–36.
2. Hugo S., May 31, 1949, in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
3. The Inspector of SS Workers at the Front and SS Construction Brigades, March 2, 1945, BA, NS 19/771.
4. Rudolf Goetze, born March 13, 1908, in ibid., BDC/RS, SSO.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 420.
6. SS-EBB XII, January 30, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, 31.
7. Otto Stumpf, n.d., in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
8. Ibid.
9. Friedrich T., August 27, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.
10. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 18: 389; as well as the Mayor Grossen-Buseck, March 9, 1946, in Klaus Steup, *Aufrecht gehen . . . wenn alles in Scherben fällt: Busecker Alltag in der Nazi-Zeit. Erinnerungen und Dekumente* (Grossen-Buseck: Selbstverlag, 1986), p. 30.
11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 18: 388.
12. Hubert Salzmann, May 31, 1949, in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
13. Arbeitsstatistik Buchenwald, February 24, 1945, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135; and File Notes, March 1, 1945, in ibid., KZ Buchenwald Nr. 4, Bd. 7/1, p. 74.
14. Otto Stumpf, n.d., AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XIII (DACHAU AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

On January 18, 1945, the last SS construction brigade was formed at the Dachau concentration camp.[1] Consisting of 504 prisoners, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (SS-EBB XIII) first worked until the end of January in Bavarian Reichertshofen. As with all of the other construction brigades, the SS-EBB XIII was administered after January 1945 by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoner group was very heterogeneous, consisting of over 100 Soviets and large groups of Germans, French, Poles, Italians, Belgians, Yugoslavians, and Czechs. In addition, seven other nationalities were listed on the transport list.

The SS-EBB XIII was assigned to the Erfurt Railroad Directorate and worked from February 1945 on the two railroad lines heading southwest to Frankfurt am Main and Koblenz. It operated simultaneously at four different locations: two larger groups worked at Aumeau near Limburg, building a siding at the Ennerich Tunnel, as well as at the Limburg railroad station, which was an important railroad junction with lines heading to all parts of Germany. Detachments of the SS-EBB XIII were sent for short periods of time to Fulda and Mücke, on the stretch between Giessen and Bad Hersfeld.

At the various locations it was the rule that segments of the train were put on branch lines. In Limburg, the three train sections were parked next to each other at the railroad station and were surrounded by a cordon of guards. It was from this "camp" that the prisoners were led to work.[2] Another part of the train stood at the Weilburg railroad station on the "Plattenkaute" on branch lines. From there the prisoners were led daily to work on the railroad lines Runkel-Aumenau and Ennerich-Eschhofen.[3]

Bernhard Kuiper was the leader of the SS-EBB XIII. He was born on August 30, 1907, in the East Frisian town of Möhlenwarf.[4] Kuiper was an architect who had built concentration camps since 1934. At first he worked at Esterwegen, then at the Berlin concentration camp "Columbia," and finally in Sachsenhausen. From 1940 he was a member of the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB). His professional advancement was closely connected with his membership in National Socialist organizations. He joined the Nazi Party in April 1933 and the SS in October 1934. From May 1937 to August 1939, he was part of the SS-Sicherheitsdienst. When the SS-Obersturmführer took over the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII on November 15, 1944, he was directly pulled away from the advancing Red Army with the SS-Economic Unit "Russia South" and sent back into Germany.[5] In addition to other, mostly unnamed SS members, the guards consisted of a large group of old railway men. The railroad men were temporarily recruited into the SS and took about a four-week course in Dachau.

Gerhard Weigel, the Inspector of All Construction Brigades (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), inspected the SS-EBB XIII and the places where it worked on February 11, 1945. He had a discussion with the president of the Erfurt Railroad Directorate, Dr. Reabes, and praised the "very good results" that the construction brigade had achieved "despite the short period that it had been at work."[6] At the same time he declared the construction train to be a "model train." In Weigel's opinion, this train, which had been put together in Dachau by the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW) using experience gained from previous trains, set an exemplary standard for hygiene and other matters.

Nevertheless, the conditions in the SS-EBB XIII were by no means "exemplary." Many prisoners died from hunger and illness, were killed in bombing raids, or were shot. In the very early days of the construction brigade, there was an outbreak of typhoid. As a result, several prisoners were sent back to Dachau on January, 30 1945, where some of them died.[7] In Aumenau alone, 14 prisoners were killed in bombing raids.[8]

After the war, survivors accused the roll-call leader, Hans Penkowski, of being responsible for numerous prisoner deaths. Penkowski is alleged to have either shot five prisoners or given the order to shoot them in a forest near Limburg in February 1945. He has also been accused of the murder of a Romanian prisoner. A survivor stated that Penkowksi had the nickname Machine Pistol (Maschinenpistole) because he had the custom of shooting aimlessly at prisoners. He died during a bombing raid on March 21, 1945.[9] Several prisoners have stated that prisoners were shot in Limburg in the camp area "like rabbits." The SS are said to have shot at prisoners trying to escape or those who were not quick enough to get out from under cover once the bombing raids were over.[10] It was reported that a Russian prisoner, who had attempted to escape and was recaptured, was forced to wear a sign that said "I am here again." After this humiliation, it is said that the Kapos beat him to death.[11]

Due to the paucity of sources, it is not possible to determine the exact numbers of those killed in the SS-EBB XIII. Data from the International Tracing Service (ITS) put the number of Belgians at over 15; 8 of these prisoners—more than half—did not live past liberation. In February 1945, 2 died from unknown reasons, 3 died in Dachau, and 3 died in Buchenwald.[12]

On March 4, 1945, 77 prisoners where chosen in Buchenwald and sent to the SS-EBB XIII. Three days later the following entry was entered in the Work Statistics: "The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII is dissolved and all the prisoners have been put on the transport 'Desert.'"[13] At this point, signs of the dissolution of the construction brigade were already evident. In the middle of March, the different prisoner groups at the various locations were sent to the Mücke train station, some on foot and some by train. About 230 prisoners marched from there to Wetzlar. During the march, exhausted and fleeing prisoners are said to have been shot. From Wetzlar, the prisoners were taken in a train in open cars to Buchenwald. There, 185 prisoners of the SS-EBB XIII were registered.[14] It would seem that not all prisoners arrived

simultaneously at Wetzlar, as U.S. troops caught up with a group of marching prisoners at the end of March in the Wetzlar environs and freed them.

As with other construction brigade leaders, the former SS-Obersturmführer Bernhard Kuiper hid his responsibility for the SS construction brigade. In a denazification proceeding in 1948, he was successful in portraying his activities as an architect in the SS as being forced. Although there were statements that Kuiper had "emphasized his role as a member of the SS and SD during the Hitler regime" and had ruthlessly represented the interests of the Nazi Party, the court accepted Kuiper's own statements. As was usual in denazification proceedings, Kuiper was asked what he knew about concentration camps, Jewish persecution, and the situation of forced laborers, both male and female. He denied having an inner understanding of the concentration camp system. He said: "I knew that the prisoners had to work, but I did not know in detail what they did. . . . I knew things which were relevant to the construction sector. Otherwise it was impossible to hear anything. I thought that life in the concentration camps was not pleasant. What the disciplinary punishments were in the camp, I cannot say."[15]

Kuiper concealed that he was the responsible leader of the SS-EBB XIII. For the relevant period he admitted to have worked at the Erfurt Railroad Directorate. In a detailed biography, which he wrote in January 1946 while interned in Neuengamme, he even suggested resistance conduct: "In the spring of 1945 I was given my last post as part of the Waffen-SS. It was with the Erfurt Railroad Directorate as a member of the staff of the construction detail. I worked with the railroad engineers, in a democratic sense and as a result of their requests engaged in difficult negotiations with the military commander at Schleiz/Southeast Thuringia toward the end of April which prevented 250 railroad workers from being called up to the Volkssturm."[16]

The prosecutors for the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg saw through Kuiper's tactical maneuvers, as in the 1970s they were busy with the events in the SS-EBB XIII and in conjunction with which they questioned Kuiper. However, it was already too late for a successful investigation. Many witnesses had already died or could not exactly remember about the happenings of the construction brigade due to the elapsed time. The State Prosecutor's Office at the State Court in Limburg closed the proceedings on March 20, 1974.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII was first mentioned in a published dissertation on SS construction brigades, Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The dissertation refers to the sparse and widely held sources, almost all of which are referred to in this article. The most important source is the investigation files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 33/74) at BA-L. Additional archival sources can be found in BA-B, BA-K, AG-B, and ITS.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. KL Dachau Transportliste, January 18, 1945, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 53–64.
2. Herbert G., March 15, 1973, in ibid., pp. 245–247.
3. August B., August 23, 1972, in ibid., p. 111.
4. BA-B, BDC/PK, RS, SSO Bernhard Kuiper, born August 30, 1907; BA-K, Z 42 III/1526.
5. "Im Zuge der Verlagerungsaktion beim SS-Wirtschafter 'Russland-Süd' freigewordene SS-Führer," n.d., in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, p. 79.
6. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS-Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA, NS 19/771.
7. ITS, Bescheinigungen über belgische Häftlinge, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 393–397.
8. Hubert A., August 30, 1972, in ibid., p. 117; and Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 25, 1974, in ibid., p. 454.
9. Francois H., September 25, 1973, in ibid., p. 412.
10. Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 25, 1974, in ibid., p. 451.
11. Jaroslav K., May 16, 1973, in ibid., p. 331.
12. ITS Bescheinigungen über belgische Häftlinge, in ibid., pp. 393–397.
13. KL Buchenwald, Arbeitsstatistik, March 4 and 7, 1945, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.
14. Entry Note, April 1, 1945, in ibid., KZ Buchenwald Nr. 4, Bd. 7/1, p. 10; "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos (n.d.), AG-B, 61-0-15-2.
15. Protokoll Spruchgerichtsverfahren, October 29, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 III/1526.
16. Lebenslauf Kuiper, January 29, 1948, in ibid.

STUTTHOF



An SS guard at the entrance to the Stutthof concentration camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #12196. COURTESY OF AMS

STUTTHOF MAIN CAMP

From September 2, 1939, until late April 1945, a concentration camp existed near the town of Stutthof (later Sztutowo), some 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Danzig (Gdańsk). The camp lay less than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the Baltic Sea and within 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the Bay of Königsberg.

From its beginnings in September 1939 until January 1942, the Stutthof camp was under the control of the Danzig SS and police authorities. In January 1942, it was incorporated into the SS concentration camp system under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Stutthof camp filled a number of distinct and differing roles in the period of its existence.

First, in the initial period after September 1939, what came to be known as the Stutthof civilian prison camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) was used as the main point for the collection and imprisonment of Poles and Jews forcibly removed from the Polish Corridor and from the former Free City of Danzig. By the end of January 1940, the camp held 4,500 prisoners, of whom at most 400 to 500 were Jews.[1] Most of the Jews were killed by one method or another, and by mid-1941, only a handful of them remained alive.

The original guard force for Stutthof consisted of some 50 Danzig police reservists and Nazi Party activists, called the Wachsturmbann Eimann. They were men who had been hardened in their hostility to the Poles by their participation in the ethnic struggle in Danzig in the 1930s. The first commander of the camp was Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly.

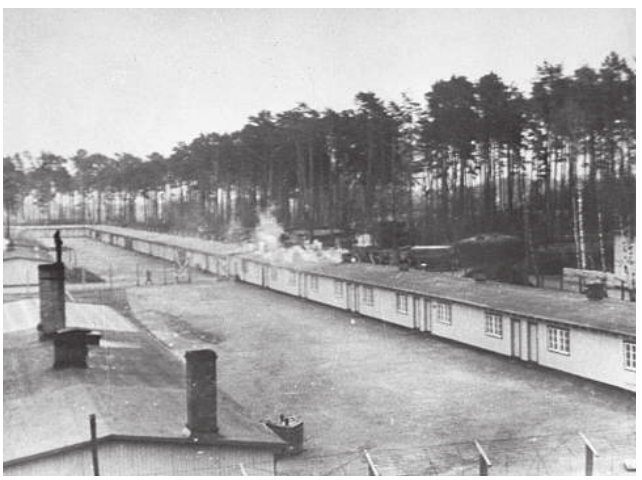
Second, from 1940 on through the end of the war, Stutthof functioned as the main *Arbeitserziehungslager* (work education camp) in Danzig–West Prussia. Forced laborers—mostly Poles and Soviet citizens—who did not work as the Germans wanted them to were sent to such camps for a sentence of from 28 to 56 days, to correct their attitudes. For many, it was a death sentence.

Third, after its absorption into the WVHA camp system, Stutthof grew into a regular, though lesser, member of the constellation of concentration camps. A steady flow of German prisoners—among them so-called career criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), "asocials," political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, and a handful of homosexuals—was added to the camp population, though overall it remained predominantly Polish until mid-1944. German prisoners were often appointed to the positions of Kapo and barracks block leaders, and a fair number of them found an outlet for their criminal tendencies in their maltreatment of the non-German prisoners.[2] A smattering of prisoners of other nationalities, most of whom were committed to the camp as political prisoners, added an international aspect.

Fourth, Stutthof functioned as the distribution hub for prisoners dispatched to the subcamps of the Stutthof camp system. The sums received for the use of prisoner labor by state and private employers (1 to 3 Reichsmark [RM] per day) were crucial, for the camp had to be entirely self-financing. Among their assignments, the labor detachments from Stutthof worked on river regulation and flood prevention in the Vistula delta, excavated for water lines and sewers in the German cities of East Prussia, and labored in brickworks and gravel pits—the hardest types of physical labor. From 1941, as replacements for German workers who had been called up, smaller labor gangs from Stutthof were assigned to private workshops and to factories in and around Danzig. But these crews never numbered together more than a few hundred of Stutthof's prisoners—until the late summer of 1944, when the influx of tens of thousands of Jews from the Baltic ghettos radically changed the nature of the camp.

In that final phase, from the summer until the fall of 1944, Stutthof acted as the great overflow camp of Eastern Europe, into which poured over 25,000 survivors of the great Baltic Jewish ghettos (Kaunas, Vilnius, and Riga). Simultaneously, more than 16,000 Hungarian Jews, overwhelmingly women, arrived in the camp from Auschwitz (as that camp had also been overloaded with prisoners). To this massive influx were added thousands of Polish Jews from the Łódź and Białystok ghettos and additional thousands of Polish civilians seized after the crushing of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. It was thus only in the summer of 1944 that Stutthof assumed the profile that is associated with major concentration camps such as Auschwitz and Mauthausen, in terms of prisoner population and scale.

The initial transport of prisoners sent to the Stutthof site in September 1939 was housed in tents. The prisoners first



The old section of the Stutthof concentration camp. 1941.
USHMM WS #12192, COURTESY OF AMS

cleared a rectangular plot of land at the selected spot, 100 meters (328 feet) from the Danzig-Königsberg highway but screened from view by a dense stand of pines. In this clearing they erected double barbed-wire fences, barracks, latrines, a bathhouse, a kitchen, and an infirmary, as well as workshops. This complex constituted the "Old Camp." A guardhouse, warehouses, administration buildings, housing for the guard detachment, and a large brick headquarters building, the *Kommandantur*, completed the complex. Toward the end of 1941, when all this was in place, the camp held approximately 6,500 prisoners.

Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's visit to Stutthof at the end of November 1941 marked the beginning of the camp's incorporation into the IKL (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)/WVHA system. On his return to Berlin, Himmler instructed Oswald Pohl to enlarge the camp to a capacity of 25,000 prisoners and to establish large armaments and military repair workshops under the control of the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, Ltd., DAW).[3] Within weeks of Himmler's visit, the bureaucratic steps necessary to implement Stutthof's change of status were complete. The nearby brickworks and quarry, which had been operated by prison labor, were taken over by the SS-owned Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt).

Construction of the "New Camp" commenced in earnest in mid-1942. Prisoners deployed in the forest detail (Waldkolonne) felled trees, pulled stumps, and leveled the area, using only hand tools and muscle power. This labor detail was regarded as the most punitive of those to which prisoners were assigned. In addition to constructing the barracks, guard towers, and fences, the prisoners also built a crematorium for the disposal of the corpses of those who died in the camp. This facility began operation in September 1942. In 1944, the New Camp was expanded with the addition of hastily erected barracks to house the influx from the Baltic states and Auschwitz.



Prisoners eat their noon meal during Stutthof's construction, October 1939. At the time, Stutthof was not part of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).
USHMM WS #12190, COURTESY OF AMS

Along with these changes associated with expansion and incorporation into the WVHA system came a change of command. In September 1942, SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Werner Hoppe replaced Pauly as commandant.

The SS-Death's Head Battalion Stutthof expanded as the camp expanded. It grew from fewer than 100 men in the camp's first year to a full battalion of some 500 men by the end of 1942.[4] The SS guards secured the perimeter of the camp on foot and from the watchtowers, escorted labor details to and from job sites, and guarded the prisoners while at work. Prisoners attempting to escape were shot without warning; according to a former officer of the SS guards, merely to approach the warning strip inside the barbed-wire fence of the camp or the security zone established by the guards at outdoor work sites was regarded as attempted escape.[5] As the war went on, the guard force increasingly consisted of ethnic Germans recruited in Yugoslavia, Slovakia, and Romania. The guards were assisted by up to 18 attack dogs.[6]

Topography and demography both added to the prisoners' plight. To the south and west of the camp, the terrain was alternately wooded and swampy, which made outside scrutiny impossible and escape difficult. Moreover, the local population was almost entirely German, so there was little chance that an escaped prisoner could find food or shelter anywhere in the vicinity. The camp was situated on ground that lay below the level of the Baltic. The dampness that resulted from the high-water table was a significant contributing factor to



Prisoners erect the barracks foundations at Stutthof, September to October 1939, at which time the camp was not part of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).
USHMM WS #51332, COURTESY OF AMS

the camp's high mortality rate. In the winter, vicious winds blew off the sea into the exposed camp.

All told, about 110,000 registered prisoners passed through the camp, of whom at least 65,000 perished; Polish postwar sources put the death figure at 80,000, to include the number of prisoners who were never registered in the camp rolls but who died or were killed there. The most common cause of death was *Vernichtung durch Arbeit*, annihilation by work, which involved a combination of physical exhaustion, disease, malnutrition, exposure to a harsh climate, and abuse. Those too weak to work who clung to life were killed with lethal injections or, after the construction of a small gas chamber in September 1943, by gas.

Surviving records from Stutthof include the sole surviving death register (*Verstorbene VII*), which covers the period January to April 1944, the prisoner registration records (*Einlieferungsbücher*), and the records of the civil registry office of the village of Stutthof. The Einlieferungsbuch for the period from August 27, 1942, to January 8, 1943, contains typical examples of the fates of the prisoners. Each entry contains the prisoner's name, date and place of birth, infraction and sentencing authority, and final disposition; 3,266 prisoners were officially registered entering Stutthof in this period. The 274 prisoners in one 10-page section of the book serve as an illuminating sample. Of these, 222 were committed to Stutthof for "corrective labor," 15 were sentenced to the camp as career criminals, 7 as so-called asocials, 24 as political prisoners, 5 as Jehovah's Witnesses, and 1 as a homosexual. By national origin they included 105 Russians, 94 Poles, 35 Germans, 25 ethnic Germans, 5 Lithuanians, 1 Gypsy, 1 U.S. citizen (a political prisoner), 1 Estonian, 2 Dutchmen, 1 Czech, 1 Slovak, 2 Frenchmen, and 1 stateless person. By gender, there were 224 men and 50 women.



Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and entourage inspect Stutthof, shortly before its transfer to IKL control, November 23, 1941. Pictured from left to right are Himmler's adjutant, Karl Wolff; commander of the SS senior district Vistula (*Oberabschnitt Weichsel*), Richard Hildebrandt; Himmler; Inspector of Concentration Camps, Stutthof commandant, Max Pauly; Stutthof camp leader, Alfred Dittmann (foreground); and Stutthof labor deployment leader, Albert Schwartz.
USHMM WS #51377, COURTESY OF IPN

After the completion of their sentences, 74 of the corrective labor prisoners were released, but 53 others were dead within two months' time. The sentences of the remaining 95 corrective labor prisoners were converted to incarceration for the duration, and 60 of these people also died in the following months; 35 corrective labor prisoners were transferred to other camps. Of the prisoners from this sample who remained at Stutthof, only 14 were shown as alive at the time of the camp's evacuation. The most frequently cited cause of death was "allgemeine Herz- und Körperschwäche" (generalized coronary and physical weakness). Other listed causes of death included "intestinal catarrh," "edema," and tuberculosis.[7] The typhus that periodically devastated the camp was never listed as a cause of death, nor was another frequent cause: death by lethal injection, administered in the camp hospital to those too weak to work. A hint of this practice is given by the place of death shown in the records, the notation "Krbau," which stands for *Krankenbau*—the hospital.

A sample from the aforementioned register confirms this grim tale. Over the course of three days, January 27 to 29, 1943, 330 prisoners were committed to Stutthof, 298 of them for corrective labor. Within two months, 88 were dead, with another 79 perishing after another two months in the camp. By the time of evacuation in 1945, 250 were shown to have died, and the fates of the other 80 cannot be precisely determined.[8]

In addition to overwork, the cold, and constant abuse at the hands of guards and Kapos, bad diet was a key contributor to prisoner mortality. The standard fare included a breakfast of adulterated bread and grain coffee, a midday meal of thin soup, and more bread and coffee in the evening. By contrast, the guard dogs received 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of meat per day.[9]

At night the prisoners slept on bare wooden bunks. Many of them, particularly the large intake in the second half of 1944, had no blankets. Sanitary facilities were limited to cold water spigots in the barracks washrooms. The prisoners' clothing was washed and deloused only every several months. The toilets were pit latrines, which were periodically cleaned by the prisoners the Nazis most despised, the Jews and Polish Roman Catholic priests.

The Political Department at Stutthof maintained separate registers of prisoners' deaths. Only one of these was saved from destruction; it covers the period from January to April 1944. It lists some of the same causes of death contained in the Einlieferungsbücher—plus others, such as the February entries for 1 Pole "hanged in accordance with orders"; another "shot for offering resistance to state authority"; and 16 Red Army officers shot, with no justification given, simply an "E" (for *exekutiert*) entered next to their names in the death book. On March 15, 1944, 6 Jewish prisoners were shot "for offering resistance."[10] Executions by hanging were carried out in front of the assembled prisoners. In addition to the execution of prisoners such as these, Stutthof also served as the place of execution for prisoners sent by the Gestapo from Danzig, Königsberg, and other places. These prisoners were

not registered as inmates in the camp. One Polish expert calculated 180 deaths by execution took place from the fall of 1939 to the end of 1943. It is likely that at least an equal number of prisoners were beaten to death by the most brutal Kapos, such as Wacław Kozłowski and Josef Pabst. Still, it was the covert execution by injection that was by far the most frequent method employed at Stutthof.

Plans for the evacuation of Stutthof, ready in the fall of 1944, called for evacuation by sea, with Neuengamme as the main destination. In mid-January 1945, the nearby subcamps were shut down and the prisoners returned to the main camp. Some of the camp records were burned, particularly the sensitive materials of the Political Section and the camp hospital. On January 25, the evacuation commenced—but by forced march. The orders specified that this evacuation would take the form of 11 columns of 1,000 prisoners each. This represented about one-half of the camp's population (just over 23,000) at the time.

The weather could hardly have been worse, with daily temperatures hovering below -18°C (-0.4°F) and deep snow blanketing the roads. The prisoners received 0.5 kilograms (1.1 pounds) of bread and 57 grams (2 ounces) of margarine as their entire ration. Most of them gobbled it up as soon as it was issued, and for 3 days they received no additional food. The prisoners were cut down by cold, hunger, sickness, and the SS guards, who shot those who could not keep up. After 11 days, the columns had moved between 120 and 170 kilometers (74.6 and 105.6 miles) to the west, and the exhausted prisoners moved into temporary camps. Only 7,000 of the original 11,000 prisoners remained. The survivors were then put to forced labor, digging antitank ditches for the Wehrmacht, in which hundreds more died. The survivors were liberated at the beginning of March 1945.

At Stutthof, the camp descended into chaos. After the evacuation columns departed, the remaining prisoners were not fed for days, nor did they go to work or stand roll call. Hunger and typhus claimed up to 200 lives per day, and by early April the population had declined to fewer than 5,000 prisoners. Another 500 perished by the time of the first evacuation by sea on April 25, 1945; the Nazis were determined that no living concentration camp prisoners should be liberated by the Red Army. There were fewer than 2,000 women prisoners still alive, most of them Jewish, along with just over 2,500 men. Some 3,000 prisoners marched to Danzig, where they were loaded onto river barges for the voyage to territory still in German hands. After a journey of some five days, one barge eventually ended up in Denmark; the others were stranded between Kiel and the island of Rügen. A second group of just over 1,000 departed on April 27. Approximately a third of the evacuees did not survive to see liberation.

The first trial of Stutthof personnel, which commenced in Gdańsk in April 1946, included one SS sergeant, six female guards and eight Kapos. Five of the Kapos were sentenced to death, as were five of the female guards and the SS sergeant. Pauly was sentenced to death by a British military tribunal and executed in October 1946, but for his subsequent service at Neuengamme—not for his actions at Stutthof. Hoppe was tried and convicted in West Germany in 1955; he served seven and a half years of a nine-year sentence. The SS noncommissioned officers in charge of the camp hospital where the lethal injections were administered were tried and convicted in Tübingen in 1964.[11]

SOURCES Virtually all the published works on the Stutthof main camp and subcamps are in Polish, with a few in German. This essay relies heavily on Donald Steyer, ed., *Stutthof: Hitlerowski Obóz Koncentracyjny* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1988), in particular the essays by Marek Orski, Mirosław Gliński, and Danuta Drywa. Additional information is available from the National Stutthof Museum Web site.

The detailed transport lists from the summer and fall of 1944 are preserved in the AMS, Collection I-I. Detailed information that includes names and personal data of individual prisoners who entered Stutthof throughout its existence is contained in the camp's nearly complete series of Einlieferungsbücher (camp entry registers), which are held in AMS, 10, Collection I-II. Other records can be found in NARA, RG 242, as reflected in the notes, and the USHMMA contain Stutthof records as well as relevant memoirs.

Michael MacQueen

NOTES

1. NARA, RG 242, T-580/68/329 January 30, 1940, letter of IKL Glücks to RFSS Himmler, re: Gefangenenlager im Weichselgau.

2. See records of the Trial of Johann Paulus, et al., Specjalny Sad Karny w Gdańsku, IPN, Warsaw, file reference SSK-G 46-17.

3. See T-580/321, Report by IKL on the Acquisition of Land at Stutthof, January 23, 1942.

4. Guard strength given in Headquarters Order no. 39, December 29, 1942, in AMS, Folder I-I-1.

5. Statement of former SS-Lieutenant Paul Ehle to the Schönböcken Police (BRD), September 13, 1961, in case file EL 317 III Ks 5/63, investigation of defendants Haupt, Knott, and Lüdtke, StA-L.

6. Report of Veterinary Inspection of Stutthof Guard Dogs, January 9, 1943, and Identity Covers for Guard Dogs, November 18, 1942, both AMS, Folder I-VI-1.

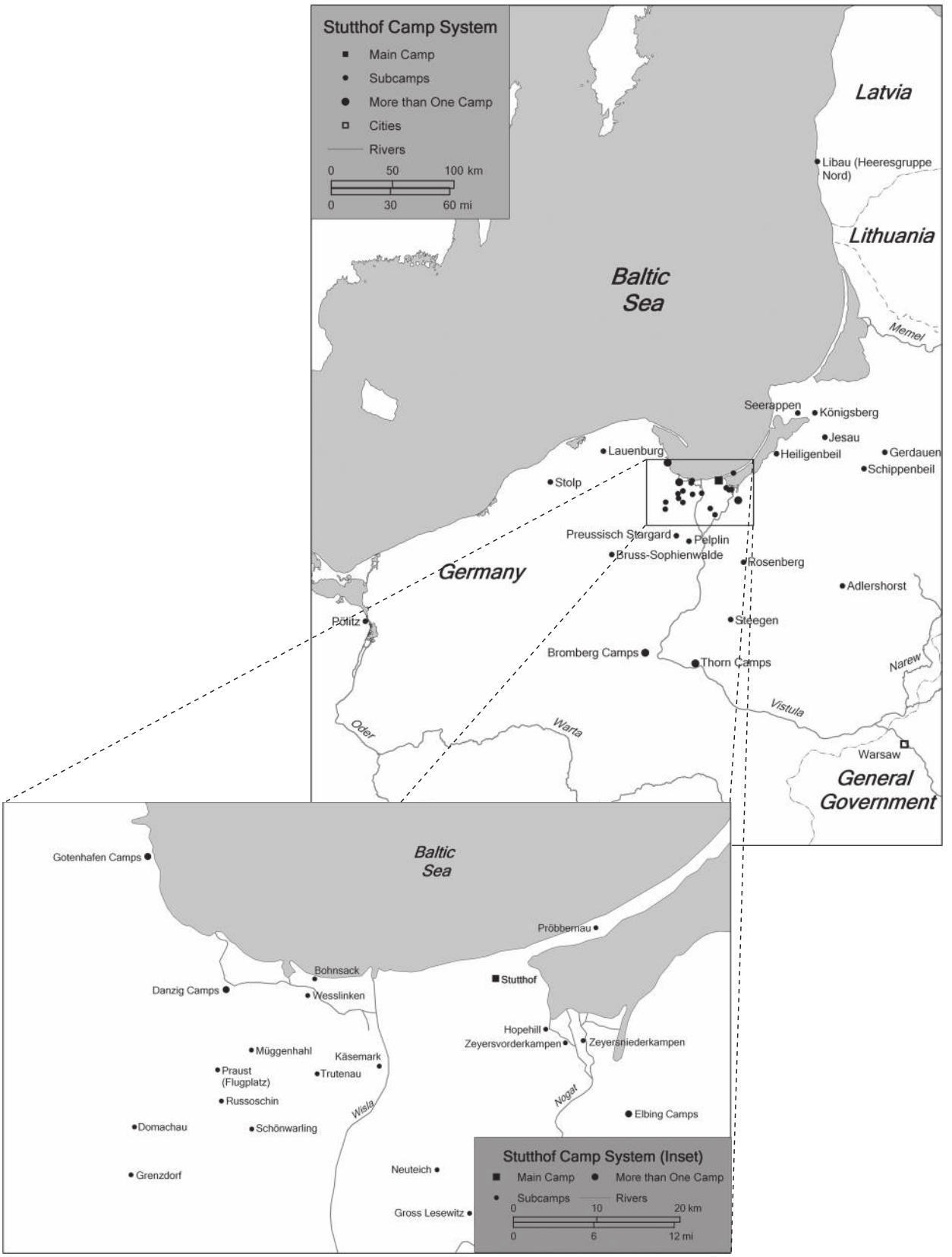
7. Camp Entry Register, consecutive prisoner numbers 15254 through 18520, AMS, Folder I-II-7.

8. Camp Entry Register, consecutive prisoner numbers 18521 through 21798, AMS, Folder I-II-8.

9. Order issued by the commander of the 3rd Company, SS-Death's Head Battalion Stutthof, March 2, 1943, Maintenance of Service Dogs, AMS, Folder I-VI-1.

10. Verstorbene VII, January 5 to April 7, 1944, AMS, Folder I-II-20.

11. Case EL 317 III Ks 5/63; the sentence is reprinted in the series *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979).


Stutthof Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 50 100 km
0 30 60 mi
Latvia
Libau (Heeresgruppe Nord)
Lithuania
Baltic Sea
Memel
Seerappen
Königsberg
Jesau
Lauenburg
Heiligenbeil
Gerdauen
Schippenbeil
Stolp
Preussisch Stargard
Pelplin
Bruss-Sophienwalde
Rosenberg
Germany
Adlershorst
Pölitz
Stegen
Bromberg Camps
Thorn Camps
Narew
Vistula
Oder
Warta
Warsaw
General Government
Baltic Sea
Gotenhafen Camps
Pröbbernau
Bohnsack
Stutthof
Danzig Camps
Wesslinken
Hopehill
Zeyersvorderkampen
Zeyersniederkampen
Müggenhahl
Käsemark
Praust (Flugplatz)
Trutenau
Russoschin
Nogat
Wisla
Elbing Camps
Domachau
Schönwarling
Grenzdorf
Neuteich
Gross Lesewitz
Stutthof Camp System (Inset)
Main Camp
More than One Camp
Subcamps
Rivers
0 10 20 km
0 6 12 mi

STUTTHOF SUBCAMP SYSTEM

As soon as the Stutthof concentration camp began operating, its administration created subcamps outside the camp proper to put prisoners to work in industry, farming, or other services. There were two main motivations that caused the camp authorities to form new units under central command. On the one hand, sending prisoners off the camp premises was an effective way to ease the overcrowding at the main camp and to obtain funds and other resources that would keep it operating. On the other hand, there was a more or less constant demand for labor by government institutions, companies, and private individuals from 1939 to 1945. SS-Obersturmführer Albert Schwartz, who was the farm camp director from 1940 to 1941, filed the following account before an investigating officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising on September 12, 1945:

> The Stutthof camp maintained its own agricultural farm, growing most of the vegetables needed for the [sub]camps there, and also had its own cattle and slaughterhouse. Big shops were constructed in which work was done for private companies in Elbing and Danzig. The money paid for this work amounted to such large sums that not only the upkeep for the camp, the food, and clothing for the prisoners could be fully paid, but considerable means were left over to build a big administration office from this money.[1]

The organizational history of the subcamps is a complex reflection of the Stutthof main camp's changing circumstances. Some started out as independent camps in their own right, operating as transit and detention camps parallel to Stutthof under the Danzig Prison Camp Command (Kommandantur der Gefangenenlager Danzig) and the SS-"Vistula" Main Sector Office (Oberabschnitt "Weichsel"), and were later absorbed into the Stutthof system. Other sites began as subcamps of those parallel camps, while still others were under the Stutthof main camp from the start. Likewise, the life cycles of the camps varied; they opened and shut down at different times and sometimes reopened later. In all cases the authority to open a subcamp lay with the commandant of the main camp, in consultation with his superiors. Labor assignments were based on contracts made between the Danzig or Elbing employment office, the army command, police headquarters, and a government agency, company, or private individual. The contracts set forth the type and duration of employment; the terms of work; and the conditions for lodging, prisoner supervision, and compensation.

Each of the subcamps operated with a large degree of independence. The central command in Stutthof coordinated economic and financial business and maintained central prisoner records, while the subcamp staff handled the day-to-day operation of the camp and monitored the working conditions.

It is not difficult to establish the names of all the permanent camps operating under one central command, but it is considerably harder to determine the names of the small work groups, generally called external labor detachments (Aussenkommandos), which were poorly documented because of the duration of their work, the number of prisoners in each group, and the detachment's distance from the main camp. The documentation chiefly consists of prisoners' files and correspondence with the Danzig Gestapo about prisoners, recording when and where they worked, as well as the testimony and accounts of former camp prisoners filed after the war.

An examination of the subcamp essays that follow establishes that 28 subcamps throughout the province of Danzig–West Prussia belonged to the Stutthof camp in the period from autumn 1939 through the end of 1941. Except for a few instances, that number does not include the Bauernkommandos, the farm detachments that, according to Schwartz's testimony, employed approximately 3,000 prisoners in the autumn of 1939. (Some 700 people were working on farms in January 1940.)[2] The detachments were named after the employers to whom they were hired out and the localities the farms were in, and they can be identified through the camp administration's notes on prisoner employment or financial records. In April 1940, the Stutthof camp assumed the central command of civilian prisoner camps; it took over the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp as well as the subcamps (Matzkau, Westerplatte, and external detachments in Danzig, Oliva, and Gdynia) of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, which was being shut down.

The greatest number of Stutthof subcamps were formed from 1942 through 1944, after the camp had been incorporated into the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which consequently brought the camp into the range of influence of SS economic policy and resulted in the intensive exploitation of prisoner labor. Stutthof's commandant made the decision to organize the subcamps, in consultation with and with the consent of the WVHA. Of Stutthof's 66 documented subcamps, 38 were created between early 1942 and the end of 1944: 28 of those in 1944, including 19 camps with Jewish prisoners from Stutthof from June to October 1944.[3]

A total of 26,251 Jews were sent to the new camps in 1944; and including non-Jewish prisoners, there was a total of approximately 33,000 prisoners at all the subcamps—the height of employment outside the main camp for the entire period the camp was in operation. They were put to work manufacturing and repairing weaponry, repairing tracks and military airfields,

building fortifications, clearing bombs, and performing other hard labor. They were chiefly hired out to Luftwaffe airfields, the Organisation Todt (OT), and private businesses. As of January 24, 1945, just before Germans began to evacuate the subcamps, there were still more than 22,500 prisoners in them, of whom over 18,500 were Jews.[4]

The subcamp entries that follow do not represent the entire external workforce at Stutthof. The entries do not include the stationary or semistationary external detachments (in the latter case, the prisoners returned to the main camp every day). Most of those were associated with farms and were formed annually by the dozen in the Danzig–West Prussia Reich District from 1939 through 1945. Each one of the farm camps employed from a handful to more than a dozen prisoners for a fee.

In many instances, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners make up for the gaps in the archival records or vestigial information in camp records. They are the only source portraying the living and working conditions in those detachments and their effects on prisoner life. The main principle in those detachments was to derive maximum benefit from slave labor, benefiting both the camp administration who collected fees for each day of work and the employers to which prisoners were hired out at artificially low prices.

SOURCES There are a small number of historical essays devoted to the history of the subcamps of Stutthof. However, there is no synthetic historiography, which would deal holistically with the issues, except in the unpublished dissertation by Józef Matynia, written in the late 1960s: "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Pedagogical College, Gdańsk, 1969). The organizational system of the subcamp and employment of prisoners were researched by Miroslaw Gliński: "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and by Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999). The German edition incorporates this issue in a monograph of the Stutthof concentration camp. The following publication includes papers by Miroslaw Gliński and Marek Orski: *Stutthof. Das Koncentrationlager* (Gdańsk, 1996) (translation of the Polish edition from 1988*: Stutthof*, *Nazi Concentration Camp*). Monographs of some larger subcamps have been published; among them are *Brusy-Dziemiany*, *Gdynia*, *Elblag*, *Nadbrzeze Near Elblag*, *Police*, *Slupsk*, *Subcamps for Jew*s, and these were written by Danuta Drywa, Maria Elzbieta Jezierska, Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, Marek Orski (and the coauthor in the paper about Gdynia: Elzbieta Grot), Zygmunt Szultka, and Tadeusz Wolski. The monograph about the subcamp in Brusy-Dziemiany (Bruss-Siphienwalde), by Marek Orski, appeared in English: *The Jewish Subsidiary of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationlager Stutthof) at Brusy Dziemiany (1944–1945)*, vol. 12 YVS, (Jerusalem: YVS, 1992).

Most archival materials relating to the organization and functioning of Stutthof's subcamps, as well as files of the former Stutthof camp, files of the Gestapo in Danzig, and central authorities of SS including the WVHA, are located in the AMS in Sztutowo in original form or copies of originals or transcripts of documents from other archives, especially from BA-BL. Other important sources are the stenographs of proceedings against former staff of the camp and prisoner-functionaries as well as the proceedings of the Nuremberg Trials, which took place in front of the IMT and AMT. Part of the documentation relating to trials against perpetrators from the Stutthof concentration camp is kept in the IPN in Warsaw.

Testimonies of the former prisoners, memoirs, statements, and materials of interrogations constitute a large source of documentation. These are located in different institutions dealing with the commemoration of crimes committed in the former concentration camp in Stutthof, mainly in the AMS in Sztutowo, in the IPN, in the AŻIH in Warsaw, and YV in Jerusalem.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN, PMW-BZW (hereinafter PAM-WCO), catalog no. 327, pp. 25–26.

2. Ibid; AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-1, Nurnberg Document NO-2275, Hildebrandt's report to Himmler on the operations of SS-Wachsturmbann Eimann.

3. This has been determined from the list of the ITS at Arolsen and the dossier of the AMS at Sztutowo. Source publications as well as essays on the Stutthof concentration camp provide discrepant numbers of Stutthof subcamps. The author of the first monographic publication on the camp's history, K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (The Stutthof Concentration Camp) (Gdynia, 1970), pp. 128–136, mentions a total of 28, also including the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser and the camps in Smukała, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, which were not subcamps of the camp. Mirosław Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3, (1979): 165–180, notes about 38 subcamps and major external detachments. Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–45* (Gdańsk, 1999), pp. 346–349, concurs, thus increasing the number of permanent subcamps as well as external detachments. The ITS at Arolsen list of concentration camps and subcamps—*Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979)—accounts for 107 camps including some farm detachments, labor detachments formed within one subcamp, or transit camps from the time of the land evacuation. On the other hand, Józef Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Pedagological College, Gdańsk, 1969), established that there were 61 subcamps and external detachments, including Smukała, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, transit camps formed during the prisoner evacuation not qualifying as subcamps, and other camps and detachments that also cannot be regarded as such.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

ADLERSHORST

The first reference to a detachment of prisoners put to work in the Orłowo section of Gdynia (formerly Orłowo Morskie; Adlershorst from 1939 to 1945; aka Gdynia Orłowo) dates from September 13, 1939.[1] The date is derived from an entry on a prisoner's file card, although it cannot be equated at all with the existence of an organized group of prisoners assigned to Orłowo for a specific labor purpose at the time. No other records have confirmed the existence of a subcamp of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser, Grenzdorf, or Stutthof civilian prisoner-of-war (POW) camps in Orłowo at the time.

The first Wehrmacht divisions entered sections of Gdynia (Gdinen, then Gotenhafen during the war) by September 13, 1939. Poles fit for military service were arrested and held at two main internment camps set up by the military authorities: Gdynia Redłowo (Gotenhafen-Hochredlau) and Gdynia Grabówek (Gotenhafen-Grabau). Their identities were checked, and they were interrogated. A special committee operating at those camps from the 16th Security Police Unit of the Danzig Gestapo checked to see if the prisoners were listed in the "wanted registry" (*Fahndungsbuch*). Some of those interned wound up at the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser at the beginning of October 1939, or in mid-October at the latest, after the police had taken over Gdynia Redłowo and Gdynia Grabówek.

The next references to a prisoner detachment at Gdynia Orłowo noted on prisoner registration cards appear between September 18 and 28, 1939.[2] There is no information on the number of prisoners, where the camp was housed, and what work the camp was assigned. According to the testimony of Bolesław Przytuła, in the spring of 1940, about 50 prisoners were sent to do cleanup work at the Gdynia Orłowo City Government, where they worked until the summer of 1942. (That certainly was not the Gdynia City Hall building, which was located in Gdynia proper on Marchauer-Piłsudski-Strasse. Perhaps Przytuła meant the city offices in Orłowo or work contracted out by the municipal government to be done in Orłowo.)[3]

According to an entry in a prisoner's personal files, another prisoner detachment was established at Gdynia Orłowo between September 9 and December 30, 1940. Political Branch personal files contain a detachment name: Wegses Hans, Adlershorst. It is not known what type of work the few prisoners in the detachment did, nor how it was set up and how it operated.[4] Other data indicate that it was only in December 1940 that the first detachment of a dozen or so people was assigned to the Gdynia Orłowo concrete plant (Betonfabrik Adlershorst). It was disbanded in April 1941.[5]

Another large camp formed by the command of the civilian internment camp in Stutthof began operating in March 1941. About 20 prisoners from the Stutthof camp, mostly specialist tradesmen such as woodworkers, carpenters, painters, parquet layers, and upholsterers, were put to work rebuilding and finishing the home of Stutthof camp commandant Max Pauly.[6] The home was at 6 Seebadstrasse (later Ulica Przebendowskich), which leads to the sea; the house was reportedly a present for "good service" from Albert Forster, Gauleiter and Reich governor of Danzig–West Prussia. Earlier it had belonged to an attorney from Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) named Maciaszek. The detachment's population varied as work progressed and prisoners with specific specialties were replaced. For example, prisoner Andrzej Domagała, a bricklayer by trade, worked at Adlershorst from March 8 to April 12, 1941. With the roof on, they started doing the finishing work in late autumn 1941. The interior contained such features as larch parquet floors and paneling.[7]

The prisoners were quartered in the private home of a Polish woman named Brydzyński. SS-Rottenführer Johannes Wall became camp commandant on March 5, 1941, and remained so until the detachment disbanded. He went through recruit training from January to March 1941, then was enlisted into the Waffen-SS. Witnesses testifying at Wall's trial in 1947 emphasized his kind attitude toward prisoners. After work and on Sundays, he would make it easier for family members or friends to visit them by making sure no one else was approaching.[8] Witness Franciszek Perchen, who had been sent from the Stutthof camp in March 1941 to work at the house, testified that Wall treated them kindly and let his father visit him. Nevertheless, both that witness and Wacław Lewandowski pointed out that prisoners were beaten, although they heard this from other people. Besides his crimes at the Stutthof camp, the indictment also listed crimes committed at Augsburg, a subcamp of Dachau, where Wall had been transferred on September 22, 1942. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced him to five years in prison and a five-year prohibition on holding public or honorary civic offices. He died in prison in 1948.[9]

There is some uncertainty as to the date on which the subcamp was disbanded. Some records indicate a date as early as the end of 1941, but other records contradict that. Józef Kucharski, who testified as a witness at Wall's trial in 1947, said that in February or March 1942, he and 35 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to Adlershorst, where they stayed until July, and that Wall was in command over them. Unless there is an error in the date provided, that would mean that the detachment was disbanded only in mid-1942, that is, when the 2nd Guard Company stationed at the police barracks in Aldershorst returned to the Stutthof camp.[10]

Records on the escape of prisoner Piotr Dziedzic also indicate that the camp was shut down in mid-1942. He had been sent from the Lebrechtsdorf camp (with which Stutthof was associated through commandant Pauly, who was overseeing the operations of that camp and two other educational labor camps in Bydgoszcz's [Bromberg's] district of Smukała [Mühltal] and Toruń [Thorn]) to the house in Aldershorst on December 1, 1941. He escaped on May 25, 1942.[11]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Adlershorst subcamp: AK-IPN: SOGd, Catalog Numbers 94, 181; Gdańsk Provincial Court, Catalog No. 37, records of the criminal case against Johannes Wall; SSK Gd, Catalog No.

215, records of the criminal case against Edward Włościański; CA IPN-Gd, affidavit of K. Popławski, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław); AMS: Catalog No. I-III, files of prisoners; Catalog No. 1006, personal files of Johannes Wall; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Cyprian Wosztal, vol. 6, Stanisław Matuszczak, Alojzy J. Pilarczyk, vol. 12, Ryszard Wolbisz, vol. 18) (Gdańsk, 1939); Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, *Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra* (Gdańsk, 1984); K. Ciechanowski, "Hitlerowski obóz w Gdańsku-Nowym Porcie (Zivilgefangenenlager Neufahrwasser) 1 IX 1939–1 IV 1940," *StZeMu*, no. 5 (1984); E. Grot and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1990); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 273.
2. AMS, sygn. I-III-41175, personal files of prisoner Marian Brawat.
3. AK-IPN Gd, record of witness examination dated October 23, 1967 (Wrocław); AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49846, personal files of prisoner Julian Wilczarski.
4. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49846, I-III-50267, I-III-50318, personal files of prisoners Julian Wilczarski, Bazyly Sakowicz, and Józef Otto.
5. Ibid., *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections) (Gdańsk, 1939), account of Ryszard Wolbisz, 18: 9–10.
6. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35, testimony of witness Józef Kucharski at trial of J. Wall in 1947; also, M. Gliński, p. 168; and M. Orski, p. 92.
7. AK-IPN, SSK, Catalog No. 215, pp. 11, 26–28, 69, testimony of defendant Edward Włościański dated 1945; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42448, I-III-42621, I-III-43660, I-III-49846, personal files of prisoners Walter Dembski, Andrzej Domagała, Józef Frost, and Julian Wilczarski. Also see *Accounts and Recollections*, 6:269, account of Cyprian Wosztal; 12:163–164, 294, Stanisław Matuszczak and Alojzy J. Pilarczyk; 12: 91, J. Matynia.
8. Witnesses K. Witczak, J. Kucharski, K. Orwińska, and Z. Poziemski.
9. AK-IPN, SWGd, Catalog No. 37.
10. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-43016.

BOHNSACK

The only reference to the existence of a prisoner commando in the town of Bohnsack (later Sobieszewo) near Danzig (later Gdańsk) is in the personal files of prisoners and was recorded under the date June 7, 1940. The prisoners were hired out for labor at the county construction agency (Kreisbauamt Danzig-Land, Bohnsack). They returned to the Stutthof camp on July 22, 1940.[1]

SOURCES The following source contains information on the Bohnsack subcamp: AMS, sygn. I-III, personal files of prisoners. Also see many of the other sources listed in the Stutthof main entry.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42881, I-III-49842, I-III-49933, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dudkiewicz, Johann von Pruhsak, and Feliks Warczyński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 273.

BROMBERG-BRAHNAU (*DAG NOBEL*) [AKA LAGER 15]

The Bromberg-Brahnau subcamp was formed at ammunition factory Dynamit Nobel Aktiengesellschaft (DAG) on July 15, 1944.[1] The prisoner camp, composed of six barracks fenced with barbed wire, was located in a forced labor camp complex near the factory premises and named Lager 15. A total of 1,000 Jewish women aged 16 to 20 were sent there to make up for the labor shortage created when a thousand workers were sent from DAG to the Magdeburg-Anhalt region for Albert Speer's Jäger-Programm.[2] Initially 37 SS men supervised the women; female supervisors from the Ravensbrück concentration camp took over that job on July 25, 1944. When they came to Bromberg (later Bydgoszcz), the number of SS men was reduced from 37 to 12, and the rest returned to the Stutthof main camp.[3]

DAG's facilities at Łęgnowo (Brahnau, aka Langenau) housed the bomb and grenade divisions, while factories nearby at Zimne Wody (Kaltwasser) produced nitroglycerine, gunpowder, and nitrocellulose.[4] A special Home Army report dated February 25, 1944, stated that the DAG factory was composed of 17 concrete buildings, one and two stories tall (usually not including the ground floor), as well as one or two underground levels. Groups of 2 or 3 buildings constituted stand-alone manufacturing facilities. The plants employed 31,617 persons, including 3,015 Poles, in January 1944.[5] The work at the factory was especially dangerous because of the contact with easily oxidized chemicals, which could cause powerful explosions.[6]

Besides one account and fragmentary archival records from Stutthof concentration camp, we have no other materials about the Jewish women's working and living conditions. The only account, that of Teresa Mittelmann, a Hungarian Jew, described the general conditions in the Jewish camp and working conditions in a factory production department filling bombs with chemicals. Mittelmann noted that the work was dangerous because of the contact with chemicals and lack of work safety measures and that the camp commandant behaved brutally toward prisoners:

> We arrived on August 1, 1944, to Brahnau. The older women were sent to work in the kitchen. We got a very good lunch, so we hoped for the best. But we were disappointed. The camp was small. The Lagerführer was a beast. He used torture instruments. Often we were closed in bunkers without reason. He lived in Brahnau with his family. I worked in a munitions factory. I had to fill fifty-nine bombs daily. Later we had to carry the shells to a store. The food ration was fairly good, comparing [it] with the other camps [where] we had been. Once I got ill. I inhaled poison gas, from the shells, and fainted. A Lithuanian woman doctor treated me. The factory was hidden from strangers. Nobody knew what important things were manufactured here. We worked mostly at night. One morning as we came from work, we were told to pack immediately. As we marched off, many began to escape.[7]

DAG settled accounts with the camp command and indirectly with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the prisoners' labor pursuant to the regulations of the time, based on rate schedules set by the SS authorities. The rate for private companies was 6 and 4 Reichsmark (RM) for each full day of work on plant premises by skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. Jewish women were put to work only in auxiliary labor positions. The only surviving roster of companies owing money to the camp in late 1944 lists 23,253 man-days calculated according to a daily rate of 4 RM. On that basis, DAG was charged approximately 43,000 RM after prisoner feeding expenses were deducted.[8]

Of the 1,000 women sent to Brahnau in mid-July 1944, 995 were there in late January 1945—thus mortality in the camp was comparatively low.[9] The administration of the Stutthof concentration camp had the duty of supplying clothing and medical aid. Subcamp commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Langräbe's correspondence with the clothing warehouse in Stutthof shows that the subcamp received replacement clothing and shoes, or the tools and materials to fix them, albeit late and not always in the quantity desired. A commandant's report said that 1 person had died at camp through October 23, 1944. Health problems started up when winter came, and there was a shortage of warm clothes and shoes especially, as the subcamp commandant stated in a report, because most of the women were put to work outdoors. The commandant's letter to the director of the Administration and Management Division in Stutthof dated December 12, 1944, states that there was a shortage of winter clothing and repair materials. The commandant wrote that approximately 80 percent of the clothing was in very poor condition and repairing it was not helping much; a corresponding rate of illness due to colds was reported.

The camp population in mid-December 1944 was 996 women, as indicated by the amount of winter clothes they received.[10] In the five weeks up until evacuation started, 1 person died in the camp. Preparations to evacuate camp began on January 20, 1945. The prisoner count reported for January 24, 1945, was accurate only for the initial days of evacuation; after that the population dropped with every passing day. The group of 995 female prisoners merged into one column with the women from the Bromberg-Ost subcamp to form a column of 1,290 people. The destination of the evacuation was the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[11]

The evacuation route, leading toward Koronowo (Krone), then to Mąkowarsko (Monkowarsk), and toward Sępólno Krajeńskie (Zempelburg), was marked by the graves of female prisoners shot by SS men from a Latvian escort, who killed women who were not up to the hardships of the march. Witnesses testified that "in the evening of January 21 Gestapo with dogs escorted approximately one thousand women and men from Bydgoszcz toward Koronowo. They set their dogs on the weak, who could not go on any longer, and beat them with their gun butts, shooting anyone who could not go on."[12] Near the village of Lucim, SS men shot several female prisoners to death, and 4 women were killed near Mąkowarsko.

Some of the women tried to break away from the column and escape, which was risky under those conditions. Teresa Mittelmann, and a group of 16 girls, hid in a village where she was liberated three days later.[13] The primary column of women got to the town of Flatow (Złotów) on foot without any food. There, they were loaded onto open freight cars, in which they were transported to Tempelburg (Czaplinek). Mortality rose because of the cold and snow. In Tempelburg on January 29, 1945, the Latvian escort handed the women over to Volkssturm units that convoyed the column to Falkenburg (Złocieńiec). There, the 40 survivors of the original group stopped at the local brickyard to spend the night. During the stopover, 4 prisoners disguised as male railroad workers, Erna Valk among them, escaped successfully. They reached Dramburg (Drawsko Pomorskie) after a 14-kilometer (8.7-mile) march. Posing as fugitives from the East, they joined with German refugees and received money, ration cards, and identification documents, as well as a place to live in the abandoned house of a local party leader. They and the other refugees left three weeks later for Germany, where the Americans freed them.[14] The remaining female prisoners were liberated in Falkenburg on February 4, 1945.[15]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Bromberg-Brahnau subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIA-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944; Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population reports; Catalog No. Z-V-57, materials on the Łęgnowo camp investigation, 1970–1975, in the resources of District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (now the Bydgoszcz branch of the AK-IPN Gd, transcripts in AMS); *Relacje i wspomnienia*, Erna Valk, vol. 8 (Warsaw, 2004); AP Gd., Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreussen, Catalog No.

265I/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Berichtsmonat Juni 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6: 51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6a:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial. Also see the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelmann; J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); K. Leszczyński, "Eksterminacja ludności na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945 (woj. łódzkie, pomorskie i rzeszowskie)" *BGKBZHwP* 10 (1958); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); and M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 125–128, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Bromberg-Brahnau dated July 14, 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6:51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6a:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944, including 850 names divided into 10 groups of 100 persons each (150 names are missing from the fifth and eighth group of 100); Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 1, Anschriften der Aussenlager; AP Gd, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreussen, sygn. 265I/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Berichtsmonat Juni 1944.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 254, testimony of Stutthof concentration camp Schutzhaftlagerführer Theodor Meyer; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, p. 50, testimony of Wanda Steinhoff, SS woman from the [camp's] Bydgoszcz subcamp.

4. AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-57, pp. 69–70, materials on the Łęgnowo camp investigation, report of examination of witness Oskar Kufel (transcripts from the resources of the Bydgoszcz branch, AK-IPN Gd).

5. Ibid., Intelligence Report dated February 25, 1944.

6. For example, according to Intelligence Report 12/44, about 50,000 sacks of gunpowder were burned in a warehouse fire on March 20, 1944.

7. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelmann.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9.

9. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the population of the subcamps dated January 24, 1945. The surviving fragments of hospital records on the mortality rate at the subcamps do not contain any figures on deaths.

10. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 4–15; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp status reports, January–April 1945.

11. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), 8:143, account of Erna Valk; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report of subcamp population on January 24, 1945.

12. Ibid., 8:212, J. Matynia; SMA, Catalog No. Z-V-57, witness examination reports in the Łęgnowo camp investigation.

13. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelmann.

14. AMS, *Accounts and Recollections*, 8:144–145, account of Erna Valk.

15. According to information provided by Zvia [Zvio?] Cilla Pinkasovits (Lebovits: letter, Cilla Pinkasovits to the Stutthof Museum, files, Catalog No. 274/1439/1994).

BROMBERG-OST (*REICHSBAHN*)

Pursuant to a special order of the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp dated September 12, 1944, two more subcamps for Jewish inmates were instituted effective September 13, 1944: Aussenarbeitslager Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) and Aussenarbeitslager Russoschin bei Praust (Rusocin near Pruszcz Gdański).[1] In both subcamps, the Jewish women prisoners were put to work at German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn) sites, laying and repairing rails and loading and unloading railway ties and basalt. On Sundays, they were forced to work digging trenches. Often in the winter months, even in the late evening hours, they were forced to remove snow from the tracks and switches at the Bromberg-Ost junction.[2]

Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Bromberg; they had been selected from Jewish transports that came to the camp in July from Kowno (Kaunas) and in August from Riga and the Auschwitz concentration camp. SS-Scharführer Anton Kniffke was named commandant; 34 members of railway security who had been trained in handling prisoners were in charge of supervision, along with 7 female supervisors including Gerda Steinhoff and Ewa Paradies (sentenced to death at a trial in 1946), who had completed a two-week course for female supervisors held on September 14 at the Stutthof camp. The female prisoners were placed in Ober-Bautrupp 1822, a collective camp located in the Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) section. Two barracks were allocated for them. In November, construction was started on a small third barrack for an infirmary and an office for the prisoner foremen.[3]

The detachment primarily worked laying rails and repairing trackways for the German national railway, the Reichsbahn. The work was done under difficult climatic conditions, especially in late autumn and the winter. In his report dated November 13, 1944, on a camp inspection that he conducted, SS-Hauptsturmführer P. Ehle of headquarters staff noted the hard work of the female supervisors, who had to take the prisoner detachment out in the early morning in an open train and stayed on duty through the 40-kilometer (25-mile) route. The report went on to say that they stayed at their posts all day regardless of wind or rain, with no opportunity to have something hot to drink or eat. In another place, he stated that they had "no lights, no kitchen utensils, warm coats, or even winter stockings." The camp commandant had already sent

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

reports about the supervisors to the chief of the Administration and Management Division.

Of course, the female prisoners experienced the same conditions or worse, but they were not the target of so much concern.[4] Of their circumstances, Ehle stated tersely that approximately 10 percent of all the women were unfit for labor because of colds and should be replaced. The women who had been put to work at the main train station in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), where they could warm themselves, were in the best situation, while those who worked outdoors replacing railroad ties, laying rails, and unloading and loading cars were in the worst. This state of things is confirmed by correspondence between the subcamp commandant and the Administration and Management Division at the main camp, headed by SS-Obersturmführer (becoming SS-Hauptsturmführer in November 1944) Engelbrecht von Bonin.[5] Reports about the detachment's poor provisioning had already reached Stutthof a month after the camp was formed. There was mainly a shortage of materials to mend clothing, as well as a shortage of stockings, which were torn by the wooden shoes (*Holzschuhe*) prisoners wore. Instead of stockings, the commandant urgently tried to get cloth leg wrappings as well as gloves, dresses, jackets, and garters.

Subsequent reports from the subcamp again concern the great damage to clothing and lack of materials to mend the prisoners' clothes, as well as a shortage of underwear. The death rate at the camp was not high; 2 inmates died over the first two months, as is confirmed by underwear orders; a third woman died in November. The population stayed the same at least until January 5, when the commandant asked the Administration and Management Division to send armbands with 297 prisoner numbers, which the camp did not have, due to a material shortage.[6] Then 2 more people died at the camp over the next three weeks up until evacuation began. There were 295 women in the subcamp as of January 24, 1945. They were evacuated along with the Stutthof subcamp in Bromberg-Brahnau.

SOURCES The following sources contain information about the Bromberg-Ost subcamp: AK-IPN, SSK Gd., sygn. 418, records of criminal case against John Pauls; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp command regarding supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Erna Valk, vol. 8).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 177–180.
2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.
3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 418, p. 78, testimony of supervisor Ewa Paradies; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 23, extract of P. Ehle's report made on November 13, 1944, after an inspection of the Bromberg-Ost labor camp.
4. AMS, *Accounts and Recollections*, vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 19–40.
6. Ibid., pp. 37–40.

BRUSS-SOPHIENWALDE

The Bruss (Polish: Brusy) subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 24, 1944.[1] The camp began operation that day and was also known in correspondence as Truppenübungsplatz (troop exercise grounds) Bruss in Sophienwalde (Dziemiany). The Germans formed the camp because of the demand for labor on the construction site of the SS-Westpreussen (West Prussian) training ground. The construction work included building a special training ground for the Waffen-SS and Wehrmacht, barracks, garages, parking lots, and transportation infrastructure. Those projects were contracted out to a dozen or so private German companies from the Danzig–West Prussia district.

Sophienwalde was home to a major base for transshipping materials, as well as the SS-FAU 128 (Frontarbeitenunternehmung), the code name for the design office for expanding the training ground. All projects for developing the training ground originated at that office. This was the site of Bruss, formed in late 1942. Various groups of prisoners passed through the camp until the end of 1944: Russian, English, Dutch, and Italian prisoners of war (POWs); Jewish women from the Stutthof concentration camp; women from the Lebrechtsdorf displaced persons and labor camp; and Poles deported from Warsaw via Pruszków and the Stutthof camp after the Warsaw Uprising. Bruss was really a holding point, from which respective groups were sent to different work sites on the premises of the training ground.

SS-Oberscharführer Willy Schulz was named commandant of the subcamp; since June 29, 1944, he had been serving in the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion at Stutthof. The female prisoners were supervised by 15 SS men designated by the training ground administration and belonging to the local garrison. Jewish women were supervised by women from the Stutthof staff: Charlotte Rose, Emilia Löscher, and Marta Müller.

A transport of 500 Jewish women, mostly from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and Romania, was sent directly to Bruss, where the detachment was divided into two basic groups: the majority (400–450) were sent to a makeshift camp in Dziemiany on the shore of Lake Rzuno, while 50 to 100 people were placed in Bruss.[2]

Dziemiany had the most primitive conditions. The prisoners were quartered 10 to 15 each in about 30 wooden cabins. They slept directly on a thin layer of straw on the bare floor; the walls were made of thin noninsulated fiberboard. Due to weather conditions, many of them wore soaked clothes and shoes that they had no place to dry out, which fundamentally affected their health and sick rate.[3] Only on January 4, 1945,

was part of a new building opened in Dziemiany, in which there were rooms furnished with bunks for the women. All the Jewish women were moved to the new building within a month.[4]

The Jewish women were put to work mostly in auxiliary jobs, frequently with the forced laborers from Lebrechtsdorf and the Poles expelled from Warsaw. Their main occupation was building barracks and roads. Some of the hardest labor was roofing under the supervision of the Zemke company, which meant working at great heights, with a corresponding danger of injury; 10 women were put to work doing this, including Gertrude Schneider.[5] Many of the Jewish women were assigned to unload trucks of bricks transported from the Bruss brickyard or freightcars. Although it was not as dangerous as the roofing work, it required great physical strength.

The hard labor unloading bricks and building roads and military barracks, as well as the poor state of their clothing and shoes and the minimal food rations, although they were the same as at Stutthof but with little opportunity for getting extra food, caused diseases to spread, primarily spotted typhus and dysentery. Sick prisoners were murdered in the forest near the lake or during work.[6] The subcamp commandant's requests for warmer clothes and clothing repair materials were not always filled completely. In one letter, the commandant wrote that "if you do not provide the clothing we require and urgently need, there might be a drop in labor because of colds, and productivity could decrease."[7] Mainly there was a shortage of stockings, bandannas, and gloves, which served as protection from the cold as well as hand protection during work. Instead of gloves, the Jewish women used rags and newspapers that Poles from the neighboring camp provided to them.[8]

The camp diet was another drain on the women's health. For breakfast and supper, they were issued a slice of bread weighing about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces), rarely with some margarine, and a cup of unsweetened black coffee; for lunch they got 0.5 liters (2 cups) of thin soup made of rutabagas and potatoes with a trace amount of fat. Dishes and eating utensils were also in short supply—one set for every five women. Poles from the neighboring camp came to the Jewish women's aid by making spoons and cups from wood and secretly providing them to the Jewish camp.[9] The death rate in the camp was considerable, although firm statistics are lacking. There are only 3 names on the incomplete lists of prisoners who died at the subcamps. Gertrude Schneider confirmed the high mortality rate in the camp, listing such major causes of "natural death" as spotted typhus, probably brought to the camp when 35 Jewish women from Stutthof were sent to replace sick prisoners who had been hospitalized in late October 1944.[10] Schneider reported that the prisoner population was always kept at approximately 500. She reported that Dziemiany numbered 488 persons on December 19, 1944, but by January 16, 1945, there were only 430 women in the camp, then 480 on February 1, and only 394 on February 10.[11] Thus the total number of Jewish women who passed through the subcamp, allowing for the high death rate, could not be less than 600 or 700.

On the morning of February 10, 1945, the camp was evacuated. Schulz probably received an order to march toward Lauenburg (Lębork), which was the destination for the prisoner columns led out of the Stutthof camp and was nearest to the Dziemiany subcamp's evacuation route; 86 women, mostly ill, were left in the camp. Schulz assured them they would stay there, but they were actually taken in trucks to the village of Leśno-Wybudowanie, where they were shot and their bodies burned.[12]

Of the group evacuated from Dziemiany (including Jewish women from the other detachments, mainly Bruss, who had been moved to Dziemiany earlier), 347 prisoners reached the town of Gotentof on February 17 after marching 83 kilometers (51.6 miles); there they merged with columns of prisoners evacuated from other Stutthof subcamps. They were to spend several days at the Gotentof camp to merge with other prisoner groups. Schneider rated the conditions at that camp as the worst that the women had encountered so far.

Only on March 9 were the prisoners again put in columns in the evening and sent further on their way. They covered 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) during the all-night march, reaching Chynów. Many other Jewish women who had arrived earlier were in a huge barn and on the roadside. Russian tanks entered the village the next day, March 10, 1945. No more than 250 Jewish women were still alive.[13] The Russians shot all the guards escorting the women, including commandant Schulz. The fate of the three women supervisors is unknown. Schneider reported that soldiers took two of them away in separate tanks; the third one disappeared.

SOURCES The following sources contain information about the Bruss subcamp: AK-IPN Gd, sygn. Ko 4/85, witness examination reports (Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk); AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation; Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of crime committed by Germans against a group of women in Leśno on February 9, 1945; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, affidavits (Alice Block, Gertrude Schneider); G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road. Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York, 1991); B. Breza, "Pod hitlerowską okupacją," in *Lipusz-Dziemiany*, ed. J. Borzyszkowski (Gdańsk, 1994), pp. 330–372; M. Orski, *Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej z Warszawy* (Gdańsk, 1992); Orski, "The Jewish Subcamp of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy-Dziemiany (1941–1945)," *YVS* 12 (1992): 273–286.; Orski, "Cień Sophienwalde," *Pom*, no. 5 (1995).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. M. Orski, *Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej*

z Warszawy (Gdańsk, 1992), pp. 39–56; Orski, "The Jewish Subcamp of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy-Dziemiany (1941–1945)," *YVS* 12 (1992): 273–286; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 159–160, "Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Bruss."

2. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. OK. By. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation.

3. AMS, letter, Alice Block to the Stutthof Museum, June 23, 1999.

4. G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road. Jewish survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York, 1991), pp. 15–16.

5. Ibid., p. 11.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, pp. 12–13.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 162, Schulz to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated October 29, 1944. G. Schneider corroborated these facts in her camp memoirs.

8. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ko. 4/85, report of examination of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk; Orski, *Poligon*, p. 115.

9. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. OK. Gd. Ko 4/85, report of examination of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

11. Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, pp. 14, 16, 18; AMS, account of G. Schneider dated January 11, 1990.

12. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of crime committed by Germans against a group of women in Leśno on February 9, 1945.

13. According to the estimates of Gertrude Schneider's mother, G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, p. 23.

DANZIG (*BETONFABRIK*)

Beginning on June 28, 1940, 70 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser were sent to work at the concrete plant (*Betonfabrik*) in Danzig-Langfuhr (Gdańsk Wrzeszcz), at what was then 235 Adolf-Hitler-Strasse.[1]

The owner of the plant was a Polish ethnic German (Volksdeutscher), a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) who changed his name from August Roszkowski to August Röskau in 1942.[2] The prisoners were quartered 200 meters (219 yards) from the plant and the owner's residence, in half-dismantled barracks on the same street. A person named Jablonski was commander of the guard over the prisoners. Three prisoners escaped from the detachment on August 15, 1940. One of the escapees said in his account:

> I got into a detachment in Wrzeszcz that worked at the concrete plant. There were seventy of us. Tomczyk, the son of the circus performer, was there. On August 15, [1940], we went to pour water on some concrete elements that had been produced, and, taking advantage of the SS men's inattention, we got into a room where some civilian workers' clothing was hanging—it was Sunday; Tomczyk, myself and one more man changed clothes and escaped. I went via Gdańsk, Tczew, and Olsztyn, and finally reached Warsaw.[3]

The subcamp was shut down on December 1, 1940.[4]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (*Accounts and Recollections*) (Tadeusz Masio, vol. 9); *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeindeten Vororten und Zoppot* (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów" *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49995, I-III-50056, personal files of prisoners Grzegorz Marszałkiewicz and Stefan Tryek (or Tryko).

2. *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeindeten Vororten und Zoppot* (Danzig, 1942), 1:316, 4:235.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1:139, account of Tadeusz Masio.

4. According to various authors, this occurred between the spring and autumn of 1941. We can establish an exact date, December 1, 1940, based on the labor assignment entry for prisoner Grzegorz Marszałkiewicz. M. Gliński, "*Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)*," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979):168, situates it in Danzig Suchanino, not in Wrzeszcz, which the account of Tadeusz Masio, former prisoner of this subcamp, clearly indicates. The same error was repeated after that publication in a monograph on the camp published in 1988. They were two different detachments, although they did a similar type of work. *Stutthof. Das Konzentrationslager*, (Gdańsk: Wydawn, 2003) p. 230.

DANZIG (*DANZIGER-WERFT*) [AKA DANZIG-TROYL, LAGER TROYL]

The Danziger-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 25, 1944. The subcamp began operating a day later.[1] Besides the work detail (Aussenkommando) Danziger-Werft, there was also an external work camp (*Aussenarbeitslager*), Danziger-Werft. Initially 300 non-Jewish men were sent to work at the government shipyard; they had been picked from among skilled fitters, lathe operators, mechanics, and metalworkers, mostly recruited from people working at the German Equipment Works (DAW) shops, especially the gun repair shops. Most of the people who "volunteered" for the work detail were from the Danzig and Gdynia (Gotenhafen) area and hoped to have contact with their families, as well as to escape from the camp. The group included Poles arrested in late 1942 for belonging to underground organizations such as the Home Army's Armed Combat Union and the Gray Ranks; in 1944, they were joined by Varsovians who arrived in May from Pawiak prison and from transports sent to Stutthof during the Warsaw Uprising.

The prisoners helped to build new warships, especially submarines; they were to replace German specialists called up to the Wehrmacht. SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke was the subcamp's commandant from August 26 to November 13, 1944; when he was transferred to the Stoboi subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder took the position. The guard unit consisted of 15 SS men assigned from the Stutthof camp and an unknown number of German navy sailors. Subsequent prisoner transports arrived on August 25, 1944 (300 people); September 19 (100); and October 5 and 31 (120 and 100, respectively). The last transport documented was sent on November 21, 1944, and it included 170 people.[2] Thus, a total of 795 prisoners were sent to Danziger-Werft.

The camp was located in the Danzig-Troyl (Gdańsk-Przeróbka) section of Danzig, so the prisoner detachment has also been called Danzig-Troyl or Lager Troyl, the name used for the camp address.[3] Each prisoner column was taken by narrow-gauge railway to the mouth of the Vistula River in Nickelswalde (Mikoszewo), then by a large riverboat to Danzig. They were quartered in a complex of seven wooden barracks previously occupied by civilian shipyard workers who had been moved somewhere else. The prisoners' job was to fence the grounds, then to erect watchtowers. Each barrack was furnished with double-decker bunks, and one barrack housed the kitchen. Each separate room in the barracks was numbered in sequence.[4] According to a former prisoner of the subcamp, the camp was located "right on the street that ran from the canal to the city," from where prisoners were ferried daily to the workplace.[5] Knowing the area where the Danziger-Werft shipyard was located, which was on the left bank of the Motława River north of the mouth of the Radunia, the camp had to be on Przetoczna Strasse.[6]

The day after the arrival of the first group of prisoners in Danzig, the entire transport was sent to the shipyard. Here, civilian engineers briefly spoke with the group to ascertain the skills of the prisoners assigned to work in specific departments at the shipyard. They were mainly put to work in the foundry, the forge or fitting shop, in earthmoving, transport, cleaning the camp, and clearing the city of rubble. Work at the shipyard was done in two shifts of 12 hours each.[7] Prisoners worked at the shipyard in the same workstations as other forced laborers; for instance, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz was put in a four-man Polish-French group (two prisoners and two French prisoners of war [POWs]), assembling fans in one of the submarine sections. Besides their work, they also shared a common plight, and the Frenchmen expressed their solidarity by sharing what they received in International Red Cross packages with the Poles.

Camp chronicler Raczkiewicz rated conditions in camp and at work as better than, or at least no worse than, those at the Stutthof camp.[8] Each prisoner occupied one bunk and could move freely about the entire camp. There were no harsh discipline procedures, and the camp supervisors were not brutal, with two exceptions. The first was Max Musolf, the first camp elder, who was replaced in November 1944 by Czesław Gdaniec, a Pole from Danzig who treated the prisoners more decently. The second exception was the second commandant, Willy Redder, who was especially brutal and often beat prisoners himself.

The shipyard was in charge of camp food supplies; it delivered food and issued dinners, which were low in calories and meager in portions. Meals were made in camp on the free Sunday. It is no wonder that many prisoners looked for opportunities to get something extra to eat, availing themselves of the assistance of family and friends—especially those from Gdynia, who supplied prisoners with food through civilian workers who risked exposure and severe punishment.[9] The prisoners also took advantage of help from corrupt SS men, who let them meet their families to obtain cigarettes or gifts of food. After awhile, people could also leave food packages for inmates in the camp office, although the packages were searched thoroughly before reaching their recipients.

The prisoners were not well provided with shoes or clothing. This is evidenced by correspondence of the subcamp's commandant to the clothing warehouse at the main camp. The commandant's justification for requesting 600 pairs of shoes was that "this camp has no capability of providing prisoners with shoes. The workshops we have can only provide the most urgent shoe repairs."[10] The chief of the clothing warehouse, SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott, refused the request, saying there was a shortage of shoes.

In September 1944, the camp records list the first escape of three prisoners, who fled during the night shift at the shipyard and were caught 14 days later and sent to the Stutthof camp. There is no information on their punishment. Two more prisoners escaped a month later; there is no information on whether or not they were caught.

There were several successful escapes in January and February 1945 as the camp's shutdown was approaching and supervision slackened. Czesław Szlachcikowski escaped successfully. When the guard was not watching, he left a barrack outside camp where he was working as an electrician, unnoticed, dressed in clothes his wife had sent him. Among the other successful escapees were Edmund Wyszecki, Włodzimierz Steyer, Bogusław Popkowski, and two Englishmen, Theo Ellsmor and Thomas Mitchell. The chances of a successful escape were the greatest for prisoners who could depend on the help of people beyond the barbed-wire fence and who had civilian clothing and fake identification papers. The Russians who dared to escape failed, as did many Varsovians.[11]

Work stopped at the shipyard on January 17, 1945. There were 789 prisoners in the camp as of January 24, 1945. Camp conditions deteriorated: there was a food shortage, and the shipyard and personnel had been evacuated, so there was hardly any chance of getting extra food from outside. Every day a transport column would take out the bodies of dead prisoners to the crematorium at the Medical Academy or the cemetery in Saspe. The detachment's evacuation began on March 24, 1945, in several stages; the last group of prisoners reached the Stutthof camp in early April.[12]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Westerplatte subcamp: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Stanisław Czarnota, Katowice and Kraków divisions; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I- IVH-5, miscellaneous materials on the Stutthof concentration camp subcamp; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, (Kazimierz Dymczyk, vol. 24; Gerard Knoff, vol. 6; Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz, vols. 9, 15, 25; Włodzimierz Steyer, vol. 18); "Um Holm und Helling," in *Danziger Werft Aktiengesellschaft 1844–1944* (Danzig, 1944); K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów. 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); B. Hajduk, "Finanse, przemysł i rzemiosło" and "Gospodarka gdańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," in *Historia Gdańska*, ed. E. Cieślak, vol. 4/2 (Sopot, 1998); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Orski, *Ostatnie dni obozu Stutthof*, 2nd ed. (Gdańsk, 1998); Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); K. Steyer, "Z problematyki ucieczek z KL Stutthof," *StZeMu*, no. 2 (1977); M. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska. Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968); *Stutthof. Das Konzentrationslager* (Gdańsk, 1996).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, p. 165.
2. Ibid., Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I- IVH-5, p. 164, commandant's order dated November 20, 1944, regarding moving 170 prisoners to Aussenarbeitslager Danziger Werft.
3. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, "Anschriften der Aussenarbeitslager: Danzig, Danziger Werft, Lager Troyl."
4. AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota dated September 18, 1972 (original at Kraków division); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:61, 227–229, accounts of Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz; J. Matynia, pp. 110–111, 270.
5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:233, account of Zbigniew Raczkiewicz.
6. On the location of the camp, former prisoner Gerard Knoff is of a similar opinion (AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:42). He says that the camp was near the present Ul. Ku Ujściu in Przeróbka on the Kashubian Canal; Ul. Przetoczna is an extension.
7. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Kpp 42/72 (Kraków), report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:61, 228, 15:161, accounts of Zdzisław Kolanko and Zbigniew Raczkiewicz.
8. Of a similar opinion were Zdzisław Kolanko (see above) and Stanisław Czarnota. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination report dated November 7, 1972 (original at Katowice division).
9. Zbigniew Raczkiewicz recalls this (AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:230–231, as well as his account in vol. 15).
10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 73, letter of SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated January 2, 1945.
11. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:233–234, account of Zbigniew Raczkiewicz; 18:12, Włodzimerz Steyer.
12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:43–44, account of Gerard Knoff; 9:62–63, 235–236; 25:126–129, Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz; 24:26, Kazimierz Dymczyk; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota dated November 7, 1972 (original at Katowice division).

DANZIG (*SCHICHAU-WERFT*)

In 1944, the Schichau-Werft AG Elbing shipyard signed two contracts to employ prisoners at the Elbing shipyard and its Danzig branch. The Schichau-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order of the Stutthof concentration camp commandant dated September 12, 1944, effective September 13, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Hans Wansel from the 1st Guard Company (1./SS-Totenkopfsturmbann KL Stutthof) was named its commandant. Some 500 Jewish women were initially chosen for the transport. They were brought to Danzig (Gdańsk) by ship from the harbor at Fischerbabke (Rybina) near the camp to the Schichau-Werft shipyard harbor in Danzig. Besides the commandant, 20 female supervisors were designated who were to be assigned to Danzig upon completing a special course. Until then, 10 guards from the 3rd Company were on duty; they returned to the Stutthof camp when the female supervisors arrived on October 18, 1944.[1] Navy sailors also served as supervisors at the shipyard and in the camp.

From October 16 to November 23, 1944, more Jewish prisoner transports were sent to Danzig. They were selected out of a total of 1,100 men, which increased the maximum population of the entire detachment to 1,600 prisoners. Jews from Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, and Hungary prevailed in the first transports, while in late October, Jews from the Netherlands, France, and Hungary were sent from the Auschwitz concentration camp.[2]

Jewish prisoners were put to work both as skilled workmen and as helpers. Since there was a shortage of German skilled workers, the prisoners were trained as welders, smelters, and plumbers. The prisoners were quartered in former prisoner-of-war (POW) barracks (Soviet, French, and Italian POWs had lived there, in that order) in Danzig Kokoszki Stalag XX A, Burggraben, which had been handed over for use by the Wehrmacht command in September 1944; therefore, it was also called SS-Aussenkommando Burggraben, Danzig Kokoszki, and SS-Lager Burggraben.[3]

Working conditions at the Danzig shipyard, to which the prisoners had a long and arduous trip, were hard to bear, especially on the night shift. In addition, when the prisoners finished the night shift, they were often faced with day work at the camp, such as loading and unloading material. Besides assembling submarines, Jews also worked

building anti-aircraft shelters for the workers employed at the shipyard, which in their opinion was among the hardest labor at the camp.[4]

Besides the arduous daily commutes to work from Kokoszki to Danzig in unheated train cars with the windows knocked out, the prisoners received starvation food rations. The supply of clothing and shoes, as well as food, of which the administration of Stutthof concentration camp was in charge, was inadequate, which is confirmed by correspondence of the subcamp's commandant with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof.[5] At camp, they slept in unheated barracks, sleeping from five to six hours. They would leave for work at 5:00 A.M. and worked from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a half-hour break for lunch.[6]

In addition to the guards and women supervisors in the women's barrack, the prisoners were supervised in camp by Jewish foremen prisoners (Kapos). As former subcamp prisoner Josef Katz states, they were just as brutal as their counterparts at the Stutthof camp. Among the most cruel were a Latvian Jew, Glücksmann, and a Pole called Chamek (which means "brute"), who had the positions of camp elders. Katz unambiguously described both of them as "animal characters." Just after liberation, Chamek was shot by Russian soldiers, and Glücksmann fled.[7] Another Kapo, Henryk Kleiman, a Polish Jew, was tried by the Płock District Court in 1949 (at a circuit session in Płońsk). His indictment charged him with serving as a Kapo or barrack elder from late 1944 onward. In this position, he "smashed skulls with rocks, choked people, [and] crushed heads with his feet." Earlier he had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he behaved just as brutally as at Kokoszki. By judgment of the district court dated July 14, 1949, and appellate court dated February 18, 1950, he was sentenced to death. The court was not persuaded by his good reputation at Stutthof, finding that the good did not make up for the wrongs he had inflicted.[8]

Despite the seemingly extreme conditions, many Jews treated their stay at Schichau-Werft as an improvement of their plight in comparison with the Stutthof main camp, where they were constantly in danger of losing their lives. At Kokoszki, each of them received a plate, a cup, and a spoon for his or her own use, as well as a single bunk, while at Stutthof four prisoners slept in one bunk made up of three levels.[9]

The difficult living conditions in camp, the exhausting work, and malnutrition caused a high sick rate among prisoners. It increased in December 1944 when an epidemic of spotted typhus and typhoid fever broke out. According to the affidavit of Katz, several Jews died every day. Reports by the subcamp's commandant dated December 15 and 17, 1944, state that 497 women were sent back to Stutthof, which was directly connected with the typhus epidemic in camp. Those people went to the hospital.[10] There were only 991 prisoners in the camp in late January 1945.[11] The burial register at the Zaspa cemetery listed 91 Schichau-Werft prisoners, and the Stutthof hospital also recorded some deaths.[12] The number of deaths must have been considerably greater than that because the central camp sent more transports to replace the sick and dead. The dead were buried in mass graves near the camp or were taken out to be burned at the Danzig Medical Academy crematorium. The people buried at Kokoszki were exhumed in May 1994, and on November 5, 1994, the remains of 20 prisoners were solemnly laid to rest in a common grave at the Zaspa cemetery.[13]

In its last stage of operation, the Schichau-Werft camp was designated as a collection point and evacuation transit camp for Stutthof prisoners. All work at the shipyard ceased, beginning in January 1945. The prisoners were put to work removing snow from the streets or railroad tracks. Ever-increasing hunger prevailed in camp, and the sick and death rate increased; as many as 20 people died per day. On February 10, 1945, the 991 Jews remaining in camp were evacuated toward Lauenburg (Lębork). After leaving the evacuation camps in Rybno, Tawęcin, and Goddentow (Godętowo) near Lauenburg, some prisoners from the reevacuation route along with other evacuation columns were liberated at Chynów on March 10, 1945; others went back to the camp in Stutthof via Danzig. In late April 1945, they were evacuated by sea to Germany. The death rate in the group of Jews evacuated from Kokoszki was very high but difficult to establish. The high death rate was the result of shooting the sick and weak, as well as cases of infectious diseases, starvation, or extreme emaciation from marching or digging trenches. The number of deaths is estimated at a minimum of 100 people (from the column sent to Rybno and Tawęcin) as well as several dozen people from the group that reached Goddentow.[14]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK, Division II—Lombard, sygn. 203/III-6; AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog Nos. 246–249, records of criminal case against Henryk Kleiman; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AK-IPN, witness examination reports (Aleksander Arendt); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, Sonderbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-23, reports collected by the Polish Red Cross, Lębork, 1945; Lasik, Stutthof ac.; materials on the Kokoszki camp (compiled by K. Ciechanowski); Cmentarz-Zaspa, compiled by Andrzej Chudy; K. Ciechanowski, "Los nasz dla was przestrogą ma być—nie legendą," *DB*, November 3, 1994; K. Doenitz, *10 Jahre und 20 Tage* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964); D. Drywa, *Podobozy, (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów. 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); M. Andrzejewski, *Elbląg w latach 1918–1939* (*Elbląg from 1918 to 1939*) (Gdańsk, 1987); Z. Binerowski, "Materiały statystyczne produkcji okrętowej stoczni Schichaua z lat 1855–1943," *LibGed* 1 (1967); S. Gierszewski, *Elbląg. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, 3rd ed. (Gdańsk, 1970); J. Katz, *One Who Came Back. The Diary of a Jewish Survivor* (New York, 1973); F. Mamuszka, *Elbląg i okolice* (Gdańsk, 1987); J. Ratz, "Surviving Burggraben," in *Muted Voices. Jewish survivors of Latvia Re-*

member, collected and ed. Gertrude Schneider (New York, 1987); *Stutthof. Ein Konzentrationslager. vor den Toren Danzigs*, ed. H. Kuhn (Bremen, 1995); H. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska. Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968); *100 Jahre Schichau 1837–1937, Herausgegeben anlässlich des hundertjährigen der Schichau-Werke* (Elbing, 1937).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 175–176, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Schichau-Werft Danzig; Lasik, Stutthof ac.

2. Ibid., pp. 175–176, 218, 226, 234, Kommandanturbefehle no. 69, 71, and 73, October 15, 22, and 30, 1944; and Catalog No. I-IVH-5, commandant's order of November 22, 1944, regarding moving 242 prisoners to Schichau-Werft Danzig.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 1, 45–55, Anschriften der Aussenarbeitslager and correspondence of the SS-Kommando Burggraben subcamp with Häftlingsbekleidungskammer in Sztutowo (Stutthof) on clothing supplies; L. Biernacki, "Życie na cmentarzu," *Fa*, February 15, 1998.

4. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, pp. 129–130; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Zn 8/47, report of examination of witness Aleksander Arendt dated 1947; K. Ciechanowski, "Los nasz dla was przestrogą ma być—nie legendą," *DB*, November 3, 1994; AMS, materials on the Kokoszki camp, compiled by K. Ciechanowski; M. Gliński, *Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof*, p. 176; J. Katz, *One Who Came Back. The Diary of a Jewish Survivor* (New York, 1973), pp. 223–235; *Stutthof. Ein Konzentrationslager vor den Toren Danzigs*, ed. H. Kuhn (Bremen, 1995), pp. 159–162 (abridged memoirs of J. Katza).

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 145–155.

6. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, pp. 129–130, testimony of Jeheskiel Gliksberg.

7. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 226–227.

8. AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog No. 246–249.

9. J. Ratz, "Surviving Burggraben," in *Muted Voices. Jewish Survivors of Latvia Remember*, collected and ed. Gertrude Schneider (New York, 1987), p. 215; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, p. 224.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 51, Wansel to Häftlingsbekleidungskammer dated December 20, 1944.

11. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp's population on January 24, 1945.

12. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population, April 1945; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; A. Chudy, *Cmentarz Zaspa* (AMS); Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 231–233.

13. K. Ciechanowski, "Los nasz dla was przestrogą ma być—nie legendą," *DB*, November 3, 1994; K. Ciechanowski's dossier on the Kokoszki camp, including reports from on-site inspections on September 13, 1993, and May 4, 1994 (copies at AMS); L. Biernacki, "Życie na cmentarzu," *Fa*, February 15, 1998.

14. AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-23, reports collected by the Polish Red Cross, Lębork, 1945; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. ZN 8/47, report of examination of witness Aleksander Arendt; M. Orski, *Verzeichnis der Nebenlager und grösseren Aussenkommandos des KZ-Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), p. 277; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 233–258; Ratz, "Surviving Burggraben," pp. 217–219; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS).

DANZIG (*SCHULEMANN*)

A new work detachment was established from Stutthof on July 11, 1941. Employment entries in prisoner files confirm the date that this subcamp opened.[1] At the Stutthof camp, the labor supply announced recruitment for finishing work at Dr. Kurt Schulemann's private obstetrics clinic being expanded at 23 Sandgrube Strasse (later Reverend Rogaczewski Ulica) in Danzig (later Gdańsk).[2] According to Walerian Kilanowski's account, 25 people signed up and were sent to Danzig that day.[3] Another account states that Dr. Schulemann personally came to the Stutthof camp and picked prisoners for construction work in the commandant's presence.[4]

The prisoners were quartered on the street side of the second floor of the building under construction. Guards from the Stutthof camp oversaw them; their role was limited to securing the premises where prisoners worked and preventing escapes. Conditions in the detachment were decidedly better than those at the Stutthof main camp. The prisoners wore civilian overalls without camp markings, worked under the supervision of civilian foremen, and were safe from any persecution by the guards.

After two months in camp, two prisoners, Walerian Kilanowski and Kazimierz Dębski (aka Dębczak), began to plan their escape, at first independently of one another. They carefully observed the immediate area to plan an escape route and recorded the guards' daily shifts. They designated a farm in Stara Kiszewa near Koscierzyna that belonged to the family of Michnikowski, a fellow prisoner in the same detachment, as the first stage of their escape. As their escape date they picked Saturday, August 16, 1941, after work had ended and before the evening roll call had begun. They took advantage of the momentary absence of any SS men, who all went into town every week at the same time, except for the one who was on duty. Six days later the escapees successfully reached the Michnikowski farm in Stara Kiszewa, where they received aid. The next day, refreshed and dressed in new clothing and underwear, they set off for German-occupied Poland, where they survived until the end of the war.[5]

The consequences of that escape for the Danzig detachment's prisoners themselves is not known. There are no other stories on the escape except for that one account. Work at the clinic construction site continued in spite of it, and the detachment was shut down only on October 30, 1941. When the subcamp was disbanded, the prisoners were put to work by the national office of the Reich Food Producers (Reichsnährstand) in Danzig. On November 21, 1941, the remaining prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp.[6]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Franciszek

Studziński; AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Henryk Tempczyk, vol. 1); *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941* (Danzig, November 1940); *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942* (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); K.Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-40702, I-III-49852, I-III-49966, personal files of prisoners Piotr Biegielmayer, Alojzy Usarek, and Antoni Wasilewski.

2. According to *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941* (Danzig, November 1940) and *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942* (Danzig, 1942), Dr. Kurt Schulemann was the owner of a private clinic (*Privatklinik*) engaged in obstetrics and gynecology.

3. Walerian Kilanowski's recollections in AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (1: 326, former prisoner Henryk Tempczyk's compilation "Kolejarze w KL Stutthof").

4. AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Franciszek Studziński dated October 4 and November 2, 1972 (Bydgoszcz).

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1: 329–331; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992) : 130–131.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49852, personal files of prisoner Alojzy Usarek; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Franciszek Studziński dated November 2, 1972 (Bydgoszcz).

DANZIG (*SS-HAUPTVERSORGUNGSLAGER*)

The operation of this small detachment in Danzig (later Gdańsk), probably composed of just a few prisoners, is confirmed by a labor assignment entry dated June 23, 1940, in a prisoner file regarding the escape of Polish prisoner Leo Miotek.[1] The fugitive was apprehended two hours later in his own apartment in Danzig Orunia and punished by being assigned to a penal company and receiving seven whippings at the post of 25 lashes each. The report filed for camp commandant M. Pauly on the chase contained the prisoner's testimony that "he only wanted to bring a couple of shirts back for himself, as there was no change of clothing at camp, and he intended on returning."

The prisoners worked at the SS-Main Supply Depot (SS-Hauptversorgungslager), presumably helping to sort and arrange the various items being stored in the warehouse. When the work was completed or the camp commandant decided to disband the detachment, the group returned to the main camp at Stutthof.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów, *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-50196, prisoner personal files; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 355.

DANZIG (*SS-OBERABSCHNITT WEICHSEL*)

The SS-"Vistula" Main Sector office (SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel, XX Wehrkreis) was instituted pursuant to Heinrich Himmler's decision of December 14, 1939. Until then, Danzig and Pomerania were under the SS-Königsberg Main Sector office (SS-Oberabschnitt Nord-Ost, Königsberg). From April 1, 1940, to September 30, 1941, SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel took over camp funding from Danzig Police Headquarters (Schutzpolizei), except for staff maintenance expenses. All camp income from prisoner labor went directly into the funds of the Main Sector office, which had its own independent policy for prisoner employment.

A limited liability company named Weichselland was founded in October 1941 on the initiative of SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel. The exact details on how the company was established and operated are not known. What is known is that upper officers of the SS-Vistula Main Sector office became partners in the company, which was formed to find jobs for and exploit the labor of political prisoners. Although the camp management was taken over by the Danzig Security Police on October 1, 1941, SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel looked after the interests of its own company in the contracts it signed with the Gestapo, as the company was guaranteed prisoner labor in its shops in the camp and at facilities in Danzig.

The first references to prisoner labor on premises belonging to the SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel command in Danzig are in the camp commandant's correspondence with the Danzig Gestapo Office in the matter of releasing two prisoners put to work in tradesmen's jobs.[1]

A letter dated November 10, 1941, shows that both had been assigned for some time to do work at SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel headquarters in Danzig. One of the prisoners was a metalworker by trade from Grudziądz, arrested on September 14, 1939, in Gdynia. They began the work prior to September 25, 1941, as evidenced by the Gestapo's initial letter of that date regarding both prisoners. When pressed again in the same matter on January 5, 1942, the Stutthof camp commandant announced that the work would be completed on January 20, 1942, which actually happened. Both of them were released from camp the next day.[2]

Another SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel detachment was formed in November 1942. Records of the Prisoner Employ-

ment Department and the Management and Administration Agency show that the subcamp operated in November 1942, then from January to February 1943, and from June through September 1943. Records are incomplete, so it cannot be established whether the subcamp existed the entire time or just during those months.[3] It is also not known how many prisoners worked in those detachments, the type of work they did, or the makeup of the guard unit. Nor is it known exactly where the subcamp headquarters was located or where the prisoners worked (possibly at Stutthof or Danzig).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files, correspondence of Stutthof camp headquarters with the Danzig Gestapo Office; Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn I-III-43660, Lagerkommandantur Stutthof to the Danzig Gestapo Office, November 10, 1941, and January 12, 1942, on labor assignments for prisoners Józef Frost and Berrnard Sipion.
2. Ibid., prisoner Józef Frost's personal file.
3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

DANZIG-HOLM

Beginning on October 16, 1944, 100 Jewish women were put to work at the Danzig-Holm (Gdańsk-Ostrów) naval shipyard, a subsidiary of the Danzig shipyard. SS-Unterscharführer Josef Forstner was designated as the subcamp's commandant. Pursuant to the special order that created the camp, the staff also included seven German sailors and one trained woman supervisor from the Stutthof camp.[1] There were four female supervisors: Gerda Steinhoff (sentenced to death by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946) and Lieselotte Obernauf served until December 18, 1944; and Elisabeth Thimm and Charlotte Weber from December 19, 1944.[2]

The Jewish women were primarily from Poland and Hungary. They were mainly quartered in workshops in a separate camp that bordered a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. There had been a large camp complex next to it at the naval shipyard since 1942; the complex included prisoners and POWs of 13 nationalities, primarily Poles and Frenchmen but also Russians, Dutchmen, Belgians, Italians, and others. The camp had 50 barracks, in which approximately 3,200 people were quartered in the autumn of 1944, including Stutthof concentration camp prisoners.[3]

Before the Jewish women left for Danzig, the commandant ordered that they be issued warm winter clothing, shoes in good condition, gloves, and soap. Besides that, in October 1944, the subcamp's commandant asked the Stutthof clothing warehouse manager to send additional supplies. They were delivered in late October 1944 and included 20 pairs of shoes and 20 pieces of women's underwear. In his next letter of November 1, 1944, the commandant reported that the new underwear and shoes had already been expended and requested delivery of another 30 pairs of shoes and clothing, 80 pairs of underwear, as well as 100 pairs of gloves and woolen yarn for darning. Orders were generally filled meticulously. Warm winter clothing such as coats, foot wrappings, and gloves, and materials to mend clothes and shoes, were ordered in late autumn and the winter months.[4] The concern with which the Stutthof provisions officer and the Danzig subcamp's commandant strove to secure seasonally appropriate clothing and shoes for the women is striking.

A naval kitchen at the adjoining POW camp supplied the camp with food and cooked the meals. On average, the daily ration was about 170 grams (6 ounces) of bread and 1 liter (1 quart) of soup a day, with two spoonfuls of jam issued at supper with the bread.[5] Such high standards were not always observed, as one of the camp's female supervisors testified at trial in Danzig. Still, it was only due to the feeding and systematic change of clothing and shoes that the detachment had the same population in late January 1945 as it did at the outset, with no loss of life. There were still 100 people in the camp on January 24, 1945, the same people who had arrived there in mid-October 1944.[6]

The special care for the inmates' physical fitness was doubtless due to the fact that they were put to work in a shipyard that made submarines for the Kriegsmarine, along with the manufacture of rocket weapons, the production of which was supposed to be a major trump in the decisive phase of World War II. That is how the Germans intended to regain naval superiority.

The origins of the industry at Ostrów (Holm) date back to the early years of the twentieth century, when a special railway line connecting the island to land was built in 1905 for freight traffic. The line was closely associated with the electrical engineering works that had been established and the railroad shops at Przeróbka (Troyl). A submarine base was established on the island during World War I, and two new wet docks were built for the base.

The Jewish women worked for the Marine-Bauleitung Danzig-Holm, which was in charge of the navy site on Ostrów Island. The women were not put to work in direct production of the submarines but in earthmoving projects. G. Steinhoff testified at trial in Gdańsk in 1946 that the women worked crushing rock and doing earthmoving work, which could have been for workshop expansion projects in the shipyard and adjoining areas. She thought the work was easy compared with the conditions at camp, where Jewish women were more liable to be treated badly. Here are some excerpts from the stenographic record of the trial:

Judge: What kind of labor did the prisoners do?
Gerda Steinhoff: They crushed rock and did earthmoving work.

Judge: Did you ever hit a prisoner?
Gerda Steinhoff: No, because I ran the entire camp office and had no direct contact with the prisoners. The Lagerführerin supervised the prisoners and sometimes beat them.
Judge: If the Lagerführerin did not punish a prisoner who was working poorly, would you punish such a woman and how would you do so?
Gerda Steinhoff: I would keep the prisoner in camp as punishment.
Judge: Which means that it was worse at camp than at labor?
Gerda Steinhoff: Yes, labor was a relief.[7]

The detachment was evacuated to the Stutthof camp in late March and early April 1945, at the same time as the two remaining Danzig subcamps, that is, the Danziger-Werft and Schichau-Werft shipyards. We do not know how many prisoners reached the main camp. Some of them perished during the bombings of Danzig, some escaped, and the rest reached the Stutthof camp in reduced numbers. They were faced with another evacuation by sea in late April 1945.

SOURCES Trial proceedings of the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court are held at the AK-IPN. See, in particular, SSK Gd, sygn. 7, records of criminal case against Gustav Zuchaschewski; sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; sygn. 422, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others, sentences of judgment; and sygn. 423, stenographic record of criminal case against John Pauls and others. Documents containing information on the Danzig-Holm subcamp can be found also at AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Lasik, Stutthof ac; and "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946.

Secondary sources providing information on the Danzig-Holm subcamp include: M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945), *StZeMu*., no. 3 (1979); Marek Orski, *Ostatnie dni obozu Stutthof*, 2nd ed. (Gdańsk, 1998); Jerzy Stankiewicz and Bohdan Szermer, *Gdańsk: Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny oraz powstanie zespołu Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia* (Warsaw, 1959); and M. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska: Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 209–210, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Marine-Bauleitung Danzig-Holm, dated October 15, 1944.
2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, 422, records of criminal case against Gerda Steinhoff and Józef Reiter; AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac; "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946, stenographic records of G. Steinhoff's testimony.
3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn.7, pp. 9–10, testimony of Wachleiter Gustav Zuchaschewski.
4. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 79–83.
5. G. Steinhoff's testimony at trial in Gdańsk, "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," p. 3; AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 423, G. Steinhoff's testimony at trial in Gdańsk.
6. AMS, sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.
7. "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," p. 3

DANZIG-LANGFUHR

The archival materials surviving from the former Stutthof camp recorded another Stutthof external detachment set up in Danzig's Langfuhr section (Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz). It operated from January 2, 1940, to December 2, 1941.[1] The employer was a police headquarters, to which prisoners were hired out to build barracks for a Police School (Führerschule, Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS, Danzig-Langfuhr, TWL-Langfuhr). There are more details on this detachment in the stenographic record of the 1949 trial of Bogdan Wilhelm, who was put to work in the Wrzeszcz detachment as a cook from June to August 1940.[2]

The detachment numbered considerably over 100 people. Wilhelm said there were approximately 100 to 120 prisoners; other witnesses say as many as 180 prisoners. The prisoners worked building barracks for the Police School training center. They were quartered in barracks on the construction site. The police provided the detachment's food, which Wilhelm transported in and distributed. The standard evening meal consisted 0.5 liters (2 cups) of soup per prisoner, which did not always serve everyone because of limited rations. Witnesses have testified that Wilhelm would beat prisoners who demanded additional portions on the arms with a ladle in order to restore order as dinner was being issued and would also put sand into the soup. The defendant testified that he did so "out of concern that there would be a scabies infection" from sick people taking remnants of food out of the kettle and also to discipline prisoners while keeping their infractions secret from the SS men, whom he thought would employ much more repressive measures if the infractions were reported. Sometimes as dinner was being given out, Wilhelm was accompanied by Józef Reiter, a Polish foreman prisoner, who would beat the crowding prisoners with a tree root approximately 0.9 meters (3 feet) long and 4 centimeters (1.6 inches) thick.[3] Despite the witness testimony against Wilhelm, the court found no grounds in the testimony to administer any punishment under the Polish National Liberation Committee decree of August 31, 1944, on punishment for Fascist and Nazi criminals, and it acquitted Wilhelm on the charge of abusing his fellow prisoners.[4]

The subcamp was probably disbanded on December 2, 1941, which is corroborated by the final records in prisoner files concerning sending prisoners from the TWL-Langfuhr detachment to the Stutthof camp that day.[5] Studies of pris-

oner files have not corroborated the existence of another detachment at Danzig-Langfuhr, which began on November 18, 1941.[6] This reference is to the same type of labor and the same subcamp operating continuously from January 1940 but with many prisoner exchanges between Stutthof and Danzig (especially in summer and autumn 1941).

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Langfuhr subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 167, records of criminal case against Bogdan Wilhelm, Gdańsk, 1949; SSK Gd, sygn. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner files; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-42619, I-III-44292, I-III-49860, I-III-49909, I-III-49999, I-III-50005, I-III-50267, files of prisoners Jan Dolny, Jan Gulczyński, Stanisław Nowakowski, Bogdan Wilhelm, Bonifacy Moszczyński, Józef Kwiatkowski, and Bazyly Sakowicz. According to ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 275, the detachment existed until May 13, 1941, but a Gdańsk Wrzeszcz subcamp was reinstituted on November 18, 1941. However, no surviving documents indicate such a distinction.

2. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 167.

3. Józef Reiter was tried at the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946 and sentenced to death. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 417, report of examination of Józef Reiter, dated 1945.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, pp. 12–15, 47–50, 92–93, testimony of defendant and witnesses Jan Cyganik and Władysław Gąsior.

5. AMS, sygn. I-III-42619, I-III-49959, I-III-50069, files of prisoners Jan Dolny, Stefan Puszczak, and Władysław Walczak.

6. See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, p. 276.

DANZIG-MATZKAU

A work detachment in Matzkau (later Maćkowy), a section of Danzig (Gdańsk), was first a subcamp of the Neufahrwasser civilian detention camp set up on the premises of Danzig's SS-Heimwehr barracks. The initial group of approximately 20 prisoners arrived on or around September 20, 1939. According to a prisoner in that transport, a "sizable" group of prisoners—Poles arrested in Danzig at the beginning of the war—was sent out of Neufahrwasser. More transports were sent to the subcamp in subsequent months; there were already over 250 people in the camp in early November 1939. They were housed in a large empty space where they slept on a layer of straw on the floor. SS-Rottenführer Hans Rach was the group's commander.[1]

The earliest references to the detachment's existence in prisoner files are from February 1940.[2] When the camp headquarters was moved from Neufahrwasser to Stutthof, the Matzkau detachment was made into a subcamp under the Stutthof camp commandant. Its population was unstable; small groups of prisoners were frequently moved to other sites, such as Danzig-Westerplatte, Grenzdorf, or the Stutthof main camp. These changes are confirmed by prisoner files marked with entries on transfers about where they lived and worked.[3]

Initially, the prisoners were put to work laying foundations and then expanding the barracks and utility buildings of the Matzkau structure. The barracks were then designated as a penal camp for SS members (*Strafvollzugslager*). The prisoners also did household and cleanup work on barrack premises; for example, there were 18 prisoners in the Wehrmacht clothing warehouses; others did gardening or worked in the kitchen. They began installing new shooting stations, as well as central heating pipes and a sewage system in the expanded section of the barracks in the spring of 1940. The work was done in the open air, regardless of weather conditions such as rain or strong winds. In early April 1940 (according to entries in prisoner files in May 1940), approximately 250 prisoners were selected from the Stutthof camp and transported to Matzkau. Another group of 50 prisoners was delivered from Stutthof in August 1940, and yet another transport was sent in the autumn of the same year. The camp's population grew to approximately 300 prisoners in late 1940. Construction work at the barracks was reaching its end in January 1941; thus, a few weeks later the camp population was reduced to 100. The population also kept dropping regularly as prisoners were released from camp.[4]

Initially, in the autumn of 1939, camp conditions were exceptionally hard. The prisoners slept on the damp straw, with no coverings. They were not provided with a change of underwear and could not perform daily hygiene, which contributed to the spread of lice infestation. Food rations were no different than those received at the Neufahrwasser camp. The prisoners were each issued 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of claylike bread, a bit of beet jam or margarine, and a cup of bitter coffee for breakfast and lunch. For dinner they each got 0.75 liters (3 cups) of watery soup with some flour and sometimes a herring. The food situation improved after the administration granted permission for food packages from families to be delivered to camp. They were divided freely among all the prisoners. At the end of the year, each prisoner received a pair of wooden shoes and a blanket when an officer from Danzig Prisoner Camp headquarters inspected the camp. But there was a shortage of warm gloves and sweaters.

A Polish clergyman from the Pelplin seminary escaped from the detachment in early December 1939. His escape was successful and caused no repercussions among the other prisoners; there are no references to this escape at all in the documentation of former prisoners.[5] Another effective way of getting out of camp was through self-injury. One prisoner

used a reed to perforate his nasal septum, causing a hemorrhage. He reported to the foreman and was released from Matzkau and sent back to Stutthof.[6]

The Danzig firm of Römer u. Dehlert Danzig, Unternehmung, Hoch u. Tiefbau was in charge of the construction work. Several prisoners worked in the firm's engineering office as construction engineers. They lived in appreciably better conditions than those who were put to work at manual labor; they were better fed, they slept separately with the kitchen staff, and they were permitted to move about the entire camp. Prisoners who came to the camp in the summer of 1940 stated that the working conditions and food were tolerable; the guards did not persecute them as they did at Stutthof; moreover, Leo Römer, the firm's owner, saw to it that the prisoners were well fed, for which he paid in the entirety.[7]

During the autumn of 1940, several dozen prisoners were sent out to do farmwork. A list of prisoners with occupational skills was compiled at camp in March 1941, and 30 of them with specialties in the trades were chosen and moved to Stutthof. On April 1, 1941, the entire group was released from camp and moved to the Jost barrel factory in Danzig as hired laborers.[8]

SS men from the Stutthof camp supervised the detachment beginning in mid-1940. The names of several of them are known: SS-Rottenführer Otto Arnold, Max Scholl, and Emil Wenzel, as well as SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Friedland. No information on the camp staff in 1941 or the subcamp's management is available. Two staff members were held responsible after the war: Wenzel was sentenced to 10 years in prison at a trial in Gdańsk in 1947, and the Toruń District Court sentenced Arnold to 3 years in prison that same year.[9]

The camp was shut down when all contracted work had been completed in August 1941 and the prisoners returned to Stutthof. The last record concerning labor at Matzkau in prisoner files ends on August 11, 1941.[10]

SOURCES In addition to the sources mentioned in the Stutthoff Subcamp system entry, the following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AK-IPN/Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, camp prisoner files and staff personnel files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 15, Edmund Nitkiewicz); R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte* (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); *DanVorp* August 18, 1939; September 26, 1939.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Stanisław Szymański. According to the account of Kazimierz Wróblewski, the initial group of 300 prisoners was brought from the Neufahrwasser camp only in November 1939. Likewise, W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 21–22, reports that in early November 1939 there were already 250 prisoners living in camp besides those from the transport in which he arrived.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49929, I-III-49945, files of prisoners Mieczysław Pklechawski and Czesław Nowakowski. They were sent to Matzkau on February 19, 1940; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, p. 287.

3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49959, I-III-49981, I-III-50131, I-III-50136, personal files of prisoners Stefan Puszczak, Antoni Wojtkowski, Marian Jasnoch, and Ewaryst-Albin Prószyński.

4. *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Franciszek Mokwiński and Stanisław Szymański; R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte*, (Łódź, 1981) (typescript at AMS); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (15:114–115, account of Edmund Nitkiewicz); Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 21–29.

5. *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Stanisław Szymański; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 23–27.

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

7. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1:114–115, account of Edmund Nitkiewicz.

8. Duzik, *Wspomnienia.*

9. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, 79; SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49917, personal files of prisoner Tadeusz Pisarczyk.

DANZIG-OLIVA (*REITSCHULE*)

A Stutthof subcamp, Danzig-Oliva (Gdańsk-Oliwa) consisted of several prisoners who worked at the Huth Riding School (Huth-Reitschule). Prisoner employment records show that the subcamp was in operation from July 16, 1940, to June 21, 1941.[1] Huth subleased the prisoners from the civil prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser, and the prisoners probably worked keeping the premises clean. The business is not listed in the Danzig address directories surviving from 1927–1928 and 1941–1942.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Oliva subcamp: AMS, sygn. I–III, prisoner files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-44781, I-III-50053, I-III-50177, files of prisoners Franz Gromada, Antoni Straszak, and Robert Lipiński; see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzen Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 277; M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979): 164.

DANZIG-OPITZSTRASSE [AKA OPITZSTRASSE/GRUPPENFÜHRER]

From April 7 to November 11, 1941, a group of tradesmen prisoners (bricklayers, metalworkers, painters, toolmakers, etc.) were put to work on the premises of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) headquarters for Danzig–West Prussia at 2 Opitzstrasse in Danzig (later ul. Orzeszkowa in Gdańsk's Wrzeszcz section). The detachment's name, Opitzstrasse (or Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer), appears in prisoner files. All the prisoners working there were Poles who had been arrested in September 1939 in Gdynia and Danzig and then put in the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser.[1]

The Danzig–West Prussia HSSPF administration, whose area of control was the same as that of the military Defense District XX (Weichsel), started operations when SS-Gruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt was named to his post on September 21, 1939. It was initially located at the police headquarters on Karrenwall Strasse (later Okopowa) and later, from April 1940 at least, at 2 Opitzstrasse. The same building also housed the SS and police court facilities (SS- und Polizeigericht IV) as well as those of the Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom (RKFDV). The prisoners were put to work building garages for SS motorized units.

Antoni Rzyszkiewicz worked in the detachment as an auto mechanic. According to his account, the detachment was still operating in 1942. After a while, he was arrested for copying keys to the clothing warehouses and stealing 20 SS uniforms, a typewriter, and other items for the Polish underground organization in Bory Tucholskie. He was put in a Danzig prison and received the death sentence, which was later commuted to incarceration at the Stutthof concentration camp and assignment to a penal detachment at the Stutthof brickyard.[2]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Opitzstrasse subcamp: AMS, sygn. I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp's change in status; sygn. I-III-, prisoner files; and *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, vol. 2).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-43660, I-III-49846, I-III-49853, I-III-50191, I-III-50104, files of prisoners Józef Frost, Julian Wilczarski, Władysław Wędzik, Wincenty Siemak, and Cyprian Wosztal.

2. Ibid.; and *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 18:142, account of Antoni Rzyszkiewicz.

DANZIG-SCHELLMÜHL (*CARSTENS*)

Two prisoner detachments were created in the Schellmühl (Młyniska) section of Danzig (Gdańsk) from 1940 to 1944. The first was organized in 1940. The information on the employment of a small detachment at the Hans Carstens private meat import-export company contains notes on prisoner files dated from March 27 through July 30, 1940. Poles Henryk Raczyński and Leon Wojasiński were put to work in the Carstens company as master butchers.[1] The business was located at Englischer Damm 16. No exact data on the number of prisoners assigned to this work are available. They were dispatched by the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig Neufahrwasser and probably housed on-site due to the continuous nature of the business.[2]

SS-Rottenführer Oskar Gottschau, a Stutthof concentration camp staff member, testified at trial in 1947 that in the spring of 1940 he supervised the work of 30 Stutthof camp prisoners in a factory in Schellmühl. That could have been the Carstens company. In that same trial, the Danzig District Court sentenced him to 10 years in prison.[3]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Schellmühl subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; sygn. 80, sentences of judgment; AMS, sygn. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Danzig wirbt für seine Industrie: Alphabetisches Stichworterverzeichnis der Danziger Industrie-Erzeugnisse. Die Firmen der Danzigs Industrie und Handwerk*, ed. Handelskammer zu Danzig (Danzig, 1933); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49885, I-III-50216, personal files of prisoners Leon Wojasiński and Henryk Raczyński.

2. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 275; Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 351.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 75, p. 104; sygn. 80, sentence of judgment.

DANZIG-SCHELLMÜHL (OTTO JOST)

Another subcontractor of prisoner labor in Schellmühl (Młyniska) was Otto Jost, the owner of a barrel factory

(*Fassfabrik*). Based on the fragmentary documentary materials available, a group of prisoners hired out for labor at the factory was put to work there at two different times. The first period was from late December 1940 to August 1941; then again from October 23 to December 7, 1944.[1] The first and last dates in the prisoners' files reflect these times. Based on the surviving documentary materials and records on former prisoners, no additional information on this detachment is available.[2]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), (AI), tape recording of I. Andrzejewski's account; listing of transports of prisoners sent from the Stutthof main camp to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941; Danzig wirbt für seine Industrie, *Alphabetisches Stichworterverzeichnis der Danziger Industrie-Erzeugnisse. Die Firmen der Danzigs Industrie und Handwerk*, ed. Handelskammer zu Danzig (Danzig, 1933); A. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte* (Łódź, 1981), pp. 6–7 (copy at AMS).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49852, Catalog No. I-III-43070, personal files of prisoners Alojzy Usarek and Stanisław Dziuba; see M. Orski, *Verzeichnis der Nebenlager und grösseren Aussenkommandos des KZ-Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), p. 275; AMS, AI, account of Izydor Andrzejewski (tape recording, 1999); and AMS, Z Collections, a listing of transports of prisoners let out of the Stutthof camp and sent to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941, n.p.
2. Orski, *Verzeichnis*, p. 275.

DANZIG-WESTERPLATTE

The first group of 1,200 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser was sent to Westerplatte on September 15, 1939.[1] Initially, the group was a semistationary work detachment. For the first two weeks the prisoners did not return to camp, sleeping in the ruins of destroyed buildings in the summer clothing in which they had been arrested. Among them were Polish priests and Jews.

The prisoners worked in groups to clear the premises of the former garrison at Westerplatte, which had been the scene of heavy fighting during the German invasion. The prisoners' labor consisted of removing bombs, unexploded shells, and barbed-wire entanglements; leveling the site; and demolishing destroyed buildings and repairing damaged ones.[2] Clearing the premises of unexploded shells was among the most dangerous jobs because there were often explosions that wounded prisoners and tore their clothes to shreds. Later, all the building material (bricks, wall tiles, and so on) was loaded onto barges at the port canal and hauled by tugboat to the Stutthof camp, which was then under construction.

Young men from the Reich Labor Service (RAD) aged 17 to 18, as well as SS men from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, supervised the prisoners. The inmates remembered one of them well: SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius, of whom one prisoner wrote that he was "Lord of life and death in Westerplatte at that time."[3] Many prisoners were murdered by SS men as they were working. In addition, the young German supervisors from the Labor Service would often beat prisoners with their gun butts and bats for no reason.

The prisoners were not given any food during their workday except for a piece of bread and coffee for breakfast. They ate what they found in the ruins of the barracks, such as moldy bread, canned foods, and vegetables from the garden, although some of the young men from the Labor Service took pity on the Polish Catholic priests and gave them some of their food rations. Many prisoners became ill due to the low temperatures and their insufficient clothing, which was inappropriate for the season and ragged from work. Some 400 to 500 prisoners normally worked at Westerplatte each day.

On September 18, 1939, due to Hitler's planned visit to Danzig and Westerplatte, all the prisoners were removed from the peninsula and held on the seashore, surrounded by a cordon of SS men, for a period of one to three days (depending on the account). Following a triumphal entry into the city on September 19, during which he received the cheers of crowds of enthusiastic Germans, Hitler, in the company of Hermann Göring, visited the section of Westerplatte that the prisoners had cleared.[4]

On September 28, 1939, after the detachment had been operating for two weeks, the prisoners were taken back to the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp.[5] New prisoners were sent in their place, although they were not quartered at Westerplatte but were returned to camp each evening after work.[6] The new detachment numbered approximately 500 people in December 1939.[7] SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius became the subcamp's commandant in January 1940. SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Gottschau and four SS men supervised the detachment; Gottschau's duties also included guarding Westerplatte from entry by any civilians.[8] At the Stutthof Trial in 1947, Gottschau received a sentence of 10 years in prison.

The subcamp operated as an external detachment with brief pauses until late February 1940, when Stutthof camp headquarters created a permanent subcamp (Aussenstelle Westerplatte) at the Westerplatte site. Commandant Pauly selected 300 Polish prisoners for the transport on March 2, 1940. They were loaded into trucks and moved to Westerplatte.

The prisoners continued to remove rubble and put the site of the burned barracks in order. Some of the buildings that were in danger of collapsing were dismantled; the others were repaired and turned over to the army. The work had probably been ordered by the army, to which the barracks had belonged until World War I. Some of the building material reclaimed from the battlefield was taken to Stutthof to be reused in the camp's expansion.

The work, which lasted from 6:00 A.M. until dusk on weekdays and until 4:00 P.M. on Sunday, required great exertion. The workers had to maintain a fast pace; if anyone slowed down or left for a moment, he could be shot for feigning work or attempting to escape. Camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Paul Ehle (who took over command in March 1940) and the dozen or so staff members were held responsible for those killings. Stanisław Matuszczak witnessed one such event:

> Some of us were so emaciated that they did not have the strength to stand. At a roll call, Oberscharführer Binke said that those who could not walk and were staying inside were to go out into the fresh air, which would do them good. He assigned them to the job of cutting wicker. After the roll call, we had to escort them out to the work site. There were sixteen of them. I heard shots at about twelve o'clock. As we returned from our labor detachments, we saw Peters and two other SS men standing where the prisoners had been cutting wicker, and the shot prisoners lying on the ground. All sixteen had been shot.[9]

The prisoners were quartered in former army barracks, which had damaged roofs that leaked. There were no panes in the windows, and the empty spaces were filled with barbed wire. The floor was lined with hay that had been there since the previous winter. The prisoners were not provided with even the most primitive sanitary necessities for washing or shaving. The SS men finished off extremely emaciated prisoners with their guns. There was no infirmary at the subcamp; sick people were not given medical care. The most emaciated and disabled were taken back to Stutthof.

Several prisoners attempted to escape from camp in 1940. No matter what the outcome for the escapees, each attempt ended badly for the prisoners in camp. The punishment was 20 lashes with a stick and the forfeiture of one dinner. Only one prisoner's account is available, that of Matuszczak:

> The first escape was by two prisoners from what was called the "foreman" group, who were assigned to serve the SS men in their living quarters: They made their beds, cleaned their boots, kept their rooms clean, etc. The prisoners picked a very appropriate time to escape, April 20, [1940], the Führer's birthday, on which the SS men had a drinking spree and went to bed. The prisoners then left and never came back. We do not know their names. The escape was successful, which did not happen too often. . . . The next attempt was made by a prisoner whose name we do not know. All we know is that he was from Wejherowo. He had gotten pretty far from Westerplatte, already reaching Jelitkowo. A chase was ordered immediately, and two other prisoners were taken along so as to identify the fugitive more quickly. They found him! Chased down, he started to run away when he saw the SS men, then the search party opened fire on him. His fate was sealed. He fell dead under the bullets. Accounts by the prisoners accompanying the chase say that if he had not started to run away, he might not have drawn the attention of the search party, because at that time all prisoners still wore their own clothes in which they'd been taken. Although it was sometimes shabby, the clothing did not draw attention like the camp striped uniform did.[10]

Several SS men from Stutthof served as supervisors in the Danzig-Westerplatte subcamp. These SS men were among the 13 supervisors confirmed in the records.[11] The subcamp was shut down in mid-June 1941 when the entire Westerplatte site was cleared. Approximately 50 prisoners were sent to work at the sawmill and chemical works in Danzig's Stogi section; the others returned to the Stutthof main camp.[12]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Westerplatte subcamp: AK-IPN, SOGd., sygn. 78, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others; AK-IPN Gd, Oświadczenia (Affidavits), J. Januchowski; AMS, Lasik, Stutthof; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Franciszek Racławski, vol. 2; Władysław Konarzewski, vol. 4; Anzelm Rudłowski, vol. 5; Cyprian Wosztal, vol. 6; Mieczysław Filipowicz, vol. 9; Józef Szarkowski, vol. 14; Stanisław Stachyra, vol. 21); account of Kazimierz Brzuszkiewicz; AP Gd, Sygn. No. 49/IV/5, stenographic record of the trial of Albert Forster; K. Ciechanowski, "Hitlerowski obóz w Gdańsku-Nowym Porcie 1 IX 1939–1 IV 1940," *StZeMu*, no. 5 (1984); A. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte*, (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie, stocznie, okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985); *Gdańsk 1939.* Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie* (Gdańsk, 1984); S. Matuszczak, "Westerplatte (fragmenty wspomnień b. więźnia Stutthofu)," (Warsaw, 1982) (typescript, AMS); S. Mikos, "Gdańsk w okresie II wojny światowej (1939–1945)" *Hist Gd*, vol. 4:2 (1998); D. Steyer, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945* (Gdynia, 1967) J. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń.* W. Drążek, *Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował* (Gdynia, 1996).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:98, account of Władysław Konarzewski. On the other hand, Franciszek Szwinke testified at Albert Forster's trial that on September 15, 1939, approximately 2,000 prisoners were sent to work from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, AP Gd, sygn. 49/IV/5, p. 374. According to Franciszek Racławski, the first cleanup group had been sent to Westerplatte on September 10; see AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 2:33.

2. M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie, stocznie, okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985), pp. 194–195; *Gdańsk. 1939.* Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie (Gdańsk, 1984), accounts of

Paweł Gronau, Antoni Leszczyński, Bruno Mach, Alfons Olszewski, Alojzy Swiniarski, Leon Szotyński, Mieczysław Szymański, Stanisław Szymański, and Paweł Wohlert; R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte*, (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:98, account of Władysław Konarzewski, 6:267, Cyprian Wosztal, 6:331, Mieczysław Filipowicz, 14:215–223, Józef Szarkowski; AP Gd, Catalog No. 49/IV/5, pp. 361, 374, testimony of Stanisław Garczewski and Franciszek Szwinke at A. Forster's trial.

3. Filipowicz, *Ludzie*, p. 195. One of the Rexin brothers (Otto or Paul) was an equally brutal SS man. See *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Jan Gdaniec II and Leon Szoltyński. See also J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," Ph.D. diss., Gdańsk Teachers College, 1969, pp. 80–81.

4. See AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:35l, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz; *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Antoni Leszczyński and Paweł Wohlert; Duzik, *Wspomnienia*.

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:33–35, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz, 14:223, Józef Szarkowski; Filipowicz, Ludzie, p. 195; J. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*. W. Drążek, *Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował* (Gdynia, 1996), pp. 73–80; AP Gd, testimony of Stanisław Garczewski at A. Forster's trial, Catalog No. 49/IV/5, p. 361.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5:156, account of Anzelm Rudłowski, 31:235–236, Stefan Stachyra; Kazimierz Brzuszkiewicz's letter to the Stutthof Museum, December 5 and 20, 2000; *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Alfons Olszewski.

7. *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Mieczysław Szymański.

8. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, p. 259.

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:161.

10. See S. Matuszczak, "Westerplatte (fragmenty wspomnień b. więźnia Stutthofu)," (Warsaw, 1982) (typescript, AMS), p. 6; see also M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 150.

11. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

12. Ibid.; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:161, account of Stanisław Matuszczak; M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," StZeMu no. 3, Wrocław 1979, p. 167.

DANZIG-ZIGANKENBERG

From May 15, 1940, to April 30, 1941, a group of prisoners worked at the city brickyard (Städtische Ziegelei Zigankenberg) on what was called Gypsy Hill (Cygańska Góra) in Danzig-Zigankenberg (later Gdańsk Suchanino). The subcamp was listed in camp records as Aussenstelle-Zigankenberg. The prisoners were quartered on the premises of the brickyard. Employment assignment notes in prisoner files confirm the subcamp's existence.[1]

No accurate data are available on the number of people in the detachment or on the working conditions.

SOURCES See "Stutthof Main Camp" for sources and other bibliographic information.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49930, I-III-50079, personal files of prisoners Aleksander Paradowski and Feliks Zieliński. Based on these records, we can establish that the subcamp operated between May 15, 1940, and April 30, 1941.

DOMACHAU

From October to November 1939 the Danzig Prison Camp Command and the civilian prisoner camps under it, especially the Stutthof camp, organized many "farm detachments" (Bauernkommandos) to help with the root crop harvest and cultivation. According to the testimony of A. Schwartz, the camp farm manager, in 1939 approximately 3,000 people from all of the civilian prisoner camps were assigned to work on farms located in villages in the Danzig Highlands (Danziger Höhe) and Danzig Lowlands (Danziger Niederung) as well as in Żuławy (Werder).

Among detachments of this type was one at the estate at Domachau (later Domachowo) organized from March 12 to August 29, 1940. The estate was close to Danzig (Gdańsk) near Grenzdorf (Graniczna Wieś).[1] It was owned by the German Rittergut, a subsidiary of the SS. Prisoners who specialized in farmwork were probably sent by the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp. There is no other information on the detachment except for labor assignment entries made in prisoner files. Besides prisoners, during the height of fieldwork and harvesting, Rittergut also employed regular paid workers and Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Stutthof prisoners also worked on the estate in the following years.[2]

The campaign to hire out prisoners to German farmers on a mass scale and for a fee began in early October 1939. Approximately 700 prisoners were still doing farmwork in January 1940. Detachments averaged in size from 10 to 20 people; on smaller farms, there were just a few working inmates. The camp provided partial escort and supervision of prisoners while they worked. This job was also done by local SS or SA members. Farm owners were responsible for housing prisoners and guards from the camp and providing them with food for the entire day.

Prisoners worked harvesting potatoes and sugar beets, threshing grain, and doing general farm chores. Their average period of employment was from four to six weeks.[3] After they were done, they went back to the camp at Danzig Neufahrwasser or were sent straight to the Stutthof or Grenzdorf camp.

Prisoners were hired out to work on farms for several reasons: the first was the mass influx of prisoners to the camps, which could not accommodate such large numbers; there was no way to house them. Second, there were also problems with provisions. In his testimony before an officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising in 1945, Albert Schwartz said in English:

> In the first days of September the number of internees went up to about fifteen thousand (15,000) men,

> of which after an initial screening, about six thousand (6,000) remained to be examined in detail by the Gestapo. Since the Stutthof camp . . . could not house so many people at that time, large groups of prisoners were sent to several large farms in the rural counties of Danzig to help in harvesting. About three thousand (3,000) men were employed this way, and the farms had to house and feed prisoners and guards and also pay a fee of one mark daily for each prisoner."[4]

Another reason was the new farm structure in Pomerania. All Polish farming estates and smaller farms were requisitioned and confiscated by the Nazi authorities. They were allocated to local Germans, then to the German nationals (Reichsdeutsche) and ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) brought in from the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Putting prisoners to work in agriculture made up for the outflow of hired labor caused by the displacement of Polish families and by warfare. In the initial months of the civilian prisoner camps' operation, prisoner labor on the farms was also a means to obtain funds to maintain the camps, which were just being set up.

Prisoners were assigned to work under a contract between the camp command and local farm directors (Ortsbauernführer), who were the lowest organizational level for farms in the Reich. The procedure for hiring out prisoners for labor was extremely simple. Prisoners were escorted by several SS men to the township offices, where selection for labor at respective farms took place. Many Pomeranian township directors, who were in charge of agriculture for their areas, applied for prisoner labor. Their duties generally included all administrative and occupational farm business involving government agricultural and animal-breeding requirements, especially seeing to it that work was done on time and deliveries were made as agreed. The allocation of farm machinery, tools, fertilizer, sowing and breeding material, and labor was up to them.

Recruitment for the work was generally voluntary and met with no resistance from Poles, who preferred the considerably more peaceful labor in the fields to staying in camp where they were exposed to brutal treatment by SS men. Most prisoners thought the farmers' attitude toward them was positive, pointing out that the supervision was benign, that the food was good, and that some farmers even attempted to keep them on permanently at their farms.[5] In general, conditions at the farms were better than at the main camps. As Bruno Zwarra stated, at some detachments prisoners were given a bit of freedom outside of work; they could do such things as go outside the farm premises to the inn or even to the movies, but, as he points out, "not all Germans were so tolerant toward Poles. I later learned from friends that there were also Germans who constantly prodded and beat the people working in the field."[6] There were even extreme instances of their drastic treatment by the Germans, especially if the farm owner was a fanatic Nazi official.

The practice by Pomerania's German landowners of hiring laborers for seasonal work had already existed for some time. Mainly Poles hired themselves out for that work. There were at least 10,000 of them in the Free City of Danzig. The German aggression against Poland and the resultant warfare had caused delays in the root crop harvest and autumn sowing because the Polish army's mobilization had drained the land of workers and the combat itself had caused dislocations in the initial weeks of the war. Over the long run these delays could cause food shortages in the Reich, whose domestic agricultural output before the war had not fully supplied the market with farm and livestock products (they made up for that by importing food). German propaganda demanded that Polish workers be assigned to that work and that a food "granary" be created for all of Germany out of the lands annexed to the Reich, thus making it independent of foreign countries.

Many Jewish women were sent to work on the land in the summer and autumn of 1944, probably because there was no work for them at the central camp and its subcamps. Leaving camp meant an improvement in their situation and a greater chance of survival, as hunger and a high sick rate prevailed there. The accounts of Lithuanian Jews Cyla Kajcer-Perla, Maria Rolnikajte, and many others hold dramatic descriptions of selections for work, which only a small group of women could get. Those who were in good physical condition were selected for the work, first and foremost being tall enough and having strong, healthy legs with no traces of ulceration. Because work groups for grain or potato harvests were only organized from time to time, that was the only opportunity to leave camp and get away from the brutal supervisors. Work lasted from 4:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M., with an hour's break for breakfast and dinner. Besides fieldwork, they also did all the farmwork and housekeeping chores such as milking the cows, chopping wood, pumping water, sweeping the yard, and so on, including on Sunday. They were issued food irregularly. Rolnikajte stated that once a week they were rationed one loaf of bread and a quarter kilo (approximately nine ounces) of margarine, plus a cup of coffee for breakfast and soup at dinnertime. There were no arduous roll calls, daily persecutions by SS men and foremen prisoners, mindless killings of Jews, or selections in the barracks.[7]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, testimony of A. Schwartz, Freising, September 12, 1945; SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Anna Makarska, Wrocław); AMS, Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIA-9, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 4, Władysław Konarzewski; vol. 5, Feliks Sadłowski; vol. 14, Józef Szarkowski); Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, *Wybór i opracowanie* (Gdańsk, 1984); M., Rolnikajte, *Ja dołżna rasskazat* (Moscow, 1965).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49842, I-III-49866, personal files of prisoners Johann von Pruhsak and Franciszek Żmudziewski.

2. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Kpp. 39/71, report of examination of witness Anna Makarska (Wrocław).

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, p. 69, testimony of E. Foth given at Gdańsk District Court in 1947.

4. AK-IPN Gd. Polish Army Mission collection, War Crimes Office-327, pp. 25–26.

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:100, account of Władysław Konarzewski, vol. 14: 226–237, Józef Szarkowski; "Gdańsk 1939," p. 379, account of Alfons Olszewski, Paweł Wohlert, p. 539, Bruno Zwarra, pp. 587–588.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 14, Szarkowski; "Gdańsk 1939," p. 589.

7. M. Rolnikajte, *Ja dołżna rasskazat* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 168–176.

ELBING [AKA BRÜCKENKOPFBAU, STOBOI BEI ELBING]

A subcamp was formed on November 20, 1944, pursuant to the commandant's order issued that same day. The chief of Amtsgruppe D at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) had given permission for the camp to be formed on November 10, 1944.[1] SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Werner was designated camp commandant (Lagerführer); he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke on December 18, 1944.Some 24 guards sent by Elbing military headquarters (Wehrmachtskommandantur Elbing) were assigned to the detachment's transport and supervision, and SS women Margarete Okon (starting December 19, 1944) and Edith Thews and Johanna Wisotzki (January 1945) were also assigned from the Stutthof camp.[2]

In official correspondence the camp was called Aussenarbeitslager Stoboi bei Elbing. The name Brückenkopfbau was also used.[3] This was the name used for the military fortifications in the outskirts of Elbing (Elbląg). The detachment was headquartered in Stoboi (later Kamiennik Wielki) near Elbing. The prisoners worked under the direction of the Organisation Todt (OT). There were male French prisoners from POW and labor camps also working in the same area, as well as Polish workers and Germans from the German Labor Front (DAF). The OT supervised the construction work.

Upon the commandant's order, 500 female Jewish prisoners were sent to Stoboi in the first transport. The population increased by 500 more Jewish women who were sent in late November or early December 1944. This is confirmed by Werner's letter of December 2, 1944, regarding sending additional clothing, because "the second transport of five hundred women is very inadequately clothed." The detachment's population has been confirmed by Eugenia Kacówna, a prisoner of the subsidiary, who testified in 1945 that "on November 18 [or] 20, 1944, I was selected and sent to Elbing, where I worked on anti-tank barriers. A total of one thousand of us women worked there."[4]

Food supplies for the guard staff and prisoners were provided by the OT administration, which operated its own kitchen. In the camp, whose exact location and prisoner housing conditions are unknown, there was an infirmary, as evidenced by Werner's letter to Stutthof main camp headquarters dated December 2, 1944, in which he asks that three white smocks and 20 towels be sent at once for the camp infirmary. The difficult winter conditions and considerable physical exertion expended on digging antitank trenches were made worse by the already inadequate supply of warm clothing and shoes.

According to a report of January 24, 1945, 341 women were in the camp. However, Kacówna stated in her account that, one day later, about 400 women went to the main camp in Stutthof, and the rest were evacuated three days later. There may have been two transports, the first with 400 women who reached the Stutthof camp before January 25, and the second with the number mentioned in the report—altogether 741 persons. If that is in fact the case, it would indicate a roughly 25 percent drop from the initial camp population of approximately 1,000.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; AMS, sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Lasik, Stutthof ac; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na terenie miasta Elbląga w latach 1940–1945* (Gdańsk, 1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-5.

2. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

3. Ibid.; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, payment by companies for prisoner labor (November 1944); Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

4. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 171, Anforderung von Kleidungsstücken, Stoboi, den 2.12.1944; AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 81a, p. 88, testimony of Eugenia Kacówna.

ELBING (*OT ELBING COMPLEX*) [AKA KOMMANDO BEFEHLSSTELLE STRASBURG]

The Elbing camp complex was formed on August 7, 1944, pursuant to a special order of the Stutthof concentration camp commandant issued the day before.[1] The prisoners' employer was the Organisation Todt (OT); therefore, the name Organisation Todt Elbing (OT Elbing) was also used in official

correspondence about the camp. Kommando Befehlsstelle Strasburg was another name for the camp: that was the location of the subcamp's main office and the headquarters of the guard company that watched the prisoners (the 36th SS-Standarte, SS-Stadtwachtkompanie). Bülow was named camp commandant and staff officer. To help him, he was assigned five junior officers from the 1st SS-Wachbataillon and 95 SS men from the Allgemeine-SS.

The subcamp initially received 5,000 Jewish women from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Lithuania. Upon arrival in Elbing (later Elbląg), an OT representative divided them into work groups of several hundred and placed them in towns along the Vistula Bay, where they dug ditches and built bunkers and other military fortifications. They changed their places of work and lodging frequently, depending on the status of the work the OT assigned them. The conditions in which the women lived were primitive at first: makeshift lodgings (barns and tents) and meager food. When they left the Stutthof camp, they had been outfitted with just a blanket and a bowl and spoon. The summer clothing in which they left, adequate for that time of year, proved to be totally insufficient for the autumn and winter months.

After the work planned for that region had been completed, the women were moved to the Brodnica (Strasburg) and Toruń (Thorn) area, along the Drwęca (Drewenz) River. In mid-August 1944, a second prisoner transport of 1,500 women arrived. In early October 1944 the camp population was 6,440 women, and on January 24, 1945, it was 5,036.[2] In early September 1944, Brodnica headquarters was put in charge of eight camps located in Brodnica, Lubawa, and Toruń counties.[3]

One of the hardest labor detachments was at Gutowo (Guttau). The first group of 1,000 to 1,200 women there lived in makeshift tents; later they were moved to 13 unheated round barracks housing up to 100 prisoners each. The barracks had no foundations or finished floors; the prisoners slept on straw. Their food consisted of lukewarm water in place of coffee and a slice of bread at noon. When the detachment returned from work, it was issued soup cooked from unpeeled potatoes. An infirmary in one barracks served only as a typhus isolation ward, where the patients usually died, due to the lack of medicine or professional care.[4]

The camp staff was extremely brutal; they tormented the prisoners and meted out harsh punishments for trivial offenses. According to Elżbieta Deutsch's account, a Jewish woman was placed under a running faucet of cold water in bitter cold weather for stealing two potatoes. The prisoner died as a result. Among the most brutal SS men were the local camp director Bier, his assistant Bittner, and Engel (he would kill off sick Jewish women), Zibber, Mokk, Schmidt, and others of the staff.[5]

Work was done from dawn until dusk, under difficult weather conditions, especially in late autumn and in winter; it was extremely strenuous, driving up the prisoners' sick rate and causing numerous deaths. It is estimated that approximately 170 to 200 Jewish women died at Gutowo, including the four or five infants born there. They were buried in a nearby meadow.[6]

The Gutowo camp was shut down on January 17, 1945. Some of the sick, about 140 persons, were left in the barracks. The staff tried to kill them by injecting them with toxic substances, which proved to be ineffective. According to the testimony of witnesses—village residents and former prisoners—the prisoners were taken out of camp into a field and killed off with gunshots. Few managed to escape. According to the account of witness Leonard Dmochewicz, 104 women perished then, whom he buried not far from the camp. When Russian units entered Gutowo, the sanitary section took care of the Jewish women and recorded a special report on the topic: "We have discovered a female camp. One hundred sixty-three women in a state of ultimate devastation, with frostbitten legs, some of them had wounds, 140 had phlegmon and ulcers on their arms from injections of some sort of toxic fluids intended to kill them. . . . Besides that, we also discovered a mass of female bodies in the camp, in canvas tents or nearby, varying in age from twelve to fifty-five. We managed to count 120 corpses upon a rough count."[7] Working and living conditions at the other detachments were also difficult and did not differ much from each other.

Throughout the Elbing complex, the prisoners' situation was especially dire in late autumn and winter. They still spent nights in tents or barns, without warm clothing, gloves, or any footwear. In a letter to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated September 4, 1944, Commandant Bülow reported that almost every camp director was reporting inadequate prisoner clothing and underwear supplies to him, and he indicated that a lack of footwear was reducing work output. In another letter of October 6, 1944, he reported that he only had 1,000 pairs of shoes for 6,440 prisoners; 80 to 90 percent of prisoners urgently needed a change of shoes. His appeals did not lead to any immediate improvement, however.[8]

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters' staff inspected five camps near Toruń on November 13, 1944. He confirmed the poor state of clothing and shoe supplies, which he thought affected productivity. There were 6,200 women in all the camps at that time. Most of them were in poor condition, 10 had died so far, and approximately 300 were in a state of extreme exhaustion. He recommended that the most ill and emaciated be transported to Stutthof and that the camps be provided with footwear, warm sweaters, pants, and other needed clothing.[9]

The evacuation of the existing labor camps took place in mid to late January 1945 when the prisoner population totaled 5,036 women. The groups working closest to Elbing returned to the main camp and then were evacuated on January 25 and 26. The other ones located over 150 kilometers (approximately 93 miles) from Stutthof were evacuated to Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) (one of the stages in the central camp's evacuation) or directly toward Lauenberg (Lębork), the evacuation's destination. The casualties were very high in

all the detachments. In most camps, selections were performed even before the evacuation columns were formed, and sick prisoners were excluded, killed with injections of lethal fluid, shot, or finished off with blunt instruments (such as gun butts). Only a few managed to survive. Many prisoners perished on the march route and were buried in common graves; some were shot, but in most cases their fates remain unknown.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Stanisław Ruciński, Margita Sztraus, Teresa Tkaczik, Helena Milder, Elżbieta Deutsch, and others); AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. no. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, (Batia Berkowicz, vol. 7, record dated January 30, 1945; report of Sanitary Unit, 48th Army 3rd Belarussian Front, Leonard Dmochewicz, vol. 14); D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945*, (Gdańsk, 1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 141–142, Sonderbefehl über Aufstellung des Baukommandos Ostland.

2. No headquarters command is available on the transport of mid-August 1944. Stutthof concentration camp Administration and Management Division records document the transport's arrival: labor assignment figures at OT Elbing for August 1944 (6,500), a letter dated October 6, 1944, from the subcamp's commandant on clothing supplies (6,440), and a report on the camp's population on January 24, 1945. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, p. 51; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 83; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6. See also Batia Berkowicz's testimony, AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 7:15.

3. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-5, SS-Oberscharführer Lietz of the 36th SS-Standarte, SS-Stadtwachtkompanie, to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on September 6, 1944, on sending coats for the SS men.

4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 14, record dated January 30, 1945, report of Sanitary Unit, 48th Army 3rd Belarussian Front; AK-IPN Gd, reports of examinations of witnesses Margita Sztraus, Teresa Tkaczik, Helena Milder, and Elżbieta Deutsch.

5. According to prisoner testimony included in the report of the Sanitary Unit of the 48th Army, 3rd Belarussian Front, as well as that of witness L. Dmochewicz (AMS, vol. 14).

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 1/67, report of examination of witness Stanisław Ruciński (Olsztyn).

7. M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997), pp. 151, 213.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5.

9. Ibid.

ELBING (*SCHICHAU-WERFT*)

On September 20, 1944, the Germans transported 100 prisoners to a new camp at the F. Schichau-Werft GmbH in Elbing (Elbląg), pursuant to a special order from the Stutthof commandant and a preliminary contract signed with the shipyard. Three more transports of 500 prisoners each followed on September 25 and 29 and October 3, bringing the number of prisoners to 1,600.[1] Half of the population were Poles; the rest were German, Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian—including a group of 15 to 20 former Latvian policemen who had been put in Stutthof for deserting the SS and for criminal offenses.

The subcamp's commandant was initially SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder; then from October 27, 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Friedrich Walter was in change. The guard staff was composed of 9 SS men from the 1st Guard Company. The staff grew as subsequent prisoner transports arrived at Elbing. Another 20 SS men were assigned to the camp on September 25 and 29, 1944. On November 2, there were 12 civilian personnel in camp.[2] In addition, factory guards supervised the prisoners.

The prisoners lived in barracks in back of the Schichau-Werft facilities on Krafoldsdorfweg (later Radomska Ulica in Elbląg) as well as in another camp on the premises of the machine and locomotive factory on Boelkestrasse (in a group of camps for forced laborers of Schichau Werke), in which prisoners of Stutthof's first subcamp had lived, beginning in April 1941.

Most of the prisoners were qualified lathe operators, mechanics, and fitters. The shipyard, where they built and fitted out submarines, was their primary workplace. When there was no work there, some of the prisoners were sent to the Schichau Werke machine and locomotive factory located by the railroad station (called Trettinhof or T'hof), where they manufactured such things as armored locomotives, combat vehicles, tanks, and ships' guns.[3]

The prisoners worked in a 12-hour daily shift system, with a 1-hour break for dinner, and worked until noon on Sundays. In contrast to the 1940–1942 period, prisoners were put to work directly on the production lines, with strict output quotas (for instance, assembling one vehicle body per day). Failure to reach quota was treated as tantamount to sabotage, for which an order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) provided harsh punitive sanctions, including the death penalty, when someone was charged with deliberate destruction and holding up production.[4]

The hard and dangerous labor, the poor supply of clothing and shoes, and the low-calorie food increased the rates of sickness and death. A former prisoner of the camp described conditions there as considerably worse than those at the main camp. The food for an entire day provided no more than 1,000 calories. The production line quota system and watchful supervision by SS men, prisoner foremen, and factory guards did not provide much opportunity for getting extra food from other sources. Although the Schichau Werke

administration was in charge of food supplies, the subcamp's management ran the kitchen. Prisoners stole food items frequently, as confirmed by surviving forms recording punishment by whipping for stealing.[5] In addition, fatal accidents often occurred at work; for example, some died of wood alcohol poisoning when painting locomotive bodies.

The supply of clothing and shoes was inadequate, especially in wintertime. Before leaving for Elbing, prisoners handed in the clothes they had been wearing and received replacements to wear until they were supplied with striped uniforms. The commandant made the camp administration agree to supply prisoners with warm clothing and winter footwear. When the cold weather came, thin jackets did not protect prisoners against colds, which also sometimes ended in death.

The promised jackets and warm clothes reached camp late and in a smaller amount than had been demanded. In early November 1944 the commandant again asked for the delivery of camp clothing, including 250 vests and pairs of shoes, as well as 1,593 pairs of stockings.

In the surviving report of November 25, 1944, the subcamp's commandant asked for the immediate delivery of 7,200 items of clothing, footwear, and towels, mainly including warm jackets, pants, long underwear, foot wrappings, gloves, and so on. The order was not filled until December 2, and it contained almost 3,000 items fewer than what was asked for. The order for 1,600 gloves or towels indicates that the target prisoner population had been maintained and that several new prisoners had been sent to the camp.

One more of the commandant's letters, dated late December 1944, has survived. The letter shows the disastrous state of prisoner provisions. There was a shortage of gloves, winter jackets, shirts, long underwear, pants, camp caps, footwear, and belts. The prisoners' shoes were no longer repairable. Of the 10,000 items of clothing or pairs of shoes that the commandant had requested, he only got half.[6]

The camp had an infirmary whose personnel consisted of a prisoner doctor and two orderlies who arrived at Elbing in the first transport. Dr. Bolesław Drobner-Kwiatkowski, a Pole, served as the doctor the entire time. However, patients reporting to the infirmary could not count on getting the proper medical care, because Dr. Drobner-Kwiatkowski had a minimal amount of medicine, bandages, and dressing materials. More seriously ill patients were taken to the Stutthof hospital.[7]

The first deaths of Elbing prisoners were reported in October 1944. In one of the commandant's reports dated October 24, there is a list of 11 deceased prisoners, including prisoner Józef Sieroszewski, who was shot as a fugitive.[8] The subcamp's population on November 2 was 1,593, indicating that 7 prisoners had died or had been sent back to Stutthof in under one and a half months.[9] According to partially surviving camp doctor reports on deaths at Stutthof subcamps, 64 people died from November 3, 1944, to January 10, 1945, the greatest number of them Poles but also Russians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians.[10] The bodies of deceased prisoners were taken away to the camp morgue near the infirmary barrack on Boelkestrasse. They were later buried in the woods outside Elbing.

Based on surviving records, we can establish that chiefly Russians and Poles attempted to escape. They were not all successful. By September 29, 1944, there had already been a successful escape by Pole Czesław Sowiński.[11] Another escape by two Polish prisoners occurred on October 23; one of them was caught.[12] On December 17, another Pole, Stanisław Pędzisz, escaped successfully.[13]

The other escapees were Russian prisoners. In their case, preparing for escape involved overcoming many difficulties, mainly getting civilian clothes and provisions, as well as establishing contacts outside of camp in order to compensate for their poor knowledge of the area; 13 Russians tried to escape, of whom 8 were successful.[14] The camp command had to report every escape to Stutthof headquarters and also pursue the fugitives. When an escapee was caught, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin was informed and subsequently issued sentence. Accounts of former prisoners of the Elbing subcamp show that death sentences were sometimes issued. Jan Pięta recalls such an event; during a special morning roll call, he was an eyewitness to the hanging of 3 persons who had attempted to escape from camp.[15]

The subcamp was disbanded on January 20, 1945. All the prisoners returned to Stutthof. Several days later some of them were in the evacuation on foot heading toward Lauenburg; the others left the camp in April 1945. In the four months of the Elbing subcamp's operation, at least 1,800 prisoners passed through the camp (including the rotation of the sick and the dead), with a death rate reaching approximately 5 to 10 percent of the camp's population.

SOURCES The following are sources used for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK; AK-IPN, ATW IV (American Military Court IV), sygn. Pd 5, collected records of American Military Court No. II in Nürnberg, trial 4 against the WVHA and Oswald Pohl; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Eugeniusz Gałła, Jan Pięta, and Tomasz Zawadzki; AMS, Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIID-3, I-VB-7, hospital records (Krankenbau); Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Koczewicz, Stanisław Pędzisz, and Walfred Wallit); M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny* (Gdańsk, 1994); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, "Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Schichau-Werft Elbing."

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 87, commandant Redder to Stutthof camp headquarters dated November 2, 1944.

3. AAN, Division VI, KG AK, Appendix No. 12 to MW (Intelligence Report) 9/44—Lombard, Item 10 dated mid-March 1944; Appendix No. 12 to Intelligence Report 6/44—Lombard, dated February 15, 1944: Schichau Elbing; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*—account of Jan Koczewicz, n.p.; 15:155, Walfred Wallit; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, Catalog No. Kpp 51/72, testimony of Eugeniusz Gałła; Catalog No. Ko 99/70, Tomasz Zawadzki; M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny* (Gdańsk, 1994), p. 105.

4. See Richard Glücks's order of April 11, 1944, AK-IPN, ATW IV (American Military Court IV), sygn. Pd 5, p. 129, Nuremberg Document No. 1556.

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, account of Jan Koczewicz, n.p.; M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny*, p. 105.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 89.

7. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIID-3.

8. M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 103, 196.

9. As indicated by the commandant's order for supplies for the entire camp population. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 87.

10. Ibid., Catalog Nos. I-IIID-3, I-VB-7.

11. Ibid., Catalog Nos. I-III-14616, personal files of Czesław Sowiński.

12. Ibid., Catalog No. I-III-4952, personal files of Wacław Grabowski.

13. Ibid., *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 21:224, account of Stanisław Pędzisz.

14. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," pp. 97, 101–104, 109–110, 114, 118, 142.

15. AK-IPN, Catalog No. Ko 99/70, report of examination of witness Jan Pięta.

ELBING (*SCHICHAU WERKE*)

Stutthof prisoners began working in private businesses in Elbing (Elbląg) as early as September 1939.[1] Prisoner files of the time contain the names of the companies that employed them most often, which were chiefly the Schichau Werke and its associates, as well as city agencies. Prisoners were quartered either in what were called "collection camps" or on company premises. In early January 1940, the Elbing detachment was reinforced by a group of 75 Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who had been at Schichau Werke doing construction and wiring work since October 1939. The POWs had been captured at Modlin and then sent from Königsberg prison in late September 1939 to work in Elbing. They were quartered in an inactive brush factory that had been owned by Jews between the wars and had been taken over by Schichau Werke. In early January 1940, 75 people were arrested, charged with sabotage for cutting electric wires. Their POW status was removed, and they were made civilian prisoners of the Stutthof camp.[2]

The decision to use the existing detachment as the basis for a single subcamp was hastened by the evacuation of the Neufahrwasser camp in February 1940. In mid-March 1940, prisoners were selected for use at outside workplaces, mainly for the purpose of acquiring funds to maintain the Stutthof camp administration. Approximately 200 prisoners were brought by barge to Elbing via Vistula Bay. Predominantly Poles were selected for the transport, as well as smaller groups of Danzig Germans, Czechs, and Russians.

The camp had six commandants in its six-year history. The position was successively held by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Wilhelm, Fritz Meier, and Erich Müller and by SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Dittmann, Willy Redder, and Fritz Weber. Besides them, the staff was made up of 40 to 50 SS men acting as supervisors at camp and escorts to the workplace. The SS men's attitude toward prisoners was different from the inhumane behavior of the Stutthof camp staff, although it was not totally lacking in repressive and violent elements. Commandant Müller and his deputy Max Michelsen were among the most brutal. The former, along with other SS men, were responsible for killing a Polish physician from the infirmary, Dr. Franciszek Gabriel, who dared to try to improve camp sanitary conditions through official channels by drawing attention to the prisoners' poor state of health. Michelsen, along with the camp senior, Stefan Plombom, often carried out whippings personally.

The majority of prisoners were hired out to F. Schichau-Werft GmbH Elbing. They were quartered in the aforementioned brush factory at Tannenberg Allee 75, and when it was shut down in April 1941, the prisoners were moved to a new camp on Boelkestrasse in the back of Schichau Werke. The camp neighbored several other camps for forced laborers who were deported from many German-occupied European countries.

Prisoners worked not only at the shipyard but also at other Schichau company plants in Elbing, such as the machine and locomotive factory and the iron and steel foundry. They were put to work at the shipyard as helpers, doing such things as sorting materials to build the hulls of seagoing vessels and transporting them to the shipyard production facilities. The shipyard assembled warships—torpedo boats and "pocket" submarines.

The Schichau locomotive factory was also an important part of the company's production. In 1942, the factory started building what were called "war locomotives," which had considerably higher engineering specifications designed for military transports, as well as armored vehicles and replacement parts.

The prisoners at Schichau-Werft's direct disposal were also hired out to its numerous associates that did construction and assembly work in the port and shipyard, such as the construction companies Gaidies Fritz und Co. Hoch und Tiefbaugesellschaft, Philipp Holzmann AG, Baustelle Schichau Elbing, the hemp and wire rope factory of Carl Stephun, Mech.- und Drahtseilfabrik Elbing, and others. Some prisoners were lent out to city agencies when there was no work at the shipyard or locomotive factory. They also worked installing city sewers, building a housing project, at a plywood

factory, and at the city sanitation company. From time to time they were also sent to do farmwork and drainage work.

The contract signed by Schichau-Werft Elbing GmbH provided for the employment of a regular group of several hundred employees. That population ranged from 200 people at the very beginning of 1940 to about 500 in the summer of 1941. The average prisoner population in October and November 1941 was 400.[3] In his business and financial performance report of late October 1941, Niemann, the camp business chief, listed 420 persons working at the Schichau company. There were 376 prisoners in camp as of December 11, 1941.[4]

Living conditions in the camp on Tannenberg Allee were decidedly different from those at the Stutthof camp. Although there was crowding in the production hall, where two or three prisoners slept in one bunk, they were not starving. The meals given to prisoners chiefly consisted of porridge issued at lunchtime, and bread with margarine or jam mornings and evenings. The prisoners' ragged, stinking clothes were replaced by World War I Austrian army uniforms: gray jackets made of light material and blue-green pants, as well as round rimless caps.

Living conditions further improved when the prisoners were moved to the site on Boelkestrasse, which Schichau Werke owned. The food quality improved, but the amount was still inadequate for hard labor. Some German civilian employees and forced laborers helped prisoners get extra food, and prisoners' families sent packets illegally if they knew their relatives' whereabouts. Then in November 1940, Commandant Wilhelm began allowing correspondence, including food packages, into the camp.

Working conditions at the shipyard and other companies were very difficult. Safety precautions were not observed; accidents were common and sometimes fatal. The camp infirmary only treated less serious injuries that did not require complicated procedures or absence from work. People who had serious accidents were taken to the city hospital in Elbing and from there to the Stutthof camp hospital. Their chances of survival and returning to health were very slim.[5]

Some prisoners decided to escape from camp, not because their lives there were intolerable but for fear that they would be moved to the main camp, where conditions were worse. Prisoners who decided to escape were in danger of being killed by SS men or the prisoner surveillance staff. The first documented escape attempt by a prisoner named Mironowicz ended in disaster: he was caught and murdered by the search party. Three other escapes were successful.[6]

The first Stutthof subcamp at Elbing operated for about 26 months. Probably 700 prisoners actually passed through the camp in that time, when one counts replacements for those sick, injured, released, or dead. The camp shut down in February 1942. The exact date is unknown; the last surviving record, dated February 28, appears to have been written after the camp closed. The main reason for disbanding the subcamp was probably Stutthof's change in status and its expansion—and therefore an increased demand for labor.[7]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, testimony of A. Schwartz, Freising, September 12, 1945; AMS, Sygn. No. I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp's change in status; Sygn. No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog Nos. I-VA-6, I-VB-4, hospital (Krankenbau) records; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, vol. 3; Antoni Dulski, vol. 6; Mieczysław Filipowicz, Zbigniew Nielepiec, Alfons Pillath, vol. 9; Jan Hładasz, n.p.); IK, electronic recordings of former prisoner accounts, account of Izydor Andrzejewski; M. Filipowicz, "Jak przejmowałem stocznie," *Wyb* 6: 223 (1987); K. Steyer, "Z problematyki ucieczek z KL Stutthof," *StZeMu*, no. 2, (1977).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. See AGK, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, p. 26.
2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:43, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz; and n.p., account of Jan Hładasz; M. Filipowicz, "Jak przejmowałem stocznie," *Wyb*, 6: 223 (1987).
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-4, SS-Standartenführer Heinrich Willich, Danzig Sipo and SD inspector, to Himmler, dated August 8, 1941, on assigning camp staff positions; former prisoners provide different estimates of the number of prisoners in their accounts, ranging from 400 to 1,200. According to Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, under its contract with Schichau Werke, Stutthof camp headquarters had to provide the works with 1,200 workers. Surviving records have not confirmed this. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:184, account of Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, 6:86, Antoni Dulski, 9:15, 179, Zbigniew Nielepiec and Alfons Pillath; IK, electronic recordings of former prisoner accounts, account of Izydor Andrzejewski.
4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:191, account of Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, 9:16, 44, 180, accounts of Antoni Dulski, Mieczysław Filipowicz, and Alfons Pillath.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-4.
6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:17, account of Antoni Dulski, 21:224, account of Stanisław Pędzisz.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VA-6, p. 15, Lager Elbing-Boelkestrasse to Lazarett—Stutthof, dated February 28, 1942, on the return of drugs.

GERDAUEN

Gerdauen (later Zheleznodorozhnyy in Russia) was one of five subcamps that the Germans established at Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia on September 21, 1944 (the others were at Heiligenbeil, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).[1] Pursuant to a special order by the Stutthof commandant, 1,000 prisoners—900 women and 100 men, the maximum prisoner population—were sent to Gerdauen a day later. The subcamp's first commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Marzan, succeeded by SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on October 17, then by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Thulke from November 10 until the camp's evacuation.[2] The guard staff in each of the five camps consisted of 46 Luftwaffe soldiers from the airfield staff, plus 6 guards for the camp facilities; 2 SS

women were assigned to supervise the women's barracks—Christel Bankewitz and Margarete Okon. They came to the camp on October 11 upon completion of training at the Stutthof camp. All the guards assigned by the airfield command had been thoroughly instructed on their duties; among other things, they were enjoined to keep secret the fact that prisoner labor was being used, and they were forbidden to speak with the prisoners at all.

The prisoners, chiefly from Czechoslovakia and Hungary (including 500 women who were moved to Stutthof from the Łódź ghetto), lived in three large barracks on the airfield compound. Many of the prisoners had been provided with winter clothing and good shoes for the trip, as well as towels and soap. The men wore striped prisoner clothing. They were also issued quilts. The camp had a prisoner kitchen supplied by the camp command. As was the case with the other East Prussian subcamps, a prisoner doctor and orderlies were sent to Gerdauen to provide basic medical care.

Prisoner accounts show that although they did hard work leveling the construction site for a future airfield, when they were done, they had a lot of freedom to move about the camp buildings, and they were not subjected to physical violence. As Rywa Cytryn related, the prisoners from one of the barracks were even regularly late for the morning roll call, which was unthinkable at Stutthof. At Gerdauen, they were punished for that offense by being deprived of morning coffee and then having to kneel until the prisoners left for work. The Luftwaffe guards supervising them did not observe the ban on talking to them. Moreover, there were communications between prisoners and civilians from outside, who would throw them sandwiches specially wrapped in newspapers, from which prisoners would find out about the current situation at the front.[3]

Conditions at camp began deteriorating when late autumn and winter arrived. It turned out that not all prisoners had been furnished with winter footwear and clothing, which the director of the camp administration was supposed to provide. Just two weeks after prisoners had been sent to Gerdauen, Commandant Marzan's request for the urgent delivery of 200 pairs of shoes and materials to repair them reached the Stutthof clothing warehouse. He justified the request by saying that he could not send 105 prisoners out to work because of their inadequate shoes and the muddy ground. A day later, clothing warehouse manager SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott allocated the camp 200 pairs of shoes, sewing tools to repair them, a roll of hemp yarn, and leather scraps (*Lederabfälle*), among other items.[4]

By October, 28, 1944, the camp population had been reduced by the death of one female prisoner. Commandant Moser requested the urgent delivery of winter clothing for the prisoners, which the camp received on November 8 in a considerably smaller amount, only one-quarter of the items like long woolen underwear or shirts. In November 1944, during a period of torrential rains, the commandant made a special effort to have 200 more pairs of leather shoes and 300 pairs of wooden ones sent. Instead, he received 500 pairs of wooden shoes, due to shortages at the warehouse.[5]

The camp's evacuation began in December 1944.[6] Such an early evacuation was probably due to the fact that the airfield was the closest to the front zone of all those in East Prussia. The winter offensive by Russian forces began on January 12, 1945, and a week later the Stutthof subcamps in East Prussia were immediately behind the front. According to figures on prisoner population at the Stutthof subcamps, there were only 24 prisoners at Gerdauen on January 24, 1945: 1 man and 23 women.[7] Therefore, most prisoners, excepting that small group, avoided the tragic fate of the other camps evacuated to Königsberg and Palmnicken, although their return to Stutthof also took a large toll.

The prisoners were evacuated from Gerdauen to Stutthof on foot. Many lost their strength during the march due to a lack of food and water; the guards killed off the weakest of them by gunshot. For many of them, the return to Stutthof meant more struggles for survival, in camp itself as well as during the next phase in the evacuation of the central camp.[8]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; R. Chirurg, *Bridge of Hope*, (Berkeley, 1994).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, "Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen."
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, special order (Sonderbefehl) dated September 21, 1944, on forming the camp, and order (Kommandanturbefehle) nos. 70 and 75 dated October 17 and November 8, 1944.
3. R. Chirurg, *Bridge of Hope* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 143–151.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 93–95, letter dated October 6, 1944.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 96, Aussenlager Gerdauen to Stutthof concentration camp dated November 6, 1944.
6. Chirurg, *Bridge of Hope*, p. 152.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
8. Chirurg, *Bridge of Hope*, p. 153.

GOTENHAFEN

Several prisoner labor groups were formed from 1939 to 1941 in the city of Gotenhafen (Gdynia before and after the war; Gdingen from 1939 to 1940), to be put to work at German institutions and private businesses. The names of those institutions and businesses can be identified based on notes made in prisoner files by the administration of the Danzig Neufahrwasser and Stutthof civilian prisoner camps, as well as from accounts and testimony given after the war.

Between September 14, 1939, and December 3, 1941 (the first and last dates recorded in prisoner files, indicating the

length of time they were in those detachments), the prisoners were put to work by three firms primarily: the private business Thiel u. Co., the Gotenhafen City Offices, and the agency Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East, HTO). From October 1941 to January 1942, prisoners were also hired out to the administration of the Gotenhafen train station, removing rubble and expanding the train station facilities.[1]

From June 27 to October 20, 1941, 50 prisoners were hired out to Thiel u. Co. of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) to work at Gotenhafen-Kiel. There is no information available on exactly what they did. The testimony of one of the detachment's workers shows that prisoners were put to work digging peat.[2] The prisoners were quartered at the labor camp in Gotenhafen-Kiel.[3]

For one month, from November 3 to December 3, 1941, prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen agency of the HTO.[4] A branch was instituted in the Danzig–West Prussia district in December 1939 as an agency of the HTO formed by Hermann Göring on October 19, 1939. The Gotenhafen branch was a subsidiary of the HTO's Danzig agency. The agency was tasked with the confiscation and management of Polish government property as well as that of Poles and Jews throughout the district, until the property was transferred to German hands. The nature of the prisoners' work and the number of workers are unknown.

Prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen City Offices from April 17, 1940, until December 3, 1941. They were put to work doing cleanup jobs at the Gotenhafen City Offices, as well as at the train station.[5] The city government administration put several prisoners to work on municipal land. There is no detailed information about this detachment.[6]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 215, records of criminal case against Edward Włościański; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Bolesław Przytuła; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; E. Grot and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7, (1990); B. Hajduk, "Gospodarka Gdańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej (1939–1945)," *His Gd* 4:2 (1998); Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka ekonomiczna Trzeciej Rzeszy w latach II wojny światowej*, (Poznań, 1982).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 281.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-44781, I-III-49866, I-III-50025, files of prisoners Franciszek Gromada, Franciszek Żmudziewski, and Jan Zambrzycki; AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 215, pp. 11, 69, report of examination of defendant Edward Włościański, Lębork, June 6, 1945.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49887, letters from Lagerkommandantur Stutthof to the guard post (Wachtposten) of the civilian prisoner camp at Gotenhafen Chylonia dated September 13, 1941.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44781, files of prisoner Franciszek Gromada.

5. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41175, I-III-42621, files of prisoners Marian Brawata and Andreas Domagała. Witness Bolesław Przytuła testified about work at the Stadtverwaltung, but in Gdynia Orłowo. However, this information probably regarded cleanup work done at the request of the Gdynia City Offices in Gdynia Orłowo. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination report, Wrocław, October 23, 1967.

6. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-50025, I-III-50031, files of prisoners Jan Zambrzycki and Ignac Wójcik.

GOTENHAFEN (*DEUTSCHE WERKE KIEL*) [AKA DEUTSCHE-WERKE SONDERLAGER]

Gotenhafen (Gdynia before and after the war; Gdingen from 1939 to 1940) was an important military industrial center for the Reich, one of the navy's largest port, shipyard, and operations bases. The Deutsche Werke Kiel was one of the most important shipyards there. By late 1944 it employed approximately 7,000 workers, a considerable number of whom were forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and in the latter half of 1944, prisoners from Stutthof.

The Stutthof subcamp at the Gotenhafen shipyard was formed on October 16, 1944.[1] (Stutthof prisoners had worked there before, but it is not known how many, and apparently no permanent camp was established for them.) It was also called Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager in Gotenhafen (German Works—Special Camp in Gotenhafen). After the camp was established, 310 prisoners were sent to Gotenhafen on October 16 and 28 in the first two transports.[2] According to the commandant's special order, the Germans intended to increase that population to 1,000. In early November 1944, two large prisoner transports arrived: 300 people from Stutthof and 180 directly from Dachau. At that point there were slightly more than 800 people living at the camp. The population remained at that level—its maximum—until the end of the month, fluctuating slightly, depending on the death rate and prisoner traffic between the main camp and Gotenhafen.[3] On January 24, 1945, there were 730 prisoners in the camp; on March 25, the date the evacuation began, there were 719.[4]

The majority of prisoners at Gotenhafen were from Poland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Germany, although a number of other countries were represented as well. Most of them were skilled tradesmen, although some of the Poles who arrived early were exceptions. For them, working in Gotenhafen offered the chance to see relatives, obtain extra food, and perhaps escape, and so members of the Polish underground who worked in Stutthof's employment office faked their comrades' qualifications.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kuhlmann was the first commandant; upon his dismissal on December 9, 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Josef Bock replaced him. The camp staff initially consisted of 2 SS men from Stutthof and 34 navy

sailors. On November 9, 1944, they were joined by another 10 SS men from Stutthof. There were 49 sailors serving as supervisors in the camp and shipyard in late November 1944.[5]

Supervisory prisoners supplemented the staff. The highest position in the hierarchy, camp elder, was held by Johann Bank (aka Bańkowski), a German career criminal. He also oversaw prisoners at the work site. The Poles convicted him in 1948 for abusing prisoners under his supervision and sentenced him to three years in prison.[6] The jobs of barrack supervisors and camp office workers were generally held by German criminals and Polish political prisoners, though the former became dominant when Bock took over. Impromptu beatings and official whippings were everyday occurrences in camp. Only when the shipyard and camp were bombed on December 18, 1944, and many of the criminals were hurt, did the prisoners' situation improve. In January 1945, after Bank was wounded, his place was taken by an Austrian, Victor Dorotic, who was more lenient, followed by a German criminal whom Dorotic had recommended for the position.

The prisoners worked at the shipyard, where they assembled submarines. They assembled type "Y300t" submarines in a system of sections at four workstations. The work was supervised by a representative of Deutsche Werke Kiel and civilian foremen from the shipyard. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The sections, which already had been fitted out, were brought in by rail to the shipyard, where they were assembled on slip carts in the production facilities; the assembled units were transported to the Schichau shipyard in Danzig for final finishing.[7]

Prisoners also worked in other manufacturing companies in Gotenhafen and for the city: transporting ordnance from military shelters to the nearby airfield, building shelters at the shipyard, and removing rubble from bombings. Beginning in mid-January, they were put to work at earthmoving jobs connected with the construction of military fortifications in the region. Work at the shipyard was halted after the shipyard facilities and vessels being repaired were disassembled and evacuated to Kiel starting in January 1945.

The camp was carved out of the southern part of an existing camp for French forced laborers located in the immediate neighborhood of the shipyard. The prisoners' living conditions were generally no different than those prevailing at the parent camp, but they were even worse as far as sanitary conditions or food supplies were concerned. The shipyard provided housing and food, while the camp was responsible for supplying clothing and shoes.

The daily food rations provided no more than 800 to 1,000 calories. Prisoners who worked in the shipyard assembling submarines got additional food. Food packages were substantial help; they were sent by families of prisoners from Gotenhafen or via underground organizations operating in the city, such as the Tajny Hufiec Harcerzy (Secret Scout Regiment), Armia Krajowa (Home Army) or Gryf Pomorski (Pomeranian Griffin). The same channels provided the camp with drugs and dressing materials lacking in the hospital. Food thefts by prisoners, mainly Russians, Latvians, and Italians, from the kitchen storehouses were evidence of the hunger prevailing in camp. Polish civilian workers employed at the shipyard provided prisoners with some small help.

The supply of clothing and shoes, for which the camp was responsible, was terrible. There was a shortage of warm clothes, underwear, shoes, and tools for shoe repair, as well as shaving and haircutting instruments. The surviving portion of the commandant's correspondence with the Stutthof camp, such as his letter of January 5, 1945, in which he demanded that clothing be sent for the prisoners to replace clothes that had been destroyed during an air raid in December 1944, confirms the shortages.[8] The death rate at camp was high due to the bombings of the shipyard and camp, exhaustion from labor and lack of food, and abuse. Prisoner losses through death and transports of the seriously ill to the hospital in Stutthof were made up with new prisoners. It can be assumed that there were about 200 such replacements. All deaths were registered at Gotenhafen's Bureau of Vital Statistics, which recorded 52 deaths in November and December 1944 and 17 between January and March 1945.

The camp's location and the kind of work the prisoners did were conducive to escapes, which mostly Poles and Russians attempted. The first escapes were organized as early as October 1944, and there had been three attempts by December, all failures. The most famous escape attempt was that of two Latvians, the Gajewski brothers, who were captured and hanged in public at Stutthof. Several escapes occurred from early January until the camp was evacuated on March 25, 1945. According to official camp population reports, six prisoners were involved in them, and all were successful. The greatest number of prisoners escaped during two failed evacuation attempts on March 8 and 14, 1945.

The camp numbered approximately 700 prisoners on the day evacuation began. Several dozen people escaped en route to the port; just 618 prisoners were loaded onto small passenger ships. Their evacuation route led through Hel and Świnoujście, then to camps in Hamburg, Kiel, and Sandbostel, where some prisoners were liberated, then to Neuengamme. Tragically, they next joined the evacuation from Neuengamme to Lübeck, where they boarded ships that were bombed and sunk on May 3. About 200 prisoners survived the evacuation, as well as the several dozen who had escaped from the evacuation transport en route to the port in Gotenhafen.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 50, records of criminal case against Johannes Bank (aka Bańkowski); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-VI-4/11, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 24 (Victor Dorotic); ITS, Catalog No. Da. 294–297 I.C.1,4, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; FGNS-H, account of Victor Dorotic; M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie*,

stocznie, *okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985); E. Grot, *Rejs śmierci. Ewakuacja morska więźniów KL Stutthof 1945* (Gdańsk, 1993); E. Grot, and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1990); Cz. Jeryś, *Budownictwo okrętowe w Gdyni 1920–1945* (Gdańsk, 1980); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); A. Kaźmierczak, "Port gdyński w latach wojny," *Rocz Gd*," no. 1 (1977); J. Michałowska, "Gospodarka Gdyni w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in *Dzieje Gdyni*, ed. R. Wapiński (Wrocław, 1980).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 211–214, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeiterslagers "Deutsche Werke Gotenhafen," October 15, 1944.
2. Ibid., p. 213; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944.
3. Ibid., p. 242, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 75, dated November 8, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 99, Kuhlmann's correspondence with the clothing warehouse on sending warm clothes for 796 prisoners (no date except for the clothing warehouse initials dated December 5, 1944); FSNS-H, copy at AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 24, account of Victor Dorotic, camp senior.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle.
6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 50.
7. FGNS-H, account of Victor Dorotic; M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie*, *stocznie*, *okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985), pp. 207–210.
8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 99–103.

GRENZDORF

The first transport of approximately 70 prisoners arrived at Grenzdorf (later Graniczna Wieś) between September 10 and 13, 1939.[1] They were sent from a temporary camp for Poles arrested at the start of the war at Viktoria Schule in Danzig (later Gdańsk), after a brief stay at the delousing station in Danzig-Neufahrwasser, where their hair was cut off and they were disinfected. Until March 31, 1940, the camp was under the Danzig Prison camp command as a separate civilian prisoner camp; thereafter, it became a subcamp of Stutthof.[2] Previously, the site had housed a penal camp formed by the government of the Free City of Danzig in October 1938 for "notorious idlers," criminal prisoners serving sentences at the Schiesstange Strasse prison.

SS-Sturmführer Hertzer became the camp's first commandant; his deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Anker. They had a positive attitude toward the prisoners, making conditions at the camp bearable for them. Hertzer greeted prisoners with "Kameraden" (comrades); Anker permitted them to purchase and bring to camp tobacco and cigarettes. Prisoners were able to mail news to their families, who visited them on Sundays, bringing them fresh underwear and food.[3] Hertzer was dismissed shortly after the camp's opening, and in December 1939, SS-Obersturmführer Richard Reddig was appointed to replace him as commandant. Except for a break from February 1 to April 1, 1941, when SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Meier acted as commandant, Reddig served until the camp was dissolved. Unlike Hertzer and Anker, Reddig was a cold and emotionless camp official. Roman Bellwon and others remember that when a prisoner escaped from Grenzdorf, Reddig selected two others whom he ordered to be shot.[4] Reverend Henryk Malak quoted Reddig's greeting of a group of priests who arrived at the camp in April 1940: "Actually, if it was up to me, I'd rather shoot you all today right away! . . . But since I'm short of people to work—" He gave a broad wave of his hand, not finishing the sentence, pointing at a heavy machine gun ready to fire. "This is always waiting for you! This is a labor camp! Here you either work and earn your food, or you croak! Understood?!"[5]

Due to the hard working conditions, the Grenzdorf camp was treated as a penal detachment for the priests, political activists, and Jews from the Polish community of Danzig. Also sent to the camp in late June 1941 were 38 Soviet sailors from the ship *Magnitogorsk*, including 2 women.[6]

The prisoners worked in quarries or in the nearby gravel pit for the Danzig Senate Roads Administration.[7] Their work consisted of breaking up great stones and processing the rock into basalt cubes. With smaller rock pieces, they made gravel for use in construction or as road building material. The work was not mechanized; all operations were done by hand. Gravel and sand were transported in carts pushed by prisoners; large stones were moved on what were called "stretchers." The work, lasting about 12 hours a day, was done under the watchful and harsh supervision of guards and foreman prisoners (Kapos). Besides working in quarries, prisoners were hired out to work at farms and local companies, such as Wilhelm Thiessen's farm at Grenzdorf B.[8]

Depending on the number of prisoners, the guard staff was composed of about 30 SS men. Among the most brutal SS men were SS-Oberscharführer Brunon Krummreich, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, SS-Rottenführer Johann Plicht, and SS-Rottenführer Willi Witt, who was sentenced by the Gdańsk District Court to 10 years in prison in 1947.[9] Prisoners were also supervised during work and in camp by Polish Kapos, some of the most degenerate of whom were Józef Reiter, Wacław Kozłowski, Franciszek Szopiński, and Tadeusz Kopczyński. In 1946, they were tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court, which gave them the death penalty.[10]

The death rate at camp was very high, as accounts of former prisoners show. Many prisoners died through abuse or outright murder. Wacław Mitura recalls that there were frequent instances of suicide provoked by the SS. Some prisoners, in a state of hopelessness, crossed the white string that marked forbidden areas and were shot; others were provoked to do so by the SS men, who would take the caps from the prisoners' heads and throw them outside the line.[11] On March 20, 1940, at Grenzdorf, they buried Scoutmaster Alf

Liczmański, the commander of the Danzig Regiment of the Grey Ranks, who had been tortured at Stutthof. Liczmański had been brought from Stutthof to Grenzdorf that day by truck and was probably already dead. He was buried on the spot. His remains were exhumed and moved to the Cemetery of Merit at Zaspa on November 14, 1948.[12] The death rate among Jewish prisoners was considerably high. Almost the entire group of approximately 40 people had been slaughtered by the end of 1940.[13] Seriously ill prisoners were taken to the Stutthof hospital, and the bodies of deceased prisoners were taken to the Zaspa cemetery in Danzig.

Few prisoners tried to escape. Three such attempts are known, which all ended tragically. Max Schindler, a Jewish prisoner, tried to escape in late December 1940; he was shot to death, probably during the manhunt. In February 1940, a Pole, Kozłowski, unsuccessfully tried to escape under the pretext that he was going to the toilet just outside the fence. He was caught by local people and returned to the camp, punished with 50 lashes with a cane, then shot three days later with three other prisoners at a public execution in camp. Another prisoner, a Yugoslavian, met the same fate in 1941.[14]

The camp population stood at 350 persons in late 1939 or early 1940, then increased to 500 in late January.[15] In 1941, it sank to between 100 and 200. The quarry probably ceased operating in late October 1941, when all the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof. E. Niemann's report of October 28, 1941, confirms this, stating that Grenzdorf had been made into an educational camp. A listing of subcamps appended to a letter dated November 28, 1941, no longer includes Grenzdorf. A group of prisoners, probably the last one, left Grenzdorf on November 5, 1941.[16] Jan Starzyński contends that the branch was shut down on November 6, 1941; others say the closing date was November 10, 1941. Dr. Julian Węgrzynowicz stayed at Grenzdorf to the very end in a group of the last 20 prisoners; he confirms the camp was disbanded in November 1941.[17]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd sygn. Nos. 84, 86, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, sentence of judgment; SSK Gd Sygn. No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against John Paul and others in 1946; AK-IPN Gd Sygn. No. Ds. 76/64, witness examination reports of Stanisław Dalecki and Antoni Janiewicz; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IA-1, I-IA-2, I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp's change in status; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IVB-4, records of Stutthof concentration camp's Administration and Management Division; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Starzyński, vol. 4; Julian Węgrzynowicz, vol. 6; Alfons Pillath, vol. 9); Cmentarz-Zaspa (Zaspa Cemetery), compiled by A. Chudy; *Dan Vorp*, July 26, 1939; *Gdańsk 1939.* Brunon Zwarra *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); H.M. Malak, *Klechy w obozach śmierci* (Londyn, 1961); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); M. Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," *Stutthof. Zeszyty Muzeum*, no. 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Zygfryd Kurowski; see also the account of Roman Bellwon, Bruno Kobiella, Maksymilian Kempiński, and Jan Samulski; according to Alfons Pillath this happened on September 10, 1939; he provides the transport's approximate size: from 50 to 70 people; also see AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:171. For other dates, see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 282 (September 27, 1939).

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-4.

3. *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Roman Chrzanowski and Eryk Falów.

4. Ibid., and account of Maksymilian Kempiński.

5. H.M. Malak, *Klechy w obozach śmierci* (Londyn, 1961), 1:58.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:240–241, account of Captain Dalek (Dalko, Polish spelling) of the ship *Magnitogorsk*; M. Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945, *StZeMu*, no. 10, (1992): 14.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-2, letter of R. Glücks to H. Himmler dated January 30, 1940.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49866, I-III-50004, files of prisoners Franciszek Żmudziewski and Jan Stodokiewicz; AK-IPN Gd (Commission Archives—National Memorial Institute at Gdańsk), Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 78–80; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:218–221, account of Jan Starzyński; 9:171–173, Alfons Pillath.

9. AK-IPN, SO Gd (Commission Archives—National Memorial Institute, Gdańsk District Court), Catalog Nos. 84, 86.

10. AK-IPN, SSK Gd (Commission Archives, Gdańsk Special Criminal Court), Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others.

11. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, p. 79; see also AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

12. AMS, Cmentarz-Zaspa (Zaspa Cemetery), compiled by A. Chudy; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:287–291, account of A.J. Pilarczyk; *Gdańsk 1939*, pp. 213, 219–220, account of Maksymilian Kempiński and B. Zwarra's explanation, fn. 49.

13. AK-IPN, SO, Catalog No. S.3/72, report of examination of witness Stanisław Dalecki; J. Matynia, Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof, w latach 1939–1945," Ph.D. diss., Gdańsk Teachers College, 1969, p. 76.

14. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); AMS,

Zaspa Cemetery, compiled by A. Chudy; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4: 222, account of Jan Starzyński.

15. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-1, Dok. Nor. (Nuremberg Document) NO-2275, Hildebrandt's report on the SS-Wachsturmbann operations to H. Himmler dated January 9, 1940; Catalog No. I-IA-2, letter of R. Glücks to H. Himmler dated January 30, 1940, on prisoner camp operations in the Vistula district.

16. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49886, I-III-50004, I-III-50075, files of prisoners Franciszek Żmudziewski, Jan Stodokiewicz, and Stanisław Kaliszewski.

17. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-4, report of E. Niemann; Catalog No. I-IE-999, files of SS-man Erdmann Schendel; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6: 237–238, account of Julian Węgrzynowicz; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. 418, p. 30, testimony of Jan Starzyński.

GROSS LESEWITZ

A camp at Gross Lesewitz (Lasowice Wielkie) was first mentioned in early 1940. In his account, Reverend Alfons Muzalewski recalled that a group of prisoners sent from the Gestapo prison on Schiesstange in Danzig, including Reverend Władysław Szymański, were sent to work on a farm. They were treated with hostility and abused. Reverend Szymański's back was covered with bruises from beatings, and his foot was pierced by a pitchfork. When the work was completed, the prisoners were sent to the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser.[1]

According to another account, in October 1939, a large number of Poles from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp were sent in narrow-gauge railway cars to work at farms in Żuławy. One of the groups, composed of approximately 40 Poles, worked at a farm in Gross Lesewitz. The author of the account stated that they worked under "rather decent conditions" until March 19, 1940. The detachment was reduced to 20 people after January 1, 1940.[2] There were probably two detachments working at different times and at different farms.

In the autumn of 1944, a group of Stutthof camp prisoners, the number of whom is hard to determine, were sent to Gross Lesewitz again, where they were put to work in the local sugar mill—a branch of the sugar mill in Marienburg (Malbork). The testimony of former Stutthof prisoners confirms the detachment's existence.[3]

The prisoners were housed on the farms in Gross Lesewitz and Klein Lesewitz (Lasowice Małe), where they also did farmwork. No additional information is available on this detachment. The subcamp's commandant and staff remain unidentified. The prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944.

SOURCES The following source, in addition to those mentioned in "Stuthoff Main Camp," was consulted in writing this entry: *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), p. 372.

2. Ibid., pp. 520, 522, account of Józef Tusk.

3. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 282.

HEILIGENBEIL

The Heiligenbeil camp was created by special order of the Stutthof commandant on September 21, 1944, as one of five identically organized subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields (the others being Gerdauen, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).

The first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners (900 women and 100 men, mainly from Hungary and Poland but also from Latvia and Germany) was sent on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women arrived on October 9. SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Kleiss was the first commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Mayer on October 18, by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Karl Thulke on November 20, and then by SS-Sturmscharführer Wolföfer on January 3, 1945. Besides the 46 Luftwaffe soldiers who guarded the airfield, 2 SS women served as supervisors: Erna Beilhardt and Erna Neumann. The entire camp premises were also guarded by 6 guards at permanent posts around the camp.[1] According to Beilhardt's testimony given at trial in Gdańsk in 1946, she completed six weeks of training at Stutthof, then left for Heiligenbeil as a German Red Cross nurse.[2]

The prisoners lived in 20 barracks, where they had double-decker bunks lined with straw. There were also French prisoner-of-war (POW) camps and a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp for Russian forced laborers nearby. The prisoners were put to work building a road to the airfield; the Organisation Todt (OT) supervised the engineering. Work began at 6:00 A.M. and ended at 7:00 P.M., with an hour's break when prisoners received some unsweetened black coffee. The RAD kitchen made food for the prisoners using regulation ration amounts, which were actually half of that recommended by the SS authorities. The sole small assistance the Jews got in the way of extra food was from the French POWs and the Russians—mostly potato peels or coffee.[3]

Thulke testified at a group trial of Stutthof staff in 1947 that while he commanded the camp from November 20, 1944, to January 2, 1945, the prisoners' food was good; he checked it himself. He was also present when bread was distributed. On the other hand, he confirmed the fact that only half of the prisoners (600 people) went out to work and that there were 4 or 5 deaths during his tenure. This testimony is questionable, because the highest mortality at camp was in November and December 1944, when an epidemic of typhoid fever had broken out.[4]

A lack of suitable clothing made the prisoners' situation worse. On October 1, 1944, the subcamp's commandant sent

an urgent letter to Stutthof's administration, requesting warm clothes and the tools and materials to mend them. In its report dated October 27, the camp command requested the urgent delivery of gloves, underwear, women's dresses and skirts, stockings, and foot wrappings, as well as thread, nails, and so on, to mend clothes and shoes. The camp barber also needed haircutting instruments. The subcamp received the items five days later.[5]

When winter arrived, the prisoners' situation got even worse. Upon taking up command of the subcamp in early January 1945, Commandant Wolföfer said the state of prisoner provisioning was "disastrous." In his report of January 4, 1945, he said that 260 Jewish women could not work, as there was no footwear for them. Another 262 people were in the infirmary; their shoes had been assigned to healthy prisoners. The commandant requested machinery to set up a clothing and shoe repair workshop, but it is not known if the order was filled, since the camp evacuation date was approaching.

The records are incomplete, but considering the bad living conditions, hard labor, and epidemics of typhoid fever, the camp's death rate does not appear to have been high. The sick rate was appreciably higher. More seriously ill people were moved to the hospital at Stutthof, where some prisoners died; the numbers are difficult to establish. A female prisoner/doctor from the camp and the airfield doctor cared for sick prisoners;[6] 10 such prisoners can be identified based on fragmentary camp doctor reports on deaths at the subcamps, as well as studies of prisoner records. The records cover the period from late October 1944 to early January 1945.[7]

The records also mention women wounded or killed during alleged escape attempts. A report of October 29, 1944, stated that Basia Littmann, a Jewish woman, was shot while trying to escape; another Jewish woman received a gunshot wound in the chest and died as a result. It is difficult to ascertain whether these were really escape attempts. The women may have simply left their workplace briefly, which was regarded as an escape attempt. Planning an escape under those conditions and at that time held little promise of success.[8] The Russian front was still quite distant at this stage, for one thing.

There were 1,157 inmates in camp, including 1,064 women and 93 men, when the prisoners were evacuated toward Königsberg on January 20–21, 1945, together with prisoners from the other subcamps in East Prussia.[9] Since there was no communication with Stutthof, the decision to evacuate the camp was probably made by East Prussian Gauleiter Erich Koch's staff. Apparently, the intent was to send the prisoners toward the port of Pilau and then on to Hamburg, a concentration point for prisoners from Stutthof and Neuengamme. Sick prisoners were left in Heiligenbeil. Many prisoners became weak during the march; the weakest were driven the rest of the way to Königsberg in vehicles.[10]

The second stage of the evacuation probably began at dawn on January 26, or perhaps a day earlier, before Russian forces surrounded Königsberg. Koch's staff had already decided what to do with the prisoners. At the suggestion of Gerhard Rasch, the director of the amber manufacturing works in Königsberg, they intended to slaughter all the prisoners in tunnels in nearby Palmnicken. They were either going to gas the prisoners, blow them up with dynamite, or suffocate them inside the tunnels after sealing up the openings. The commandants of the camps were supposed to escort the prisoners to Palmnicken.

According to various sources, from 3,000 up to as many as 10,000 prisoners of Stutthof subcamps left Königsberg, but the high figure is probably exaggerated, considering that there were approximately 5,000 prisoners in all the East Prussian subcamps in late January 1945. However, if POWs and prisoners from the labor camps operating near Luftwaffe airfields are included in this estimate, the number could be on the higher side.[11]

Even before the march out of Königsberg, the guards shot some of the prisoners in the Steinfurt works, where the prisoners had been accommodated; later they shot emaciated and sick prisoners during the march, pulling them out of the ranks and murdering them. A few were successful in escaping from the march column. On the night of January 26–27, 1945, approximately 4,000 prisoners reached Palmnicken.[12] Due to the objection of amber works director Landmann and Major Feyerabend, steward of the Dorbnicken, Gross-Hubnicken, and Palmnicken estates, where the works were located, the prisoners were not annihilated in the tunnels. They were sent toward the sea in columns of 50 prisoners under heavy escort by the SS, Lithuanian and Estonian SS-Osttruppen (Hiwis), and the OT. The massacre of the prisoners began when they reached the shore. Approximately 200 prisoners managed to escape during the shooting; 13 additional people survived the massacre by feigning death.[13]

Out of the Heiligenbeil staff members, Thulke and Beilhardt were held criminally responsible. In 1946–1947, Polish courts sentenced each of them to five years' imprisonment.[14]

SOURCES Key resouces included: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 84, 85, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, sentence of judgement; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others in 1946; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; Microfilm No. 215, accounts of former Jewish prisoners from the collections of the AŻIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); S. Krakowski, *Marsze śmierci z podobozów KL Stutthof w rejonie Królewca. Materiały sesji naukowej nt. Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945* (Sztutowo, 1994); S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994); S. Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau," *Tyg Pł*, January 17, 2001.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 113, Wolföfer to Kommandantur KL Stutthof, dated January 4, 1945.

2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others, report of examination of Erna Beilhardt.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial; AMS, Microfilm No. 215, Jewish accounts from the collections of the AŻIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 107–108.

6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49618, I-III-48376, personal files of Basia Littmann and Jenka Schuster.

9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp's population.

10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Irena Redner.

11. See S. Krakowski, *Marsze śmierci z podobozów KL Stutthof w rejonie Królewca. Materiały sesji naukowej nt. Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945* (Sztutowo, 1994); See S. Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau," *Tyg Pł*, January 17, 2001.

12. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Fryda Gabrylewicz; YVA, Catalog No. 03/5690, testimony of Róża Krajkowska-Ajzenberg.

13. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, accounts of witnesses of the massacre; see S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994): 379–381; see Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau."

14. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 422; SO Gd, Catalog No. 86.

HOPEHILL [ALSO REIMANNSFELDE]

The administrative order that specifically created the Hopehill subcamp does not exist in the Stutthof records. However, there is an order from the commandant dated May 29, 1942, that names SS men for administrative positions. SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kuhlmann was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm and SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Korsch.[1]

Over 50 SS men served at Hopehill (Witowo), over half of whom were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) from Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary; the rest were German nationals.[2] Among them, the Germans—such as Kurt Janzen, Paul Wellnitz, Heinz Löwen, Alfred Tissler, and Waldemar Henke—were unusually brutal toward prisoners. On the other hand, former prisoners have emphasized their good treatment from Polish and especially from Croatian SS men.

Prisoner-functionaries supplemented the staff. Among the most cruel—just as brutal as the German SS men—were German prisoners in the positions of senior prisoner foreman and prisoner foreman (Oberkapo and Kapo), mainly Willy Narius, Tony Köhl, Hans Senger, Peter Flink, and August Sauter.

The prisoners were hired out to the SS company Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). The first detachment consisted of 40 prisoners. The next group came in two transports from Flossenbürg and Mauthausen. The inmates were chiefly Germans (including numerous criminals) and Polish political prisoners. They held key administrative and supervisory positions in the barracks and work groups.

In July 1943, DESt took over the management of the Reimannsfelde (Nadbrezie, later Nadbrzeże) brickyard, which was considerably more modern and efficient. At that point, the camp was expanded, and the quarters were moved to nearby Reimannsfelde.

The prisoners were initially housed in a single-level brick building. The average prisoner population at that time was approximately 60 to 70 people. A few hundred yards from the building, the prisoners could see the high smokestacks and factory buildings of the brickyard. There was a makeshift storehouse in the attic for the bodies of dead prisoners, which were carted away every 10 days to the crematorium at Stutthof. Until October 1942, living and sanitary conditions were not the worst they would become, although overcrowding and the primitive sanitary facilities precluded ordinary hygiene. The situation degenerated with the arrival of autumn weather. The sick rate rose because of upper respiratory infections, and there was an outbreak of lice due to inadequate living and sanitary conditions; an epidemic was averted only because the entire camp was disinfected, and prisoner hygiene was enforced to some extent.[3]

Until mid-1944, prisoner doctor Dr. Aleksander Witkowski provided only emergency outpatient treatment. As a result, the death rate in the subcamp remained high, but a separate infirmary was set up in mid-1944, when the number of deaths reached a peak. By the spring of 1944, there was an SS medical orderly on the camp staff. According to (incomplete) records, an average of three prisoners died per week, and the camp lost at least the same number of sick to the Stutthof camp hospital.[4]

In early November 1942, the prisoners' striped summer uniforms were replaced with winter ones, without winter coats. Their inadequate clothes provided little protection; prisoners used various materials such as newspapers or empty cement sacks to supplement their uniforms.[5] Only in late 1944 or early 1945 were they issued winter clothing. In correspondence dated from November 1944 to January 1945, Commandant Korsch reported difficulties supplying prisoners with

warm clothes and footwear. In his report of January 3, 1945, he stated that the prisoners had not received a fresh change of underwear since October 4; he requested the express delivery of 300 pairs of long underwear and shirts, foot wrappings, and sewing materials to mend the winter uniforms.[6]

The prisoners' food, which the Stutthof camp administration provided, consisted of starvation rations. In the initial period of the subcamp's operation, working conditions in the kitchen were very hard due to lack of space, poor sanitary conditions, and meager food rations. The average daily intake throughout the entire period from 1942 to 1945 was approximately 1,500 to 1,800 calories; in 1942, it was less than 1,000 calories, especially because prisoners could only receive food packages beginning in late 1942.[7]

Approximately 300 prisoners occupied the camp as of mid-1943. That represented the peak population, although the constant replacement of dead or ill prisoners meant that the number of prisoners who lived there at one time or another was much higher—about 500. Poles constituted the largest group at the camp (approximately 50 percent), followed by Germans and Russians. There were also groups from Estonia, France, Lithuania, and Latvia.

The workday in the brickyards was 11 to 12 hours long. The group that operated the kiln worked the longest, divided into two shifts. Although the Hopehill brickyard was a partially mechanized facility, most work was done by hand. The Reimannsfelde brickyard, on the other hand, was a modern and fully mechanized plant; its output was twice that of the Hopehill brickyard.

Conditions in the detachment improved in late 1943 when a French Alsatian, Anton Köhl, became Oberkapo, and Poles took over most functionary positions from German criminals. Living conditions in camp also improved when the infirmary was set up after Dr. Lech Duszyński became doctor in January 1944, followed in June 1944 by Dr. Stanisław Kruszewski and Dr. Roman Łoziński. Camp life had become appreciably more liberal in comparison to the 1942–1943 period, when the German Narius was camp Oberkapo and there was an atmosphere of terror and incessant persecution. Prisoner cultural activities developed semiofficially on a previously unprecedented scale, such as carving amber extracted from the clay hill, cultural evenings held in the Polish barracks (literary and musical events and political discussions based on Nazi publications to which the camp subscribed), and even wrestling and boxing competitions held on January 1, 1945.

There was not even one escape attempt in 1942, because the supervisory regimen was so strict. In 1943, three attempts were recorded. One was really a suicide (the prisoner consciously crossed the line of guard posts), and another ended when an SS man caught and shot the prisoner. Narius attempted to escape in late August, as a direct result of the rivalry between German and Polish prisoners. He was caught and met the same fate as the previous fugitive.[8] There were several more escapes in 1944, five of which were successful. Three other escape attempts ended in failure, with the fugitives being captured and punished, usually by whipping.[9]

The subcamp's history included an event that was extremely famous throughout Stutthof, involving the murder of an Estonian prisoner by Oberkapo Köhl and his accomplices, which interrupted a time of relative peace and security after the initial harsh phase. Rumors circulated that a prisoner had been burned alive in the brick kiln, which was untrue. However, the rumor prompted a thorough investigation by officials from Stutthof headquarters and the removal from office of commandant Kuhlmann, labor director Janzen, and Oberkapo Köhl (sentenced to death by the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA]), who were found to be jointly conducting prohibited communications with the outside.

The subcamp was disbanded pursuant to an order from the Stutthof commandant dated January 26, 1945 (although former prisoners maintain that it occurred on January 19). When the prisoners returned from the brickyard at noon, there was a final roll call; they were each issued 500 grams (approximately 18 ounces) of bread and about 127 grams (4.5 ounces) of margarine. A cleanup crew of about 50 inmates stayed at Nadbrzeże; they returned to Stutthof the next day.[10]

Eight staff members and prisoner-functionaries were tried by Polish courts after the war. Wellnitz received the death penalty; Martin Stagl got eight years in prison. SS men Löwen, Tissler, and Henke were sentenced to five years in prison, and Jan Alfred Wróbel received a seven-month prison sentence. Of the two prisoner foremen, Jan Breit received the death penalty, while Paul Wiechern was acquitted.[11]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, 79, 86, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others, sentences of judgment; Catalog No. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls, sentence of judgment and justification; SWGd. Catalog No. 37, judgment and justification in the trial of 26 accused criminals from the Stutthof concentration camp of November 29, 1947; the "Ob." Collection, Catalog No. 105 ob. (surveys, Stanisław Wojcieszek); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters; Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29, 31 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-2-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Lasik, Stutthof; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Lech Duszyński, vol. 9; Tadeusz Cieplik, vol. 18); BA-BL, NS 3, Catalog No. 138, correspondence of DESt with Amtsgruppe W at the WVHA; Rijksinsitut Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam (account of Paul Wiechern); J. Maitre, *Konzentrationslager Stutthof 1943–1945*, (Lyon, 1973) (typescript at AMS); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); T. Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela z lat wojny, okupacji i niewoli. Czas grozy i poniżenia* (Zakopane, 1984). See also M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,"

StZeMu, no. 10 (1992); M. Orski, *Hopehill. Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Nadbrzeżu* (Gdańsk, 1994); Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters.

2. See AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

3. T. Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela z lat wojny, okupacji i niewoli. Czas grozy i poniżenia* (A teacher's memoirs of the years of war, occupation, and captivity. A time of terror and humiliation) (Zakopane, 1984) (typescript at AMS), pp. 670, 774–778.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 81a, p. 69, witness examination report, testimony of Dr. Lech Duszyński of 1945; AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29, 31 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-2-5, Veränderungsbücher.

5. Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, p. 693.

6. W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), p. 140; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.

7. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 289, testimony of Dr. Lech Duszyński at Stutthof concentration camp staff trial in 1947; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, p. 123; Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, pp. 670–671.

8. AMS, Einlieferungsbuch, Catalog No. I-IIE-5, p. 248; Standesamt, Catalog No. Z-V-15.

9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog Nos. I-III-17787, I-III-17787, I-III-16862, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 11: 152–153, account of Lech Duszyński; Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, p. 8; Rijksinsitut Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, account of Paul Wiechern; AK-IPN, the "Ob." Collection, surveys, Catalog No. 105 ob., report of testimony given by Stanisław Wojcieszek at the Elbląg Office of the Polish Red Cross.

10. BA-BL, NS 3, SS-Wirtschaftsundverwaltungshauptamt, Catalog No. 138, Mummenthey (DESt) to Baier (Amtsgruppe W, SS-WVHA) dated March 8, 1945 (Abwicklung der Aussendienststelle Stutthof-Reimannsfelde); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 27: 74, account of Tadeusz Cieplik; see also Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 152—he shifts the date that the prisoners returned to the parent camp by two days.

11. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 79, 86; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422; SW Gd, Catalog No. 37, sentences of judgment and justification.

JESAU

The Jesau (later Yuzhnyy in Russia) subcamp was located on the premises of a Luftwaffe airfield in East Prussia (there were four other similar subcamps established on the same day, September 21, 1944, at Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen). The first prisoner transport sent to the camp on September 23, 1944, consisted of 1,000 Jews: 900 women and 100 men. On October 9, 1944, a convoy of 250 Jewish women and 100 Jewish men arrived in Jesau.[1]

A fighter-bomber division of the Wehrmacht was stationed at the airfield. In February 1944, they began testing a fighter aircraft there, a rocket-powered Messerschmitt (Me) 163B interceptor designed by Willy Messerschmitt. A Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was also set up in airfield buildings, followed by a camp for 100 prisoners brought from the penitentiary labor camp at Działdowo (Soldau) in December 1944.[2]

SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Stock was named camp commandant on September 21, 1944. He served in that post as long as the subcamp existed. On October 11, 1944, he was assigned the help of two SS women, Erna Böttcher and Anneliese Glaw;[3] 46 Luftwaffe soldiers served guard duty while the prisoners worked, and 6 other guards kept watch over the camp premises.

Women prisoners were outfitted for the trip with a coat, a sweater, a dress, underwear, a bandana used to cover the head, fresh stockings, socks, and wooden shoes.[4] Women prisoners from the first transport to Jesau confirm that conditions at camp were good at first. Jesau had its own prisoner kitchen, which was supplied by Stutthof, and so no one went hungry. The food was adequate: for instance, for breakfast they would receive a half a liter (half a quart) of oatmeal cooked in milk with some sugar. Every three weeks they were issued extra food, such as canned meat.[5] Nonetheless, as Dina Hercberg confirms in her account, selections were conducted at the camp every few weeks—not just among the sick but among healthy people who were avoiding work.

The prisoners were housed in barracks, and each had his or her own bunk and blanket. They began work at 6:00 A.M. They were put to work clearing woods, building roads, digging antitank trenches, and laying train rails. Sewing and shoemaker shops, where clothing and shoes were mended, were set up in camp in late autumn, where older and sick people worked.[6]

Although the prisoners had been outfitted well for the trip, their summer clothing proved to be inadequate when the autumn rainy season and chilly winds came, and their shoes also deteriorated quickly due to the muddy ground. According to Stock's report of October 27, 1944, there were 1,249 female prisoners and only 200 male prisoners living in camp at that time; thus, only 1 person had died or was shipped off. The problem of the lack of winter supplies applied to all Stutthof subcamps at the time. When Commandant Stock asked if the warehouse at the Stutthof main camp had winter clothing and footwear, the warehouse manager, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, said that he had nothing but civilian coats and no shoes. Two weeks later the subcamp got some underwear, shirts, dresses, underclothing, gloves, foot wrappings, and leather shoes, as well as materials to mend clothing and shoes. The allotments did not fill all the shortages. A shipment of 500 pairs of women's shoes and 100 pairs of men's shoes arrived at Jesau on November 24, 1944.[7]

In late November 1944 the prisoners' situation got even worse. A report dated November 28, 1944, signed on behalf of the commandant by Anneliese Glaw, says that the clothing received in the last shipment (November 10, 1944) had only made up for the greatest shortages and was extremely inadequate in quantity. The biggest problem was the supply of wooden shoes. The shipment of 600 pairs of shoes in late November had not relieved the footwear shortage. The shoes had been delivered in poor condition, so that shortly thereafter the prisoners were unable to go out to work. The workers in the shoemaker shop labored day and night but could not keep up with the need for shoe repair, for which there was still a shortage of materials.

A Polish Jewish woman, Dora Hauptman, recalled that despite their hunger and the cold they were forced to do hard labor in light shoes and summer clothes. The guards often beat prisoners during work. They were issued rutabaga soup and a piece of bread for dinner. Under these conditions, many Jewish women died every day.[8]

The camp's evacuation began on January 21, 1945. The prisoner count report dated January 24, 1945, listed 1,086 prisoners, including 888 women and 198 men.[9] That was 264 people less than the early camp population, many of whom died in camp or had been hospitalized at the Stutthof hospital. Surviving hospital records do not contain any figures on the death rate at the Jesau subcamp. Additional prisoner transports probably were not sent to Jesau to replace the dead or the sick who had been moved to the Stutthof camp. The number of items of prisoner clothing ordered in late November 1944 corresponded with the number of prisoners then living in the camp, which suggests that no replacement prisoners were sent.

The columns of evacuated prisoners were herded on foot toward Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg), escorted by Luftwaffe soldiers under Commandant Stock and the two SS women. In Königsberg, the prisoners were put in a factory bunker on the premises of the Steinfurt railroad car factory, together with prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Seerappen subcamps as well as those who were put to work in Königsberg itself.[10] Their subsequent fates were similar to those of the Heiligenbeil prisoners (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

SOURCES The following sources were used in writing this essay, in addition to those listed in "Stutthof Subcamp System:" AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Microfilm No. 215, copies of accounts from the collections of the AŻIH and YV in Jerusalem; Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners from Stutthof concentration camp; S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994); S. Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau," *Tyg Pł*, January 17, 2001; D. Vat Van Der, *Albert Speer: Życie i kłamstwa* (Warsaw: Philip Wilson, 1997).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208; Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.
2. Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, from http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl.
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 207, Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.
4. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Bronisława Krakauer.
5. YVA, Catalog No. 03/2279, testimony of Dina Hercberg.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Stock to Knott dated November 28, 1944.
7. Ibid.
8. S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994): 364–365.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Frida Gabrylewicz, Bronisława Krakauer, and Irena Redner.

KÄSEMARK

The subcamp at Käsemark (Kiezmark), a town located 26 kilometers (16 miles) from Danzig, operated between October 21, 1939, and October 25, 1941.[1] The dates that prisoners began and ended their work on the Wagner farm are listed in prisoner files.[2] The detachment was probably initiated during a period of intense farmwork from 1939 to 1941. It was initially under the command of the civilian detention camp at Neufahrwasser, and after that subcamp was shut down, it fell under the Stutthof camp.

In Käsemark, near the pontoon bridge over the Vistula River, there was a place where prisoners were collected in early October 1939. German farmers, seeking to put them to work on their farms, gathered there to collect the prisoners. A former prisoner, Bruno Zwarra, recounts the following about this: "I was put in a group of prisoners who wanted to work on farms, and we were loaded up and taken to Gdańsk [Danzig]. In about fifteen minutes, we stopped in a long line on Burgstrasse [later Grodzka Ulica in Gdańsk], where we waited to be loaded onto a coastal steamer. . . . We approached the pontoon bridge outside of Käsemark, but that's not what interested us; rather, it was the long line of carts along the embankment on the Żuławy [West Prussia] side. The local farmers were waiting for us in a meadow by the river."[3] Besides the entries in prisoner records, no other information has been established as to how the detachment was organized, its size, period of operation, and casualties.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49878, I-III-50013, files of prisoners Józef Wiorek and Ludwik Polak.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-50244, files of prisoner Marian Kamiński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 284.

3. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984), pp. 42–43; explanations of B. Zwarra, pp. 585–586; see also the accounts of Wiesław Arleta, Antoni Leszczyński, and Mieczysław Leszczyński.

KÖNIGSBERG

The subcamp at Königsberg (later Kaliningrad in Russia) was formed on August 19, 1944, pursuant to a special order that the Stutthof commandant issued a day earlier.[1] Some 500 Jewish prisoners were selected for the subcamp from transports that had come to Stutthof in early August from Kauen (Kaunas, Kovno) and Riga. The prisoners were transported from the landing at Stutthof by boat to the Schichau Werke in Königsberg. SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tänzer was named camp commandant; upon his dismissal on September 6, 1944, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm. The position changed hands again on October 4, 1944, when SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Weber took over from Böhm. He served in that post until the camp was disbanded and the prisoners were evacuated in late January 1945.[2]

Initially, 15 SS men from the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion were assigned to supervise the detachment. Later, the guard staff was increased to 18 SS men. Two prisoner doctors were picked for the transport. The order stated that proper medical care was to be provided by the local SS doctor and company doctor who were assigned the help of an orderly, SS-Oberschütze Rudolf Achs. The company kitchen was responsible for providing food for the prisoners.

The prisoners were hired out to Waggonfabrik Steinfurt Königsberg GmbH (the Steinfurt railroad car factory), which specialized in such things as constructing dual-axle second-class cars for the Prussian narrow-gauge railway lines. The company also manufactured locomotives. Narrow-gauge railways, such as the one in Treuburg, were equipped with these cars and locomotives. Prisoners were put to work at the Steinfurt railroad car factory building and repairing cars.[3] In addition to the factory, prisoners were also hired out to work at the Schichau-Werft (shipyard) in Königsberg.[4]

From the moment the subcamp started operating, the hard and dangerous labor and the shortages in the prisoners' supplies of basic gear, clothing, and shoes tended to use up their strength quickly. Although the order from headquarters had promised enough cleaning supplies, blankets, and other amenities, the subcamp's commandant struggled with great difficulty to maintain efficiency from the very start. Most prisoners were put to work as assistants, although professional qualifications for working in the factory were considered when prisoners were selected for the camp. Many of the prisoners concealed their true occupations; hoping to get out of camp, they counted on an improvement in their situations and the help of civilians. In his report of September 3, 1944, Commandant Tänzer stated that the majority of prisoners had no skills to work in specialist positions. The camp administration also abandoned the training of 28 prisoners who had initially been selected from the entire group. Since they were unaccustomed to the hard and dangerous jobs of operating machines, those prisoners would most likely suffer serious injuries on the job. For example, on August 25, 1944, a sheet-metal-cutting machine tore off three finger pads from a prisoner's right hand, which prevented him from working for six weeks.[5]

Letters to the clothing warehouse from October to December 1944 requested the urgent delivery of not only clothes and shoes but also hair clippers (which were requested twice to no avail) and tools to mend clothes and shoes (a shoemaker's last, thread, nails, wire brushes, thimbles, sewing yarn, and shoe tar, for instance). On November 9, 1944, the commandant reported the pressing need for delivery of 300 new pairs of shoes to replace irreparably worn footwear. The order was filled a week later, as confirmed by warehouse clothing manager SS-Unterscharführer Knott's initials. Subsequent correspondence shows that the camp made many more requests for additional supplies, to which it received in response mainly offers of materials and tools to mend clothing and footwear and, to a lesser extent, clothes. Among the exceptions was a delivery of gloves for the 470 prisoners living in the camp on December 18, 1944.[6]

Prisoners who were ill or extremely emaciated from labor were removed to the Stutthof main camp, the first transport of which left within one month of the subcamp's opening;[7] 50 men returned to the subcamp, and former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello says that they did not even look like animals, let alone humans. He was left with the impression of randomly moving skeletons with unseeing eyes and legs dragging about the ground.[8]

The highest death rate in camp was recorded in November and December 1944. The incomplete records of the camp doctor's department and the camp administration confirm the deaths of over a dozen people by January 4, 1945. The most frequent causes of death were what was termed "an overall debilitation of the organism" and heart diseases.[9]

There were 462 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945.[10] The evacuation of all prisoners from Königsberg took place two days later, on January 26. Prior to evacuation, the

prisoners were concentrated in a factory bunker, which also held transports from the remaining five subcamps in East Prussia. In addition to the Steinfurt plant, they were also put in a twine factory and in barracks in the Kalthof section.[11] They were escorted toward Palmnicken (later Yantarnyy). Commandant Weber and the group of SS men from the subcamp at the Steinfurt factory were also in the columns' escort. The subsequent plight of the subcamp's prisoners was the same as that of the prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Jesau camps (for details, see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil and Stutthof/Jesau).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 153–154, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Königsberg Pr.
2. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, Nos. 60 and 67 of September 6 and October 5, 1944.
3. Archives of the Olecko Narrow-Gauge Railway, at www.koleje.wm.olecko.pl.
4. Aldo Coradello's 1946 testimony indicates this (AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31), as does the fact that the transport docked at the Schichau shipyard landing.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, Arbeitsbericht v. 19.8.–2.9.1944 an die Kommandantur des KL Stutthof.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 137–141.
7. Former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello noted that fact in his camp recollections, which were used in the 1946 trial of the Stutthof camp murderers.
8. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31.
9. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-VB-7.
10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.
11. ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; copies at YVA, Catalog No. TR-10/1327.

LAUENBURG [AKA SS-UNTERFÜHRERSCHULE LAUENBURG]

The Lauenburg (later Lębork) subcamp was formed on April 1, 1942. It was located on the premises of an SS noncommissioned officers' (NCOs) school and thus was also called SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg. Its formation was directly connected to a labor detachment of Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners that had existed in the same place since November 11, 1941. The detachment was probably disbanded around March 20, 1942, and the prisoners went back to Buchenwald. On March 23, 1942, another transport of 114 prisoners was sent from Buchenwald to Lauenburg. An order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) dated March 28, 1942, confirmed that effective April 1 the Buchenwald detachment was being disbanded and regrouped as a Stutthof subcamp with the same prisoners.[1]

Only in mid-April 1942, as Stutthof's administration was taking over from the Buchenwald camp, were the 114 prisoners, mostly Russians and Poles, listed in the Stutthof camp personnel files under the numbers 13161–13274. The entire transport had been registered under the date of April 14, 1942. (Researchers provide different dates for the subcamp's formation. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says it was established in the summer or autumn of 1944, while J. Matynia says autumn 1941. The others, such as M. Gliński, think that the Stutthof subcamp was formed when a group of prisoners came to Lauenburg [or rather their registration was transferred over to the Stutthof camp's records] and provide the wrong size and numeration for the transport.) Two dates should be distinguished in the detachment's operation: April 1, 1942, refers to the formal creation of a camp under the command of Stutthof concentration camp, while April 14, 1942, is the date that the same group of prisoners was registered in the camp's records.[2]

The position of camp or detachment leader changed hands often over the nearly three years of the subcamp's operation. When the position was unoccupied, a Blockführer appointed by the commandant fulfilled this role. The position of camp leader was filled in succession by SS-Rottenführer Herbert Korsch from an unspecified date in April to October 25, 1942; SS-Oberscharführer Gottfried Heering from October 25 through December 9, 1942; SS-Scharführer Kurt Zemke from December 10 to December 28, 1942; SS-Unterscharführer Leopold Wanninger from December 28, 1942, to March 10, 1943; SS-Unterscharführer Ewald Foth to March 20, 1943; then SS-Scharführer Johannes Meyer until July 31, 1943. SS-Unterscharführer Fritz Peters was director of the camp from August 1, 1943, to October 30, 1944. The last camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Emil Dreher, was appointed to the position on November 30, 1944.

The detachment's population probably did not require additional guard forces. The number of prisoners, of whom there were 114 at the start, kept decreasing due to deaths or transports of the sick to the Stutthof hospital. The dead were removed to the crematorium at Stutthof or buried in common graves in the woods. There is a common grave of 28 deceased prisoners at the Lębork cemetery.

The constantly fluctuating prisoner population provides evidence of regular replacement transports, usually once or twice a year. One such transport arrived at Lauenburg in 1942.[3] On April 27, 1942, there were 72 people in the detachment; on

March 29, 1943, there were 24; on September 15, 1944, there were 55; and just before evacuation in late January 1945, there were 53 prisoners.[4] Perhaps young SS men from the NCO school were assigned to supervise them. Officials from the command staff also served as supervisors in the posts of work group supervisors and block leaders. For instance, up until December 9, 1942, SS-Scharführer Sebastian Schmidt was assigned as second Kommandoführer (G. Heering was the first Kommandoführer) to provide additional supervision.

The detachment was quartered in the basement of the SS NCO school; it was wet and cold because there were no windows. The prisoners were put to work expanding the school, doing building and renovating there, as well as building a shooting range nearby in the woods. They worked from dawn until night. Prisoners carried the bricks and wooden beams to build the shooting range five kilometers (three miles) on their backs. They pulled carts with sand along rails, hurried on by SS men stationed every 50 feet and by prisoner foremen. Among the most brutal SS men were Fritz Peters and Ewald Foth. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced both to death in 1947. The position of construction detachment leader was held by the German criminal prisoner Karl Kliefoth, later the camp elder and first overseer at Stutthof. He was tried by a federal court in Hamburg in 1950 but acquitted of all charges. German criminal prisoners served in supervisory jobs.[5]

Besides the brutal supervision and starvation food rations, there were also clothing and shoe shortages. The surviving portion of the subcamp leader's correspondence with the clothing warehouse is from the final months of 1944. The correspondence reported that the summer clothing had been worn out in mid-September 1944 and that there was also a shortage of winter clothes, underwear, and shoes. The commandant requested the urgent delivery of tools and materials to repair shoes, as they wore out quickly in the work in the woods and construction.[6]

On July 8, 1942, Zygmunt Pencherzewski, a Polish prisoner who had been put in Stutthof on June 27, 1942, successfully escaped the subcamp, to which he had been sent six days earlier.[7]

There were 53 persons living in the camp on January 24, 1945. Their later fate involved the plan to evacuate the prisoners from the central camp at Stutthof beginning on January 25 and 26, 1945. Approximately 11,000 prisoners were slated to be moved by foot march to Lauenburg, 140 kilometers (87 miles) from Stutthof.[8] Upon reaching Lauenburg, they were to be housed at the NCO school. That plan was never carried out because the school had already been occupied by the Wehrmacht (for soldiers' quarters and a field hospital). Several Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps were prepared for the prisoners, which they reached in early February 1945.[9]

J. Matynia states that the subcamp existed until Lauenburg was liberated on March 10, 1945, and the prisoners lived at the school until the end, getting the furnishings ready for evacuation. Other source materials indicate that the detachment was disbanded earlier.[10] Former prisoners who were living at evacuation camps near Lauenburg in February 1945 say that a food distribution point for prisoners evacuated from Stutthof was set up at the school.[11]

SOURCES The secondary sources concerning Lauenburg start with its listing in the ITS catalogs *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 647; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 48, 286. Useful is J. Schodzińska and G. Przykucka, "Losy ewakuowanych więźniów KL Stutthof na terenie ziemi lęborskiej," *BLHBH* 13 (September 2000): 18. On Lauenburg's foundation and place in the organization of the Stutthof camps, see Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970); M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StzeMu* 3 (1979); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); and M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), esp. pp. 181, 252–253.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Bronisław Nogajski, Bolesław Przytuła); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-1, I-IB-2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IB-5, Einsatzbefehl no. 3; Catalog No. I-IIE-5, Einlieferungsbuch; Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population reports dated January 1945; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-20, recollections of T. Meyer; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Rzyszkiewicz, vol. 3). At BA-L, ZdL, there are reports of the examination of Stutthof concentration camp commandant P.W. Hoppe. ITS Arolsen holds a transport list of prisoners moved from Buchenwald concentration camp to Kommando Lauenburg dated March 23, 1942 (copy available at AMS). The West German investigation of this camp may be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), 8: 435–450.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. ITS Arolsen, Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Lauenburg, 23.03.1942 (copy at AMS, Catalog No. Z-VI-2/13).

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIE-5, pp. 103–113, Einlieferungsbuch; Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970), p. 130; J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969), p. 94; M. Gliński,, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu* 3 (1979): 169.

3. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967).

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population report dated January 24, 1945; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 145, commandant Peters to Knott, G-Bekleidungskammer, KL Stutthof, dated September 15, 1944, on prisoner supplies.

5. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967) and Bronisław Nogajski (Gdańsk, February 13, 1968); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:184, account of Antoni Rzyszkiewicz; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), 8:435–450.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-II-E-5, Einlieferungsbuch.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-5, Einsatzbefehl no. 3; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

9. BA-L, ZdL, Dokumenten nr 14, 17, Vernehmungsprotokoll des Kommandanten Paul Werner Hoppe vor der Polish War Crimes Mission vom 22.08.1946; Bericht des Kommandanten P.W. Hoppe über die Evakuierung des Lagers Stutthof zu seiner Verteidigung vom 24.08.1946 (copies at AMS, Catalog No. Z-VIII-4); AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-20, recollections of T. Meyer, 1st Schutzhaftlagerführer of Stutthof concentration camp and evacuation director.

10. AK-IPD Gd, report of examination of witness Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967).

11. AMS, affidavit of Michał Peczeluna, n.p.

LIBAU (*HEERESGRUPPE NORD*)

The Libau subcamp for Jewish prisoners was formed in East Prussia in November 1944. The camp was set up for 330 Jews, men and women, in the town of Liepāja (German: Libau), attached to the Wehrmacht's Army Group North. The prisoners were put to work building fortifications. The first mention of the detachment's operation was in a hospital record of prisoners who had been inoculated for typhus on December 2, 1944. Next to the prisoners' names and numbers, the list provides such information as the work group names and the institutions and companies to which the prisoners were hired out.[1]

The December 2, 1944, record established that the subcamp began operating in November 1944. It lists prisoner Oskar Zirkmann as being prisoner foreman (Kapo) of the detachment. There are other references to the subcamp in camp population reports from late January 1945. There were 227 prisoners in camp on January 24, 1945, including 140 men and 87 women. The next report dated January 30, 1945, lists an increase to 327 female prisoners.

The last record confirmed by sources dated February 17, 1945, regarding sending the prisoners to the Stutthof camp, lists 307 Jewish women out of the detachment's population of 315. It is not known what happened to the Jewish men, who were still at the subcamp on January 24. Based on the surviving records, it cannot be determined if the difference of 100 persons was due to an error in the report (twice) or whether some prisoners had already returned to Stutthof, replaced by another group of Jewish women.[2]

The subcamp operated until February 17, 1945. On that day, 307 Jewish women were sent back to Stutthof; 8 women were left behind, having been excluded from the transport. It is assumed that they died in their final weeks at camp.

SOURCES The primary sources of information included AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-VB-15, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus dated December 2, 1944; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-15, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus, dated December 2, 1944.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

MÜGGENHAHL

A subcamp of Stutthof was created in the town of Müggenhahl (later Rokitnica in Gdańsk County) near Praust (later Pruszcz Gdański). Based on labor assignment entries in prisoner files, we can establish that it operated from October 21, 1939, to August 19, 1940.[1] The prisoners were hired out to several employers who owned farms in the area: Claassen, Dirksen,[2] and Voss. Notes made in the records do not provide any information on the type of work the prisoners did.

Another work detachment was instituted in the same place in July 1942. According to the testimony of a prisoner who was assigned to Müggenhahl, a group of approximately 20 people were sent from the Stutthof camp to do work for local farmers. Paul Schulz was one of them; and we know that a group of prisoners worked at that farm until the end of the war.[3] They were lodged in a barracks under the supervision of SS men from Stutthof. The prisoners were divided up among several farms, to which they went unescorted every day, returning to the camp in the evening. The detachment was supervised by one elderly SS man named Günter Paul (who is not listed in the partially surviving Stutthof concentration camp staff index). The employers provided the food for the prisoners.

SOURCES In addition to those sources mentioned in "Stutthof Subcamp System," the following were consulted in writing this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927–1928*.

Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung. Grosses Werder (Danzig, 1927).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41412, I-III-49961, I-III-50239, I-III-50241, files of prisoners Andrzej Budzisz, Józef Karczewski, Franciszek Malottka (or Malottko), and August Strongowski; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 288.

2. Actually Johannes Dircks. An estate owner by this name was listed in the Danzig Niederung County address book in 1927–1928. *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927–1928. Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung. Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 2:193.

3. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

NEUTEICH

From January to April 1942, 21 prisoners were put to work in Neuteich (later Nowy Staw), compressing hay and straw as well as loading and unloading compressed bales. The prisoners were taken to Neuteich by narrow-gauge railway, escorted by four SS men. Dinners for the detachment were brought in from Stutthof. When the detachment's work was completed and the subcamp was disbanded in late April 1942, the prisoners returned to Stutthof. No references have survived in camp records, except for the information on the detachment from the account of a prisoner who was sent there.[1]

SOURCES The following was consulted in writing this entry: AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 6, account of Józef Richert.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:195, account of Józef Richert.

PELPLIN

From May 15 to June 30, 1940, 24 prisoners were put to work in Pelplin, building a road on the premises of the closed Pelplin Theological Seminary near Tczew (Aussenkommando Pelplin).[1] The buildings had been adapted to become an Auxiliary Police School (Hilfspolizeischule der Ordnungspolizei). SS-Unterscharführer Leo Skierka was camp commandant until July 3. He changed his name to Schierer on June 3, 1941.[2]

The prisoners were quartered in one of the seminary buildings. They received their food, which was relatively good in comparison to that of the main camp at Stutthof, from the police school kitchen. The prisoners' basic job was to build a macadamized road on the seminary premises. They packed a layer of small broken stones with a roller pulled by six—later two—prisoners.[3]

Three prisoners escaped from the detachment on the night of May 9, 1940. The search party sent out the next day produced no results. Four other prisoners whose beds were next to those of the escapees were arrested and interrogated by the police. They were accused of not having done anything to prevent the escape, of which they really knew nothing. They were given the death sentence, which was to be carried out that same evening. The fugitives were then caught, and one of them was shot to death. The fate of the two surviving prisoners is unknown.[4]

Besides Commandant Skierka, the prisoners were supervised by students at the police school. The Pelplin detachment was disbanded on June 30, 1940.[5]

SOURCES The following were consulted in writing this entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IE, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel files; Lasik, Stutthof ac; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Gulczyński, vol. 14); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44292, files of prisoner Jan Gulczyński; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:108, account of Jan Gulczyński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 289.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-1005, personnel files of SS man Leo Schierer-Skierka.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:108, account of Jan Gulczyński.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-16264, files of prisoner Karol Viola; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:109; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na the dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 123, 126.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44292, files of prisoner Jan Gulczyński; Catalog No. I-IE-10005, personnel files of Leo Schierer-Skierka, letter of the commander of Hilfspolizeischule Pelplin to the Stutthof camp civilian prisoner camp headquarters dated July 3, 1940, in which he expresses his thanks for the prisoner labor done under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Schierer-Skierka.

PÖLITZ [AKA STETTIN]

The subcamp in Pölitz (later Police), near Stettin (later Szczecin), began operating on June 25, 1944.[1] It was one of several camps that housed labor for the city's two largest industrial plants: Hydrierwerke AG (of which IG Farbenindustrie AG

had a large share) and Norddeutsche Mineralölwerke GmbH, producers of synthetic gasoline and other products. A maximum of from 25,000 to 28,000 workers lived in all the surrounding camps, including concentration camp prisoners, prisoners of war (POWs), and forced laborers.[2]

According to the fragmentary source materials, the Hydrierwerke plant requested that the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) grant permission to put prisoners to work at the factory and house them in a labor camp it would build at its own expense.[3] The prisoners were initially housed in tents next to the Hägerwelle penal camp. Work was begun at the same time on the construction of a permanent camp in the woods near the train station at Messenthin (Mścięcino). The prisoners arrived there in the autumn of 1944.

The number of people at the subcamp ranged from 800 in June 1944 to 2,800 in late August.[4] That number dropped to 2,364 between August and mid-December, and to 2,065 in April 1945. Besides Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Germans, there were also Frenchmen, Yugoslavians, and Greeks at Pölitz.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kuhlmann was camp commandant from June 25 to August 5, 1944, followed for the short time until August 18, 1944, by SS-Hauptsturmführer Ernst Sette, who was followed by SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Volkmann.[5] Initially, the camp staff was made up of 30 SS men from Stutthof and a medical orderly. The number of SS men increased to 43 in August 1944 because the camp population had gone up. Wehrmacht soldiers and Ukrainians from auxiliary formations also served as supervisors, replacing Germans called into the army. There were 50 people on the camp staff on November 11, 1944.[6] There was also a system of supervisory prisoners including work group overseers (Vorarbeiters) and prisoner foremen (Kapos), mainly German criminals. The post of camp elder was held by Wacław Kozłowski, a Pole who had been a barrack chief at Stutthof, where he proved to be one of the most brutal prisoner-functionaries. After the war, he was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death.[7] Besides him, there were over 12 German criminal prisoners serving as prisoner foremen, 4 of whom stood out due to their brutality: Richard Friedrich, Bruno Neumann, Alfred Höltzel, and Gustaw Lüge. They died in the camp on December 18, 1944, after drinking ethyl alcohol.[8]

The permanent camp was made up of about 30 barracks. The sanitary conditions, housing, and supplies of food, blankets, clothing, and shoes in the camp were satisfactory only for a few weeks at the beginning. Later, 8 people shared one loaf of bread, and the prisoners were issued a watery soup made from weeds for dinner. The factory management would sporadically provide the camp with raw carrots and soup from the factory cafeteria. The exhausting labor, hunger, and abuse weakened the prisoners and contributed to the camp's high death rate.[9] The hospital records show 106 prisoner deaths at Pölitz from October to November 1944, but given the regular transfers of prisoners in and out, the true total must have been much higher.[10] Prisoners who were too weak to work were often selected for transport to Stutthof, where many of them were killed with phenol injections, their death certificates falsified.

Dr. Bolesław Kaczyński served as camp doctor; he managed to save over a dozen prisoners despite the primitive conditions in the infirmary. Dr. Heidecke, nominally designated by the factory as doctor, was not interested in the prisoners and only signed death certificates.[11] The bodies were transported to the crematorium at a Stettin cemetery; later, when it was closed, they were buried in common graves in Messenthin.

Conditions deteriorated with the colder weather, as indicated by the commandant's reminders to the Stutthof supply warehouse to send warm clothing (jackets, ear protectors, gloves, etc.) and shoes for the prisoners and SS staff, as well as materials to mend them.[12] The prisoners experienced some improvement after the visit of Stutthof assistant commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Meyer.

The prisoners were put to work expanding the synthetic gasoline factory in Pölitz for Hydrierwerke AG. Hydrierwerke AG worked with local construction companies to build the camp and factory, prepare the site, and so on. These companies included Grün & Bilfinger, Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG, Betonwerke Gossebäude, and Westermann & Co.[13]

The prisoners worked at construction work for 12 hours a day in groups of up to 100. They were also hired out for various jobs in Pölitz or subcontracted out to other city firms or businesses, which was common practice for IG Farbenindustrie and other big companies. Some of the most dangerous work was the construction of giant bunkers on factory premises or disarming unexploded bombs from the raids that had begun in July 1944. Prisoners in the bomb disposal detail left the factory premises mostly in groups of 6 to 8, escorted by one SS man and a German civilian bomb disposal expert. For disarming one bomb, a prisoner would get 10 Juno-brand cigarettes or a liter (four cups) of soup from the company kitchen. However, the work killed an estimated 80 percent of the prisoners who had to perform it.[14]

The records indicate the attempted escape of approximately 40 prisoners, mainly Russians, between July 1944 and February 1945, of whom fewer than half were successful; there were probably many more undocumented attempts as well.[15] Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says that the greatest number of escapes from the entire camp was in Pölitz; he estimates that number at 20.[16]

The most spectacular event at Pölitz was an attempt to kill Kozłowski, the camp elder, in October 1944. The attempt failed because Kozłowski defended himself with a bayonet that he kept in his boot. Six of the attackers escaped through a hole in the wire, another was wounded in the attempt, and several others had to stay behind. When the accused did not come forward, the commandant selected nine prisoners at random from a transport from Warsaw and hanged them, along with the wounded man.[17]

The evacuation of prisoners westward began on April 17; there was no communication with the Stutthof camp, so Sachsenhausen assumed command over the prisoners when

they left Pölitz; 184 prisoners were sent to Barth and Bergen-Belsen in two transports. Those who were the most ill and unable to march, approximately 300 people, were shot on April 25, 1945; the rest, approximately 400 prisoners, were sent toward Rostock.[18]

SOURCES Information on the Pölitz subcamp can be found in the AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 422, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Józefowi Reiterowi i innym, sentencje wyroków; and Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pölitz. Information on this subcamp can also be found in the AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (*Krankenbau*) records; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 4, Jan Nowicki). See APMO, Proces G. Maurera; and the APSz, Bauabteilung nr. 1488a: Entwässerung des KL Lagers in Messenthin zum Kriecklands-Bach. Bau nr. 903. Additional information on the Pölitz subcamp can be found in the following sources: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979); Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznan, 1969): J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci: Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); M.E. Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," *BGKBZHwP* 15 (1965); Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); J.L. Jurkiewicz, *Police: Filia KL Stutthof* (Szczecin, 1998) (typescript at AMS); J. Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," *PL*, *no. 1 (1968);* Marek Orski, *Italiani nel KL Stutthof: Włosi w KL Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), and Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police* (Warsaw, 1974). See also Hydrierwerke Pölitz Aktiengesellschaft, www.Politz.republika.pl.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenlagers Pölitz b. Stettin.

2. See also M.E. Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," *BGKBZHwP* 15 (1965): 66–84; Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznań, 1969), pp. 95–106; Hydrierwerke Pölitz Aktiengesellschaft, www.politz.republika.pl.

3. APSz, Bauabteilung nr. 1488a: Entwässerung des KL Lagers in Messenthin zum Kriecklands-Bach. Bau nr. 903.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 151–152, monthly reports of the subcamp's commandant for Verwaltung/KL Stutthof, dated July 31 and September 1, 1944, on the status of prisoner provisioning, numerical lists (*Verpflegungsstärken*); AK-IPN, Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pölitz; APMO, Proces G. Maurera, 6:21, Dok. Nor. NI-1065, K. Sommer's testimony on prisoner labor at Police.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, nr. 56 of August 24, 1944.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 153, commandant K. Volkmann to Stutthof Verwaltung manager E. von. Bonin, dated November 11, 1944, on supplies for the subcamp.

7. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 422, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Józefowi Reiterowi i innym, sentencje wyroków.

8. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police* (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 59–60.

9. J. Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," *PL*, no. 1 (1968): 158–161; account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznań, 1969), pp. 105–106; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu* no. 10 (1992): 88–90.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7.

11. Account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof," p. 90.

12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 151–155.

13. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 289; Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," p. 85.

14. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:131, account of Jan Nowicki; account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof," pp. 92–93; Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," p. 162.

15. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, 1944; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof"; Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police*, pp. 89–93.

16. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979), p. 207.

17. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police*, pp. 91–93.

18. Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, pp. 105–107; J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci: Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja* (Gdańsk, 1992), p. 48; Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," p. 99.

PRAUST (FLUGPLATZ)

The Praust subcamp began operating on July 7, 1944.[1] Pursuant to a special order issued on July 3, 1944, by camp headquarters, 500 Jewish women were sent to a military airfield (*Flugplatz*) located along the road to the village of Kochstedt (later Roszkowo) near Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) to do building and cleanup work; the camp's population grew by another 300 women on August 6, 1944. (There were four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields, at Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen.)

SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Berger of headquarters staff was named camp commandant. The staff included seven SS men from an SS-Guard Battalion and seven from a Wehrmacht Training Battalion composed of soldiers unfit for duty at the front (on July 6, 1944, they were joined with the newly formed Stutthof concentration camp II SS-Guard Battalion,

then moved to Guard Companies I–III on September 6, 1944, when the battalion was disbanded). In addition to these men, an SS man in charge of feeding the prisoners and a medical orderly were assigned to Praust. When the prisoner population increased, six more SS men and several SS women were assigned to the staff. Some of them had come with prisoner transports from other concentration camps; the others were recruited in an operation conducted by the Danzig employment agency. They underwent special training at the Stutthof camp, then were assigned to guard duty at the main camp or subcamps. One such recruitment operation in late October 1944 included 60 women, 7 of whom were later assigned to Praust.[2]

The Hungarian Jewish women selected for the original transport arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz concentration camp on June 29, 1944; 40 of the weakest women were replaced just three weeks after the subcamp had been formed.[3] Another transport of 300 women was assigned to the subcamp on July 25, 1944. Two SS women, moved from the Kauen concentration camp, Emilie Macha and Anni Scharbert, arrived with them.[4] Jewish women from Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Austria were selected for the transport. They had previously been at the Terezin and Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camps.

The prisoners were quartered on airfield premises in three wooden barracks. Reveille was at 5:00 A.M. Every day started with roll call, which sometimes lasted 15 minutes and sometimes went as long as 60 minutes. All they were issued for breakfast was hot coffee-colored water. Some women ate a piece of bread they had saved from the day before. Then they left camp, going to work on leveling the terrain of sandy hillocks. They were watched at work by guards; several construction companies (e.g., Kieferling, Metzger & Co.) supervised the project. There were extreme differences in the way the SS men treated the women so that in a short time the prisoners could tell good days apart from bad. Some SS men gave them some freedom of movement during the day, even allowing them to pull turnips from the fields. Some of the SS men were work fanatics who did not let the women have the slightest moment's rest, while some were sadists who were not interested in work but in inflicting extra torture on the prisoners. Their favorite form of persecution was to drive the women into a ditch and aim their guns at them, ready to fire.[5]

The kitchen set up by the subcamp's management was in charge of food supplies for the staff and prisoners, assisted by the junior officer from Stutthof camp headquarters in charge of food supplies. The food consisted of starvation rations: some hot coffee, which was coffee in name only, for breakfast and supper; a piece of bread in the evening; and some soup with low-caloric content for lunch. When autumn came, problems began with supplying prisoners with warmer clothing and shoes, which deteriorated quickly. In mid-October 1944 the camp received such things as 800 pairs of wooden shoes and the same number of foot wrappings, 168 dresses, 500 pairs of long underwear, and 400 shirts. In late December 1944, Praust again received wooden shoes and foot wrappings, which indicates the camp's great demand for those items and the rate at which they wore out.[6]

The subcamp numbered 800 women on January 24; thus, it reached its level of mid-August 1944. There is no surviving information on the death rate, so it cannot be determined what the size of the prisoner replacement transports were that arrived from the main camp.[7] Presumably the death rate was not too high, but there were considerably more sick people who later could not cope with the hardships of the evacuation march and were shot by the guards.

The camp was evacuated together with the subcamp at Russoschin beginning around February 11, 1945. Upon reaching the vicinity of Lauenburg (Lębork), pursuant to the Stutthof general evacuation plan, the prisoners were placed in two Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps at Gnewin (later Gniewino, Poland) and Burgsdorf (later Berezovka, Russia) as well as at a newly established camp in Kolkau (Kolkow). Upon liberating the Kolkau camp, the Russians found 600 exhausted women. According to the accounts of Norwegian prisoners liberated on March 11, 1945, at the nearby Jenzow estate, the owner of the Kolkau estate was shot when the Russians entered. The common grave of 143 people who had been shot in the back of the head was found in the camp after the war. The remains of the slaughtered victims were moved to the cemetery at Rybno.[8]

Transports of women prisoners evacuated from the Organisation Todt (OT) Elbing camp were put in the abandoned Praust airfield camp between late February and early March 1945. Several hundred starving and sick women were imprisoned here, many of them severely frostbitten. Every so often the sickest of them were taken away from the camp, presumably to be put to death. The camp was liberated on March 23, 1945.[9]

Only one of the SS women from the Praust camp staff stood trial in a Polish court after the war. Emilie Macha (née Wawoczny), who came from Silesia, was sentenced by the Kraków Criminal Court to 12 years in prison on November 16, 1948 (she died in prison on February 4, 1949). She had served as a camp guard at the Auschwitz, Lublin, Kauen, and Ravensbrück concentration camps before coming to Stutthof.[10]

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Praust subcamp include AK-IPN w Warszawie, SO Kr, 433, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Emilie Macha; SSK Gd, 418, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Wandzie Klaff. See also AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIA-2, Arbeitseinsatz; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; and *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 7, Miriam Ejszyszok, Sonia Szogan-Etkin; originals in YV). Additional information on this subcamp can be found in the following publications: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); H.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Lewis, *Time to Speak* (Belfast, 1998); Olaf R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggtrad* (Oslo, 1946); J. Matynia, *Na szlakach walki i męczeństwa województwa gdańskiego 1939–1945* (Gdynia, 1967); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 117–120, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Praust.
2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 418, pp. 18–21, protokół przesłuchania oskarżonej Wandy Klaff; SO Kr, 433, p. 12, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Emilie Macha, protokół przesłuchania Emilie Macha.
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-2.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, nr. 49, dated July 25, 1944.
5. AK-IPN, SO Kr, 433, p. 12, protokół przesłuchania Emilie Macha; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 290; H. Lewis, *Time to Speak* (Belfast, 1998), pp. 74, 77.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 139–140.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
8. Olaf R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggtrad* (Oslo, 1946), p. 309.
9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 7:50, 100–101, testimonies of Miriam Ejszyszok and Sonia Szogan-Etkin (copies from YV).
10. AK-IPN, SO Kr, 433, pp. 175–176, 192–193, sentencja wyroku.

PREUSSISCH STARGARD

The subcamp in Preussisch Stargard (prewar: Stargard; postwar: Starogard Gdański, both in Poland) was formed in March 1942. No archival materials on the camp's establishment have survived, and there is no accurate information about its organization and operation.[1]

The only source providing information on the detachment's operation is the testimony given during trial at Gdańsk District Court in 1947 by two SS men of the same rank, SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle and Erich Jassen, who supervised the prisoners' work. Based on their testimony, we can establish the period in which the detachment operated, from March to at least October 1942. SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle was sent to Preussisch Stargard in March 1942 with a group of 150 prisoners. The prisoners were hired out to a construction company (name unknown) to build a road between Preussisch Stargard and Gutowiec (possibly Schwarzwasser). The company provided housing and food for the subcamp's staff and prisoners. The camp was located in Preussisch Stargard. When they had completed their job in the Preussisch Stargard region, the prisoners were moved on toward Czersk, where until October 1942 they continued building the road in the vicinity of Łąg (German: Königsried) and Gutowiec (German: Gutenwirt).[2]

SS-Unterscharführer Erich Jassen and six other SS men were assigned to the detachment in Preussisch Stargard in August 1942.[3] Both Eberle and Jassen were tried as defendants at the Gdańsk District Court in November 1947 and were sentenced to 10 years in prison.[4]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Preussisch Stargard subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko N. Dirnbergerowi i innym; 86, sentencje wyroków; AMS, Catalog No. I-IIE, SS staff personnel files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 290.
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-165, personnel files of SS man Gustav Eberle; AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, p. 119, testimony of SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle at 1947 trial in Gdańsk.
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, p. 117, testimony of SS-Unterscharführer Erich Jassen at 1947 trial in Gdańsk.
4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, 86.

PRÖBBERNAU

The subcamp at Pröbbernau (later Przerbno) was formed near Stutthof for the construction of a dike on the Vistula Bay side of the peninsula. The first documented references to the detachment are from October 31, 1939. The camp commandant's report for the Danzig Gestapo on Polish prisoner Jan Hryncewicz contained information on his labor assignment at the Pröbbernau subcamp from October 31 to December 15, 1939.

The camp's first commandant was named Lenau. No information on him has survived in the Stutthof camp staff personnel records. He was probably removed from his position for alcohol abuse and illegal dealings with the company building the dikes. He was less brutal toward the prisoners than the second commandant, SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz, a man with sadistic tendencies. Mielenz served as commandant from September 24, 1940, to April 1941. The prisoners were supervised by SS men. The commandant and guard staff were quartered in a farm owner's building.

The prisoners who arrived in the first transport to Pröbbernau were initially housed in a township shed. The group was taken to its destination in trucks and probably numbered from one to several dozen prisoners. Their first job was to build the camp, to quickly put up a living-quarters barrack, farm buildings, and sanitary facilities, and to fence in the entire site with barbed wire. The camp was designed for a maximum of 200 to 300 prisoners. Approximately 200 people lived there on average. It was located on the leased part of a farm near the Evangelical cemetery. The first work erecting new levees was begun only upon the arrival of a group of approximately 200 or 300 prisoners from the Neufahrwasser camp in early November 1939; they were Poles arrested in Gdingen (later Gotenhafen, then Gdynia) in mid-September 1939.[1]

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (the Elbląg company Dike Unit of Elbing District). Four engineering foremen from the company were in charge of the work. The work consisted of raising levees—carting in wheelbarrows of sand, building an embankment, and reinforcing it with sod. The prisoners who worked building the embankment stood waist deep in cold water. They were hurried on and beaten during work by the guards and especially by a foreman named Aleksy, who, according to a witness account, "always tried to outdo the guards in cruelty, with a bat, and a gnarly one at that, whether it be at morning roll call, or at work, beating prisoners himself and inciting the guards to beat them."[2]

The living conditions in the camp, especially the food, were as poor as at the main camp. The prisoners slept directly on the floor, strewn with a fresh, clean layer of straw, which was covered by canvas. Each prisoner had one blanket. The company to which the prisoners were hired out provided food, but the daily food rations were inadequate, and moreover the kitchen's chief cheated the prisoners in their rations, selling scraps of food such as potato and rutabaga peels to the local farmer as feed. There was no infirmary in the camp. More serious illnesses were treated at the hospital in Stutthof.

Hungry prisoners searched on their own for other sources of sustenance, availing themselves of nearby farms. At first the local population tried to supplement the prisoners' diet by bringing food such as bread into the camp, but the commandant quickly prohibited that. For a while, the families of the Pröbbernau prisoners also provided them with food. In extreme instances, determined prisoners decided to escape. One attempt, in which two persons were involved, ended with the fugitives being caught. During a special roll call, those prisoners were shot before the eyes of the entire detachment.[3]

The work at Pröbbernau was halted with the coming of winter 1939, when the cold weather made the work impossible. Most of the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof on December 15, 1939.[4]

A group of approximately 50 prisoners was kept at Pröbbernau; they probably did additional work to protect the levee during the winter, under the supervision of company engineers. The detachment was reactivated on April 18, 1940, according to assignments to Pröbbernau noted in the prisoners' files. Recruitment for the labor was done at the Stutthof camp. The 203 prisoners were sent on foot to Pröbbernau, about 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Stutthof. The group included many prisoners who were emaciated and unfit to do the hard physical labor of raising the levees. Many of them died at Pröbbernau. When the construction foreman complained, 50 of the weakest prisoners were sent back to Stutthof a day later. The population was replenished by additional prisoner transports sent to Pröbbernau from Stutthof as needed.[5]

The housing, sanitary, and food conditions were basically unchanged in this second season. The prisoners occupied the same barrack as in 1939. Sanitary conditions were better than those at the Stutthof camp. Although the toilets were still outside, on Sunday afternoons the prisoners were escorted to bathe in the sea about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from camp. The food most often consisted of unpeeled potatoes and codfish heads. Sometimes pea soup was issued. Because of the prevailing hunger, after a while the prisoners were allowed to receive food packages. By September 29, 1940, the camp population had dropped to 129 prisoners due to the high death rate. There was no infirmary at the camp, even though special space had been designated for a doctor's office, and there was a doctor, Julian Węgrzynowicz, in the detachment. The doctor had no other medical supplies at his disposal than aspirin and paper bandages. His job was just to determine what condition a patient was in, while the commandant made the treatment decisions. From time to time, the sickest people were sent to the hospital at Stutthof, and new prisoners were brought in.[6]

Several prisoners attempted to escape from the camp. The first attempt was in June 1940 by a prisoner named Mośko. He was caught a few hours later because he had taken a bad escape route toward Kahlberg (later Łysica, then Krynica Morska), where he was beaten by SS men and escorted back to the camp. If the escape had been successful, 10 other prisoners were to be put to death. After another unsuccessful attempt by the same prisoner, the SS men tortured him to death. His body was buried outside the camp fence. In vain, 3 other prisoners attempted to get out of the camp; all the escapes ended badly for the fugitives. They were caught and sent back to Stutthof, where they were put to death publicly. The only escape that was successful was by camp carpenter Czesław Majewski on September 26, 1940, partly because he had taken a long time to plan his escape route carefully.[7]

The work at Pröbbernau ended on December 19, 1940, due to severe frost, just as the year before, and the basic group of prisoners was sent back to Stutthof, except for 50 persons moved directly to do similar labor at the Zeyersniederkampen subcamp.[8]

There is no archival information on whether the detachment was reactivated in subsequent years. However, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners show that groups of prisoners were sent to Pröbbernau, as well as to Zeyersniederkampen, Terranova (later Nowakowo) on the Nogat River to do the same work in 1944 and perhaps even earlier.[9] The work erecting the levee was continued by a youth camp

(*Jugendlager*), of which nothing else is known, located next to the Pröbbernau subcamp site.

SOURCES Primary sources on the Pröbbernau subcamp include AK-IPN Gd, protokoły przesłuchania świadków (Franciszek Adamczyk); and AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 5, Jan Strycharczyk; vol. 6, Julian Węgrzynowicz; vol. 10, C. Majewski; vol. 12, Antoni Dulski).

Additional information on the Pröbbernau subcamp can be found in the following: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984); Czesław Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła* (Kraków, 1983); Wacław Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and Marek Orski, review of *Ucieczka z piekła*, by Czesław Majewski, *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1987).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Franciszek Mokwiński; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 242, account of Antoni Dulski; Wacław Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 52–53.

2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 242, account of Antoni Dulski; see also Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 54–55.

3. Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, accounts of Franciszek Mokwiński and Jadwiga Burau.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49996, personal files of prisoner Jan Hryncewicz; Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, account of Franciszek Mokwiński.

5. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-43070, I-III-49965, I-III-49971, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dziuba, Piotr Hudim, and Kazimierz Pieniazkiewicz, notes on sending additional prisoner transports to Pröbbernau; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5: 243, account of Jan Strycharczyk, and 10: 201–203, account of Czesław Majewski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 52; Czesław Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła* (Kraków, 1983), p. 103.

6. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49884, I-III-49887, I-III-49889, personal files of prisoners Leon Wiśniewski, Andrzej Szymczak, and Jan Jonczyk; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5: 243–247, account of Jan Strycharczyk, 6: 230–232, account of Julian Węgrzynowicz, 10: 200, account of Czesław Majewski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 51–58; Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, pp. 17, 103.

7. Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, pp. 8–100; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 58–62; M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 129.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-43070, I-III-49889, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dziuba and Jan Jonczyk; Lasik, Stutthof, ac., personnel files of SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 252, account of Antoni Dulski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 62.

9. AK-IPN Gd, Kppp 43/72/M, report of examination of witness Franciszek Adamczyk; Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, p. 103.

ROSENBERG

The small detachment making up the Rosenberg subcamp, numbering a maximum of 10 prisoners, was formed in August 1944. Initially it numbered 9 persons, including 8 Danish prisoners.[1] A group of 20 English prisoners of war (POWs) also worked there.[2]

The prisoners were hired out to the owner of a sawmill in the town of Rosenberg (later Susz). SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Zills was director of the detachment and also supervised the work group of several people.[3] The detachment's population was 10 in early October 1944. The Stutthof camp administration provided food as well as clothing and shoes. The only document confirming that the detachment operated is a letter sent by Commandant Zills to the Stutthof main camp clothing warehouse, dated October 6, 1944, in which he reported that he was sending 10 jackets and 10 pairs of pants back to the warehouse because they were too small. Warehouse manager SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott initialed the letter only a week later and sent the request to be filled on October 16, 1944, ordering that just 1 jacket and 1 pair of pants be delivered to the detachment.[4]

According to the accounts of the Danish prisoners, the camp was disbanded and the prisoners sent back to Stutthof on January 19, 1945. A list of prisoner populations in the subcamps, dated January 24, 1945, states that there were 10 prisoners in the detachment when it was evacuated.[5]

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Rosenberg subcamp: AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979): R. Andersen and H. Larsen, *Vi blev reddet denne gang* (Copenhagen, 1945); and J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph. D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. R. Andersen and H. Larsen, *Vi blev reddet denne gang* (Copenhagen, 1945), p. 49.

2. Affidavit of Helge Kierulff, a prisoner of the subcamp, filed on December 9, 1965, at the Congress of the FIR in Budapest, in J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969), pp. 118, 275.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-1366, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 291.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 143, Zills to Knott, October 6, 1944.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

RUSSOSCHIN [AKA REICHSBAHN RUSSOSCHIN]

The subcamp at Russoschin bei Praust (later Rusocin near Pruszcz Gdański) was formed on September 13, 1944.[1] The prisoners were hired out to work for the German National Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn, DR)—thus, the camp was also called Reichsbahn Russoschin. Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Russoschin. They were mainly from Hungary and Germany. SS-Unterscharführer Willi Engler was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Döring on October 22, 1944.[2]

Seven SS women supervised the prisoners, as did an unknown number of railroad security guards (*Bahnschützen*). SS women candidates were employed at the German Railroad Administration in Danzig until October 1944, after which they were delegated from the Railroad Administration via the Danzig employment agency to the Stutthof concentration camp to train for guard duty at the parent camp or the subcamps for women. As railroad employees, they were subject to conscription into military duty.[3]

Training began at the beginning of August and lasted more or less until mid-November 1944. Most candidates were German. According to the 1945 testimony of prisoner Zofia Jackowska, 150 SS women candidates were trained over three months; 60 of them remained at the central camp, and the rest were sent to its subcamps.[4]

The training program involving the 7 SS women who were posted to Russoschin began on October 27, 1944, and lasted three weeks. A total of 60 women attended that course. According to the testimony of Elisabeth Becker and Wanda Klaff, who attended the training program, the first Schutzhaftlagerführer T. Meyer's main focus in the instruction was on the SS women's communications with the prisoners and on punishing the prisoners for any transgressions. They were strictly forbidden from talking at all with the prisoners outside of the line of duty, especially about the war. The SS women were also responsible for making sure the prisoners did not communicate with the civilian workers. Meyer ordered the SS women to force the prisoners to work using a system of punishments: taking away their food for any minor transgression and whipping them for more serious ones, with the whipping done in camp rather than at the workplace. Meyer reminded them several times of the formal ban on hitting prisoners, advising them to assign any women reluctant to work to cleanup jobs as punishment or send them to jail.[5]

The seven women assigned to Russoschin upon completing the training course were Anni Jack, Gertruda Schönhof, Marta Gryszewska, Maria Szerańska, Klara Reichert, Elfried Hansen, and Wanda Klaff. Out of that group, Klaff was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946 (sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, at Stolzenberg hill in Gdańsk), while the Gdańsk District Court sentenced Hansen to 15 years in prison in 1947. Klaff came from a Polish family and was named Kalacińska, changing her name to Kalden when the second German National List (*Deutsche Volksliste*) group was admitted, then to Klaff, the name of her husband, a German.[6]

Approximately 50 women were put under the "care" of each SS woman. They were quartered in three wooden barracks located in the village (Gemeinschaftslager Russoschin bei Praust). The prisoners were escorted daily from the barracks to work at a railway junction or to replace sections of track. The women were hired out to work at the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Praust. They were also put to work building air-raid shelters.[7] The work required great physical fitness and strength. Pursuant to the commandant's order, before leaving for Russoschin, the women were supposed to be equipped with adequate clothing, shoes, a towel, and soap. Reichsbahn Direktion Danzig also promised to provide additional protective clothing and agreed to mend the clothes and shoes in its own workshops. As Klaff testified at her trial, in spite of that the women worked in light clothing that put them at the mercy of the weather and endured beatings by the SS women. The commandant's correspondence with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof also confirms the inadequate state of provisions, especially supplies of warm clothing (foot wrappings, gloves, and coats).[8]

The commandant and the Stutthof staff were in charge of food supplies for the prisoners. They set up a separate kitchen for prisoners, while the commandant and SS women were assigned food pursuant to military rationing. According to Klaff's testimony, reveille was at 4:00 A.M., followed by a long roll call and a march out to work at around 6:30 A.M. The women got their first meal only at noon: a plate of potato or rutabaga soup, sometimes cooked with horsemeat. After they got back from work at about 5:30 P.M. and went through roll call, they were issued supper, consisting of 1 liter (4.2 cups) of watery potato soup and a slice of bread of about 50 grams (1.8 ounces) with a bit of jam or margarine.[9]

The hunger, the cold, the lack of medical care, and the beatings during work were the main reasons for prisoner sicknesses and deaths. There were 289 women in camp on January 24, 1945.[10] Klaff's testimony at her 1946 trial shows that sick and weak Jewish women were sent to the hospital at Stutthof regularly. Selections were held every three weeks. An average of 12 persons were taken away to Stutthof after each selection. But the figures recorded during an examination conducted on June 18, 1945, by an investigative officer of the Gdańsk Province Public Security Agency were significantly higher: selections were held every two weeks, and from

15 to 20 Jewish women were sent to Stutthof following that selection.[11] There are no figures on the death rate in the camp, so it is not possible to establish how many deaths occurred on the camp premises and how many at the Stutthof hospital, where the sick women were sent. The commandant's correspondence with the Stutthof camp administration shows that the maximum working population of 300 prisoners was maintained through early January. This is evidenced by such things as the commandant's ordering the delivery of double sets of strips of material for prisoner numbers for prisoners to wear, a total of 600 items.[12]

The subcamp was disbanded around February 12, 1945. The evacuation of the subcamp at Praust had begun a day earlier. That camp's prisoners, 800 women, joined the group of 289 women evacuated from Russoschin. Together they began their march toward Lauenburg that same day. The camp population report dated February 13, 1945, removed the prisoner counts of the Praust and Russoschin camps from the Stutthof camp records, a total of 1,089 persons, who had been registered as evacuees the day before. Both camps' inmates shared the same fate. Klaff, who escorted the Jewish women to Lauenburg, testified that all 300 women [*sic*] reached their destination, but 60 percent of them died in evacuation camps due to disease, starvation, or lack of medical aid.[13]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention this camp include "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999). This subcamp is also mentioned in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 291.

Primary sources for this camp may be found in AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 53, records of the criminal case against Elfriede Hansen; sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 177–180, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Russoschin bei Praust und Bromberg-Ost, September 12, 1944.

2. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Sinderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 71, October 22, 1944.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 53, records of criminal case against Elfriede Hansen; SSK Gd, sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca* więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945 (Gdańsk, 1999), pp. 279–281.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, p. 68, records collected by Gdańsk District Court Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz.

5. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp.19–21, 65, reports of examinations of defendants, 1946 testimony of Wanda Klaff and Elizabeth Becker, as well as that included in the stenographic record of the main trial (sygn. 423); and "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946.

6. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 16–18, report of examination of Wanda Klaff.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols, (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 291.

8. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 147, 149.

9. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 21–22, W. Klaff's testimony; "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu."

10. AMS, sygn. I-IIIB-6.

11. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, p. 23.

12. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, p. 118, Döring to Knott at the Bekleidungskammer, January 2, 1945.

13. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 25–26, Wanda Klaff's 1945 testimony.

SCHIPPENBEIL

The Schippenbeil subcamp was formed on September 21, 1944, along with four other identically organized camps at nearby Luftwaffe airfields (Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen). A day later the first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners, including 900 women and 100 men, was sent to Schippenbeil (later Sępopol).[1] That population increased when 250 more Jewish women were sent to Schippenbeil on October 9, 1944.[2] A maximum total of 1,250 people lived at the camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Weinert held the post of camp commander until October 17, followed on October 18 by SS-Hauptscharführer Erich Meissel.[3] Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers (including some from General Andrei Vlasov's Ukrainian formations) made up the guard unit at the airfield, while 6 guards at fixed posts in the camp watched over the camp buildings; 2 SS women, Gertrud Reinhold and Anny-Lotte Schmidt, assigned to Schippenbeil on October 11, 1944, supervised the Jewish women.[4]

Most of the Jewish women were young and came from Hungary, Poland (the Łódź ghetto), and Austria. Housing, sanitary conditions, and food were no different from those at the other subcamps located at Luftwaffe airfields. The German Labor Front (DAF) kitchen on the airfield's premises provided all the prisoners' daily food. The Stutthof concentration camp administration supplied clothing and shoes. In early November 1944, the commander sent a request to Stutthof, saying the subcamp needed footwear and materials for mending clothes, as well as paint to stamp numbers and 1,100 strips of material to number prisoners. The order was filled a month later. Subsequent surviving reports from December

1944 concerned the urgent delivery of winter clothing to Schippenbeil (jackets, coats, pullovers, vests, woolen trousers, stockings). The deliveries were not made on time and did not contain everything that had been ordered, such as a package sent on December 22, 1944, that only contained mending materials but not ready-to-use clothing and shoes.[5]

These conditions have been confirmed by the local population, which sometimes happened to encounter the Jewish women from Stutthof concentration camp. Anna Krause of Stopki (Schtolzenfeld), approximately 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Schippenbeil, testified that she saw a group of about 200 Jewish women from Schippenbeil. The women were ragged and barefoot.[6] Another witness, a prisoner of war (POW) put to work in Schippenbeil, said that Jews (men—but could refer to women as well) were put to work at the station unloading cement: "the sight of them was terrible: they were more like corpses than living people; that's how wasted and ragged they were." He also confirmed the brutal attitude of the guards toward the women. One day he witnessed a Jewish woman being forcefully struck in the back by a gun butt for picking up some pomace from the ground; she fell down and could not get back up on her own.[7]

The prisoners worked at a large Luftwaffe military airfield. It had been built during the war as a base for Hitler's quarters at Görlitz near Rastenburg. Intensive expansion work was begun on it in 1944. The project was supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), which with the help of the DAF had set up numerous labor camps for the forced laborers and POWs in the region, including Polish and Russian POWs.[8]

The poor housing conditions, starvation food rations, and lack of adequate clothing contributed to the subcamp's exceptionally high prisoner death rate (especially in January 1945, with over 50 percent of all the recorded deaths), which is confirmed by the surviving source materials. The death figures based on the death reports that the commander sent to Abteilung III, Arbeitseinsatz, refer to the period between November 4, 1944, and January 7, 1945, and list 62 people, all women.[9] There are additional death rate figures in the hospital death records in prisoner files; 7 other deaths were established based upon those records.[10]

In late October and early November 1944, the camp population dropped by 150 and totaled 1,100 (figures from a report by the subcamp's commander) due to prisoners dying or being sent to the hospital at Stutthof. By January 24, 1945, the camp numbered only 947 prisoners, including 96 men and 851 women.[11] The difference between the population of September 1944 and that of late January 1945 was 303, the majority of which constituted prisoner deaths.

The dead were buried in the town or nearby in the woods, in such places as a common grave holding a dozen or so bodies exhumed after the war at what became Mostowa Ulica, where the SS command was located during the war.[12] Other accounts say that the SS shot Jewish women in the woods near the town in January just prior to evacuation. Their bodies were carted to a pile, doused with gasoline, and burned.[13] They were probably the victims of a selection associated with the camp's evacuation, in which the sick and weakest prisoners were put to death.

The camp evacuation began on the night of January 21–22, 1945, as the prisoners were sent toward Königsberg, and its history was analogous to that of the other Luftwaffe subcamps in East Prussia.[14]

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Czesław Bartoszek, Anna Krause, Sępolno [*sic*—Sępopol]); AMS, sygn. [Catalog No.] I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IIID-8, reports on prisoner deaths at the subcamp; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (*Krankenbau*) records; *Ze znakiem «P». Relacje i wspomnienia z robót przymusowych w Prusach Wschodnich w latach II wojny światowej*; G. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępolna*, quoted from www.sepopol.wim.pl, the official Web site of the city and township of Sępopol.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil, und Seerappen.
2. Ibid., p. 208, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
3. Ibid., p. 219, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.
4. Ibid., no. 68, dated October 11, 1944.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 154a–158.
6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 3/66, witness examination report (Sępolno [*sic*—Sępopol]).
7. Ibid., report of examination of witness Czesław Bartoszek (Sępolno [*sic*—Sępopol]).
8. Ibid.; G. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępolna*, quoted from www.sepopol.wim.pl.
9. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIID-8, I-VB-7.
10. These figures concern deaths registered between November 2 and January 6, 1944. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-23537, I-III-24663, I-III-24751, I-III-30884, I-III-53991, I-III-55452, I-III-55539, I-III-84860.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
12. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępolna*.
13. Account of forced laborer Łucja Krukowska, in *Ze znakiem «P». Relacje i wspomnienia z robót przymusowych w Prusach Wschodnich w latach II wojny światowej*, Olsztyn 1985, pp. 160–161.
14. See Heiligenbeil, no. 33.

SCHÖNWARLING

Two prisoner labor detachments were set up in the town of Schönwarling (later Skowarcz) in 1940–1941 and 1944. In both instances, the prisoners were hired out to the construction company of Aloysius Dehlert, Tief-, u. Strassenbau of Danzig, which operated one or more gravel pits in Schönwarling.

A detachment was established for the first time in 1940. According to the account of Jan Gdaniec, a Polish prisoner from Danzig, approximately 50 Poles were sent to Schönwarling from the Stutthof camp and probably the Danzig-Matzkau camp in May 1940. They were put to work in two gravel pits. The prisoners were quartered with a local farmer. Two SS men supervised them. Gdaniec was moved to Danzig-Matzkau in January 1941, then to the Stutthof camp, and from there to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (see Stutthof/Danzig-Matzkau and Sachsenhausen).[1] The detachment probably continued to operate on a smaller scale. Another group of prisoners was sent to Schönwarling from the Grenzdorf and Stutthof camps between February 2 and June 11, 1941.[2] The subsidiary was still operating in the summer of 1941, as confirmed by staff member Otto Arnold at his 1947 trial in Toruń.[3]

Another subsidiary with 15 prisoners (Aussenkommando der Bauleitung in Schönwarling) was formed in Schönwarling on November 7, 1943, at the Dehlert company gravel pit. There is no accurate information available on how the camp was organized, the members of the guard staff, or the prisoners' living conditions. The company was in charge of providing housing and food. The detachment existed until late August 1944 and mined the gravel the company needed in its business. The first prisoner to escape from the detachment was Aleksander Skrzypczyk on November 28, 1943. After an investigation held two days later, the fugitive was captured in Gdynia and reincarcerated at the camp on August 9, 1944. No information is available on Skrzypczyk's punishment or eventual fate.[4]

An order by headquarters dated October 17, 1944, states that five more prisoners escaped from Schönwarling on August 24, 1944. They were not caught after two days of searching. The commander punished SS-Rottenführer Paul Wolff with three weeks of close arrest "because he allowed five prisoners to escape from the external construction detachment facilities at Schönwarling the night of August 24, 1944, and they ran away [from camp]."[5]

The detachment was disbanded as a consequence of the escape and the other prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp. According to the organizers of the escape, it occurred the night of August 21–22 and was only reported to the camp two days later as occurring on the later date.[6]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those used in "Stutthof Subcamp System": AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jerzy Piotrowski, vol. 24; Bolesław Sugier, vol. 26); *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), p. 162.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49884, I-III-50042, I-III-50116, I-III-50244, personal files of prisoners Leon Wiśniewski, Eugeniusz Nowicki, Stanisław Lenard, and Marian Kamiński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 293.

3. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, pp. 18–19, report of examination of O. Arnold.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-13960, personal files of prisoner Aleksander Skrzypczyk.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-2, p. 10, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 79, dated November 6, 1943; Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 312, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 24: 100–111, account of Jerzy Piotrowski; 26: 232–260, account of Bolesław Sugier.

SEERAPPEN

One of the five subcamps formed at the Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia was set up in the town of Seerappen (later Lyublino in Russia). The four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields were Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Schippenbeil. The Seerappen airfield was the Luftwaffe's main operational base for air attacks against the USSR's northern regions. The subcamp began operating upon the arrival of the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, composed of 900 women and 100 men, on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women was sent on October 9, 1944.[1] These prisoners, who were Jews from the Łódź and Wilna (Vilnius) ghettos, Hungary, and Slovakia, came to Stutthof from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.[2]

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Dietrich was the camp's commandant initially, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kauffeldt on October 17, 1944. Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers supervised the prisoners as they worked at the airfield, while 6 guards from the airfield staff watched over them in camp, joined by 2 SS women from the Stutthof camp, Charlotte Fregin and Gerda Kunath, on October 11, 1944.[3]

The prisoners were put to work on construction projects supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), building roads and digging antiaircraft trenches, in the airfield area. Work lasted between 10 and 12 hours a day regardless of the weather.[4] The conditions in the camp can be described, based on the partially surviving correspondence on prisoner provisioning between the commandant and the Stutthof camp administration. The correspondence confirms the disastrously low supply of work clothes and winter attire for the prisoners and that the detachment was generally unprepared to go to Seerappen.[5]

The first reports came to Stutthof as early as October 9, 1944. Seerappen's commandant requested the urgent delivery of primarily materials to mend clothes and shoes—hemp

twine, thread, and cobbler's wax. In his report of October 26, 1944, he requested the delivery of warm winter clothing, underwear, and more tools and materials for mending clothes. The number of female prisoners stayed the same until mid-November 1944, as confirmed by the number of clothing articles ordered (1,100 pairs of gloves and stockings).[6]

Subsequent reports dating from December 1944 and January 1945 requested mending materials, since the central warehouses could not provide new or used clothing or footwear. Orders of clothing and shoes were filled in smaller amounts, and some items such as men's socks and women's stockings were not filled at all. Out of the 1,950 items or pairs of clothing and shoes the commandant had ordered in his letter of January 11, 1945, not quite 1,100 were sent, including just 50 pairs of shoes instead of 500.

Under these conditions, the camp's population gradually dropped, reaching 1,009 prisoners (925 women and 84 men) just before the evacuation, which began on January 20, 1945.[7] The difference of 91 prisoners since late October 1944 was accounted for by fatalities or sick prisoners sent to the hospital at Stutthof. No figures on deaths at the subcamp and no information on transports sent to Stutthof are available. The food in camp was prepared by a kitchen set up by the subcamp's management; medical care was provided by a prisoner doctor.

The camp's evacuation to Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg) and then to Palmnicken resulted in numerous casualties. It is not known how large a group from Seerappen survived the massacre on the beach in Palmnicken (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those sources that are mentioned in the "Stutthof Subcamp System" entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population, January 1945; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; AŻIH, witness examination reports of Fryda Gabrylewicz.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
2. AŻIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).
3. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
4. AŻIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).
5. AŻIH, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.
6. Ibid., p. 153, Kauffeldt to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated October 26, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 140, Kauffeldt to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated November 11, 1944.
7. AŻIH, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

STEEGEN

Female and male prisoners, ranging in number from a handful to 30, were hired out for woodcutting to the Oberforstamt Steegen or Oberförsterei Steegen (Steegen Forest Management Agency) in October 1942. On average, there were approximately 14 people in each detachment. The camp administration earned 1,530 Reichsmark (RM) for their labor.[1] The prisoners were probably quartered in Steegen (later Stegna) in barracks belonging to the agency.

Prisoners continued to be hired out for woodcutting on Oberforstamt Steegen lands in 1943. A work allocation (*Arbeitseinsatz*) report dated May 16, 1943, lists a female woodcutting detachment scheduled for the next day.[2] There are no other records on the subject except for notes in the registers of changes in the barracks.

In the autumn of 1944, 30 Norwegian policemen were put to work in a group called Forsterei I, logging trees in the Steegen forest. A Forsterei II group was put to work hauling tree trunks into the Vistula River. The wood was to be used to build bunkers and trenches on the Eastern Front, but it never reached its destination due to shipping problems and military developments—that is, the swift progress of the Russian offensive.[3]

A much smaller subcamp began operating in Steegen for the first time in September and October 1942. The prisoners were hired out to Unterdeichverband (Dike Subunit) Steegen, which did such work as raising and reinforcing levees in the Steegen area. The company was a division of Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Unit of Elbing District) and had previously put prisoners to work raising and maintaining levees along the Vistula Bay and Nogat River. The Unterdeichverband detachment in Steegen was composed of about eight prisoners.[4]

A group of four to six prisoners were put to work again in June and July of 1943, then again in September. The levee reinforcement was seasonal work, and it resumed every year under a special contract with the Stutthof camp headquarters. Prisoners were put to work as helpers, for which the camp administration was paid 4 RM per day for each prisoner's work. The camp administration received 1,024 RM in 1943 for 256 man-hours of labor.[5]

The detachment was reactivated in August 1944.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted: AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIB-1-2-3-4-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; O.R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggtrad* (Oslo, 1946).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-2, Verändrungsbücher, Veränderungen im Block II; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter*

dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979), p. 294.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-7, pp. 197–198.

3. O.R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggtrad* (Oslo, 1946), pp. 177–178.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-2, Veränderungsbücher, Veränderungen im Block II.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, p. 294.

STOLP

The subcamp at Stolp (later Słupsk) was formed pursuant to a special order by the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp dated August 26, 1944.[1] Prisoners were hired out to the Reich Railway Repair Works in Stolp in Pomerania province. The Stolp repair shops were a division of the works in the German town of Eberswalde. The Germans sent 621 Jewish prisoners to Stolp, 239 women and 382 men. They were mainly from Estonia and Lithuania, but some were from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Germany. One Polish doctor, Lech Duszyński, was also included in the transport.

Another prisoner transport was sent on October 28, 1944, with 20 Jewish boys from the Łódź ghetto who were supposed to learn metalworking in Stolp. They were put in the Stolp subcamp under an order of Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) Chief Richard Glücks, dated October 17, 1944.[2]

SS-Hauptscharführer Julius Sakowski became camp commandant. Railroad security personnel served guard duty during work and in the prisoner housing camp. SS woman Margarete Ritscher was assigned to supervise the women. Pursuant to the commandant's order, the prisoners were to be equipped for the trip with new clothing and shoes, as well as towels, soap, table utensils, and spoons. The railroad administration agreed to issue protective clothing with a red cross for dirty work.

The men and boys were put to work in the railroad shops, and the women worked at modernizing and repairing the railroad tracks, as well as digging antitank ditches outside town. The group of men sent to Stolp consisted predominantly of tradesmen who were specially brought in on August 9, 1944, in a transport of 400 people from the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where they had worked at rolling stock repairs. Some of them were put to work at the subcamp in Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg).[3] In Stolp, they labored chiefly in the car shop and repairing rolling stock.

The labor that the women did was considerably harder; they cleaned the shops, repaired the tracks, and dug fortification trenches. They were often forced to carry large, heavy pieces. The Jewish women were abused while doing this work; they were beaten for no reason. Forced to stand in the open during hours-long roll calls, arbitrary beatings, and hunger also tormented them. The men in skilled-worker positions at the railroad shops were better protected from persecution by SS men, but their work exposed them to the risk of physical injuries because work safety rules were not observed.[4]

The prisoners were housed in railroad buildings: the men in the car shop, where they slept on quadruple-decker bunks; the women, in the gymnasium. The railroad provided food; a special group of prisoners prepared meals. The food was extremely inadequate; the only food that prisoners ate, besides a daily bowl of soup, was a loaf of bread shared among several people. Dr. Duszyński provided medical care until he left to fill the same position at a Gotenhafen (Gdynia) subcamp on October 14, 1944; he was replaced by a German-Jewish surgeon, Dr. Gaspari.[5]

Despite the orders by Stutthof's commandant to supply prisoners with adequate clothing and shoes before they left for Stolp, their situation was not good at all. Only a small group of prisoners received a change of underwear in August 1944; 100 people needed their wooden shoes replaced immediately; the rest had shoes that were urgently in need of repair. In his report for August 26 to September 18, 1944, Commandant Sakowski requested the delivery of clothing and footwear, plus materials to mend them, as well as towels.[6] Notes made on the forms show that the orders were only partially filled.

On September 4, 1944, the camp was visited by SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters staff, commander of two guard companies, the 2nd and the 3rd. No report of the inspection has survived, however. The reason for the inspection was the inadequate state of prisoner clothing and shoe supplies. Footwear was a serious problem, especially for those prisoners who worked at earthmoving, because of the moisture and clay. Many prisoners' shoes were worn out after just a few weeks of work. Without waiting for a late shipment from the Stutthof camp, the company's headquarters in Eberswalde bought 100 pairs of shoes for 600 Reichsmark (RM), charging the amount to the Stutthof camp administration.[7]

In his next report dated October 14, 1944, Commandant Sakowski ordered the delivery of winter clothing and towels for a third of the prisoners, as well as one set of underwear for each, as underwear wore out quickly due to the hard labor. Sakowski's statistics on the subcamp show that the population dropped by two at that time: one Jewish woman died, and Dr. Duszyński was assigned to a subcamp in Gotenhafen.[8]

Following October 27, 1944, when 40 boys aged 10 and 11 were sent to Stolp from the Łódź ghetto, the camp population rose to 659, including 238 women and 381 men. The older prisoners took the boys under their care; for instance, each prisoner foreman took care of a boy, providing him with extra food if possible. Those among the boys who already knew a bit about metalworking made usable metal items, such as penknives, rings, necklaces, and pendants. They then sold them for pieces of bread to the camp's prisoners to supplement the regular camp rations.[9]

One public execution took place in the camp in late 1944. According to Chaim Kozieniecki, the prisoners had been accused of stealing tobacco products from railway cars. An all-day roll call was held in the falling snow, and traces of tobacco were found on 5 prisoners, who were hanged the next day

with the entire camp present.[10] Other sources state that between 8 and 10 prisoners were hanged, while the real perpetrators (who stole food packages and tobacco) were actually German railroad employees who crashed railway cars in order to rob them.

There were 640 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945, including 402 men and 238 women.[11] That figure does not allow for the prisoners who had been hanged; presumably the report on the matter did not reach the Stutthof camp in time. There were a total of 642 prisoners who had been sent to the Stolp subcamp throughout its operation, including 1 replacement for a Jewish woman who had died in camp.

In January and February 1945, prisoners from the camp were put to work in jobs associated with the construction of antitank ditches in the town. The camp's evacuation began in late February 1945. The columns of prisoners were sent to the empty camp in Danzig-Burggraben (in the town of Kokoszki), then to the camp in Stutthof. Their evacuation continued by sea in April 1945.[12]

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay, including those sources mentioned in the entry for "Stutthof Subcamp System." AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Chaim Kozieniecki [*sic* Kozienicki]); O.M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "Więźniowie żydowscy w KL Stutthof," *RaHash 3* (1964); AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński, (subcamp at Stolp); D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); M. Orski, *Eksterminacja Żydów przez pracę w KL Stutthof, w obozie macierzystym i w podobozach*. International Session Materials: *Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945*, (Sztutowo, 1994); Z. Szultka, "Jeszcze o podobozie KL Stutthof w Słupsku," ZapKos 3 (1968); T. Wolski, "Podobóz «Aussenkommando Stolp» w Słupsku," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej w latach 1939–1945* (Koszalin, 1968); official Web site of the city of Słupsk, at www.slupsk.pl/Historia.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 163–164, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslager Stolp, August 25, 1944.

2. Ibid., p. 230, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (recollections of Chaim Kozienicki, typescript, no catalog no.).

3. O.M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "Więźniowie żydowscy w KL Stutthof," *RaHash* (1964) (in AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3: 150).

4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-1, Namensverzeichnis der im Häftlingskrankenbau beschäftigten Aerzte und Pfleger, Stutthof, October 15, 1944; AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński (subcamp at Słupsk).

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 179.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, pp. 87, 111, 113, Reichsbahn Ausbesserungswerk Eberswalde, Werkabt. Stolp do Kommandantur des Konzentrationslagers Stutthof, dated October 5 and 23, 1944.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 180; and Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 119, I Schutzhaftlagerführer to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated October 27, 1944, collective report on supplies of clothing and shoes for the subcamp; AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński (subcamp at Słupsk).

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.

10. Ibid.

11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

12. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki; letter, Ahron Zavadsky to the Stutthof Museum, January 17, 1994.

THORN (OT) (WITH SUBCOMMANDS) [AKA BAUKOMMANDO "WEICHSEL"]

Construction detachment Baukommando "Weichsel" was a complex of camps under the overall supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT) office in Thorn (Toruń). The commandant of Stutthof formed the new subcamp on August 24, 1944, in reaction to a request from the OT, which needed workers for a series of construction projects—mostly military—along the Vistula River.[1] The subcamp's management was located at the Botten (Bocień) estate on the outskirts of Kulmsee (Chełmża).

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Tschesny held the post of overall camp commandant from August 24 to November 24, 1944, followed by SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Totzke. SS men from the SS-Wacheinheit Lebrechtsdorf (Potulice) unit—140 in all—made up the guard staff. In addition, several officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) were assigned from the command staff at Stutthof to direct the subordinate detachments. It is known that SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Jacobi and his successor SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Anton headed the camps at Argenau (Gniewkowo) and then at Korben (Chorabie) between September 6 and October 5, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Willi Tysarzik and SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Meyer assisted Tschesny in setting up the complex.[2]

The initial influx of prisoners consisted of 5,000 Jewish women from many European countries—mainly Hungary, Bohemia, Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, Romania, Slovakia, and Poland—who had arrived in Stutthof from Kauen (July 1944), Auschwitz (August 14 and 16, 1944), and Riga (August 9 and 23, 1944). They joined approximately 40,000 forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) who also worked on the project.[3]

The women were transported by train from Stutthof in three groups between August 24 and 26, 1944. The first group of 1,700 went to Botten; the second group, numbering 1,600,

went via Botten to Schirkenprass (Szerokopas); and the third group, numbering 1,700, went to Torún and on to Argenau.

Before leaving Stutthof, the women received one blanket, table utensils, a towel, and soap. The camp administration was also to provide clothing and housing. Stutthof provided army tents for some prisoners, others stayed in barns, and some prisoners were later kept in cabins of thin plywood that held 35 to 40 people. The greatest problem was the lack of footwear and warm clothes. Stutthof's administration was unable or unwilling to provide better uniforms, despite many letters and reminders from the detachment directors and the supervisory office in Botten. In order to cope, women cut out woolen jackets, coats, and underwear from their blankets.[4]

The women worked the same as the other forced laborers, five days a week and on Saturdays until noon. The work—digging antitank ditches and bunkers—was exhausting. Wake-up was as early as 3:00 A.M., and work lasted until dusk. The prisoners had to march many hours to their workplaces, which were located far from the camps.[5]

When they completed their job, the extremely emaciated women from both Botten and Nagelstal were moved in late December 1944 to Groden (Grodno), about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Nagelstal. They were housed on the shore of Grodno Lake in plywood cabins. The Jewish women cut reeds on the lake, worked at the nearby Mirakowo (Merch) estate, or dug common graves for deceased prisoners on a peninsula in the southeast part of Grodno Lake, out of sight of the town of Grodno. The women at Argenau, meanwhile, had moved on to Korben in mid-September; their task was to dig trenches along a line from the town of Cegielnik (Ziegelwiese) to Górsk (Gurske). They lived in tents during their time there.

Conditions were extraordinarily harsh at all these camps. The exhausting work, the inadequate clothing, shelter, and food, and poor hygienic conditions killed the prisoners off directly and contributed to the spread of disease, especially spotted typhus and dysentery. Abuse by the guards made the situation still worse. According to Lajosne Fleischer of Hungary, many women died from beatings by SS men, who crushed their heads with gun butts, broke their spines, walked on their stomachs, and killed them while they worked.[6] At Nagelstal, the guard staff—made up of approximately 60 Ukrainian and Belorussian SS men—and the commandant (whose name has not been established) displayed an exceptionally brutal attitude toward the women. Several witnesses, including one of the camp's guards, Ukrainian Władysław Kulman, testified at trial in Toruń in 1945 that five to six women died every day, in part from torment by guards; they were beaten with gun butts, locked in a water-filled basement, or forced to stand in the cold with no outerwear. One of the cruelest guards was Filipowicz from Białystok, who murdered his victims in the camp courtyard, as well as Kulman's appointees: a Russian, Klimienko (commander of the guards), and some privates named Rudenia, Biełonożko, Szwap, and Wacek. The dead were buried in the Catholic cemetery.[7] At Argenau and Korben, the guard force consisted of 60 Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SS men.[8] They were no kinder.

As a result of all these factors, the death rates in the OT complex were high. Of the 3,300 women who arrived in Botten and Nagelstal in late August 1944, only 2,947 remained by October 9.[9] The number of deaths increased in November and December; at Botten alone, 31 prisoners died between October 4 and November 30, and as many as 133 died in December. Because of the high percentage of deaths, an additional 1,000 women were sent to Botten on November 19.[10] The Argenau-Korben group had dwindled from 1,700 to 1,475 by October; that number rose to slightly over 1,600 in the latter half of December after an additional transport arrived from Stutthof, but more died in the next month.[11] The actual number of deaths in the whole complex is impossible to calculate with any precision, however, since the records of replacement drafts from Stutthof are incomplete.

A report dated January 24, 1945, indicates a total of 3,225 prisoners in the detachments that made up Baukommando "Weichsel" before evacuation.[12] At Groden the staff conducted a selection to test the prisoners' physical condition before the evacuation began; 200 of the weakest women were excluded and later savagely put to death. The remaining women were escorted toward Lauenburg. Several selections were conducted in the course of the march, and several hundred women died as a result. Approximately 300 prisoners reached Dirschau (Tczew); another 400 got as far as Goddentow (later Godętowo) near Lauenburg (later Lębork); thus around 1,000 women died out of the approximately 1,700 from Groden.

Also on January 24, approximately 1,500 female prisoners were marched out of the Korben camp. The staff excluded 180 women from the evacuation; they were later shot; 28 of them survived the massacre. The other 1,300 or so prisoners were sent toward Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). Another 87 women were murdered during the 97-kilometer (60-mile) march to the town of Krone (Koronowo), where the survivors spent the night in the local prison. The next day, the Russians liberated 997 prisoners—the remainder had presumably died.

Only two members of the large group of SS men supervising OT Thorn were tried before Polish courts. The Toruń District Court sentenced Hans Jacobi, the commandant of Argenau and Korben, to six years in prison on May 2, 1949 (he died on August 30, 1949). The other defendant, Władysław Kulman, was sentenced to death by a judgment from the Toruń Special Criminal Court dated June 18, 1945; the sentence was carried out on August 31, 1945, at Toruń prison.

SOURCES AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, testimony of Ludwig Denzler given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945; AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi; SSKT, Catalog No. 12, records of criminal case against Władysław Kulman; AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, witness examination reports (Piotr and Zofia Gębski, Takacs Andrasne, Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-3, I-IB-4, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population;

Catalog No. I-IIIC-2, records of deaths of prisoners and unidentified female Jewish prisoners, individual and group (OT Thorn); Catalog No. I-IIID-5, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Stephen Horvath (copy at AMS); D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945*, (Gdańsk, 1992); T. Jaszowski, "Masowy grób w Grodnie koło Chełmży," and J. Libiszewski, "Obóz dla Żydówek w Chorabiu," both in *Z badań nad eksterminacją Żydów na Pomorzu i Kujawach* (Bydgoszcz, 1983); M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 161–162, Sonderbefehl über die Aufstellung des Baukommandos "Weichsel."
2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-3, I-IB-4, Kommandanturbefehle 1944–1945; AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against H. Jacobi.
3. AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, pp. 15–22, testimony of Ludwig Denzler, Oberabschnittsleiter supervising the construction of fortifications in the Toruń region, given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945.
4. Ibid., testimony of Ludwig Denzler; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, orders for materials to mend clothing and shoes, dated November 3, 1944.
5. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of former female prisoner Takacs Andrasne and witnesses of crimes committed on Jewish women: Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera.
6. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64.
7. AK-IPN Gd, SSKT, Catalog No. 12; Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of Piotr and Zofia Gębski.
8. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi, testimony of H. Jacobi.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 94, Bescheinigung, Leiter des Oberabschnittes III S.A.-Oberführer Miedermüller to Reichsverteidigungskommissar Danzig-Westpreussen Ostraumbau, October 9, 1944.
10. Ibid., p. 163, E. von Bonin (Leiter der Verwaltung des KL Stutthof) to the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp, dated November 22, 1944.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Tschesny to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, October 2, 1944, Ehle to Verwaltung dated December 3, 1944; The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Stephen Horvath (copy at AMS).
12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; AK-IPN, SSKT, Catalog No. 12, pp. 8–9, testimony of Helena Vajsz.

THORN (*SS-NEUBAULEITUNG*)

This small prisoner detachment of probably several people was set up as part of the SS construction company in Thorn (Toruń). Based on partially surviving entries in prisoner files, it can be established that the subcamp operated between July 23 and December 18, 1940. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS-Neubauleitung detachment operated until February 8, 1941, but this claim is not supported by surviving records of the Stutthof concentration camp. A prisoner labor assignment record for another Thorn detachment, dated a year later with the identical month and date, was probably read in error.[1] The prisoners were put to work building or expanding the SS officers' (police) school in Toruń. When the work was completed, the prisoners were moved to Stutthof. One of the detachment's laborers was Jan Dłużewski, a Pole and a senior railroad assistant for the Polish National Railway in Danzig.

Another Stutthof subcamp was instituted in Thorn a year later, probably at the same site, the SS officers' school, and listed in prisoner records as TWL-Thorn (Truppenwirtschaftslager). Prisoners who were tradesmen were put to work finishing and fitting out the building. The subcamp operated between February 8 and April 12, 1941. When the work was completed, the prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp.[2]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 297. Primary sources for this subcamp are found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS Catalog No. I-III-42542, files of prisoner Jan Dłużewski.
2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42162, I-III-50318, files of prisoners Bernard Czarliński and Józef Otto.

THORN-WINKENAU (AEG)

The Thorn-Winkenau subcamp was formed pursuant to an ordinance issued on August 28, 1944, by Richard Glücks, chief of Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which concerned sending 250 Jewish women prisoners to Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), a company in Thorn (Toruń). The ordinance was noted in an order by camp headquarters dated September 12, 1944.[1]

There was no special order issued to confirm that the subcamp had been established, as was the case with other camps instituted in 1944. The transport of September 13, 1944, was not the first one sent to Thorn. This is clear from a letter from the subcamp's commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel to the clothing warehouse at Stutthof dated

September 4, 1944, regarding a shipment of clothing and underwear made on August 12, 1944. All the women had come to the camp from Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on August 9, 1944 (that was the first transport from that camp to Stutthof). This is supported by information on a shoe shipment from Riga-Kaiserwald, narrowing down the date that the camp was formed to sometime between August 9 and 12, 1944. The number of prisoners from that transport can be placed to at least 150, based upon a supply ordering addendum dated September 4, 1944.[2]

Along with Siemens, AEG was one of Germany's largest electrical engineering concerns; it had 264 million Reichsmarks (RM) in authorized capital in 1943. The company employed 175,000 people in 1942; 10 years earlier, it had employed 30,000. The proportion of foreign workers it employed in 1941 to 1942 grew from 25 to 35 percent, on average. AEG manufactured the majority of weapons-related electrical systems, especially for aircraft, submarines, and other warships, as well as for artillery equipment, tanks, and V-weapons.[3]

The next transport of 280 women was sent to Thorn on October 30, 1944. In it were Hungarian Jewish women who had come to Stutthof from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on October 1, 1944. They had been put to work at the AEG works in Riga; previously they had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp.[4] Several SS men were sent with the Jewish women to Thorn; they had been transferred from the SS-Totenkopfssturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) at Riga to Stutthof on October 25, 1944, and assigned to the AEG subcamp. On the return trip, an escort composed of one noncommissioned officer (NCO), two SS men, and eight sailors from the 1st and 2nd Guard Companies was in charge of transporting 230 emaciated women to the Stutthof camp.[5]

Out of the 680 Jewish women sent to Thorn through late October 1944, 510 were still alive by late January 1945, which means that one more transport of at least 100 people must have come to Thorn in the meantime. The partially surviving hospital records on deaths at Stutthof's subcamps do not contain any names from AEG Thorn, and no personal accounts have been found to illustrate what kind of work was done in the factory or the living conditions in the camp.

The only source that describes the prisoners' situation in this camp is the vestigial correspondence of the subcamp's commandant, Blatterspiel, to the Stutthof clothing warehouse and the Prisoner Employment Department. In it he notes the inadequate and poor state of the clothing of the women who came from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, who were dressed in light summer clothes and shoes unfit for use. Just a few days after the first prisoner transport arrived, there was a shipment of clothing and underwear to Thorn, which later proved to be highly inadequate.[6]

The housing conditions at Thorn-Winkenau were worse than at the parent camp. Aside from making space available for the prisoners, AEG provided neither sleeping blankets nor straw mattresses. The subcamp's commandant asked the Stutthof warehouse for these items in early September 1944, requesting that two blankets and one straw mattress be sent for each woman. There was also a shortage of shirts, stockings and underwear. It is not known whether the order was filled because the report for October 1944 is missing.[7]

Working conditions were very hard. This is evidenced by the large percentage of prisoners unfit for labor in late October 1944, due to their health, and the need to replace them with people in better physical condition. The camp statistics from October 1944 through late January 1945 are missing, so an accurate assessment of the scale of replacement cannot be assessed. The Jewish women were put to work at such labor as loading and unloading heavy machines for the factory, which was under construction, working at the river port, or manufacturing ammunition and weaponry.[8]

The evacuation of the detachment on foot began on January 20, 1945. The Jewish women were headed toward Bydgoszcz (Bromberg). The destination was the AEG factory in Germany, and the factory furnishings were evacuated as well. Even before the evacuation, several women including the Freumovits sisters tried unsuccessfully to escape. They were caught and escorted to the factory. There was another escape attempt during the march. The sisters hid with 10 other women. The engineering director of AEG hid 4 Jewish women from the escort in the boiler room.[9] The entire group was liberated on January 27, 1945, by Russian forces that occupied the factory.

The rest of the women evacuated to Bydgoszcz were liberated by Russian forces on January 26, 1945, in the village of Trzeciewiec (Goldfeld) near Bydgoszcz. During the march, many Jewish women were shot by the escort.[10]

SOURCES The secondary sources that mention this subcamp are M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu* 3 (1979); M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999); D. Drywa, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof: (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945)* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001). For additional information on AEG, see D. Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1985).

Primary sources for this camp can be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn; AŻIH, witness examination reports (Adela Day); The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 173, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 61, September 12, 1944.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 191; see also Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," 3 (1979): 172–173, 212; M.Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 348.

3. D. Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1985), 2: 556–559.

4. The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, reports of testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 234, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 73, October 30, 1944.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 191, Blatterspiel to Kammerwart der Häftlingskammer des KL Stutthof, September 4, 1944.

7. Ibid.

8. AŻIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.

9. AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.

10. AŻIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; and AMS, affidavits of former AEG Thorn prisoners: Rosa and Fira Paperny, Rita Feldman, Sara Dannenberg (letters sent to the Stutthof Museum in 1992 and 1994). See also D. Drywa, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof: (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945)* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001).

TRUTENAU

A group of prisoners worked in the village of Trutenau (later Trutnowy) between Käsemark (Kiezmark) and Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) from April 10 to July 19, 1940, on a farm owned by someone named Behrendt (possibly Walter).[1] A labor assignment record in prisoner files documents the detachment's existence.[2]

In 1939, one of the farms in Trutenau cultivated a special variety of rose for the manufacture of rosewater used in the pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries. In November 1939, a detachment of prisoners from the camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser was put to work there.[3]

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for this camp are found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files. Information for identifying the farm's owner may be found in *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 2:224.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-50131, files of prisoner Marian Jasnoch.

3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41475, I-III-50184, files of prisoners Konrad Burandt and Richard Meinhardt.

WESSLINKEN

The first 50 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to the town of Wesslinken (later Wiślinka) on the outskirts of Danzig (Gdańsk) near Bohnsack (Sobieszewo) on May 29, 1940. They included building tradesmen and workers. They were put to work building and fitting out a brickyard.[1]

The prisoners were quartered in one of the barracks near the construction site. The other barracks were occupied by a group of approximately 200 British prisoners of war (POWs) who were put to work on the same project. When their assigned jobs (such as carpentry, construction work, and so on) were completed, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. New prisoners with other specialties were sent to replace them. Subsequent groups arrived in June and July 1940, one of which returned to Stutthof in mid-October 1940. The detachment was disbanded on December 15, 1940, and the prisoners returned to Stutthof.[2]

The Wesslinken brickyard detachment was reactivated in early 1943. SS-Schütze John Pauls was in charge of it until March 10, 1943, when he was reassigned to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After the war, Pauls was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, in a public execution in Gdańsk.[3]

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in these sources: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Nyśkiewicz, vol. 17); AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against John Pauls; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, surveys (Franciszek Przybylski).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49882, I-III-49973, I-III-50031, personal files of prisoners Antoni Nowak, Zygmunt Kwapisz, and Ignac Wójcik.

2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 17:183, account of Jan Nyśkiewicz; AK-IPN Gd, personal survey of Franciszek Przybylski, n.p.

3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, pp. 79, 80, testimonies of prisoner Józef Bensz and defendant John Pauls at 1946 Gdańsk Trial; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment.

ZEYERSNIEDERKAMPEN

In the first transport of November 8 or 9, 1939, 20 prisoners arrived in Zeyersniederkampen (now Kępiny Wielkie); they had volunteered from Stutthof to help build a new subcamp in the delta of the Nogat River.[1] Initially the prisoners were quartered in an abandoned barrack of a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. The actual camp, ready to take another 120 prisoners, was erected in mid-December approximately 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, between the banks of the Nogat and the levee near the village of Terranova (later Nowakowo). The camp was composed of one large barrack for approximately 150 persons, a separate kitchen, and facilities for the subcamp's commandant and guard staff, which were located outside the camp fence.[2]

The core group of prisoners arrived at camp on December 21, 1939.[3] Prisoners were rotated throughout the subcamp's operation from November 1939 to the spring of 1941.[4] A total of about 160 people lived there at one time,[5] and any vacancies caused by sickness or death were filled by sending additional transports from the camp at Stutthof. A truck would come from Stutthof every Saturday to replace prisoners who had become ill or died.[6]

Until mid-December 1939, while there were only 20 prisoners, the prisoners were supervised by 2 SS men, who transported the prisoners from Stutthof to Zeyersniederkampen. When the camp population had grown to approximately 150, SS-Oberscharführer Paul Görke took over as commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Baumann. The guard staff was increased to approximately 14 SS men.[7] SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz was commandant from April to July 1940, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Willi Redder.[8]

Housing, hygienic conditions, and clothing were all grossly inadequate. Neither the barrack nor the uniforms were sufficient protection against the weather. There were no bunks in the barrack. Prisoners who arrived at camp in the spring of 1940 reported that they had to sleep with no covering at all. The floor was spread with layers of straw, which was not changed for many months and became a hotbed for germs, causing contagious diseases. The lack of fresh underwear or opportunities to wash, as well as the filth and the climate, caused upper respiratory tract ailments, lice infestation, scabies, and diarrhea, among other ailments. Prisoners could not use the primitive latrine outside the barrack at night; they had to use metal containers left for them, of which there were an insufficient number.[9] The camp infirmary run by Dr. Aleksander Witkowski had no effective medication to help prisoners.

The prisoners were not given anything to eat during work. For breakfast they got black coffee and a piece of bread weighing about 200 grams (7 ounces) with a bit of margarine or beet jam. When they came back to camp after work, they were issued their final meal, most frequently a liter (4.2 cups) of soup made of rotted rutabaga, fresh cabbage or sauerkraut, and sometimes barley with potatoes or beans with a bit of fat. The prisoners' salvation came in the form of food packages sent by their families, who knew where they were, thanks to legal correspondence sent by the inmates and to the intercession of sympathetic locals. Sometimes the packages contained hidden banknotes, with which the prisoners bought bread in the shops in Zeyersniederkampen or Terranova from sympathetic Germans.[10] Correspondence was cut off from December 15, 1939, and after the first escape attempts, visits and food packages were cut off as well. These privileges were restored in mid-1940.

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Formation of the Elbing District).[11] Mostly, they worked building a dike along the Nogat River. Work began at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. and lasted 10 or 12 hours, depending on the season; reveille was an hour before the start of the workday. The prisoners worked in several groups, each of which did something different: excavating clay, conveying it in carts to where the dike was being raised, forming the dike, or delivering sod and putting it in with stakes. The design called for a dike 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) long, 3 meters (9.8 feet) high, and 5 meters (16.4 feet) wide at the base. Other groups worked in the camp doing cleanup jobs, in the kitchen or infirmary, or in the transport column delivering supplies for the subcamp. On Sundays the prisoners were hired out to local farmers. In the winter when it was extremely cold and no longer possible to continue working on the levees, the prisoners were sent to dig up old willow trees growing along the route of the planned dike and to cut down reeds and brush used to reinforce the levees. Although this work was one of the easier jobs, it required great stamina because the prisoners had to cover considerable distances over the course of the day. They also removed snow from the road and built barracks in the neighboring village of Terranova.[12]

Worse than the work, however, was the way the SS men and prisoner foremen treated the prisoners. Former prisoner Franciszek Adamczyk testified that during work the SS men would position themselves every 18 meters (20 yards) or so and beat the prisoners with whips. The prisoners were also subjected to so-called cleanliness roll calls, in which they were rolled naked in the snow and beaten with birch branches.[13] Also, before the prisoners entered the barracks, SS men often lined up and ordered the prisoners to run the gauntlet between them while they administered a painful beating.[14]

In the winter of 1940, prisoners caught trying to send illegal correspondence were punished by flogging during the evening roll call. The most trivial offenses at the camp were punished this way, with 25, 50, or even 100 lashes. Prisoner E. Lewandowski, who walked away from camp looking for food, was shot by a guard who treated that as an attempt to escape from the detachment.[15] One Jew, Jakub Apfelbaum, was exposed by a prisoner's denunciation in December 1939; the SS men beat him mercilessly, and the next day they took him away to Stutthof.[16]

It should be stressed that not all the SS men and foremen in the same positions were so cruel; there were highly moral persons among them, including Rev. Józef Szarkowski, Franciszek Zieliński, and SS man Arno Rauchudt. These men were the exceptions, however. The guards' behavior even drew the attention of the local people, who filed a complaint with the Danzig Gestapo. The Gestapo sent an officer to inspect the camp, but although he did find numerous indications of beating and frostbite, none of the prisoners he questioned admitted being beaten, fearing retribution from the guards. The outcome of the inspection was that "we were beaten even more than before," as Jan Urbaniak said.[17]

Conditions at camp definitely deteriorated in late January 1940. That was due to the mostly unsuccessful attempts by prisoners to escape from the detachment and the resultant restrictions imposed by the subcamp's management. The only successful escape from the detachment was that of two sailors

in January 1940. They left the camp even before the barracks had been locked after the evening roll call. They crossed the frozen Nogat River at night unnoticed.[18] Two other prisoners who escaped in the winter of 1939–1940, independently of each other, were caught; one was tortured to death, and the other survived.[19] Władysław Dembski was caught while escaping on July 16, 1940; he died from gunshot wounds, beating, and bleeding.[20] The whole camp suffered the consequences of tightened discipline, such as night roll calls, a ban on correspondence, restrictions on receiving packages and visitors, and collective responsibility of the "neighbors" of any fugitive—the penalty being flogging.[21]

The detachment was disbanded on March 29, 1941.[22] Considering the frequent prisoner replacements, at least 100 should be added to the fixed population of about 160. According to Urbaniak's testimony, of the 160 persons incarcerated at Zeyersniederkampen in December 1939, only 17 returned to the main camp on November 17, 1940.[23]

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for Zeyersniederkampen can be found in AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Jan Urbaniak, Katowice branch; Franciszek Adamczyk, Gdańsk; Józef Faryj, Rzeszów); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Lasik, Stutthof ac.; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Bolesław Muński, vol. 9; Antoni Dulski, vol. 10; Jan Urbaniak, vols. 10, 18; Franciszek Adamczyk, vol. 24); Cmentarz-Zaspa [Zaspa Cemetery] comp. Andrzej Chudy; a prisoner's testimony is available in J. Szarkowski, ed., *Wychowawca pokoleń: Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował W. Drążek* (Gdynia, 1996).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 295, account of Jan Urbaniak; 14: 250, Józef Szarkowski; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak; J. Szarkowski, ed., *Wychowawca pokoleń: Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował W. Drążek* (Gdynia, 1996), p. 99.

2. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 102; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 15–17, 295, 18:60, accounts of Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 18:60, account of Jan Urbaniak.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-43070, files of prisoner Stanisław Dziuba; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:11, account of Antoni Dulski; 9: 144, Bolesław Muński.

5. According to Antoni Dulski, 200 prisoners lived at the camp until mid-1940; later, when the carts of clay and sand were conveyed automatically, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:26.

6. Ibid., 9:144, account of Bolesław Muński; 18:61, Jan Urbaniak.

7. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak (Katowice); Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 103; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 296, 18:60–61, account of Jan Urbaniak.

8. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 143, account of Bolesław Muński; 10: 15–19, 300–302, Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak.

10. Ibid., 10: 19–20, 304–305, accounts of Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak; 18: 67, Jan Urbaniak.

11. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49943, I-III-49946, personal files of prisoners Jan Olejarz and Jan Zawadzki.

12. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 20–21, account of Antoni Dulski; 18: 63–64, Jan Urbaniak; Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 103.

13. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:12, account of Antoni Dulski; 18:69, Jan Urbaniak; 24:4, Franciszek Adamczyk.

14. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B11, report of examination of witness Franciszek Adamczyk (Katowice).

15. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 22–24, account of Antoni Dulski; 18: 65–66, Jan Urbaniak; Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, pp. 108–109.

16. Ibid., 10:304, account of Jan Urbaniak.

17. Ibid., 18: 68.

18. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 106; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 29, account of Antoni Dulski.

19. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ko. 33/68, report of examination of witness Józef Faryj; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:22, account of Antoni Dulski; 18:69, Jan Urbaniak.

20. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 23, account of Antoni Dulski; Cmentarz-Zaspa [Zaspa Cemetery], comp. Andrzej Chudy.

21. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, pp. 106–108.

22. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 33, account of Antoni Dulski. We can take this date as being the most credible. According to other sources—ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak—this occurred between November 17, 1940, and January 27, 1941.

23. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak (Katowice).

ZEYERSVORDERKAMPEN

A prisoner detachment operated between 1939 and 1944 next to the Nogat River in Zeyersvorderkampen (now Kępiny Małe). It had little in common with the subcamps at Pröbbernau and Zeyersniederkampen on the other side of the river. The prisoners were put to work at local farms or in small tradesmen's companies.

A detachment was first set up in Zeyersvorderkampen in 1939–1940. This is documented by labor assignment records in prisoner files. They cover the period from November 25, 1939, to June 10, 1940. In all three instances of such records that have been found, the prisoners were hired out to a German farmer named Fast.[1] All the prisoners had been sent from the camp at Stutthof.[2] They represented various trades, from farmworker to merchant to bricklayer.

Another subcamp was activated in the same place in the autumn of 1944, this time with female Jewish prisoners. The subcamp's operation is documented by a letter of September

26, 1944, from the Zeyersvorderkampen township farm director Johannes Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on providing the women with underwear, clothing, and shoes. The letter requested the shipment of clothes and underwear for the women in his administrative region, in the amounts that had been agreed upon with van Riesen, the farm director at Rosenort.[3]

Some 78 women prisoners were put to work at all the farms in Zeyersvorderkampen. That is the subcamp's population as reported by Jahn in late September 1944 when he ordered pullovers and socks. He thought that supplies for the women were inadequate and asked for the prompt delivery of needed items of clothing. The prisoners probably returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944 when they had completed the farmwork.

SOURCES ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for this camp may be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III; Catalog No. I-IVH-5, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; on Fast, see *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung*, *Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. According to the *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928*: *Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung*, *Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377, Kornelius Fast held the post of Zeyersvorderkampen township administrator (Gemeindevorsteher). But because of the lack of sources from wartime, it is not known whether he continued to serve in that post in the period under discussion. As township administrator he could request prisoner labor at local farms or for the township administration or his own office.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49869, I-III-49932, I-III-49966, files of prisoners Mieczysław Sobierański, Leon Kotłowski, and Antoni Wasilewski. See also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 62, Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp, dated September 26, 1944.

VAIVARA



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944.
USHMM WS #98906, COURTESY OF GFH

VAIVARA MAIN CAMP

Vaivara[1] was one of the last concentration camps to be established, at a time when two aims shaped decisions of the Nazi leadership: (1) to implement the final stage in the destruction of European Jewry by liquidating all remaining ghettos and (2) to utilize Jewish labor. On June 21, 1943, Heinrich Himmler decreed the closure of the remaining ghettos in the Baltic states, the transfer of ghetto inmates to newly formed concentration camps, and the deportation of as many able-bodied Jews as possible for work in oil-shale production in Estonia.[2] Vaivara was established on September 19, 1943, to hold this Jewish workforce.[3]

The production of oil from shale was the responsibility of the Baltische Öl GmbH or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), a subsidiary of the Kontinentale Öl AG, both operating within the sphere of responsibility of Dr. Krauch, chairman of the board of IG Farben and Generalbevollmächtigter für den Erzeugungsplan der chemischen Industrie (General Plenipotentiary for the Chemical Industry Production Plan). After the German occupation of Estonia in 1941, Baltöl took over and tried to reutilize the oil-mining facilities in northeastern Estonia.[4] In 1943, Baltöl was facing two important developments: first, the German withdrawal from the Caucasus made alternative sources of oil even more important than before; second, there was an increasing shortage of workers, caused in part by the German army's transfer of prisoners of war (POWs) to fortification and other projects. POWs had been the backbone of the Baltöl workforce. Baltöl needed labor to produce oil for the war effort, and Himmler wanted to dispose of a large remaining group of the Jewish population in the Baltics. Vaivara was the result.

At a July 19, 1943, meeting at the Commander of Security Police and SD offices in Reval, the officers made detailed plans for the establishment of Vaivara. The list of those present reveals that all local players were involved: the civil administration and SS-Police in Estonia; the German army (Wehrmacht); Baltöl; the Organisation Todt (OT); Einsatzgruppe Russland-Nord; and Einsatz Baltöl, which was in charge of construction projects.[5] The camp personnel were to be provided by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin; the WVHA in Riga was in charge locally. The initial establishment of the camp (before personnel were transferred to Estonia) was undertaken by SS-Sturmbannführer Wossagk, who was the head of security (Abwehrbeauftragter) of Baltöl, and, under his direction, by the head of the plant protection force (Werkschutzleiter) Hilgenfeld.[6]

Throughout its existence, Vaivara was characterized by diversity. Two main employers, Baltöl and OT, used a multiethnic workforce of Soviet POWs, forced laborers, civilian workers, and concentration camp inmates.[7] Further, several camps at each work site were supervised and administered by different organizations (POW camps by the Wehrmacht; civilian and forced labor camps by the civil administration, OT, and Baltöl; and the Vaivara subcamps by the SS and Security Police). The Jewish concentration camp inmates were strictly segregated from the others,[8] and Jews and POWs received worse treatment than other workers.[9] This mixture caused numerous frictions in the one year of Vaivara's existence.

The commander of Vaivara was Hans Aumeier, formerly Schutzhaftlagerführer in Auschwitz; his administrative staff consisted of eight SS members. Head of administration was Otto Brenneis. Dr. Franz von Bodmann, SS doctor for all camps, was in charge of monitoring the work ability of inmates, which included curing as well as killing. During an illness in December 1943, Bodmann was replaced by Dr. Krebsbach from Riga. Franz Mang was in charge of a dental station. A branch office of the Deutsches Hygiene Institut in Riga was established in Kohtla-Järve. In general, very few and low-ranking Germans were assigned to Vaivara and its subcamps—in most cases, only a commander and a medical orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG). The role of SDGs was unusually prominent; often they also took over the function of camp commanders. This was caused by the disastrous hygienic conditions in all Vaivara camps and by outbreaks of illnesses, in particular epidemic typhus (*Fleckfieber).* From January to March 1944, Bodmann got 10 additional Wehrmacht medical orderlies assigned to Vaivara.[10] In the first few weeks, the newly established camps were often run by OT personnel; some smaller camps remained under OT commanders. One characteristic feature of the Vaivara camps is a frequent movement of SS personnel and inmates from one camp to another. In several cases, camp commanders took inmates they knew with them to new assignments, but in most cases the movement was caused by shifting work priorities and short-term assignments. For presumably the same reasons, several camps that were initially planned for Baltöl plants—such as Slanzy—were not set up. While the SS camp staff remained skeletal, the hierarchy of inmate functionaries was fully developed, ranging from camp elders (Lagerälteste) to elders for sections (Blöcke) and rooms (Zimmer), prisoner police, Kapos, prisoner clerks, doctors, and nurses. The camps were guarded by the Estonian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 287 and the Russian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 290. These battalions were under the command of the Commander of the Order Police (KdO) and were assigned to the camps by the SS-and Police Leader (SSPF) Reval. The guards also accompanied inmates to the work sites; the foremen were mostly OT. In some cases, OT personnel were armed to take on guarding functions.

Most of the camps were located in the oil-shale region of eastern Estonia. The administrative staff and the main camp were located in Vaivara. In October 1943, subcamps

(*Arbeitslager*) existed in Klooga, Narva, Soski, Auvere, Kerstowa, Ereda, Jõhvi, Kuremäe, Port Kunda, Kiviõli, and Vivikonna.[11] The mix between Baltöl production sites and Vaivara camps leads to some confusion about the proper names and locations of subcamps. One example is Kohtla-Järve, one of the centers of Baltöl and OT activity. The company lists 1,163 Jews working at Kohtla-Järve and another 856 at Kohtla; but no corresponding camps can be found in the monthly reports by the Vaivara SS doctor.[12] One has to assume that the inmates of either of the subcamps Ereda or Kiviõli were marched to Kohtla-Järve; former inmates often recall the long distances they had to cover to get to and from work. Because of the advance of the Red Army, the more eastern camps had to be evacuated in February 1944; Aumeier's headquarters were moved to Saka. In the same area, the Aseri, Goldfields, and Sonda subcamps were established, together with a group of temporary camps in southern Estonia and, in the summer of 1944, the Lagedi subcamp near Reval. In August and September 1944, the Germans retreated completely from Estonia, and all camps were evacuated. In addition to the Vaivara camps, the Security Police had its own camp system in Estonia for incarcerating real or perceived political opponents.

The majority of Vaivara inmates were deportees from the Vilnius and Kaunas ghettos in the summer and fall of 1943; in many cases, they comprised whole families. Former inmates often recall how and where one after the other of their family members perished, until only they themselves or maybe another survived to see liberation. By the end of 1943, a small group of German and Czech women, who had been deported to Estonia in September 1942 and had been kept in Security Police camps, were transferred to the Vaivara system. Another group of inmates came from Riga-Kaiserwald, and another from Hungary in the summer of 1944. Prisoner numbers from Bodmann's reports are 6,982 in October 1943, a peak of 9,207 in November 1943, and a decline from 8,210 in February 1944 to 6,662 in June 1944. According to former inmates, they received a number upon arrival, which they kept during their numerous transfers to other camps. The numbers of individual inmates in the Klooga index confirm this: many are too high for the total number of Klooga inmates, but they add up to roughly 9,000.[13]



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944.
USHMM WS #98901, COURTESY OF ESTHER ANCOLI-BARBASCH

The purpose of the Vaivara camp system was the fullest exploitation of the work capacity of the inmates. For this reason, large killings of the able-bodied did not take place before the retreat. Individual killings, most in a gruesome manner, were whimsical killings by specific subcamp commanders, acting out their murderous impulses at whatever camp they were assigned to. Apart from these individual killings, selections and killings of old and weak prisoners took place on a continuous basis. As whole families were deported from Lithuania, many old and sick people and children found their way into the camps. Already in his October 25, 1943, report, Bodmann euphemistically mentioned that mostly old Jews had "died"—that they were those who could not adapt to the changed conditions and that this would constitute a relief for the camps.[14] Apart from ongoing selections and killings—the reason Bodmann visited the Vaivara camps on a regular basis—two large groups of inmates were deported. In February 1944, 907 old and sick inmates and 111 children were deported to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. Among the inmates, deportation to Riga-Kaiswerwald was equated with death. In April 1944, 500 inmates, including children (who had been kept separately), were deported from Ereda and taken over by the SD. Bodmann gives contradictory information about the final destination of the transport, mentioning both Riga-Kaiserwald and Auschwitz; however, one mother had insisted on accompanying her child and testified later that the transport went to Auschwitz.[15] Inmates suffered from disease, cold, hunger, and exhaustion in large numbers. In all camps, facilities to burn corpses were set up, preferably in somewhat hidden places.[16] The medical personnel tried to control the 1943–1944 typhus epidemic through quarantines and hygienic measures like boiling all drinking water, and they also worked at combating lice and vermin. One witness, however, reports that compulsory washing with hot water on the camp square in subzero temperatures was more detrimental than beneficial to the inmates' health.[17] Nevertheless, Aumeier was congratulated for taking initiative during the typhus epidemic.[18]

Labor in the camp was very hard and often beyond the strength of the inmates. Not only former inmates recall this, but Baltöl and OT reports mentioned this repeatedly. The Jewish workforce was not considered an adequate replacement for the Soviet POWs, who were often miners by profession. Weakened by malnutrition and cold and lacking shoes and clothing, the Jewish contingents were considered capable of only 50 percent of the POW and civilian work capacity.[19] For this reason, the Baltöl management tried to avoid assigning Jews and refused to deport additional Hungarian Jews to their work sites.[20] Some inmates were used as craftsmen in special workshops, producing clothing and shoes. This type of work seemed to have made the most

sense as far as productivity was concerned. As Baltöl was mainly interested in improving productivity, they supplied additional foodstuffs. Most former inmates recall that entirely insufficient portions were given to them, indicating that the problem lay mainly with the SS camp administration. For the October 1943–June 1944 reporting period, Bodmann lists 1,506 deaths in all Vaivara subcamps, with a peak of 296 in November and December and another 245 in March 1944. This was about 16.5 percent of the camp population.

Evacuations of camps took place several times, causing inmates to endure difficult marches. Only occasionally was transportation provided; during most of the evacuations, prisoners were forced to march without sufficient shoes, clothes, or food. Large numbers of inmates died from exhaustion or, when they were incapable of moving on, were killed. From the German administrative perspective, evacuations were complicated by the fact that different organizations were responsible for different types of inmates. The army moved the POWs, the companies moved their workforce, and the SS moved the Jewish concentration camp inmates. This added considerably to the already existing chaos; but, as usual, Jews and POWs were treated worse than others. Evacuation plans from March 1944 actually detail the plan to march 5,000 Jewish inmates from eastern Estonia via Ereda, Kohtla, and Kiviõli to Riga—a march estimated to take three weeks.[21] In August and September 1944, the final evacuation from Estonia was planned, but it was delayed by a series of conflicting orders from Hitler, first forbidding and then finally allowing evacuation.[22] In this period, inmates were moved further to the west and finally loaded on ships or, because there was not enough ship space, crowded into the Klooga subcamp and a makeshift camp in Lagedi, near Tallinn. During the voyage along the Baltic coast, several ships sank. Most of the inmates were brought to Stutthof near Danzig and after that to other camps in Germany. Some actually ended up in another shale mining facility in Dautmergen, a subcamp of Natzweiler, where they encountered the former commander of Vivikonna and Ereda again. Not all inmates were supposed to be deported, however. In the last days of July 1944, presumably on July 20 and days following, Bodmann conducted particularly strict selections in one camp after another. Former inmates refer to it as the "10 percent selection," since fully 10 percent of the inmates were loaded on trucks and taken away. In several camps, the already suspicious remaining inmates asked the selected inmates to leave information on the trucks. The trucks returned with bloodstained clothes and messages that the deportees were to be shot near Ereda. All the SS personnel went away for this action and returned in a drunken stupor with bloodstained uniforms. Former OT personnel in Ereda witnessed the mass executions on July 23 and 24, 1944.[23] On September 19, 1944, the last day before the final evacuation, the remaining inmates of Klooga were also shot.

Most of the major perpetrators in Vaivara served in a number of concentration camps during the war and were sentenced after the war for their activities in camps other than Vaivara. Aumeier was sentenced and executed in Poland in 1948; Dr. Krebsbach was sentenced to death in 1946 in Dachau. Some of the minor figures received jail sentences from U.S., Polish, and Soviet authorities. Bodmann committed suicide in May 1945; Brenneis was killed in the last days of the war. The Soviets conducted a trial in 1951 against members of the Schutzmannschaftsbattalion 287.[24] The German authorities conducted a number of investigations against former camp personnel, some of which led to trials. Helmut Schnabel received a life sentence in 1977; former SDG Rolf Klicker received a reduced sentence of six years, because he had been a minor during the war.[25] Ernst Runde was indicted but committed suicide in 1967 in prison. Oskar Helbig was indicted as well, but in the 1970s he was declared unfit to stand trial. Erich Scharfetter fled to Egypt in 1960, when the investigation against him commenced, but returned in 1977 and was given a life sentence in 1980.[26] Wilhelm Werle and Wilhelm Genth were investigated and died in the 1960s; others, like Alfred Engst, died in the 1950s, before the investigations of events in Estonia took a serious turn after the establishment of the Central Office for State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1958. Other perpetrators could not be identified, often because witnesses could only remember a last name. The only perpetrator about whom numerous serious allegations were made, who was never located, is Kurt Pannicke. He came from Wittenberg, later in the Soviet occupied zone, and neither the German Democratic Republic (GDR) nor the West German authorities could trace him.

SOURCES The most important sources are the reports from the SS camp doctor (Lagerarzt), which cover the period from September 1943 to June 1944. The reports were only discovered in the summer of 2002 in the EHM, holding documents 152/2/40. In the ESTA, the following records have been preserved: R 187 Baltöl, R 169 OT/Einsatzgruppe Ruslland-Nord, Einsatz Baltöl, R 966 AL Narva-Ost, R 170 AL Klooga. Witness testimony can be found in German trial records, the most comprehensive at the ZdL case numbers AR-Z 246/59 and AR-Z 233/59. Witness statements can also be found in the oral history collections in YVA.

Not much has been published on Vaivara. The most comprehensive study was written by Mark Dworzecki, who was an inmate himself and conducted postwar interviews with other former inmates: *Jewish Camps in Estonia* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: YV, 1970). An article by Alfred Streim gives an overview of the findings of German courts: "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *Datte* 5, (1989). A recent, unpublished study by an Estonian historian uses newly accessible material in Estonian archives: Riho Västrik, "KL Vaivara" (unpub. MSS, Tallinn). The diary of an inmate of Klooga has been published: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944*, ed. and introd. Benjamin Harshav and

trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven, CT: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2002).

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. In the following, reference to any of the sources used will only be made if part of the text is quoted verbatim or a statement warrants special attention.

2. June 6, 1943, RFSS an HSSPF Ostland, Chef WVHA, BA, NS 19/1740.

3. October 2, 1943, RSHA an Verteiler, BA, R 58/264.

4. See March 4, 1944, Mathy, Direktor der Baltischen Öl GmbH, Bericht, ESTA, R 187/1/1.

5. July 21, 1943, Wossagk, Abwehrbeauftragter Baltöl, Aktennotiz, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

6. Ibid.

7. See January 15, 1943, OT, Bestand Ostländerlager Falkenhorst, ESTA, R 167/1/5.

8. September 30, 1943, Baltöl, Arbeitseinsatz den [*sic*] Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

9. June 26, 1944, OT/Russland-Nord/Baltöl, ESTA, R 169/1/3.

10. January 26, 1944, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40. The author wishes to thank Meelis Maripuu and Riho Västrik for making these reports available.

11. October 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

12. N.d., Belegschaft Neubauprogramme; July 19, 1944, Baltöl Aktennotiz—both: ESTA R187/1/24.

13. Card index, ESTA, R 170; 1992, Benjamin Anolik, YVA, 03/6548; January 20, 1944, SS Wirtschafter Riga, Beurteilung Aumeier, BA, Aumeier SS file.

14. October 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

15. February 20, 1944, March 26, 1944, April 25, 1944, SS Lagerarzt Berichte, EHM, 152/2/40; October 27, 1964, Molly In., vol. 12; March 22, 1965, Molly In., vol. 13; July 27, 1965, Molly In., vol. 14—all: ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

16. November 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

17. July 15, 1965, Nissan An., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

18. January 20, 1944, SS Wirtschafter Riga, Beurteilung Aumeier, BA, Aumeier SS file.

19. February 2, 1944, Baltöl Aktennotiz; February 20, 1944, OT/Einsatz Baltöl, Aktenvermerk; July 19, 1944, Baltöl, Aktennotiz—all: ESTA, R 187/1/24.

20. June 2, 1944, Baltöl an Arbeitseinsatzstelle Baltöl, ESTA, R 187/1/32; June 27, 1944, Beauftragter für den Arbeitseinsatz, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

21. March 5, 1944, Mineralölkommando an Heeresgruppe Russland-Nord, ESTA, R 187/1/67.

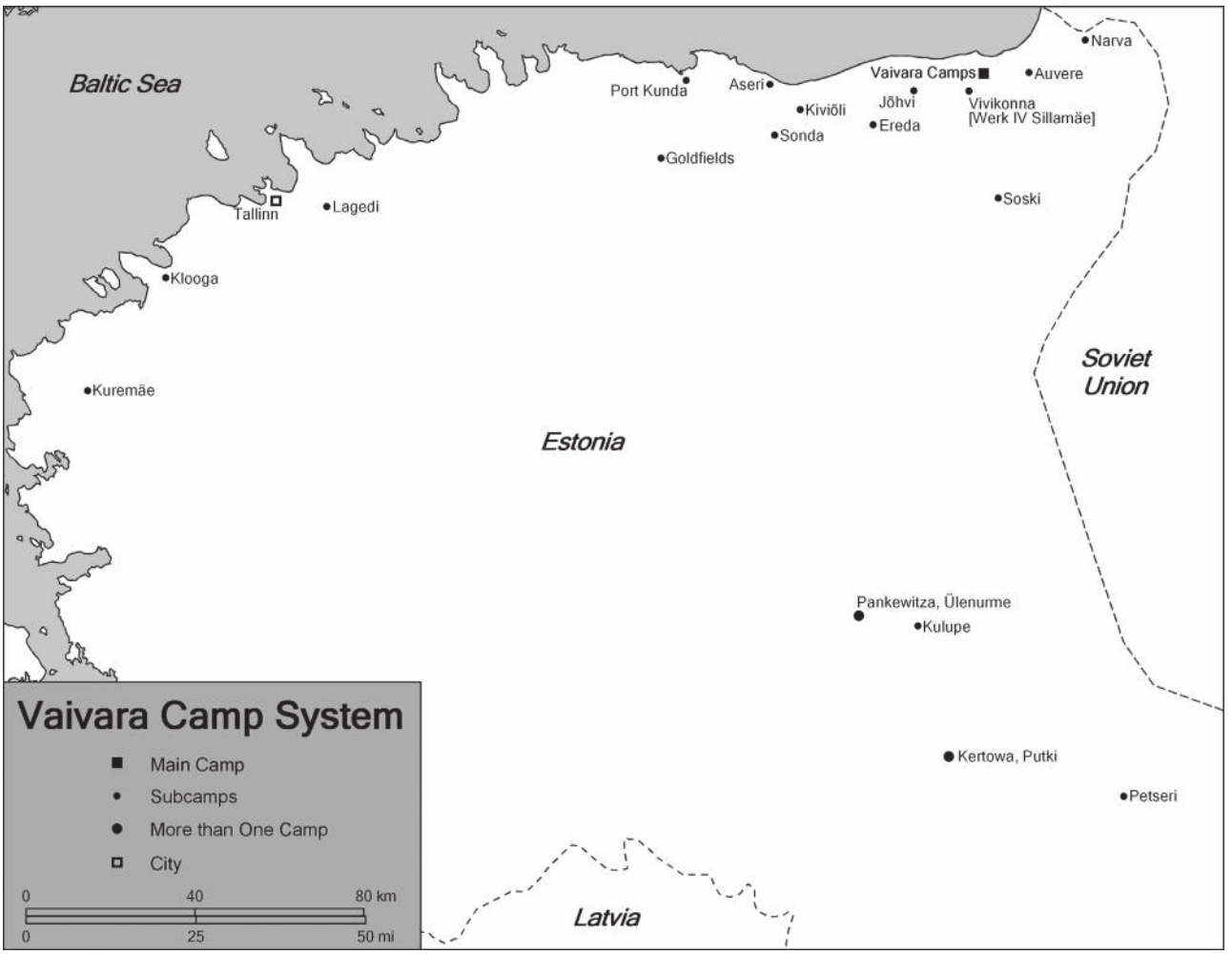
22. N.d., Übersicht über die Weisungen; conflicting Hitler orders from August 9, 1944, August 11, 1944, August 13, 1944—all: ESTA, R 187/1/24.

23. April 25, 1963, Franz Le., vol. 11A; July 21, 1976, Fritz Se., vol. 30—both: ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

24. ESTA, Fond 129/16210jv, information courtesy of Riho Västrik.

25. LG Hannover, 11Ks 2/75.

26. LG Stade, 9 Ks 1/78-23/78.



ASERI [AKA OT OSTLÄNDER LAGER]

The Aseri subcamp was established on May 8, 1944. It held 225 inmates and was monitered by 23 guards. The camp commander was Kurt Pannicke; witnesses recall a deputy nicknamed "Boxer" or "Giraffe." The SS medic (SDG) assigned to Aseri was Erich Scharfetter. The camp elder was Diller. One witness stated that there were Dutch personnel in the camp, one of whom helped inmates; another, Wilhelm Genth, beat many of them.[1] Inmates either worked in a quarry or laid down railway tracks. Housing consisted of wooden barracks. Even according to the reports of the SS camp doctor, Bodmann, hygienic conditions and food supply in Aseri were inadequate.[2]

In September 1943, French, Spanish, and Dutch forced laborers were working in Aseri; in February 1944, the camp was still referred to as "OT [Organisation Todt] Ostländer Lager." Vaivara inmates were marched to Aseri and remained there until August. In typical Vaivara fashion, Pannicke was transferred from one camp to another, and he took a group of Jewish inmates he selected with him.[3] According to witness statements, Pannicke knew inmates individually and exhibited a godlike attitude, as expressed in his saying, "I am killing my Jews myself."[4] Inmates were beaten on a special bench for stealing food during work assignments outside the camp. One witness related a rather unusual experience: a German army colonel requested a daily work detail of 20 inmates for the sole purpose of giving them food.[5]

Bodmann "selected" 10 percent of the Aseri inmates, including children that the inmates had previously been able to protect. After the selection, the remaining inmates heard machine-gun fire near the camp. One witness stated that a wounded survivor came back to report that the victims were shot near Ereda; this account would be consistent with the overall pattern of killings after the big selection in the summer of 1944. Pannicke returned with a bloodstained uniform, and when asked what had happened by the inmates who were requested to wash it, he joked that he had been involved in a duel.[6] Some inmates were deported by ship from Aseri via Kiviõli to Stutthof in the summer of 1944; others remained in the Vaivara camp system.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

2. May 26, 1944 and June 26, 1944, Monatsberichte SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

3. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14; October 6, 1968, Iccak Zo., vol. 24—both: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

4. August 19, 1965, Szabatai Ge., vol. 14; October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14—both: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

5. September 19, 1962, Efim. Ko., vol. 14, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

6. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14; October 22, 1968, Sima Sk., vol. 24; July 1, 1971, Herschel Dr., vol. 27—all: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

AUVERE

The Auvere subcamp, which the Germans established in the fall of 1943, was one of the smaller camps. In October 1943, it contained 406 inmates; in November, it held 542 prisoners and was considered overcrowded. In January 1943, the number of inmates was 531, but 487 of those inmates were sent on an evacuation march in February 1943. On February 4, 1944, the camp was considered closed.

The first inmates were transferred to Auvere immediately after deportation from Vilnius and Kaunas; others arrived later via Vivikonna. The first camp commander was an Organisation Todt (OT) member; he was replaced by a German police officer, remembered by inmates as Wittner. He was succeeded by Ernst Runde around Christmas of 1943, who also acted as SS medic (SDG). The camp elder was called Jankelewicz. The work was very hard, consisting of building a narrow-gauge railway in a swampy area, which meant that the inmates were standing up to their ankles in ice-cold water. Others worked at woodcutting. OT supervised the work. The inmates were first housed in a former school building; later *Tonnenzelte*, a sort of emergency barracks, were added.

The typhoid epidemic of the winter of 1943–1944 reached Auvere, and in December 1943, 35 inmates had died and 123 were in quarantine. In January 1944, another 12 deaths were registered. The SS camp doctor, Bodmann, fell ill himself in the December period and was temporarily replaced by Dr. Krebsbach. An inmate acted as grave digger. The food situation was as bad here as in other Vaivara camps. Inmates who worked outside the camp were always trying to obtain supplementary food; 1 inmate, who was apprehended with a piece of bread, was killed by the SDG. Another witness recalled how the SDG shot an unnamed inmate who had fallen to his knees, begging for his life. This inmate had been given a few fish by an Estonian.[1]

Due to the approach of the Red Army, Auvere was evacuated on February 4, 1944, and 487 inmates were forced to march via Vaivara to Kiviõli, a considerable distance in the middle of winter with plenty of snow on the ground. On January 29, 1944, 40 sick inmates had been transported to Vaivara. The march was supervised by Runde and a Wehrmacht SDG. Runde himself recalled that the marching column stretched to 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) and was guarded by the Estonian police. Most witnesses recall the terrible circumstances of the march, during which feeble inmates were thrown into a lake.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. March 14, 1971, Aron Sch., vol. 27, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

EREDA

Ereda was operated by Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), as production site (*Werk*) number X. Before the Germans established the main Vaivara camp, the workforce at Ereda consisted of a mix of civilian laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and forced laborers. A Waffen-SS depot (*Reservelager*) was nearby. In the vicinity of Ereda, there were a number of work sites, such as mines for oil shale, coal pits, refineries (in nearby Kohtla-Järve), and several building sites run by the Organisation Todt (OT).[1] Ereda was one of the first Vaivara camps to be set up, initially only on a temporary basis, and it contained 245 inmates in October 1943. In November, plans were changed, and the number of inmates was raised to 630. They were supposed to build a new camp 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away. In December, this plan was dropped, and Ereda continued to consist of two, close-by camps, referred to as the lower camp and the upper camp. In December and January, 752 inmates were incarcerated in Ereda, but the number rose sharply with the influx of evacuees, which brought the total up to 1,600 in February and 1,907 in March. In May 1944, there were 1,497 inmates guarded by 61 Russian guards. As of July 19, 1944, 1,132 Jews worked on OT construction sites. The companies considered the number of Jewish inmates to be too high for acceptable productivity.[2]

When the first Jewish prisoners arrived, Ereda was still run by OT. After the takeover by the SS administration, the first camp commander was Heinz Drosihn, with Becker as deputy. Drosihn was succeeded by Helmut Schnabel. Erich Scharfetter was in Ereda during the December 1943–January 1944 period of the typhus epidemic; later Rolf Klicker was SS medic (SDG). Former inmates mention as camp elders Lehmann, Rauch, and Glaser. Some witnesses have bad recollections of some of the camp functionaries, and they commented on the lack of solidarity in the camp.[3] Drs. Konjurski, Ponwaski, and Konis were mentioned as camp doctors. Roughly 1,000 Jewish inmates were sent to Ereda directly after their deportation from Lithuania in August–September 1943, some of whom were moved to Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) after roughly one month. In the winter of 1943–1944, a small number of Jewish women, who had been deported to Estonia from Germany and Theresienstadt in 1942,

were transferred from the Reval prison to Ereda, presumably in an effort to separate all Jewish from non-Jewish inmates, though 1 of them held that this was meant as punishment for maintaining contact with their families at home with the help of German workmen.[4] In February 1944, when the more eastern subcamps of Vaivara were evacuated, Ereda became one of the reception camps. The inmates of Narva, for instance, were marched to Ereda under Schnabel's command, and many of them were shot on the way. Some inmates thus encountered family or friends from whom they had been separated. In the early summer of 1944, Hungarian women were deported to Ereda. According to German witnesses from OT, Ereda was liquidated by the end of July 1944, and—as in Aseri and other subcamps—shortly afterward the victims of the "10 percent action" were shot there.[5]

The most dramatic incident in the history of Ereda is connected with the transfer of the group of women from Reval to Ereda. Camp commander Drosihn fell in love with one of the young women, leading to an improvement in the inmates' living conditions. One witness recalls a New Year's Eve celebration where Drosihn was drinking toasts to the inmates and wishing that everybody would be home the following year.[6] The relationship was discovered, and Drosihn, who must have been aware that the penalty for *Rassenschande* (racial defilement) was death, sought the assistance of his friends in the OT, who helped him to escape and hide. After a few days, however, both Drosihn and the woman were apprehended—either they were shot or they committed suicide. This took place at the end of February or in early March 1944. The episode had a profound effect on the SS camp administration, and strict regulations were implemented to avoid another occurrence. Schnabel took over as camp commander.

Ereda consisted of an upper and a lower camp built on swampy ground. The first inmates had to build their own accommodations; even essentials like a camp kitchen were missing. The housing situation was unsatisfactory, consisting initially of Quonset-type huts, which provided no shelter from the cold. The inmates referred to these huts as "doghouses." Inmates' hair sometimes froze to the ground during the night, and they had to cut it off in order to be punctual for roll call. Only in June 1944 was the camp connected to running water, which allowed the inmates to wash daily. The death toll due to the bad living conditions was high: 109 deaths in February 1944 and 161 in March 1944. Because of the numerous construction sites in the vicinity, inmates had to march considerable distances to their workplaces, in the winter and with wooden clogs, which exhausted them even more. After February 1944, the camp became so overcrowded that inmates hardly had room to lie down. In the January–February period, an epidemic of typhus broke out, which added to the general chaos in the camp. Corpses were regularly burned in pits in a clearing in the woods nearby. The sick and the children were confined to the lower camp, where conditions were even more atrocious. On February 14, 1944, all the sick people, together with doctors and nurses and 184 children from the lower camp, were deported. Ereda continued to be used as a collection point for sick inmates; in April 1944, another large group was deported. In July 1944, the "10 percent selection" took place in Ereda as in other subcamps (see "Vaivara Main Camp"), and the camp was evacuated. The inmates were transported by rail, with the exception of roughly 100 people who were left behind, supposedly to clean up the camp.

Schnabel committed numerous acts of atrocity and murder and was considered a sadist. Even former OT personnel commented on the terrible conditions in the camp, the frequent floggings, and the daily deaths of inmates. Several of the killings that Schnabel committed were talked about throughout the camp: one was the killing of two inmates who had asked for a second helping of soup; another, the drowning or starvation (accounts differ) of a newborn baby. Another incident concerned an inmate who, due to illness, could not reach the camp latrines in time and was shot by Schnabel with the words: "Damn dog, you are soiling the white snow." A young girl was ordered by Schnabel to clean his boots while he was walking around in them, forcing her to crawl on her knees after him while he kicked her in the head.[7] One of the former Jewish camp doctors commented that Schnabel liked to see blood. Only when the treatment by the Jewish doctors gave Schnabel relief from his arthritis did he treat the inmates somewhat better. Schnabel used a great deal of alcohol; to procure it, two youngsters from the camp bartered food supplies for alcohol in the nearby village. Dealings of this nature seem to have made Schnabel somewhat approachable; at times, both he and the SDG could be bribed with valuables.[8] Most of the former inmates comment more favorably on the behavior of the OT men, who tried to improve the food situation.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. September 20, 1943, OT/Einsatzgruppenleiter Russland-Nord, Gieseler an Leiter OT Zentrale, Dorsch, ESTA, R 187/1/7.
2. June 27, 1944, Bevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, ESTA, R 1887/1/33.
3. Gerszon Karapansa, YV, 03/1780; Rosalie Szoszana Harten, YVA, 03/2262; Se'adya Bahat, YVA, 03/8657; Aharon Nahimowicz, YVA, 03/3957.
4. July 13, 1965, Hilda Le., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
5. April 17, 1963, Franz Le., vol. 11A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
6. Simon Tubiaszewicz, YVA, 04/396.
7. June 9, 1966, Sara Mi., vol. 22, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
8. July 11, 1973, Yakov Pe., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

GOLDFIELDS ("GOLDFELD")

Goldfields was part of the Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil) concern, named such by a British company in the interwar years. Jewish workers were used for several Baltöl building projects. In February 1944, the Goldfields subcamp opened with 1,200 inmates. In March the number rose to

1,543, but in May there were only 889 inmates in the camp. In July 1944, Baltöl statistics show 405 Jewish workers on Goldfields construction sites.

The camp commander at Goldfields was Fritz Stiewitz. According to one witness, Stiewitz originated from Frankfurt, and some of the female inmates knew him from school (this in reference to the Frankfurt deportees, who came via the Reval prison to the Vaivara camps). According to the same witness, Stiewitz was not so bad by himself, but became cruel under group pressure from other SS soldiers.[1] Inmates remember SS medic (SDG) Erich Scharfetter, nicknamed "Kirkennik," who was routinely assigned to camps to combat typhus epidemics. In May 1944, the SDGs were Heinrich Helmlinger and Theodor Schmitz. Some inmates remember Raphael Oster as camp elder; others recall somebody named Dipante.[2] In the final period, Kurt Pannicke, who had marched some of the inmates of Aseri to Goldfields, presumably in preparation for the final evacuation, took over as camp commander.

Inmates of Ereda report that they were marched daily to nearby Goldfields to work on construction. When the new camp opened, Stiewitz selected the first group of inmates from those he knew in Ereda. They were housed in unused barracks and worked building railway tracks and on other construction sites. Goldfields was one of the camps to receive the populations of the already evacuated camps. In March 1944, the inmates of Kuremäe arrived in Goldfields, leading to a sharp deterioration in hygienic conditions. All of the inmates were infested with lice. In April 1944, 150 inmates were sent to Klooga, bringing some relief from the overcrowding. Inmates from Aseri recall arriving as late as August 1944. In this period, no productive work was conducted, as everybody knew that the end was near.[3] A large group of inmates managed to escape, but Pannicke organized a search, during which many of the escapees were shot.[4] The final evacuation took place in part by truck. A truck loaded with 50 SS men in black leather coats accompanied them. After an error in direction, panic seized the already apprehensive inmates, who jumped off the trucks and tried to hide. Shots were fired, a few people were killed, but the rest came back and were finally deported from Reval to Stutthof by ship.[5]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. January 7, 1970, Malka Ba., vol. 26, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
2. March 1, 1966, Israel Polizei, Bericht 10, statement by Meir Mark Dworzecki, vol. 16, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; Abraham Halpern, YVA, 03/3201.
3. August 17, 1965, Alan We., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. Heshl Drabkin, Shmuel Drabkin, Arie Orbach, YVA, 03/3843.
5. August 17, 1965, Alan We., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

JÕHVI (JEWE)

Apart from oil-shale mining, Organisation Todt (OT) was engaged in multiple projects at Jõhvi, which was listed as Werk IV of Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil). The other projects included building fortifications and digging antitank trenches; constructing a power station, a hospital, and barracks; and cutting wood for the construction projects. Jõhvi housed a number of German offices, an Estonian security police outpost, a local army commander (Standortkommandant), and a field hospital (*Hauptverbandsplatz*) located next to a hospital under construction and a big cemetery. It must have been a place of some importance, for when Reichskommissar Lohse inspected the Baltöl and OT sites on September 1, 1943, he visited Kiviõli and Jõhvi.

In October 1943, the first 201 inmates of Jõhvi were placed in unused barracks. While their number slightly increased to 264 in December, the camp never physically grew bigger. It was obviously meant as a temporary camp, because by the end of December, it was closed. One witness recalls that he remained behind with a group to clean up.[1] In February 1944, it was reopened for a short period, this time containing 190 inmates. The barracks for Jewish inmates were close to a Russian camp but strictly separated by barbed wire. OT personnel recalled that the Jews were later replaced by prisoners of war (POWs).

When deportees from the first transport from Vilnius arrived in Jõhvi, the camp was not yet incorporated into the Vaivara system. Even afterward, no SS commander was assigned to Jõhvi, but the camp was run by OT and a camp elder. The OT also supplied the camp guards. Former inmates have positive recollections of the OT supervisor, who on one occasion tore a picture of Hitler from the wall.[2] SS medic (SDG) Erich Scharfetter, nicknamed "Kirkennik," was the only SS member active in Jõhvi for lengthy periods of time due to his function in disinfecting inmates.[3] In December 1943, an epidemic of typhus erupted. Scharfetter killed sick inmates through injections and shot others who were running a fever, causing widespread panic and several suicides among the inmates. The remaining sick inmates were sent to a hospital in Vaivara.

Jewish female inmates from the Jõhvi camp worked as cleaning personnel in OT offices. A female German office worker, in charge of payment of salaries, recalls that they were pale, malnourished, and insufficiently clad and that she gave them food.[4] Former OT men mentioned that the Jewish cleaners cried because their hair had been cut and that the Jews working on construction complained about hunger.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. July 11, 1973, Yakov Pe., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/5; July 11, 73, Fajwel Mi., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

2. Izhak Kaufman, in a 1964 symposium on Estonian camps, YVA, 03/2810.

3. Urteil LG Stade gegen Erich Scharfetter, February 1, 1980, 9 Ks I/78-23/78.

4. October 20, 1960, Erna Ho., vol. 3, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

KERSTOWA AND PUTKI

The Germans established Kerstowa as a temporary camp in October 1943. Its 348 inmates had to work on a demolition project that was supposed to last for one or two weeks. The camp was not run by SS personnel and was far away from the other Vaivara camps. In November, the camp was dissolved, and the remaining 159 inmates were transferred via Narva to a new camp, Putki.

Putki was located in an area of forest and swamp, housed 145 inmates, and was run entirely by the Organisation Todt (OT). In January 1944, 198 inmates were transferred from Narva, bringing the camp population to 340. The camp operated until February 4, 1944, when the Red Army's advance made the OT retreat. The 334 remaining inmates were marched by Wehrmacht medic Rabel to Vaivara, under terrible conditions, through forests and swamps.[1]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. Reports of the SS-Lagerarzt, October 25, 1943, November 25, 1943, December 29, 1943, January 26, 1944, February 20, 1944—all: EHM, 152/2/40.

KIVIÕLI I AND II

Kiviõli was a center of industrial activity: the headquarters of Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), had its office there, and the Mineral Oil Command (Mineralölkommando) and the General Labor Leader (Generalsarbeitsführer) of the Organisation Todt (OT) Industrial Protective Service (Werkschutz, supervised by the gendarmerie detachment leader, Gendarmeriegebietsführer) were stationed there.[1] In addition, a German gendarmerie post and a local headquarters (*Ortskommandantur*) of the German army were located there. The commander of the Security Police of Estonia had a branch office there, headed by Heinz Zielfeld. The various construction projects at Kiviõli were considered of great importance.[2]

In October 1943, Kiviõli contained 448 inmates; they were housed in temporary barracks until additional facilities were built. The number of inmates rose steadily, from 698 in November to 1,300 in February 1944, and to 1,689 in May and June. On July 19, 1944, 1,462 inmates worked at Baltöl construction sites in Kiviõli.[3] In February 1944, 104 old and sick inmates were deported to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp; in May, 250 sick people from Ereda were brought to the camp; and in June, 200 inmates from Goldfields were transferred to Kiviõli.

Two camps existed—Kiviõli I and II—but they were administered as one. The commander of Kiviõli I was Wilhelm Werle; the deputy commander and SS medic (SDG) was Ernst Runde. A dental station was run by Franz Mang. In March 1944, after the Germans had to leave Vaivara, Oskar Helbig became deputy commander. The camp doctors have been identified as Dr. Wolkowyski and Dr. Naftali Resnik; the camp elder, as Zepelewicz (or Cypelewicz). At a later point, Reissig took over as the commander. The commander of Kiviõli II was Wirker, although Erich Scharfetter acted for him occasionally. In May 1944, 71 guards monitored 1,689 inmates. Some female inmates recall female army auxiliaries (*Blitzmädel*) as their guards.[4]

Sanitary conditions were initially bad but slowly improved, in part because of security considerations. Baltlöl considered the installation of running water a necessity because the use of a common well increased the risk of escapes and undermined the separation of Jewish inmates from others.[5] Communication between the two camps seems to have been possible, and, to a certain degree, contact between male and female inmates was also possible. Kiviõli I was considered the better place; former inmates recall sufficient food—even kosher (without meat)—and celebration of Jewish holidays was possible.[6] The Jewish criminals (*Shtarke*) held a strong influence in the camp.[7]

Former inmates of Kiviõli I recall that Runde harassed them at roll call; they also describe Helbig as a sadist, whereas the commander was seen as a moderating influence. One former inmate, who was deported directly from Vilnius to Kiviõli I and stayed there until mid-1944, describes Runde as the main negative influence in the camp.[8] Both Runde and Helbig are alleged to have killed inmates on big piles of hot slag; Helbig actually had several feeble inmates thrown on it, so that they burned alive.[9] Inmates of Kiviõli II reported that Wirker was quite active in the camp, supervising activities in the sickroom, ordering specific roll calls to be conducted on Sundays, and committing a number of atrocities. The ongoing selections claimed victims from among Hungarian Jewish women, many of whom arrived in the camp pregnant.

The "10 percent selection" (see "Vaivara Main Camp") took place at both camps, conducted by the SS camp doctor, Bodmann. The camp elder and doctors of Kiviõli I were among those selected. It appears that the lists of "unfit" inmates had been prepared in advance.[10] As in other camps, the inmate in charge of vehicle maintenance looked on the returning truck and found indications in several languages that those selected were being shot close to Ereda.[11] An SS driver returned with his arm wounded and his rifle broken, complaining about "the Jews" who had done that to him; the other SS officers had bloodied and dirtied uniforms and boots; the SS dentist brought a box with gold teeth back. According to a former German police officer, Kiviõli was also the site of the elimination of mass graves by Sonderkommando 1005.[12]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. Otto Me., p. 146, vol. 1, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
2. September 20, 1943, OT/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord, Gieseler an Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition, Speer; OT/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord, Gieseler an Leiter OT Zentrale, Dorsch—both: ESTA, R 187/1/7.
3. July 19, 1944, Baustellenplanung, ESTA, R 187/1/124.
4. Nechama Leibiski, YVA, M1E/2444.
5. October 4, 1943, Baltöl, Überwachung der Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.
6. Arye Rubinstein, YVA, 03/9681; Arie Orbach, YVA, 04/2733; Chienna Yakobson, YVA, 03/5988; Gerszon Karapansa, YVA, 03/1780.
7. Gerszon Karapansa, YVA, 03/1780.
8. October 20, 1965, Hirsz An., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
9. Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 181.
10. Mira Brojdo, YVA, 04/396.
11. November 10, 1967, Joseph Le., vol. 23, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
12. July 3, 1968, Josef Sch., vol. 7, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

KLOOGA

The subcamp at Klooga was located west of the city of Tallinn, outside the northeastern mining and oil-shale district, and it was not connected with Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil). In 1942, camps for resettlers from the army area "Russia-North," in Klooga-Lodensee, Polküla, Pakri, and Baltisch-Port, were based at Klooga. In 1943–1944, Klooga was a camp for Russian forced laborers; from 1943 on, it was the barracks grounds and administrative offices of the 20th Estonian Waffen-SS division; and then it became a subcamp of Vaivara. A work detail (Aussenkommando) was located in nearby Laoküla.



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944.
USHMM WS #98905, COURTESY OF ESTHER ANCOLI-BARBASCH

The camp population in Klooga was more stable than in other Vaivara camps. Many former inmates stated that they had been deported directly from Lithuania to Klooga and remained there until August–September 1944. In October 1943, Klooga already contained 1,453 inmates; in November, 1,854; and in April 1944, 2,080. In May 1944, there were 2,122 inmates and 112 guards. In November 1943, 250 inmates were sent to work camps near Dorpat; in April 1944, 250 were received from Ereda and Goldfields; and in May, more inmates were received from Kiviõli. Men and women were housed in solid barracks in separate parts of the camp. Running water and elementary sanitary facilities existed; the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, considered the conditions in Klooga better than those in any other camp. In the final stages of German occupation of Estonia, many inmates from other camps and the SS camp administration—including Aumeier, Brenneis, and Bodmann—crowded into Klooga, waiting for transport by ship to Germany.

The camp commander was Bock, though it is unclear whether he held that position for the whole period. For the last few weeks in the summer of 1944, he was replaced by Wilhelm Werle. The SS medics (SDGs) were Wilhelm Bahr and Karl Theiner (confirmed for May 1944); inmates name others, among them Wilhelm Genth. Female inmates were guarded by female SS guards, one of whom was transferred from Ravensbrück. Sources mention Melzer and Frieda Beiwoll as camp elders; others mention Fried and Muskat. Jewish camp police were present, and inmates were assigned as work supervisors. Former inmates also speak about the presence of organized Jewish criminals from Vilnius (*Die Shtarken, unsere Unterwelt*), which, contrary to the other inmates' apprehensions, turned out to be a positive element, organizing the stealing and distribution of food.[1] Witnesses also speak positively about an SS man in charge of supplies, who would give them the opportunity to steal or barter for food and bring it back to the camp.[2] This story is confirmed by the former cook of a navy work detail in Klooga.[3] Dutch civilian laborers working close by also supplied inmates with food.[4] According to criminal investigations conducted by the Estonian security police, a lively trade bartering clothes for food took place between Klooga inmates working outside the camp and the local population, in particular Russians from the resettlement camp.[5]

Work consisted of the production of concrete mines supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT) and a special command of the German navy, construction activities under the OT, or work at a sawmill. The OT also worked with non-Jewish forced laborers. A card index of inmates of Klooga and their work assignments gives an overview of the work details, which included pouring concrete, construction, transport, the sawmill, craft shops, cleaning details, and the army supply depot Reval (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*).[6]

Former inmates recall few instances of killings before September 1944. One scene that many remembered took place upon arrival of the deportation train. After disembarking, in-

mates had to line up in front of a long table and deliver their valuables or money to the SS. One former Jewish Vilnius ghetto policeman obviously tried to conceal money and was shot on the spot in public view. Bodmann and the medical personnel repeatedly killed sick inmates with injections. Corporal punishment was meted out; on one occasion, an inmate was beaten to death by three SS men. Different variants exist about the killing of a newborn baby, which a medic with the nickname "Antek" burned in the oven of the sawmill. Other atrocities are attributed to Antek as well; and several inmates claim that he was in fact Wilhelm Genth. However, many of the allegations do not coincide with the established stages of Genth's camp career. Other sources claim that Wilhelm Bahr murdered the baby; Bahr was confirmed as a medic in Klooga.

Klooga was liquidated on September 19, 1944. Inmates from outside work details were brought back to the main camp, which was cordoned off with the help of units of the 20th Waffen-SS Division under the command of Sturmbannführer Georg Ahlemann.[7] The SS tried hard to avoid a panic among the inmates and promised that everybody would be evacuated to other camps in Germany. They even provided a particularly good meal. It cannot be ascertained who was in command on that day; the obvious person would be the then–camp commander Werle, although he denied this and claimed that the (higher-ranking) Verwaltungsführer Brenneis had taken over. Apart from the Vaivara personnel present in Klooga, a group of 20 or 30 people from the Commander of Security Police and Security Service in Reval arrived on the morning of September 19 to carry out a mass killing. All the inmates had to sit down cross-legged on the camp ground. Several hundred young men were then called up and had to carry stout pieces of wood out of the camp. After that, inmates were marched out of the camp in small groups. At some point, the sound of gunfire confirmed the suspicions of the waiting inmates; in addition, 1 man came running back and shouted warnings before he was shot. In the ensuing panic, over 100 inmates were able to flee and hide. The wood that the inmates had carried had been used to form pyres. People were shot and fell onto them, then a new layer of wood was added and the next group shot. Other inmates were shot in a shed, but several people escaped before it was doused with gasoline and burned. The pyres were also set on fire. Russian prisoners were shot as well.

At the end of the day, the Germans left the camp. The inmates in hiding were liberated by the Red Army a few days later. The Red Army widely reported on what had happened and took pictures of the execution site, and the Klooga mass murder was introduced in the Soviet trial against Friedrich Jeckeln and others in Riga in 1945–1946. For these reasons, this mass killing and Klooga itself have become more widely known than other subcamps where similar events took place—for instance, Ereda.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926; manuscript by L. Buzhanski, YVA, M 1-E/822; Israel Segal, YVA, 03/2669.
2. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926.
3. July 12, 196?, Wilhelm Fö., vol. 17, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926.
5. Individual cases in ESTA, R 64/1/159-167.
6. See R 170, ESTA. A full evaluation of the index was done by Riho Västrik and kindly made available to the author.
7. July 9, 1974, Anklageschrift Georg Ahlemann, LG Köln, 130 24 Js 14/70.

KUREMÄE

The first 150 inmates of the Kuremäe subcamp were housed in a former community center (*Gemeindehaus*). Everything was lacking: food, water, latrines, shoes, and clothes. Even the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, remarked on the desolate conditions. The inmates had to build the fences enclosing the camp themselves; later a few emergency barracks (*Tonnenzelte*) were erected. Some people were directly deported from Kaunas to Kuremäe; others arrived later via other camps. Inmates worked on a narrow-gauge railway. In November 1943, the number of inmates increased to 462. Bodmann complained about the high percentage of people unfit for work but mentioned that the numbers had "decreased."[1] From this remark one can conclude that the 33 deaths registered in November were not due to natural causes. In December 1943 and January 1944, the number of inmates was slightly lower, and 10 and 14 deaths occurred, respectively. In February 1944, the population sharply increased to about 850, due to the transfer of 437 inmates from Soski. On February 8 and February 16, inmates were killed by Soviet artillery at their work sites. Kuremäe was closed in March 1944.

The camp commander was Alfred Engst; the SS medic (SDG) was Knott. SDG Erich Scharfetter was also present. The guards were Russians or Ukrainians. Dr. Dworzecki was the camp doctor. Later, at the time of the evacuation of most eastern camps, Wilhelm Genth, who was acting as commander in Soski, marched the Soski inmates to Kuremäe with the help of the Estonian guards. The inmates recall having "been driven like cattle" and that Scharfetter killed several people on the way.[2] After Kuremäe was evacuated, the inmates were absorbed into other camps. Several witnesses list Goldfields as the next station.

Scharfetter was infamous for his acts of cruelty; he killed inmates with injections but also by cutting their throats or with a pickax. An inmate recalls the murder of 19 sick inmates; later, that inmate, who had to burn the corpses, recounted that all 19 had wounds inflicted by a pickax.[3] A German court sentenced Scharfetter to life imprisonment for 18 counts of murder.[4]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. November 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.
2. June 7, 196?, Abraham Kr., vol. 4, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
3. Iser Zak, YVA, 04/400.
4. February 1, 1980, Urteil Scharfetter, LG Stade, 9 Ks 1/78-23/78.

LAGEDI

The subcamp at Lagedi existed only briefly, approximately from July to September of 1944. Entries on transfers in the Klooga card index indicate that it was considered a work camp.[1] When the transports of inmates coming from camps evacuated in the second stage of the retreat could not be housed in Klooga, a camp was erected close to Reval in Lagedi near the railway line. Inmates were initially living in the open; later they constructed temporary shelter. In August 1944, material to erect barracks was supplied by Klooga. The camp commander was Helmut Schnabel. SS medic (SDG) Scharfetter seems also to have been present at one stage, and there are allegations against him of killings of inmates in pairs. At one point the camp was bombarded by the Soviets, and some inmates were wounded. In the final evacuation, the inmates were transported by ship to the Stutthof concentration camp. When they left, only a group of approximately 80 inmates remained to clean up. Former inmates later heard that the 80 were killed after they performed the work. The German camp personnel shot them after the Estonian guards refused to do it.

On August 18, 1944, 500 inmates from Klooga were brought to Lagedi, which was at that point empty except for camp commander Alfred Engst and two Jews. Some inmates have positive recollections of Engst; for instance, he allowed them to bathe once a week. The inmates had to dig antitank trenches. Shortly before the evacuation, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, conducted a final selection. On September 18, 1944, Krebsbach, Brenneis, and other SS officers arrived to tell Engst that the camp inmates would be evacuated to another location. Inmates were driven away by truck. The last truck containing members of work details was delayed, and upon arrival at its destination—a clearing in a wooded area—the inmates overheard the driver being told that he was too late. They were taken to Reval, where they spent the night in the prison, and then they were brought to Klooga on September 19. Later they realized that all the others had been shot in the woods, but they were brought back to be killed in the big action in Klooga. A truck with female inmates also arrived too late for the execution in the forest, and they were then transported back to Klooga via the Reval prison.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. R 170, ESTA. A full evaluation of the index was done by Riho Västrik and kindly made available to the author.

NARVA [AKA NARVA-OST] (AND HUNGERBURG)

The Germans established the Vaivara subcamp Narva-Ost (as the official letterhead stated) in the fall of 1943, when Kurt Pannicke was transferred there with 500 inmates. Other inmates arrived from Vivikonna or, at later points, from other camps. One former inmate recalls that he volunteered for Narva in order to get away from the terrible conditions in Ereda.[1] In October 1943, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, listed 1,548 persons at Narva; in November, 1,693. In November 1943, 300 inmates were sent to a work detail (Aussenkommando) in Hungerburg (Estonian: Narva-Jõesuu). Consequently, the population decreased to 1,290 in December, then to 1,004 in January. In February 1944, Narva was evacuated, and 733 inmates had to march for 20 hours to Vaivara.

The Narva camp was located in a former factory; the inmates lived in factory buildings, men and women in separate sections. The SS medic (SDG) was Ernst Runde. Helmut Schnabel acted for Pannicke in January 1944 when the latter was ill. Diller was named as camp elder. The camp clerk (Schreiber), a man called Brojde, or Broido, was well known among the inmates from Vilnius, because he had once been a Lithuanian consul. The guards were Estonians and Latvians. From the reports on the shooting of two inmates—who were allegedly trying to escape—the guard figures as a "Schutzmann."[2] Dutch laborers worked close by; their food was prepared in the so-called Dutch kitchen.

Work consisted of building fortifications and digging antitank trenches for the Pantherstellung, an army defensive network, as well as roadwork, woodcutting, and construction projects by various companies under the auspices of the Organisation Todt (OT). The Pantherstellung was given high priority; on March 1, 1944, the army planned to assign 3,000 Jewish workers to this project.[3] Surviving OT invoices for compensation paid for the laborers working on their construction sites show an 11-hour workday.[4] Inmates in the Hungerburg camp did forestry work. This camp was run by OT. When a typhus epidemic struck, however, SDG Scharfetter was temporarily transferred there. In January 1944, the subcamp was closed.

The surviving records show that the camp was organized in sections (*Blöcke*) and rooms (*Zimmer*); transfers from one room to another were recorded, as well as the number of sick inmates in the sickroom (*Revier*) or the amounts of wooden clogs or pieces of clothing distributed to inmates.[5] The recollections of former inmates create a not-so-orderly picture of a world of hunger, cold, exhaustion, sickness, lice, and typhus. Food was entirely inadequate; inmates recall receiving a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and 0.5 liters (2 cups) of soup. Even Bodmann admitted that the work at Narva was extraordinarily hard and the conditions bad. The number of deaths was high—125 in December 1943 alone. The few surviving camp records report several cases of inmates leaving their workplace to beg for food. Malnutrition led to famine

edema, and typhus was rampant. As early as November 16, 1943, inmates attempted to escape. (The Estonian Security Police helped track down escapees, as a warrant indicates.)[6] One former inmate recalled that he escaped and went to town, where he tried to find work, but he was ferreted out by an informer and was returned to the camp via the police prison.[7]

On top of the overall bad conditions, the SS officers running Narva were of a particularly murderous disposition. Pannicke was only 26 years old, and he exhibited a strange mix of favoritism toward certain inmates and, at the same time, extreme cruelty. He seems to have enjoyed the limitless power his position gave him, telling inmates that their lives were entirely in his hands.[8] At other times he could joke with them and show concern for their well-being. During marches he made them sing Jewish songs.[9] Pannicke also enjoyed his material advantages: he forced an inmate shoemaker to steal leather from the OT to make boots for his girlfriends, and he gave jewelry or gold to the camp elder to buy him additional food.[10] Mimicking the sound of his name, inmates nicknamed him "Peiniger" (Torturer).

Runde had the nickname "Meine Herren!" (Gentlemen!) because he used to publicly address inmates this way. Helmut Schnabel was not stationed in Narva but visited his friend Pannicke often. On these visits, excessive consumption of alcohol and murderous rampages were common. One of the worst episodes occurred around Christmas 1943 or New Year's Eve 1944, when Pannicke and his friends walked onto the camp ground and beat and trampled several inmates to death in full view of the prisoners standing to attention. Many witnesses also recall the deportation of Brodje, one of Pannicke's former favorites, presumably during the "10 percent selection." When Pannicke gave Brodje's leather jacket to another inmate, everybody knew what his fate had been.

Pannicke regularly beat inmates at roll call, forced them to stand overly long at attention as punishment, killed weak people or threw them into a canal adjoining the camp grounds, and drilled them to remove their caps and put them back on with military precision. Runde regularly checked the camp infirmary and throttled sick inmates. The room elder (Stubenältester) then removed the corpses and took them off the list of inmates, which Runde then countersigned. Sick people were also killed through injections. The background for this can be found in Bodmann's reports: in November 1943, he complained about the high number of old inmates but hoped that by the "harsher measures" (*härteren Masstab*) applied by Runde the numbers could be decreased. In December, most old Jews were reported to have died. At the time when the typhus epidemic was rampant, one of the inmates recalls Bodmann saying that the best thing would be to raze the entire infested camp.[11] Corpses were burned in a factory oven on a regular basis. Feeble inmates were also "finished off" by the work supervisors.

In February 1944, Narva was evacuated due to the advancing front line; the inmates were marched via Vaivara to Ereda. Schnabel may have supervised the march; other witnesses recalled Pannicke as supervisor. The march claimed many victims.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. June 7, 1961, Abraham Kr., vol. 6, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
2. Undated handwritten fragments, ESTA, R 966/1/1.
3. March 1, 1944, Mineralölkommando Estland, Aktennotiz, ESTA, R 187/1/24.
4. Lohnstundenachweis für Baustellenlohnempfänger, ESTA, R 966/1/1.
5. See ESTA, R 966.
6. November 16, 1943, Viks, Suchbefehl, ESTA, R 62/1/25.
7. Mordechai Rosenberg, YVA, 03/3085.
8. October 14, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
9. July 1, 1971, Herschel-Chane Dr., vol. 27, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
10. November 5, 1962, Zelik Gu., vol. 12, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
11. October 25, 1965, Joseph Ba., p. 1848, 1. Ausfertigung, Bd 12A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

PANKEWITZA

The Germans established a camp at Pankewitza, 50 kilometers (about 31 miles) west of Pleskau, in November 1943. Two hundred and fifty inmates from Klooga were transferred there on November 11 and housed in barracks. For December, the same numbers are listed.

No further information on this camp is available.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

PETSERI, ÜLENURME, KULUPE

In January 1944, 198 inmates were registered at the work camp at Petseri; 3 deaths occurred during that month. There were 127 inmates in the nearby camp at Ülenurme, and 299 in Kulupe. These camps were too far away from the headquarters in Vaivara to be inspected regularly by the SS doctor. The SS medic (SDG) Karl Theiner was in charge of all three camps. In March 1944, 513 inmates from all three camps were deported, and after a German army unit refused to allow Jews into their delousing facilities, the prisoners were brought to Riga-Kaiserwald. Former inmates recalled that they worked on a railway originating in Dorpat and that camps were shifted according to the progress of construction.[1]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. 1949, Affidavit Mirkin Le., vol. 15, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; 30.8.1967, Ela Ko, vol. 26, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

PORT KUNDA

A subcamp of Vaivara, at Port Kunda, was established in the autumn of 1943 with the purpose of supplying the Port Kunda cement factory with manpower. The factory was situated on the north coast of Estonia between Tallinn and Narva. It was built in the 1890s by the then-largest Danish industrial corporation FL Smidth & Co., which took over the ownership of Port Kunda in 1922 in cooperation with Swedish interests. Port Kunda Cement, with approximately 1,200 workers, was self-sufficient in all raw materials. It was run by Danish engineers until 1940, when the factory was nationalized in the wake of the Soviet occupation of Estonia. Soon after the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 and the subsequent occupation of Estonia, negotiations between the German and the Danish governments were initiated concerning a Danish takeover of Port Kunda. On the Danish side, negotiations were conducted by Minister of Public Works Gunnar Larsen, who was able to utilize his personal connections with German Minister of Armaments and War Production Fritz Todt. In alliance with Todt, Larsen bypassed the German Foreign Ministry and instead approached newly appointed Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg, who was eager to produce political results. Negotiations were probably facilitated by the fact that, in 1935, Larsen, an engineer who studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had taken over the leadership of FL Smidth & Co. and was now both director and chairman of the board of that corporation. Thus, already in the autumn of 1941, the former director of Port Kunda, Theodor Hansen, returned to the factory; and during Larsen's official visit to the Baltic lands, the Reichskommissariat Ostland, in April–May 1942, the factory was formally handed over to the Danes. The reinstallment of the former owners was one of the few tangible results of the work accomplished by Larsen and the so-called Danish Committee for the Eastern Areas, initiated by him and established under the auspices of the Danish Foreign Ministry.

At Port Kunda, cement production had already commenced in August 1942, but it was seriously hampered by a chronic shortage of labor, and Hansen repeatedly asked the local German authorities for extra manpower—specifically, 200 men for the oil-shale quarry at Ubja.[1] At the same time, the FL Smidth & Co. headquarters in Copenhagen urged Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse to solve the problem. The Technisches Hauptamt Estland regarded Port Kunda Cement—Estonia's only cement factory—as crucial for the supplying of cement for the Organisation Todt (OT); and in the summer of 1943, Port Kunda Cement was characterized as an armaments concern (*Rüstungsausbau*) of decisive importance to the war (*kriegsentscheidender Bedeutung*). The same year, the factory produced 49.3 tons of cement, covering 90 percent of the minimum demand in the Generalbezirk Estland.[2] In September 1942, 40 local Roma (Gypsies), who had been interned by the occupation authorities, more than half of whom were women, were set to work at the factory. Later that year, an extra 62 refugees and settlers from the Leningrad area arrived with their families. When in April 1943 these people were shipped to Finland as part of a German-Finnish settlement program, production at the factory came to a standstill.[3]

Heinrich Himmler's order of June 21, 1943, to dissolve the Jewish ghettos of the Reichskommissariat Ostland and set the prisoners to work in the camps of the Estonian oil-shale areas helped solve the problem. On September 15, 1943, Vaivara was established at Narva as the main camp for 27 work camps in northern Estonia. A few weeks later, a camp connected to Port Kunda Cement was set up. On October 10, 1943, the first contingent of Jewish prisoners—approximately 60 men and 10 women—arrived from the ghetto of Vilnius and were put behind barbed wire. Shortly thereafter, they were joined by up to 200 Jewish prisoners who were among those evacuated from the Kaunas ghetto on October 28.[4] Thus, from October 1943, there were two camps at Port Kunda. One was the "Jewish Camp" situated in the woods at a closed-down oil-shale quarry at Vainamoisa, approximately 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) outside Port Kunda. Every day, the Jews were marched from their wooden barracks to the limestone quarries at Arro and Allofer and the oil-shale quarry at Ubja, where they worked under inhuman conditions. The limestone and oil shale they mined were transported by train to the cement plant at Port Kunda. At times, some of the Jewish prisoners were sent to Port Kunda to assist in cement production. The camp at Vainamoisa was guarded by the Training and Reserve Battalion 20 of the Estonian SS, commanded by the German SS-Unterscharführer B. and a few other German SS. Information is unavailable about whether any of these people were ever tried before a court after the war.[5]

The other camp was a stone house (still standing in 2006) on the factory grounds, where the Gypsy families lived. Guarded by Estonians, they carried out the most exhausting work at the plant, reloading the oil shale as it arrived from the quarries outside Port Kunda. At the time of the Danish administration from 1941 to 1944, one Gypsy was shot while trying to escape. The surviving Gypsies were released on the day before the arrival of the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

The Jews and Roma at Port Kunda's two camps endured hard physical labor. According to survivors, the commandant would often hit and threaten the prisoners, leaving them to wait for hours in the cold when they had finished work. Hansen left Port Kunda immediately after the arrival of the Jews, leaving the administration of the factory to the remaining five Danish engineers. According to an interview with one of the engineers, the inmates were given the same quantities of food and cigarettes as the staff.[6] In February 1944, as the German-Soviet front drew near, production facilities were taken over by the German authorities.

As many as 500 people might have worked at Port Kunda's limestone and oil-shale quarries when the factory was abandoned in July or August 1944. Shortly before the evacuation, elderly people and children were taken away and shot in the woods. The surviving prisoners were sent to Tallinn and were

taken by ship to Danzig/Gdańsk, where they were set to work in the Stutthof concentration camp. The few survivors were finally marched to Germany, where they were liberated in the spring of 1945.[7]

The FL Smidth & Co., later FLS Industries, was partially compensated for its loss of property by the Soviet authorities in the 1960s, but in 1997 the corporation again claimed compensation, this time against the newly reestablished Estonian state. The claim was given up when shortly thereafter it was revealed in the Danish media that the corporation had been involved in the use of forced labor during the war. FLS Industries then initiated a search for survivors. A total of 12 surviving Jews and Roma from Port Kunda were thus compensated economically for their suffering during World War II.

SOURCES The history of the FL Smidth & Co., the Danish Committee for the Eastern Areas, and the cement plant and labor camp at Port Kunda is treated extensively in Joachim Lund, *Hitlers spisekammer* (Gyldendal: Copenhagen, 2005), a summary of which can be found in Joachim Lund, "Denmark and the 'European New Order,' 1940–1942," *CEH* 13:3 (August 2004): 305–321. On the Estonian camps, see International Red Cross, *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German Occupied Territories*, vols. 1–3 (Arolsen, 1949–1959); *Die deutsch-faschistische Okkupation in Estland. Aus der Mitteilung der staatlichen Sonderkommission für die Feststellung und Untersuchung der Missetaten deutsch-faschistischer Eindringlinge und deren Helfershelfer*, 29.11.1944 (Tallinn, 1963); Roswitha Czollek, *Faschismus und Okkupation* (Berlin, 1974); M. Dworzecki, *Jewish Camps in Estonia 1942–1944* (Jerusalem, 1970); Franz W. Seidler, *Die Organisation Todt. Bauen für Staat und Wehrmacht 1938–1945* (Koblenz, 1987); and Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989).

On the early history and geographic details of Port Kunda Cement, see "Cementfabriken 'Port-Kunda' med tilhørende bivirksomheder" (unpub., FL Smidth, 1932). Figures on cement production in the Reichskommissariat Ostland are given in "Abschlussbericht des Wirtschaftsstabes Ost 1944–1945," printed in Rolf-Dieter Müller, ed., *Die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten 1941–1945* (Boppard, 1991). Survivors' accounts from the Estonian camps are published in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York, 1981), pp. 390–398.

Primary source material on the labor camp and production at Port Kunda include Danish as well as German archival sources. The DNA in Copenhagen holds the archives of the Committee for the Eastern Areas of the Danish Foreign Ministry as well as the diary of Minister Gunnar Larsen. Details of the labor camp are given most extensively in the postwar trial of the director of Port Kunda, Theodor Hansen, in the ACCC, 21. Dept. No. 477, 1946 (RA-ZMLF, Copenhagen). Additional information on Port Kunda Cement is found in the archives of FLS Industries (Copenhagen). Internal correspondence of the German authorities and their correspondence with the Danish counterpart are to be found in the PAAA, Büro Staatssekretär I (Berlin), and the archives of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (BA, R 6, Berlin). Part of the documents are printed in German as well as in Danish in *Beretning til Folketinget*, afgivet af den Parlamentariske Kommission, etc. (Copenhagen, 1945–1953). The BA branch in Aachen holds the *Tätigkeitsberichte* of Technisches Hauptamt Estland, Gruppe Bauwirtschaft, as well as Hauptamt IV (Technik) beim Generalkommissar in Reval [Tallinn] and the Organisation Todt/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord (esp. R 50 I/391–396). See also Kriegstagebuch für das Wehrwirtschaftskommando Reval (BA, R 91, Reval/2, Berlin). A few surviving documents of the Sipo in Reval regarding the Jewish camps exist in Osobyj Archiv (RGVA) 504 K/2/8 (Moscow).

Additional information was given in interviews with former engineer at Port Kunda Tage D. (Copenhagen, 1993 and 1994) and surviving prisoners Abram Majerowitj Krein in 1944 (ZSL-L, 110 AR 1409/97). In 1997, William Kagan and Charles Lubock, both living in the United States and located with the help of the USHMM, were interviewed by Danish journalist Lisbeth Jessen, as was the daughter of Lejb Radzelis, also a former Port Kunda prisoner (Dahlin et al. 2002; Lund 2005), as well as Port Kunda residents Pauline Kroon, Ursel Onk, and Arnold Emme (cited in Lisbeth Jessen, "F.L. Smidth i Estland," in *Magtens bog*, ed. Ulrik Dahlin et al. [Aschehoug: Copenhagen, 2002], pp. 876–896).

Joachim Lund

NOTES

1. See Theodor Hansen to FL Smidth & Co., Copenhagen, August 15, 1943, FLS, "Fortroligt indhold. Beretninger fra dir. Theodor Hansen samt dokumenter ang. Retssagen."
2. Questioning of Theodor Hansen in the Copenhagen City Court, 21. Dept. No. 477 / 1946 (RA-ZMLF).
3. Memorandum, Theodor Hansen, May 1943, pp. 10–12. FLS, "Fortroligt indhold. Beretninger fra dir. Theodor Hansen samt dokumenter ang. retssagen" (Confidential. Reports of Dir. Theodor Hansen and documents concerning the trial).
4. Questioning of Theodor Hansen in the Copenhagen City Court, 21. Dept. No. 477/ 1946 (RA-ZMLF, Copenhagen).
5. Information given by DRM-BK, 1998.
6. Interviews with civil engineer Tage D., Copenhagen, 23.04.1993 and 02.06.1994. Tage D. was stationed by FL Smidth & Co. at Port Kunda in spring 1943.
7. Interviews with William Kagan and Charles Lubock, October 1997.

SONDA

The Germans established the camp at Sonda with 200 inmates on February 20–22, 1944, during the second phase of the existence of the Vaivara camp system. Sources show 293 inmates in March 1944; the number declined to 270 by June. Inmates were transferred to Sonda from Narva or from other camps after their closure (see Vaivara/Narva). Witnesses recall Wirker as the first commander, and then Reissig. Prisoner work consisted of clearing forests. The Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, considered this light work, requiring little strength, while former inmates recall deaths caused by exhaustion and illness.[1] In May, sick inmates from the camp hospital (*Krankensammellager*) in Ereda were transferred to Sonda. Camp statistics show 6 deaths in March, 8 in April, and

7 in May and in June. On May 26, 1944, the SS medic (SDG) was Wilhelm Genth, and the camp guards numbered 25.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. Zyusman So., p. 1670, vol. 11A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

SOSKI

Soski was located near Lake Peipu in a densely forested, swampy area in Estonia. In October 1943, 495 inmates were housed there in makeshift barracks, sleeping on the bare ground. The number of inmates remained roughly the same until the camp's evacuation. In December 1943, the camp commander was Reissig. Some former inmates report arriving in a first group of 150 people from Ereda (see, Vaivara/Ereda) with Reissig and that Alfred Engst became his deputy. Others recall Engst as the first commander. All seem to remember that Engst was much worse than Reissig. In the winter of 1943–1944, SS medic (SDG) Wilhelm Genth arrived for a short period, presumably to act for Reissig, who had contracted typhus and was transferred to the military hospital in Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) on December 21, 1943. According to reports from the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, Genth had already made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Soski in November.

Witnesses recall laying railway tracks and loading and unloading boats on the nearby river and that no Organisation Todt (OT) personnel were present in the camp. Work was very hard. One inmate remembers Soski as the worst camp in which he had ever been imprisoned.[1] While no organized killings took place, inmates died slowly of starvation. In December 1943, 23 deaths were registered. An inmate died after a severe beating. On February 3, 1944, the Red Army was only 4 or 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) away, and the Germans suspected Jewish inmates of contacting Soviet partisans. Bodmann received the order to go to Soski and organize a retreat. SDGs Genth and Lingg led the march over frozen swamps to Kuremäe (see Vaivara/Kuremäe). Several inmates died due to the harsh conditions.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. June 6, 1962, Abraham Kr., Anlageband IV, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

VAIVARA SUBCAMP

Vaivara was home to the staff of the entire Vaivara main camp under Hans Aumeier and also to a subcamp that served as a transit camp for newly arriving inmates before their transfer to other subcamps. In September 1943, this camp held 202 inmates; in October, 1,237; and in February 1944, 1,292. Because of its function as a transit camp, the Vaivara subcamp contained a high number of old and infirm inmates, as well as children. The main camp's SS doctor, Bodmann, mentions 202 children in October 1943, crammed into a barrack, which he saw as an inevitable burden on the camp for "security reasons."

The first inmates arrived in the Vaivara subcamp during the summer of 1943; one inmate remembers the date as August 6.[1] For a brief period, an Organisation Todt (OT) man was in command; after a few weeks, Kurt Pannicke took over, until he was transferred to Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) at the end of September. In that period, inmates recall Diller as camp elder, who went with a number of other inmates to Narva with Pannicke.[2] From the end of September or early October 1943 until the evacuation of the camp in February 1944, Helmut Schnabel was commander. He brought inmates with him from his previous camp, Vivikonna (see Vaivara/Vivikonna). Oskar Helbig was Schnabel's deputy. Other inmates recollect Fritz Stiewitz and Adolf Kley acting for Schnabel toward the end. SS medics (SDGs) named were Heinrich Hemlinger, Rolf Klicker, and Heinrich Schattkus. Several SDGs were assigned to supervise the evacuation marches, where female guards were also present. The camp elder under Schnabel was called Meir Zwei; other inmates say it was Isaak Jutan. The SS personnel from nearby headquarters also made appearances in the work camp.

Inmates did labor in the forest, on the railway line, or at construction sites. Work was organized by the OT. Dutch workers were housed close by, and some female camp inmates worked in the so-called Dutch kitchen. The Vaivara subcamp was a central point for other camps, with a camp pharmacy delivering medicine to all the affiliated work subcamps. Inmates who attempted to escape had to wear a piece of red cloth on their chest and were moved from their individual camps to Vaivara.[3] In December 1943, typhus broke out; 20 percent of the inmates succumbed to the epidemic, and sick inmates from other camps were transferred to quarantine in the Vaivara camp hospital.

Food was insufficient in Vaivara. Former inmates recall receiving 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread and some soup and tea each day, leading to hunger-induced illnesses. Craftsmen were in a better position because they arranged to trade food for their products, making use of those in the work details outside of the camp. Several SS men and Germans from other organizations working close by had caps or garments custom made by Jewish craftsmen.[4] A former Vaivara cap maker could still remember Aumeier's and Bodmann's head sizes in his postwar statement.[5]

Continuous selections were conducted; though they were considered a secret, inmates found out that those selected were shot 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away from the camp, in the woods.[6] Sick inmates in the camp hospital were killed with injections. A special command for burning the corpses was set up.

Both Pannicke and Schnabel inflicted continuous punishment and torture on the inmates. Pannicke used to drill in-

mates during roll call; Diller gave the commands for the "caps on, caps off" game. One former inmate had no positive recollections of Diller in general; he is alleged to have stolen valuables.[7] Schnabel was zealously active in Vaivara as in his other assignments, searching the barracks for inmates dodging work, beating inmates who spilled their soup, forcing the whole camp to do demeaning exercises during roll call, and killing inmates who had stolen potatoes or received a second helping of soup.

Many former inmates recalled two particular atrocities. One was the killing of Dr. Katz, a dentist, who as an older man could not work anymore and was hiding during the day in the barracks. Schnabel found him, beat him, and while he was lying on the ground, poured a bottle of Lysol into his mouth.[8] The second incident was the killing by Pannicke of an inmate who had been an official of the Jewish council in Vilnius. During roll call, the whole camp was made to stand to attention and watch while the inmate was slowly tortured by having to do "exercises" (*Sport treiben*), leading to his death.

In January 1944, inmates were sent to the Vivikonna subcamp, thus relieving Vaivara's overcrowded conditions; in the same month, however, the inmates of the closed camps Hungerburg and Jõhvi (see Vaivara/Narva and Vaivara/Jõhvi) arrived at the Vaivara subcamp. In February 1944, 604 sick people and 185 children were sent to Ereda (see Vaivara/Ereda). By this time, the first wave of evacuations from the East had arrived in the Vaivara subcamp, including inmates of Narva, Auvere, Putki, and Vivikonna. Moreover, the Vaivara subcamp itself had to be evacuated immediately, on February 4 and 5, 1944. There were 2,466 inmates that marched to the new Vaivara subcamps Kiviõli, Ereda, Jõhvi, and Goldfields. During the evacuation march from Vaivara, inmates had to cover long distances: 65 kilometers (40.4 miles) to Kiviõli, 45 kilometers (28 miles) to Ereda, 50 kilometers (31 miles) to Goldfields, and 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) to Jõhvi. The marches took three days in bad weather conditions. Soviet planes bombarded the prisoner columns, causing casualties, while others died due to exhaustion or were shot.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. Sania Janiska, YVA, M-49-E/4257.
2. August 19, 1965, Szabatai Ge., August 10, 1965, Zelik, Gu.—both: vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
3. February 26, 1971, Mendel Kr., vol. 27, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. May 12, 1974, Gita-Ita Ba., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
5. August 10, 1961, Mosze Da., vol. 11, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
6. Ibid.
7. Sania Janiska, YVA, M-49-E/4257.
8. August 18, 1965, Hirsch Kl., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

VIVIKONNA OT AND VIVIKONNA BALTÖL [AKA WERK IV SILLAMÄE]

The mining facilities at Vivikonna were an important part of the Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), operation. In the first meeting between the Security Police and Baltöl representatives on July 19, 1943, 400 Jewish concentration camp inmates were promised to the Vivikonna mine. Organisation Todt (OT) planned several construction projects in Vivikonna, including building barracks for the Jewish Camp Vivikond (Judenlager Vivikond). Vivikonna consisted of three camps, the first of which was already closed in October 1943. There were 1,300 inmates assigned to this camp, housed in very inadequate barracks. For the November–December 1943 period, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, mentioned two new camps, one called "Vivikonna OT," the other, "Vivikonna Baltöl." The Baltöl camp contained 699 people, and the population remained constant. In the Baltöl organization, this work site was referred to as Werk IV Sillamäe. Inmates mined shale in open pits doing alternating shifts with Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Baltöl set strict rules to ensure a separation between Jewish and Russian workers.[1] Vivikonna OT was set up with 100 inmates transferred from Vaivara; inmates transferred from the Jõhvi subcamp increased the number to 474 by January 1944. The camp was located in an isolated spot in the woods. In February 1944, plans were made for evacuation; the SS and Police Leader was in charge of the Vaivara inmates, who represented roughly one-third of the Baltöl workforce.[2] Workers were to be marched toward Kiviõli, Kohtla-Järve, and Ereda. On February 2, 1944, 872 inmates from the OT camp were evacuated; on February 12, 698 inmates from the Baltöl camp followed.

As no original documents have survived indicating the names of camp commanders, it is somewhat difficult to differentiate between the camps, based on witness testimony only. Helmut Schnabel is mentioned as commander of the first camp, after a brief transition period under OT. He had a deputy with a glass eye. Camp elders named were Jutan, Heiman, and Szczibuk (phonetic spelling). When Schnabel was transferred to Vaivara, inmates were transferred with him and to other camps. The inmates did forestry work, built railroad tracks, or dug trenches under the supervision of the OT. Initially there was no running water, the ground was swampy, and barracks were built on stilts.

Bock, who later became the commander of Klooga, was mentioned as commander of one of the camps.[3] This camp was presumably Vivikonna Baltöl, as it was described as relatively big, and inmates worked in a quarry, mining coal and shale. The medical orderly (SDG) was Schattkus. The camp elder was Aranowicz; doctors named were Buzhanski and Fried.[4] Overall, inmates recall conditions in this camp as relatively good, particularly in comparison to the other one. It is not clear who the commander of Vivikonna OT was.

Former inmates from the camp under Schnabel's command remember selections and shootings of the elderly and

the infirm. The children in the camp were gathered together at one point and taken away on trucks. This led to heart-breaking scenes. For example, one child was hammering at the window of the barracks in which she was locked up, but when her mother tried to get close, Schnabel shot the mother. Inmates recall that OT men were appalled by these scenes. Schnabel tortured the inmates; he tried to extort valuables from them, and he shot some of them afterward. He ordered an old man, who had fallen in the swampy ground and could not get up, to be shot. He beat a mentally disabled youngster and put him in a ditch full with water overnight. Schnabel is reported to have said that Jews were not human beings.[5]

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see "Vaivara Main Camp."

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. November 22, 1943, Baltöl, Arbeitseinsatz der Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.
2. February 27, 1944, Bericht zur Räumung Werk IV Sillamäe, ESTA, R 187/1/7.
3. October 1, 1965, Eliezer Bu., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; January 25, 1967, Lea Pe., vol. 22, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. Raya Golembo, YVA, 03/3200.
5. August 25, 1965, Harry Hirsch Ka., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

WARSCHAU



Post-liberation view of a guard tower at Warschau concentration camp.
USHMM WS #80906, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

WARSCHAU MAIN CAMP

The Warschau concentration camp, known in Poland as Gęsiówka because it stood at 45 Ulica Gęsia, was established in the summer of 1943 on the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto. After the deportation of the last of Warsaw's Jews, the Jewish quarter was to be razed and rendered uninhabitable, but not before all usable building materials from the ghetto had been recovered. But the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April and May 1943 stymied German plans. The Germans' scorched-earth tactics under Jürgen Stroop to quell the Jewish resistance reduced the area of the ghetto to rubble. After the defeat of the Jewish resistance fighters, the Germans could now proceed to salvage significant quantities of construction materials, especially bricks and scrap metal, from the debris to be used in support of the German war effort. For this task, Stroop suggested the deployment of Jewish prisoners who would be incarcerated in a concentration camp converted from the former ghetto prison. The Germans also expected to uncover large caches of secreted valuables hidden by the deported Jews. Furthermore, clearance of the rubble would facilitate the effort of German forces to uncover the hiding places of Jewish fugitives from the German assault on the ghetto in cellars, bunkers, and dugouts. Finally, it was in the Germans' interest to erase all evidentiary traces of their annihilation of Warsaw's 400,000 Jews.

In an apparent endorsement of Stroop's proposal, in June 1943, Heinrich Himmler ordered Oswald Pohl's SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Security Police (Sipo and SD) in the General Government to erect a concentration camp on the site of the destroyed ghetto. It was Himmler's wish not only to salvage bricks, scrap metal, and other building materials from the rubble of the former ghetto but also to seal all underground hideouts, flatten it to the ground, and plant a park in its place. Responsibility for the implementation of this plan was delegated to Hans Kammler, chief of the WVHA's Office Group C.



Post-liberation view of Warschau concentration camp; the Jewish cemetery on Okopowa Street is visible in the background on the left behind the camp.
USHMM WS #80904, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

The Warschau concentration camp was officially established on July 19, 1943, with 300 prisoners, German inmates from Buchenwald, both political opponents of the regime and common criminals, who would soon become the camp's de facto administrators. In April 1944, the camp was annexed to the Majdanek concentration camp in Lublin and assumed the new name of Lublin concentration camp–Warsaw labor camp (Konzentrationslager Lublin–Arbeitslager Warschau). The camp's first commandant was SS-Obersturmbahnführer Wilhelm Göcke, who was transferred in September 1943 to establish a concentration camp in Kauen (Kovno or Kaunas); after his departure the camp was headed first by SS-Hauptsturmführer Nikolaus Herbet and then by SS-Oberstürmführer Friedrich Wilhelm Ruppert, the commandant of the camp when it was evacuated in July 1944. Four German construction firms—Merckle (Ostrów Wielkopolski), Ostdeutscher Tiefbau (Naumburg), Berlinisches Baugeschäft (Berlin), and Willy Keymer (Warsaw)—were contracted to execute Himmler's order with the assistance of the German Eastern Railway (Ostbahn).

Jewish male inmates from Auschwitz constituted the prisoner labor force for the execution of this project. Two series of transports of Jewish prisoners arrived in Warsaw. Four transports with 3,683 Jews arrived in Warsaw from Auschwitz in August, October, and November 1943.[1] After mid-May 1944, transports of an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Hungarian Jews replenished the inmate population, which was considerably depleted by then. To the Germans, the key criteria in the selection of these prisoners were their relatively decent physical condition, since the work would be heavy and arduous, and their non-Polish origins, because they did not want Jewish prisoners to fraternize with Polish civilians employed in the same work area. Moreover, command of Polish would be an invaluable asset in the event of escape. Thus the Germans deliberately selected Jews from Western and Central Europe and Greece for prisoner labor in Warsaw. In spite of German intentions, several Jewish prisoners in the Warschau concentration camp had migrated westward from Poland before the war and therefore spoke Polish. In the November 1944 transport, moreover, the Germans were forced to include 50 Polish Jews because there were not enough non-Polish prisoners available to fill the quota of 1,000 men. A couple of thousand paid Polish civilian workers and dozens of salaried German technicians augmented the camp's Jewish labor force.

The bulk of the Jewish prisoners were assigned to the demolition of the ghetto. It entailed several steps: gathering

bricks from the ruins of the ghetto—that is to say, not only recovering bricks already lying on the ground but also demolishing the unstable walls of dilapidated buildings for their bricks; cleaning the bricks by scraping the mortar from them; and stacking them in piles for conveyance by trucks (driven by Poles) to trains. The prisoners were forced to perform this task mostly with the use of their bare hands and occasionally primitive tools like picks and shovels. In the spring of 1944, the use of dynamite, often planted by the prisoners, was introduced to raze remaining buildings. This was backbreaking, exhausting, and dangerous work, and many prisoners were killed and injured. The bricks were heavy, especially for men suffering from fatigue, malnutrition, and disease. Prisoners frequently fell from the heights of ramshackle buildings earmarked for demolition. The tempo was brisk, and German overseers disciplined prisoners who were unable to maintain the pace or abandoned their labor for a brief respite. In his account of the ghetto's demolition, one surviving prisoner writes, "Human life played no role whatsoever."[2] The stupefying lengths to which these prisoners were driven are attested to by the results of their forced labor. By June 1944, they had demolished an area of approximately 10 million square meters (nearly 12 million square yards) and collected 34 million bricks, 6,000 tons of scrap metal, 1,300 tons of iron ore, and 805 tons of nonferrous metals![3]

Officers of the SS unit assigned to the Warschau concentration camp, which amounted to a company, were transferred from various other camps, including the Sachsenhausen and the Lublin subcamp Trawniki. After the annexation of the camp to Majdanek in April 1944, SS personnel from Lublin replaced the original SS unit. The primary function of the SS in Warsaw was to guard the periphery of the camp. In spite of this minimal task, the camp's Jewish prisoners bore the brunt of oppressive SS tactics, as the SS unit attached to the camp never recoiled from acts of violence. The SS unit assigned to the Warschau camp appears to have exhibited an unreflective "healthy, common sense" or "everyday understanding" that Jewish concentration camp inmates were enemies of the state, enemies whose execution—largely through work at this late stage in the war—was totally appropriate.[4] In the Warschau camp, SS violence was prompted further by prospects of personal enrichment. SS men were enticed not merely by the plunder of valuables discovered by prisoners in the debris of the ghetto but also by the hope of lining their own pockets with the gold teeth of the camp's dead—and occasionally barely living—prisoners. The ferocity of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in which Jewish insurgents had managed to kill and wound several SS men, apparently served to intensify the loathing of Jews among the SS men in this unit into a violent animosity.

SS brutality aside, the German prisoner-functionaries, who essentially ran the camp, dispensed most of the daily humiliation and degradation that the prisoners suffered. Prisoner-functionaries took pains to intimidate the Jewish prisoners under their control with forcible measures and even wanton cruelty. This was especially true of the criminal elements among the Kapos, whose feral instincts were directly opposed to the prisoners' welfare. But because of their own inmate status, most of the German prisoner-functionaries were probably most concerned with their own survival, to which aim the Jewish prisoners were expendable.

Hundreds of Jewish prisoners died from sheer exhaustion, mistreatment, and execution; in addition, a typhus epidemic in the winter of 1944 devastated the inmate population. Starvation rations and primitive sanitation, even by the low standards of the concentration camp system, helped create conditions conducive to disease. Lice spread quickly through the camp in the winter of 1943–1944, and typhus then struck the camp with a vengeance in January and February 1944. Afflicted prisoners were placed in an isolation barrack, where they just lay on soiled pallets, receiving no supplemental rations or antibiotics until they either recovered or died. The epidemic created a legion of walking skeletons—"Muslims" (Muselmänner) in the universal argot of camp life—who, enervated by camp conditions, gave up on themselves and apathetically awaited death. By March 1944, approximately 75 percent of the camp's Jewish prisoners had died, with approximately 1,000 men still alive. Since the ghetto's demolition was not completed, German authorities decided to replenish the camp's depleted Jewish workforce with additional Jewish prisoners from Hungary in June 1944.

Jewish prisoners employed various stratagems to survive their plight. Successful escape from the camp was rare, since fleeing prisoners had to overcome two sets of guarded walls—the wall surrounding the camp proper and the ghetto wall. Apprehended escapees were hanged in the presence of the entire inmate population, in an effort to deter others from contemplating flight. Since escape was impractical, survival demanded the capacity to endure the deplorable conditions of camp life by navigating breaches in the camp's brutal regime. Physical self-preservation necessitated what was called, in the universal vernacular of the concentration camp system, "organizing." In the Warschau concentration camp this activity essentially entailed scavenging through the rubble of the ghetto for abandoned objects of value and then either selling them for cash to buy food or bartering them directly for food in the flourishing underground economy established between Jewish prisoners and Polish civilian workers. When it later became more difficult to locate items of value in the rubble, many prisoners had their gold teeth extracted by fellow prisoners and then sold them to Poles for either bread or cash to buy bread.

There was modest cultural activity among the Jewish prisoners. A few prisoners would meet in the barracks for prayer. Jewish classics found in the rubble were smuggled into the camp and either passed from person to person or read aloud in the barracks. A few fortunate prisoners were able to draw from a stable reservoir of emotional sustenance from friends or relatives. Jewish prisoners from Greece found fellowship among themselves not only because they felt different from their fellow Jews who hailed from the continent but also because they shared a distinct cultural and communal tradition.

Although the Germans planned to complete demolition of the ghetto by August 1, 1944, the Soviet advance to the east bank of the Vistula forced the camp's closure in July 1944. The Germans decided to evacuate the prisoners westward in the first of the large wave of death marches undertaken in the terminal phase of the war. Before evacuation, the Germans killed a couple hundred of the most debilitated prisoners; approximately 300 prisoners decided to take their chances and volunteered upon request of the camp's authorities to remain after evacuation to complete the dismantlement of the camp. On July 28, the Germans evacuated approximately 4,500 of the remaining 5,000 prisoners under heavy SS guard in the direction of Kutno, located 120 kilometers (about 75 miles) west of Warsaw. The Germans shot any prisoner breaking ranks or falling behind. Marching in scorching summer heat, the prisoners were wracked by thirst. The death march to Kutno lasted three days. On August 2, the surviving prisoners were loaded into boxcars on a train to Dachau for a journey of almost 750 kilometers (466 miles). Conditions in the cars were abysmal. Approximately 100 men were crammed into each boxcar without any rations. Scores of prisoners died en route from suffocation and heat prostration, while several became mentally unhinged during this agonizing journey. This death train reached Dachau on August 6. Of the prisoners who were evacuated from Warsaw, not quite 4,000 survived the death march and death train to Dachau.[5]

In Warsaw itself, the Warsaw Uprising erupted on August 1, and on August 5, the "Zośka" battalion of the Polish underground Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK) liberated the Warschau concentration camp. In a fierce skirmish on the first day of the uprising, Polish fighters had already freed a group of 50 Jewish prisoners toiling outside the perimeter of the camp. Of the roughly 350 Jewish prisoners freed in the camp by the AK, dozens, including 24 women, had been transferred on July 31, from Pawiak. (Pawiak was the notorious prison for Poles suspected of underground activities; its inmate population included Jews discovered in hiding on the "Aryan" side or temporarily spared from destruction because of their indispensable manual skills.) The vast majority of liberated prisoners volunteered to fight in the uprising and served the revolt in various capacities. A special Jewish fighting platoon and a Jewish brigade to construct barricades were formed from liberated prisoners. These units sustained heavy losses. The morale of the former prisoners was corroded, however, when antisemitism reared its ugly head in the fighting units; antisemitic Poles even killed several liberated prisoners who volunteered for combat units. With the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising by superior German forces on October 2, the surviving Jewish prisoners were compelled either to flee or go into hiding in bunkers. Life in the bunkers was a grueling ordeal. When the Red Army finally entered Warsaw on January 17, 1945, only 200 Jews, among them former prisoners from the Warschau concentration camp, reemerged from their bunkers still alive.



A member of the Polish "Zośka" Battalion escorts two Jews liberated from the Warschau concentration camp, August 5, 1944.
USHMM WS #80910, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

The existence of the Warschau concentration camp is hardly mentioned in standard accounts of the Holocaust. It was doubtless a minor camp in the large scheme of things, but it dispensed more than its fair share of suffering. Thousands of Jews fell victim there to the Nazi annihilationist labor policies. Of the 8,000 to 9,000 inmates who were impressed into the prisoner labor battalion of this camp between the summers of 1943 and 1944, 4,000 to 5,000 of them perished in the course of the camp's existence, during the camp's evacuation, and in battle or in hiding after liberation.

There have been several postwar trials of camp personnel. In the late 1940s, eight SS men were executed for the murder of camp prisoners—five in German courts and three by the Polish regional court in Lublin. In addition, Walter Wawrzyniak, the camp's initial orderly, was convicted in an East German criminal court in Leipzig in 1950 of the murder and mistreatment of camp prisoners. On appeal, his death sentence was reduced to life imprisonment.[6] In July 2000, the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania vacated the citizenship of Theodor Szehinskyj because of his service in the ranks of the Waffen-SS in various concentration camps, including the Warschau concentration camp. He should have been ineligible for a visa to enter the United States after the war.[7] Substantial evidence from the camp was introduced during the trial in Poland of Jürgen Stroop, who was executed in 1951 for his role in the persecution of Jews and Poles in Warsaw. Both Germany's Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s and the Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation–Institute of National Memory from 1974 to 1996 conducted extensive investigations of camp personnel. In both 1974 and 1980, German state prosecutors in Munich terminated the proceedings, and in 1996 the Investigative Department of the Provincial Procurator in Warsaw followed suit for similar reasons: the death of many suspected culprits, the failure to discover the whereabouts of others, and the difficulty of identifying the perpetrators of numerous individual killings.

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

SOURCES There exists a modest literature on the Warschau concentration camp. Effective surveys from its establishment to its liquidation are Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, "Obóz koncentracyjny dla Żydów w Warszawie (1943–1944)," *BŻIH* 62 (1967): 3–22; and Adam Rutkowski, "Le camp de concentration pour Juifs à Varsovie (19 juillet 1943–5 août 1944," *Le monde juif* 49:147–148 (1993): 189–216. The author's essay "Jewish Prisoner Labour in Warsaw after the Ghetto Uprising, 1943–44," *Polin* 17 (2004), focuses on the experiences of the camp's Jewish inmates.

Source material for the Warschau concentration camp is scattered in various archival record groups. The most interesting Nuremberg Trial documents pertaining to the camp are Stroop's final report of May 16, 1943, on the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, which contains his recommendation to establish a concentration camp for Jewish prisoners on the ruins of the ghetto (PS-1061); Himmler's order of June 11, 1943, to establish a concentration camp in the former ghetto (NO-2496); Pohl's announcement of July 23, 1943, of the establishment of the camp (NO-2516); and four reports by Kammler from October 1943 through June 1944 on the progress of the demolition of the former ghetto by the camp's prisoners (NO-2503, NO-2517, NO-2504, NO-2505). Files from Stroop's trial in Warsaw in 1946, located in IPN and available on microfilm in USHMMA, 1998.A.0255, 3 reels, contain several relevant documents. In the course of its investigation, the ZdL amassed several witness statements from SS men and German prisoners assigned to the camp (available at BA-L). The evidentiary record of the Szehinskyj trial includes two transfer reports and a troop muster roll, all of which were discovered in Russian archives, showing the transfer of SS units to and from the Warsaw camp. The AŻIH, RG No. 301, and YVA, Record Group No. 03, possess the most extensive collection of Jewish survivor accounts of life in the camp. On transports from Auschwitz to Warschau, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, *1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt [Owl Books], 1997). Two survivors of the camp have published memoirs. In *Zibn in bunker* (Warsaw: Idisz Buch, 1962), Chaim Etzel Goldstein movingly describes not only life in the camp but also the camp's liberation by the AK, inmates' participation in the Warsaw Uprising, and his concealment in a bunker after defeat of the Polish revolt until the Soviet liberation of Warsaw in January 1945. This book has been translated from the Yiddish into English by Charles Goldstein as *The Bunker* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1970). The English version is abridged, and several passages dealing with the camp and the aftermath of its liberation are missing from the translation. In addition to conditions in the camp, the journey to Dachau is recounted in Max Mannheimer, *Spätes Tagebuch: Theresiendstadt-Auschwitz-Warschau-Dachau* (Zurich: Pendo Verlag, 2000).

Gabriel N. Finder

NOTES

1. For documentation of these transports, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, *1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt [Owl Books], 1997), pp. 475, 501, 502, 535.

2. Alois Eisenhändler, "Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Warschau" (unpub. memoir, December 1967), AŻIH, 301/6401, p. 3.

3. See report of Hans Kammler, "Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten in Sperrgebiet Warschau," June 10, 1943, Nuremberg Trial document NO-2504.

4. See Karin Orth, "The Concentration Camp SS as a Functional Elite," in *National Socialist Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), pp. 306–336.

5. See the log entry in "Zugang-Nummern vom 6.5.1942 Nr. 29912 bis 13.4.1945 Nr. 153268 Dachau 3K," AG-D, Archiv-Nr. 31765.

6. The file number of the unpublished verdict in the trial is LG Leipzig Gr. Strfk. (201) 3/50, April 28, 1950. His death sentence was reduced by the appellate court to a life term because of the failings of capitalist society to reform him during his recidivist youth before consigning him to the concentration camp system! The file number of the unpublished decision of the Erste Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Leipzig is Gr. Strfk. [Grosse Strafkammer] (201) 3/55—19 St. Ks 4/50.

7. *U.S.A. v. Theodor Szehinskyj*, 104 F.Supp.2d 480 (July 24, 2000).

WEWELSBURG

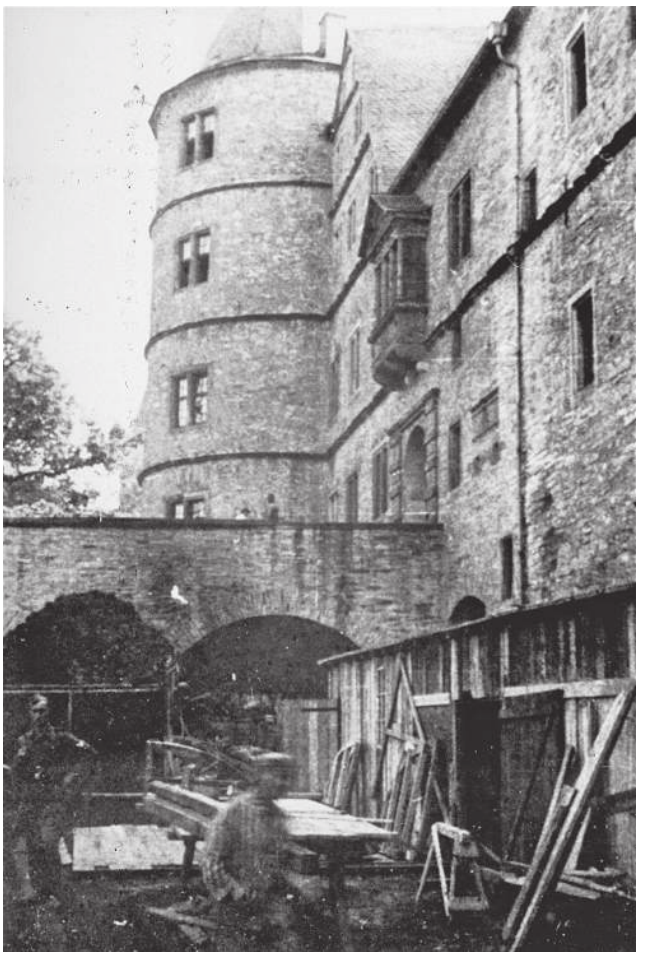


The wooden gate tower at Wewelsburg concentration camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #82780, COURTESY OF AKM-WN

WEWELSBURG MAIN CAMP [AKA NIEDERHAGEN]

On September 1, 1941, the Wewelsburg subcamp was renamed the "Wewelsburg concentration camp" (KL Wewelsburg).[1] With 480 prisoners it was the smallest autonomous main camp within Germany. Prior to this, the camp in the village of Wewelsburg, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southwest of Paderborn, Westphalia, was a Sachsenhausen subcamp, financed by the Association for the Promotion and Maintenance of German Cultural Memorials e.V. (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler e.V.).[2] Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler founded the association in 1936. He used it as the developer for his building project "Wewelsburg." As a registered association, the company—unlike the SS, which was not a legal entity—could acquire donations and credit. The Wewelsburg Renaissance castle had been built by the Paderborn prince-bishops (Fürstbischof) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1934, the Büren Council leased the castle to the association. Himmler planned to establish a Reich Leadership School (Reichsführerschule) there, the SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg. It would later become a large ideological-religious center for the SS.

For the necessary renovations and expansion of the castle, Himmler initially used the Reich Labor Service (RAD). When these workers were transferred to build the Westwall and the project was facing a shortage of labor, Himmler, as did other SS economic enterprises, considered the use of concentration camp prisoners for his private construction project. By using concentration camp labor, he was able to continue the building project, regularly obtaining exemptions from the general building prohibition for his private building project, which was not vital for the war effort. A detachment of "preventive custody" prisoners (*Befristeter Vorbeugehäftlinge*, BV) was sent to Wewelsburg in May 1939. Following two escape attempts, which caused much public attention, and resulted in the deaths of the escapees, the detachment was replaced in February 1940 by Jehovah's Witnesses. In the summer of 1940, the prisoners constructed a protective custody camp on the outskirts of Wewelsburg, on the boundary with Niederhagen. Other categories of prisoners were sent to Wewelsburg from the autumn of 1940, and the number of prisoners steadily increased to 470. On January 7, 1941, the work detachment was confirmed as a Sachsenhausen subcamp.[3] The transformation of the subcamp into an autonomous main camp did not occur because of the increasing size of the camp but for economic reasons. The sale of the Wewelsburg subcamp to the state relieved the "Gesellschaft" from the financial pressure that it was under. Initially there was some uncertainty, but on October 15, 1941, the name "Niederhagen concentration camp" was finally decided upon.[4] The Reichsführer-SS probably chose the name Niederhagen to disguise the concentration camp and to hide the connection between the concentration camp and his construction project at Wewelsburg.



A Niederhagen prisoner and an SS guard in the moat of the Wewelsburg castle, where work proceeds on the refurbishing of the SS crypt, 1941–1943.
USHMM WS #82778, COURTESY OF AKM-WN

The protective custody camp initially consisted of 4 barracks; the number subsequently increased to 16. The barracks were in two rows. Next to the prison camp was an industrial quarter with workshops and garages and opposite was an SS camp and building yard. The prisoners were given new prisoner numbers when the camp became autonomous. There were German prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, BV prisoners, political and so-called asocial prisoners, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, and Jews; and from 1941 there were more and more foreign prisoners including prisoners from Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The prisoners were sent to the camp either individually or in groups from other concentration camps, especially Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, or directly

from Gestapo offices, especially those in the Ruhr but also Paderborn and Osnabrück. These prisoners were mostly Polish and Ukrainian forced laborers who had been arrested by the Gestapo. Many of the Soviet prisoners arrived at Wewelsburg as prisoners of war (POWs) or in transit transports.

As the Jehovah's Witnesses were the only prisoner group during the initial phase, they, unlike in other camps, took over in Wewelsburg the positions for prisoner self-administration: Willi Wilke was camp elder (Lagerältester); Wettin Müller was camp scribe (Lagerschreiber). The block elders (Blockältester) were Jehovah's Witnesses, German politicals, asocials, and BV prisoners. The Kapos and foremen were mostly BV prisoners and asocials. BV functionaries wore a green triangle and excelled in their brutality and unscrupulousness at Wewelsburg—for example, in the prisoner infirmary (block 11) and the punishment detachment, Forest Settlement (Waldsiedlung). Jehovah's Witnesses played an important role in the camp and tried to remain true to their beliefs. They smuggled bibles and other religious works into the camp and conducted secret bible studies. Their solidarity and common, strong belief gave them the strength to survive the extreme camp conditions in Wewelsburg.

During 1942, there were on average 1,000 prisoners in the camp. In 1943, the number increased to around 1,500 prisoners. In the period up to August 1941, 48 prisoners died. When the camp became autonomous and new prisoner groups were admitted into the camp, the numbers of dead rapidly increased: by the end of 1941, another 80 prisoners had died; in 1942, 868 died; and to April 1943, when the main camp was dissolved, 287 prisoners died. The reason for the increase in the death rate was in part due to the physically weak condition of the prisoners, especially the Soviet prisoners, who were sent to Wewelsburg from June 1942, and in part due to the extremely poor living and work conditions in the camp. Some 1,285 of the approximate 3,900 prisoners who arrived in the camp between 1939 and 1945 died,[5] of whom 734 were of Soviet origin. It is likely that only a few Jewish prisoners were sent to Wewelsburg—20 death certificates suggest a Jewish background. In the summer of 1942, a crematorium was established in the camp because of the high death rate. Until October 1942, the corpses were taken to the crematoria in Dortmund and Bielefeld-Brackwede. It is thought that initially in Wewelsburg there were transportable crematoria ovens. They were reintroduced at the beginning of 1943. While constructing the crematorium, the SS established in the camp a Registry Office (Standesamt), which from January 1, 1943, kept a register of deaths. As an autonomous concentration camp from April 1942 to March 1943, the Niederhagen concentration camp also functioned as the execution site for the Gestapo Westfalen/Lippe office. It can be proved that 56 people were murdered, of whom 42 were hanged and 14 Soviet POWs were shot at the nearby shooting range. The hangings took place in a walled-in arrest bunker. The victims included female Soviet forced laborers as well as two boys, a 14-year-old Pole and a 15-year-old German Jew.

In 1940, Reinhard Heydrich had introduced for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) an official categorization of the camps. Niederhagen was a category 1 camp for "less serious protective custody prisoners capable of rehabilitation, special cases, and individual arrest."[6] However, the conditions on the ground did not correspond in any way with this official description. The living and work conditions in Wewelsburg were brutal. Many prisoners died because of the heavy work. A detachment was occupied with the renovation and extension of the Wewelsburg north tower, which was to be the ideological center of the facility. When excavating the "vault," which was planned for honoring the dead, the prisoners had to excavate more than 4 meters (13 feet) of rock with inadequate tools. The work in the constant cold and damp vault meant that the prisoners had to use the maximum physical exertion. Nevertheless, the work detachments in the north tower were regarded as relatively safe work sites by the prisoners, where they were largely protected from mistreatment by the SS. It was different in the three quarries (in the castle, at the railway station, and in the village of Ahden, several kilometers away), building roads, renovating the Marx manor, and constructing the SS settlement Waldsiedlung: there were deaths in these detachments almost every day, with the dead being brought back to the camp. Other work detachments constructed a villa for the architect Hermann Bartels or worked on the north terrace of the SS guard building in front of the castle. The concentration camp prisoners worked in the SS gardens and began excavation work for commercial buildings in the SS camp. They were exploited until they were totally exhausted. The principle "Destruction through Work" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*) accurately describes the working conditions for the work detachments in Wewelsburg. The SS treated qualified skilled tradesmen and workmen with more consideration because they could not be replaced so easily. They worked relatively securely in expanding the north tower and in a number of workshops. There were other tasks to be done in the camp's industrial sector, including the camp-owned laundry, tailor's shop, SS garages, and kitchens, or in constructing the camp.



Wewelsburg-Niederhagen prisoners work in a quarry, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #85257, Courtesy of AKM-WN

The infirmary was located in Barracks 15. Conditions there were catastrophic. There were no medicines or instruments. Block 11 was an additional infirmary. Its cellar was used as a storage room for corpses until they were taken to the crematorium. Once inside the infirmary the ill prisoners were at the mercy of the SS and some orderlies who mistreated the prisoners. Survivors have stated that the sick were murdered either by injections or by having cold showers. However, there were no medical experiments in Wewelsburg. On the other hand, Niederhagen was one of the camps from which the death transports for the concentration camp "euthanasia" policy, code-named "Aktion 14f13" (Operation 14f13), departed. In a letter dated December 10, 1941, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) mentions Niederhagen and other camps as those that will be inspected in the following year by the doctors' commission to select prisoners. The attached sample questionnaire contained the details of a Wewelsburg prisoner.[7] It is not known how many Wewelsburg prisoners were victims of the Aktion 14f13. Those prisoners who remained in Wewelsburg knew the purpose of the selections because the personal items of the dead prisoners were returned to Niederhagen.

An Obersturmbannführer of the Waffen-SS Reserve, Adolf Haas was in command of the protective custody camp in Wewelsburg from June 17, 1940. Once the camp was declared a subcamp in January 1941, he reorganized the camp administration along the lines of the organizational structure required by the IKL, that is, along the lines of the Dachau concentration camp. The camp administration was divided into five areas. Satter was the camp commandant's adjutant (Department I). SS-Sturmscharführer Friedrich Schultes was in charge of the Political Department (Department II). Wolfgang Plaul, Haas's predecessor as detachment leader, became leader of the protective custody camp (Department III) and Haas's replacement when he was absent. To 1942, the Labor Service Leader (Arbeitsdienstführer) was Ludwig Rehn. He was then transferred to Neuengamme and Sachsenhausen. The first administration leader for Department IV was Hermann Michl. The camp doctor at Niederhagen (Department V) was SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Franz Metzger. He was transferred in December 1942 to the SS-Panzergrenadierdivision "Totenkopf" (Death's Head) The concentration camp personnel included not only the command office but the guards. The SS guards in Wewelsburg were taken from the SS-Death's Heads Units stationed locally. They were organized into guards' units. Gustav Strese was in command of the First SS-Totenkopf-Sturmbann Niederhagen-Wewelsburg.

According to the prisoners, Adolf Haas was unpredictable and ruthless. The master baker joined the Nazi Party in 1931 and the SS a year later. He was in command of the SS region (Oberabschnitt) Rhein-Westfalen and in 1935 was promoted to SS-Sturmbannführer. However, a service opinion dated October 4, 1937, excluded him from any further promotion because of his poor writing skills.[8] He undertook a course in Sachsenhausen before he took command in Wewelsburg. After the dissolution of the Niederhagen concentration camp, Hass, with some of the Wewelsburg concentration camp personnel, was appointed camp commandant at the newly created camp at Bergen-Belsen. He has not been heard of since the end of the war.

After the German defeat at Stalingrad, the architect Bartels could not prevent the stopping of the construction work. A decree dated January 13, 1943, ordered the cessation of all "non-vital war construction work." In the middle of March 1943, an expert committee appointed by Oswald Pohl appeared at Wewelsburg, to examine whether the protective custody camp and the industrial section could be expanded into an armaments factory. The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was considering giving the camp a new use for armaments production. These considerations were part of the overall program to replace the labor shortage in the armaments industry with concentration camp prisoners. However, the armaments industry did not want the Niederhagen concentration camp. Even before the committee had completed its investigations, it was recalled. The decision to dissolve the camp remained. A circular decree dated March 23, 1943, ordered the end of all admissions to the Niederhagen concentration camp.[9] In a surviving express letter dated April 5, 1943, the Niederhagen concentration camp office demanded that the State Police Office (Stapoleitstelle) Düsseldorf not admit any more prisoners to Niederhagen, although a transport from Paderborn on May 7 would be accepted.[10] The large majority of the prisoners were sent in the months of April and May to Buchenwald, Ravensbrück, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen. The official date for the dissolution of the Niederhagen concentration camp was April 30, 1943.[11] At this point, there were around 150 to 200 prisoners in the camp, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses. On May 7, the camp commandant Haas accompanied a prisoner transport with some of the guards to Bergen-Belsen. A small detachment of 49 German prisoners remained. They were now under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In the period that followed, the number of prisoners was reduced to 42, of whom 40 were Jehovah's Witnesses. The other 2 were political prisoners. The camp Registry Office was closed. The last entry in the register of deaths is for April 12, 1943. After that no more deaths were recorded. The remaining prisoners were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers and were accommodated in a workshop barracks in the industrial quarter.

The empty protective custody camp was used from the autumn of 1943 as a resettlement camp by the SS-Main Office Ethnic German Liaison Office (Stabshauptamt Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, VOMI) for so-called ethnic Germans. At the end of 1944, one of the barracks in the camp was occupied by a Gestapo office from Gelsenkirchen whose own office had been bombed. In the autumn of 1943, an army physical training camp (*Wehrertüchtigungslager*) was established in the former SS camp. The number of SS guards was reduced at first to 12 and in November 1944 to 5. The detachment leadership reported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Until the end of 1943, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Jacob was leader. He was followed in 1944 by SS-Sturmmann

Schiering, who in turn was replaced by SS-Rottenführer Skuppi.

The SS no longer saw the need to maintain total control. The prisoners could move relatively freely around the industrial quarter and parts of the village. They worked under better conditions, particularly in the gardens, and did small jobs at the castle and in the village. In 1944, the Jehovah's Witnesses began to operate an illegal press to print their literature. It was distributed throughout all of northern Germany with the help of Jehovah's Witnesses who were still free. This conspiratorial underground work continued until American soldiers liberated the work detachment. U.S. troops entered Wewelsburg at around 7:00 A.M. on April 2, 1945. They were surprised to find a concentration camp. Himmler's strategy to camouflage his SS construction project at Wewelsburg was a success. Two days before the Americans arrived, Himmler ordered an SS detachment to blow up Wewelsburg. While the castle was completely burned out, the outer walls and the north tower remained.

Two postwar trials dealt with the crimes committed at the Niederhagen concentration camp. The first trial took place in 1952 by jury at a Paderborn court. A former "asocial" Kapo was charged with "crimes against humanity" and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The State Prosecutor successfully appealed, and the charge was amended to "injury causing death." In April 1954, the sentence was increased to five years and eight months.[12] The second Wewelsburg trial took place in 1970–1971. Five years of investigations preceded the trial. The trial was prepared by the Senior State Prosecutor in Cologne in conjunction with the Auschwitz Trial, which was prepared by the Zentralstelle in Nordrhein-Westfalen, who was charged with handling National Socialist crimes in concentration camps. Two former SS noncommissioned officers and two former Kapos (a political prisoner and an asocial prisoner) were charged with murder and suspected murder; all other charges lapsed because of the statute of limitations. It could not be proven that the accused had personally committed murder, and they were acquitted. Nevertheless, the court in its judgment made their moral guilt clear.[13]

SOURCES The first groundbreaking research on the history of the Niederhagen concentration camp was done by Paderborn University professor Karl Hüser at the end of the 1970s, at the request of the Documentary and Memorial Center in KM-WN, which was founded in 1982. He published his results in 1982 in an exhibition catalog, *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: Kult- und Terrorstätte der SS. Eine Dokumentation* (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1982). The second edition was published in 1987. Another work is Kirsten John's monograph *"Mein Vater wird gesucht . . ." Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers in Wewelsburg*, 4th ed. (Essen: Klartext, 2001). The focus here is on the prisoner groups and includes some prisoner biographies. The brochure by Wulff E. Brebeck and Karl Hüser, *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: Das Konzentrationslager*, 3rd expanded ed. (Münster: Landesbildstelle, 1998), provides an overview. An expanded English translation has appeared as *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: A Cult and Terror Centre of the SS* (Münster: Landesbildstelle, 2000).

With a few exceptions, the original Niederhagen concentration camp files have been lost. It is therefore necessary to rely on files in other archives (e.g., the BA-B; BA-BL, which includes the former BDC; ITS) and memorials (AG-S; APMM). There is no prisoner card index; as a result, the names, for example, and the exact number of prisoners cannot be determined. However, they can be reconstructed in part from using prisoner lists in other camps. Some finds in Russian archives (e.g., RGVA) provide further leads that have not yet been researched. It is oral history sources and trial files—especially the second Wewelsburg Trial (available at NWHStA-(D) ZA-K) and a few chronicles (Pfarrchronik Wewelsburg, in KPAW; Gemeindechronik Wewelsburg, 1814–1947, in Standesamt Büren)—that document the life of the prisoners in the Niederhagen concentration camp. In the collection at the AKM-WN are oral and written reports by survivors as well as recorded conversations with former Niederhagen prisoners (on audio and videotape).

Kirsten John-Stucke
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Kommandoliste, August 31, 1941, in AG-S, R 214 M 55; Mitteilung des Amtschefs W VIII Horst Klein an Hauptamtschef Oswald Pohl, August 31, 1941, in NMT, Case IV, Doc. Nr. NO-547, p. 2.
2. Vereinssatzung, Abschrift des Registerauszugs, 1948, in BA, Z 36 1, 501/49.
3. Stärkemeldung, January 7, 1941, in AG-S, OLS XV 10.
4. Befehl Nr. 388 im *Verordnungsblatt der Waffen-SS*, October 15, 1941.
5. Todesanzeigen Wewelsburg/Niederhagen, 1940–1943, in Standesamt Büren.
6. Runderlass des Chefs der Sipo und der SS, January 2, 1941, in *Allgemeine Erlasssammlung RSHA* 2f VIIIa, p. 13.
7. Musterbogen, in APMM.
8. Personalakte Haas, in BA-BL.
9. Runderlass des Chefs der Sipo und des SD, March 23, 1943, in ITS, HM Niederhagen-Wewelsburg KL Bu.
10. Schnellbrief, April 5, 1943, ibid.
11. Schreiben von Haas an Landrat, May 4, 1943, ibid.
12. Der Leitende Osta. Paderborn, Archiv, Prozess AZ: 7 Ks Ls Ms 2/51.
13. Unterlagen der ZSSta-K bei dem Lt. Osta. Köln zum zweiten Wewelsburg-Prozess beim LG Paderborn; Prozessunterlagen betr. KL Niederhagen-Wewelsburg, AZ: 24 JS 2/69 (Z), in NWHStA-(D) ZA-K (Rep. 118 Nr. 855-935).

SECTION III

YOUTH CAMPS



SS officers, including the head of the Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) chief SS-Brigadeführer Otto Hofmann (second from left), inspect the Litzmannstadt youth camp in 1943. Hofmann's presence suggests that the inspection took place in connection with the Germanization of certain Polish youth.

USHMM WS #02378, COURTESY OF IPN

INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUTH CAMPS

The idea of establishing a separate prevention institution (*Bewahranstalt*) or assembly camp (*Sammellager*) for the "difficult or impossible to educate" youth, who had become noticed because of their stubborn and deviant behavior, was not new. From the mid-1920s, youth welfare workers, lawyers, medical practitioners, psychiatrists, and adherents of the "racial hygiene" movement had been demanding such institutions to deal with the high level of care (and thus expense) for such youths. Without any further education, they would be held for an indefinite period of time in such institutions with their labor being exploited. Those advocating such a policy were not successful during the Weimar Republic, but this changed from 1933 with the assumption of power by the National Socialists and the establishment of the concentration camp system.

A series of decrees and orders from 1937 set the legal and institutional basis for the struggle against youth degeneration. A decree dated October 14, 1937, on "preventive criminal measures" established what was regarded as "asocial behavior," which was "someone who acts against the community, even if such actions were not criminal, but showed that he or she did not want to be part of the community."[1] This decree formed the basis for the persecution of anyone who deviated from National Socialist norms and ideals. In 1938, there followed a further series of decrees and regulations that dealt with the treatment of asocials and called for the "protective custody" of whole families as well as suggesting the registration and police surveillance of asocials.

Following a circular decree by the Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMdI) on May 24, 1939, the Reich Center for Combating Youth Criminality (Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Jugendkriminalität) was established as a department of the Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, RKPA). This authority was tasked with the police surveillance of youths and the power to use force, including sending youths to closed reform institutes. Later, it would be in charge of the "police youth protection camps" (*polizeiliche Jugendschutzlager*). In actuality, they were concentration camps for youths. On December 22, 1939, at a conference on "degenerate youth," Reinhard Heydrich demanded the establishment of reform camps for youths (*Jugenderziehungslagern*). This demand was supported in the following months by Hermann Göring and Heinrich Himmler. On June 26, 1940, the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) issued a circular announcing that the confinement of youths to police youth protective custody camps could begin within a short period of time. In the end, three such camps opened: Moringen (for boys) in August 1940, Uckermark (for girls) in June 1942, and Litzmannstadt (for Polish juveniles) in December 1942. All remained in operation almost until the end of the war.



German personnel review Polish children at roll call at the Litzmannstadt youth camp. Note the military caps worn by some prisoners.
USHMM WS #14203, COURTESY OF IPN

Youths were admitted to the Jugendschutzlager on racial, religious, or political grounds. They included the so-called Hamburg Swing Youth (Swing-Jugend), who were accused of establishing a dangerous clique even though they only wanted to listen to jazz, then regarded as un-German, and had formed their own subcultures to do so. The authorities also confined homosexuals, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Jews, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Youths in the camps were subjected to military drill, euphemistically termed "community training" (*Gemeinschaftserziehung*). The stated aim was character education, focusing on cleanliness, order, punctuality, discipline, and above all, work. The inmates worked on agricultural estates, at armaments

firms, and at workshops of various sorts. Living arrangements were primitive, the food and clothing inadequate, and the punishments severe. Death rates were not as high as in some of the adult concentration camps, but prisoners did die in significant numbers.

SOURCES Sources on the youth protection camps can be found in the individual camp entries.

Jürgen Harder

NOTE

1. Quoted in Detlef Peukert, *Volksgenossen und Gemeinschaftsfremde. Anpassung, Ausmerze und Aufbegehren unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne, 1982), p. 250.

POLISH YOUTH CUSTODY CAMP OF THE SECURITY POLICE LITZMANNSTADT [AKA POLENLAGER, KRIPOLAGER]

Between December 1, 1942, and January 18, 1945, the Reich Criminal Police Office (RKPA; also designated the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA], Office V) operated a camp for Polish juveniles inside the Łódź ghetto. Called the Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police in Litzmannstadt (Polen-Jugendverwahrlager der Sicherheitspolizei in Litzmannstadt), it was administratively related to the German "youth protection camps" (*Jugendschutzlager*) at Moringen and Uckermark.[1] Directed by the Criminal Police (Kripo), it deployed forced labor for the SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WVHA) Office Group D (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps, IKL).[2] In 1969, the International Tracing Service (ITS) classified the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager as a concentration camp.

Two months after the German invasion of Poland, the RSHA inaugurated an arrest campaign against juvenile delinquents. To this end, RKPA head Arthur Nebe called for the establishment of Jugendschutzlager in the Old Reich and the newly incorporated territories of Poland. Although he ordered the Kriminalpolizeistelle Lodsch (effective April 11, 1940, the Germans renamed the city Litzmannstadt) to establish a Polish youth camp on April 1, 1940, his order took more than two years to implement.[3] The delay was partly attributable to the imposition of German administration in the annexed territories, particularly of the welfare authorities, but space accommodation for the juveniles also played a role. Litzmannstadt's Kripo and mayor's offices repeatedly complained about rising youth crime in 1940 and 1941 but only obliquely connected the Polish children's begging, stealing, and smuggling (especially into the Łódź ghetto) to the underlying Nazi policies.[4] Among these policies were the forced labor drafts and mass arrests of Polish adults and the instability caused by the "racial" selection and deportation to the General Government of Poles, respectively, by the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) Aussenstelle Litzmannstadt and the RSHA Umwandererzentralstelle Posen. In situating the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in the ghetto, the Kripo followed the precedent set by the "Gypsy" camp's (*Zigeunerlager*) formation inside the Łódź ghetto between October 1941 and January 1942.



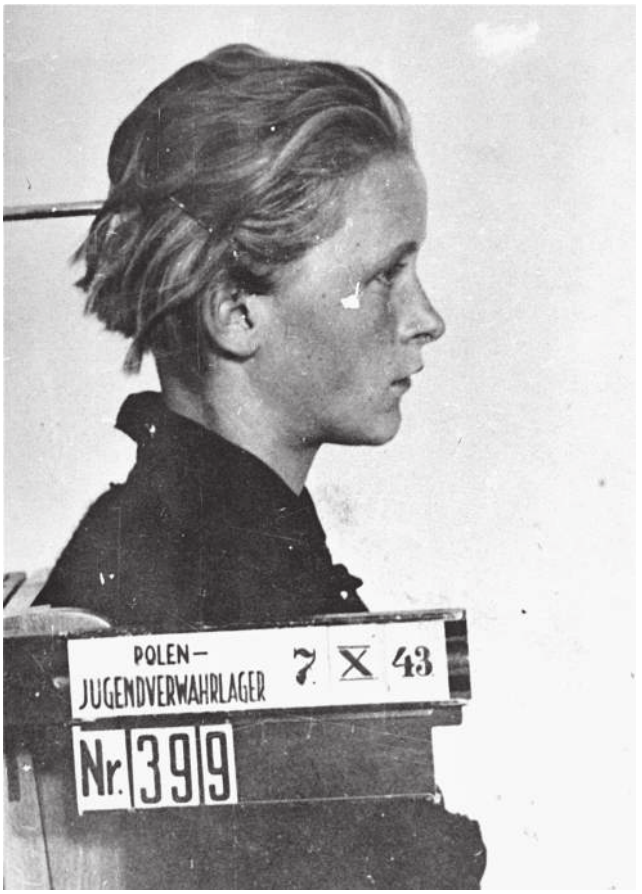
SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Ehrlich reviews Polish male prisoners at the Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police in Litzmannstadt, nd.
USHMM WS #00845, COURTESY OF IPN

Although the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager was established on the disingenuous pretext of combating juvenile crime, the children's case files reflected the Kripo's persecution of "asocials" and outcasts elsewhere and its solution of social problems through policing.[5] Grounds for confinement included membership in the Jehovah's Witnesses and listening to illegal radio transmissions.[6] Many children were orphans or lacked parental supervision because one parent was held in another camp or performed forced labor, while the other parent was deceased. Some young Auschwitz prisoners were transferred to Litzmannstadt.[7]

Erected in the Marysin district inside the northeast quadrant of the Łódź ghetto at Ulica Przemysłowa 72, the compound consisted of two city blocks surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence and encompassed a section of the New Jewish Cemetery. Construction commenced on September 30, 1942. The Marysin district featured residences for privileged Jews, including ghetto eldest (Ältester) Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, and small agricultural plots essential for the ghetto's subsistence. As was the case with the Gypsy camp, Jewish laborers seem to have erected the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager. On November 24, 1942, the ghetto chronicler, Dr. Oscar Singer, observed, "The construction of a Polish camp for youth in Marysin continues at a swift tempo."[8] A few Jewish skilled workers served as the camp's trade school instructors. The ghetto's inhabitants called the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager the "Polish" (*Polen-*) or "Kripo camp" (*Kripolager*).[9]

Kripo officials, SS, and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutschen*) from the Reichsgau Wartheland guarded Litzmannstadt. On January 1, 1943, the commandant, Kripo official, and SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Ehrlich, issued the Litzmannstadt camp order (*Lagerordnung*).[10] Like the IKL's regulations, it prescribed punishments including beatings with wooden canes or rubber truncheons for offenses such as speaking Polish. The inmates were subjected to paramilitary discipline similar to that found in IKL camps, like roll calls.[11] The females' camp leader was Eugenie Pohl, a 19-year-old Łódź native who changed her Polish name (Genowefa Pol) after signing the German National List (*Volksliste*). Another Łódź native, Isolda (Sydomia) Bayer, administered the female section.

Called dependents or pupils (*Zöglinge*), the prisoners originally comprised gentiles aged 12 to 16 from the newly incorporated territories.[12] When the Youth Welfare Offices (Jugendämter) in Wartheland, Ostoberschlesien, Danzig-West Preussen, and elsewhere dispatched fewer youth than



Mug shot of an unidentified female prisoner at the Litzmannstadt youth camp, October 7, 1943.
USHMM WS #00587, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL



Female prisoners stand at roll call, dressed in industrial smocks, at the Litzmannstadt youth camp. In the background is the girls' camp leader, Eugenie Pohl, December 1942.
USHMM WS #15002, COURTESY OF IPN

anticipated, the Kripo reduced the confinement age to 8 in order to enlarge Litzmannstadt's camp population. Some inmates were as young as 4 years old.[13] The first group arrived at the camp on December 11, 1942. Litzmannstadt held approximately 1,000 inmates per month.[14] For each inmate, the administration produced an index card with mug shot and periodic conduct (*Führung*) reviews. The Kripo divided the Zöglinge into three levels (*Stufen*): (1) newcomers, (2) reformables, and (3) incorrigibles. Some males wore military uniforms, while females had gray dresses.[15] The inmates' labor consisted mostly of manufacturing straw shoes as well as cartridge belts for the German army.[16]

Because the RSHA deemed undesirable the mixture of Polish and German youth, the SS-RuSHA Litzmannstadt Aussenstelle received the order to screen the camp "racially," starting with the youngest Zöglinge.[17] The RuSHA chief, SS-Gruppenführer Otto Hofmann, inspected the Litzmannstadt camp in the spring of 1943.[18] The inmates found "racially valuable" were dispatched to Litzmannstadt's Germanization camp at Ulica Sporna 73.[19]

Between May 1943 and January 1945, Litzmannstadt recorded 77 deaths, including one shooting. During the period from September 1943 to November 1944 (except October 1944), inmates were hospitalized for scabies (497 cases), tuberculosis (216), trachoma (116), and mumps (106). They also suffered numerous work-related injuries and had poor dental care. In December 1943 and January 1944, a louse-borne typhus epidemic (*Fleckfieber* or *Flecktyphus*) resulted in the hospitalization of over one-third of the camp's population (378 cases) during these months.[20] Although the camp had an infirmary, the authorities quarantined over 200 typhus-infected children at the ghetto's infectious disease hospital at Ulica Dworska. On December 21, 1943, Rumkowski was ordered to evacuate 100 Jewish patients from the hospital. This order imposed a burden, Singer wrote, because typhus had only recently been contained in the ghetto and the evacuated patients' health remained in jeopardy. Under the care of Czech Jewish pediatrician Dr. Emil Vogl, most of the Polish patients recovered, and the ward was closed on March 1, 1944.[21]

According to ITS, Dzierzążnia and Tuchingen (Tuszyn) were Litzmannstadt subcamps. An agricultural estate approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from Łódź, Dzierzążnia opened on January 12, 1943, and closed on July 31, 1944. Under Lagerleiter and police official Hans Heinrich Fuge, the 200 female prisoners raised food to support the main camp. Between August 16, 1943, and March 28, 1944, the Umwandererzentralstelle Posen put Tuchingen, a three-story building, "at the [youth camp's] disposal" (*zur Verfügung*).[22]

Four and a half months after the deportation of the Łódź ghetto's inhabitants to Auschwitz, where the majority were murdered, the Germans abandoned the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager during the Red Army's advance on January 17–18, 1945. The inmates were not evacuated. Distantly witnessing the destruction of the Radogoszcz prison, Litzmannstadt inmate Apolonia Beda "feared that they [the Germans] would come back and burn us, but they had actually gone." Soon afterward Łódź resident Janina Ruta-Koperkiewicz saw the children scavenging for food outside the camp.[23]

In 1948, the United States sentenced Otto Hofmann to 25 years in the "RuSHA" case at Nuremberg.[24] After 1945, Eugenie Pohl reverted to her Polish name and became a kindergarten teacher in Łódź. In 1974, a Polish court sentenced her to 25 years' imprisonment.

SOURCES The most important secondary sources about the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager are Józef Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowny im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1975); Julia Wasiak, "Obóz dla dzieci i mlodzieży polskiej przy ulicy Przemyslowej," in *Obozy hitlerowskie w Łodzi*, ed. Albina Głowackiego and Sławomira Abramowicza (Łódź: Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi Instytitu Pamięci Narodowej, 1998), pp. 153–170; and Roman Hrabar, Zofia Tokarz, and Jacek E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, trans. Bogdan Buczkowski and Lech Petrowicz (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), pp. 76–84. Hrabar, Tokarz, and Wilczur furnish an estimate of the monthly camp population on p. 82. At www.holocaust-education.de, students Małgorzata Kołodziejska and Anna Słowińska posted an article on this camp at Lernen aus der Geschichte (Learning from History): "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt." This site has useful information about Eugenie Pohl's career. Filmmaker Lydia Chagoll has also written about this camp in *Im Namen Hitlers: Kinder hinter Stacheldraht* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979). A map of the camp's position in the ghetto may be found in Julian Baranowski, *Zigeunerlager in Litzmannstadt 1941–1942—The Gypsy Camp in Łódź—Obóz cygański w Łodzi* (Łódź: Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, 2003). This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 2:513; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:717; and *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 322. On RuSHA Aussenstelle Litzmannstadt, see Isabelle Heinemann, *"Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut": Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).

Primary sources for this camp begin with USHMMA, RG-05.008M, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt Records, Reel 7, File 36, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt, Jugendamt, "Massnahmen gegen die Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend," 1940–1944, reproduced from APŁ. Additional relevant holdings at USHMMA include RG-55.003*55, Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz Litzmannstadt camp music collection, and RG-55.005*15, Piotr Hyszko Litzmannstadt camp poetry collection; and the Łódź Ghetto Tageschronik in RG 15.083 M, APŁ, Przełożony Starzeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzim, Reel 253, sygn. 1081–1086; Reel 254, sygn. 1087–1088. The published and translated version of the chronicle Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944*, trans. Richard Lurie et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), selectively reproduces references to the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager. Some 45 photographs of the youth camp, including the Dzierząźnia and Tuchingen subcamps, are found in USHMMPA, 200.7035, Litzmannstadt (Jugendschutzlager). Witkowski and Hrabar reproduce and cite German documents and Polish testimonies, the originals of which may be found in AK-IPN, APŁ, and WAP-By. On Hofmann and on the SS-WVHA's relationship to the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager, see *TWC*, vols. 4–5. The Lernen aus der Geschichte Web site reproduces Polish testimony, including the statements of Apolonia Beda and Janina Ruta-Koperkiewicz. A prisoner memoir is Tadeusz Raźniewski, *Chcę żyć* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łodzi, 1971).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. RSHA V A3 Nr. 3050/42, Schnellbrief (Abschrift), Betr.: "Einweisung von verwahrlosten Kindern und Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt," November 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-05.008M, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt Records, Reel 7, File 36, pp. 29–30 (hereafter RG-05.008M/7/36/29-30).

2. R-129, Pohl to Himmler, April 3, 1942, *TWC*, 5:298.

3. Nebe, RSHA V Nr. A 3 521/40, to Leiter der Staatlichen Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeistelle in Lodsch, Schnellbrief, April 1, 1940, Betr. "Pol. Unterbringung krimineller und asozialer Minderjähriger," RG-05.008M/7/36/1.

4. On the welfare authorities, Fürsorgerin Genz, Vermerk, April 12, 1940, ibid., p. 2; for the Litzmannstadt Kripo's complaints about Polish youth crime, Staatsliche Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeistelle Litzmannstadt, Tgb. Nr. 1069/40/KD.6, to the Regierungspräsident Litzmannstadt, November 12, 1940, Betr.: "Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend," ibid., pp. 4–7; Tiemer, Staatliche Kriminalpolizei-Kriminalabteilung, Tgb. Nr. 693/41, Bericht, Betr.: "Zunahme der Kriminalität bei den polnischen Jugendlichen," March 14, 1941, ibid., pp. 18–19; for the Litzmannstadt Stadtverwaltung's complaints, Bürgermeister Marder to the Regierungspräsident Litzmannstadt, Betr.: "Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend," January 21, 1941, ibid., p. 13; Stadtrat Lindner, "Niederschrift über die Dezernentenbesprechung am Dienstag, den 4.2.41: Punkt 4, Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend," ibid., p. 14.

5. Quotation in Staatsliche Kriminalpolizei, Kriminalpolizeistelle Litzmannstadt, Tgb. Nr. 1069/40/KD.6, to the Regierungspräsidenten Litzmannstadt, November 12, 1940, p. 12.

6. Jugendamt Teschen to Landesjugendamt, O/S, "Antrag auf Einweisung eines Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt (Johann Polek)," reproduced in Józef Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowny im Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1975), Doc. 268; and Apolonia Beda testimony, reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de.

7. Auschwitz mug shot of Maria Orlicka in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, photograph 218.

8. Łódź Tageschronik entry for November 24, 1942, RG 15.083 M, APŁ, Przełożony Starzeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzim, Reel 253, sygn. 1081, p. 623.

9. Łódź Tageschronik entry for May 10, 1944, ibid., Reel 254, sygn. 1087, p. 270,

10. "Organisations- und Stellenplan des Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in Litzmannstadt dem Stande vom 1.1.1943," AK-IPN, sygn. 1059z/OŁ/43, cited in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, p. 40.

11. USHMMPA, 200.7035 Litzmannstadt (Jugendschutzlager), WS # 00849; also Tadeusz Raźniewski, *Chcę żyć* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łodzi, 1971), p. 120.

12. RMdI, Schnellbrief, IV J I 76/42, December 3, 1942, Betr. "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger," pp. 141–142, reproduced in Roman Hrabar, Zofia Tokarz, and Jacek E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, trans. Bogdan Buczkowski and Lech Petrowicz (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), n.p.

13. For the circulars, Reichstatthalter im Warthegau Gauselbstverwaltung, Gaujugendamt, Aktz. III.b.B.VI/13, Rundschreiben an sämtliche Jugendämter des Reichsgaues Wartheland, Betr.: "Unterbringung polnischer Jugendlicher im Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in Litzmannstadt," December 6, 1942, RG-05.008M/7/36/25-27; for a questionnaire, Staatliche Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeileitstelle, Antrag auf Einweisung eines Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt," ibid., p. 31; for the age-limit reduction, Landesjugendamt, O/S, Rundschreiben, 18.1.43, Betr.: "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer, insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger hier: Einweisung in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt," in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, Doc. 267; for four-year olds, see the list in ibid., p. 319, based upon IPN, sygn. 1057z/ OŁ/43, and Woj. Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy (WAP-By), Akt. UWZ, sygn. 130, Doc. 1.

14. See the medical treatment statistics provided in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, pp. 140–146, from IPN, sygn. 1056z/OŁ/42; Łódź Tageschronik entry for November 24, 1942, RG 15.083 M, Reel 253, sygn. 1081, p. 623.

15. USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 00844, 00845, 00848, 00849, 15002, 15006, 17362.

16. Aleksandra R. testimony, reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de.

17. RMI, Schnellbrief, IV J I 76/42, December 3, 1942, Betr. "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger," p. 142, reproduced in Hrabar, Tokarz, and Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, n.p.

18. USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 02378.

19. Regina Kibilska testimony reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de.

20. Hospitalization, disease incidence, and mortality statistics calculated from figures reproduced in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, pp. 140–146, citing IPN, sygn. 1056z/OŁ/42; see also Ehrlich to RKPA, March 30, 1944, Betr.: "Monatsbericht über den San.-Dienst," reproduced in ibid., Doc. 295–296.

21. Łódź Tageschronik entries for December 21, 24, 28, 1943, January 20–21, March 2, 6, 1944, RG 15.083 M, Reel 253, sygn. 1085, pp. 577, 583, 590; Reel 254, sygn. 1087, pp. 48, 155, 162; see also Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944*, trans. Richard Lurie et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 420–421.

22. Quoted in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1969), 2:513; for photographs of children at Tuchingen, USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 51212.

23. Beda and Janina Ruta-Koperkiewicz testimonies reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de; see also Raźniewski, *Chcę żyć*, pp. 129–130.

24. *TWC*, 5:160, 166.

YOUTH PROTECTION CAMP MORINGEN

In the autumn of 1940, at the initiative of Chief of the Security Police and the SD Reinhard Heydrich, a concentration camp for male youths between the ages of 16 and 21 was opened in the buildings of the state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*) in Moringen near Göttingen. The first youths were interned in August after having been classified by state institutions for youth, the Reichskriminalpolizei, and welfare practitioners for closed corrective training as "burdensome hereditary criminals" (*erblich kriminell belastet*) or "ethically and morally degenerate" (*sittlich und moralisch verwahrlost*).

The *Jugendkonzentrationslager* in Moringen was the first of the so-called youth protection camps (*Jugendschutzlager*), which were generally welcomed by the social welfare authorities. Formerly the site of an early Nazi men's camp in 1933 and an early women's camp from 1933 to 1938, the Moringen Jugendschutzlager was administratively and conceptually related to similar camps established in 1942 for females at Uckermark and for Poles at Litzmannstadt (Łódź). The Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, RKPA) confined male youths to Moringen after studying their files. Applications to send such youths to the camp were initially made by the State Youth Offices and later by the Criminal Police (Kripo), by the Hitler Youth leadership, and by the protective courts and other judicial authorities. The applications constantly referred to asocial behavior or criminal tendencies. The overwhelming majority were said to be incapable of "readmission to the national community" (*Wiedereingliederung in die Volksgemeinschaft*). The terms used to justify admission to the camps were deliberately vague and allowed the punishment of any type of behavior that deviated from the norm, as well as allowing the expanded persecution of youths who hitherto had not been seized.

Under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer und Kriminalrat Karl Dieter, the guards from the SS-Totenkopf (Death's Head), and "trainers" (*Erziehern*) from the Waffen-SS, the Moringen youths were subjected to military drill, euphemistically termed "community training" (*Gemeinschaftserziehung*). The stated aim was character education, focusing on cleanliness, order, punctuality, discipline, and above all, work.

The camp organization corresponded to that established for concentration camps for adults. The inmates were divided into various blocks, each of which was supervised by an SS

Blockführer, as well as block elders and camp elders, who were chosen from among those interned. These prisoner-functionaries had a similar function to Kapos in the large concentration camps. Operating at the behest of the SS, they reported infringements against camp regulations and ensured that the orders of the camp personnel were carried out.

Everyday life in the camp was planned to the minute. During the summer, the day began at 5:15 A.M. and in winter at 5:45 A.M. The hard physical labor lasted for more than 10 hours; the SS Erzieher permanently controlled, supervised, and committed arbitrary acts of violence against the prisoners. The slightest infringement of the rules, such as a mistake while making beds (*Bettenbauen*), alleged loafing during work, and many other infringements led to draconian punishments. Authorized and unauthorized punishments included the withdrawal of mail privileges; the order to stand while eating; the withholding of meals; sleeping on a "hard bed" (*Harte Lager*—removal of the mattress so that the prisoner slept on the wooden boards); standing at attention; performing penal exercises (often to the point of total physical collapse); placement under arrest (with only bread and water, with a full meal every third day); and being beaten with a cudgel.

At the end of 1941, the Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police (Kriminalbiologische Institut der Sicherheitspolizei, KBI), whose tasks included the observation of "community alien youths" (*jugendliche Gemeinschaftsfremde*), was incorporated into the RKPA. It was headed by Dr. Robert Ritter, who promptly established a department of KBI inside the Moringen youth concentration camp. He used the camp to continue his studies, begun in the 1930s, to develop a preventive "racial hygienic campaign against criminals," which amounted to experiments and selections conducted on the youths based on pseudoscientific criminal and hereditary theories. A letter from the RKPA dated June 24, 1942, to the Moringen and Uckermark youth concentration camps as well as to the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp defined the purpose of the youth concentration camp as follows: "[to] examine the inmates for criminal-biological traits, to support those who can still be members of the community so that they can take their place in the national community while holding those who are uneducable until their final accommodation elsewhere, while using their labor."[1] This "final accommodation elsewhere" (*endgültigen anderweitigen Unterbringung*) could mean deportation and murder in one of the death camps, the fate of 21 Sinti (Gypsies) on March 24, 1943.

Ritter developed a classification system to examine and sort the youths into different "human types" (*Menschentypen*): the youths were divided among various blocks based upon their genealogical, moral, and medical characteristics. At Moringen, the newly admitted inmates were allocated to the so-called observation block (*Beobachtungsblock*, or B-block). Held for six months until a final "determination" by Ritter or his assistant of many years, Eva Justin, they were allocated to a block depending upon KBI's expectation of success in their training and the resultant social prognosis. The prisoners were dispatched to the blocks for incompetents (*Untauglichen*, U-block), troublemakers (*Störer*, S-block), total failures (*Dauerversager*, D-block), occasional failures (*Gelegenheitsversager*, G-block), questionably educable (*fraglich Erziehungsfähigen*, F-block), educable (*Erziehungsfähigen*, E-block), and the political opponents, Stapo-block (*Staatspolizei*, or ST-block).

The Stapo-block was strictly separated from the others. It held youths who had been classified by the police authorities as political opponents, including foreign youths from countries such as Norway and Luxembourg, partisans from Slovenia, and members of Hamburg's Swing Youth. The prisoners were mostly admitted to this block on the basis of "protective custody" orders issued by the Gestapo. They were regarded by the police authorities as extremely dangerous to the community. Consequently, they were subjected to an especially strict training and security regime.

The fate of the youths depended on the blocks to which they were allocated. The blocks determined the inmates' everyday life and formed the basis for their later transfer to the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) and Wehrmacht units or, if there was a negative assessment, to the asylums or to death camps.

Ritter's criminal and hereditary biological assessment had severe consequences for those who survived the physical and psychological terror of the camp. Many of the youths interned in Moringen were forcibly sterilized at the request of the criminal biologists.

The center point of everyday life in the camp was the ceaseless exploitation of the inmates' labor with completely inadequate sustenance or medical care. For breakfast there was a little bread with jam and a cup of ersatz coffee. At midday and in the evening, the meal was mostly a thin watery soup with cabbage, potatoes, or beets. Meat was a rarity.

Initially, the inmates' sustenance was restricted to the minimum necessary to maintain their work strength. Later it did not even suffice for this. As a consequence of malnutrition, at least four youths died, with the result being that the SS-Lagerarzt was forced to demand an improvement in April 1942; otherwise, there would be more deaths. However, the food situation changed so little that illnesses, hunger, and malnutrition remained the inmates' constant companions.

The daily 10 hours' forced labor regimen was regarded by the detaining authorities as a particularly valuable education method for the growing boys, even though it imposed the most difficult physical travails, monotony, and permanent threat of punishment. The youths were deployed in labor detachments both inside and outside the Moringen camp. In the camp itself, there were a number of workshops such as a saddlery, a weaving mill, a knitting mill, and machines to glue paper bags, as well as tailor, bookbinding, and paint shops. Some of the prisoners worked under SS supervision and for piece wages offered by the companies Götting Leineweber GmbH, Papiersackfabrik Alfred Rockenfeller, and Jute-Spinnerei und Bindfarbenfabrik August Greve KG. They manufactured overalls, sheets, and hand towels; glued to-

gether cement bags; sorted string; and produced cartridge holders and other armaments products for the Wehrmacht. Other inmates worked on farms in the area and at harvest time were sent to work in the sugar mill at Nörten-Hardenberg.

The majority of the youths worked in labor detachments that were especially notorious for their physical work. They dug trenches to lay cables for the Reichspost, worked on the nearby Leine River to regulate its flow, and on the run carried 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement bags for hours for the Portland Cementfabrik Hardegsen AG. The SS used other prisoners in quarries or on construction sites for the Reichsautobahn and the Reichsbahn.

The SS extracted the most profit from the youths when they worked in armaments industries, which paid bonus and wages to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). The prisoners never received their wages or bonuses. Inmates from the Moringen camp worked as slaves in the Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Muna), a former salt mine situated about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from the camp in Volpriehausen and in the workshops of the Piller company, which opened a branch factory in Moringen on October 1, 1942, with the express purpose of using the camp's labor. According to historian Hans Hesse, the Moringen workhouse director, Hugo Krack, while performing a wartime assignment, informed Piller of the youth camp's labor sources.[2]

Before its dissolution on April 9, 1945, when the U.S. Army marched into Moringen, around 1,500 male youths passed through the camp. At least 56 youths died in the camp as a result of the inhuman living conditions or were shot while working in the labor detachments or while trying to escape. To this number should be added those who contracted tuberculosis and were transferred to the tuberculosis institute at Benninghausen, where many of them died. Others were transferred to the death camps or the asylums, where they fell victim to systematic mass murder and euthanasia measures. Even when the remaining prisoners were sent on the death marches, they were murdered by the SS guards when they could go no further due to exhaustion and illness. One can assume that at least 10 percent of the inmates in the youth concentration camp died while in camp or as a result of the period spent in the camp.

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on Moringen: Martin Guse, "*Wir hatten noch gar nicht angefangen zu leben*": *Eine Ausstellung zu den Jugend-Konzentrationslagern Moringen und Uckermark 1940–1945*, 4th ed. (Moringen, 2001); Diana Dorusz, *Tod durch Erziehung? Eine Klasse forscht zum Thema Jugend-KZ* (Berlin, 1996); Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, "Die 'Bewahrung' Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugendkonzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark," (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985); Martin Guse, Andreas Kohrs, and Friedhelm Vahsen, "Das Jugendlager Moringen—ein Jugendkonzentrationslager," in *Soziale Arbeit und Faschismus: Volkspflege und Pädagogik im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans-Uwe Otto and Heinz Sünker (Bielefeld, 1986), pp. 321–344; Martin Guse, "Der Kleine, der hat sehr leiden müssen . . . 'Zeugen Jehovas im Jugend-KZ Moringen,'" in "*Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas*": *Verfolgung und Widerstand der Zeugen Jehovahs im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen, 1998), pp. 102–120; Michael Hepp, "Vorhof zur Hölle: Mädchen im 'Jugendschutzlager' Uckermark," in Hesse, "*Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas*," pp. 239–272; Heinrich Muth, "Das 'Jugendschutzlager' Moringen," *DaHe* 5 (1989); Manuela Neugebauer, *Der Weg in das Jugendschutzlager Moringen: Eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Analyse nationalsozialistischer Jugendpolitik* (Mönchengladbach, 1997); Hannah Vogt, *Moringen: Männerlager*, *Frauenlager*, *Jugendschutzlager*, ed. Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit Göttingen e.V. (Göttingen, 1982). On Hugo Krack's relationship with Piller and the Moringen Jugendschutzlager, see Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen, 2002). On the "Swing Youths," see Detlef J.K. Peukert, *Volksgenossen und Gemeinschaftsfremde* (Cologne, 1982). On the Moringen memorial, see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus*, *Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 437–440. On the history of the workhouse, see Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen, 2004).

As cited by Hesse and Neugebauer, the most important primary sources for the Moringen youth camp may be found in NHStA-H, which holds the denazification files of workhouse director Hugo Krack (Nds. 171 Hildesheim No. 39367) and SS guard Karl Römer (Nds. Hildesheim, No. 20705), as well as records relating to the camp's administration (Hann. 158 Moringen 38/83, Nos. 1, 2, 4; Hann. 158 Moringen 84/82, No. 1. In an appendix, Neugebauer, *Der Weg in das Jugendschutzlager Moringen*, pp. 177–199, reproduces relevant RSHA, RKPA, and other police documents dealing with youth detention.

Jürgen Harder and Joseph Robert White
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Quoted in Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, "Die 'Bewahrung' Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugendkonzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark" (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985), p. 173; original found in BA-K, NS 4 RA 1.

2. NHStA-H, Nds. Hann. 158 Moringen 38/83, No. 4, p. 239, cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen, 2002), p. 99.

YOUTH PROTECTION CAMP UCKERMARK

Intended to hold young women ages 16 to 19, and later women up to age 21, the Uckermark youth protection camp (*Jugendschutzlager*) opened as the first concentration camp for young females in June 1942. Since the Moringen Jugendschutzlager

opened in August 1940, the SS had urged leading officials in the Reichskriminalpolizeiamt (RKPA) to establish a comparable site for females. Like Moringen and the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt, the Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police) directed Uckermark, but its forced labor fell under the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA).[1] Like Moringen, Uckermark's inmates, called "pupils" (*Zöglinge*), were classified as criminals due to sexual promiscuity, membership in the "Swing Youth" (*Swing-Jugend*), relationships with prisoners of war (POWs) or "non-Aryans," refusal to work in arms production, or political opposition. There were also inmates whom the Nazis deemed "racially inferior," such as Jews and Gypsies (Sinti and Roma). Many Zöglinge were dispatched to Uckermark from "asylums" and juvenile institutions. Some prisoners were Slovenian.[2]

In mid-May 1942, the SS-Kriminalrätin Lotte Toberentz became Uckermark's commandant, with staff drawn from Ravensbrück. Initially, Uckermark had only 2 accommodation barracks, one for Zöglinge and the other for female "educators." Male prisoners from Ravensbrück completed a new barrack before the arrival of each additional transport. The first group of prisoners consisted of about 10 females. By August 1942 there were four blocks for approximately 200 Zöglinge. By early 1945, there were around 17 barracks holding 1,200 prisoners.

The new arrivals were sent first to Ravensbrück, not Uckermark, where they underwent a demeaning admission procedure. Stripped naked, they surrendered personal belongings, and their hair was shorn. Following a cold shower, they were examined by SS doctors, fingerprinted, photographed, issued prisoner clothing, and introduced to camp procedures. A few days after this "introduction," the young girls were transferred to Uckermark.

As in Moringen, the admission criteria were based upon the obscure criminal-biological theories of Dr. Robert Ritter and his assistant, Dr. Eva Justin, of the Kriminalbiologische Institute (KBI). KBI ascertained the young prisoners' alleged "criminal propensities" and "inherited inferiority" and correspondingly assigned them to different blocks after six months' observation. Although Uckermark's block system was not as elaborate as Moringen's, each block had its own corresponding "educational" methods. Comparatively few were admitted to the higher, "educable" blocks, while most were dispatched to the lower and middle blocks for the "questionably educable" or "hopeless" Zöglinge. A special block for Gestapo prisoners and partisans' children was isolated from the others.

According to Commandant Toberentz, an essential reason for the differentiated treatment of female juveniles concerned their alleged proclivity for sexual promiscuity. This assessment about the female asocials' special "nature" reflected welfare administrators' attitudes dating back to Imperial Germany, when Zöglinge were consigned to workhouses for "unseemly" behavior. Euphemistically, the authorities, such as Paul Werner from RKPA, described youth forced labor as fundamentally educational.

Constant torment and hard labor marked daily life. The day began at 5:00 A.M. After a cold shower and clad in underwear, the prisoners went barefoot to "early sport," regardless of season. After dressing, they made their beds, which consisted of straw sacks and simple blankets. The female block leaders and Toberentz inspected the blocks, punishing the disorderly. A simple breakfast and roll call preceded the work assignments.

Under constant SS supervision, the girls generally worked between 10 and 12 hours. If they collapsed or did not reach the daily work quotas, they were punished for sabotaging work. One labor detachment in Uckermark was used for moor cultivation, terrible work that resulted in psychological and physical exhaustion. Many prisoners brought in the harvest at neighboring manors and farms. Others worked in armament firms, such as Siemens, which had opened branches in Ravensbrück and at Uckermark. The Jugendschutzlager had a tailor shop and a workshop; the latter made dolls and toys for the children of fallen SS men. Especially difficult was *Holzmachen*, where 16-year-olds dragged felled trees to the camp, which were then cut into smaller segments.

Conducted back to camp, all Zöglinge assembled for evening roll call. Supper consisted of a piece of bread with spreadable cheese. Twice a week there was sausage or soup. The soup was a thick brew with cabbage or beets but rarely contained meat. The meals were totally inadequate for growing youngsters, with the result that the prisoners soon wasted away. After eating there was an hour of sport, cleaning, or roll call. Completely exhausted, the Zöglinge were permitted to shower and sleep. But even during the night there was no peace, as Toberentz made nightly inspections and collectively punished the blocks at the slightest opportunity.

The prescribed punishments were warnings, food deprivation, arrest, postal bans, and the withholding of privileges. The Zöglinge were also forced to do hours-long military drill. Pursuant to Heinrich Himmler's order, the camp rules forbade the beating of females, but the Zöglinge nevertheless suffered blows from male and female SS. A daily torment was the absolute talking ban. Under threat of severe punishment, the inmates were not allowed to talk when eating, working, or at night. Recaptured escapees were harshly punished. Former prisoners reported that vicious dogs were set upon escapees. One Zögling was mauled on the calf, and another's nose was torn to pieces.

The poor food, heavy labor, and inadequate clothing caused severe illnesses. In winter, the inmates were given only a scarf for protection, not pullovers or gloves. Working in primitive wooden shoes wounded their feet. The sick and injured were sent to the Ravensbrück infirmary, which had a police doctor and two prisoner nurses. This facility's minimal aim was to return the Zöglinge for labor. Toward the end of 1943, Uckermark obtained an infirmary, but its medical standards were also poor. Although cases of forc-

ible sterilization have not yet come to light, it can be assumed that because Uckermark was run similarly to Moringen that the authorities' negative assessment resulted in sterilization.

Based upon Ritter's and Justin's decisions, some Zöglinge were murdered at concentration camps such as Auschwitz, Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, or Ravensbrück. Others were sent to "asylums," where they were murdered as part of the "euthanasia" program.

In June 1944, Uckermark's dissolution began with the opening of the Dallgow-Döberitz transit camp, which was led by Uckermark staff. Of its first transferees, 49 girls were deployed in an armaments firm. Another 58 worked in homes in Uckermark's immediate vicinity; 22 Zöglinge described as "pathologically degenerate" were sent to an asylum, and another 71 youths to Ravensbrück.

In January 1945, the RKPA urged Uckermark's accelerated dissolution because the SS needed the barracks for evacuated concentration camp prisoners. Four Uckermark barracks were separated from the rest for 20 underage political Zöglinge. In the emptied portion of Uckermark, under the command of Ruth Clausius from Ravensbrück, approximately 4,000 weakened female evacuees were murdered or died. The killing methods included strychnine poisoning, starvation, and gassing.[3] On April 20, 1945, Commandant Toberentz fled before advancing Allied troops with the remainder of the Zöglinge. On April 30, the Red Army liberated Ravensbrück and Uckermark.

Postwar trials scarcely touched the Uckermark camp personnel. In the Ravensbrück III Trial at the Hamburg Curio-Haus, April 14–26, 1948, the British acquitted Toberentz of involvement in the murder of "Allied nationals" but condemned Clausius to death.[4] During the 1950s and 1960s, the West German judicial authorities did not categorize Jugendschutzlager detention to be a National Socialist crime.

SOURCES Information on Uckermark may be found in the following published sources: Martin Guse, "*Wir hatten noch gar nicht angefangen zu leben*": *Eine Ausstellung zu den Jugend-Konzentrationslagern Moringen und Uckermark 1940–1945*, 4th ed. (Moringen, 2001); Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, "Zur Entpädagogisierung der Jugendfürsorge in den Jahren 1922 bis 1945," in *Soziale Arbeit und Faschismus*, ed. Hans-Uwe Otto and Heinz Sunker (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 234; Guse and Kohrs, "Die 'Bewahrung' Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugendkonzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark" (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985); Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "*Und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste*": *Die Zeuginnen Jehovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Moringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen, 2001); Michael Hepp, "Vorhof zur Hölle: Mädchen im 'Jugendschutzlager' Uckermark," in *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 239–272; the exhibit catalog by Viola Klarenbach, "*Wir Durften Ja Nicht Sprechen. Sobald Man Kontakt Suchte mit Irgendjemandem Hagelte es Strafen*": *Das ehemalige Konzentrationslager für Mädchen und junge Frauen und spätere Vernichtungslager Uckermark* (Berlin, 1998); Katja Limbächer, Maike Merten, and Bettina Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark* (Münster, 2000).

Primary sources for the Jugendschutzlager Uckermark begin with documentation in BA-DH (KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 25/Uckermark). On the relationship between Uckermark and WVHA camps, see Nuremberg document R-129, reproduced in *TWC*, vol. 5. Portions of the Ravensbrück Trial III (also called the Uckermark Trial) testimony are reproduced in Ebbinghaus, pp. 191–216, and are based upon PRO, WO 235/516. Fragmentary records of this proceeding are also available in USHMMA, RG 59.016 M Acc. 2001.114, PRO, WO 235/516, JAG Office War Crimes Case Files, 1945–1953, Reel 19. Extensive interviews with former Slovenian Zöglinge of Uckermark are reproduced in Limbächer, Merten, and Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark*.

Jürgen Harder and Joseph Robert White
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. R-129, Pohl to Himmler, April 3, 1942, *TWC*, 5: 298.

2. Interviews with Stephanie Burger-Kelih, Anni Kupper, Stanka Krajnc Simoneti, Ljubica Kuhta, Tilčka Repnik, and Anni Ogris, September 16, 1999, reproduced in Katja Limbächer, Maike Merten, and Bettina Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark* (Münster, 2000), pp. 110–120.

3. Affidavit of Ruth Clausius, Ravensbrück III Trial, PRO, WO 235 / 516, reproduced in Angelika Ebbinghaus, ed., *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), Doc. 7, p. 292.

4. Quotation in Request for Concurrence in Confirmation of Death Sentence, Ruth Clausius (9); and handwritten defendants list, in Ravensbrück III Trial (n.p.)—both copied in USHMMA, RG 59.016 M Acc. 2001.114, Reel 19.

A NOTE ON THE RECENTLY OPENED INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE DOCUMENTATION

Until August 2007, the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen, Germany, remained the largest closed documentation center on the persecution of Jews, forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and displaced persons (DPs) of many nations. With the Bonn Treaty's ratification by eleven signatory governments in 1955, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) assumed custody of tens of millions of pages of German documents from the Nazi camps, mostly captured by the Western Allied armies, and DP documents created by Allied and nongovernmental relief agencies for the dual purposes of tracing victims' relatives and documenting persecutees. Despite many entreaties, Holocaust survivors' descendants and researchers were denied access to these collections for decades. Spearheaded by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), particularly its director, Sara J. Bloomfield, and the director of its Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (CAHS), Paul A. Shapiro, the signatories amended the Bonn Treaty in 2006, granting access to its collections and providing for one archive in each member country to receive the documentation in digital form. The designated repositories include USHMM in Washington, D.C., Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and the Institute of National Memory in Warsaw.[1]

Just over one month after the five-thousand-page manuscript of this volume was mailed to Indiana University Press, the Museum received the first installment of records from the newly opened ITS collections. The first batch consisted of eighteen million digitized pages on six hard drives. Comprised of Incarceration (*Inhaftierung*) documents, it encompassed Nazi concentration camps, German prisons, civilian internment camps under Wehrmacht administration, some camps administered by other Axis countries, and Gestapo transport lists. In November 2007, the ITS transferred the digitized Central Name Index (CNI) to the Museum. Consisting of card files, the CNI supplies abbreviated references to specific incarceration, forced labor, or DP documents about individual persecutees, giving file (*Ordner*) and page (*Seite*) numbers. To search the CNI's approximately seventeen-and-a-half million names, software makes possible multilingual, phonetic searches. Subsequent collections in process of digitization are Wartime (*Kriegszeit*) documents on Nazi Germany's millions of foreign workers; Postwar documents (on DPs and refugees); and General Documents, the latter consisting of "nonpersonal" documents (*Sachdokumente*; a discrete collection of historical documents including maps, camp plans, some survivor testimonies, and a 40,000-page survey of forced labor and POW camps in Germany by city and county); and millions of pages of Tracing/Documentation (T/D) files arising from the investigation of individual persecutees. As active files, T/D cases less than twenty-five years old are not available to researchers. To expedite searches, in the summer of 2007 the Center translated the ITS Inventory (*Inventar*). The Inventory was originally a compilation of Excel spreadsheets listing collections by camp, numbers of pages and names in a collection; whether the collection consists of originals, copies, original copies, or a combination, and less frequently a collection's provenance. It is now searchable in English and German on USHMM's Web site.[2]

The historic opening of the ITS collections came too late for use in the print edition of this volume, but the collections will prove invaluable for future volumes of this encyclopedia, in particular those on Wehrmacht camps (Volume III), German police camps (Volume V), and forced labor camps (Volume VI). This postscript is intended to sketch how ITS holdings may advance Holocaust research, specifically by reviewing the Incarceration documents and briefly surveying the findings of the first research workshop at Bad Arolsen.

The most important original material in the Incarceration documents is located in the "pre-1955" holdings. For example, the U.S. Army captured the Buchenwald collection virtually intact and transferred it to the U.S. Zone's Tracing Service shortly after 1945. Although the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) copied certain files submitted into evidence at the Dachau war crimes trials, the majority of documents were not copied before their transfer to the ITS' predecessor organizations before 1955. The Inventory describes the Buchenwald collections as "Property of U.S. Army on Loan to ITS." The small Mittelbau collection is also replete with originals. Other sizable original collections stem from the Neuengamme concentration camp and *Strafgefangenenlager* (penal prisoners' camp) Papenburg. From 1934 to 1945, most Papenburg camps belonged to the Reich Justice Ministry. Although their provenance is "not evident" (*nicht ersichtlich*), British forces liberated Papenburg and Neuengamme.[3] The "Service Watson" collection reproduces ICRC documentation, including 1,739 pages of lists of Red Cross parcel recipients in the Nazi concentration camps. The number of receipts exceeds 96,000. These and related documents furnish additional evidence about the prisoners freed in Operation Bernadotte, Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte's negotiated release of mostly Scandinavian and some

Jewish prisoners from several concentration camps in March and April 1945. The ITS collections also contain many copies of documents amassed from German, Polish, Belgian, and French archives after 1955. Inescapably, there is also some overlap between ITS holdings and the USHMM and NARA collections.[4]

The Buchenwald holdings are particularly rich. As a central artery of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), Buchenwald routed tens of thousands of prisoners to far-flung camps throughout the war, with admissions from (*Zugängen*) and departures to (*Abgängen*) Arbeitsdorf, Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Herzogenbusch (Vught), Lublin (Majdanek), Mauthausen, Mittelbau (Dora), Natzweiler (Struthof), Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Riga-Kaiserwald, Sachsenhausen, and Wewelsburg (Niederhagen). Aside from admission and departure lists, there are separate "envelopes" (files) about individual prisoners. For Buchenwald, there are nearly 1.4 million pages of original documents for male prisoners, and approximately 180,000 pages of original documents for female prisoners.[5]

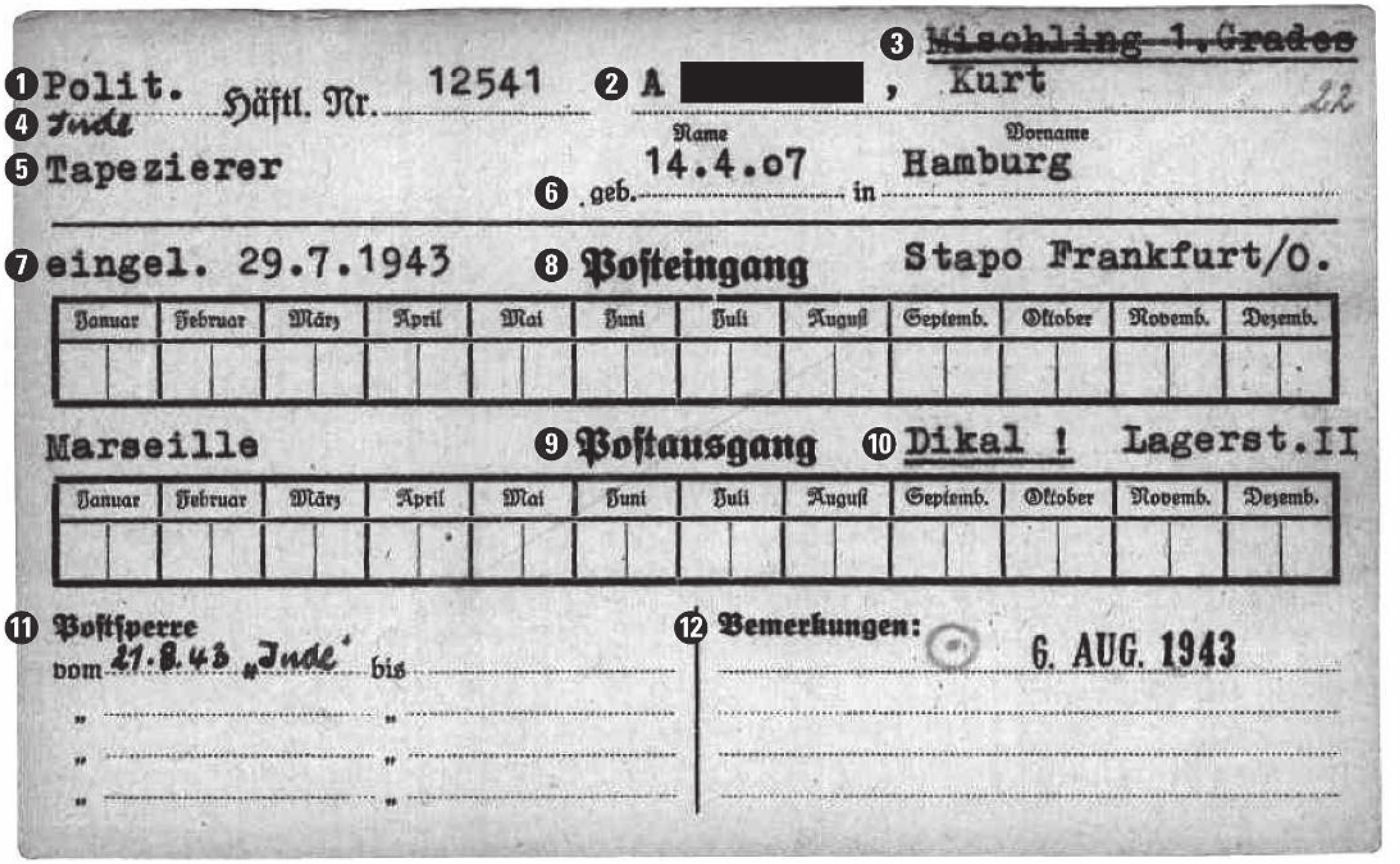
The Buchenwald collections contain many files concerning unusual or privileged prisoner groups, such as recaptured escapees and common criminals (green triangles). In the spring of 1944, Buchenwald issued a list of prisoners bearing "escape markings" (*Fluchtpunkte*). Emblazoning a red bull's-eye on the chest and back of the prisoner's uniform, to facilitate being shot in the case of re-escape, this practice was an additional dimension of the color-coded triangle system indicating reason(s) for arrest. A separate document in the Fluchtpunkt file directed individual block elders to the presence of recaptured escapees on their block.[6]

After an alleged escape attempt on August 6, 1943, prisoner Kurt A. bore the Fluchtpunkte. Originally categorized a "Mischling First Degree" after arrival at Buchenwald on July 29, 1943, Kurt A. was subsequently reclassified a Jew. Unlike other prisoners removed from the list for labor redeployment, he remained on the July 27, 1944, list. His prisoner envelope revealed coded SS language dealing with escapees: "DIKAL!" (*Darf in kein anderes Lager!* Not Permitted in Any Other Camp!). The card also reproduced the red bull's-eye in color. Not mentioned in Kurt A.'s envelope was his November 1944 removal from the Fluchtpunkt list and transfer to a Buchenwald subcamp, a fact established in his T/D file. His prisoner envelope included responses to the U.S. Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) questionnaire for former concentration camp inmates. Asked about the reason for his arrest, Kurt A. or an interpreter on his behalf responded in English, "Because I am a Jew."[7]

The Buchenwald files furnish considerable insight into the green triangle prisoners. Classified "career criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*, BV), their behavior often manifested the darker hues of Primo Levi's "gray zone."[8] After 1945, some members of this group, openly favored in the prisoners' "self-administration" as block elders and Kapos, were tried as war criminals or lynched by liberated prisoners. Those held under "temporary preventive custody" (*befristete Vorbeugungshaft*, also BV) or "police security arrest" (*polizeiliche Sicherungsverwahrung*, PSV) most often did not share their experiences. Much of what is known about them comes from other detainees, especially their victims. The Buchenwald prisoner envelopes thus furnish a window for learning more about them and their functions within the camp system. For example, in 1943 the Buchenwald administration listed "volunteers" for the Dirlewanger formation, a notorious Waffen-SS unit composed mainly of former German concentration camp prisoners deployed against partisans (in reality, against unarmed civilians). Because the list indicates arrest categories, it is possible to search for green triangle prisoners' envelopes.[9]

Arrested in Dortmund on February 9, 1938, for an alleged theft, Wilhelm B. was admitted to Buchenwald the next day and issued prisoner number 2666. On November 29, 1938, he was transferred to the new concentration camp at Mauthausen, holding prisoner number 940. Subsequently he was dispatched to Dachau and from there on September 30, 1940, to Sachsenhausen. With the establishment of the Neuengamme and Arbeitsdorf concentration camps, which were jointly administered under successive commandants Martin Weiss and Wilhelm Schitli, Wilhelm B. was sent first to Neuengamme and then Arbeitsdorf. In Arbeitsdorf he had prisoner number 99. When Arbeitsdorf closed in early October 1942, he came full circle, reentering Buchenwald with the new prisoner number 1836. Volunteering for the Dirlewanger formation, he was dispatched on June 11, 1943, from Buchenwald to Sachsenhausen, where Dirlewanger recruits were released from "protective custody." It is not known whether he survived the war.[10]

Although the records do not describe his activities in the camps, the pattern of transfers into new camps, especially Arbeitsdorf, strongly suggests that Wilhelm B. was a prisoner-functionary. Described in the file as a mason or building worker, he was unemployed during the Depression years 1932 to 1934, held in "penal detention" (*Strafhaft*) for an unspecified offense from January 9, 1934, to August 30, 1935, and worked for a Dortmund building company from 1935 to 1938. Shortly before arrest, he contributed 26 Reichsmarks (RM) to his health insurance provider for the first month of 1938. This seemingly obscure detail generated pages of documentation, because the SS at Buchenwald and Mauthausen deemed his case "not in order" (*nicht geordnet*), and obtained on his behalf a receipt (*Quittungskarte*) from the city of Dortmund.[11] The SS property custodians at Sachsenhausen, Neuengamme, Arbeitsdorf, and Buchenwald dutifully logged this receipt among his possessions after each transfer or had it forwarded from the previous camp, making it possible to follow Wilhelm B's path through the IKL system. This envelope also revealed information about perpetrators.



Buchenwald prisoner card for Kurt A[redacted]. *Courtesy of International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany*

1. Political prisoner no. 12541
2. Name: A[redacted], Kurt
3. [Crossed out:] Mischling, first degree
4. Handwritten annotation: Jew
5. [Profession:] Paperhanger
6. Born April 14, 1907, in Hamburg
7. Admitted [Buchenwald] July 29, 1943
8. Mail received [via] State Police, Frankfurt an der Oder
9. Mail sent [to] Marseilles [France]
10. "Dikal!" ["Darf in kein anderes Lager!"] Not allowed out to external work detachments or subcamps; Level II camp ["moderate severity"]
11. Denied mail as of August 21, 1943, because reclassified as a Jew
12. Remarks: [bull's-eye symbol worn by prisoner due to flight risk] as of August 6, 1943

The Mauthausen and Neuengamme correspondence bore the signature of SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Barnewald (SS No. 6469). A camp administrator at Mauthausen from 1938 to 1940, Barnewald was the administrative leader (*Verwaltungsführer*) at Neuengamme and Arbeitsdorf from 1940 to 1942. From 1942 to 1945, he held a similar post at Buchenwald, where he was subsequently promoted to Sturmbannführer.[12] Sentenced to death in the U.S. Army's Buchenwald trial, his sentence was later commuted to life and he was released from prison in 1957.[13]

In June 2008, CAHS convened the first scholarly workshop at Bad Arolsen. An international team of fifteen scholars arranged in groups by collection (General Documents, Incarceration, Wartime, and Postwar) surveyed ITS holdings for long-term research prospects and strategies. The consensus was that the collections amount to a "gold mine." The General Documents group found that while there was little original Nazi-era material in the *Sachdokumente*, apart from an outstanding, detailed collection of original *Lebensborn* ("Well of Life") materials, the T/D files offer a window into Holocaust memory, and the burial site surveys of foreigners in wartime Germany afford the basis for the geography of memorialization. The *Sachdokumente* also document the history of ITS and its predecessor organizations. The Incarceration documents group stressed the collection's comprehensiveness for researching Nazi persecution sites and techniques from 1933 to 1945, and avenues opened for the study of prisoner

sexuality, especially forced prostitution, the experience of prisoner categories, and, more generally, the camps' and transports' social histories. After overcoming challenges in searching perhaps the most variegated ITS collection, the working group on Wartime documents discovered how to reconstruct a given city's or county's forced labor situation, such as Bad Arolsen in Kreis Waldeck or farms near Saarbrücken. Eastern workers' (*Ostarbeiters*') medical files from 1944 and 1945 revealed possible instances of "wild" euthanasia in Berlin hospitals. The group tasked with surveying Postwar documents noted that ITS holdings complemented, but did not supersede, the rich DP camp collections found elsewhere. The small group of "Hong Kong" files, which in part concern Central European émigrés who settled in Harbin, Manchuria, and who along with other national and religious minorities fled to Hong Kong after the 1949 Chinese Revolution, underscore that the ITS collections stand at the nexus of the crucial scholarly issues about twentieth-century Europe: the plight of refugees and human rights. Many DP cards reveal aid givers' stereotypes about Jewish DPs, while others indicate an attempt—in some cases successful—by Holocaust perpetrators to assume DP status for the purpose of evading justice.[14]

This brief survey only hints at the ITS collections' outstanding research potential. Better than any other set of archival collections, the ITS records speak to the totality of terror, abuse, and suffering inflicted on those regarded as "enemies of the Third Reich," and to the surviving victims' struggles to rebuild their lives after World War II. When combined with the detailed history of detention sites found in this encyclopedia, the ability to follow the lives of persons like prisoners Kurt A. and Wilhelm B. helps the researcher approach the day-to-day level of National Socialist persecution.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. The Associated Press has published a series of articles on the opening of the ITS; for a listing of these articles and USHMM press releases on the ITS, see http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/its/. Yad Vashem obtained copies of "non-personal" documents (*Sachdokumente*) in the 1950s. Since 1996, Bad Arolsen has permitted researcher access to the same collection, but the bulk of its collections remained off limits.

2. For the Inventory, see http://resources.ushmm.org/itsinventory/.

3. Quotation found in the ITS *Inventar* and the USHMM Inventory.

4. This summary of holdings is based upon the ITS *Inventar* (unpublished Excel spreadsheets on CD-Rom, nd).

5. Listed as 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," and 1.1.5.4, "Individual Documents Female Buchenwald." For the page counts of Buchenwald prisoners' files and for those of other camps, see International Tracing Service, *Catalogue of Records Held by the International Tracing Service of the Allied High Commission for Germany at Arolsen*, 4 vols. (Arolsen, 1954), Vol. I: *Concentration Camp Records; Miscellaneous Records of General or Historical Nature; Records on Unaccompanied Displaced Children*.

6. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, Buchenwald GCC 2 / 202 IE / 7 Ord. 218, "Listen über Häftlinge mit 'Fluchtpunkten,' " pp. 2, 8 (quotation). Followed by a list of last names and prisoner numbers, the boilerplate reads: "Block Eldest! The following bearer(s) of escape markings is (are) found on your block" [*Blockältester! Folgender Fluchtpunktträger befindet sich auf Deinem Block*].

7. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," A., Kurt, pp. 5448862-5448876; Buchenwald GCC 2 / 202 IE / 7 Ord. 218, "Listen über Häftlinge mit 'Fluchtpunkten,' " p. 18 (verso). ITS, T/D file 275307, March 15, 1955.

8. Primo Levi, "The Gray Zone," in *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988).

9. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, Buchenwald GCC 2/262 IIF/4 Ord. 421, "Listen über Häftlinge der Formation 'Dirlewanger,' 1943–1945," p. 3. On the Dirlewanger formation, see French MacLean, *Cruel Hunters: SS-Sonderkommando Dirlewanger; Hitler's Most Notorious Anti-Partisan Unit* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1998); and Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993).

10. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," B., Wilhelm, pp. 5609049-5609077.

11. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," Mauthausen to Landesversicherungsanstalt Westfalen, March 17, 1939, p. 5609050.

12. Barnewald SSO summarized in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999), p. 34.

13. US448 Case No. 000-50-5-9 (*USA v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck, et al.*), August 14, 1947.

14. This synopsis is based upon the author's notes taken at the group presentations at Bad Arolsen, Germany, on June 24, 2008.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

14f13	Code name for "euthanasia" in IKL camps
1999	*1999: Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*
A4	Aggregat 4 (code name for the V-2 rocket)
AAC-C	L'Archives des Anciens Combattants (Veterans' Archives), Caen, France
AADN-S	L'Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt (Association of Former Deportees of Neu-Stassfurt)
AAK	Archiv der Akademie der Künste (Archive of the Academy of Art), Berlin
AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
ABA	Armeebekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
A-BASF	Archiv der BASF, Ludwigshafen
ABI	August-Bebel-Institut (August Bebel Institute), Berlin
AbKdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ABL/LPD-N/O	Archiv der Bayerischen Landespolizei/Landespolizeidirektion Niederbayern/Oberpfalz (Archive of the Bavarian State Police/State Police Directorate Lower Bavaria/Upper Pfalz)
A-BMdI	Archiv des Bundesministeriums des Innern (Archive of the Federal Ministry of the Interior), Vienna
ABR	Arbeitskreis Berliner Regionalmuseen (Working Group of Berlin Regional Museums)
ABSS	*Amtsblatt der Stadt Steyr*
ABZ	*Aschaffenburg Zeitung*
ACCC	Archives Copenhagen City Court
ACCS	L'Archives de camp de concentration Struthof (Natzweiler) (Archives of the Struthof (Natzweiler) Concentration Camp), France
ACNR	L'Archives de Conseils national de la Résistance (Archives of the National Council of the Resistance), Paris
ADGB	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Association)
ADIRN	Association des Deportées et Internées Résistantes, Nanterre (Association of Deportees and Resistance Internees, Nanterre), France
AdsD-FES	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Archive of Social Democracy of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
ADW-B	Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes (Archive of the Deaconite Works), Berlin
AE	Arbeitserziehungshäftling(e) (work education or discipline prisoner(s))
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Co.)
AEG-FKU	AEG Friedrich-Karl-Ufer (AEG Friedrich Karl Ufer)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AFA	Akkumulatoren Fabrik AG (Battery Manufacturing, Inc.)
AFL	*Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck*
AFP	Agence France Presse
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public corporation)
AG-B	Archiv Gedenkstätte Buchenwald (Archives of the Buchenwald Memorial)
AG-BB	Archiv Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen (Archives of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial)
AG-D	Archiv Gedenkstätte Dachau (Archive of the Dachau Memorial)

AG-Dr	Archiv des Arbeitskreises Stadtgeschichte e.V., Gedenk- und Dokumentationsstätte KZ Drütte (Archives of the Working Group of City History Association, Memorial and Documentation Site of the Drütte Concentration Camp)
AGe-A-B	Archiv der Gemeinde Asbach-Bäumenheim (Archive of the Asbach-Bäumenheim Township)
AGe-Bi	Archiv der Gemeinde Bisingen (Archive of the Bisingen Township)
AGe-Fe	Archiv der Gemeinde Feldafing (Archive of the Feldafing Township)
AGe-Nie	Archiv der Gemeinde Niederorschel (Archive of the Niederorschel Township)
AGe-Rd	Archiv der Gemeinde Rohrdorf (Archive of the Rohrdorf Township)
AGe-StG	Archiv der Gemeinde St. Gilgen (Archive of the St. Gilgen Township)
AGe-Sü	Archiv der Gemeinde Südbrokmesland (Archive of the Südbrokmesland Township)
AGe-USZ	Archiv der Gemeinde Unterschwarzach (Archive of the Unterschwarzach Township)
AG-F	Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg (Archive of the Flossenbürg Memorial)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; also IPN)
AG-L	Archiv Gedenkstätte Lichtenburg (Archive of the Lichtenburg Memorial)
AG-LZ/H	Archiv Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge in Halberstadt (Archive of the Langenstein-Zwieberge Memorial in Halberstadt)
AG-M	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial)
AG-MD	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mittelbau-Dora (Archive of the Mittelbaul-Dora Memorial)
AG-NG	Archiv Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Archive of the Neuengamme Memorial)
AG-N-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Natzweiler-Struthof (Archive of the Natzweiler-Struthof Memorial)
AG-R	Archiv Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Archive of the Ravensbrück Memorial)
AG-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen (Archive of the Sachsenhausen Memorial)
AgSSüHR	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Working Community of the Tracing Service in the Southern Harz Region)
AG-T	Archiv Gedenkstätte Theresienstadt (Terezín) (Archive of the Theresienstadt (Terezín) Memorial)
AG-W	Archiv Gedenkstätte Wöbbelin (Archive of the Wöbbelin Memorial)
AH	Amtshauptmannschaft (Administrative District Offices)
AHFW	Archiv der Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke GmbH (Archive of the Henschel Aircraft Works, Ltd.), Kassel
AHI-Bau	Allgemeine Hoch- und Ingenieurbau (General Building and Civil Engineering)
A-HkBr	Archiv der Handelskammer Bremen (Archives of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce)
AHM-K	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Köpenick (Archive of the Köpenick Hometown Museum)
AHM-O	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Oederan (Archive of the Oederan Hometown Museum)
AI	Archiwum Ikonograficzne (Iconographic Archive), Sztutowo, Poland
AIeTW-B	Archiv des Interessenverbandes ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Naziregimes und Hinterbliebener (Archives of the Association of Former Participants in the Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, and Surviving Dependents), Berlin
AIZ	*Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*
AIZ	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego (Archives of the Western Institute), Poznań
AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "Joint")
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
AK-IPN	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives – Polish Institute of National Memory), Warsaw
AK-IPN Gd	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu –

	Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives – Polish Institute of National Memory), Gdańsk
AK-IPN Kr	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Kraków (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Kraków)
AK-IPN Op	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Opole (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Opole)
AK-IPN WR	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Wrocław (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Wrocław)
AKM-WN	Archiv des Kreismuseums Wewelsburg-Niederhagen (Archive of the Wewelsburg-Niederhagen District Museum)
AKö	Körber-Archiv (Körber Archives), Hamburg
AKr-A-Sch	Archiv des Kreises Aue-Schwarzenberg (Archive of Aue-Schwarzenberg District)
AKr-Bal	Archiv des Kreises Balingen (Archive of Balingen District)
AKr-C	Archiv des Landkreises Celle (Archive of Celle County)
AKr-EW	Archiv des Kreises Eberswalde (Archive of the Eberswalde District)
AKr-MAB	Archiv des Kreises Marienberg (Archive of the Marienberg District)
AKr-N	Archiv des Kreises Nordhausen (Archive of the Nordhausen District)
AKr-RM	Archiv des Landkreises Rems-Murr (Archive of Rems-Murr County)
AKr-SH	Archiv des Landkreises Schwäbisch-Hall (Archive of Schwäbisch-Hall County)
AKr-TUT	Archiv des Kreises Tuttlingen (Archive of the Tuttlingen District)
AL	Arbeitslager (work camp)
ALIM	Archiv des Landesvereins für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein (Archive of the State Association for the Inner Mission in Schleswig-Holstein), Rickling
Allgä	*Der Allgäuer*
ALR-LWL	Archiv des Landratsamtes Ludwigslust (Archive of the Office of the Rural District Administrator, Ludwigslust)
ALSOS	Code name for the US search for nuclear weapons research in Germany (from the Greek for "grove")
ALVR	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland (Archive of the Rhineland Landscape Association)
ALVW-L	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe (Archive of the Westfalen-Lippe Landscape Association)
ALWH	Archiv des Landeswohlfahrtsverbandes Hessen (Archive of the State Welfare Association, Hessen)
AM-BN-G	Archiv des Museums der Burg Neustadt Glewe (Archive of the Burg Neustadt Glewe Museum)
AMC	American Military Court
AMGR	Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Gross-Rosen Museum Archives), Rogoźnica, Poland
AMRCCT-L	Association pour la Mémoire et la Reconnaissance du Camp de Concentration Thil-Longwy (Archive for the Memory and Recognition of the Thil-Longwy Concentration Camp), France
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
Ams	*Acta medica scandinavica*
AMSPE	L'Archives du Ministère de la Santé Publique et de l' Environment (Archives of the Minister of the Public Health and the Environment), Brussels

AMvP	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra Praha (Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague)
AN	L'Archives nationales de France (French National Archives), Paris (also ANFP)
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
ANEI	Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati (National Association of Ex-Internees), Rome
ANFP	L'Archives nationales de France, Paris (also AN)
Anh-A	*Anhalter Anzeiger*
ANL	L'Archives nationales de Luxembourg (National Archives of Luxembourg)
AN-MACVG	L'Archives nationales – Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (National Archives – Ministry of Veterans and Victims of War), Paris
Antifa-Be-Os	*Antifaschistische Beiträge aus Osnabrück*
AOC	L'Archives de l'Occupation française en Allemagne et en Autriche Colmar (Archives of the French Occupation in Germany and in Austria, Colmar), France
AOCZ	Archiv des Oberbergamtes (Archive of the Superior Mining Office), Clausthal-Zellerfeld
AOS	L'Amicale d'Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen (The Association of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen)
A-Osta-H	Archiv des Oberstaatsanwalts (Archive of the Senior State Prosecutor), Hamburg
AP	*Affaires Politiques*
ApAz	*Aprés Auschwitz*
APCK	Archiwum Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyza (Archives of the Polish National Red Cross), Warsaw
AP Gd.	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk State Archives)
APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakówie (Kraków State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimie (Archives of the State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives))
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
APuZ	*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*
APZ-P	*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen – Das Parlament*
A-RAG	Archiv der Rheinmetall AG (Archive [of the former] Rheinmetall-Borsig Inc.), Düsseldorf
Aratora	*Aratora: Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Schutz von Artern e.V.*
Arb. Kdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskyi oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
AschVZ	*Aschaffenburger Volkszeitung*
AschZ	*Aschaffenburger Zeitung*
ASDAG	Asphalt und Dachdeckungsgesellschaft mbH (Asphalt and Roofing Company, Ltd.), Vienna
A-SDP	Archiv der Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, (Steyr-Daimler-Puch, Inc., Archives), Austria
ASfM	*Aufruf: Streitschrift für Menschenrechte*

ASM	Alderney Society and Museum, Channel Islands, UK
AS-M	Archiv Siemens-München (Siemens Archives, Munich)
Aso	Asozial(e) ("asocial(s)")
ASR	Arbeitsscheue Reich ("Reich work shy"; synonym for "asocial")
ASt-Ah	Archiv der Stadt Ahrensböck (Ahrensböck City Archives)
AStaLG-Au	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Aurich (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Aurich State Court)
AStaLG-B	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bochum (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Bochum State Court)
AStaLG-H	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Hannover (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Hannover State Court)
AStaLG-NF	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Nürnberg-Fürth (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Nuremberg-Fürth State Court)
ASt-Amg	Archiv der Stadt Amberg (Amberg City Archives)
ASt-Ba	Archiv der Stadt Barth (Barth City Archives)
ASt-Bal	Archiv der Stadt Balingen (Balingen City Archives)
ASt-B-Fl	Archiv der Stadt Bad Friedrichshall (Bad Friedrichshall City Archives)
ASt-BG	Archiv der Stadt Bergisch Gladbach (Bergisch Gladbach City Archives)
ASt-BH	Archiv der Stadt Brandenburg an der Havel (Branderburg an der Havel City Archives)
ASt-Bl	Archiv der Stadt Blaichach (Blaichach City Archives)
ASt-B-Lan	Archiv der Stadt Bad Langensalza (Bad Langensalza City Archives)
ASt-Blb.	Archiv der Stadt Blankenburg (Blankenburg City Archives)
ASt-Boc	Archiv der Stadt Bochum (Bochum City Archives)
ASt-BrHa	Archiv der Stadt Bremerhaven (Bremerhaven City Archives)
ASt-Bur	Archiv der Stadt Burgau (Burgau City Archives)
ASt-BZ	Archiv der Stadt Bautzen (Bautzen City Archives)
ASt-Ctb	Archiv der Stadt Cottbus (Cottbus City Archives)
ASt-DU	Archiv der Stadt Duisburg (Duisburg City Archives)
ASt-Dü	Archiv der Stadt Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf City Archives)
ASt-Dud	Archiv der Duderstadt (Duderstadt City Archives)
ASt-Eu	Archiv der Stadt Eutin (Eutin City Archives)
ASt-Fg	Archiv der Stadt Freiberg (Freiberg City Archives)
ASt-Fn	Archiv der Stadt Friedrichshafen (Friedrichshafen City Archives)
ASt-Fr	Archiv der Stadt Freiburg (Freiburg City Archives)
ASt-Ge	Archiv der Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen City Archives)
ASt-Germ	Archiv der Stadt Germering (Germering City Archives)
ASt-Gl	Archiv der Stadt Glückstadt (Glückstadt City Archives)
ASt-H	Archiv der Stadt Hannover (Hannover City Archives)
ASt-HDH	Archiv der Stadt Heidenheim (Heidenheim City Archives)
ASt-Hen	Archiv der Stadt Hennigsdorf (Hennigsdorf City Archives)
ASt-Her	Archiv der Stadt Hersbruck (Hersbruck City Archives)
ASt-Hild	Archiv der Stadt Hildesheim (Hildesheim City Archives)
ASt-Hof	Archiv der Stadt Hof (Hof City Archives)
ASt-Hü	Archiv der Stadt Hürth (Hürth City Archives)
ASt-Kö	Archiv der Stadt Köln (Cologne City Archives)

ASt-KöW	Archiv der Stadt Königs Wusterhausen (Königs Wusterhausen City Archives)
AStKr-BG	Archiv der Stadt und des Kreises Bergisch-Gladbach (Archive of the City and District of Bergisch-Gladbach)
ASt-L	Archiv der Stadt Leipzig (Leipzig City Archives)
ASt-Lang	Archiv der Stadt Langenhagen (Langenhagen City Archives)
ASt-Ld	Archiv der Stadt Landau, Pfalz (Landau Pfalz City Archives)
ASt-Lht	Archiv der Stadt Landshut (Landshut City Archives)
ASt-Li	Archiv der Stadt Lindau (Lindau City Archives)
ASt-Lip	Archiv der Stadt Lippstadt (Lippstadt City Archives)
ASt-Ln	Archiv der Stadt Linz (Linz City Archives), Austria
ASt-Lsn	Archiv der Stadt Leisnig (Leisnig City Archives)
ASt-M	Archiv der Stadt München (Munich City Archives)
ASt-MCW	Archiv der Stadt Malchow (Malchow City Archives)
ASt-Me	Archiv der Stadtverwaltung Meuselwitz (Archive of the Meuselwitz City Administration)
ASt-Mer	Archiv der Stadt Merseburg (Merseburg City Archives)
ASt-Mkg	Archiv der Stadt Markkleeberg (Markkleeberg City Archives)
ASt-MÜ	Archiv der Stadt Mühldorf (Mühldorf City Archives)
ASt-Mühlh	Archiv der Stadt Mühlhausen (Mühlhausen City Archives)
ASt-N	Archiv der Stadt Nürnberg (Nuremberg City Archives)
ASt-Ne/Co	Archiv der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg (Neustadt bei Coburg City Archives)
ASt-N-F	Archiv der Stadt Nürnberg-Fürth (Nuremberg-Fürth City Archives)
ASt-No	Archiv der Stadt Norderstedt (Norderstedt City Archives)
ASt-Ns	Archiv der Stadt Nossen (Nossen City Archives)
ASt-NZ	Archiv der Stadt Neustrelitz (Neustrelitz City Archives)
ASt-OG	Archiv der Stadt Offenburg (Offenburg City Archives)
ASt-Ol	Archiv der Stadt Oldenburg Oldenburg City Archives)
ASt-Os	Archiv der Stadt Osnabrück (Osnabrück City Archives)
ASt-Pi	Archiv der Stadt Pirna (Pirna City Archives)
ASt-Pl	Archiv der Stadt Plauen (Plauen City Archives)
ASt-Pre	Archiv der Stadt Prettin (Prettin City Archives)
ASt-Put	Archiv der Stadt Putten (Putten City Archives)
ASt-R	Archiv der Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg City Archives)
ASt-RDG	Archiv der Stadt Ribnitz-Damgarten (Ribnitz-Damgarten City Archives)
ASt-Ros	Archiv der Stadt Rostock (Rostock City Archives)
ASt-Salz	Archiv der Stadt Salzgitter (Salzgitter City Archives)
ASt-Sch	Archiv der Stadt Schlieben (Schlieben City Archives)
ASt-Schw	Archiv der Stadt Schwechat (Schwechat City Archives)
ASt-Slzw	Archiv der Stadt Salzwedel (Salzwedel City Archives)
ASt-So	Archiv der Stadt Soest (Soest City Archives)
ASt-Sty	Archiv der Stadt Steyr (Steyr City Archives), Austria
ASt-Va/E	Archiv der Stadt Vaihingen an der Enz (Vaihingen an der Enz City Archives)
ASt-W	Archiv der Stadt Wuppertal (Wuppertal City Archives)
ASt-Wb	Archiv der Stadt Warburg (Warburg City Archives)
ASt-Wi	Archiv der Stadt Witten (Witten City Archives)
ASt-Wien	Archiv der Stadt Wien (Vienna City Archives), Austria

ASt-Wies	Archiv der Stadt Wiesbaden (Wiesbaden City Archives)
ASt-Wil	Archiv der Stadt Wilhelmshaven (Wilhelmshaven City Archives)
ASt-WOB	Archiv der Stadt Wolfsburg (Wolfsburg City Archives)
ASt-Wsf	Archiv der Stadt Weissenfels (Weissenfels City Archives)
ASt-ZI	Archiv der Stadt Zittau (Zittau City Archives)
ASt-ZP	Archiv der Stadt Zschopau (Zschopau City Archives)
ASt-Zwbr	Archiv der Stadt Zweibrücken (Zweibrücken City Archives)
ASVG-B	L'archive du Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Archives of the Service of War Victims), Brussels
ATG	Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (General Transport Systems, Ltd.), Leipzig-Schönau
AUB-ISG	Archiv der Universität Bremen, Institut für Sozialgeschichte (Archives of the University of Bremen, Institute for Social History)
Aufbau	*Aufbau: Nachrichtenblatt des German-Jewish Club, Inc.*
AuGF-MHL	*Archiv- und Geschichtsforschung, Mühlhausen*
AugsA	*Augsburger Allgemeine*
AUW	*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*
AVB-StFA	Archivverbund Bautzen/Staatsfilialarchiv (Bautzen Archival Network/State Branch Archive)
A-VEB-S	Archiv des VEB-Synthese (Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Synthesis), Schwarzheide
AVVN-BdA	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Bund der Antifaschisten (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime – League of Anti-Fascists)
AVVN-D	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Dortmund (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime-Dortmund)
AVVN-K	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Köln (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime-Cologne)
AZA	Ausländische Zivilarbeiter (foreign civilian worker)
AŻIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute) Warsaw
AZR	Arbeitszwang Reich (Reich forced labor)
BA	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives in Berlin) (includes former BDC)
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives, External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
BADRDE	*Bulletin de l'Amicale des Deportés et de la Résistance de Dora-Ellrich*
BA-K	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (German Federal Archives, Koblenz)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives, External Branch Ludwigsburg)
Baltöl	Baltische Öl GmbH (Baltic Oil Ltd.)
BAM	*Bulletin de l'Amicale de Mauthausen*
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (Federal Military Archives), Freiburg
BaNZ	*Basler National-Zeitung*
BAOR	British Army of the Rhine
BA-P	Bundesarchiv-Abteilung Potsdam (Federal Archives-Potsdam Branch)

BAR	Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (Swiss Federal Archives), Bern
BASF	Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (Baden Anilin and Soda Manufacturing)
Ba-VEB-BH	Betriebsarchiv VEB Barkas (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Small Vans and Busses), Hainichen
Ba-VEB-Bm-KMS	Betriebsarchiv VEB Buchungsmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Accounting Machines), Leipzig
Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD	Betriebsarchiv VEB Bürstenfabrik (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Brush Manufacturing), Schönheide
Ba-VEB-FV	Betriebsarchiv VEB Feinspinnerei (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Fine Spinning Mills), Venusberg
Ba-VEB-HR	Betriebsarchiv VEB Hydraulik (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Hydraulics), Rochlitz
Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ	Betriebsarchiv VEB Mühlenbau (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Mill Construction), Dresden-Zschachwitz
Ba-VEB-PG	Betriebsarchiv VEB Gardinen (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Curtain Fabric), Plauner
Ba-VEB-S-Z	Betriebsarchiv VEB Sachsenring (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Automobile Manufacturing), Zwickau
Ba-VEB-Ts-Fl	Betriebsarchiv VEB Texturseide (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Textured Silk), Flöha
Ba-VEB-Vmb-D	Betriebsarchiv VEB Verpackungsmachinenbau (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Packing Machine Manufacture), Dresden
B-B	Bergen-Belsen
Bbde	SS-Baubrigade (Construction Brigade, see also SS-BB)
B.Ch.	Batalionów Chłopskich (Polish Peasant Battalion)
BCL	Brooklyn College Library, New York
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now BA-B and at NARA)
BDCPF	Berlin Document Center Personnel File (also SS Officer file, SSO)
BdE	Befehlshaber der Ersatzarmee (Commander-in-Chief of the Replacement Army)
BdO	Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (Commander of the Order Police)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
Be-Nbh-Hg	*Beiträge zur Neckarbischofsheimer Heimatsgeschichte*
BeStG	*Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*
BFA	Bundesfilmarchiv (German Federal Film Archives), Berlin
BFW	*Bulletin für Faschismus und Weltkriegsforschung*
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
BGKBZHwP	*Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*
BgA-Fg	Bergarchiv Freiberg (Freiberg Mine Archive)
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (West German Federal Court)
BGBl.	*Bundesgesetzblatt*
BGNSVND	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*
BHSKN	*Beiträge zur Heimatkunde aus Stadt und Kreis Nordhausen*
BHStA-(M)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München (Bavarian Main State Archives, Munich)
BHStA-(N)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Nürnberg (Bavarian Main State Archives, Nuremberg)
BKRTN	*Biuletyn Kwartalny Radosmkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters House; also GFH), Israel

BLHA	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg; citational variations include BLHA-(B), Berlin, and BLHA-(P), Potsdam; the archive includes ZSA-P), Potsdam
BLHBH	*Biuletyn Historyczny Lęborskiego Bractwa Historycznego*
BLZ-BPA	Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit (Bavarian Central Office for Political Education Work)
BlzL	*Blätter zum Land*
BM	*Berliner Morgenpost*
BMdI	Bundesministerium des Innern, Wien (Federal Ministry of the Interior, Vienna)
BMW	Bayerische Motoren Werke (Bavarian Motor Works)
Bn	Battalion
BNZ	*Bremer Nationalsozialistische Zeitung*
BoA	*Bochumer Anzeiger*
BPA	Bezirksamt Pankow Archiv (Pankow District Office Archive)
BPASED-B(O)	Bezirksparteiarchiv der SED, Berlin (Ost) (District Party Archive of the Socialist Unity Party, East Berlin)
BPB	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Central Office for Political Education)
Brabag	Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline Inc.)
BrA-K	Brabag Archiv-Köln (Brabag Archive, Cologne)
BrAnz	*Brandenburger Anzeiger*
BrN	*Bremer Nachrichten*
BŚ-DM	*Biuletyn Świebodzice-Dzieje Miasta*
BStU	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR)
BStU-H(S)	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Aussenstelle Halle (Saale) (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR Halle an der Saale)
BsWuSg	*Beiträge zur südwestlichen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*
BT	*Bamberger Tagblatt*
BTS	Belgian Tracing Service
Bu	Buchenwald (archival abbreviation)
BuH	*Buchenwald Heft*
Büssing NAG	Büssing Vereinigte Neue-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (Büssing United New Automobile Company Corp.)
BV	*Bamberger Volksblatt*
BV	Berufsverbrecher (career criminal) or Befristete Vorbeugungshaft (temporary preventive custody)
BVEBMZ	*Betriebszeitung des VEB Motorradwerk Zschopau*
BVP	Bayerische Volkspartei (Bavarian People's Party)
BWF	*Bulletin für Weltkriegs- und Faschismusforschung*
BZ	*Berliner Zeitung*
BzFdd	*Beiträge zur Fachdidaktik*
BŻIH	*Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*
CAFSSRF	Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, Moscow

CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CAHS	Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, Washington, DC
CChIdK	Centr Chranenija Istoriko-Dokumental'nych Kollekcij Moscow (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections), Moscow
CCKdo	Concentration Camp Kommando (ITS abbreviation)
CCP	*Catalogue of Camps and Prisons* (ITS)
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CEGESOMA	Centre des Recherches et d'Etudes Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (Center of Research and Historical Studies of the Second World War), Brussels
CEH	*Contemporary European History*
CeHe	*Celler Hefte*
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor)
CHP	Centre historique (Historical Center), Paris
CIC	Civilian Internment Camp (Allied term)
CICR	Comité internationale de la Croix-Rouge (International Committee of the Red Cross; also ICRC)
CIOS	Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee
CJH	Center for Jewish History, New York
CJN	*Canadian Jewish News*
CNI	Central Name Index (ITS)
CoNZ	*Coburger Nationalzeitung*
CoV	*Coburger Volksblatt*
CWC	Civilian Workers Camps (ITS abbreviation)
D	Office group designation for IKL in the SS-WVHA, usually followed by a Roman numeral indicating office (such as D II, Prisoner Labor Allocation)
DA	*Der Alemanne*
DAA/DK	District Archive of Aabenraa, Denmark
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast')
DAG	Dynamit Nobel AG
DaHe	*Dachauer Hefte*
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovograds'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Kirovograd Oblast'), Ukraine
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the L'viv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAN	*Der Angriff*
DanVorp	*Danziger Vorposten*
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Rivne Oblast'), Ukraine
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopols'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ternopol Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Vinnitsia Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyn'skoi oblasti (State Archive of the Volyn' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAW	Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, Ltd)
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Zhytomyr Oblast'), Ukraine

DB	*Dziennik Bałtycki*
DB	Daimler-Benz
DBHG	Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (German Mining and Metallurgical Company)
DCAG-UA	DaimlerChrysler AG, Unternehmenarchiv (Company Archive), Stuttgart
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party)
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic; also GDR)
DDR-JuNS-V	*DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*
Dé	*Le Déporté*
DEF	Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik – Email-und Metallwaren aller Art (German Enamel Factory – Enamel and Metal Wares of All Types)
DEFA	Deutsche Film AG (East German Film Corp.)
DegGb	*Deggendorfer Geschichtsblätter*
DEGOB	Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság (National Committee for Attending Deportees), Budapest
Degussa	Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt (German Gold and Silver Separation Establishment)
Deg-Z	*Deggendorfer Zeitung*
Demag	Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (German Machine Factory Corp.)
Dem-Gesch	*Demokratische Geschichte*
dem-ges	*demokratische-gesundheit*
Deschimag	Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (German Ship and Machine Construction Co.)
DESt	Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd.)
DE-TE-WE	Deutsche Telefonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (German Telephone and Cable Industry Corp.)
Deurag-Nerag	Gewerkschaft Deutsche Erdöl- Neue Erdöl Raffinerie Aktiengesellschaft (Union of the German Petroleum-New Petroleum Refinery Corporation)
DEW	Deutsche Eisenwerke AG (German Iron Works Corp.)
DF	*Deutsche Freiheit*
DFü	*Der Führer*
DGA	*Der Gegen-Angriff*
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Confederation of Trade Unions)
DGS-KZ-A	Dokumentationsstätte Goldbacher Stollen und KZ Aufkirch e.V. (Documentation Site of the Goldbach Tunnels and Aufkirch Concentration Camp, Registered Association)
DH	*Daily Herald*
DIKAL!	Darf in kein anderes Lager! (Not Permitted in Any Other Camp!; an abbreviation used in Buchenwald prisoner files to designate flight risks or dangerous prisoners)
DiM	*Dokumenty i materiały*, 3 vols. (Łódź, 1946)
DingA	*Dingolfinger Anzeiger*
DIWAG	Deutsche Industrie-Werke AG (German Industrial Works Corp.)
DIZ	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum (Documentation and Information Center)
DIZ-EL	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (Documentation and Information Center, Emsland Camps)
DIZ-OK	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg (Documentation and Information Center, Oberer Kuhberg)

DIZ-St	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Stadtallendorf (Documentation and Information Center, Stadtallendorf)
DIZ-T	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Torgau (Documentation and Information Center, Torgau)
DJ	*Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik*
DKK	Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (German Cooling and Power Machines)
DKP	Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (German Communist Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, founded in 1968)
DKW	Dampf Kraft Wagen (Steam-driven car, a German automobile firm)
DLV	Deutscher Luftsportverband (German Air Sport League)
DM	Deutsche Mark (FRG currency until 2001)
DMM	Deutsches Museum München (German Museum, Munich)
DMW	Deutsche Munitionswerke (German Munitions Works)
DNA	Danish National Archive
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party)
DNW	*Die neue Weltbühne*
DOB	Date of birth
doc.	document
DÖLF	Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association)
DN	Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme (Neuengamme Documentation Center)
Don-K-Ing	*Donau-Kurier Ingolstadt*
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railway)
DRhPf	*Der Rheinpfälzer*
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)
DRM-BK	Deutsch-Russisches Museum (German-Russian Museum), Berlin-Karlshorst
DrVZ	*Dresdner Volkszeitung*
DSC	Deutsche Sprengchemie GmbH (German Gunpowder Chemical Industry, Ltd.)
DSP	Deutsche Staatspartei (German State Party)
dt	*die tat*
DTM	Deutsche Technikmuseum (German Technical Museum), Berlin
DTM-AEG-A	Deutsche Technikmuseum, AEG-Archive (Archive of the German General Electric Company, AEG)
DüJb	*Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch*
DVA	Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd.)
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party)
DVZ	*Deutsche Volkszeitung*
DWB	Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe (German Business Enterprises)
DWH	Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk (German Housing Relief Service)
DZOK	Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg, KZ Gedenkstätte (Oberer Kuhberg Documentation Center, Concentration Camp Memorial)
DzP	*Dziennik Polski*

ECPAD	Établissement de Communication et de Production audiovisuelle de la Défense (Defense Establishment of Audiovisual Communications and Productions), Paris
EDR	*Edenkobener Rundschau*
EF	Eiserne Front (Iron Front)
EfHh	*Eichsfelder Heimathefte*
Eh-DDR-ZSA	Ehemalige DDR Zentrales Staatsarchiv (Central State Archives of the former German Democratic Republic, now BA-B)
EHM	Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Estonian Historical Museum), Tallinn
EI	*An End to Intolerance*
EJfHKNg	*Eberswalder Jahrbuch für Heimat-, Kultur- und Naturgeschichte*
EKr	*Echo Krakowa*
Elmag	Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Alsatian Machine Construction Ltd.)
E-Polen	Eindeutschungsfähige-Polen (Germanizable Poles)
ErzHei	*Erzgebirgische Heimatblätter*
ESTA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive), Tallinn
ETOUSA	European Theater of Operations, United States Army
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EVO	Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (Upper Silesian Energy Supply Co.)
EZ	*Ems-Zeitung*
F	*Freiheit*
Fa	*Fakty*
FAD	Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst (Volunteer Labor Service)
FAL	Frauenarbeitslager (Women's labor camp)
FASz	*Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*
FAU	Frontarbeitenunternehmen (Front Work Operation)
F-B-I	Fritz-Bauer-Institut, Frankfurt am Main
FCRA	Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens
FDGB	Freier Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (Free German Trade Union Federation)
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
FGNS-H	Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus (Research Office for the History of National Socialism), Hamburg
FHA	Führungshauptamt (SS-Leadership Main Office)
FHLA-(L)	Friends House Library and Archives, London
FHQ	Führerhauptquartier (Führer Headquarters)
Fi	Fieseler aircraft or V-weapon prefix
Fig	*Le Figaro*
FIR	Fédération Internationale des Résistants (International Federation of Resisters)
FKM	Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (Finow Copper and Brass Works, Inc.)
FLS	F.L. Smidth & Co., Copenhagen (and archives)
FMAS-(S)	Foreign Ministry Archives of Sweden, Stockholm
FM-C	Frihedsmuseet-Copenhagen (Museum of the Danish Resistance, Copenhagen)
FR	*Frankfurter Rundschau*
FräV	*Fränkischens Volksblatt*
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany

F-S	*Folks-Sztyme*
FS	Fernschreiben (telegram)
FSB	Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti (Federal Security Bureau)
FSS	Field Security Section (British military term)
FSW	Fritz-Sauckel-Werk (Gustloff Weimar; an armaments firm)
FTP	Franc-Tireur Partisan (Partisan irregulars)
FüA	*Fürther Anzeiger*
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
Fw	Focke Wulf
FWM	Flugzeugwerke Mielec (Mielec Aircraft Works)
FZ	*Frankfurter Zeitung*
FZH	Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte (Research Office for Contemporary History; formerly FGNS-H), Hamburg
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv grodnenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast'), Belasrus
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belasrus
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Minsk Oblast'), Belasrus
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilyovskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belasrus
GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhive Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskov (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov), Russia
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukraïny, Kyïv (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Kiev)
GASBU-Dn	GASBU-Dnepropetrovsk (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Dnepropetrovsk)
GASBU-Do	GASBU-Donets'k (State Archive of the Ukranian Security Service, Donets'k)
GASBU-L	GASBU-L'viv (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, L'viv)
GAZJ	Geschichtsarchiv der Zeugen Jehovas (Jehovah's Witnesses' History Archive), Selters, Taunus
GBA	Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation)
GBrz	*Gazeta Brzeska*
GCC	German Concentration Camp (ITS abbreviation)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (also DDR)
GDW-B	Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Site), Berlin
GeBeChem	Generalbevollmächtigter Chemie (General Plenipotentiary for Chemistry in the Four-Year Plan)
GeRu	*Gedenkstätten-Rundbrief*
Gesch-r.	*Geschichte regional*
Gestapa	Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GF	*Glückstädter Fortuna*

GFH	Ghetto Fighters' House (Beit Lohamei Hagettaot, BLH), Israel
GG	Generalgouvernement (General Government)
GK	Generalkommissar (General Commissar)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; now IPN)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (General Regional Archive in Karlsruhe)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GMS	Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen (Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum)
GOKBZHwP	Główne i Okręgowe Komisje Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main and District Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland)
GPO	Generalplan Ost (General Plan East)
Gq	*Geschichte quer*
GrHe	*Greizer Heimatbote*
GSR	*German Studies Review*
Gsta.	Generalstaatsanwaltschaft (Prosecutor General, DDR)
GStAPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Historical State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Estate), Berlin
GuG	*Geschichte und Gesellschaft*
GUG	Gesellschaft für Unternehmensgeschichte (Society for Business History)
GuR	*Geschichte und Region*
GWM	*Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*
GZ	*Das Goldene Zeitalter*
HA	Hilfsarbeiter (unskilled worker)
HAFHDCB	Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest
HAK	Historisches Archiv Krupp (Krupp Historical Archives), Essen
Ham.	*Hamelika*
HaNa	*Hallische Nachrichten*
Hanomag	Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG (Hannover Machine Works Inc.)
HarJb	*Harburger Jahrbuch*
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HAStK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Historical Archive of the City of Cologne)
HAStK-P	Archiv der Stadt Köln-Aussenstelle Porz (Cologne City Archive, Porz External Branch)
HaT	*Haller Tagblatt*
HBA	Heeresbekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
HBS	Heeresbaustelle (Army Construction Office)
HD	*Heimat Dortmund*
HDEC	Holocaust Documentation and Education Center, Inc., North Miami, FL
HdGw	*Hefte der Geschichtswerkstatt*
HE	*Havelländisches Echo*
He	Heinkel aircraft prefix
HEDIA-Schuhfabrik	Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (Herman Diamant Shoe Factory)
Heeresmuna	Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Army Munitions Facility)
Hém	*Hémecht*

HeuBo	*Heuberg Boten*
HEW	Hamburgische Elektrizitätswerke AG (Hamburg Electrical Power Co.)
HfBL	*Heimatbuch für Bergische Land*
HFW	Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (Henschel Aircraft Work)
HGS	*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*
HHB	Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten (SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings)
HHFb	*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*
HHNa	*Hamburger Nachrichten*
HHStA-(M)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Marburg
HHStA-(W)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Wiesbaden
HHTb	*Hamburger Tageblatt*
h-IM	*"heute" – Information und Meinung*
HiHe	*Historische Heimatblätter*
Hipo	Hilfspolizei (Auxiliary Police)
Hist. Abt.	Historische Abteilung (Historical Section of ITS)
Hist Gd	*Historia Gdańska*
Hiwi	Hilfswilliger (Volunteer auxiliary)
HJMA	Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest (also MZML)
HJSL	*Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz*
HkfKrP	*Heimatkalendar für den Kreis Prenzlau*
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HM	Hängemappe (Hanging Map; ITS abbreviation)
HM-F	Heimatmuseum Falkensee (Homeland Museum)
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HoCu	*Holsteinischer Courier*
HQ	Headquarters
HSSPF	Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader)
HStA-D	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Darmstadt
HStA-M	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Marburg
HStA-St	Hauptstaatsarchiv (Main State Archive), Stuttgart
HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
Htv	*Hatikvah*
HV	*Hessische Volkswacht*
HvA	*Hefte von Auschwitz*
HVA-P	Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde (Army Experimental Institution Peenemünde)
HVM	Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (Army Provisions Office – Magazine)
HWL	Hauptwirtschaftslager (Main Supply Camp) or Holzwolleleichtbauplatte (Pressboard building slab)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDO	Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German East Work), Kraców
IfWSg	Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Graz (Institute for Economic and Social History, Graz University), Austria
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IfZ-UW	Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Universität Wien (Institute for Contemporary History, Vienna University)

IGA/ZPA-B	Institut für die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung/Zentrales Parteiarchiv (Institute for the History of the Labor Movement/Central Party Archives), Berlin
IG Farben	Interessengemeinschaft Farbenindustrie AG (Community of Interests, Dye Industry, Inc.)
IISG	International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiednis (International Institute for Social History), Amsterdam
IKL	Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)
ILKB	Internationale Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald (International Camp Committee of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp)
IMI	Italienische Militärinternierte (Italian Military Internee)
IMO	Internationale Militärorganisation (International Military Organization, the Buchenwald resistance group)
Implosion	*Implosion: Biotechnische Nachrichten*
IMT	International Military Tribunal
InBe	*Interkulturelle Beiträge*
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Polish Institute for National Memory) Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
ISKDW	*Informationen: Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand*
IS-O	Instytut śląsk-Opole (Silesian Institute-Opole)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
IWK	*Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*
IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
IWMA	Imperial War Museum Archives, London
IWMR	*Imperial War Museum Review*
JA	*Journal l'Alsace*
JAG	Judge Advocate General
JBLS	*Jahrbuch des Bodenseekreises Leben am See*
JDÖW	*Jahrbuch des Dokumentationsarchivs des Österreichischen Widerstandes*
JfEbG	*Jahrbuch für Eisenbahngeschichte*
JFM	Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerk AG (Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works Company, Inc.)
JfSchG	*Jahrbuch für die Schleswigsche Geest*
JfW	*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
JGR	*Journal of Genocide Research*
JHVCT	*Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für den Chiemgau zu Traunstein*
Ju	Junkers aircraft prefix
Julag	Judenlager (Jewish camp)
JuNS-V	Fritz Bauer, et al. ed., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutsche Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* 22 vols. (Amsterdam, 1968–2008).
JWDLG	*Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*
JWg	*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
K	Aktion Kugel (Killing operation, lit. "Bullet")
KaGb	*Kaufbeurer Geschichtsblätter*
KäJP	*Kärntner Jahrbuch für Politik*
KALAG	Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc.)
KaN-AHm	Kulturamt Neukölln Archiv des Heimatmuseums (Neukölln Culture Office, Archive of the Local Museum)

KA-SG-Amst	Kulturamt der Stadtgemeinde (Culture Office of the Town Community), Amstetten
KBI	Kriminalbiologisches Institut der Sicherheitspolizei (Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police)
KdAW-DDR	Komitee der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic)
KdF	Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commander of the Gendarmerie)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KG	Kommanditgesellschaft (Limited Partnership)
KG AK	Kwatera Główna Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army Headquarters)
KGB	Komityet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee on State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
Kgf.	Kriegsgefangene (POW)
KGL	Kriegsgefangenenlager (POW camp)
KH	Kreishauptmannschaft (district civilian administration)
KL	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
KLM	Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (Mauthausen concentration camp)
KM-WN	Kreismuseum (District Museum) Wewelsburg-Niederhagen
KöRS	*Kölnische Rundschau*
KöSa	*Kölner Stadtanzeiger*
KÖU	Kohle-Öl-Union (Coal Oil Union Company)
KPAW	Katholisches Pfarrarchiv Wewelsburg (Catholic Priests' Archive, Wewelsburg)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPO	Kommunistische Partei-Opposition (German Communist Party Opposition)
KPÖ	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Communist Party)
Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
KTB	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KTL	Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle Technical Institute of the Waffen-SS)
Kul.	*Kulisy*
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau (Cable Works Kraków)
KWO	Kabelwerk Oberspree (Cable Works Oberspree)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
K.z.b.V.	Kommando z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment)
KZuHaftaBu	Konzentrationslager und Haftarchiv Buchenwald (Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Detention Archives; available at THStA-W)
KZZW	Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (Kurmark Rayon and Cellulose, Inc.)
LA-B	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Berlin
LA-B-BPA-SED	Landesarchiv Berlin Bezirksparteiarchiv SED (Berlin State Archive, District Party Archive, Socialist Unity Party)
LA-B-W	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Baden-Württemberg
LAG	Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (Aviation Facilities, Ltd.)
L'Al	*L'Alsace*

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

LA-NRW-SPDet	Landesarchiv NRW Staats-und Personenstandsarchiv Detmold (North Rhine-Westphalia State Archives, State and Personal Status Archive, Detmold)
LAnz	*Lägerdorfer Anzeiger*
LASA-DO	Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt-Aussenstelle Dessau-Oranienbaum (Saxony-Anhalt State Archives, External Branch, Dessau-Oranienbaum)
LA-Sch-H	Landesarchiv (State Archive), Schleswig-Holstein
LA-Sp	Landesarchiv (State Archive), Speyer
LAVM-Br	Landesvermessungsamt Brandenburg (State Measuring Office, Brandenburg)
LC	Library of Congress
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archive), Vilnius
LdAnz	*Landauer Anzeiger*
LEM	Lippstadt Eisen-und Metallwerken (Lippstadt Iron and Metal Works)
LFP	*Lübecker Freie Presse*
LG	Landgericht (State Court)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (State Court, Bochum)
LG-Co	Landgericht Coburg (State Court, Coburg)
LG-Mü	Landgericht München (Munich State Court Coburg: with Roman numeral designating particular court)
Lg-Ur	*Landesgeschichte im Unterricht*
LGW	Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde, Ltd.)
LG-ZRS	Landgericht für Zivilrechtssachen, Wien (Regional Court for Civil Law Matters, Vienna)
LHRP-Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Rheinland-Pfalz Koblenz (Rhineland-Pfalz Main State Archives, Koblenz)
LHSA-Ma	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt Magdeburg (Sachsen-Anhalt Main State Archives, Magdeburg)
LHSA-Me	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt Merseburg (Sachsen-Anhalt Main State Archives, Merseburg)
Lib Ged	*Libri Gedanensis: The Yearbook of the Polish Academy of Sciences*
LKA	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office)
LKA-B-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office) Baden-Württemberg
LKA-N-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office) Nordrhein-Westfalen
LMRD	Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Luxembourg Museum of the Resistance and Deportation), Besançon
LNP	*Landauer Neue Presse*
LP	*Lippstadt Patriot*
LPB-BW	Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Baden-Württemberg (State Central Office for Political Education, Baden-Württemberg)
LPPC/MSW	Leopold Page Photographic Collection, Museen der Stadt Wien (Vienna City Museum)
Lp-pkd	*Lnářský průmysl – příspěvky k dějinám*
LR	*Lausitzer Rundschau*
LR-GR	*Lausitzer Rundschau-Gubener Rundschau*
Ls	Luftschutz (air protection)
LübFP	*Lübecker Freie Presse*
LübN	*Lübecker Nachrichten*

Lufag	Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH or Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Aviation Equipment Ltd. or Aviation Equipment Company)
LüHe	*Lübbener Heimatkalendar*
LUS	Lund University, Sweden, MSS Department
LVermA	Landesvermessungsamt (State Measuring Office)
LVVA	Latvijas Valts Vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archive), Vilnius
LZ	*Landauer Zeitung*
LZF	Archiv der Luftschiffbau Zeppelin (Archive of Zeppelin Airship Construction), Friedrichshafen
MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MACVG	Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (Ministry of Veterans and War Victims), France
MAZ	*Märkische Allgemeine Zeitung*
MA-M	Mannesmann-Archiv, Mühlheim an der Ruhr (includes Archives of Mannesmannröhren-Werke GmbH, Mannesmann Tube Works, Ltd.)
MAN AG	Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (Augsburg-Nuremberg Machine Manufacturing Company)
MBAG-A	Mercedes-Benz AG Archiv (Mercedes-Benz Company Archive), Stuttgart
MC	*Miscellanea curiensia: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordoberfrankens und angrenzender Regionen*
MDÖW	*Mitteilungen des Dokumentationsarchives des Österreichischen Widerstandes*
MdR	Mitglied des Reichstags (Member of the Reichstag)
Me	Messerschmitt aircraft prefix
MEL	Museum und Dokumentationszentrum "Juden im Lettland" (Museum and Documentation Center, "Jews in Latvia"), Riga
MeM	*Melker Mitteilungen*
Messap	Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (German Measuring Apparatus, Ltd.)
MfAA	Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Sachsen (Ministry for Foreign Matters, Saxony)
MfS	Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security of the GDR)
MG	*Manchester Guardian*
MG-131	Maschinengewehr-131 (Machine Gun-131)
MGb	*Mainzer Geschichtsblätter*
MGR	Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Ravensbrück Remembrance and Memorial Site)
MHG	Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (Museum for Hamburg History)
MIAG	Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (Mill and Industry Co.)
MiGe	*Militärgeschichte* (GDR)
MIMO	Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke (Central German Motor Works), Taucha
MittelZ	*Mittelbayerische Zeitung*
MIZ	*Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung*
MJDJG	*Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte*
MK-103	Maschinenkanone-103 (Machine Cannon-103)
MLHSN	Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Mecklenburg Main State Archives), Schwerin
MM	*Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*
MMB	Modern Military Branch (NARA)

MMer	*Münchner Merkur*
MNH	Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen (Lower Saxon Machinery Factory), Hannover
MNN	*Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*
MNZ	*Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung*
MP	*Münchner Post*
MPW	Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Oddział Muzeum Historycznego (Museum of the Warsaw Uprising, Museum Historical Branch), Warsaw
MSS	manuscript
MUGP	*Mitteilungen des Uckermärkischen Geschichtsvereins zu Prenzlau e.V.*
MWF	Metallwarenfabrik (Metalware Manufacturing)
MWN	Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (Neubrandenburg Mechanical Repairs, Ltd.)
MZML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, also HJMA)
NAG	Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (National Automobile Company)
NAL	Nicht aus dem Lager (Not to leave the camp)
NAN	National Archief Nederlandse (National Archives of the Netherlands), Den Haag
Napola	Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution(s) of National-Political Education)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARAG	Nationale Radiatoren AG (National Radiators, Inc.)
NARB	Natsional'n'yi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archive of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
NaZag	*Nad Zagoździonką* (Pionki)
NB	*Northeimer Beobachter*
NbStPVK	*Nachrichtenblatt der Staatlichen Polizeiverwaltung Köln*
NBZ	*Nordbayerische Zeitung*
NCA	*Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 8 Vols. Washington, DC, 1946.
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
NCR	National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (National Krupp Cash Registers, Ltd.)
n.d.	No date
ND	*Neues Deutschland*
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
NdtRu	*Norddeutsche Rundschau*
NÉd	*Notes et Études documentaires*
NFWSL	*Neue Freiberger Wochenzeitung für Stadt und Land*
NG	*Nowiny Gliwickie*
NG	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NGA	*Neuer Görlitzer Anzeiger*
NHStA-H	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Lower Saxon Main State Archives), Hannover
NI	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg document prefix)
NID	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg document prefix)
NIK	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg document prefix)
NIO	Nobel Institute Oslo
NIOD	Nederlands Institut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation; formerly RIOD)

NKF	Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (New Cooling and Aircraft Parts Factory)
NKVD	Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NL	Nachlass (literary estate)
NLStA-S	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Staatsarchiv Stade (Lower Saxon State Archives—Stade State Archives)
NMT	Nuremberg Military Tribunals
NN	Nacht-und-Nebel ("Night and Fog" prisoners)
NO	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg document prefix)
NOKW	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command, document prefix)
n.p.	No place/No page
NPC	*Neue Presse (Coburg)*
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia)
NS	Nationalsozialismus/Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSBO	Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazi Party)
NS-Dok	NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (National Socialist Documentation Center, City of Cologne)
NSF	Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (National Socialist Women's Association)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrerkorps (National Socialist Motorist Corps)
NSLO	*Nachrichten für Stadt und Land in Oldenburg*
NStA-Ol	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Oldenburg
NStA-Os	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Osnabrück
NStA-Wf	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Wolfenbüttel
NSU	Neckarsulm Motorenwerke AG (Neckarsulm Motor Works Corp.)
NSZR	*NSZ Rheinfront*
NT	*Neustädter Tagblatt*
NV	*Neuer Vorwärts*
NWHStA-(D)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian Main State Archives), Düsseldorf
NWHStA-(D) ZA-K	NWHStA-(D), Zweigarchiv Kalkum (Kalkum Branch Archives)
NWStA-(De)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Dettmold
NWStA-M	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Münster
NYT	*New York Times*
NZ	*Norddeutsche Zeitung*
ObEr	*Oberallgäuer Erzähler*
OBGZ	*Oranienburger Generalanzeiger*
OBL	Oberbauleitung (Senior Construction Administration)
OD	Ordnungsdienst (Jewish ghetto police)
o.D.	ohne Datum (no date)

Oflag	Offizierslager (Officers' POW Camp)
OfVZ	*Oberfränkische Volkszeitung*
ÖGZ	Österreichische Gesellschaft für Zeitgeschichte (Austrian society for Contemporary History), Vienna
OHG	Offene Handelsgesellschaft (General Business Partnership)
OHPRIHS-CUNY	Oral History Project of the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, City University of New York
OKBZH	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
OKBZHW	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
OKBZNwK	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Krakowie (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite crimes in Kraków)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKL	Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (Air Force High Command)
OKM	Oberkommando der Marine (Naval High Command)
OKŚZpNP	Oddział Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, Gdańsk)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
OL	Oberlausitz (region of Saxony)
OLG	Oberlandesgericht (German Court of Appeals)
OLS	Ordner der Lagergemeinschaft Sachsenhausen (Files of the Sachsenhausen Camp Community)
OlsTZ	*Oberlausitzer Tageszeitung*
ÖMAG	Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (Austrian Alpine Mountains Society)
OMGUS	Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
Oö.La	Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv (Upper Austrian State Archives), Linz
OPG	Oberparteigericht (Nazi Party Court of Appeals)
Ord.	Ordner (file)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police)
Ortenau	*Die Ortenau*
O/S	Oberschlesien (Upper Silesia)
Osmag	Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Upper Silesian Machine and Wagon Manufacturing, Inc.)
OsnT	*Osnabrücker Tagblatt*
OSta.	Oberstaatsanwaltschaft (Senior Prosecutor)
Ostf-M	*Ostfriesland-Magazin*
Osti	Ostindustrie GmbH (East Industries, Ltd.)
OSZ	*Oldenburgische Staatszeitung*
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
ÖTV	Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (Public Service, Transport and Traffic Union)
OUG	Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy (District Mining Office)
OVV	*Oldenburgische Volkszeitung in Vechta*
OVZ	*Oldenburgische Volkszeitung*

OZ	*Osnabrücker Zeitung*
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office), Berlin
PD	Personnes Déplacées (displaced persons)
PDA	Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort (Police Transit Camp Amersfoort)
PDN	*Polish Daily News*
PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism)
PiKb	*Pinneberger Kreisblatt*
PIZ	Polski Instytut źródlowy (Polish Research Institute), Lund
PL	*Przegląd Lekarski*
Plt-Ib	*Plattlinger Isarboten*
PMA	Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcellan Manufacturer, Allach)
PMW-BZW	Polskiej Misji Wojskowej, Biuro do Spraw Zbrodni Wojennych (Polish Army Mission Collection-War Crimes Office)
POB	Place of Birth
Polin	*Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*
Pom	*Pomerania*
PoT	*Potsdamer Tageszeitung*
POW	Prisoner of War
PPR	Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party)
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
Pra.	*Prawo*
PrMdI	Preussisches Innenministerium (Prussian Ministry of the Interior)
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, Great Britain (now British National Archives); in U.S. Army: Public Relations Officer
PS	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg document prefix)
PSV	Polizeiliche Sicherungsverwahrung (Police security custody)
PT	*Pariser Tagblatt*
PZ	*Pommersche Zeitung*
RAA	Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen, Jugendzeit und Schule e.V. (Regional Work Sites for Foreigner Questions, Adolescence, and Schools, Registered Association)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (German National Freeway)
RABF	Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research)
RaBl	*Ravensbrückblätter*
RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
RAG	Ratsarchiv Görlitz (Görlitz Council Archives)
RaHash	*Ramat Hasharon*
RAM	Reichsaussenministerium (Reich Foreign Ministry)
Rappel	*Rappel: Zeitschrift der luxemburgischen politischen Häftlinge und Deportierten*
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works)
RA-ZMLF	Regional Archives of Zealand, Moen and Lolland-Falster
RB	Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (Reich Flag Black-Red-Gold)
RBBD	Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate)
RBD	Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railway Directorate)
rept	Report

RF	*Rote Fahne*
RFKB	Rotfrontkämpferbund (League of Red Front Fighters)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS)
RGASPI	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoy istorii (Russian State Archive of Social-Political History)
RGBl	*Reichsgesetzblatt*
RGI	Reichsgruppe Industrie (Reich Group Industry)
RGVA	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi voenn'yi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive, Moscow (former Special [osobyi] Archive)
Rh-BKal	*Rheinische-Bergischer Kalendar*
RHD	Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid Germany)
RhZ	*Rheinische Zeitung*
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Imperial Institute for War Documentation, now NIOD), Amsterdam
RKFDV	Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom)
RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat of the Eastern Territories)
RKPA	Riechskriminalpolizeiamt (Reich Criminal Police Office)
RLM	Reichsluftfahrtsministerium (Reich Air Ministry)
RM	Reichsmark
RmbIV	*Reichsministerialblatt für die Innere Verwaltung*
RMdI	Reichsministerium des Innern (Reich Ministry of the Interior)
RMfBM	Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions; predecessor to RMfRK)
RMfRK	Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion (Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production; successor to RMfBM)
RMJ	Reichsministerium der Justiz (Reich Justice Ministry)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
Rocz Gd	*Rocznik Gdyński*
RonsZ	*Ronsdorfer Zeitung*
RPWA	*Rundschau über Politik, Wirtschaft und Arbeiterbewegung*
RR	*The Red Raider*
RrhK	*Rechtsrheinische Köln*
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniiai izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), Moscow
RU	Rückkehr unerwünscht (Return undesirable)
RüKo	Rüstungskommission (Armaments Commission)
RuSHA	Rasse-und Siedlungshauptamt (SS-Race and Settlement Main Office)
RV	Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association)
RWA	Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (Reich Office for Economic Development)
RWHG	Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (Reich Works "Hermann Göring")
RWM	Reichswirtschaftsministerium (Reich Economics Ministry)
RZC	*Rhein-Zeitung Cochem*

SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
Sachor	*Sachor: Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Gedenkstättenarbeit in Rheinland-Pfalz*
SächsZ	*Sächsische Zeitung*
SäHe	*Sächsische Heimatblätter*
SalzN	*Salzburger Nachrichten*
S&H	Siemens & Halske AG
SAP	Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (Socialist Workers' Party of Germany)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation of Party and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAW	Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht)
SB	Sonderbehandlung (special treatment; Nazi euphemism most commonly used for murder)
SBG	Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten (Foundation of Brandenburg Memorial Sites)
SBGSSS	*Sonnenstein: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sonnensteins und der Sächsischen Schweiz*
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukrayiny (State Security Service of Ukraine)
SBZ	Sowjetische Besatzungszone (Soviet Occupation Zone)
SchH	*Schulheft*
SchK	*Das schwarze Korps*
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police)
Schw ANach	*Schwechater Archivnachrichten: Informationen aus dem historischen Archiv der Stadt Schwechat*
SchwH	*Schwäbische Heimat*
SchwLZ	*Schwäbische Landeszeitung*
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
Sd'A	*Saisons d'Alsace*
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicich (State Regional Archive Litoměřice, Czech Republic)
SDG	Sanitätsdienstgrad (SS medical orderly)
SDP	Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SEK	Sondereinsatzkommando (Special Deployment Command)
SFiZH	*Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi*
S.G.L.v.D.	Symbolische Grossloge von Deutschland (Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
SHD	Schutzhilfsdienst (Auxiliary Police)
SHKS	*Schriftenreihe für Heimatforschung Kreis Senftenberg*
SHSt-A-B	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv- Aussenstelle Bautzen (Saxon Main State Archives, External Branch Bautzen)
SHStA-(C)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv- Aussenstelle Chemnitz (Saxon Main State Archives-External Branch Chemnitz)
SHStA-(D)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Saxon Main State Archives), Dresden
SHZ	*Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung*
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SK	Sonderkommando (Special Detachment)
SKDW	Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Study Group)
SKG	Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (Siemens Cable Community)

SkhS	*Śląski kwartalnik historyczny "Sobótka"*
SKTb	*Segeberger Kreis-und Tageblatt*
SKW	Stickstoff- und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works), Trostberg
SLA	Salzburger Landesarchiv (Salzburg State Archives)
SMAD	Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (Soviet Military Administration in Germany)
SM-Cd	Stadtmuseum Colditz (Colditz City Museum)
SM-E	Stadtmuseum Eisenhüttenstadt (Eisenhüttenstadt City Museum)
SMSK	*Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Köln*
SOE	Special Operations Executive
SoeZe	*Soester Zeitschrift*
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)
SOkA-B	Státní okresní archiv v Benešově (State District Archive of Benešově), Czech Republic
SOkA-CvK	Státní okresní archiv Chomutov v Kadani (State District Archive of Chomutov, Kadan), Czech Republic
SOkA-D	Státní okresní archiv Děčín (State District Archives of Děčín), Czech Republic
SOkA-KV	Státní okresní archiv Karlovy Vary (State District Archive of Karlovy Vary), Czech Republic
SpkA	Spruchkammer Akte (Chamber Verdict File)
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
SonA	*Sonnenburger Anzeiger*
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu (Torun District Court)
SOWI	*Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen*
Spai-Sc	*Spaichinger Stadtchronik*
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Social Democratic Party of Austria)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SS-BB	SS-Baubrigade (SS-Construction Brigade)
SS-Bbde	see SS-BB
SSB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (State Library in Berlin, Prussian Cultural Estate)
SS-EBB	SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade (Railroad Construction Brigade)
SSK Gd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKT	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Toruniu (Torun Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS-und Polizeiführer (SS-and Police Leader)
Sśsn	*Studia śląskie seria nowa*
SStA-L	Sächsisches Staatsarchiv (Saxon State Archives), Leipzig
SSVT	SS-Verfügungstruppen (SS-Special Disposal Troops)
SSW	Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Siemens-Schuckert Works)
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS-Business Administration Main Office)
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Augs	Staatsarchiv Augsburg (Augsburg State Archives)

St. Ald	*St. Aldegund*
StA-B	Staatsarchiv Basel (Basel State Archives)
StA-Br	Staatsarchiv Bremen (Bremen State Archives)
StA-C	Staatsarchiv Coburg (Coburg State Archives)
StA-Ch	Staatsarchiv Chemnitz (Chemnitz State Archives)
StA-HH	Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City Hamburg)
StA-KBS	Staatsarchiv Kanton Basel-Stadt (State Archives of the Canton City of Basel)
StA-L	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (Ludwigsburg State Archives)
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StA-Lg	Staatsarchiv Leipzig (Leipzig State Archives)
StaLG	Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landesgericht (State Prosecutor with the State Court)
StA-Lh	Staatsarchiv Landshut (Landshut State Archives)
Sta. Mü	Staatsanswaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office Munich) (with Roman numeral designating the court)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (Nuremberg State Archives)
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)
StA-S	Staatsarchiv Sigmaring (Sigmaring State Archives)
StA-SG	Staatsarchiv Salzgitter (Salzgitter State Archives)
Stasi	Staatssicherheit (State Security, GDR)
StA-Wü	Staatsarchiv Würzburg (Würzburg State Archives)
StBü	*Stettiner Bürgerbrief*
StegL-A	*Steglitzer Lokal-Anzeiger*
StFvMHL	Städtische Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen (Mühlhausen City Cemetery Administration)
Sti-A-StLam	Stiftsarchiv St. Lambrecht (St. Lambrecht Abbey Archives), Austria
Stm.-MöWa	Stadtmuseum Mörfelden-Walldorf (Mörfelden-Walldorf City Museum)
STP	*Schlesische Tagespost*
STUAG	Strassenbauunternehmen AG (Street Construction Enterprises, Inc.)
StutZ	*Stuttgarter Zeitung*
StZeMu	*Stutthof: Zeszyty Muzeum*
SÚA	Státní ústřední archiv (State Central Archives), Prague
SuA-M	Sudetendeutsches Archiv e.V., München (Sudeten German Archives, Registered Association, Munich)
Subag	Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Sudetenland Mining, Inc.)
SudA	*Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*
SüdS	*Süddeutsche Sonntagspost*
Sutag	Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke AG (Sudetenland Fuel Works, Inc.)
SV	Sicherheitsverwahrung ("Security Custody")
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service of War Victims), Brussels
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)
SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki w Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (Polish archival catalog reference)

SZ	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*
TARA-KU	The Aerial Reconnaissance Archives-Keele University
Tbc	Tuberculosis
Tel	*Telecran*
Texled	Textil und Lederverwertung mbH (Textile and Leather Utilization, Ltd.)
THStA-G	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar Aussenstelle Greiz (Thuringian Main State Archives, External Branch Greiz)
THStA-W	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar (Thuringian Main State Archives)
TiHe	*Tiroler Heimatblätter*
TL	*Terezinské listy*
TLB	Thüringer Landbund (Thuringian Farmers' Alliance)
T-Lo	*Times-London*
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
Tog	*Together*
Trib	*Tribüna*
Trokofa	Trockenkonservenfabrik (dried vegetable factory)
Tr-Vo	*Trierischer Volksfreund*
Try-Odr	*Trybuna Odrzańska*
TsAKGBRB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' v Minske (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus', Minsk)
TSD	*Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*
TsDAHOU	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'yednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Ukrainian Social Associations)
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta Upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
TsGAMORF	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstsva oborony rossiiskoi federatsii (Central State Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podolsk
TStA-A	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Altenburg
TStA-Go	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Gotha
TStA-M	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Meiningen
TStA-R	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Rudolstadt
TV	Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Units)
TWC	*Trials of War Criminals before the Nürnberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946-April 1949*, 15 vols. (Washington, 1949–1953).
TWL	Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS supply camp)
TWL-Langfür	Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Supply Camp), Danzig-Langführ
Tyg Pł	*Tygodnik Płocki*
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
Ufa	Universum Film AG
ULA	*Ulmer Lokalanzeiger*
Ulap	Universum-Landesausstellungspark (Universum State Exhibition Park)
ULJ-A	Archives of the Union of Lithuanian Jews, Tel Aviv
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
URF	Union für Recht und Freiheit (Union for Justice and Liberty)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USAREUR	United States Army Europe
USAF	United States Air Force
USAFHRA	United States Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, AL
USFET	United States Forces European Theater
USHMC	United States Holocaust Memorial Council
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USMT	United States Military Tribunal
USSBS	United States Strategic Bombing Survey
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (aka Soviet Union, or UdSSR)
UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
V	*Vorwärts*
V-1/V-2	Vergeltungswaffe- (Vengeance weapon, also A4)
VAW	Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke (United Aluminum Works)
VB	*Völkischer Beobachter*
VBal	*Ventas Balss*
VDM	Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (United German Metal Works)
VdN	Verfolgte des Naziregimes (Persecutee of the Nazi Regime)
VDO	Vereinigte Deuta OTA (United German Tachometer Works, Otto Schulze Autometer Werke)
VEB	Volkseigener Betrieb (nationally owned enterprise; GDR term)
VEB-RFT-Wg	VEB Rundfunk Fernmelde-Technik, Fernmeldewerk Werk (Nationally Owned Enterprise, Radio Telecommunications Technology, Telecommunications Work) Wolkenburg
VEF	Valsts Elektrotechniska Fabrika (Valsts Electrotechnical Factory), Riga
VfZ	*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archive, Prague)
VHF	Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation
VHU	Vojesty Historicky Ustav (Military History Institute), Prague
VHVNdb	*Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Niederbayern*
VJP	Vierjahresplan (Nazi Four-Year Plan)
VKA	Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung (United Climbing Detachment)
VKS	Verlag kommunistischer und antifaschistischer Schriften (Publisher of Communist and Anti-Fascist Writings)
VLA-G	Vorpommersches Landesarchiv (Vorpommern State Archives), Greifswald
VOH	Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (United Upper Silesian Metallurgical Works, Inc.)
Vomag	Vogtländische Maschinenfabrik AG (Vogtland Machine Factory, Inc.), Plauen
VOMI	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Ethnic German Central Office)
VorVB	*Vorarlberger Volksblatt*
Vp	*Volksparole*

VRDA	*Verein für Regionalgeschichte und Denkmalpflege Akanthus e.V.*
VS	*Volksstimme*
VSA	Verlag für Studium der Arbeiterbewegung (Publisher for Studies of the Workers' Movement)
VSS	*Volksstimme Saarbrücken*
VVN	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes; or Vereinigung für die Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime)
VVN-AH	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, Archiv Hamburg (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Hamburg Archives)
VVN-B	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Berlin (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Berlin)
VVN-BdA	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Bund der Antifaschisten (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, League of Anti-Fascists)
VVN-K	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Köln (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Cologne)
VW	Volkswagen ("People's Car")
VWA	Volkswagen Archiv, Wolfsburg
VZ	*Vossische Zeitung*
VZfVd	*Volkszeitung für Vogtland*
W	Wirtschaft (Business division within SS-WVHA, usually followed by Roman numeral designating the office, such as Amt W V, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries)
WAA-M	Westfälisches Archivamt (Westphalian Archives Office), Münster
WalsZ	*Walsroder Zeitung*
WAP-By	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Bydgoszczy (Voivodeship State Archive in Bydgoszcz)
WAP-W	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (Voivodeship State Archive in Wrocław)
WASAG	Westfälisch Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (Westphalian Anhalt Gunpowder, Inc.)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftstelle Berlin (Military Information Office in Berlin; now Deutsche Dienststelle, German Agency)
Wb	*Die Weltbühne*
WdtB	*Westdeutscher Beobachter*
WED	Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm (Re-Germanization Program)
WeiTb	*Weissenfels Tagesblatt*
WeKu	*Weser-Kurier*
Welt	*Die Welt*
Weserflug	Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weser Aircraft Construction, Ltd.)
W-H	Württemberg-Hohenzollern
WHW	Winterhilfswerk (Winter Relief Campaign)
Wifo	Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH (Economic Research Co., Ltd.)
WiL	*Wir in Lengerich*
WL	Wiener Library
WLA	Wiener Library Archive
WMI	Westfälische Metallindustrie (Westphalian Metal Industry)
WN	*Westfälische Nachrichten*

WO	War Office
WP	*Westfalen Post*
WRB	War Refugee Board
WstP	*Westfalen-Post*
WU	wehrunwürdig ("unworthy of military service")
WUMAG	Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG (Wagon Construction and Machine Manufacture Co.)
WüwHe	*Wüstewaltersdorfer Heimatbote*
WVHA	see SS-WVHA
WWII-I	*World War II Investigator* (UK)
WWA-D	Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv (Westphalian Business Archives), Dortmund
WWB	*Wiener Weltbühne*
WWFg	Fernsprechgerät (telephone terminal; Siemens component)
Wwi Kdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (Armaments Economy Command)
WWM	Messgerät (meter; Siemens component)
WWR	Radiogeräte und Bauelemente (radio and building components; Siemens component)
WWT	Telegrafentechnik (telegraphic equipment; Siemens component)
Wyb	*Wybrzeże*
YAJSS	*YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*
YalMor	*Yalkut Moreshet*
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research)
YV	Yad Vashem
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
YVS	*Yad Vashem Studies*
Z	*Zeitgeschichte*
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (Forced Labor Camp)
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (Forced Labor Camp for Jews)
ZapKos	*Zapiski Koszalińskie*
ZAR-D	Zentralarchiv (Central Archives) der Rheinmetall AG-Düsseldorf
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (Special or Temporary Duty)
ZBL	Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS)
ZBoWid	Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokracje (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy), Warsaw
ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
Żegota	Rada Pomocy Żydom (Council for Aid to Jews)
"ZEH"	Gypsum factory, Schwindratzheim, Alsace, France
ZeMa	*Zeszyty Majdanka*
ZfA	Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Center for Research on Antisemitism), Berlin
ZfG	*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*
ZfSV	*Zeitschrift für Strafvollzug*

ZfU	*Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*
ZfwLg	*Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*
ZG	*Zeszyty Gliwickie*
ZGS	Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung (Contemporary History Collection)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ZLNW-K	Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen in Köln (Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Cologne; same as ZSSta-K)
ZLpB-H	Zentralnachweis der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Central Registry of Records of the State Central Office for Political Education), Hannover
ZO	*Zeszyty Oświęcimskie*
ZR-MM-V	*Zeitgeschichte Regional-Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*
ZSA-P	Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (Potsdam Central State Archives, now BLHA-(P))
ZSHG	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*
ZSSta-D	Zentralstelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund (Central Office for the Processing of National Socialist Mass Crimes, Dortmund State Prosecutor)
ZSSta-K	Zentralstelle des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen Konzentrationslagern, Staatsanwaltschaft Köln (Central Office of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia for the Processing of Crimes in Concentration Camps, Cologne State Prosecutor; same as ZLNW-K)
ZVJ	*Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums*
ZVWmE	*Zeitschrift des Vereins Widerstandmuseums Ebensee*
ZWiL	*Za Wolność i Lud*

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alfons Adam: Flossenbürg/Eisenberg, Hertine, Holleischen, Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, Neurohlau
Gebhard Aders: Early/Porz (Hochkreuz)
Gudrun Albrecht: Gross-Rosen/Weisswasser
Angelika Arenz-Morch: Early/Osthofen
Dietrich Banse: Neuengamme/Salzwedel, Uelzen
Helmut Bauer: Sachsenhausen/Genshagen
Charles-Claude Biedermann: Buchenwald/Dornburg, Wansleben; Kauen/Schaulen; Krakau-Plaszow/Mielec, Zabłocie
Franka Bindernagel: Buchenwald/Böhlen, Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*), Tröglitz
Ruth Bettina Birn: Vaivara/Vaivara main, Aseri, Auvere, Ereda, Goldfields [Goldfeld], Jõhvi [Jewe], Kertowa and Putki, Kiviõli I and II, Klooga, Kuremäe, Lagedi, Narva, Pankewitza, Petseri, Sonda, Soski, Vaivara subcamp, Vivikonna [Werk IV Sillamäe]
Peter Black: Lublin-Majdanek/Trawniki
Angela Borgstedt: Early/Ankenbuck, Kislau
Leslaw Braiter: Gross-Rosen main
Helmut Bräutigam: Early/Berlin-Spandau; Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Spandau
Hans Brenner: Flossenbürg/Dresden (*Bernsdorf & Co.*), Dresden (*Universelle*), Flöha, Freiberg, Gröditz, Hainichen, Hohenstein-Ernstthal, Johanngeorgenstadt, Königstein, Lengenfeld, Mehltheuer, Mittweida, Mockethal-Zatzschke, Mülsen St. Micheln, Nossen-Rosswein, Oederan, Porschdorf, Rochlitz, Schönheide, Siegmar-Schönau, Venusberg, Wilischthal, Wolkenburg, Zschachwitz, Zschopau, Zwickau; Gross-Rosen/Bautzen, Gebhardsdorf, Gross-Koschen, Halbstadt, Kamenz, Mittelsteine, Morchenstern, Niesky/Brandhofen, Schlesiersee I, Zittau
Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch: Buchenwald/Allendorf
Marc Buggeln: Neuengamme/subcamp system, Alt-Garge, Braunschweig (*Büssing NAG*), Braunschweig (*SS-Reitschule*), Bremen–Blumenthal, Bremen–Farge, Bremen–Neuenland, Bremen–Osterort, Bremen–Schützenhof (*DESCHIMAG*), Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Blohm & Voss*), Schandelah, Vechelde [Braunschweig/Vechelde], Wilhelmshaven
Oswald Burger: Dachau/Überlingen
Tobias Bütow: Buchenwald/Böhlen, Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*), Tröglitz
Grażyna Choptiany: Gross-Rosen/Birnbäumel, Hirschberg (Arbeitskommando), Hirschberg (Arbeitslager), Hochweiler, Kurzbach, Nimptsch
Kathrin Clausing: Neuengamme/Hildesheim
Hans de Vries: all Herzogenbusch essays
Martin Dean: Lublin-Majdanek/Bliżyn, Budzyń
Christoph Dieckmann: Kaunas main (with Evelyn Zegenhagen)
Herbert Diercks: Early/Fuhlsbüttel
Barbara Distel: Dachau main
Gerhard Dorbritz: Sachsenhausen/Belzig
Bernward Dörner: Early/Oranienburg
Jean-Marc Dreyfus: Natzweiler/Natzweiler main, Echterdingen, Hailfingen, Leonberg, Mannheim–Sandhofen, Neckarelz I and II, Neckargartach–Heilbronn, Oberehnheim, Schwäbisch Hall–Hessental, Vaihingen
Irith Dublon-Knebel: Ravensbrück/Malchow
Christian Dürr: Mauthausen/subcamp system, Leibnitz-Graz, Linz I, Linz II, Linz III, Passau I, Passau II, Peggau, Redl-Zipf, Schloss Lind, St. Lambrecht, Ternberg, Vöcklabruck, Wiener Neudorf, Wiener Neustadt, Wien-Floridsdorf, Wien-Hinterbrühl, Wien-Schönbrunn, Wien-Schwechat-Heidfeld, Wien-Schwechat "Santa,"
Albrecht Eckhardt: Early/Vechta
Hans Ellger: Neuengamme/Beendorf, Boizenburg, Bremen-Obernheide, Bremen-Uphusen, Bremen (*Hindenburgkaserne*), Hamburg-Eidelstedt, Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (women), Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), Hamburg-Neugraben, Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, Hamburg-Tiefstack, Hamburg-Wandsbek, Hannover-Langenhagen, Hannover-Limmer, Horneburg, Wedel
Stefanie Endlich: Early/Lichtenburg; Sachsenhausen/Lehnitz
Anita Farkas: Mauthausen/Schloss Mittersill, Schloss Lannach
Achim Fenner: Dachau/Radolfzell
Gabriel N. Finder: Warschau main
Karola Fings: Buchenwald/Bensberg, Düsseldorf-Derendorf, Düsseldorf-Kalkum, Düsseldorf (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*), Essen (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*), Köln-Deutz, Köln-Niehl, Köln-Stadt; all SS-Baubrigaden essays
Ulrich Fritz: Flossenbürg/subcamp system,

Altenhammer, Aue, Brüx, Chemnitz, Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*), Dresden (*Behelfsheim*), Dresden (*SS-Pionier-Kaserne*), Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Goehle-Werk*), Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Werk Reick*), Grafenreuth, Meissen-Neuhirschstein, Plauen (*Horn GmbH*), Seifhennersdorf

Thorsten Gajewi: Neuengamme/Lübberstedt

Christine Glauning: Natzweiler/Bisingen, Dautmergen, Dormettingen, Gruppe "Wüste," Schömberg,

Stefan Goch: Buchenwald/Gelsenkirchen-Horst

Anna Golembiecka: Gross-Rosen/Breslau-Lissa, Breslau-Hundsfeld, Breslau I, Breslau II

Renate Gruber-Lieblich: Sachsenhausen/Wittenberg

Peter Gstettner: Mauthausen/Klagenfurt-Lendorf, Loiblpass

Judith Hahn: Ravensbrück/Hohenlychen

Jürgen Harder: Youth camps/introduction, Moringen, Uckermark

Georg Häusler: Gross-Rosen/Niesky

Katja Hering: Neuengamme/Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel, Hamburg-Rothenburgsort

Gerhard Hoch: Neuengamme/Kaltenkirchen

Alfred Hoffmann: Dachau/Heidenheim; Natzweiler/Heidenheim

Günther Högl: Buchenwald/Dortmund, Schwerte-Ost

Bernd Horstmann: Bergen-Belsen/Bomlitz, Hambühren, Unterlüss

Todd Huebner: Flossenbürg main; Sachsenhausen main

Thomas Irmer: Auschwitz/Bobrek; Krakau-Plaszow/Kabelwerk Krakau; Riga/Riga-Strasdenhof; Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Lichterfelde, Glöwen, Hennigsdorf, Schwarzheide

Emeryka Iwaszko: Auschwitz/Brünn, Chelmek-Paprotnik, Janinagrube

Stanisława Iwaszko: Auschwitz/Fürstengrube, Günthergrube, Laurahütte

Kirsten John-Stucke: Wewelsburg main

Alexander Jossifidis: Ravensbrück/Grüneberg, Steinhöring; Sachsenhausen/Briesen, Genthin, Oranienburg (*Auer-Werke*), Oranienburg (*Heinkel-Werke*), Rathenow

Petr Joza: Flossenbürg/Rabstein

Hermann Kaienburg: Neuengamme/Neuengamme main, Wittenberge

Markus Kienle: Early/Gotteszell, Heuberg

Willy Klawe: Early/Wittmoor

Aleksandra Kobielec: Gross-Rosen/Brieg, Brünnlitz, Dyhernfurth I and II, Friedland

Alfred Konieczny: Gross-Rosen/Aslau, Bunzlau I and II, Landeshut

Alexander Korb: Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Neukölln, Berlin-Zehlendorf, Schönefeld

Dietfrid Krause-Vilmar: Early/Breitenau; Buchenwald/Kassel, Kassel-Druseltal

Piotr Kruszynski: Gross-Rosen/Riese complex overview and camps Erlenbusch, Falkenberg, Fürstenstein, Kaltwasser, Lärche, Märzbachtal, Wolfsberg

Miroslav Kryl: Gross-Rosen/Bausnitz, Bernsdorf, Gabersdorf, Ober Altstadt, Parschnitz, Schatzlar

Helena Kubica: Auschwitz/Babitz, Budy, Freudenthal, Harmense, Lichtewerden

Wolfgang Kucera: Dachau/Augsburg-Pfersee

Gabriele Layer-Jung: Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Niederschöneweide (*Pertrix*)

Ralf Lechner: Mauthausen/subcamp system, Bachmanning, Leibnitz-Graz, Linz I, Linz II, Linz III, Passau I, Passau II, Peggau, Redl-Zipf ("Schlier"), Schloss Lind, St. Lambrecht (men), St. Lambrecht (women), Ternberg, Vöcklabruck, Wiener Neudorf, Wiener Neustadt, Wien-Floridsdorf (w/Wien-Jedlesee), Wien-Hinterbrühl, Wien-Schönbrunn, Wien-Schwechat-"Santa", Wien-Schwechat-Heidfeld

Silvester Lechner: Early/Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg

Leokadia Lewandowska: Gross-Rosen/Grünberg I and II, Neusalz, Schertendorf, Schlesiersee II

Martin Litzinger: Early/Bergkamen-Schönhausen

Ursula Ludz: Dachau/Feldafing

Joachim Lund: Vaivara/Port Kunda

Mike MacQueen: Stutthof main

Aneta Małek: Gross-Rosen/Freiburg in Schlesien, Gebhardsdorf, Geppersdorf, Hartmannsdorf, Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf

Angela Martin: Sachsenhausen/Kleinmachnow

Günter Matthes: Sachsenhausen/Strausberg

Irene Mayer: Early/Berlin-Charlottenburg (Maikowski-Haus), Berlin-Köpenick, Berlin-Kreuzberg (Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234), Berlin-Kreuzberg (Hedemannstrasse), Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg (Wasserturm), Berlin-Tiergarten (Universum-Landesausstellungspark), Brandenburg a. d. Havel, Weissenfels; Ravensbrück/Ansbach

Angelika Meyer: Ravensbrück/Born, Comthurey, Feldberg, Hagenow, Klützow

Hans-Jürgen Milling: Neuengamme/Lengerich

Joachim Neander: Mittelbau/Grosswerther

Michael Neufeld: Mittelbau/Mittelbau main, Ellrich, Ellrich/Woffleben

Kaspar Nürnberg: Early/Sonnenburg

Immo Opfermann: Natzweiler/Erzingen, Frommern, Schörzingen
Marek Orski: all Stutthof subcamp essays
Karin Orth: Introduction to the SS-Business Administration Main Office Concentration Camps
Roland Otto: Early/Leschwitz bei Görlitz; Gross-Rosen/Biesnitzer Grund
Johannes Paul: Early/Bergisch Gladbach
Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss: Gross-Rosen/Grulich, Kratzau I and II, Mährisch Weisswasser, Ober-Hohenelbe, St. Georgenthal
Franciszek Piper: Auschwitz/Auschwitz II-Birkenau main, subcamp system, Althammer, Blechhammer, Eintrachthütte, Neu-Dachs, Sosnowitz I and II, Trzebinia
Dieter Pohl: Krakau-Plaszow main
Thomas Rahe: Bergen-Belsen main
Edith Raim: Dachau/Gendorf, Kaufering I-XI, Landsberg, Mühldorf
Dirk Riedel: Dachau/St. Gilgen
Gernot Römer: Dachau/Augsburg–Horgau, Augsburg (*Michelwerke*), Bad Oberdorf, Bäumenheim, Blaichach, Burgau, Gablingen, Haunstetten, Kaufbeuren, Kempten (*Helmuth Sachse KG*), Kottern/Fischen, Kottern-Weidach, Lauingen (I, II, and Birkackerhof), Neu-Ulm, Neuburg a.d. Donau, Oberstdorf-Birgsau, Riederloh, Schlachters
Heinrich Ross: Ravensbrück/Retzow
Thomas Roth: Early/Köln (Bonner Wall), Köln ("Klingelpütz"), Köln-Mozartstrasse
Andrea Rudorff: Early/Breslau-Dürrgoy, Gollnow, Hammerstein, Stettin-Bredow
Martina Ruppert: Early/Landau, Neustadt a.d. Haardt
Barbara Sawicka: Gross-Rosen/Christianstadt, Fünfteichen, Grafenort, Sackisch, Treskau.
Danuta Sawicka: Gross-Rosen/Bad Warmbrunn, Bolkenhain, Gräben, Kittlitztreben, Ludwigsdorf
Sabine Schalm: Dachau/subcamp system, Dachau (*Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS*), Dachau (*Fleischwarenfabrik Wülfert*), Dachau (*Gut Pollnhof*), Dachau (*Präzifix GmbH*), München-Freimann (*Bartolith Werke*), München-Freimann (*Dyckerhoff u. Widmann*), München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*), München-Giesing (*Agfa Kamerawerke*), München-Oberföhring (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS*), München-Riem (*OT, SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*), München-Schwabing (Schwester Pia), München-Sendling (*Architekt Bücklers*), München (*Bergmannschule*), München (*Bombensuchkommando*), München (*Chemische Werke*), München (*Ehrengut*), München (*Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl*), München (*Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais*), München (*Grosschlachterei Thomae*), München (*Höchlstrasse*), München (*Katastropheneinsatz*), München (*Königinstrasse*), München (*Lebensborn e.V.*), München (*Lodenfrey*), München (*Oberbürgermeister*), München (*Parteikanzlei*), München (*Reichsbahn*), München (*Reichsführer-SS*), München (*Reichsführer-SS-Adjutantur*), München (*Schuhaus Meier*), München (*Sprengkommando*), München (*SS-Mannschaftshäuser*), München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*) (Möhlstrasse), München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*), München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*), Ulm (*Magirus-Deutz AG*)
Martin Schellenberg: Buchenwald/Colditz, Flössberg, Meuselwitz, Schlieben
Kurt Schilde: Early/Berlin (General-Pape-Strasse), Columbia-Haus
Florian Schmaltz: Auschwitz III-Monowitz main
Alexander Schmidt: Flossenbürg/Ansbach, Gundelsdorf (with Knellendorf), Happurg, Helmbrechts, Hersbruck, Hof-Moschendorf, Nürnberg (*Siemens-Schuckert Werke*), Nürnberg (*SS Kaserne*), Nürnberg/Eichstätt, Pottenstein
Christine Schmidt: Buchenwald/Berga-Elster
Christine Schmidt van der Zanden: Buchenwald/subcamp system, Abteroda (men), Abteroda (women), Annaburg, Apolda, Berlstedt, Billroda, Bochum (*Eisen- und Hüttenwerke*), Braunschweig, Buttelstedt, Dessau (*Dessauer Waggonfabrik*), Dessau (*Junkers-Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*), Düsseldorf-Grafenberg, Düsseldorf (Kirchfeldstrasse), Eisenach, Gandersheim, Giessen, Goslar, Göttingen, Hadmersleben, Halberstadt: Langenstein-Zwieberg/Hecklingen, Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke, Langenstein-Zweiberge/Magdeburg, Langenstein-Zweiberge/Malachit, and Langenstein-Zweiberge/Wernigerode; Halle, Jena, Kranichfeld, Lauenburg in Pommern, Leipzig-Thekla, Leopoldshall, Lichtenburg, Lützkendorf, Nordhausen, Oberndorf, Ohrdruf, Ohrdruf/Crawinkel, Ohrdruf/Espenfeld, Quedlinburg, Rothenburg, Saalfeld, Schönebeck (*Junkers-Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG*), Sennelager, Sonneberg-West, Stassfurt, Stassfurt (*Wälzer & Co*), Suhl, Tannenwald, Tannroda, Tonndorf, Unna, Weimar, Westeregeln, Witten-Annen; Neuengamme/Braunschweig (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*), Bremen (*Borgward-Werke*), Bremen-Vegesack, Darss-Wieck, Darss-Zingst, Düssin, Engerhafe, Goslar,

Hamburg-Finkenwerder, Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men), Hamburg-Hammerbrook (*Bombensuchkommando*), Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse), Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*), Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Stülckenwerft*), Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg, Hamburg (*Bombensuchkommando*) (no. 2), Hamburg (*Howaldtwerke*), Hannover-Ahlem, Hannover-Misburg, Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatoren-Fabrik AG*), Hannover-Stöcken (*Continental*), Kiel, Lütjenburg (*Hohwacht*), Meppen-Dalum, Meppen-Versen, Meppen-Versen/Gross Hesepe, Mölln, Neustadt in Holstein, Verden, Warberg, Wöbbelin; Ravensbrück/Kallies, Neustrelitz-Fürstensee, Rheinsberg, Stargard in Pommern; Sachsenhausen/Berlin (*Arado-Werke*), Berlin-Hakenfelde, Berlin-Köpenick, Berlin-Lichtenrade, Berlin-Marienfelde, Berlin-Tegel, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Berlin (*Kastanienallee*), Berlin (*Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS*), Kiew, Neudamm, Prettin, Usedom

Rolf Schmolling: Buchenwald/Neustadt bei Coburg; Flossenbürg/Falkenau, Graslitz, Plauen, Zwodau; Gross-Rosen/Niederoderwitz; Ravensbrück/Siemenslager Ravensbrück; Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Siemensstadt

Christian Schölzel: Dachau/Schloss Itter

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum: Early/Quednau

Jan Erik Schulte: Early/Wuppertal-Barmen

Karl Heinz Schütt: Ravensbrück/Neustadt-Glewe

Erika Schwarz: Ravensbrück/Dahmshöhe, Königsberg Neumark, Mildenberg, Zichow

Gustav-Hermann Seebold: Buchenwald/Bochum (*Bochumer Verein*)

Carsten Seifert: Ravensbrück/Eberswalde, Finow

Piotr Setkiewicz: Auschwitz/Golleschau, Kobier, Lagischa, Plawy

Jörg Skriebeleit: Flossenbürg/Bayreuth, Hradischko, Janowitz, Jungfern Breschan, Leitmeritz, Lobositz, Schlackenwerth, St. Georgenthal, Steinschönau, Würzburg

Nicole Slupetzky: Dachau/Weisssee

Wilfried Steinmüller: Ravensbrück/Rostock-Schwarzenpfost

Frank Stier: Sachsenhausen/Königs Wusterhausen

Therkel Straede: Arbeitsdorf main; Buchenwald/Dernau, Eschershausen, Schönebeck (*Nationale Radiatoren*); Natzweiler/Thil; Neuengamme/Fallersleben-Laagberg, Fallersleben (*Volkswagenwerke*), Husum-Schwesing, Ladelund

Bernhard Strebel: Ravensbrück/Ravensbrück main, Barth, Karlshagen I and II, Neubrandenburg

Irena Strzelecka: Auschwitz/Bismarckhütte, Gleiwitz I and II, Hindenburg O.S., Hohenlinde, Neustadt O/S, Rajsko, Tschechowitz (*Bombensucherkommando*), Tschechowitz (Vacuum)

Andrzej Strzelecki: Auschwitz/Charlottengrube, Gleiwitz III and IV, Jawischowitz

Dorota Sula: Gross-Rosen/Gablonz, Gassen, Halbau, Reichenau, Riese/Dörnhau, Riese/Säuferwasser, Riese/Schotterwerk, Riese/Tannhausen, Riese/Wüstegiersdorf, Riese/Zentralrevier in Tannhausen

Charles Sydnor: Auschwitz I main

Christa Tholander: Dachau/Friedrichshafen

Horst Thum: Early/Hassenberg

Reinhard Timm: Ravensbrück/Prenzlau

Dieter Vaupel: Buchenwald/Hessisch-Lichtenau

Jens-Christian Wagner: Mittelbau/subcamp system, Artern, Ballenstedt (*Napola*), Blankenburg-Oesig, Blankenburg-Regenstein, Bleicherode, Gut Bischofferode, Harzungen, Ilfeld, Ilsenburg, Kelbra, Kleinbodungen, Kleinbodungen/Bischofferode-Eichsfeld, Kleinbodungen/Niedergebra, Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*), Osterode-Freiheit, Osterode-Petershütte, Quedlinberg, Rossla, Rottleberode, Stempeda, Tettenborn, Trautenstein, Wickerode

Robert Waite: Mauthausen/Mauthausen main, Dippoldsau, Ebensee, Grossraming, Gusen, Weyr

Andreas Weigelt: Sachsenhausen/subcamp system, Bad Saarow, Beerfelde, Berlin-Reinickendorf, Berlin (Friedrich-Krause-Ufer), Bernau, Biesenthal, Brandenburg (Havel), Dammsmühle, Döberitz, Drögen, Fallersleben, Fürstenberg, Fürstenwalde, Glau, Grünheide, Kolpin, Küstrin, Lieberose, Lübben, Neubrandenburg, Neuhammer, Niemegk, Potsdam-Babelsberg, Spreenhagen, Storkow, Trebnitz, Velten, Werder, Wulkow

Hermann F. Weiss: Gross-Rosen/Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf

Elizabeth White: Lublin-Majdanek main

Joseph Robert White: Early/Introduction to the Early Camps, Alt Daber, Altenberg, Anrath bei Krefeld, Bamberg, Bautzen (Kupferhammer), Bayreuth (St. Georgen), Benninghausen, Berlin-Plötzensee, Bochum, Börgermoor, Börnicke, Colditz, Dresden-Mathildenstrasse, Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse), Erfurt, Esterwegen camps, Eutin, Glückstadt, Gräfenhainichen, Greater Nürnberg camps, Gumpertshof, Hainewalde, Hainichen, Halle (Merseburger und Paracel-

ciusstrasse), Hamburg (*Stadthaus und Untersuchungsgefängnis*), Havelberg, Heinersdorf, Hohnstein, Kleve, Königsbrück bei Dresden, Königstein, Kuhlen, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Moringen-Solling (men), Moringen-Solling (women), München (Ettstrasse), München-Stadelheim, Neusustrum (Papenburg V), Ober- and Unterfranken camps, Oelsnitz im Erzgebirge, Oldenburg, Papenburg, Pappenheim bei Oschatz, Perleberg, Plaue bei Flöha, Reichenbach, Remscheid-Lüttringhausen, Rosslau, Sachsenburg, Schleusingen, Senftenberg, Stollberg-Hoheneck, Struppen, Stuttgart, Waldheim, Weisswasser, Werden, Zschorlau, Zweibrücken, Zwickau; Auschwitz/Altdorf, Kattowitz, Radostowitz; Neuengamme/Porta Westfalica; Riga/Riga-Kaiserswald main, Dondangen I and II with Kurban, Elley-Meiten, Krottingen, Riga (Balastdamm), Riga-Spilwe, Riga-Strasdenhof (*SS-Betriebe*), Riga (Dünawerke), Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark* (HKP)), Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, *Hirtenstrasse*), Riga (Lenta), Riga (Mühlgraben), Riga (*Reichsbahn*), Riga (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*); Youth camps/Moringen, Litzmannstadt, Uckermark; A Note on the Recently Opened International Tracing Service Documentation

Lothar Wieland: Early/Langlütjen II, Octumsand

Udo Wohlfeld: Early/Bad Sulza, Nohra

Klaus Woinar: Early/Börnicke; Sachsenhausen/Falkensee

Jörg Wollenberg: Early/Ahrensbök-Holstendorf, Missler

Elke Zacharias: Neuengamme/Drütte, Salzgitter-Bad, Watenstedt

Magdalena Zając: Gross-Rosen/Bersdorf-Friedeberg, Liebau, Merzdorf, Waldenburg, Wiesau

Evelyn Zegenhagen: Buchenwald/Buchenwald main, Altenburg (men), Altenburg (women), Aschersleben (men), Aschersleben (women), Bad Salzungen (*Heinrich Kalb*), Bad Salzungen (*Ludwig Renntier*), Duderstadt, Elsnig, Langensalza, Leipzig-Schönau, Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG (men), Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG (women), Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*), Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metall-Industrie*), Magdeburg (Polte) (men), Magdeburg (*Polte*) (women), Markkleeberg, Mühlhausen (Gerätebau GmbH), Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*), Niederorschel, Penig, Plömnitz (men), Plömnitz (women), Raguhn, Sömmerda, Taucha (men), Taucha (women), Torgau, Weferlingen, Wernigerode, Wolfen; Dachau/Bad Ischl, Bad Tölz, Bayrischzell, Eching, Ellwangen, Eschelbach, Feldmoching, Fischbachau, Fischhorn, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germering, Halfing, Hallein, Hausham (men), Hausham (women), Innsbruck (*SS-Sonderlager*), Innsbruck I, Karlsfeld, Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige, Königssee, Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (men), Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (women), Landshut, Lochau, München-Allach (BMW), München-Allach (OT Bau), München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*), München-Allach (*SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager*), München (*Leopoldstrasse*), Neufahrn, Neustift im Stubaital (Innsbruck II), Ottobrunn, Ötztal, Plansee (men), Plansee (women), Rosenheim, Salzburg (*Aufräumungskommando*), Salzburg (*Bombensuchkommando*), Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*), Salzburg (*Schürich*), Salzburg (*Sprengkommando*), Saulgau, Schleissheim (*Aufräumungskommando*), Schleissheim (Berufsschule), Schloss Lind, Seehausen, St. Johann in Tirol, St. Wolfgang, Steinhöring, Stephanskirchen (BMW), Sudelfeld (*Luftwaffe*), Sudelfeld (*SS Berghaus und Hotel*), Thansau, Traunstein, Trostberg, Valepp (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei*), Zangberg; Flossenbürg/Ganacker, Kirchham, Obertraubling, Plattling, Regensburg, Saal a. d. Donau, Stulln; Gross-Rosen/subcamp system, Guben, Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese, Langenbielau I and II, Peterswaldau; Hinzert/Hinzert main, Bad Nauheim, Cochem, Frankenthal-Mörsch, Gelnhausen, Hermeskeil, Homburg-Nord, Hoppstädten, Kirrberg, Langendiebach I and II, Mainz-Finthen, Mainz-Gustavsburg, Mainz-Ingelheimerau, Mainz-Weisenau, Merzhausen, Michelbach, Neubrücke, Rheinzabern, Seligenstadt, Trier (*Sicherungsstab*), Usingen, Uthlede, Vicht, Wächtersbach, Wiesbaden, Wiesbaden-Erbenheim, Wittlich a. d. Mosel, Zeltingen (Mosel); Kauen/Kauen main, Kauen-Alexoten, Kauen-Schanzen, Kazlu Ruda, Kedahnen, Koschedaren, Palemonas, Prawienischken; Krakau-Plaszow/Olcza near Zakopane, Wieliczka; Lublin-Majdanek/Lemberg, Lublin (*Alter Flughafen*) (men), Lublin (*Alter Flughafen*) (women), Poniatowa, Pulawy, Radom; Mauthausen/Amstetten (men), Amstetten II (women), Bretstein, Ebensee/Wels II, Eisenerz, Enns and Ennsdorf, Grein, Gunskirchen-Wels I, Hirtenberg, Lenzing, Melk, St. Äegyd am Neuwalde, St. Valentin, Steyr-Münchholz, Wien (*Saurerwerke*); Natzweiler/subcamp system, Audun-le-Tiche, Bensheim-Auerbach, Calw, Cochem-Bruttig, Cochum-Treis, Darmstadt, Dernau a. d. Ahr, Ellwangen, Frankfurt a.Main,

Geisenheim, Geislingen an der Steige, Guttenbach, Hanau, Haslach, Hayingen, Heppenheim, Iffezheim, Kochendorf, Markirch, Metz, Mühlhausen, Neckarelz I und II (Asbach, Bad Rappenau, Neckarbischofsheim, Neckargerach), Neckarzimmern, Neuenbürg, Niederbronn, Pelters, Rastatt, Schwindrat, Sennheim, Spaichingen, Unterschwarzach, Vaihingen/Unterriexingen, Walldorf, Wasseralfingen, Wesserling; Ravensbrück/subcamp system

Bernd Joachim Zimmer: Buchenwald/Arolsen

Michael Zimmermann: Early/Brauweiler; Buchenwald/Essen (Humboldtstrasse)

Dieter Zühlke: Buchenwald/Hardehausen

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Geoffrey P. Megargee, Applied Research Scholar with the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, received his B.A. from St. Lawrence University in 1981. Following stints as an army officer and in the business world, he went on to get his master's in European history from San José State University in 1989 and his Ph.D. in military history from the Ohio State University in 1998. He is the author of *Inside Hitler's High Command* (2000), which won a 2001 Distinguished Book Award from the Society for Military History and was a main selection of the History Book Club, and of *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941* (2006). He is a member of the historical advisory board for the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, and he writes and lectures on German military history, World War II, and the Holocaust.

NAMES INDEX

The index lists all names—internees, guards, Nazi officials, civilians, Allies, and all others—alphabetically by family name. Names, and spellings of names, sometimes vary, because of marriage, use of a pseudonym, or misspellings in the source documents. Although we have made efforts to make the listings as consistent as possible, a person may appear in different places in the index. No titles or ranks are included with the names in the index. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations and their captions.

Aaron, Willi, 23
Abadi (or Abady), Ervin, *277*
Abakumow, Nikolaus, 260
Abe, Artur, 633
Abel, 359
Abel, Xavier, 1232, 1248
Ābols, Ernest, 1237
Abraham, Max, 44
Abraham, Walter, 1293
Abs, Hermann J., 664, 771
Achs, Rudolf, 1465
Acker, Paula (née Löffler), 84
Ackermann, Leo, 1361
Adam, 400
Adam, Gottlieb, 758
Adamaszkowa, Maria, 275
Adamczyk, 261
Adamczyk, Franciszek, 1487
Adamy, Andreas, 726
Adenauer, Konrad, 53
Adler, Gertrud, 409
Adler, Helene, 750
Adolph, 719
Adrian, Heinz, 92, 93, 165
Aerts, Albert, 1022
Affek, Stanislaus, 1368
Agafonow, Alexander, 1405
Ahlemann, Georg, 1502
Ahrens, 1210
Ahrens, Christian, 1033
Aichhdzer, Ottomar, 726
Albermann, 1376
Albert, Prince of Belgium, 634
Albrecht, Paul, 48
Aldinger, Walter, 27
Aleksy, 1474
Alexander, Hans, 69, *69*
Alexander, Prince of Belgium, 634
Aller, Alfred, 724
Allhäuser, Oswald, 1020, 1022
Alt, Karl, 133
Alter, Theofried, 391
Altfuldisch, Hans, 916, 924, 925
Altmann, Erich, 230
Ambros, Otto, 477
Ambross, Emmerich, 97
Anders, Johanna Edith, 1131
Andree, Albert, 1295
Andree, Max, 1116
Andréis, Jean, 1047, 1052
Angerer, Ernst, 466, 949
Anker, Paul, 1457
Ansaldi, Adrianao, 658
Anton, Wilhelm, 1482
Apel, 87
Apel, Linde, 1193
Apfelbaum, Jakub, 1487
Aranowicz, 1508
Ardelt, Robert, 1200
Arlt, Walter, 669
Arndt, Herbert Gustaw, 764
Arnim, Adolf Julius Albrecht Bernd Count von, 1227, 1228
Arnold, 528
Arnold, Otto, 1442, 1479
Arnold, Rudolf, 141
Aronstamm, Tanchum, 850
Arturjanz, Joseph, 418
Ascher, Werner, 508
Assmann, Erich, 702
Assmuss, Karl, 1345
Astor, Nancy, 158
Atlas, Samuel, 1252
Auer, Franz, 848
Auerswald, Willi, 946, 947
August Wilhelm (Prussian Crown Prince), 178
Aumeier, Hans, 489, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1501, 1507
Auracher, Franz, 506
Ayass, Wolfgang, 9

Baade, Herbert, 90
Bachl, Eduard, 848
Bachl, Kaspar, 923
Bächle, Hans, 60
Bächler, 23
Bachmayer, Georg, 905, 907, 912, 942, 943
Bach-Zelewski, Erich von dem, 204
Baczyński, Mosche, 671
Baczyński, Szaja, 671
Bade, Karl, 1134
Badstuebner, Hans, 382
Baer, Richard, *190*, 207, 210, 969, 970, 971
Bähr, Ernst, 90
Bahr, Wilhelm, 706, 1501, 1502
Bak, Romuald, 998
Balthasar, Anton, 726
Balzer, 1347
Balzer, Josef, 108
Bamberg, Archbishop of, 24
Bán, Edit, 1308
Baner, George, 24
Bangert, 374
Bank (aka Bańkowski), Johann, 1456
Banke, 1308
Bankewitz, Christel, 1454
Bankowski, Johann (Bank), 1456
Banzer, Georg, 5
Baposhnikov, Ryfka, 329
Bär, Rudolf. *See* Rudolf Beer
Baramysi, Anna, 1338
Baranowski, Frank, 312, 329, 396, 400, 433, 990
Baranowski, Hermann, 120, 1259
Barfod, Jørgen H., 1124
Barhard, Andreas, 1043
Barner, 715
Barnewald, Otto, 413
Barszony, Vilmos, 485
Bartels, Hermann, 1519, 1520
Bartetzko, Franz, 894, 895
Barth, 23
Barth, Alfred, 713
Barth, Emil, 1355
Barth, Fritz, 470
Barth, Lena, 1201
Barthel, 57
Barthel, Rolf, 397
Bartl, Josef, 928
Baruch, Isaak, 138
Barufka, Elsa, 162
Basch, Arnost, 262
Bässler, 395
Batkowski, Marian, 260
Baudisch, Johann, 1273
Baudoin, Prince of Belgium, 634
Bauer, 926, 1298
Bauer, Fritz, 1026
Bauer, Hans Arthus, 548
Bauer, Hans-Gustav, 1265, 1319, 1342, 1343, 1345
Bauer, Ludwig, 613
Baufeldt, 1237
Bauknecht, Otto, 52, 104
Baumann (née Forthofer), Johanna, 591, 689
Baumann, Herbert, 1487
Baumann, Rolf, 402, 405, 406
Baumbach, 382
Baumer, René, 1144
Baumgart, Hans, 1208
Baumgarte, August, 126
Baumgärtel, Willi, 531, 532
Baumgartner, Andreas, 766, 909, 921, 922, 926, 945
Baumgartner, Franz, 255, 258

Baur, Bernard, 422
Baur, Eleonore, 524, 525, 526
Baus, Otto, 395
Bausch, Heinz, 58
Bayer, 23, 726
Bayer, Isolda (Sydomia), 1527
Bebel, August, 119
Becher, Hermann, 400
Becher, Rudolf, 588
Bechler, Käthe, 1281
Beck, 473
Beck, Friedrich, 719
Beck, Richard, 596
Becker, 243, 341, 624, 625, 653, 1497
Becker, Elisabeth, 1476
Becker, Gerda, 606
Becker, Josef, 1294
Becker, Walter, 1408, 1409
Becker, Wilhelm, 487
Beda, Apolonia, 1528
Bederlein, 509
Bednarek, Emil, 229
Beer, Rudolf, 1019–1020, 1022, 1199
Beermann, Milli, 129
Beest, Werner, 982
Beham, Christian, 967, 969
Behr, 1076
Behrendt, 1486
Behrens, Ernst, 80
Behrens, Fritz, 1397
Behrndt, 769
Beiche, 162
Beilhardt, Erna, 1459, 1460
Beilisch, Siegfried, 75, 76
Beimler, Hans, 132, 133, 134
Beimler-Herker, Centa, 132, 134
Beiwoll, Frieda, 1501
Bellrich, Franziska, 1348, 1349
Bellwon, Roman, 1457
Belt, Anton, 1334
Bembenek, Lothar, 1032, 1036
Benario, Rudolf, 7, 85
Benda, 173
Bendele, Alfons, 942, 943
Bender, 94
Benedict, Hugo, 1081, 1095
Benediek, 1143
Benedikt, 1091, 1101
Bening, 756
Benj, Alfred, 73
Benkert, Hanns, 1284, 1285
Benn, Kurt, 1400
Bentele, Anton, 912
Bentham, Jeremy, 1256
Bentrup, Emil, 1290
Benz, Wolfgang, 305
Berendonck, 300, 301
Berg, Benno, 87
Berg, Erich von, 583, 637, 640, 642
Berger, 794
Berger, Alfred, 1331
Berger, Otto, 1471
Bergerhoff, Hans, 928
Bergholz, 173
Bergholz, Max, 1283, 1334
Bergin, 126
Bergkvist, 1331
Bergmaier, 394
Bergmann, 265
Bergmann, Erich, 72
Bergmann, Julius, 36
Bergmann, Olga, 283
Bergmann, Paul, 1340
Berkowitz, Sarah, 286, 287
Berlemann, Hans, 33
Bermann, Rachil, 1252
Bernadotte, Folke, 193, 1124, 1160, 1162, 1178, 1214
Berndt, Arthur, 708
Berndt, Gustav, 1322
Berndt, Johannes, 466
Bernex, Jean, 1050
Berst, 724
Berthier, Marie, 1268
Bertram, Hermann, 1310
Bertram, Rudolf, 349
Besch, Eduard, 1298
Besch, Walter, 1181
Besser, Aliza, 768
Besser, Rose, 778
Best, Heinrich, 369
Best, Werner, 65, 150, 151
Bethge, 53
Bettelheim, Emil, 598
Betz, Peter, 481
Betzold, Werner, 342
Beyer, 629
Beyers, Burkhard, 385
Bickenback, 1005
Bieberstein, Aleksander, 719
Biebow, 1320
Biebow, Hans, 579
Biederer, Hans, 525
Biełonożko, 1483
Bieneck, Alfred, 385, 386
Bienenfeld, 648
Bienert, 111
Bier, 1449
Bigell, Karl-Heinz, 865
Biniossek, 19
Binke, 1445
Binner, Wilhelm, 507
Bintz, Nikolaus, 658
Birke, Max, 162
Birmes-Schulten, 889
Birnbaum, Orna, 396
Biro, Márton, 318
Bischof, Elizabeth, 763
Bischof, Karl, 1334
Bischoff, Heinrich, 318
Bischoff, Helmut, 969, 971
Bischoff, Karl, 321, 1340
Bismarck, Princes von, 667
Bittenbinder, Lorenz, 1334
Bittner, 1449
Bitto, Hans, 1273, 1322, 1347
Biworski, Johann, 772
Bizien, Jean, 1178
Blach, Bruno, 956
Blacke, 671
Blackie (Czarny), 226
Blaczewski, Hans, 162
Bladowski, Longin, 1169
Blahe, 803
Blaicher, 682
Blancke, 865
Blancke, Max, 489, 490
Blatterspiel, Ludwig, 1241, 1251, 1484, 1485
Blau, Sandor, 743
Blintzek, 1176
Bliznjuk, Wasil, 1374
Blobner, Anton, 1336
Bloch, Abrahm, 1239
Bloch-Bauer, Ferdinand, 621
Bloecker, Hans, 1085
Blohm, Rudolf, 1126, 1127
Blömer, Oskar, 1335
Bloos, Friedrich, 1294
Bloss, Paul, 1347
Blum, 892
Blum, Leon, 165, 445, 484
Blume, 726
Blume, Heinz, 394
Blume, Willi, 694
Blumenfeld, 537
Blutschuth, 1319
Boas, Curt, 160
Bobeck, Hermann, 1368
Bocchetta, Vittore, 611
Bock, 642, 643, 1501, 1508
Bock, Hans, 259
Bock, Josef, 1455
Bockhorst, 1057
Bodar, Hans, 48
Boddeutsch, Willy, 28
Bodem, Erna, 238, 239
Bodmann, Franz von, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1496, 1497, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1506, 1507, 1508
Boelcke, Oswald, 990
Boger, Wilhelm, 274
Böhler, 1054
Böhm, 23
Böhm, Fritz, 72
Böhm, Karl, 1461, 1465
Böhmcker, Johann Heinrich, 17, 75, 76
Böhme, Ewald, 868
Bohnenfeld, Lorenz, 644
Bohnenstangel, 716
Bokelmann, Otto, 127
Bökenkrüger, Wilhelm, 177
Boll, Bernd, 1410
Bollhorst, Heinz, 957
Bolz, Eugen, 95
Bonarewitz, Hans, *902*
Bondy, Ruth, 1117
Bonengel, Georg, 69
Bongartz, Luise, 1085
Bonhoft, Ernst, 1391, 1392
Boniecki, Albin Maria, *878*
Bonifas, Aimé, 1388, 1393, 1394
Bonin, Eberhard von, 1231
Bonin, Engelbrecht von, 1431
Bonin, von, 1185
Böning, 64
Bonitz, Heinrich Bernhard, 218
Bonk, 892
Bonn, Hans, 523
Bonneaud, Robert, 594
Bönning, Bruno Martin, 726
Bonowski, Willi (or Willy), 1265, 1306

Boogaerts, 1066
Borck, Eldor, 81
Borell, 382
Borell, Gustav, 415
Borenstein, Melania, 243
Borkowsky, Helene, 1283
Bormann, Johanna, 226, 234, 252, 253
Bormann, Martin, 511, 1351
Bormann, Wilhelm, 1272
Born, Hans, 1365
Bornkamm, Georg, 119
Bornstein, Ernst, 1043
Borotra, Jean, 543
Borrell, Denise, 1006
Bortot, Antonio, 1001
Borutin, von, 618
Borvoskaja, Eugenia, 1250
Bosch, 644
Bosch, Jakob, 454
Bosse, Albert, 52, 53
Böttcher, Erna, 1463
Böttcher, Herbert, 64, 505, 880
Böttiger, Fritz, 1031
Boulanger, Roger, 620
Bourlier, Pierre, 432
Boutbien, Léon, 1029, 1056
Bradley, Omar, *403*
Braginska, Zinaida (Zina), 379, 380
Bramberger, Helga, 1131
Brand, Alois, 143
Brand, Hans, 659
Brandauer, Josef, 1050
Brandenburg, 837
Brandenburg, Peter, 726
Branders, Fritz, 284
Brandes, Robert, 372, 1383
Brandt, Hans, 659
Brandt, Heinz, 36
Brandt, Karl, 1131, 1137
Braschnikow, Viktor, 1326
Bräu, 85
Brauer, Karl, 724, 726
Braun, 86, 395
Braun, Alfred, 1296
Braun, Ernst, 781
Braun, Georg, 1362, 1387, 1395, 1396
Braun, Hermann, 579, 580
Braun, Nicolas, 842
Braun, Rudolf, 653
Braun, Werner von, 324, 472, 971
Braun, Wilhelm, 1022
Braune, Heinrich, 90
Brauner, Josef Oskar, 654
Bräuning, 440
Braunsteiner, Hermine, 877, 879, 1309
Braunwarth, 1023
Brauny, Erhard, 998
Bräutigam, Helmut, 6
Brechner, Rudolf, 719
Bredel, Willi, 90, 175
Breit, Jan, 1462
Breitowicz, 687
Brekau, Paula, 461
Brendel, Josef, 827
Brendel, Karl, 594
Brendler, Arno, 1070
Brenneis, Otto, 1492, 1494, 1501, 1502, 1503
Brenner, Kurt, 487
Brennfeld, Anita, 1131
Bretschneider, Kurt, 97
Brettschneider, Karl Adolf, 1085
Brietzke, Walter, 933, 934
Bringmann, Alfred, 1273
Bringmann, Fritz, 1367, 1391, 1392
Brinkmann, 319, 1391
Brinkmann, Otto, 980
Brinkmann, Paul, 69, 70, 152
Broad, Pery, 222, 274
Brockmann, 1331
Brodniewicz, Bruno, 227
Broido, 1503
Brojde, 1503, 1504
Brose, Erich, 923
Brossman, Otto, 227
Brüchert, Hedwig, 836, 836–837
Brückner, Helmut, 60
Brudner, 1252
Bruhn, Hans, 1232, 1252
Brummer, Johann, 143
Brüner, Hans, 1231
Brunet, Rene, 1050
Brüning (later Pohl), Elfriede, 479
Brüning, 479
Brunken, 1367
Brunken, Anton Jansen, 1085
Brünning, Willy, 960
Brunstein, Estera, 284
Brusch, Wilhelm, 679
Brydzyński, 1427
Brzezinski, J., 469
Buch, Karl, 1038
Buchenholz, Pauline, 379
Buchmüller, Kurt, 35
Buchwitz, Otto, 119
Buck, Karl Gustav Wilhelm, 96, 169, 170, 1038
Bückl, Franz, 503
Bücklers, Karl, 526, 527
Budin, Paul, 304, 378, 393, 414
Budziaszek (Buthner), Stefan, 218
Bugdalle, Richard, 1298, 1299
Bühlertann, 1060
Bühner, Hans, 957, 960, 962, 963
Bülow, 1449
Bundzus, Kurt, 229
Bunink, Jan Derk, 1413
Burböck, Wilhelm, 1315
Bürckel, Josef, 136, 556, 1004
Burckhardt, Carl J., 8, 66, 193
Bürger, 1347
Burhke, Adolf, 75
Burkhardt, Arthur, 1034
Burkhardt, Karl-Heinz, 1019, 1020, 1022
Burzawa, Andrzej, 532
Burzykowski, Roman, 717
Busch, Alfred Willi, 340
Busch, Heinrich, 1294
Busch, Nikolaus, 1054
Büscher, 1181
Busching, Fritz, 1306
Busch-Waldeck, Rudolf, 955, 956
Büsing, Ewald, 28
Busse, 633
Busse, Louise, 633
Busse, von, 1057
Busta, Erwin, 971
Bütefisch, Heinrich, 430
Buthner (Budziaszek), Stefan, 218
Bütikofer, Alfred, 599
Büttner, 1041, 1305
Büttner, August, 143
Büttner, Eugen Walter, 1006, 1040, 1063
Büttner, Josef, 143
Buzhanski, 1508
Bylak, 58

Caesar, Joachim, 225, 233, 251, 269
Cailleau, Alfred and Mrs., 543
Callesen, Anton Peter, 1110
Camous, Daniel, 382
Campo, Agsdino, 1045
Canaris, 563, 1265
Čapek, Karel, 618
Cartakow, Makary, 745
Cartier-Worms, Henriette, 1338
Catchpool, Corder, 66
Cebulinski, 629
Chabaud, 824
Chall, Walter, 32
Chamek, 1436
Chanesman, Lea, 890
Charzykow, Anna, 742
Chauvenet, 824
Chelmicka, Helena, 1207
Chichoń, 267
Chmelar, Jaroslav, 1207
Chmielecka-Zych, Regina, 1271, 1272
Chmielewski, Karl Walter, 816, 817, 921
Choina, Franz, 1393, 1394
Choko, Isabelle, 284
Cholewa, Irena, 615
Chrapek, Antoni, 274
Christel, 618
Christmann, Alfons, 1006
Christoph, Walter, 988
Chrzanowski, Roman, *1300*
Churchill, Winston, 484
Chwat, Hanna, 805
Cichusz, Joseph, 1006
Cielbala, Boleslaw, 494
Cierzniachowski, Henry, 1278
Cierzniachowski, Henryk, 1271, 1272
Cirsinska, Irena, 1332
Ciszewski, Kasimir, 368
Classen, Leo, 1331
Clausen, 1331
Clausius, Ruth, 1534
Claussen, Heinrich, 543
Claussen, Wilhelm, 273
Clemens, Hans, 26
Cleton, Jan Albertus, 1029–1030
Cliquet, Charles, 369
Coffman, Cameron, 918
Cohn, Hans Max, 86
Cohn, Schmuel, 1326
Coradello, Aldo, 1465
Cordes, Otto, 126, 128
Cour, Fritz de la, 998
Court, 1224
Cristel, Germann, 1336
Crivitz, 230

Cuckovic, Zvonimir, 543, 544
Cybulski, Bogdan, 775
Cymerman, Fela, 736
Cypelewicz, 1500
Cytryn, Rywa, 1454
Czajkowski, Stefan, 1297
Czapnik, Zina, 895
Czarmarka, 808
Czarnulla, 578–579
Czarny (Blackie), 226
Czech, Hermann, 708
Czechowski, Zygmunt, 747
Czeczor, Erich, 1322, 1323
Czerwiński, Horst, 248, 260, 270
Czysz, Paul, 248

Dąbrowski, 247
Dahlgrün, Fritz, 976
Dahms, Walter, 724
Dahrendorf, Gustav, 90
Daida, 1273, 1277, 1278
Daladier, Édouard, 543, 544
Dallmann, Herbert, 1250
Dallwitz, Albert, 1345, 1346
Daluege, Kurt, 6, 92, 152, 893
Dalügge, Willi, 1322
Damann, Wilhelm, 1133, 1134
Danek, Wolfgang, 1058
d'Angelo, Karl, 150
Danisch, Richard, 69
Dankworth, Walter, 1318
Danz, Luise, 1213, 1214
Daume, 722
Daus, 719
Dębczak, Kazimierz (Dębski), 1437
Debrecka, Hadassa, 722
Dębski (aka Dębczak), Kazimierz, 1437
Dechow, 1126
Decker, Josef, 1292
Deckert, Hans, 1134, 1146
Deffner, Georg, 495
de Gaulle, Charles, 340, 380, 543, 590
Degelow, 464
Degner, Georg Wilhelm, 640
Dejaco, Walter, 308
Delin, Johannes, 110, 111
Dembina, 719
Dembinski, Andreas, 162
Dembinski, Elfriede, 162
Dembski, Władysław, 1488
Demmer, Friedrich, 308
Demuth, Bruno, 33
Denker, 112
Denninger, Hermann, 620
Dennstädt, 23
Dering, Hermann "Usche," 1252
Dertinger, Otto, 528
Desnos, Robert, 594
Deterok, K., 352
Dettmer, Hermann, 1148
Deubel, Heinrich, 60, 61, 442
Deutsch, 92
Deutsch, Elżbieta, 1449
Deutscher, Ruth, 461
Devers, Jacob L., 538, 539
Dewald, Georg, 143
Dewald, Josef, 653, 654
Dewald, Martin, 653, 654
Dewjatajew, Michail, 1209
Diamant, Adolf, 614, 1175, 1176
Diamant, Herman, 1344
Dick, Heinrich, 1386
Dicke, Otto, 758
Dickmann, Ernst, 726
Diecke, 675
Dieckmann, 410
Dieckmann, Christoph, 848, 853
Diehl, Karl, 778
Diels, Rudolf, 3, 5, 20, 43, 45, 57, 73, *73*, 82, 152, 165, 167
Diembt, Otto, 1377, 1400, 1401
Diener, 806
Dieplinger, Franz, 960, 963
Diercks, Friedrich, 287
Dieter, Karl, 1530
Dieterich, 977
Dietrich, 312, 397, 1400
Dietrich, Eugen, 349, 350, 419
Dietrich, Kurt, 1479
Dietrich, Richard, 759
Dietrich, Sepp, 1265
Dietrich , 312, 397
Dietz, Otto, 143
Dietze, 688
Dihle, 868
Dijk, Albert van, 1390
Dillenburger, Willy, 347
Diller, 1496, 1503, 1507, 1508
Dillmann, Werner, 124
Dimitrov, Georgi, 63
Dimler, Kurt Oskar, 351
Dinner, 755, 756
Dipante, 1499
Dirks, 1134
Dittmann, Alfred, *1422*, 1452
Dittmar, Otto, 1269
Djerin, Alexander, 521, 522
Djuren, Albrecht, 1310
Dlouhy, Eduard, 928
Dłużewski, Jan, 1484
Dmochewicz, Leonard, 1449
Döbeln, 87
Dobrowolski, Stanisław, 864
Döhler, 142
Dolata, Mariana (aka Henryka), 718
Dold, Erwin, 1023–1024
Domagała, Andrzej, 1427
Domagała, Jan, 445
Donat, Alexander, 1059–1060, 1065
Donath, Paul, 1272
Dönitz, Karl, 492
Doose, 1296
Doppelreiter, Franz, 956
Dörge, Friedrich Otto, 1154
Dörge, Wilhelm, 35
Döring, Ernst, 1109
Döring, Konrad, 1476
Döring, Walter, 1391, 1392
Dornauer, Johann, 1058
Dornberger, Walter, 472
Dorotic, Victor, 1456
Dörr, Alois, 609
Dörr, Jakob, 536
Dörr, Wilhelm, 989
Dorsch, Xaver, 1361, 1362
Dotterweich, 23
Dotzauer, Walter, 1388
Dožic, Gavrilo, 543
Draeger, Toldi, 33
Dräger, Erich, 1297
Dragutin, Plese, 741
Draws-Tychsen, Hellmut, 1319, 1342, 1343
Drechsel, Margot, 142
Dreher, Emil, 1466
Dreier, Hermann Ludwig, 1131
Dreimann, 1182, 1183
Dreschel, 233
Drescher, Walter, 32
Dressel, Dora, 134
Drews, Ernst, 1272
Dreyfus, Max, 143
Driziwicki, 1031
Drobner-Kwiatkowski, Bolesław, 1451
Drobrk, 810
Drosihn, Heinz, 1497, 1498
Drossen, Gottfried, 1181
Drössler, Johannes, 400
Drujan, Luba, 1252
Drung, Roman, 969
Dubois, Paul, 1379
Dubowicz, Wasyl, 717
Dücker, 675
Duda, Walter, 391
Düllberg, 254
Dümpelmann, Otto, 1415, 1416
Dunau, Josef, 458
Dunin-Wąsowicz, Krzysztof, 1466, 1470
Durein, Adam, 136
Düren, 642
Dürrfeld, 254
Dürrkopp, 142
Dusenschön, Willi, 78
Duszyński, Lech, 1462, 1481
Dutilleux, Max, 996
Düwell, 675
Dworzecki, 1502
Dyba, Wacław, 1109
Dziaduś, Stanisław, 806
Dziedzic, Piotr, 1427
Dziobaka, 601, 655, 657
Dziubek, 725
Dziuk, Edmund, 741

Ebender, Hermann, 998, 1000
Ebenhöh, Josef, 407
Eberl, Imfried, 415
Eberl, Josef, 506, 507
Eberl, Sebastian, 516, 517
Eberle, Gustav, 1473
Eberle, Hermann, 169, 170
Eberstein, Ursula, 1125
Ebert, Friedrich, 37, 45, 148, *148*
Ebert, Fritz, *148*
Ebner, Gregor, 1227
Ebsen, Friedrich, 1172, 1173
Eccarius, Kurt, 60, 61
Echle, Josef, 1336
Eckardt, 320
Eckhardt, 253
Eckhardt, Edwin, 147
Eckstein, Ernst, 55, 56

Edling, Michael, 1272, 1334
Effenberge, 768
Efferoth, Hugo, 107
Efrat, Jacob, 1252
Eggebrecht, Axel, 88
Eggens, Magda, 1149
Egger, Georg, 529
Eggers, 347, 651
Eggers, Bernhard, 152
Eggerstedt, Otto, 45, *69*, 70, 152
Eggert, 601
Ehle, P., 1430, 1431
Ehle, Paul, 1445, 1449, 1481
Ehler, Otto, 76
Ehrich, Elsa, 877
Ehrlich, Karl, 1527, *1527*
Ehrlich, Rudolf, 241
Ehrmanntraut, Franz, 1026, 1031
Eiber, Ludwig, 517, 1115, 1116, 1119
Eiblmeier, 653
Eiboszyc, Abraham, 623
Eichler, 1151, 1162
Eichler, Michael, 345
Eichler, Richard Emanuel, 1167
Eichmann, Adolf, 1350
Eicke, Theodor, 7, 8, 10, 22, 60, 65, 66, 120, 134, 150, 158, 159, 160, 169, 183, 184, *184*, 186, 187, 442, 680, 900, 979
Eidenschinky, Xaver Franz, 251
Eifler, Otto, 466, 467
Eigruber, August, 905, 914, 930
Einecke, Kurt, 1294, 1295
Einstein, Albert, 1351
Einstein, Georg, 1351
Eisele, Hanns, 293
Eisenacher, Rudolf, 376
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 403, *403*
Eisenhut, Martin, 70
Eisenstein, Joel, 683
Eisenstein, Julius, 683
Eisfeld, Walter, 1074, 1259
Elflein, Paul, 73
Elias, 794
Eliass, Friedman, 420
Eljowicz, Jakob, 883
Elkes, Elkhanan, 490, 850
Ellerhusen, Paul, 78, 79
Ellsmor, Theo, 1434
Emmel, 719
Emmerich, 142
Emmerich, Wilhelm, 236
Emmi Theissen, 344
Endt, Richard-Johann vom, 1091, 1100
Engel, 70, 73, 142, 152, 1449
Engel, Fritz-Karl, 166, 167
Engel, Marcel, 838
Engelhardt, Erich, 962
Engelke, Johannes, 126
Engelmann, Adam, 1266
Engelmann, Bernt, 611
Engels, Friedrich, 119
Engler, Willi, 1476
Engst, Alfred, 739, 1494, 1502, 1503, 1507
Enthoven, Clara, 66
Entress, Friedrich, 218, 694, 723
Entsberger, Edgar, 120, 122
Epha, Oskar, 112, 113
Erban, Ctibor, 274
Erbeznik, Janez, 477
Erdösz, 1326
Erfurt, 534, 535
Erhart, Hubert, 545, 943, 948
Erichsen, Fritz, 69
Ernst, 1405
Ernst, Detlef, 1038, 1040, 1041, 1050, 1069
Ernst, Karl, 34, 36
Ernstberger, Walter, 694, 1302, 1303
Erpel, Simone, 1194
Erwin, 726
Eschmann, Michael, 248
Esmeralda, 722
Essmann, Marianne, 665
Essner, Erich, 525
Etinger, Hermann, 233
Etter, T., 469
Eusele, 1005
Eyermann, Richard, 141, 142
Ezergailis, Andrew, 1231, 1236

Fabicki, Anna, 615
Fabricus, Christian, 162
Faenger, Eitel, 1288
Fahrbauer, August, 654
Fahrnbauer, August, 654
Fajwlowicz, Leon, 1146
Falkuss, Edmond, 475, 481
Fallak, Michał, 787
Fänger, 1310
Farkas, Aron, 710
Farkas, Margarete, 1283
Farkas, Susanne, 1068
Faschingbauer, 85
Fast, 1488
Faust, Alfred, 124
Faust, Emil, 69, 72, 137, 138, 152
Faust, Hans, 120
Faver, Selma, 403
Federnel, 222
Federschmidt, 134
Federsel, 274
Fedorenko, Konstantin, 619
Fedrowitz, Bruno, 1067
Fegus, 1119
Fehrenbacher, Adolf, 1395
Feigl, David, 520
Feiks, Reinhold, 882
Feinowa, Edzia, 606
Feisthammer, Toni, 1305
Feix, Robert, 500, 541, 542
Felbert, Herbert von, 320, 321
Felder, 1019, 1022
Felder, Paul, 1334
Feldman, Sara, 396
Feliks, Henryk, 273
Felix, Hermann, 1298
Feller, Gustav Friedrich, 800
Fells, Josef, 1322
Fenchel, Werner, 827
Fendel, 342
Fendrich, Alfred, 38
Fenz, Fritz, 48
Fenz, Walter, 48
Fetz, Jakob, 1077
Feyerabend, 1460
Fichthorn, Wilhelm, 1272
Fick, Alexander, 1326
Fick, Karl, 75
Ficker, Fritz, 1300, 1301
Fiedler, 40
Fiedler, Max, 58
Fiedler, Richard, 36
Fieger, Edmund, 668
Fiehler, Karl, 508, 511
Fiesel, Curt, 1298
Fiffiger (or Pfiffiger), 848
Figiel, Joseph, 356
Figueras, Thomas (formerly Nadelstecher), 799
Fikeis, Walter, 1404, 1405
Filipowicz, 1483
Filipowicz, Jan, 367
Finger, Rudolf, 1315
Fings, Karola, 364
Fink, Wenzel, 620
Finkelstein, Max, 388
Finkiel, Cesia, 763
Finkielsztejn, Lajzer, 354
Firsching, 23
Fisch, Wilhelm Gustav, 702
Fischer, 572, 632, 928
Fischer, Arno, 938
Fischer, Erich, 713
Fischer, Friedrich, 171, 605
Fischer, Hans-Joachim, 1367, 1399
Fischer, Horst, 207, 218, 255, 265
Fischer, Josef, *1355*, *1384*
Fischer, Lili, 1283
Fischer, Ludwig, 794
Fischnitz, Szlamek, 594
Flaum, 1216
Fleischer, Lajosne, 1483
Fleischhauer, Toni, 333, 1384
Fleitmann, Wilhelm, 44, 69, 152
Fleury, Jacqueline, 301
Flieger, Johann, 32
Flier, 854, 856
Flink, Peter, 1461
Flocken, Erika, 501, 502
Flohr, Friedrich, 126, 128
Flohr, Georg, 1329
Florczak, Eugen, 1050
Florstedt, Hermann, 877, 1104
Floryn, Leon, 530
Flos, Walter, 702
Flott, 97
Foltynowa, Vera, 1216
Fonfara, 756
Ford, Henry, 955
Forell, 383
Förschner, Otto, 489, 490, 967, 969, 970, 973, 980, 983
Forster, Albert, 1427
Forster, Georg-Heinrich, 1104
Forster, Heinrich (aka Reich), 489, 610
Forstner, Josef, 1439
Fortberg, 655
Forthofer (later Baumann), Johanna, 591, 689
Fortmann, 1055
Förtsch, Martin, 24
Foth, Ewald, 1466, 1467
Fourmont, Otto, 48

Fox, Esther, 744
Fox, Marion, 129
Fraas, 142
Frąckiewicz, Jerzy, 259, 260
Fraenkel, Ernst, 11
Frahm, Johann, 1124
Franco, Francisco, 459
François-Poncet, André, 543
Frąnczewski, Z., 469
Frank, 669, 670
Frank, Anne, 280
Frank, Berta (née Metzig), 809
Frank, H., 740
Frank, Hans, 86
Frank, Karl Hermann, 568, 615, 642, 669, 670, 731, 735, 804
Frank, Margot, 280
Frankfurter, David, 423, 434
Frankl, Fred, 462
Fränkl, Samuel, 266
Fransman, Juda, 262
Franz, Albert, 1202
Franz, Frieda, 1308
Franz, Willi, 893, 895
Franz Vetelicki, 729
Fredrychowitz, 719
Fregin, Charlotte, 1479
Freiseisen, Alois, 232
Freitag, Carl, 669
Fresdorf, Ernst, 104
Fresemann, Heinrich, 1325
Freter, Anna, 162
Freter, Karl, 162
Freudenreich, Pierre, 383
Freudmann, Armin, 753
Freumovits, 1485
Freund, Hildegard, 38
Freund, Johanna, 1125
Frey, Alois Wendelin, 249, 250
Frey, Friedrich, 456
Frey, Georg, 510
Frey, Karl, 506
Freyer, Otto, 1152
Freys, 1397
Freytag, 1373
Frick, Wilhelm, 3, 95, 124, 140
Friebe, Ernst, 623
Fried, 1501, 1508
Fried, Hedi, 1116, 1117
Friedl, 722
Friedland, Ernst, 1442
Friedländer, 43
Friedländer, Friedrich, 34
Friedman, 1065
Friedman, Marton, 710
Friedmann, Aleksander, 789
Friedmann, Chil (or Yechiel), 892
Friedmann, David, *243*
Friedrich, 97
Friedrich, Alexander, 33
Friedrich, Richard, 1470
Friedrichs, Hans, 28
Friedrichsen, Konrad, 243, 244
Fries, 599
Frisch, Eugen, 97
Frisch, Ludwig, 456
Fritsch, 30, 142, 1045
Fritsch, Eugen, 179
Fritz, Edwin, 1294
Fritz, Helmuth, 173
Fritz, Theodor, 827, 843
Fritzsch, Karl, 206, 979, 980
Fritzsche, Helmut, 633
Fröhlich, 688
Frohnauer, 653
Frohne, Wilhelm, 984, 985
Fromm, 48, 50
Fromme, Ernst, 28
Fronoher, Fritz, 143
Fröse, Kurt, 126
Frötsch, Johann, 304, 305
Fruyt, Josef, 1388
Fryda, 722
Frydmann, Abram, 1040
Frydmann, Lolek, 1040
Fuchs, 794, 1054, 1266
Fuchs, Albert, 496
Fuchs, Peter, 1134
Fuchs, Stephane, 1050
Fuchsloch, Josef, 984, 985
Fuge, Hans Heinrich, 1528
Fügmann, Hermann, 386
Fügner, Emil, 610, 615
Fuhrmann, 111
Fuhrmann, Karl, 457
Fuhrmann, Willi, 408
Funke, 1019, 1022
Furbach, 92
Furmanek, Hieronim, 758
Futter, Rose, 778

Gabčík, Jozef, 621
Gabel, 123
Gäbler, Fritz, 141
Gabriel, Franciszek, 1452
Gähringer, August, 1372
Gajewski, 1456
Galanter, Jakov, 1244
Galfe, Franziska, 612
Galiński, Edward, 212
Gallasch, Karl, 724, 730
Galsterer, Wilhelm, 85
Gamélin, Maurice-Gustave, 543
Ganko, Mitrofan, 477
Gans, Eric, 86
Ganz, Anton, 912, 913, 952, 957
Garczyński, Piotr, 758
Garfinkel, Max, 614
Garibaldi, Guiseppe, 484
Garin, Jean-Paul, 369, 370
Garnal, Jacques, 1050
Gärtner, Erich, 1391, 1403
Gärtner, Friedrich, 556
Gärtner, Johann, 954
Gattermann, Hauptmann, 1331
Gatzweiler, Adolf, 344
Gavin, James, 1185
Gawron, Wincenty, *206*
Gazinski, Marian, 371
Gdaniec, Czesław, 1434
Gdaniec, Jan, 1479
Gębala, Józef, 246
Gebhardt, Johannes, 1204
Gebhardt, Karl, 1189, 1206, 1207
Geer, 944
Geerdts, 1392
Geese, 1158
Geffke, Hans, 82
Geguns, Alfred, 30
Gehring, Rudolf, 644
Gehrke, Herbert, 33
Gehrt, Hans, 1140
Gehrte, Herbert, 33
Gehrts, 1392
Geiber, Ludwig, 455
Geigenmüller, Otto, 5
Geilenberg, Edmund, 320, 391, 430, 636, 994, 1012, 1056, 1115
Geisel, 1029
Geisendorfer, 134
Geiss, Ludwig, 478, 540, 541
Gelber, Joseph, 799, 800
Geller Lewinsohn Klein, Golda, 1240
Gemeinhard, 340, 341
Genf, 75
Gens, 323
Genth, 1132
Genth, Wilhelm, 1494, 1496, 1501, 1502, 1507
Georg, Enno, 315, 530
Georg, Peter, 363, 364
Georges, Christian, 1106
Georgini, 543
Gerds, 1392
Gerdtke, Otto, 92
Gergel, Josef, 371
Gergely, Andrei, 799
Gerhard, 173, 719
Gerhardt, Mathilde, 31
Gericke, Hermann, 1267
Gerlach, Walter, 60, 61, 159
Gerlich, Fritz, 132, 134
Gerlich, Richard, 520
Germaneau, Jean, 941
Gersen, Elizabeth, 768
Gerstenfeld, Samuel, 881
Gesch, Anneliese, 739
Gesell, Willi, 85
Geusendamm, Wilhelm, 659
Geuss, 94
Geyer, 23
Gideon, Wilhelm, 694
Giela, Konrad, 726
Gieraths, 92
Gierke, Fritz, 836
Giese, August, 412
Giese, Friedrich (Fritz), 1201, 1204, 1337
Giese, Hans, 138
Gieseler, Karl, 926
Giesler, Hermann, 488
Giesler, Paul, 488
Gigli, Benjamino, 677
Gilbert, Sam, 407
Gillbert, Johannes, 1052
Gillen, Ernest, 1070
Ginzberg, Baruch, 453
Ginzberg, David, 453
Gittelsohn, 1252
Glaser, 1497
Glaser, Kurt, 97
Glatz, Johann, 1334

Glaue, Bernhard, 233, 251
Glaw, Anneliese, 1463, 1464
Gleba, Dominik, 956
Gleich, Oliver C., 6
Gleising, Günter, 319
Gleitsmann, 173
Gley, Heinrich, 889
Glicksman, 637
Glimpel, Hildegard, 1338
Glinksi, Tadeusz, *1300*
Gliński, M., 1466
Glinz, Hermann, 505
Globocnik, Odilo, 876, 877, 878, 882, 885, 887, 888, 889, 890, 893, 894, 895
Glowacki, Gerda, 712
Głowacz, 265
Głowinski, Florian, 456
Glück, Irene, 287
Glücks, Richard, *186*, 187, 1230, 1481, 1484
Glücksmann, 1436
Glücksmann, Jakub, 710
Glunz, 1076
Göbecke, 432
Göbel, 56
Göbel, Georg, 470
Göbel, Heinrich, 470
Göbelsmann, Mara Zanewa Beltschewa, 1221
Göcke, Wilhelm, 848, 849, 851, 857, 1512
Goebbels, Joseph, 9
Goebel, Richard, 247
Goerdeler, Friedrich, 484
Goergens, 331, 342
Goetze, 382
Goetze, Rudolf, 1415
Goldap, 466
Goldberg, 1027
Goldener, Bernhard, 143
Goldmaier, Ludwig, 142
Goldman, Berek, 763
Goldmann, 143
Goldmann, Ernst, 7, 85
Goldner, 728
Gollackner, Michael, 525
Golombiarska, Henia, 778
Golowin, Wladimir, 1042
Gombosová-Oravcová, Vera, 767
Gömmer, 237
Göppert, Konrad, 82, 167
Goreen, Bracha, 744
Górewicz, 240
Göring, Hermann, 3, 8, 28, 32, 43, 51, 53, 55, 62, 65, 66, 70, 104, 116, 137, 144, 152, 153, 167, 215, 234, 255, 355, 357, 359, 423, 575, 1012, 1038, 1083, 1444, 1455, 1525
Görke, Paul, 1487
Görlich, Erwin, 520
Görner, 142
Görner, Willy, 1351
Gosberg, Karl Artur, 881
Goschen, Regina, 287
Gossa, Gerhard, 30
Gössl, Georg, 960
Gosso, 715
Gostynski (later Rolfe), Ilse, 129
Göth, Amon, 677, 863, 864, *864*, 865, 888
Gottlieb, Max, 86
Göttling, 23
Göttling, Gustav, 575, 658
Gottschau, Oskar, 1443, 1444
Gottschick, 126
Götz, Maria, 134
Götze, 367
Goudsmit, Samuel, 571
Grabitz, Helge, 886, 888
Grabow, 1224
Grabowski, Franc, 806
Grabowski, Heinz, 998
Grad, Jules, *403*
Graetz, 742, 803
Graf, Anni, 615
Gräf, Hugo, 159, 160
Gräfe, 1183
Grag, Jakob, 1345
Graichen, Gustav Erich, 414
Grämlich, 440
Grams, Alfred, 1142
Granger, 544
Gratz, Wilhelm, 58
Grauert, Ludwig, 137, 152
Graun, Friedrich, 618–619
Grausurt, David, 95
Gravert, Paul, 78
Grawert, 352
Grawschewski, 1347
Greffier, Antoine, 1015, 1038, 1053, 1055, 1061
Gregor, Neil, 1307
Greiner, Albert, 156
Grenzius, 48
Grescher, Ignaz, 347
Grese, 651
Greska, Vally, 1052
Griem, Hans, 1159, 1160, 1162
Griem, Hans-Hermann, 1151, 1154
Griem, Herbert, 1143
Griesemer, Karl, 143
Grieshammer, Georg, 645
Grimm, Josef (Seppl), 143
Grimm, Max, 759
Grimm, Philipp, 321, 863
Grissinger, Robert, 924–925
Grobert, 246
Groeneveld, Alfred F., 368
Groevoet, Marcel, 1030
Groha, 143
Grohé, Josef, 27, 108, 372, 1383, 1385
Grönke, Erich, 218
Grosch, 23
Gröschel, 1236, 1249
Gross, Alfons, 721, 758
Gross, Erika, 737
Gross, Gyula, 1063, 1108
Gross, Heinz, 435
Grosse, Ferdinand, 1134, 1146, 1147
Grosse, Wolfgang, 400
Grosser, 422
Grössing, Anton, 1295
Grossman, 1310
Grossman, Ignatz, 749
Grossmann, 436, 437
Grossmann, Hermann, 318, 410
Groten, Theodor, 70
Groth, Kurt, 82
Groth, van, 687
Grübner, 246
Gruchalski, Jan, 1183
Grudowski, Edmund, 347
Grün, 473
Grünberg, Georg Dietrich, 473, 540, 554
Grunberg, Helena, 801
Grünberger, Edith, 284
Grünberger, Irán, 284
Grüner, Franz, 543
Grünewald, Adam, 816, 817
Grünfeld, Sandor, 743
Grunow, 69
Grünspan, Kalmar, 710
Grunwald, Toni, 156
Grünzig, 57
Gruschwitz, Paul, 933, 934
Gryn, Hugo, 1326
Grynszpan, Herschel, 165
Grynszpand, F., 777
Gryszewska, Marta, 1476
Grzimek, Josef, 863
Guček, Svetozar, 628
Gückelhorn, Wolfgang, 1025
Guhl, Ida, 579, 580, 586
Guhr, 726
Gümbel, 152
Gumbert, Fritz, 111
Gumiński, Jerzy, *205*
Gumpricht, Albert, 272
Gumpricht, Hanna, 737
Gungl, 756
Günther, Gustav, 247
Günther, Julius, 827
Günther, Rudolf, 1181
Gurin, A., 312
Gürtler, 1265
Gürtner, Franz, 10, 97
Guse, Paul, 138
Gustav, 1405
Gustedt, Elizabeth von, 129
Gustloff, Wilhelm, 65, 423, 434
Gutermuth, Wilhelm, 1345
Guthschow, Hermann, 34
Guthschow, Paul, 34
Gutknecht, Gert, 835
Gutman, Truda, 778
Gutmann, Albert, 462
Gutmann, Christoph, 1134
Gutsell, 374
Gutterman, Bella, 760, 778
Gutzeit, Loni, 1131
Guździoł (aka Kuździoł), 718
György, Endre, 323
Gyulai, Kató, 1288

Haab, Matthias, 143
Haacke, Werner von, 167
Haag, Alfred, 169
Haar, 1232
Haas, 1029
Haas, Adolf, 280, 1520
Haas, Karl, 1006
Haas, Leo, *913 ill.*
Habal, Erwin, 274, 275
Haber, Rosalyn Gross, 286
Haberl, Xaver, 143

Hack, 1310
Hack, Willy, 313, 314
Hackl, Ferdinand, 494
Hackl, Franz, 493
Hackler, Ludwig, 726
Hackmann, Hermann, 877, 879
Haeger, 1162
Hagedorn, 1057
Hagen, Eugen, 1005
Hagen, Robert, 998
Hagenah, Heinz, 1167
Hagenbourger, Julien, 1029
Hager, 359
Hager, Heinrich, 23, 24
Hahn, 719
Hahn, Bruno, 1119
Hahn, Hans, 472, 523
Hähnel, 159
Hahnen, Gertrud, 344
Haker, 892
Halbreich, Irena, 269
Halder, Franz, 484
Halicki, Viktor, 1296, 1297
Halperin, Helena, 1068
Hammerl, Alfred, 479
Hammermann, Gabriele, 492
Hampe, Joachim, 78
Hanakam, Charlotte, 583
Handke, Paul, 162
Hanfstängl, Ernst, 37
Hank, Herbert, 758
Hanke, 1350, 1351
Hanke, Herbert, 726
Hans, Wegses, 1427
Hanschel, 382
Hanschel, Hermann, 85
Hanselmann, Erwin, 507
Hansen, 1310
Hansen, Elfried, 1476
Hansen, Friedrich, 79
Hansen, Peter Klaus Friedrich, 1149, 1150
Hansen, Richard, 79
Hansen, Theodor, 1505
Hantke, Otto, 889, 890, 891
Happel, 685
Harden, Hans, 1134
Harder, Otto "Tull," 1133, 1134, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1174
Harder, Willi, 164, 165
Hark, 715
Harms, Emmie, 722
Harnau, Robert, 162
Harnecker, Walter, 32
Hart, Harry Goodwin, 1296
Hartjenstein, Fritz, 210, 1005, 1006, 1031, 1058
Hartman, Kurt, 740
Hartmann, 791, 792, 1062
Hartmann, Gustav, 975
Hartmann, Wilhelm, 582, 670
Hartsch, Erwin, 157
Hartung, 626
Hartwig, 685
Haseloch, 267
Haseloff, Otto, 1267
Hassa, Jadwiga Dzido, *1190*
Hasse, Elisabeth, 233
Hassebroek, Johannes, 694, 696, 735, 740, 776, 782, 804, 1333
Haubenreisser, Carl, 22
Haufe, Walter, 1046
Haugewitz, Count, 803, 804
Haupt, Otto, 613
Hauptman, Dora, 1464
Hausen, Freiherr von, 1213
Hausladen, Anton, 85
Hausladen, Kunigunde, 85
Hausmann, 60, 312
Hausmann, Ernst, 311
Havlikova, Elza, 776
Hawlas, Josef, 138
Hawlik, Else, 777
Hay, Margareta, 694
Hazller, Magdalena, 801
Heber, Curt, 993
Heber, Käthe, 379
Heber, Werner, 32
Hecht, Karl, 1104, 1302, 1303
Hechtfischer, Heinrich, 642
Hecker, 892
Hedel, Kurt, 531
Heerde, Ewald Reinhold, 570
Heering, Gottfried, 1466, 1467
Heese, Otto, 48
Heess, Otto, 947
Heger, 603, 604, 917
Heidecke, 1470
Heiden, ter, 62
Heider, 1054
Heider, Franz, 1413
Heidingsfelder, 951
Heidrich, Hermann, 1324
Heidrich, Ida, 737
Heidrich, Wilhelm Hermann, 1295, 1322, 1333
Heilbrunn, Heinrich, 86
Heilmann, Ernst, 45, 148, *148*
Heiman, 1508
Heimes, Ernst, 1020
Hein, Else, 778
Heine, Otto, 255
Heines, Edmund, 55, 56, 57
Heinicker, 97
Heinkel, Ernst, 882
Heinold, Walter, 1334
Heinrich, 364
Heinrich, Alfred, 827
Heinrich, Ernst, 97
Heinrich, Gerhard, 369
Heinrich, Walter Karl, 382
Heins, Helmut, 90
Heinz, 1294
Heinz, Johann, 587, 724
Heinze, 56
Heise, Gertrud, 1097
Heissmeyer, 1211
Heissmeyer, Kurt, 1076, 1124
Heist, Franz, 1345
Heiter, Edmond, 1031
Helbig, 432
Helbig, Oskar, 1494, 1500, 1507
Helczyk, Zenon, 717
Held, Heinrich, 135
Helfferich, Emil, 635
Helfsgott, Walter, 1232
Hell, 1053
Hell, Berthold, 31, 32
Helldorf, Wolf Heinrich Graf von, 36
Heller, 756
Heller, Brana, 1108
Heller, Josef, 466, 881
Heller, Vitus, 143
Hellriegel, Bruno, 721
Helluy, Joseph, 1050
Helm, Rolf, 59
Helmer-Sandmann, 1026
Helmlinger, Heinrich, 1499
Helmut, 717
Helwig, Hans, 19, 120, 1259
Hemetner, 57, 58
Hemlinger, Heinrich, 1507
Hemmer, Bernhardus, 1029
Hemmrich, Elza, 756
Hempel, Anna, 742
Hempel, Horst, 1305
Hempel, Otto, 178
Hempel, Walter, 1306
Hendler, Abraham, 753
Henke, Waldemar, 1461, 1462
Henneberg, Richard, 1273, 1277, 1278
Hennecke, 173
Henning, 83
Henning, August, 138
Henschel, 497
Henschel, Arno, 118
Henschel, Hans, 711
Henschel, Oskar R., 1337
Herbert, Ulrich, 84, 185
Herbet, Nikolaus, 1512
Hercberg, Dina, 1463
Herfurth, 644
Herfurth, Johann, 1331
Herich, Franz, 1266
Hering, Gottlieb, 889
Herker, Maxi, 134
Herkert, Karl, 471
Herman, Hans, 347
Hermann, 23, 1046
Hermann, Jakob, 1058
Hermann, Margit, 1130
Hermann, Paula, 1112
Herrmann, 323
Herrmann, Otto, 400
Hersch, Leo, 711
Herskon, Israel, 728
Hersz, Rose, *779*
Herszberg, Jerzy, 1087
Hertert, 843
Hertzer, 1457
Herum, 696
Herwig, Ludwig, 1270
Herz, Gabriele, 129
Herzfeld, Irma, 285
Herzfeld, Rachel, 461
Herzfeld, Sarah, 461
Herzinger, Betty, 1204
Herzog, Anny, 675
Herzog, Fritz, 726
Hess, 702
Hess, Apolonius, 368
Hess, Ilse, 455, 456

Hess, Rudolf, 86, 134, 455, 511
Hesse, 1204, 1281, 1332
Hesse, Hans, 126, 129, 1532
Hesse, Klaus, 377, 378, 392, 426
Hesse, Werner, 70, 72
Hesshaus, Mathias, 744
Hett, Heinrich, 740
Heuhausen, 1305
Heyde, Werner, 680, 681
Heydekamp, Hans Stieler von, 152
Heydrich, 667
Heydrich, Lina, 621, 622
Heydrich, Reinhard, 66, 183, 187, 188, 568, 621, 622, 901, 1296, 1519, 1525, 1530
Heyer, Gustav Adolf, 465, 466, 467
Heyer, Otto, 1296, 1297
Heymann, Frank H., 1015
Heymann, Hans, 1023
Hierl, Konstantin, 66
Hilbig, Kurt, 19
Hildebrandt, Richard, *1422*, 1443
Hildgen, Roger, 1061
Hilfstein, Chaim, 719
Hilgers, Alfred, 177
Hille, Johann, 1090, 1097, 1098, 1102
Hille, Susanne, 287
Hillebrecht, Lina, 1138
Hiller, Kurt, 148
Hilscher, Charlotte, 760
Hilzer, Helena, 801, 802
Himmler, Heinrich, 3, 5, 7, 28, 64, 66, 78, 85, 120, 126, 129, 151, 152, 153, 167, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 198, 204, 205, 209, 210, 215, 216, 250, 251, 266, 268, 269, 279, 304, 305, 321, 330, 336, 341, 363, 371, 372, 390, 423, 434, 442, *443*, 444, 445, 462, 472, 479, 492, 512, 513, 525, 542, 543, 555, 556, 604, 621, 622, 624, 659, 782, 804, 814, 817, 824, 826, 848, 858, 876, 877, 888, 890, 891, 894, 895, 927, 929, 944, 955, 966, 969, 995, 1004, 1012, 1053–1054, 1057, 1062, 1069, 1074, 1103, 1107, 1109, 1124, 1160, 1162, 1166, 1172, 1178, 1193, 1206, 1214, 1218, 1223, 1227, 1230, 1231, 1236, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1265, 1296, 1325, 1330, 1354, 1356, 1361, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1368, 1369, 1374, 1375, 1381, 1383, 1384, 1394, 1397, 1411, 1412, 1421, *1422*, 1438, 1492, 1505, 1512, 1518, 1521, 1525, 1533
Himmler, Mrs. Heinrich, 530
Hinckelmann, Eduard, 984
Hindenburg, Paul von, 3, 95, 156
Hintzelmann, 1110, 1114, 1128, 1164, 1165, 1176
Hinz, Friedrich Wilhelm, 1131
Hipler, Paul, 29
Hippe, Oskar, 31
Hirsch, Emil, 157
Hirsch, Sidonia, 710
Hirsch, Werner, 50, 148
Hirschberg, 1243
Hirschel, Max, 119
Hirt, August, 1005
Hirtsiefer, Heinrich, 177
Hitler, Adolf, 3, 8, 10, 11, 20, 31, 45, 54, 56, 69, 75, 82, 86, 97, 121, 131, 134, 140, 152, 156, 166, 184, 185, 186, 189, 198, 309, 315, 324, 330, 336, 341, 371, 391, 430, 442, 455, 472, 485, 488, 489, 503, 524, 530, 532, 541, 590, 764, 785, 787, 789, 790, 792, 793, 796, 805, 929, 961, 966, 1012, 1080, 1084, 1098, 1100, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1131, 1172, 1256, 1258, 1275, 1296, 1302, 1323, 1330, 1351, 1354, 1361, 1365, 1368, 1374, 1397, 1444, 1478, 1494, 1499
Hlavicka, 726
Höber, 352
Höbl, Johann, 529
Hochwarth, Andreas, 390
Höcker, Karl, *190*
Hoegelow, 1387
Hoer, 1089
Hoey, Albert van, 976, 977
Hofe, Alfred van, 257, 258
Hofer, 728
Höfer, Adolf, 507
Hofer, Karl, 534
Hoffman, 803
Hoffman, Ernst, *217*
Hoffmann, 388, 1033
Hoffmann, Gertruda, 769
Hoffmann, Gotthilf, 152
Hoffmann, Hans, 1252, 1253
Hoffmann, Joachim, 166, 167
Hoffmann, Lucy, 737
Hoffmann, Maria, 737
Hoffmann, Oskar, 177
Hoffmann, Oskar (SS), 1293, 1306, 1347
Hoffmann, Roger, 1056
Hoffmann, Wilhelm, 356, 359
Hofheim, 23
Höfle, Hermann, 893, 895
Hofmann, 1017, 1024
Hofmann, Franz, 1013, 1046
Hofmann, Franz Johann, 1050–1051
Hofmann, Otto, 1098, *1523*, 1528, 1529
Högelow, Otto, 1362, 1375, 1395, 1396
Hohengarten, André, 838
Höhl, Paul, 178
Höhn, 1266, 1273
Höhn, August, 1276
Höhnel, Albert, 178
Hoin, Willi, 722
Höldtke, Albert Paul, 1434, 1448
Holländer, Franz, 73
Hollender, Menasze, 414
Höllriegl, Alois, 956
Holthoff, Paul, 312, 363, 364
Holthöver, Christine, 1224
Höltzel, Alfred, 1470
Holz, Ulrich, 1379, 1380
Holzman, Helene, 854
Holzschuher, Wilhelm von, 108
Homa, Max, 162
Hommel, Albert, 669
Honigmann, Sara, 651
Hoop, Martin, 179
Hop, 85
Hopp, Frieda, 482
Hoppe, 1025
Hoppe, Albert, 1290
Hoppe, Paul Werner, 1185, 1421, 1423
Höringer, Otto, 508
Hörmann, Gustav, 853, 855
Horn, 1176
Horn, Adolphine, 1131
Horn, Hans, 42
Horn, Max, 1202
Hornung, Hans, 505, 506
Horstmann, Alex, 118, 119
Horstmann, Hans, 1181
Horthy, Miklós, 484
Horvat, Stefan, 790
Höss, Rudolf, 8, *190*, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 212, 216, 224, 231, 233, 239, 240, 254, 268, 979
Hössler, Franz, 970, 1046, 1050
Houber, 1303
Houbin, Mischko, 1200
Hoven, Waldemar, 415
Howard, Elizabeth Fox, 8, 129
Hradec (later Kraus), Maria, 756
Hronizek, Franz, 369
Hronsky, Ilana, 286
Hronsky, Nelly, 286
Hryncewicz, Jan, 1473
Huber, 464, 525
Huber, Franz, 960
Huber, Magnus, 623
Hübner, 1002, 1057
Hueber, de, 585
Huels, Klaus Ferdinand, 359
Huelst, Annemarie van der, 1131
Hujer, Albert, 864
Huleux, Marcel, 1383
Humblet, Léon, 438
Humm, Martin, 610
Hünefeld, Wilhelm, 1001
Hunsrücker, 653
Hüttig, Hans, 816, 817, 1005
Hüttig, Richard, 38
Hutzelmann, Barbara, 546
Hyndrakova, Anna, 722

Ichelson, David, 918
Idzikowski, Johann, 1293
Ijken, Wiebke van, 917
Illgner, 650
Imrene, Magdalena Szabolcsi, 1221
Indurski-Weksler, Raja, 1232
Inster, Halina, 736
Israel, Gizella, 344
Iwanowski, Henryk, 758, 759

Jablonski, 1433
Jack, Anni, 1476
Jackowska, Zofia, 1476
Jackowski, Jerzy, 259
Jacob, 382
Jacob, Bruno, 487
Jacob, Otto, 1520
Jacobi, Hans, 1482, 1483
Jacobsen, Ludwig, 108
Jäde, Otto, 75
Jagello, 824
Jäger, 865
Jagow, 168
Jagow, Dietrich von, 95

Jahn, Johannes, 1489
Jahn, Walter, 1207
Jähnichen, Rudolf, 97
Jajez, Petro, 1368
Jaklic-Florjancic, Tanja, 1131
Jakobi, 1029–1030
Jakobi, Werner, 611
Jakobson, 709
Jakobus, Archbishop of Bamberg, 24
Jakubowicz, Aron, 1320
Jakusch, Bruno, 505, 506
Jakusch, Hugo, 529, 647
Janetzky, 33
Janich, 129
Janisch, Josef, 1070
Janitschke, Franz, 1371, 1372
Janka, Albert, 157
Janka, Walter, 160
Janke, Albert, 347
Jankelewicz, 1497
Jankowski, Johann, 718
Jankowski, Maria, 32
Jannasch, Rudolf, 705, 706
Janowitz, Samuel, 710
Jansa, Leo, 479
Jansen, 242, 324, 329
Jansen, Curt, 936
Jänson, 113
Janszen, Georg, 1156
Janzen, Kurt, 1461, 1462
Jarolin, 470
Jarolin, Josef, 516, 517
Jaromin, Valentin, 1334
Jaromir, Valtentin, 1310
Jasche, 756
Jaskiewicz, Sergiusz, 1153
Jassen, Erich, 1473
Jauch, Ewald, 1124, 1172
Jauk, Franz, 541, 542
Javor, Aliza, 451
Jaworski, Czesław, 232
Jeckeln, Friedrich, 848, 1231, 1242, 1502
Jentsch, Elza, 737
Jepsen, Gustav, 1181
Jeruszka, Irena, 635, 636
Jeschke, Karl Herman, 742, 743, 774, 803, 804
Jež, Anton, 478
Jeziorska, Klara, 1215
Jilek, Vaclav, 368
Jirka, Ernst, 87
Joachim, Fritz, 43
Joachim, Gunther, 43
Joel, Günther, 45, 152
Joelson, Elli, 750
Joerss, 1110, 1128, 1164, 1165, 1176
Johe, Werner, 1110
Johler, Alfred, 30
John, 300, 864
Jöhnk, Otto, 1290
Jokl, Josef, 629
Jokussies, Albert, 347, 348
Jon, Anna, 742
Jonis, Petris, 1366
Jordan, 690
Jordan, Willi, 689
Jörss, Herbert, 248
Joseph, Hermann, 978
Josephine-Charlotte, Princess of Belgium, 634
Jost, Jules, 488
Jost, Otto, 1443
Josten, Heinrich, 991
Jouhaux, Léon, 543, 544
Juchelek, Alfred, 747, 748, 806
Judkiewicz, Henryk, 728
Jührs, Robert, 895
Jung, 661
Jung (or Junge), Oskar, 660
Jung, Karl, 546
Jung, Philipp, 151
Jungdorf, *229*
Junge (or Jung), Oskar, 660
Junge, Heinz, 1296, 1297
Junge, Richard Artur, 660
Jungels, Jean-Pierre, 835
Jüngling, Karl, 1319
Jürgensen, Reinhold, 113
Jurk, Frau, 739
Jury, Hugo, 936
Justin, Eva, 1531, 1533, 1534
Jutan, Isaak, 1507, 1508
Juter, 1243
Jüttner, Hans, 1265, 1328
Juzwa, Leonit, 718

Kacel, Boris, 388, 390
Kacenelson, Rosa, 802
Kachel, Roman, 232
Kacówna, Eugenia, 1448
Kaczyński, Bolesław, 1470
Kaczysko, Stanisław, 744–745
Kademann, Helmuth, 159
Kagan, David, 1247
Kagand, David, 388
Kahn, 132
Kahn, Anselm, 504
Kahn, Arthur, 7, 85
Kahn, Erwin, 7
Kahn, Frieda, 744
Kaienburg, Hermann, 1115, 1124, 1134
Kaindl, Anton, 1259, 1294, 1321
Kaiser, 134, 799
Kaiser, Albert, *825*
Kaiser, Fritz, 152
Kaiser, Joseph, 1041
Kaiser, Kurt, 29
Kaiser, Otto, 1325, 1335
Kajcer-Perla, Cyla, 1447
Kajie, Sbiczek, 1310
Kajzer, Abram, 784, 785, 795, 796, 798, 800
Kalacińska, Wanda, 1476
Kalden, Wanda, 1476
Kalesse, Ernst, 226
Kalisch, Emilie, 1283
Kalitkowski, Franz, 287
Kalocsai, Gyözo, 1283
Kalteis, Franz, 954
Kaltenbrunner, Ernst, 207, 1275
Kaltofen, Elfriede, 380
Kalvo, Juda, 265
Kamieniczny, Rudolf, 255
Kamiński, Andrzej, 717
Kamke, Emil, 1269
Kammler, Hans, 192, 198–199, 321, 353, 355, 357, 434, 472, 500, 599, 624, 639, 643, 684, 929, 936, 942, 966, 967, 969, 973, 978, 979, 980, 983, 997, 999, 1002, 1009, 1133, 1166, 1275, 1340, 1354, 1356, 1361, 1362, 1369, 1381, 1394, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1403, 1415, 1512
Kampe, 159
Kampf, 716, 1415
Kamprath, 620
Kan, Ernest, 1232
Kania, Heiko, 1094
Kannenberg, Ernst, 1301
Kant, Max, 726
Kanther, 1349
Kapłónski, Edward, 1369
Kapp, Karl, 520
Karay, Felicja, 379, 380
Karcher, Alfred, 398
Karel, 806
Karels, Norbert, 1294
Karger, Johann, 1366, 1380
Karger, Johannes, 1363
Karich, Willi, 162
Karl, Joachim, 19
Kárny, Miroslav, 770
Karrasch, 616
Kaspar, Reinhold, 162
Kasper, Wilhelm, 165
Kassebaum, 156
Kässner, Margarete, 1349
Kastner, 751
Kastner, Johann, 485, 486
Kasum, Bianka Sara, 801
Kasztner, Reszö, 278–279
Katerkamp, Hans, 1096
Katz, 1508
Katz, Bertha, 645
Katz, Josef, 1232, 1241, 1249, 1436
Katz, Juda, 719
Katz, Rosa, 344
Katz, Theodor, 85
Katzmann, Fritz, 884
Katzmann, Heinrich, 69, 70, 72, 152
Kauffeldt, Hans, 1479
Kaufman, M., 792, 794
Kaufmann, 138
Kaufmann, Hans, 247, 248
Kaufmann, Karl, 78, 90, 175, 1111, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1124, 1128, 1132, 1380
Kaufmann, Max, 96, 1239, 1241, 1245, 1247, 1248, 1252
Kaufmann, Rachel, 428, 429
Kaurod, Hildegarda, 737
Kautny, Franz, 947
Kautschke, Hans-Joachim, 709
Kautz, 728
Kehrl, Hans, 1381
Keile, 1252
Keim, 23, 114
Keiser, Otto, 1277, 1278
Keitel, Wilhelm, 695
Kelchner, 599
Kell, Hermann, 1400
Keller, Alfred, 688
Keller, Bozsi, 1283
Keller, Rolf, 1141, 1142

Kellermann, *906*
Kellinger, Simon, 1029
Kellner, 143
Kellner, Anton, 475
Kemmerich, Kurt Otto, 1119, 1120, 1158
Kempe, 414
Kempf, Luise, 529
Kenn, 382
Kenn, Rudolf, 430
Kerkhoff, Willi, 343
Kern, Johannes-Peter, 45, 46
Kersten, Edmund, 706
Kersten, Felix, 1193
Kersten, Wilhelm, 1326, 1327
Kertész, Imre, 430
Kertesz, Lily, 1097
Kessler, Hermann, 485
Kestel, Josef, 991
Kiebach, 1095
Kiehl, 634
Kiejzmann, Brandy, 804
Kiejzmann, Sara, 805
Kielar, Wiesław, 1166
Kier, 1183
Kierew, Nikolai, 1026
Kierspel, Josef, 248, 648, 649
Kierstein, Max, 1087
Kieser, Valentin, 604
Kieserle, 952
Kiessling, Bruno, 159
Kilanowski, Walerian, 1437
Kiniarz, 717
Kinle, Karl, 134
Kinrus, Jaakov, 708
Kinsky, Helga, 651
Kircher, Felix, 498, 499
Kirchner, 234
Kirchsieben, 52
Kirsch, Wilhelm, 772
Kirschner, 234, 719
Kirschner, Karl, 518
Kiryllow, Tomasz, 1369, 1382
Kirzmierczik, Michael, 60
Kisel, 224
Kiss, Alexander, 1334
Kiss, Andor, 749
Kiss, Edith, 1308
Kiszelnik, Sandor, 749
Kittel, Bruno, 848
Klaar, Johann, 797
Klaff, Wanda, 1476, 1477
Klagges, 1172
Klaiber, Rudolf, 95
Klajman, Natan, 754
Klan, Hermann, 260
Kläre, Otto, 143
Klatt, Emil, 1306
Klausch, Hans-Peter, 9, 45, *65*, 69, 72, 138, 152
Klausmann, Robert, 101
Klebeck, 1136
Klebeck, Kurt, 1362, 1375
Klebeck, Kurt Adolf, 1143, 1145
Kleditsch, 159
Kleemann, 981
Kleemann, Herman, 255
Klehr, Horst, 811
Klehr, Josef, 242
Kleiman, Henryk, 1436
Klein, 836, 1310
Klein, Erhard, 550
Klein, Giza, 763
Klein, Golda Geller Lewinsohn, 1240
Klein, Helen, 645
Klein, Jakob, 1310
Klein, Jan van der, 1310
Klein, Josef, 1310
Klein, Miklos, 1041
Klein, Peter, 733
Klein, Siegfried, 86
Klein, Slava, 1216
Kleindienst, Alfred, 72
Kleine, Fritz, *121*, 173
Kleinemeyer, 348
Kleinert, 119
Kleingünther, Willy, 69, 70
Kleinhenn, Willy, 827
Kleinschmidt, Lothar, 1213, 1214
Kleiss, Hermann, 1459
Klemann, 227
Klemanska-Estreicher, Kristina, 385
Klemm, Hanns, 361
Klerch, Hans, 975
Kley, Adolf, 1507
Klicker, Rolf, 1494, 1497, 1507
Kliefoth, Karl, 1467
Kliem, Friedrich Wilhelm, 1116, 1123, 1129, 1130
Klimienko, 1483
Klingler, 1162
Klingler, Erwin, 1151
Klingler, Joseph, 1160
Klipp, David, 1134
Klipp, Kurt, 227
Klitsch, 756
Klofik, Helene, 677, 678
Kloss, Walter, 774
Klosterkemper, Heinrich, 29
Klötzer, Friedrich, 29
Kloversa, Lucia (Luiza), 801, 802
Klug, Konrad, 530
Klünder, Johannes, 79
Kluss, 796
Klütsch, Martin, 724, 759, 760
Klysz, Marian, 387
Knabe, Eva, 97
Knauer, Elisabeth, 761
Knauf, Walther, 312, 330, 333, 334, 342, 382
Knaust, Arthur, 1400
Knehr, 594
Knesebeck, von dem, 152
Knifel, Toni, 801
Kniffke, Anton, 1430
Knirsch, Alfons, 1289, 1306
Knirsch, Anton, 1304
Knittel, Alois, 392, 393
Knitter, Wilhelm, 1272
Knittler, Martin, 1310
Knoblik, 274
Knobloch, 720
Knoedler, Hildegard, 1131
Knoeller, Helmut, 1387
Knögl, Georg, 1166, 1167
Knoll, Christoph, 485
Knop, Walter, 733, 734
Knopf, Paul, 347
Knöpke, Joseph, 57
Knorr-Krehan, Kamillo von, 590
Knospe, Wolfgang, 378
Knott, 645, 1502
Knott, Otto, 1457, 1463
Knott, Willy, 1434, 1454, 1465, 1475
Kobe, Boris, 554
Koch, 18, 66
Koch, Erich, 1460
Koch, Ernst, 1134
Koch, Hans, 1336
Koch, Ilse, 293, 294
Koch, Josef, 143
Koch, Karl Otto, 60, 61, 65, 66, 159, 291, 321, 877, 1259
Koch, Paul, 1310
Koch, Robert, 134
Kochau, Koschi, 645
Koegel, Max, 60, 121, 587, 645, 650, 666, 677, 769, 877, 879, 1188
Koeller, Helmut, 1386
Kofler, Franz, 916, 932, 943
Kogler, Josef, 548
Kogon, Eugen, 10, 291, 292
Köhl, Anton (Tony), 1461, 1462
Köhler, 1222
Köhler, Albert, 285
Köhler, August, 347
Köhler, Friedrich, 836
Köhler, Horst, 625, 626
Köhler, Valentin, 143
Kohlmann, Anneliese, 1123, 1130
Kohn, 1248
Kohn, Laszlo, 1128
Köhrmann, 604
Koje, Simon, 138
Kolacevic, Gottfried, 620
Kołakowski, Zbigniew, 588
Kolb, August, 1302
Kolberg, Gertrud, 762
Kolditz, 57
Kollwitz, 48
Konietzny, Dalmatius, 146
König, 159, 160, 235, 338, 1265
König, Erika, 760
König, Friedrich, 26
König, Hans, 224
König, Roman, 706
Königsberg, Agnes, 344
Königsberg, Renée, 344
Konis, 1497
Konjurski, 1497
Kononowicz, Irena, 1287
Konradi, 923
Kooss, 678
Kopaczka, 718
Kopczyński, Tadeusz, 1457
Kopfinger, Hermann, 1269
Kopiska, Herbert, 1306
Kopiska, Wilhelm, 1396
Köppe, Walter, 38
Koppe, Wilhelm, 571, 865
Koppel, 1332
Koppelmann, 759
Koppmann, 759

Korbhöfer, Wilhelm, 318
Körmöczi, Stefan, 715
Korn, 637
Korn, Abram, 403
Korn, Artur, 138
Korn, Eugen, 86
Körner, 715
Korolkow, Nikolai, 271
Korsch, Herbert, 1461, 1466
Korycki, 745
Korzuch, August, 235
Kosa, Franz, 90
Kosiner, E., 1350
Kosiński, Jan, 480, 781
Kośmida, Marian, 758, 759
Köster, 1090, 1091, 1096, 1101, 1102
Köster, Fritz, 1367
Köster, Hermann, 69
Kosthorst, Erich, 1160, 1162
Kosul, Ernst, 162
Kotkow, Wladimir, 92
Kottkamp, Wilhelm, 1319
Kowa, 762
Kowa, Emma, 712
Kowa, Emmy, 1224
Kowall, Josef, 162
Kowall, Max, 162
Kowalski, Stanisław, 717, 758
Kowalski, Tadeusz, 1310
Kowatsch, Joseph, 803, 804
Kowol, Wilhelm, 255, 256, 272
Kozieniecki, Chaim, 1481
Kozłowski, Wacław, 1423, 1457, 1458, 1470
Kraaz, Emil, 347
Krack, Hugo, 11, 126, 127, 128, 129, 1532
Krafczyk, Janina, 1316, 1317
Kraft, George, 989
Krahl, Ursula, 1131
Kraiński, Marian, 1044
Krakowski, Josef, 960
Kralik, Jean, 45
Kralik, Lya, 45
Kramer, 390
Krämer, 1310
Kramer, Josef, 207, 210, 280, 281, 287, 1005
Kramer, Rachel, 744
Kramer, Walter, 120
Krämer, Walter, 352
Kramm, 261
Kranebitter, Josef, 1343
Kranefuss, Fritz, 320, 321, 390, 624, 1339
Krasiński, Janusz, 611
Kratt, Wilhelm, 1031
Krauch, 1492
Krauch, Carl, 624, 1012, 1339
Kraus, 572, 742, 1038, 1095
Kraus, Dina, 286
Kraus, E., 756
Kraus, Elfi, 546
Kraus, Josef, 143
Kraus, Karl, 617, 618, 619
Kraus, Maria (née Hradec), 756
Kraus, Peter, 90
Krausch, Max, 29
Krause, 803
Krause, Anna, 1478
Krause, Emil, 1146
Krause, Erich, 30
Krause, Martin, 706
Krause, Max, 266
Krause, Otto, 391
Krause, Thomas, 1119
Krausz, Adrienne Friede, 305
Krautmann, Helmut, 36
Krauze, 724
Krebsbach, Eduard, 1231, 1232, 1243, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253, 1492, 1494, 1497, 1503
Kreibich, Bruno, 1279, 1280
Krein, Heinrich, 47, 48
Krell, Leo, 29
Kresse, Johannes, 462
Kreuz, Willi, 722
Kreuzberg, Will, 1362
Kreuzberg, Willi, 1386
Kriks, Johann, 1322
Krimm, Albert, 143
Krischer, Hans, 827
Kröber, Leander, 141, 142
Kröber, Oskar, 1020, 1022
Krobot, Andreas, 543, 544
Kroch, Ernesto, 121
Kroner, Saul, 1172
Kropp, 1305
Krosnowski, Ryszard, 1406, 1407
Kruedener, Hans Joachin von, 1012, 1172
Krüger, 40
Krüger, Ernst, 118, 119
Krüger, Frieda, 1201
Krüger, Friedrich Wilhelm, 888, 890
Krüger, Hans, 149
Krüger, Paul, 72
Krumbeck, 113
Krummreich, Brunon, 1457
Krupa, Anton, 1300
Krüsken, 410
Kruszewski, Stanisław, 1462
Kruth, Stefan, 1023–1204
Krystofiak, Wladislaus, 531, 532
Kryszak, Marian, 963
Kubański, Arnold, 717
Kube, Wilhelm, 163
Kubiak, Franciszek, 1381
Kubiš, Jan, 621
Kübler, 600
Kübler, Günther, 38
Kübler, Johann Baptist, 626, 640, 659, 683
Kucharski, Józef, 1427
Küchler, 97
Kuck, Erna, 226
Kuder, Stephanie, 1137
Kuehn, Hildegard, 742
Kugelmeier, Rudolf, 796
Kugler, Anita, 1242, 1243
Kuhan, Rosa, 645
Kuhlmann, Hans, 1455, 1470
Kuhlmann, Johannes, 1461, 1462
Kuhn, Franz, 143
Kühn, Friedrich, 738, 739
Kuhn, Helmuth, 31, 32
Kühnast, Marta, 737
Kühnel, Maria, 760
Kuhnert, Martin, 1273
Kuiper, Bernhard, 1417, 1418
Kukurudza, Michail, 48
Kulig, 811, 812
Kulik, Johannes, 462
Kuller, 756
Kulman, Władysław, 1483
Kümmel, Walter, 1112, 1179, 1180
Kummer, Kurt, 1348, 1349
Kumpf, Konrad, 726
Kunath, Gerda, 1479
Kundler, Györgyi, 809
Kunewitsch, Iwan, 716
Kunikowski, Alfons "Ali," 412
Kuntz, Albert, 967, 969
Kuntze, Walter, 633
Kuntzsch, Rudolf, 922
Kunz (later Pietzner), Margot, 1349
Kunz, Karl, 1292
Kunz, Margot, 1268, 1349
Kupfer, Edgar, 466
Kupka, Alfons, 1376
Küppers, Johann, 315
Kuprian family, 529
Kurow, Askold, 1384
Kurowski, Ryszard, 724
Kürschner, 234
Kurt, 1334
Kurtle, 719
Kurz, Alois, 973
Kurzmeyer, Alfred, 771
Kurztag, Fela, 762
Kus, Alfred, 616, 617
Kusmierczuk, Maria, *1189*
Kussman, Harry, 388
Kütter, 53
Kutuzow, Iwan, 373
Kuzdziol (aka Guzdziol), 718
Kuzioł, Józef, 717

Lacombe, Fabien, 487
Lacoste, Eugene, *1300 ill.*
Lafferentz, Bodo, 573
Lagua, 756
Lambrecht, Auguste, 1268
Lamer, Paul, 640
Lamkewitz, Viktor, 414
Lamm, Rudolf, 955
Lamp, Hermann, 998, 1000
Landau, Helmut, 1402, 1403
Landdorfer, 863
Landmann, 1460
Landshut, Hans, 1326
Lang, 756
Langbein, Hermann, 1167
Lange, Erwin, 617
Lange, Karl, 1091
Lange, Rudolf, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1242, 1244
Lange, Wilhelm, 1164, 1165
Langenmeier, Josef, 452, 453
Langer, Emanuel, 740
Langfeld, 756
Langhoff, Wolfgang, 44, 62
Langleist, Walter Adolf, 501
Langner, 119, 425
Langowski, Johann, 48
Langräbe, Paul, 1429
Langwiesen, 21

Łapiński, Stanisław, 259
Larischová, Marie, 776
La Rocque, 543, 544
Larsen, Gunnar, 1505
Lasman, Benjamin, 579
Lason, Stefan, 485
Lätsch, Otto Arthur, 246, 247
Lattal, 924
Latter, Hans, 318
Laubenthal, 719
Laue, Theodor, 116, 117, 124, 125, 145, 146
Laufer, Henryk, 710
Läufle, Karl, 459
Lausch, Hermann, 48
Lauscher, Josef, 954
Lausterer, Hugo, 469, 470, 535
Lautenschlager, Wilhelm, 1040, 1050, 1067, 1069
Lawonn, Karl, 82
Lawrik, Aleksandra, 440
Lazar, Carl, 149
Lebas, Jean Baptiste, 165
Lebiedyński, Stanisław, 758
Lebrun, Albert, 543, 544
Le Caër, Paul, 943
Leccia, Joseph, 1049
Lechleiter, Georg, 19
Leers, 1391, 1392
Leeser, Kurt, 315
le Goupil, Paul, 347, 348
Lehmann, 270, 751, 1497
Lehmann, Gerhard, 1267, 1268
Lehmann, Werner, 658
Lehnert, Karl, 956
Lehrburger, 85
Leibbrand, Gertrud, 84
Leible, 412
Leibowitsch, Simon, 96
Leicht, Johann, 24
Leigh, Vera, 1006
Leipold, Josef, 719
Leistner, Fiete, 1415
Leitameier, Johann, 519
Leitpold, Josef, 883
Lell, Max, 989
Lellesch, Karl, 318
Lembeck, Andreas, 1162
Lemke, Karl, 48
Lemke, Ursula, 1169
Lemmen, 933
Lemordant, Guy, 936
Lenau, 1473
Lenz, Hans-Friedrich, 610
Lenz, Hildegard, 1125
Lenzian, 1032
Leopold, Friedrich, 484
Leopold, King of Belgium, 633, 634
Lerner, Eugenia (Jenny), 632
Lessmann, Clemens, 69
Leuchter, Hans, 72
Leukel, Karl, 1265, 1305
Leuschner, Marta, 737
Leuschner, Wilhelm, 151
Levi, 1243
Levi, Primo, 217
Levin, Moshe, 850
Levis, Errikos, 799
Levy, Max, 262
Levy: Michel-Levy, Simone, 615
Lewandowski, E., 1487
Lewandowski, Wacław, 1427
Lewenstein, Szymon, 249
Lewin, Herbert, 1340
Lewinsohn Klein, Golda Geller, 1240
Ley, Robert, 317, 1320
Libelt, 245
Lichtenberg, Bernhard, 65
Lichtner, Dezsó, 323
Liczmański, Alf, 1457–1458
Liebehenschel, Arthur, 207, 548, 877, 879
Liebing, Walter, 58, 59, 118
Liebknecht, Karl, 156
Liebmann, 97
Liedtke, Erich, 662
Liedtke, Rudolf, 1273, 1278
Liese, Heinrich, 1265
Liesenberg, Carsten, 396
Lietsch, Karl, 1284
Lignier, Helene, 615
Liliane, Princess of Belgium, 634
Lill, Paul, 143
Lindau, 1037
Lindner, 961
Lindner, Heinrich, 1134
Lindner, Helmut, 618
Lindtner, Ferdinand, 1306
Lingens, Ella, 521
Lingg, 1507
Link, Jakob, 1058
Linke, Luise, 1085
Linnemann, August, 73
Linsen, Jean-Pierre, 494
Lipinsko, Wilhelm, 951
Lipke, Janis, 1243
Lipke, Johanna, 1243
Lippelt, Karl, 836
Lippmann, 48
Lippmann, Arno, 466
Lippold, Erna, 344
Lis, Zenon, 755
Lisken, 1023
List, Maximilian, 1361, 1362, 1375
Litten, Hans, 51, 163
Littmann, Basia, 1460
Litwin, Miriam, 1349
Löbe, Paul, 55, *56*, 57
Lobkovic, Max von, 590
Lochner, 57
Locker, Philomena, 765
Lode, 751
Lodka, 226
Lody, 394
Loebner, Walter, 254
Loehs, Reinhold, 1069
Loewen (Löwen), Heinz, 1461
Löffler (later Acker), Paula, 84
Loh, Wilhelm, 606, 607
Lohbeck, 62
Lohéac, Paul, 1119
Lohr, Otto, 703, 704
Löhr, Rudolf, 258
Lohse, Hinrich, 79, 1231, 1499, 1505
Lolling, Enno, *190*
Lomitzsch, 173
Lomová (Löwenbein), Hana, 596
Lomová (Löwenbein), Priska, 596
Londer, Bela, 243
Loose, 1347
Lorant, Niura, 132
Lorant, Stefan, 9, 131, 132, 133
Lorenzen, Karl Heinz, 1322
Lorin, Marcel, 415, 416, 437
Loritz, Hans, 64, 65, 66, 442, 548, 549, 1259
Loritz, 548, 549
Lörner, Gustav, 1275
Losacker, 1045
Löscher, Emilia, 1431
Lotfi, Gabriele, 830
Löw, Matilde, 719
Löwen (Loewen), Heinz, 1461, 1462
Löwenbein (Lomová), Hana, 596
Löwenbein (Lomová), Priska, 596
Lowy, Mayer, 800
Löwy, Paul, 65
Łoziński, Roman, 1462
Lübeck, Wilhelm, 355, 357, 359
Lubitz, 1095
Lübke, Heinrich, 430
Luby, Donald, 403
Lüdecke, Kurt, 37, 38
Lüdemann, Hermann, 55, 56, *56*, 57
Ludendorff, Erich, 75
Ludewig, 1315
Ludewig, Kurt, 1300, 1301
Lüdke, Albin, 1077
Lüdkemeyer, Albert, 794
Ludolph, Julius, 916, 936
Ludwig, Paul, 254
Ludwig, Reinhold, 1310
Ludwig, Wacław, 774
Luetzelburg, Philipp, 462
Lüge, Gustaw, 1470
Lukas, Max, 29
Lukaszek, 243
Łukawski, Aleksander, 718
Lukoschek, Anton, 229
Luppe, Hermann, 85, 86
Lustiger, Szmul, 345
Luth, Elisabeth, 1125
Luther, Martin, 79
Luther, Reinhard, 167
Lütkemeyer, Albert, 66, 783
Lütscher, 346
Lutz, 1046
Luxemburg, Rosa, 156
Luz, 382
Lys, Gunther R., 1326

Maas, Paul, 1143, 1145
Maass, Otto, 1327
Mach, Emma, 802
Macha (née Wawoczny), Emilie, 1472
Mache, 56
Maciaszek, 1427
Maciński, 238
Mackensen, August von, 167
Mączka, Witold, 717
Madriz, August, 466
Mager, Georg, 659
Magnus, Kurt, 148
Mahl, Erich, 511

Mahler, Christian, 1301
Mähne, 719
Mähr, Arthur, 142
Mahraun, Artur, 38
Mai, 685
Mai, Mathias, 1077
Maier, 557
Maier, Konrad, 666
Maier, Otto, 343
Maierhofer, Karl, *902*
Maikowsky, Hans, 31
Mainz, Albert, 62
Majczenko, Piotr, 1370, 1383
Majer, Josef, 579
Majewicz, 1082
Majewski, Czesław, 1474
Major, 1183
Majzelsówna, Greta, 707
Makowski, Mieczysław, 435
Maksimov, Dimitrij, 1401
Malak, Henryk, 1457
Malchow, 1266
Malik, Józef, 747
Malitz, Bruno, 709
Malofejew, Alexander, 1384
Malsen-Ponickau, Johann von, 85
Malzbender, Landrat, 26
Mandel, 794
Mandrycxs, André, 1077
Mang, Franz, 1492, 1500
Mannel, Fritz, 523
Mannig, Hildegard, 1201
Mantel, Adam, 143
Mantzel, Friedrich August Wilhelm, 1307
Maréchal, Robert, 439
Marek, Paul, 1029–1030
Marggraf, 680
Margolis, Ilja, 1146
Margraff, Henri, 570
Margules, Lily, 1240
Maringer, Helene, 778
Markert, 124
Markgraf, Kurt, 581, 582
Markowitsch, Tobias, 1047, 1050–1051, 1052
Marks, 683
Marlais, Anne-Marie de la, 399
Marnette, Felix, 155
Maronowski, 398, 399
Marquardt, Erna, 344
Marquardt, Gerhard, 344
Maršálek, Hans, 909, 910, 914, 917, 921, 922, 935–936, 945, 946, 950, 954, 963
Marszałek, Józef, 871, 891
Marszalkiewicz, Czesław, 702
Martens, K., 724
Martin, 330, 425, 834
Martin, Benno, 647
Martin, Rudolf, 251
Martzloff, Philipp, 19
Marum, Ludwig, 100, *101*, 102
Marx, Adolf, 108
Marx, Karl, 119
Marx, Otto, 158
Marx, Rudolf, 152
Marysia, 727
Marzahn, Paul, 1345
Marzan, Friedrich, 1453, 1454
Marzilger, Emil, 48
Maschenski, Wladimir, 1297
Maschmeier, 150
Masorsky, Hans, 400, 401
Massenbach, Anton Freiheit von, 635
Massmann, Emmy, 1088
Masur, Norbert, 1214
Mathesius, Kurt, 432, 1444
Mathow, Karl, 33
Matijasic, Ivan, 540
Mattheiss, Hermann, 169
Matthias, Herbert, 124
Mattischek, Hubert, 551
Matuszczak, Stanisław, 1445
Matuszewski, Cz., 732
Matwejo, 1056
Matynia, J., 1466, 1467
Matysiak, Aspis, 749
Mauer, 143
Maul, Bärbel, 835
Maurer, Anton, 726
Maurer, Gerhard, *189*, 320, 578, 650, 677, 684, 1284
Maurer, Richard, 1041
Mautner, 1006
Max, 729
May, 1111, 1128
May, Eduard, 462, 463
May, Kurt, 909
Mayer, 531, 532, 717, 718
Mayer, Chai, 801
Mayer, Charlotte, 886, 887
Mayer, Fanny, 531
Mayer, Georg, 1306
Mayer, Johann, 1459
Mayer, Karl, 562
Mayer, Kaspar, 531
Mayer, Lina, 531, 532
Mayer, Maria, 531, 532
Mayr, Joef, 453
Mayrhofer, Ludwig, 485
Mazetti, 487
McGarry, William F., *970*
Meerfeld, Johannes, 104
Mehner, Hilde, 1283
Mehnert, Walter, 1104
Meier, 487, 513, 1273
Meier, Erich, 42
Meier, Fritz, 1452, 1457
Meier, Karl, 1278
Meier, Otto, 166
Meier, Stefan, 19
Meier, Wilhelm, 513
Meierhofer, 1273
Meindl, Georg, 924, 940, 955
Meinel, Otto, 57, 159
Meiners, Edo, 1091, 1093
Meinhardt, Karl, 1332
Meinl, Anna, 1085
Meinshausen, Hans, 709
Meisen, Walter, 726
Meissel, Erich, 1477
Meissner, Erich, 1093
Meissner, Fritz, 1347
Meitmann, Karl, 90
Meixner, Georg, 24
Melzer, 1501
Mengele, Josef, 595, 606, 677, 696, 703, 750, 755, 776
Mensch, Josef, 143
Mentenich, Alois, 1020
Mercker, Hauptmann, 1125
Mergenthaler, 719
Merinsky, Ottokar, 931
Merker, Hans, 996
Merker, Otto, 1180
Merker, Peter, 435
Merkle, 143
Merkle, Karl, 1397, 1398
Mersch, John, 844
Merten, George, 1392
Mertens, 1136
Mertens, Annemarie, 601
Merz, Walter, 337
Messerschmitt, Willy, 1463
Meter, Peter, 138
Methar, 722
Metzger, Franz, 1520
Metzig (later Frank), Berta, 809
Metzler, Georg, 540
Metzner, Johann, 758
Meyden, Jakobus van der, 494
Meyer, 1019, 1022, 1136, 1148, 1185
Meyer, Alfred, 1482
Meyer, Heinrich, 1047
Meyer, Johannes, 1154, 1466
Meyer, Leopold, 485, 486
Meyer, T., 1476
Meyer, Theodor, 1470
Meynke, 1265
Michael, Paul, 1104
Michael, Willi, 720
Michalowicz, Alex, 598
Michel-Levy, Simone, 615
Michelsen, Max, 1452
Michl, Hermann, 1520
Michlin, Gilbert, 230
Michnikowski family, 1437
Miede, 97
Mielenz, Franz, 1473, 1487
Mienik, Alfred, 512
Mierendorff, Carlo, 151
Miesske, Kurt, 29
Mikołajczyk, Alfred (aka Bernard), 724
Milajew, Nikolaus, 260
Milch, Erhard, 639, 1012, 1172, 1223
Mileczina, Raja, 895
Milich, Elfriede (or Elfrieda), 737
Milward, Alan S., 228
Minik, Alfred, 470
Ministr, Rotislav, 983
Minzberg, 881
Miotek, Leo, 1438
Mirbeth, Hans, 224, 248, 977
Mirkin, Bella Gepen, 1252
Miroff, Fritz, 910, 924, 925, 928, 941
Mironowicz, 1453
Mischin, Grigori, 747
Missler, Johann Friedrich, 124
Misztal, B., 469
Mitchell, Thomas, 1434
Mittag, 87
Mittelmann, Teresa, 1428, 1429
Mittelstädt, Georg, 791, 792

Mittermeier, 495
Mitura, Wacław, 1457
Miziewicz, Aleksander, 1406, 1407
Mleczko, Władysław, 759
Mlocek, Paul, 718
Mocek , 719
Möckel, 1322
Möckel, Ernst, 1322
Mohr, 321
Mohr, Christian, 611
Mohr, Franz Konstantin, 19, 20, 101, 102
Mokk, 1449
Mokrus, 267
Mołdawa, Mieczysław, 738
Molenda, 812
Moll, Otto, 240, 241, 242, 243, 249, 269, 489, 490, 1305
Möllenhoff, Erich, 1385
Möller, 116
Monkos, Franz, 226
Mordowicz, Czesław, 212
Morein, 1252
Morel, René, 1379
Morhardt, Jacob, 730
Moritz, 23, 245
Moros, Ferenc, 749
Mörtelbauer, Josef, 1294
Mosbach, 872
Moser, Alois, 1206
Moser, Georg, 95
Moser, Hans, 511, 1453, 1454
Moser, Kurt, 95
Mośko, 1474
Mosler, Wilhelm, 81
Mostowicz, Arnold, 703, 704, 749, 785
Moszkowicz, Anna, 244
Motyl, Władysław, 732
Motzkat, Edwald, 1006
Mounine, Henri, 1061
Much, Otto Heinrich, 546
Mücke, 1306
Müffelmann, Leo, 164
Mugrauer, Hans, 44
Mühl, Maria, 707, 802
Muhlbauer, 756
Mühldorfer, Friedbert, 553
Mühsam, Erich, 37, 51, 148, 163
Muller, 1098
Müller, 87, 125, 126, 397, 403, 673, 719, 720, 834, 1319
Müller, Alfred, 1384
Müller, August Friedrich, 463, 464, 518, 519
Müller, Erich, 704, 1452
Müller, Franz, 1196, 1197
Müller, Franz Josef, 862, 865
Muller, Georg, 347
Müller, Georg, 1310
Müller, Heinrich, 884, 1265, 1351
Müller, Heinz, 1244
Müller, Helmut, 118
Müller, Kurt, 356
Müller, Lieselotte, 1125
Müller, Ludwig, 523
Müller, Magda, 385
Müller, Marta, 1431
Müller, Paul Heinrich Theodor, 216, 266
Müller, Richard, 414
Müller, Stanisława, 244
Müller, Stephan, 347
Müller, Walther, 356
Müller, Wettin, 1519
Münch, 644
Münchmener, 142
Münker, Alfred, 1345
Murgowsky, Joachim, 980
Müsch, 687, 688
Muskat, 1501
Musolf, Max, 1434
Mussmann, 1310
Mussmann, Theodor, 1273
Muthesius, Eckart, 1200
Mutschmann, 769
Mutschmann, Martin, 97
Muzalewski, Alfons, 1459
Muzikant, Gottlieb, 936, 957
Myszkowski, *217*

Nachke, 388
Nachmann, Albert, 100
Nachtmann, Ludwig, 465
Nadelstecher (later Figueras), Thomas, 799
Nadelstecher, Paul, 799
Nádherný, Sidonie, 617, 618
Nagorr, Rudolf, 138
Nansen, Odd, *1259*
Napieralla, Josef, 894, 895
Narius, Willy, 1461, 1462
Nass, Fritz, 644
Nathusius, Hans, 329
Natorff, Janusz, 717
Nau, Hermann, 1166, 1167
Nauer, 168
Naujokat, Hildegard, 655
Naujoks, Harry, 1259, 1324
Nauman, Mor, 789
Naumann, 354, 438
Naumann, Alex, 27
Navratil, Rudolf, 257
Nawrotzki, Rudolf, 1331, 1332
Nebe, Arthur, 1527
Neddermeyer, Robert, 65
Nell, Paul, 881
Nemeth, Franz, 369
Neubauer, 173
Neubauer, Theodor, 51
Neubert, Gerhard, 218
Neuhaus, 1306
Neuhoff, Hugo, 177
Neumann, Bruno, 1470
Neumann, Erna, 1459
Neumann, Leo, 1351
Neuner, Josef, 520
Neye, Walter Paul Adolf, 598
Nickel, Robert, 1243
Niedermayer, Engelbert, 470
Niedojadło, Eugeniusz, 232
Niemann, 1453, 1458
Niemöller, Martin, 1258
Niermann, Fritz, 344
Nierzwicki, Hans, 248, 260
Niklaszyński, 271
Nikola, Franz, 923
Nikolodi, 541
Nischelwitzer, Josef, 948, 949
Nitsche, 585
Nitti, Francesco Saverio, 543, 544
Nitzsche, 142
Niutek (Nataniel Radzyner), 579
Nixdorf, Gerd, 137, 138
Noatzsch, Else, 379
Nocoń (aka Notzon), Robert, 717
Noll, F., 362
Nossol, 23
Nosyr, Wołodia, 806
Notzon (Robert Nocon), 717
Novak, Wilhelm, 1275
Novotny, 1322
Nowak, Johann, 598
Nowak, Rydszard, 1381
Nowicka-Stankiewicz, Jadwiga, 1272
Nurrek, Willy, 1265, 1305
Nussbaum, Christian, 19, 100
Nützl, Franz, 505

Oberhauser, Engelbert, 1371
Obernauf, Lieselotte, 1439
Oberskirchner, 466
Oblat-Pick, Elsa, 385
Obłucki, Stefan, 1292
Odic, Charles, 400
Oehler, Herbert, 1058
Oesterle, Leonhard, 535, 536
Offenhammer, Emil, 1334
Offenhammer, Erich, 1334
Ogiegło, 275
Ogiegło, Józef, 274
Ohldorfer, Walter, 466
Ohnmacht, Wilhelm, 512
Ohrer, Leib, 728
Okon, Margarete, 1448, 1454
Olah, Franz, 480
Oldeboershuis, Gerrit, 1019–1020, 1022
Olesch, Paul, 1029–1030
Olesjuk, Wladimir, 542
Olga, 727
Olivelli, Teresio, 611
Olschewski, 587
Olszewski, Kazimierz, 762
Olszyna, Roman, 739, 796
Oltmann, Gerhard, 548
Ontjes, 75
Opel, Karl, 143
Opoczyńska, Leontyna, 868, 869
Orbschat (Upschat), 579
Orenstein, Fejgi, 801
Orenstein, Felek, 571
Orenstein, Fred, 571
Orenstein, Henry (Mordko), 571
Orlik, Erich, 254, 255
Ormos, Ilona, 685
Orphall, Wilhelm, 58
Orset, Marcel, 1390
Ossietzky, Carl von, 66, 70, 73, 163, *164*
Ossietzky, Maud von, 73
Ostberg, Karl, 131, 132
Oster, Raphael, 1499
Ostermann, Lottchen, 1085
Ostheimer, Eugen, 143
Ostojewski, Antoni, 768
Oszmaniec, Stanisław, 260
Otto, 1294

Otto, Antoine, 347
Otto, August, 329
Otto, Ida, 737, 805
Otto, Ottomar, 86
Otto-Suski, Władysław, 718
Owander, 513
Owsiński, Aleksander, 274

Pabst, Josef, 1423
Pabst, Max, 435
Pabst, Paul, 36
Pachowa, 768
Padberg, Josef, 1345
Padt, N., 66
Pahl, 363
Pala, Stefan, 733
Palitzsch, Gerhard, 232
Pallitza, 640
Palme, Heinrich, 463, 464
Paloszewski, Zygmunt, *1300*
Pammer, Anton, 827
Pankiewicz, Tadeusz, 864
Pannicke, Kurt, 1494, 1496, 1499, 1503, 1504, 1507, 1508
Panocha, Friedrich, 143
Pantcheff, T. X. H., 1362
Panzer, Otto, 1361
Papen, Franz von, 3
Pappenheim, Ludwig, 138
Paradies, Ewa, 1430
Pascha, Emil, 1375
Paselt, 347
Passing, Wilhelm, 80
Pataschitsch, Andreas, 715
Patollo, Josef, 1058
Patton, George S., 403, *403*
Paul, 138
Paul, Günter, 1468
Pauli, Johannes, 1017
Pauls, John, 1486
Paulsen, 79
Paulsen, Christel, 1243
Paulson, 1066
Paulson, Leif, 1050
Pauly, Max, 1075, *1076*, 1077, 1080, 1091, 1092, 1096, 1101, 1127, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1145, 1173, 1180, 1181, 1183, 1420, *1422*, 1423, 1427, 1438, 1444
Pawilkowski, Ernst, 1211
Pawlak, Zacheus, 1048, 1070–1071
Pawlenko, Pawel Wasiljewitsch, 1364, 1367, 1381, 1399
Pay, Josef, 1294
Paździora, Erwin, 248
Pecksen: Wolten-Pecksen, Otto, 126, 127
Pedeyn, Fritz, 1336
Pędzisz, Stanisław, 1451
Pehlcke, Georgina, 1131
Peitz, 1126
Peix, Karl, 352
Peix, Marie, 128
Peldszus, Albert, 90
Pelge, Johann, 1345
Pelka, Alois, 613
Pella, Ludwig, 1294
Pelz, 165
Pelz, Adela, 756
Pencherzewski, Zygmunt, 1467
Penkowski, Hans, 1417
Perchen, Franciszek, 1427
Perl, Kurt, 48
Perschl, Anton, 946
Pestovac, 1403
Pétain, 590
Peter, Andreas, 743, 744
Peter, Maria, 413
Peter, Richard, 758
Peterek, August, 726
Petermann, Erna, 982
Peters, Fritz, 1466, 1467
Peters, Otto, 65
Petersen, Herta, 1153
Petersen, Jan, 31
Petrasch, Erich, 483
Petri, Johann, 1297
Petrol, Donat, 717
Petrover, Judith, 1088
Petrovic, 726
Petz, Karl, 993
Petz, Ludwig, 1411, 1412
Petzold, Walter, 217
Pfarrer, Martin, 143
Pfefferkorn, Rolf, 1058
Pfeifer, 776
Pfeiffer, Ernst, 1306
Pfeiffer, Hermann, 527
Pfeiffer, Karl, 85, 86
Pfeuer, Hans, 260
Pfiffiger (or Fiffiger), 848
Pfingsten, 336
Pfitzer, Karl, 61
Pfläumer, Oskar, 86
Pfleiderer, Eugen, 835–836
Pfordte, Ernst, 40
Pfriem, Georg, 1331
Pfütze, Bruno, 260, 264, 265
Philipp, 47
Philipp, Heinrich, 1345
Philippstahl, Arno, 29
Pia, Sister, 464. *See also* Eleonore Baur
Pialli, Gregorio, 995
Piatkowska, Antonina, 1216
Picklapp, Erich, 248
Piëch, Anton, 324
Pielen, Wilhelmine, 1212
Pieper, Georges, 1393, 1398
Pieper, Klaus, 1297
Pięta, Jan, 1451
Pietrenko, Borys, 702
Pietrykowska, Frania, 737
Pietrzak, Zygmunt, 758
Pietsch, Fritz (aka Max), 640
Pietzner (née Kunz), Margot, 1349
Pilarczyk, Horst, 862
Pilawski, Josef, 458
Pilgram, Josef, 848, 850
Pillwein, Friedrich, 493
Pilujski, Tomasz, 758
Pilz, Erich, 178
Pinkus, Siegfried, 217
Pioch, Karl, 48
Piorkowski, Alexander, 121, 442, 548
Piotrowski, Herbert, 726
Pirotte, Jean, 843
Pister, Hermann, 291, 293, 302, 321, 346, 378, 395, 413, 434, 826, 827, 1383
Pistor, Wilhelm, 26
Piter, Getrud, 50
Pitrass, 749
Pittmann, Peter, 1090
Plager, 637
Plagge, 662
Plasa, 1142
Plaul, 159
Plaul, Wolfgang, 346, 379, 380, 412, 426, 1520
Plebsch, 1290
Pleiger, Paul, 914, 927, 928, 1103
Pleines, Fritz, 166, 167
Plendl, H., 550
Plicht, Johann, 1457
Plieseis, Josef, 479
Plombom, Stefan, 1452
Plönzke, Friedrich, 33
Plörer, Friedrich, 528
Plötner, Kurt Friedrich (aka Schmidt), 500, 541, 542
Plumenbohm, Erich, 1297
Plushnikow, Semjon, 1374
Pobig, Fritz, 119
Pöckelmann, Ewald, 412
Podschwadek, Rudolf, 69
Pohl (née Brüning), Elfriede, 479
Pohl, Eleonore, 1198
Pohl, Eugenie, 1527, *1528*, 1529
Pohl, Lina, 722
Pohl, Oswald, 185, 189, *189*, 191, 192, 193, 199, 297, 320, 330, 341, 374, 378, 434, 479, 622, 624, 635, 771, 814, 816, 848, 885, 887, 900, 909, 927, 929, 948, 1012, 1057, 1182, 1193, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1275, 1354, 1421, 1512, 1520
Pokern, Karl, 33
Pol, Genowefa, 1527
Pold, Karl, 459, 460
Poliak, Mendel, 1237
Pollak, Anna, 744
Poloncarz, Marek, 607
Polsterer, Ferdinand, 951
Polte, Eugen, 388
Poltschek, Karl, 506
Polz, Hermann, 1272
Pomorin, 665
Ponwaski, 1497
Popkowski, Bogusław, 1434
Popowski, Karl, 637
Poppe, Hans-Eduard, 1322
Poppenhagen, Gerhard, 1084
Poremba, Frieda, 778
Porsche, Ferdinand, 198, 200, 324, 417, 1062, 1107, 1109, 1302
Pörschmann, Paul, 1265
Portefaix, Raymond, 1093, 1094
Porzeczkowski, Władysław, 702
Pose, von, 111
Posern, Hans Carl von, 951
Posluszny-Finkelstein, Zipora, 283
Possögel, Karl, 1401
Postel Vinay, Anise, 1219
Potapow, 271
Potapow, J. F., 1322

Potekhnin, Ivan, 240
Potozkij, Pawel, 370
Pott, Georg, 124
Pottenstein, 626
Praschker, Roman, 37, 38, 51
Prchal, 957
Prechtl, Oskar, 726
Prędki, Jan, 647
Preis, Karl, 356
Preiss, Helen, 778
Prerauer, Julian, 1215
Preston, George, 229
Pribil, Franz, 1210
Prichodjko, Wasil, 1211
Primocic, Agnes, 479
Primus, Franz, 1275
Prinz, Horst, 1351
Prokop, Robert, 1387
Proksa, Paweł, 758
Prokuda, Ilja, 1050
Proschek, 1350
Protsch, Willi, 40
Prüfer, Otto, 23
Prüfert, Paul, 92
Prüser, Hermann, 145
Pruszyńska, Maria, 398
Przybliski, Anton, 347
Przytuła, Bolesław, 1427
Pudler, Blanka, 366
Puhlmann, Johannes, 1273
Puhr, Roland, 1375, 1376
Pump, Johannes, 1107, 1108, 1110
Puntschart, Adam, 554
Purgal, Jan, 262
Purgał, Stanisław, 806
Purm, Erich, 258
Purucker, Erich, 1287
Pütz, Karl, 890
Pytlik, Josef, 368

Quad, 512
Quakernack, Walter Friedrich Wilhelm, 261, 262, 1141, 1142
Quandt, Günter, 1281
Quandt, Herbert, 1281
Quirsfeld, Eberhard von, 528
Quitzau, Emil, 177

Raab, Karl, 1363, 1388, 1389
Raab-Neff, Anette, 1068
Rabel, 1500
Rabinovici, Schoschana, 1232
Rach, Hans, 1441
Rachoner, Majloch, 729
Rackers, Bernhard, 243, 244
Raczkiewicz, Zbigniew, 1434
Raczyński, Henryk, 1443
Radke, Karl, 75
Radomski, Feliks, *1300*
Radzyner (Niutek), Nataniel, 579
Raebel, Paul, 863
Raeder, Erich, 1179
Rafaelsohn, Paul, 1351
Rago, 1252
Rahmig, Rudolf, 750, 751
Raim, Edith, 558
Rainer, Friedrich, 922, 933
Rajski, Stefan, 806
Rakers, Bernhard, 66, 218, 435
Rambauske, Werner, 573
Ramin, Emmi, 84
Ramsauer, Siegbert, 933, 934
Rank, Christian, 456
Rank, Richard Michael, 794
Rapp, Ernst, 1265
Rappers, Laurenz, 1148
Rasch, Gerhard, 1460
Rascher, Sigmund, 444
Rasmussen-Martensen, Harry, 47
Rassinier, Paul, 1397
Rast, Heinz, 1167
Rathering, Hermann, 509
Rathgeber, Carl, 1292, 1297
Rau, Johannes, 1309
Rauca, Heinrich, 851
Rauch, 1497
Rauch, Michael, 541, 542
Rauchudt, Arno, 1487
Rauff, Franz, 646
Rauh, 142
Rausch, 596, 1314
Rauscher, Karl-Heinz, 946, 947
Rautenberg, Herbert, 1104
Rauter, Ernst, 475, 480, 495
Rauter, Hanns Albin, 814, 816
Rautnig, Kattrin, 1047, 1050–1051, 1052
Ravensgaard, Friedrich, 66
Razinska, Krystyna, 1084
Reabes, 1417
Reber, Franz, 614, 671
Rechenberg, Erich, 708
Reddehase, Karl, 285
Redder, Willy (or Willi), 859, 1121, 1122, 1434, 1450, 1452, 1487
Reddig, Richard, 1457
Redlich, 715
Redlinger, Leopold, 908
Redwitz, 464
Reese, Johann, 1082
Regel, Karl, 758
Regner, 836
Rehbein, Franz, 476
Rehberg, Walther, 800
Rehmer, 128, 129
Rehn, Ludwig, 1520
Reibeisen, Romek, 623
Reich, Gustav, 96
Reich, Heinrich (pseud.). *See* Heinrich Forster
Reich, Otto, 120
Reichardt, 311
Reiche, Eric G., 86
Reiche, Lieselotte, 760
Reichenbach, 1056
Reichenbecher, Christian, 142
Reichenwallner, Wilhelm, 1344
Reichert, Johann, 705
Reichert, Klara, 1476
Reimann, 655
Reimann, Katarina, 737
Reimann, Max, 1301
Reimer, Elfriede, 1204
Reiner, Alexander, 60, 61, 159
Reinfrank, 512
Reingold, 638
Reinhold, Gertrud, 1477
Reinl, Gertrud, 1085
Reins, 422
Reinwarth, Rudi, 159
Reise, 465
Reiss, Johann, 520
Reiss, Julius, 827
Reisser, Arno, 329
Reissig, 1500, 1506, 1507
Reissmann, Wilhelm, 510
Reiter, Józef, 1440, 1457
Reitlinger, Gerald, 1320
Reitzmayr, Wilhelm, 480, 481
Remle, 949
Remmele, Adam, 100, 101
Remmele, Josef, 255, 256, 484, 520
Remmelmann, Hellmut, 1200
Remmert, Heinrich, 70, 123
Renault, Maisie, 1219
Rendel, Marie, 251
Renouar, Jean-Pierre, 1140
Renz, 398, 457
Resnik, Naftali, 1500
Rett, Wilhelm, 1310
Rettlich, Franz, 48
Rettman, Jakub, 754
Reumann, Heinrich, 79
Reuss, Fritz, 23
Reuter, 309, 310
Reuter, Curt, 1314
Reuter, Erich, 1345
Reuter, Fritz, 1273, 1277
Rex, Friedrich-Wilhelm, 1142
Reynaud, Paul, 543, 544
Rheinbaben, Günther von, 47, 48
Richter, 521, 601, 618, 1283
Richter, Alfred, 97, 143
Richter, Celine, 802
Richter, Willibald, 591, 642
Rickhey, Georg, 971
Rieck, Albert, 343, 344
Riecken, Paul, 924, 925
Riedel, 23
Rieder, Emil, 1269, 1310, 1337
Rieflin, Karl, 1029
Rieg, Adolf, 1035
Rieger, 232
Riegert, Horst, 1015, 1040
Riegler, Hans, 916
Riemann, Ilse, 1085
Riemenschneider, Willi, 1305
Riemer, Otto, 912
Riepekohl, 85
Ries, 715
Ries, de, 1347
Ries, Josef, 64
Riess, 643
Rilke, Rainer Maria, 617
Rimpf, 624, 657
Rimpl, 361
Rindfleisch, Heinrich, 794
Ring, 848
Ringleb, 302
Ristek, Hermann, 472
Ritscher, Margarete, 1481
Ritt, Fabian, 796

Rittenberg, Vladimir, 603
Ritter, Elisabeth, 843
Ritter, Robert, 1531, 1533, 1534
Ritterbuch, Friedrich, 700
Ritterbusch, Fritz, 776
Ritz, Hans, 983, 984
Ritz, Hans Joachim, 979
Robicsek, Otto, 598
Robinson, Bernard, 804
Röbricht, 160
Roch, Ernst, 236
Rodak-Izso, Helen, 1237
Rode, Johannes, 78
Rödl, Arthur, 159, 694
Rogowski, Władysław, 759
Rohde, 56, 1031
Rohde, Werner, 1006
Rohl, Hans, 1095
Rohloff, Franz, 589
Röhm, Ernst, 78, 134, 183
Rohmer, Albert, 1084
Rohmer, Francois, 1050
Rohner, 505, 506
Rohr, 314
Rohr, Hans, 509
Rolfe, Ilse (née Gostynski), 129
Roller, Albert, 629, 630
Rollmann, Sebastian, 143
Rolnikajte, Maria, 1447
Roman, René, 1033, 1054
Romenko, 1140
Römer, Ida, 1125
Römer, Josef, 60
Römer, Leo, 1442
Rona, Erwin, 793, 794
Roosevelt, Franklin, 207
Ropelius, Kurt, 522
Rösch, Helene, 1201
Roschmann, Eduard, 1243
Rose, 1162
Rose, Charlotte, 731, 1431
Rose, Walter, 1159
Rösel, Franz, 788, 794
Rosemayer, Reinhold, 1232
Rosenberg, Alfred, 1505
Rosenberg, Heinz, 1099, 1100
Rosenberg, Nikolaus, 229, 230
Rosenberg, Siegfried, 476
Rosenberg, Walter (aka Rudolf Vrba), 207, 212
Rosenberg, Werner, 40
Rosenblum, 637
Rosenbusch, 85, 86
Rosenczajig, 339
Rösener, 933
Rosenfeld, 247
Rosenfeld, Jehoshua, 850
Rosenfelder, Alfred, 85
Rosenmeyer, Reinhold, 1252
Rosenoff, 226
Rosenthal, Johanna, 1239
Rose-Roszewski, Witold, 499
Rosin, Albert, 1148
Rosin, Arnost, 212
Röskau, August, 1433
Rosmarin, Abraham, 623
Rossbach, 30
Rossig, Erich, 110, 111
Rossmann, Daniel, 1345
Rost, Willi, 726
Rostek, Hermann, 535
Roszkowski, August, 1433
Roth, Anni, 1288
Roth, Elizabeth, 344
Roth, Erna, 344
Roth, Mathias, 1297
Rothenberger, 175
Rothkopf, Gabriel, 240
Rousseau, Robert, 1377
Rowden, Diana, 1006
Rozansky, Zenon, 341
Rubin, Bronisław, 787
Ruck, Emil, 726
Rückert, 1020, 1022
Rückner, Bernhard, 786
Rudenia, 1483
Ruder, Josef, 483, 484
Rudolph, 369
Rudolph, Arthur, 971
Rudow, Boris, 1242
Ruge, Morton, 1159, 1160, 1162
Ruhland, Arthur, 108
Rühle, Willi, 490, 491
Rühling, 1029
Rühmer, Karl, 530, 531
Rullan, B., 347
Rumkowski, Mordechai Chaim, 1320, 1527
Runde, Ernst, 1494, 1497, 1500, 1503, 1504
Runge, Elfriede, 233
Ruoff, Kaspar, 513
Rup, Ludwik, 274
Rupper, Elisabeth, 305
Ruppert, Friedrich Wilhelm, 499, 1512
Rura, Jan, 717
Rüsch, 838
Rüster, Karl-Heinz, 1155, 1156
Rüstl, Karl, 459, 460
Ruta-Koperkiewicz, Janina, 1528
Rutat, Will, 1310
Ruter, 756
Rutkowski, Henryk, 248
Rutterschmidt, Andreas, 1345
Ruzga, Franciszka (aka Frania Pietrykowska), 737
Ryan, John J., *970*
Ryan, Russell, 1309
Ryłło, Helena, 762
Ryś, Zofia, 1207
Rzyszkiewicz, Antoni, 1443

Saathoff, Menne, 369
Sablonski, 330, 331, 332
Sachs, Max, 160
Sachse, 1303
Sachse, Helmuth, 491
Sachse, Karl, 934
Saeger, 1305
Saenger, Otto, 731, 732
Safran, 720
Sägebrecht, Willy, 1296, 1297
Sakowski, Julius, 1481
Salan, 1087
Salgaller, 1252
Salinger, Siegmund, 92
Salis, Karl, 166, 167
Salivadnij, Nikolai, 480
Saloid, Michailo, 1368
Salton, George Lucius, 1184
Salus, Grete, 650, 651, 652
Salvini, Hermine, 1217
Salzmann, 687
Samorey, Paul, 1294
Samulski, Severin, 368
Sander, Ernst, 971
Sander, Oskar, 48
Sándor, Johann, 485
Sänger, Franz, 772
Sapomenko, Alexander (Senja), 473
Sarnawski, Simeon, 613
Sasko, Karl, 960
Sass, Ilse, 1125
Sasse, Arthur, 1331, 1332
Sauckel, Fritz, 5, 141, 189, 198, 423, 434, 1079
Sauer, 98
Sauer, Albert, 22, 905, 1230, 1231, 1236, 1243
Sauer, Georg Paul, 226, 251
Sauer, Karl, 101, 102
Sauer, Werner, 1243
Sauerwein, Jules Auguste, 8
Saur, Karl Otto, 639
Sauter, 509
Sauter, August, 1461
Sauter, Emil, 1305
Schaaf, Georg, 827, 844
Schaap, Max Franz, 258
Schabe, Paul, 92
Schabrod, Karl, 45
Schacht, Hjalmar, 63
Schack, 1032
Schäde, 90
Schading, Hans, 456
Schädlich, Alfred, 178
Schäfer, Gertrud, 585
Schäfer, Heinz, 1383
Schäfer, Kurt, 1406, 1407
Schäfer, Leonard, 143
Schäfer, Mathias, 1345
Schäfer, Werner, 147, 149, 153
Schäfer, Wilhelm, 123, 294
Schäfer, Willi, 366
Schäffer, Karl, 462
Schaffer, Paul, 230
Schäffler, Anton, 461
Schäffler, Gusti, 461
Schall, Hans, 32
Schallenberger, Alois, 143
Schallermair, Georg, 502
Schallock, Walter, 884
Schang, Paul, 285
Schapiro, Waldemar (born Chaim Wulf), 64
Scharbert, Anni, 1472
Scharf, Erich, 141
Schärfer, Alexander, 598
Scharfetter, Erich, 1494, 1496, 1497, 1499, 1500, 1502, 1503
Scharsich, Herbert, 32
Schattkus, Heinrich, 1507, 1508
Schattner, Johann, 827
Schätzle, Julius, 84, 97, 1028, 1067

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Schauberger, Viktor, 961
Schauf, Edmund, 1104
Scheck, Jakob, 470
Scheel, 1004
Scheer, Diethelm, 251
Scheer, Karl, 79
Scheerer, Alfons, 1026
Scheffe, 1020, 1022
Scheffer, 26
Schehr, John, 60
Scheiblhuber, Johann, 530
Scheidges, Ernst, 52
Scheithauer, Ernst, 582
Schellenberg, Martin, 304, 305
Scheller, 346
Scheller, Ernst, 163
Scheller, Reinhold, 142
Schelvis, Jules, 1067
Schemel, Erich, 1326, 1327
Schemmel, Herbert, 1173
Schenck, Ernst Günther, 1182
Schencker, Hermann, 157
Schenk, 22, 244
Schenk, Otto, 1334
Schenk, Willy, 1304
Scherman, David E., 407
Scherner, Julian, 862, 863
Scherpe, Herbert, 248
Scherwitz, Eleke, 1243
Scherwitz, Fritz, 1242, 1243
Schesyk, Boleslaw, 1050
Schettler, Anton, 1403
Scheunemann, 400
Scheuregger, Stephan, 653
Schevenerdel, Emil, 44
Schich, Ida Sara, 801
Schicha, Heinrich, 789
Schieber, Walther, 1012, 1079, 1172
Schiedlausky, Gerhard, 293, 300, 301, 315, 325, 332, 335, 338, 346, 359, 378, 381, 383, 387, 402, 403, 410, 413, 422, 426, 429, 435, 438
Schiefele, Xaver, 461
Schiefer, Gustav, 134
Schiemann, 154
Schierer, Leo, 1469
Schiering, 1521
Schift, Julius, 1345
Schild, Louis, 65, 66
Schilken, Wilhelm, 914, 928
Schiller, Johann, 951
Schiller, Josef, 952
Schilling, 542
Schilling, Carl, 462
Schilling, Claus, 444
Schillinger, Josef, 236
Schimalla, Franz, 1273
Schindler, Ernst, 936
Schindler, Heinrich, 1313
Schindler, Max, 1458
Schindler, Oskar, 248, 654, 682, 718, 719, 720, 868, 869, 872, 873, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1132
Schippel, 679
Schirmre, Waltrand, 742
Schitli, Wilhelm, 198, 200, 1302
Schlachter, August, 1054
Schlaf, 311
Schlappinger, 598
Schlauch, 23
Schleef, Hermann, 439, 858
Schleicher, Kurt von, 156
Schlenker, Otto, 1294
Schlepmann, Vinzenz, 631
Schlepp, Hermann, 859
Schlote, Karl, 1343
Schlotterbeck, Gertrud, 84
Schmaedig, Ernst, 1348, 1349, 1350
Schmalbruch, Karl, 90
Schmale, 173
Schmatz, Josef, 582
Schmaus, Anton, 33
Schmaus, Johann, 33
Schmeiser, 804
Schmeisser, Elfriede, 339
Schmeling, Max, 63
Schmellentin, Karl, 1306
Schmelt, Albrecht, 699, 759
Schmerse, 579, 583
Schmidt, 51, 324, 332, 335, 425, 426, 535, 601, 690, 746, 1306, 1449
Schmidt, Anny-Lotte, 1477
Schmidt, Bernhard, 120, 159
Schmidt, Emil, 493
Schmidt, Erich, 1379
Schmidt, Gustav, 1385
Schmidt, Hans, 408
Schmidt, Hans Georg, 1331
Schmidt, Heinrich, 991, 992
Schmidt, Helene, 601
Schmidt, Josef, 944
Schmidt, Karl, 412, 975
Schmidt, Martin, 1290
Schmidt, Max, 240, 978
Schmidt, Monika, 759, 760, 777
Schmidt, Sebastian, 1467
Schmidt, Waldemar, 45
Schmidt, Wilhelm, 996
Schmied, Karl, 261
Schmiele, Arthur, 417
Schmittmann, Benedikt, 104
Schmitz, 86, 644, 726, 1298
Schmitz, Josef, 545
Schmitz, Oskar, 1001
Schmitz, Peter Heinrich, 851
Schmitz, Theodor, 1499
Schmitzer, Jakob, 726
Schmitzer, Johann, 726
Schmoll, Peter, 648
Schmutzler, Kurt, 955, 956
Schnabel, Helmut, 1056, 1494, 1497, 1498, 1503, 1504, 1507, 1508, 1509
Schnabler, 1062
Schnaider, 1243
Schneeman, Günther, 980
Schneider, 30, 142, 689, 910, 1310
Schneider, August, 717
Schneider, Georg, 1269
Schneider, Gertrude, 1432
Schneider, Hans, 506
Schneider, Karl, 344
Schneider, Martin, 123
Schneider, Mathias, 1020, 1022
Schneider, Paul, 293
Schneider, Rudolf, 1348, 1349
Schneider, Volker, 834
Schneider, Wilhelm Anton, 1160, 1162
Schnitzler, 513, 552
Schöbel, 134
Schöber (later Steisslinger), Gertraud, 1332
Schoeb, 354
Schöffel, 599
Scholl, Albert, 516
Scholl, Max, 1442
Scholl, Xaver, 506, 507
Schöller, Erich, 949
Scholz, Erich, 1378
Scholz, Ida, 737
Schönberg, 654
Schondorff, Erduin, 1324
Schöneborn, 719
Schönhaar, Eugen, 60
Schönherr, Gustav, 90
Schönhof, Gertruda, 1476
Schöning, 78, 79
Schopp, 1033
Schöpperle, Karl, 910, 915–916, 928, 931–932, 942, 943
Schöps, Herman, 704, 726, 786
Schöttl, Vinzenz, 218
Schrag, 1415
Schragner, 687, 688, 872
Schralm, Sepp, 347
Schramm, Johann, 1334
Schramm, Josef, 363, 364
Schrammel, 808
Schrammel, Erich, 720, 730
Schrappel, Alfred, 58
Schrecken, Rote, 1091
Schreckline, Iwan der, 1091
Schreiber, 27, 155
Schreiber, Conrad Adolf, 1282
Schreiber, Kurt Erich, 591, 642, 647, 689
Schreiter, 402
Schremmer, Albert, 495
Schriefer, Lorenz, 23
Schrittwieser, Hartmann Blasius, 1306
Schröder, 921, 1290, 1298
Schröder, Hermann, 961, 1148
Schröder, Kurt Freiheit von, 635
Schroff, Walter, 640
Schröter, Gisela, 420
Schrötter, Else, 652
Schtitz, 854, 856
Schuba, Franz, 112
Schubert, Alexander, 719
Schubert, Gerhard, 97
Schubert, Max, 527, 528
Schubert, Maximiliana, 527, 528
Schubotz, 129
Schuessler, Erike, 750
Schuhbauer, Joseph, 369
Schuhmacher, 1248
Schulemann, Kurt, 1437
Schüler, Margarite, 763
Schulmeister, Rudolf, 629
Schulps, Madeleine, 1126
Schulte, Erich, 26
Schulte, Fritz, 138
Schulte(r), Ernst, 302
Schultes, Friedrich, 1520

Schultz, Fritz Emil, 894
Schultze, Johann, 658
Schulz, 38, 79, 97, 726, 1089
Schulz, Gustav, 717
Schulz, Hans Joachim, 398, 399
Schulz, Ingeburg, 380
Schulz, Karl, 917
Schulz, Margit, 778
Schulz, Maria, 1131
Schulz, Otto, 1123, 1337
Schulz, Paul, 92, 1468
Schulz, Willi, 485
Schulz, Willy, 1431, 1432
Schulze, Fiete, 90
Schulze, Friedrich, 1020, 1022
Schulze, Helmut, 759, 760
Schulze-Wechsungen, Werner, 147, 149
Schumacher, Kurt, 169
Schumacher, Martin, 9, 10
Schumann, Richard, 85
Schumann, Ruth, 1224
Schüpferling, Johann, 23
Schupp, 97
Schuppke, Kurt, 863
Schurtzmann, Luise, 737
Schuschnigg, 445, 485, 1258
Schuser, Karl, 740
Schütrumpf, Rudolf, 462, 463
Schütz, 24
Schutzmann, Luise, 737
Schwaiger, Max, 0146
Schwalke (or Szwalke), Nikolaj, 714
Schwammberger, 677
Schwank, Walter, 1269
Schwanke, 1181
Schwanke, Otto, 726
Schwannder, Kornelius, 620
Schwanner, Cornelius, 648, 649
Schwartz, 372
Schwartz, Albert, 297, 320, 402, *1422*, 1425, 1446
Schwartz, Heinrich, 216, 218, 221, 224, 242, 245, 260, 266, 1005
Schwarz, 367, 798
Schwarz, Emil, 806
Schwarz, Erika, 1193
Schwarz, Fred, 394
Schwarz, Hans, 511
Schwarz, Ludwig, 610, 611
Schwarz, Rudolf, 60
Schwarzbach, 314
Schwarze, Walter, 694
Schwarzenbacher, Johann, 893, 895
Schwarz-Katz, Else, 1250
Schwarzmann, Johann, 143
Schwaz, Otto, 1272
Schwede, Franz, 142
Schweigert, Jakob, 48
Schweinhardt, Frieda, 1280, 1292
Schweizer, Heinz, 336
Schwellenbach, Franz, 1244
Schwellenberg, Franz, 1244
Schwerin, Paul, 118, 119
Schwesig, Karl, 63, *63*
Schwester Pia (pseud.). *See* Eleonore Baur
Ścisło, Józef, 1106
Scorin, Jerôme, 403
Sebald, Peter, 771
Sebestyen, Nicolaus, 246
Sebrandke, 1175
Sedlacek, Ulrich, 536
Seegers, Wilhelm, 166
Seehaus, Ludwig, 69, 72, 73, 152
Seelmann, 23
Seetzen, Heinz, 75, 76
Seger, 158
Seger, Gerhart, 10, 148, 149, 158
Seger, Renate, 158
Seiberling, 715
Seibold, Wilhelm, 730, 772, 773, 774
Seidel, 142
Seidel, Frieda, 737
Seidel, Gustav, 669
Seidel, Marianne, 162
Seidel, R., 159
Seidemann, 1252
Seidl, Christian, 518
Seidl, Norbert, 518, 519
Seidler, Friedrich August (Fritz), *906*, 921
Seifert, 466, 1160, 1278, 1320
Seifert, Erwin, 1105, 1106, 1298, 1299, 1315
Seifert, Franz, 1320
Seifert, Willi, 1320, 1321
Seiler, Dietmar, 545
Seith, Wilhelm, 1031
Sekules, Erwin, 1244
Selbiger, Kurt, 337, 1365
Seliger, Hanna, 805
Selkin, Sergej, 1401
Sell, 259
Semran, Józef, 717
Sendhoff, Heinz, 64
Senff, Erich, 346
Sengenberger, Hans Nikol, 540, 541
Senger, Hans, 1461
Senksis, 551
Serra, César Orquín, 952, 953
Sette, Ernst, 1470
Seuss, 1054
Seuss, Josef, 470, 535, 1013
Seuss, Wolfgang, 1054
Seweryna K., 679
Seyss-Inquart, Arthur, 814
Shafran, Asher, 536
Sherman, Tamara, 1242, 1243
Sherman-Zander, Hilde, 1244, 1245
Shpungin, Abraham, 1236, 1237
Sichelschmidt, Reinhard, 342
Siczyński, Marian, 959
Siebel, Friedrich Wilhelm, 361
Sieber, 97, 670
Sieber, Gertrud, 982
Siebert, 83
Siebert, Helga, 742
Siebert, Hubert, 543
Siebert, Oskar, 356
Siedlausky, 354
Siegert, Toni, 594
Sieghardt, Josef, 333, 334
Siemen, Heinrich, 143
Sieradzki, Benjamin, 1133, 1146
Siering, Wilhelm, 48
Sieroszewski, Józef, 1451
Sievers, Wolfram, 462
Siewanstock, K., 722
Sigel, Robert, 547
Sigisbert, 134
Sigmann, 892
Sijew, Hryhorij, 271
Sikorskij, Wladimir, 1310
Silbermann, Sally, 45
Silberschlag, Romana, 805
Silbiger, Izydor, 721
Simanowski, 56
Siminisc, Zygfried, 1294
Siminski, Wiktor, *1258*
Simon, 62
Simon, Max, 159
Simonovičové, Růžena, 764
Simson, Löb, 423, 434
Simson, Moses, 423, 434
Singer, Oscar, 1527, 1528
Sirewitz, Elika (Eleken), 1243
Sister Pia (pseud.), 464. *See also* Eleonore Baur
Siwak, Zdzisław, 1043
Skene, Eugenia, 1224
Skiba, Władysław, 702
Skibba, Richard, 33
Skierka, Leo, 1469
Skischus, 356
Sklarenko, Wassili, 554
Sklarz, Leon, 36
Skopnik, Hermann, 1269, 1298, 1299
Skowronek, Franz, 726
Skrotzky, 117, 146
Skrzypczyk, Aleksander, 1479
Slenke, 778
Slipatschenko, Iwan Andrejewitsch, 1391
Smrcka, Rita, 606
Snehurka, 722
Sobocki, Józef Jerzy, 717
Sohl, Friedrich, 348
Sojka, Gertraude, 812
Sokół, Zdzisław, 1159, 1160, 1162
Sokola, Karl, 1104
Sokolov, Viktor, 370
Sokołowski, Edward, 1379
Sokołowski, Leopold, 710, 711
Sol, Dov, 537
Sollmann, Max, 509, 1227
Sollmann, Wilhelm, 104, 107, 108
Solmitz, Fritz, 78
Solnik, Hersch, 663
Söltl, Nik, 598
Sommer, Berta, 756
Sommer, Karl, 650
Sommer, Martin, 294
Sommer, Ricsy, 286
Sonnenberg, Wilhelm, 800
Sora, Josef, 936
Sorell, 383
Soremba, Hans, 1272
Sörensen, Erich, 653
Sorensen, Hans P., *1077*
Sörensen, Henry Jens, 1110
Sorge, Alfred, 1276, 1310
Sorge, Gustav, 66, 1236, *1236*, 1237, 1241, 1242, 1248, 1249, 1269, 1275, 1276, 1292, 1415

Sowiński, Czesław, 1451
Spar, Elizabeth, 801
Speer, Albert, 185, 189, 198, 304, 305, 309, 320, 330, 341, 371, 378, 391, 430, 634, 639, 647, 682, 927, 966, 967, 968, 979, 1012, 1065, 1149, 1166, 1193, 1281, 1320, 1323, 1328, 1333, 1354, 1361, 1384, 1397, 1400, 1428
Spicher, Willy, 157, 177
Spieker, Karl, 244, 245
Spieler, 1132
Spillner, Alfred, 439
Spingarn, Odette, 685
Spiro, Felix, 162
Spiro, Hans, 36
Spitzer, Walter, 227
Spitzlberger, Georg, 498
Sporrenberg, Jakob, 889, 890, 895
Sporrenberg, Paul, 825, 826, 827, 841, 844
Sprengel, Rita, 582
Springfield, Steven, 1247, 1248
Spurk, Nikolaus, 834
Spuskaw, Nikolay, 424
Sredzki, Siegmund, 1326
Srudzinski, 657
Stab, Adam, 864
Stach, Lorentz, 1058
Stachel, Joachim, 543
Staczek, 639
Stagl, Martin, 1462
Stahl, Hellmut, 1344
Stahlecker, Walther, 169
Stahlkopf, Hans, 149
Stahmer, 1394
Stalin, Joseph (son of), 1258
Stanek, Lidia, 768
Stange, Albert, 112
Stanglmeier, 653
Stapel, Else, 1153
Stapf, 719
Starer, Hermann, 142
Stärfl, Franz, 989
Stargardt, Paul, 65
Stark, Leonhard, 1125
Stark, Morris, 918
Staroszczuk, Stefan, 260
Starowie, Rudolf, 908
Starzyński, Jan, 1458
Stasch, Albert, 138
Staudt, 85
Stauffenberg, Claus Schenk Graf von, 484
Stecker, Hans, 287
Stecklina, Hans, 162
Steenberghen, André Van, 1119
Steenbock, Johannes Heinrich, 1131
Stefek, 923
Steffen, 1309
Steffens, August, 126
Stegmann, Wilhelm, 86
Stein, 398
Stein, Georg, 1310
Stein, Robert, 1049
Stein, Traude, 685
Steinbach, 1050
Steiner, Franz, 1345
Steinfurth, Erich, 60
Steinhofer, Hilda, 801
Steinhoff, 27
Steinhoff, Gerda, 1430, 1439, 1440
Steinicke, 1031
Steinkamp, 142
Steinke, Otto, 788
Steissenreuther, 1415
Steisslinger (née Schöber), Gertraud, 1332
Stelling, Johannes, 33
Steltner, Gerhard, 42
Stempel, Rudolf, 97
Stenvers, Fritz, 1320
Stenzer, Emma, 134
Stenzer, Franz, 134
Stepanik, 923
Stepanov, Sergej, 370
Stephan, Elfride, 712
Stephan, Rudolph, 324
Stephun, Carl, 1452
Steppan, Simone, 1193
Sterkowicz, Stanisław, 1119
Sternberg, 22
Steurer, Franz, 947
Steyer, Włodzimierz, 1434
Stiasny, 1350
Stiebel, Martin, 86
Stiefel, Herman (or Hermann), 1039, 1054
Stier, 719
Stier, Ludwig, 955, 956
Stier, Werner, 112
Stiewitz, Fritz, 1499, 1507
Stiller, Edgar, 485
Stiller, Walter, 36
Stingele, Margarete, 1043
Stirnweis, Kurt Konrad, 521, 522
Stiwitz, 403
Stix, Heinrich, 101
St. Mont, Theodor, 645
Stock, 339
Stock, Ernst, 1463, 1464
Stock, Eva Rosencwajig, 339
Stock, Jean, 143
Stockhofe, 126, 128
Stockman, Noah, 883
Stoffregen, Otto, 75
Stoll, Manfred, 23
Stoll, Moses, 23
Stoller, 497
Stolten, Richard, 242
Stoppel, Otto, 730
Storch, Paul, 591, 600, 689
Storkan, Franz, 493
Stosch, 717
Stötzler, Wilhelm, 980
Strahl, Richard, 1272
Straka, Josef, 466
Stransky, Pavel, 1340
Strasser, 1322
Strasser, Gregor, 163
Strasser, Otto, 37
Streibel, Karl, 893, 894, 895
Streicher, Julius, 86
Streiholz, 749
Streilhof, 719
Streim, Alfred, 848, 849
Streit, Stefan, 1134
Streit, Wilhelm, 1050
Streithof, 719
Streitwieser, Anton, 936, 958, 959, 960, 962, 963
Strese, 346
Strieder, 1098
Striegel, Otto, 936
Strippel, Arnold, 877, 1104, 1119, 1124, 1209
Stroop, Jürgen, 842, 1512, 1514
Strothmann, Fritz, 20
Stumpf, Otto, 1415
Sturm, Hermann, 928
Sturmhövel, Helmut, 1295
Stuschka, Franz, 1350, 1351
Stutz, 459
Stutz-Zenner, Theodor, 505
Stuwe, Richard, 123, 124
Sucharski, Zygmunt, 480
Suchet, Noemi, 615
Suchowiak, Henryk, 717
Sudaqua, 1268
Suhren, Fritz, 1188, 1198, 1211, 1329
Sumser, Jakob, 1345
Sürensen, Erich, 653, 654
Sürig, Heinrich, 1181
Susmanek, Henryk, 790
Süssenbach, Walli, 737
Süssmann, 143
Swejtkowski, Rudolf, 356
Świadkiewicz, Tojba, 722
Swidersky, Franz, 895
Świergoła, Stanisława, 615
Szarkowski, Józef, 1487
Szasz, Erzsebet, 392
Szasz, Katalin, 392
Szczibuk, 1508
Szehinskyj, Theodor, 1514
Szende, Stefan, 31
Szerańska, Maria, 1476
Szizhinsky, Joh., 1294
Szlachcikowski, Czesław, 1434
Szmaragd, Tauba, 801, 802
Szochet, Simon, 536
Szolar, Katarina, 451
Szopiński, Franciszek, 1457
Sztybel, Apolinary, 806
Szulc, Stanisław, 726
Szulc, Teodor, 758
Szumańska, Joanna, 379, 380
Szwalke (or Schwalke), Nikołaj, 714
Szwap, 1483
Szymalla, Franz, 1273
Szymański, Władysław, 1459
Szymczak, Ludwig, 967, 969
Szymik, Magdalena, 238
Szymon, Gelhard, 323

Tabaschnik, 110
Tabaschnik, Max, 10, 110
Tabaschnik, Werner, 111
Tabeau, Jerzy, 212
Tackx, Richard, 1153
Taczukowa, Teresa, 1207
Taenzer, 382
Talbot, Walter, 69, 72
Talens, Albert, 537
Tamaschke, Günther, 121, 1188
Tamchyna, Miroslav, 1099, 1100
Tank, Fritz, 51

Tanner, 751
Tänzer, Alfred, 1465
Tanzer, Hilda, 710
Tarabachia, Domenoke, 739
Tarakanow, Andrej, 618
Tarnawski, Kazimierz, 371
Taube, Adolf, 252
Täubrich, Karl, 97
Tauschek, Hans, 1142
Tauscher, Fritz, 883
Taylor-Balfour, 193
Tegeler, Wilhelm, 1115, 1117, 1132
Teichmann, 635
Teichmann, Josef, 763
Teitelbaum, Bernhard, 611
Telschow, Walter Günther, 1058, 1061
Temp, Walter, 1399
Tempski, Julian von, 1376
Tengelmann, Wilhelm, 28, 29
Tenhaaf, Theodor Christian, 17, 18, 75, 76
Tennenbaum, Izchak, 461
Teply, Gustav, 493
Terrenoire, Louis, 491, 492, 494
Tessiers, Georges, 1297
Tettero, Martinus, 1294
Texier, Gigi, 347, 348
Texier, Pierre, 347, 348
Thälmann, Ernst, 292
Theil, Johann (aka Thell), 726
Theiner, Karl, 1501, 1504
Theis, 756
Thell, Johann (aka Theil), 726
Thesen, Matthias, 90
Thews, Edith, 1448
Thiel, Albert, 138
Thiemann, Paul Oswald, 756
Thieme, 1302
Thierack, Otto, 189
Thiessen, Wilhelm, 1457
Thiessen, Willi, 1336
Thimm, Elisabeth, 1439
Thinius, 356
Thode, Christan, 1364
Thomae, Rudolf, 507
Thomas, 39
Thomas, Georg, 484, 967, 969
Thon, Karl, 48
Thöne, 129
Thönes, Hans, 129
Thormann, Will, 1266
Thornseifer, Erich, 60
Thorun, Gustav, 1302
Thuer, 756
Thulke, Ernst Karl, 1453, 1459, 1460
Thumann, Anton, 694, 877, 1077, 1104
Thümmel, Otto Heinrich Paul, 1138, 1148, 1181
Thygesen, Paul, 1151
Thyssen, Fritz and wife, 484
Tichý, Josef, 661
Tiermann, Artur, 168
Tiesch, Walter, 75, 76
Tietz, Käthie, 722
Tillig, Eugen, 694
Tillion, Germaine, 1219
Tipecska, Geza, 546
Tišler, Janko, 934
Tissler, Alfred, 1461, 1462
Tkalschenko, Prochor, 1211
Toberentz, Lotte, 1533, 1534
Todt, Fritz, 198, 1505
Toebbens, Walter Caspar, 888, 889, 890
Tollmann, Paul, 30
Tollmien, Cordula, 353
Tomala, Edward, 771, 772
Tomaske, Else, 655
Tomaszewski, Bronisław, 717
Tomczyk, 1433
Tomei, Giovanni, 995
Torgler, Ernst, 38
Tornbaum, Alfred, 851
Tory, Avraham, 849, 854, 855, 856, 857
Totzke, Wilhelm, 1482
Trampenau, Margarete, 1279
Trapp, Georg Hans, 611
Trauffler, René, 1310
Trautman, 425
Travers, Fernand, 603
Tremmel, Paul, 957
Trenkle, 464
Trenkle, Franz Xaver, 499, 523, 524, 548
Treske, Richard, 694
Treu, Günther Otto, 716
Tribus, Elfriede, 591, 601
Tritthart, 924
Trocha, Hilda, 1201
Trombke, Jens, 420
Trontch, Martin, 1345
Trubatsch, Alexej, 1366
Trummler, Hans, 1298, 1299
Truschel, Karl, 1172, 1173
Trzebinski, Alfred, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1114, 1116, 1119, 1122, 1124, 1128, 1132, 1137, 1158, 1160, 1162, 1164, 1165, 1169, 1176
Tschäpe, Herbert, 1274
Tschernoglasow, Miron Dawidowitsch, 1115
Tschesny, Paul, 1482
Tscheu, Paul, 359
Tschiersky, Alfred, 234
Tschieter, Gerhard, 162
Tschokan, Johann, 726
Tschuppik, Walter, 132, 133
Tuchel, Johannes, 5, 6, 122, 153
Tuchman, Ignaz, 230
Tuchman, Marcel, 230
Tucholsky, Karl, 62
Tünnermann, August, 126
Tyrolt, Georg, 324, 417
Tysarzik, Willi, 1482
Tytoniak, Anna, 267

Uchman, Henryk, 732
Uelzhöfer, 505
Uhl, Julius, 726
Uhlig, Max, 356
Uhling, 1160
Ulbort, Paul, 238
Ulbrich, August, 162
Ulbricht, Karl, 759
Ulbricht, Walter, 998
Ulejski, Ja'akov, 854
Ulfik, Zygmunt, 717
Ullmann, 164
Ullmann, Hans, 163
Unbescheid, 719
Unger, 689, 690
Unger, Anneliese, 591
Unger, Paul, 687
Ungermann, Richard, 48
Unsdorfer, Somcha Bunem, 400
Unterstab, Paul, 87
Upschat (Orbschat), 579
Urban, 347
Urban, Otto, 97
Urbaniak, Jan, 1487, 1488
Useldinger, Yvonne, 1224
Uwer, 511

Vacano, 37
Vahle, 1337
Valk, Erna, 1429
Vanags, 1237
Vanags, Anton, 1237
Vanags, Klara, 1237
Vanags, Skaidrite, 1237
Vařeka, Jan, 640, 641
Vareschi, 944
Varini, Franco, 495
Varnoux, Jean, 936
Vater, 23, 661
Vater, Bruno, 166
Vaupel, Albin, 270
Vavak, Anna or Anni, 1224
Vegh, Lea, 452
Velimirović, Nikolaj, 543
Veller, Willi, 177
Vesper, Karl, 60
Vetter, 199, 1037
Vetter, Helmuth, 218
Vichy, Marquis de, 340
Viebig, Anna, 742
Viehmeyer, Ludwig, 1336
Viktor, Fritz, 44
Vinay, Anise Postel, 1219
Vinne, 159
Vinzenz, Franz, 457, 527
Vizjak-Fortunat, Darinka, 583
Vlasov, Andrei, 1477
Voelke, 726
Vogel, Emil, 318, 703, 704
Vogel, Fritz, 72
Vogel, Heinrich, 1202
Vogel, Kurt, 772
Vogeley, Waldemar, 79
Vogelgsang, Paul, 1318
Vogelsang, 939
Vogl, Emil, 1528
Vögler, Albert, 328
Vogler, Wilhelm, 1231
Vogt, 719
Vogt, Ewald, 29
Vogt, Hannah, 128
Vogt, Helmut, 347
Vogt, Wilhelm, 78
Vohl, Werner, 1050
Voigt, 600
Vokoun, Gerhard, 124
Völker, Kurt, 339
Volkmann, 461
Volkmann, Kurt, 1470

Volkmar, Horst, 454
Völkner, Karl, 1371, 1372, 1390, 1397
Völkner, Karl Wilhelm, 1383, 1384, 1385
Voll, 142
Volland, Johan, 254
Vollenbruch, Andreas, 1283
Vollrath, Paul, 836
Volz, August, 143
Vorlaeufer-Germer, Bernd, 424
Vorländer, Herwart, 1028, 1062, 1067
Voss, Otto, 44
Vostarek, Otto, 923
Voyé, 142
Vrba, Rudolf (aka Walter Rosenberg), 207, 212
Vries, Hans de, 760

Wabbel, Kurt, 436
Wacek, 1483
Wachholz, Werner, 987, 994
Wachsmann, Nikolaus, 5
Wäckerle, Hilmar, 7, 442
Wagner, 57, 422
Wagner, Adolf, 23
Wagner, Alfred, 1181
Wagner, Anton, 548
Wagner, Karl, 529
Wagner, Lothar, 739
Wagner, Martin, 426
Wagner, Richard, 573
Wagner, Robert, 19, 100, 1004
Wagner, Verena, 573
Wagner, Wieland, 574
Wagner, Wilhelm, 496, 537
Wagner, Willi, 666
Wagner, Wolfgang, 573
Wahl, Hans, 1081
Wahl, Otto, 1309
Wahl, Ulrich, 1094
Wajchman, Franciszka, 768
Walchensteiner, Othmar, 112, 113
Waldeck and Pyrmont, Josias Prince zu, 368
Waldmann, Bernhard, 1152
Walenta, Richard, 980
Wall, Johannes, 1427
Walling, August, 1059, 1060
Wallner, Kaspar, 1336
Wallraff, 332
Walter, 232
Walter, Bernd, 1160, 1162
Walter, Bernhard, *217*, 1294
Walter, Ernst, 48
Walter, Friedrich, 1450
Walter, Karlus, 1043
Walter, Wilhelm, 1389, 1390
Walther, 97, 1082
Walther, Fritz, 434
Walther, Georg, 160
Wandt, Rudolf, 287
Wangelin, 1266
Wangerin, Konrad Karl Friedrich, 1156
Wanninger, Leopold, 1466
Wanschura, Emmi, 1131
Wansel, Hans, 1435
Warsitz, 644
Wartenhausen, Alexander Freiherr von, 485
Wasilewski, Alozy, 1385
Wasili, Alexandrow, 1056
Wassenberg, Gisa, 801
Wasser, Nikolaus, 45
Waterford, Helen, *755*
Wawoczny (later Macha), Emilie, 1472
Wawrzyniak, Marek, 724
Wawrzyniak, Walter, 1514
Weber, Alfred, 1221
Weber, Arno, 368
Weber, Charlotte, 1439
Weber, Christian, 466
Weber, Franz, 941
Weber, Fritz, 1452, 1465, 1466
Weber, Karl, 466
Weber, Wilhelm, 1119, 1120
Wechsungen: Schulze-Wechsungen, Werner, 147, 149
Wecke, Walther (or Walter), 73, 165
Wecks, Ossi, 721
Weckwerth, D. A., 338
Wegener, Paul, 1367
Wegner, Armin T., 10, 45, 148
Wegner, Gustav, 1259
Węgrzynowicz, Julian, 1458, 1474
Węgrzynowska, Janina, *755*
Wegses, Hans, 1427
Wehres, Johannes, 1152
Weidenbach, Lotte, 84
Weigel, Gerhard, 159, 922, 1356, 1366, 1367, 1369, 1370, 1380, 1381, 1386, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1403, 1407, 1409, 1410, 1415, 1417
Weigelt, Eduard, 1322
Weil, Josef, 274, *275*
Weilbach, Georg, 639, 640, 668, *669*
Weimann, Benjamin, 710
Weimar, 719
Weinberger, Franz, 463
Weinert, Kurt, 1477
Weinhold, Karl, 428, 429
Weinmann, Martin, 374
Weinrich, 354
Weirich, 834
Weisbricht, Kurt, 772
Weiselewicz (Weislowits), Wilhelm, 703
Weisner, Paul, 1306
Weiss, 30, 142, 470, 726, 730, 1300
Weiss, Heinrich, 1216
Weiss, Martin, 442, 500, 558, 877, 879, 1074, 1077
Weiss, Martin Gottfried, 198, 200
Weissberg, Josef, 1310
Weisse, Fritz, 58
Weisser, 604
Weisser, Erich, 603
Weissman, Siegmund, 143
Weissmann, Jakob, 247
Weissmann, Robert Philipp, 178
Weiter, Eduard, 442, 464, 477, 544
Weitzel, Fritz, 45, 62, 69, 72, 107, 138, 152
Weksler, Susanne, 1232
Weksler: Indurski-Weksler, Raja, 1232
Welantschütz, 687, 688
Weller, Karl, 466
Wellnitz, Paul, 1461, 1462
Welter, Beate, 841–842
Welter, Wilhelm, 481
Welzbach, Emilia, 712
Welzel, 996
Wend, 639
Wendt, Alex, 48
Wenke, Hildegrad, 1283
Wennel, Jakob, 619
Wennemoser, Franz, 1306
Wenskowski, Hermann, 126
Wenzel, 25
Wenzel, Emil, 1442
Wenzel, Franz, 749
Wenzel, Kurt, 1306
Wercheiser, Ben, 892
Werebejczyk, Chanan, 579
Werebejczyk, Miriam, 651, 652
Werenitsch, Iwan Wassiljewitsch, 1404
Werle, Wilhelm, 1494, 1500, 1501, 1502
Werner, 917, 1095
Werner, Christoph, 930
Werner, Frieda, 1268
Werner, Karl, 435
Werner, Paul, 1421, 1533
Werner, Viktor, 1281
Werner, Wilhelm, 938, 1448
Werner, William, 684, 766
Werringloer, Karl, 1107, 1110
Wertheim, Hella, 926
Wertheimer, 160
Wessel, Horst, 6
Westerholz, Michael, 653, 654
Wetterau, 644
Wetzler, Alfred, 207, 212
Wexler, Johann Heinrich, 1134, 1146, 1147
Wey, Hans, 1051
Weydemann, 470
Weygand, Maxime, 543, 544
Weyrauch, Karl, 369
Wichmann, Wilhelm, 1237
Wicker, 1020, 1022
Wicklein, Ernst (or Hermann), 520, 528
Wicklein, Hermann, 1166
Widder, August, 120
Wiechern, Paul, 1462
Wiechert, Heinz, 48
Wiedemann, Karl, 1104, 1111, 1119, 1120, 1128, 1140
Wieden, Wilhelm, 138
Wieland, 410, 756
Wiemer, Hans, 356
Wiendieck, 60
Wienenkampf, 719
Wiernicki, John, *406*
Wiese, 726
Wiesheier, 23
Wiesmeier, 457
Wiesner, 756
Wiest, Wilhelm, 1334
Wigand, Arpad, 204
Wikler, Władysław, 1363
Wilczock, Franz, 33
Wilgé, Nicolas, 1061
Wilhelm, 367, 435, 495
Wilhelm, Bogdan, 1440
Wilhelm, Fritz, 481, 549
Wilhelm, Waldemar, 1452, 1453
Wilke, 1131
Wilke, Otto, 1272

Wilke, Willi, 1519
Wilkus, Franz, 158
Willing, 577
Wilm, Hugo, 755
Wiltzdorf, Helena, 760
Wilwert, Johann-Peter, 1022
Wimmer, Sebastian, 543, 544
Wimmer, Wilhelm, 456
Winckler, Gustav, 178
Windeck, Josef, 218
Winder, Esther, 283
Windisch, Ludwig, 827, 837
Winkler, Arthur, 65
Winkler, Elyahu, 414
Winkler, Jakob, 933, 934
Wintenberg, Martin, 1006
Winter, Alfred, 1240, 1246, 1248, 1249
Winter, Winni de, 521
Winterbauer, 1058
Winzer, Lonny, 746
Wipf, Eugen, 827, 844
Wirker, 1500, 1506
Wirker, Wilhelm, 752
Wirschup, Isaak, 1029–1030
Wirth, Christian, 895
Wirth, Georg, 143
Wirths, Eduard, *190*, 248
Wirtmann, Imre, 485
Wisch, Sofie, 1125
Wischnewsky, L., 347
Wismar, Schulte-Frohlinde, 1216
Wisner, Heinz Günther, 1231, 1232, 1241, 1243, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253
Wiśniewski, Witold, 713
Wisotzki, Johanna, 1448
Wisotsky, Heinz von, 1231, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253
Wiss, 635
Wissmann, Edmund, 570
Witkowski, Aleksander, 1461, 1487
Witt, 75
Witt, Hans-Christian, 1269
Witt, Heinrich, 613
Witt, Willi, 1457
Witte, August, 127
Wittfogel, Karl August, 19
Wittig, Horst, 799, 800
Wittkowski, 954
Wittmann, Franz, 504
Wittmann, Max, 458, 495
Wittner, 1497
Wittwer, Kurt, 1375, 1376, 1387, 1413
Wittwer, Max, 477
Witzig, 1061
Wlepinski, 1347
Włodarczak, Henryk, 785
Wochner, Magnus, 1006
Wodak, Wenzel, 659
Woelke, Hellmuth, 644
Wohlgast, 374
Wohlrab, Christian, 932, 942, 943
Wojasiński, Leon, 1443
Wojciech, Maria, 804
Wójcik, Stanisław, 702
Wójciński, Jan, 721
Wolf, 631, 784
Wolf, Friedrich Karl, 711
Wolf, Hans, 430
Wolf, Martin, 533
Wolf, Paul, 1322
Wolf, Peter, 726
Wolfberg, 1301
Wolfe, Hans, 1329
Wolff, 283
Wolff, Hans, 975
Wolff, Karl, *1422*
Wolff, Karl Paul, 397
Wolff, Otto, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1128, 1132
Wolff, Paul, 160, 1479
Wolföfer, 1459, 1460
Wolfowicz, Helga, 778
Wölk, Arthur, 162
Wölk, Martha, 162
Wolkowyski, 1500
Wollert, Fritz, 79
Wollheim, Norbert, 218
Wolten-Pecksen, Otto, 126, 127
Wolter, H., 1210
Wolter, Helmut, 1211
Wolter, Waldemar, 826, 827
Wolters, 177
Worch, Gisela, 21
Woronow, Wassilij, 713
Wortmann, Jupp, 985
Wortmann, Wilhelm, 1367
Wossagk, 1492
Wotek, Izabella, 1271
Woyciechowski, Franz, 248
Woźniak, Ignacy, 741
Wrbanatz, Peter, 726
Wróbel, Jan Alfred, 1462
Wrobel, Johannes, 550, 551, 556
Wulf, Chaim (later Waldemar Schapiro), 64
Wulf, Karl, 1220
Wülfert, Hans, 463
Wunderlich, Rudi, 1275
Würtelbauer, Josef, 1294
Wurth, 1024, 1031
Wurth, Eugen, 1013, 1056, 1058
Würth-Tscherne, Emil, 1249
Würzburg, Karl, 118
Würzner, Erich, 391
Wuttke, Adolf, 302, 309
Wysocki, Władysław, 806
Wyszecki, Edmund, 1434
Wyszogrod, Morris, 871, 872, 882, 883

Yelin, Chaim, 850

Zabel, Adolf, 113
Zabel, Christian, 112, 113
Zabel, Herbert, 113
Zahm, Hermann, 136
Zahn, Hugo, 1329
Zahnke, 58, 59
Zahorodny, 245
Zakrzewski, Jerzy, 740
Zaltzman-Frankel, Paula, 1250
Zapf, Josef, 486
Zappe, 758
Zatzke, Willi, 672
Zauritz, Josef, 31
Zawierucha, Henryk, 717, 718
Zay, 1195
Zdrojewski, Edmund, 537, 863
Zeewi, Jochanan, 397
Zeichner, 1351
Zeilinger, Friedrich, 514
Zeilinger, Gerhard, 908
Zeitraeg, Albert, 545
Zelman, Marian, 246
Zelynger, Bala, 737
Zemke, Kurt, 1466
Zepelewicz, 1500
Zerchlowitz, Karl, 356
Zetkin, Klara, 19
Zibber, 1449
Ziebarth, 1029
Ziegler, Georg, 89
Ziegler, Johann, 694
Ziegler, Karl, 40
Zielfeld, Heinz, 1500
Zieliński, Franciszek, 1487
Ziereis, Franz, 900, 902, 905, 906, 907, 914, 921
Ziergiebel, Kurt, 487
Zilch, 719
Zill, Egon, 123, 550, 826, 827, 1005
Zill, Friedrich, 89
Zills, Herbert, 1475
Zimetbaum, Mala, 212
Zimmer, Anton, 1020, 1022
Zimmer, Karl, 729
Zimmerman, 596
Zimmerman, B., 756
Zimmermann, 1050, 1267
Zimmermann, Heinz, 1376
Zimmermann, Max, 834
Zink, Johann, 1345
Zippe, 173, 626
Zirkmann, Oskar, 1468
Zirowka, Julius, 923
Zischka, 323
Zoeger, Herbert, 1408, 1409
Zöllner, Hans, 1273
Zölty, Abraham, 598
Zorbach, Ernst, 366, 439
Zörgiebel, Karl, 52
Zuckerman, Meyer, 892
Zuckerman-Gelber, Mania, 892
Zudrowitz, Viktor, 126
Zuk-Skarszewski, Ludwik, *1300*
Zunker, Joachim, 708
Zutphen, H. van, 66
Zwarra, Bruno, 1447, 1464
Zwecker, Alfred, 69
Zwei, Meir, 1507
Zweig, Stefan Jerzy, 293, 379
Zwiener, Willi, 967
Zychski, 772
Zylberstajn, Chaim, 594

PLACES INDEX

The index lists all places—primarily camp names (and their alternate names), towns, and cities—but not names of organization/enterprise locations to be included in another index. The page numbers corresponding to each camp essay are in bold type, for example, "Babitz, **225–226**." If that camp is mentioned elsewhere in the text, the index entry appears in normal type. In most cases, the name of each main camp appears repeatedly in each of that camp's subcamp essays. Therefore, rather than list each individual page, the index entry for each main camp will include a range of pages, in bold type, that covers the main camp essay and all its subcamps, for example, "Vaivara, **1491–1509**." Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations and their captions.

"A1." *See* Lengerich ("A1")
A II Barkhausen. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
"AIII." *See* Beendorf ("AIII") [aka Helmstedt]
"A8." *See* Neckar; Neckarelz I and II
"A10." *See* Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar]
"A11." *See* Schwindratzheim
Aachen, 808, 826, 841, 1385
Aalen, 1069
Abensberg, 666
Abteroda, 298, 338, 392, 407, 427, 428
Abteroda (men), **300**
Abteroda (women), **300–301**
Achdorf Community Cemetery, 498
Ackershausen, 348
Adlerhorst, 423
Adlershorst, **1427–1428**
Adnet, 479
Adorf, 1222
See also Artern
Adun-le-Tiche, 1051
Aflenz. *See* Leibnitz Graz [aka Aflenz, Kalksteinwerke]
Agerbrücke, 953
"Ago." *See* Hadmersleben ("HS")
AGW. *See* Witten-Annen ("AGW")
Ahden, 1519
Ahlem. *See* Hannover-Ahlem
Ahrain, 1389
Ahrensbök-Holstendorf, 9, **17–18**, 75, 76
Ahrtal, 975
Akelsbarg, 369
Akkumulatorenfabrik. *See* Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik*)
Albenburg, 419
Albernau, 314
Alderney, 1356, 1357, 1359, 1366, 1371, 1374, 1375, 1386, 1387, 1395
Alderney (Kanalinsel) (SS-BB I), **1361–1363**
Aldinger, 1155
Alexanderplatz jail, 37, 38
Alexoten, 856
See also Kauen-Alexoten
AL Henschel. *See* Schönefeld [aka AL Henschel]
Allach, 412, 461, 466, 488, 496, 505, 506, 516, 517, 519, 534, 554, 572, 1037
See also München-Allach (*BMW*); München-Allach (*OT Bau*) [aka Rothschwaige]; München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)]; München-Allach (*SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager*)
Allendorf, 1313
Allendorf [aka Münchmühle], **301–304**
Allenstein, 156
Allersdorf, 908
Allgäu, 456, 490, 536, 555
Allofer, 1505
"Alpenrose." *See* Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*)
Alpine Fortress, 193
Alsace, 750, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1009, 1046, 1051, 1053, 1070
Alsfeld, 1416
Altbernsdorf, 709
Alt Daber, **18**, 148
Altdorf, **224**
Altdorf (Stara Wieś), 268
Altenberg, **18**
Altenburg, 378, 394, 395, 413, 419, 426, 430
Altenburg (men), **304**
Altenburg (women), **304–305**
Altenesch, 145
Altenfliess, 1379
Altengrabow, 1268
Altenhammer, **570–571**
Altensothrieth, 286
See also Unterlüss [aka Lager Tannenberg or Altensothrieth]
Altenstadt-Illereichen, 1039
Alte Poste, 636
Alter Flughafen. *See* Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (men), (women)
Alter Horst, 622
Alt-Garge, **1082–1083,** 1126
Althammer, **224–225**
Altheide, 766
Alton, 273
Altona, 69, 70, 79, 112, 1132
Altötting, 476, 663
Altrohlau, 883
Altstadt. *See* Ober-Altstadt
Altthymen, 1199
Alt-Zedlitz (Staré Sedliště), 579
Altzella monastery, 644
Amersfoort, 324, 814, 815, 817, **820**, 1025
Amiens, 1358, 1363, 1369, 1394
Ampfing, 501
Amsterdam, 73, 643, 815
Amstetten, 906, 936, 950, 954
Amstetten [aka Bahnbau I] (men), **908**
Amstetten II [aka Bahnbau II] (women), **908–909**
"An." *See* Abteroda (men), (women)
Angers, 1362
Angersdorf, 432
Anhalt, 157, 327, 409
Ankenbuck, **19–20**, 95, 101
"Anna." *See* Gut Bischofferode ("Anna")
Annaberg (Góra Sw Anny), 699, 762
Annaburg, **306**, 361, 422
Anrath bei Krefeld, **20–21,** 138
Ansbach, **571–572**, 578, 588, 612, 624, **1195**, 1412
"Antoinette" mine, 408
"Anton." *See* Abteroda (men), (women)
Antwerp, 644
Anzing (Anzingen), 1414
Apolda, 297, **306–307**
Arbeitsdorf, **197–201**
Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth. *See* Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Arbeitslager B-3, 983, 984
Arbeitslager Gunskirchen. *See* Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
Arbeitslager Hirtenberg. *See* Hirtenberg [aka Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, Gustloff-Werke]
Arbeitslager Monowitz, 216
See also Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
Arbeitslager Saalfeld. *See* Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La]
Arbeitslager Tschechowitz-Vacuum, 274

Architekt Bücklers. *See* München-Sendling (*Architekt Bücklers*)
Arensdorf, 432
Argenau (Gniewkowo), 1482, 1483
Argus. *See* Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz]
Arnheim, 816, **820**
Arnstorf, 598, 654
Arolsen, **307–309**, 761, 1410, 1535–1538
Arras, 1369
Arro, 1505
Artern [aka Adorf, Rebstock Neu], **975–976**
"Arthur." *See* Arolsen
Arzberg, 230
Asbach, 1046, 1047
  See also Neckarelz I and II/Asbach
Asbach-Bäumenheim, 457
Aschaffenburg, 23, 142, 143
Aschau. *See* Grossraming [aka Aschau]
Aschersleben, 298, 358, 415, 721
Aschersleben (men), **309**
Aschersleben (women), **309–310**
Aseri [aka OT Ostländer Lager], 1493, **1496–1497**, 1498, 1499
Aslau, **702**, 720
Athens, 1035
Attnang-Puchheim, 906, 953
Atzendorf, 421
Atzgersdorf, 1388
Audun-le-Tiche ("Rowa") [aka Deutsch-Oth], **1015**, 1040, 1063
Aue, **572–573**, 640
Auer, 1283, 1287
Auerbach. *See* Bensheim-Auerbach
Auffanglager Innsbruck. *See* Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau]
Aufkirch, 553
Aufkirch Aussenkommando. *See* Überlingen
Aufräumkommando. *See* Salzburg (*Aufräumungskommando*) [aka Salzburg (*Aufräumkommando*); Salzburg (*Aufräumungs- und Entschärfungskommando*)]
Augsburg, 475, 480, 499, 504, 537, 665, 1060, 1427
Augsburg (*Michelwerke*), **451–452**
Augsburg-Horgau, **452–453**
Augsburg-Pfersee, **453–455**, 457, 461, 469, 475, 476, 481, 1042
Augustdorf, 418
Augustusburg, 159
Aulendorf, 1407
Aumale ("Inga") (SS-BB V), 1358, **1363**, 1369, 1370
Aumenau, 1417
Aurich-Engerhafe, 1080
  See also Engerhafe [aka Aurich-Engerhafe]
Auschwitz, **203–275**
  See Auschwitz I main camp
  See Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp
  See Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
  introduction to Section II, 184, 186, 188, 189, *189*, 190, 191, 192, 194
  subcamp system overview, **221–223**
  Auschwitz system, *204*, *209*, *215*, *217*, *221*
  Bergen-Belsen system, 278, 280, 281, 282, 284, 286, 287
  Buchenwald system, 292, 293, 297, 301, 302, 305, 307, 308, 309, 317, 319, 321, 327, 329, 339, 348, 349, 365, 375, 377, 379, 384, 385, 390, 392, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 405, 409, 417, 426, 428, 430, 432, 436
  Dachau system, 444, 541, 472, 473, 477, 485, 488, 489, 490, 501, 502, 505, 517, 530, 536, 543, 554, 561, 567, 569
  Early National Socialist camps, 8, 65
  Flossenbürg system, 578, 582, 585, 586, 587, 595, 596, 599, 603, 605, 606, 609, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 623, 630, 632, 634, 635, 640, 645, 650, 651, 653, 655, 664, 665, 666, 671, 675, 677, 679, 682, 684, 685
  Gross-Rosen system, 694, 695, 696, 699, 703, 708, 709, 710, 712, 713, 715, 719, 720, 722, 723, 725, 727, 728, 729, 732, 734, 736, 738, 743, 744, 746, 748, 749, 750, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 760, 761, 763, 764, 765, 767, 768, 775, 776, 777, 778, 782, 785, 787, 790, 791, 793, 794, 795, 796, 799, 801, 803, 804, 808, 809, 810, 811
  Herzogenbusch system, 814, 815, 821
  Kauen system, 849, 850, 859
  Krakau-Plaszow system, 863, 865, 869, 870, 871, 873
  Lublin system, 876, 877, 879, 881, 893
  Mauthausen system, 900, 906, 911, 917, 921, 922, 925, 926, 935
  Mittelbau system, 966, 968, 969, 970, 973, 974, 975, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 985, 991, 994, 995
  Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1005, 1006, 1010, 1015, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1032, 1033–1034, 1039, 1040, 1042, 1046, 1048, 1063, 1068, 1070
  Neuengamme system, 1074, 1076, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1096, 1097, 1101, 1107, 1112, 1117, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1129, 1141, 1142, 1146, 1149, 1157, 1167, 1170, 1171, 1175, 1179, 1184
  Ravensbrück system, 1188, 1190, 1193, 1195, 1198, 1203, 1213, 1216, 1219
  Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1231, 1237
  Sachsenhausen system, 1257, 1258, 1263, 1265, 1279, 1291, 1298, 1312, 1325, 1329, 1339, 1340, 1351
  SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1354, 1358, 1406, 1407
  Stutthof system, 1420, 1421, 1430, 1435, 1472, 1482, 1485
  Viavara system, 1492, 1493
  Warschau, 1512
  Youth camps, 1527, 1528, 1534
  See also SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII [aka SS-Baubrigade VII (E)] (Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Mittelbau, and Sachsenhausen)
Auschwitz (Oświęcim), 269
"Auschwitz camp" (Gross-Rosen), 713, 715, 716
Auschwitz I main camp, **204–208**, 210, 261, 222, 241, 251, 258, 260, 264, 265, 267, 1016
Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp, **209–214**
  introduction to Section II, 188, 190, *190*, 191, 194
  Auschwitz system, *204*, 205, 206, 207, *209*, 216, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 239, 240, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 260, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 274
  Bergen-Belsen system, 280
  Buchenwald system, 297, 319, 343, 344, 358, 366, 391, 392, 402, 405, 418, 425, 430
  Dachau system, 451, 489
  Flossenbürg system, 595, 606, 634, 645, 664, 677, 679, 684
  Gross-Rosen system, 699, 707, 712, 746, 750, 756, 768, 775, 777, 803, 811
  Mittelbau system, 985
  Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1005, 1016
  Neuengamme system, 1085, 1090, 1096, 1101, 1102, 1115, 1116, 1123, 1125, 1129, 1134
  Ravensbrück system, 1188
  Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1231, 1237, 1249
  Sachsenhausen system, 1264, 1279, 1281, 1312, 1326, 1339
  SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1355
  Stutthof system, 1472
Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna], 66, 206, 210, 212, **215–220**, *215*, 221, 222, 227, 229, 234, 238, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 270, 484, 723, 725, 994, 1141, 1142
Auschwitz-Krenau, 453
Aussenkommando Breda, 820
Aussenkommando Fliegerhorst Klützow, 1210
  See also Klützow
Aussenkommando Stargard, 1210
  See also Klützow
Aussig (Usti n. Laben), 582, 607, 641, 652, 672
Aussig-Schreckenstein, 661
Auvere, 1493, **1497**, 1508

"B." *See* Berlstedt
"BII." *See* Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus")
"BA." *See* Düsseldorf-Grafenberg ("BA") [aka Borsig]
Babelsberg, 1334, 1336. *See also* Potsdam-Babelsberg
Babice. *See* Babitz
Babitz, **225–226**, 251, 252, 253
Bachmanning, **909–910**, 916
Baciunai, 858
Bad Berka, 311, 427
Bad Berka-Martynwerke, 427
Bad Charlottenbrunn (Jedlina Zdrój), 785

Bad Düben, 310
Bad Dürrheim, 19, 95
Baden, 19, 20, 95, 97, 101, 1004, 1009, 1040
Baden-Elsass, 1060, 1061
Baden-Württemberg, 552, 1033, 1034, 1036, 1053
Bad Flinsberg, 1400
Bad Friedrichshall, 1040–1041
Bad Füssing, 622
Bad Gandersheim. *See* Gandersheim [aka Bad Gandersheim]
Bad Grund, 348
Bad Hersfeld, 1416, 1417
Bad Ischl [aka Umsiedlerlager], **455**, 909
Bad Kissingen, 142, 143
Bad Kösen, 419
Bad Kreuznach, 1241, 1249, 1359, 1415
Bad Kudowa (Kudowa Zdrój), 801
Bad Langensalza, 375
Bad Mergentheim, 660
Bad Nauheim (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **830**
Bad Neuenahr, 324
Bad Oberdorf, **455–456**
Bad Oldesloe, 112
Bad Orb, 834
Bad Rappenau, 1047
See also Neckarelz I and II/Bad Rappenau
Bad Saarow, 1263, **1265–1266**, 1306, 1319, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1396
Bad Salzungen, 142
Bad Salzungen (*Heinrich Kalb*), **310–311**
Bad Salzungen (*Ludwig Renntier*), **311–312**
Bad Sassendorf, 1359, 1414
Bad Schandau, 657, 658
Bad Schönborn, 95
Bad Schussenried, 1407
Bad Schwartau, 17, 75
Bad Segeberg, 112
Bad Sulza, 8, **21–23**, 142, 290, 1231
Bad Tölz, **456–457**, 484, 516, 524, 983, 1199
Bad Warmbrunn, **702–704**, 728, 748, 784, 786
Bad Wiessee, 533
Bad Wimpfen, 1019, 1022, 1048
Bahnbau I. *See* Amstetten [aka Bahnbau I] (men)
Bahnbau II. *See* Amstetten II [aka Bahnbau II] (women)
Bahra, 633
Bahrsplate. *See* Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-Deschimag, Bahrsplate]
Balasta. *See* Balastdamm (Balasta)
Balastdamm (Balasta), 1239
See also Riga (Balastdamm)
Balingen/Württemberg, 1058
Ballenstedt (*Napola*), **976**
Baltisch-Port, 1501
Bamberg, 5, **23–25**, 143
Bamberg Wilhelmsplatz state court prison, 142
Banat, 1326
"Barbe." *See* Haslach ("Barbe") [also Vulkan, Kinzigdamm]
Bärenwalde, 314
Barkhausen, 1166
Barskamp Cemetery, 1083
Bartensleben mine, 1083, 1084
Barth, 800, 1193, 1194, **1195–1196,** 1208, 1209, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1337, 1471
Bartolith Werke. *See* München-Freimann (*Bartolith Werke*)
Basdorf, 1296
Basel, 115
Bauerbach, 1015
Baukommando "Weichsel." *See* Thorn (OT) (with subcommands) [aka Baukommando "Weichsel"]
Bäumenheim, 454, **457–459**
Baumschulenweg crematorium, 1338
Bausnitz, **704–705**
Bautzen, 97, 378, 408, **705–706**, 721, 732, 773, 1041, 1349
Bautzen (Kupferhammer), **25**, 61, 97
Bautzen I and II, 25
Bautzen penitentiary, 160
Bavaria, 3, 5, 7, 8, 23, 25, 85, 86, 93, 114, 128, 131, 135, 142, 169, 179, 185, 410, 454, 467, 469, 471, 475, 479, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 488, 490, 492, 493, 494, 497, 500, 527, 534, 538, 542, 545, 546, 550, 551, 552, 555, 561, 567, 568, 597, 610, 622, 657, 665, 673, 752, 762, 831, 833, 839, 922, 1013, 1019, 1052, 1195, 1199, 1243, 1356, 1389, 1417
Bayern, 1192
Bayreuth, 23, **573–575**
Bayreuth (St. Georgen), **25**
Bayrischzell, **459**, 550, 551
Beauval, 1369
Bednary, 806
Będzin (Bendsburg), 249, 259
Beendorf, 1088, 1113, 1122, 1126, 1132, 1167, 1193
Beendorf ("AIII") [aka Helmstedt], **1083–1085**, 1184
Beerfelde, **1266–1267**
Beeskow, 1319, 1342, 1343, 1345
Befehlstelle Strasburg. *See* Elbing (*OT Elbing* complex) [aka Kommando Befehlstelle Strasburg]
Behelfsheim, 572
See also Dresden (*Behelfsheim*)
Behelfswohnbau. *See* Bremen-Uphusen (Behelfswohnbau)
Belgrade, 572
Belsen, 406
Bełżec, 194, 209, 862, 877, 886, 887, 889, 893, 894
Belzig, 1264, **1267–1268**
Bełżyce, 882
Benefeld. *See* Bomlitz [aka Benefeld]
Beneschau, 616, 618
See also Hradischko [aka Beneschau]
Beneschau (Benesov), 1200
Benesov. *See* Beneschau (Benesov)
Benghazi, 409
Benninghausen, 7, **26**, 1413
Bensberg, 364, 1357, 1385
Bensberg (Kdo. Napola) (SS-BB III), **312–313**
Bensberg Castle, 312
Bensheim-Auerbach, **1015**, 1023
Berchtesgaden, 492, 1054
Berg, 334, 663
Berga-Elster ("Schwalbe V"), **313–315**, 390, 430, 702, 974
Berga-Kelbra, 1358
Bergen, 232, 1409
Bergen (Lužické Hory), 671
Bergen-Belsen, **277–288**
introduction to Section II, 192, 193
main camp overview, **278–281**
Auschwitz system, 207, 225, 230, 234, 252, 253, 262, 266, 272
Buchenwald system, 298, 302, 309, 328, 329, 339, 344, 366, 377, 379, 385, 386, 388, 389, 391, 392, 395, 396, 399, 407, 409, 411, 428, 430, 440
Dachau system, 453, 461, 499, 524
Flossenbürg system, 587, 593, 603, 624, 632, 664, 665, 673, 674, 675, 679, 683
Gross-Rosen system, 702, 710, 721, 723, 737, 742, 744, 745, 750, 758, 769, 788, 797, 800, 804, 809
Krakau-Plaszow system, 869
Mittelbau system, 967, 969, 970, 975, 980, 981, 985, 989, 990, 991, 1001
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1013, 1016, 1028, 1032, 1033–1034, 1042, 1066
Neuengamme system, 1075, 1077, 1081, 1084, 1088, 1092, 1097, 1100, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1107–1108, 1113, 1122, 1126, 1130, 1134, 1138, 1140, 1142, 1145, 1147, 1148, 1150, 1167, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1181
Ravensbrück system, 1188, 1190, 1191, 1193, 1208, 1209
Sachsenhausen system, 1313, 1318, 1326, 1340
Stutthof system, 1471
Wewelsburg, 1520
Bergen-Hohne, 280
Berghaus. *See* Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*)
Bergheim, 454
Bergisch Gladbach, 27, 155, 312
Bergisch Gladbach [aka Stellawerk], **26–28**
Bergkamen-Schönhausen, **28–29**
Bergmannschule. *See* München (*Bergmannschule*)
Bergueneuse, 1369, 1382
Berka, 300, 311, 427, 428
Berlin 5, 6, 20, 48, 52, 55, 59, 61, 82, 85, 87, 92, 120, 147, 148, 149, 163, 188, 232, 234, 313, 330, 341, 359, 402, 408, 429, 477, 484, 521, 548, 584, 603, 627, 634, 673, 738, 740, 742, 755, 764, 765, 784, 1009, 1012, 1041, 1048, 1074, 1084, 1090, 1097, 1131, 1137, 1176, 1178, 1200, 1215, 1221, 1223, 1227, 1230, 1240, 1250, 1251, 1256, 1263, 1265, 1266, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1305, 1311, 1314, 1318, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1336, 1338, 1342, 1344, 1350, 1367, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1398, 1409, 1415, 1492
Berlin (*Arado*), **1268–1269**
Berlin (Friedrich-Krause-Ufer), **1269**
Berlin (General-Pape-Strasse), **29–31**
Berlin (Kastanienallee), **1270**
Berlin (*Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS*), **1270**

Berlin (SS-BB II), **1363–1365**
Berlin-Biesdorf, 29
Berlin-Brandenburg, 1263, 1290
Berlin-Britz, 1328
Berlin-Charlottenburg (Maikowski-Haus), **31–32**, 65, 1275, 1328, 1351
Berlin-Friedenau, 1083
Berlin-Grunewald, 1396
Berlin-Hakenfelde, **1270–1271**
Berlin-Haselhorst. *See* Berlin-Siemensstadt [aka Haselhorst, Berlin-Haselhorst]
Berlin-Kaiserallee, 1315
Berlin-Köpenick, **32–34**, **1271–1272**, 1316, 1388
Berlin-Kreuzberg, 165
Berlin-Kreuzberg (Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234), **34–35**
Berlin-Kreuzberg (Hedemannstrasse), **35–37**
Berlin-Lichtenberg, 1275
Berlin-Lichtenrade, **1272–1274**, 1277, 1347
Berlin-Lichterfelde, 630, 668, 1105, 1106, 1256, 1269, **1274–1277**, 1277, 1279, 1295, 1303, 1315, 1388
Berlin-Marienfelde, 1273, **1277–1278**, 1343, 1344
Berlin-Mitte, 1275
Berlin-Moabit, 37, 38
Berlin-Müggelheim, 1269
Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse], **1279–1280**
Berlin-Niederschöneweide (*Pertrix*), 1271, 1275, **1280–1282**
Berlin-Oberschöneweide, 868
Berlin-Plötzensee, **37–39**, 50
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg [aka Wasserturm], **39–41**
Berlin-Reinickendorf, 1334
Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz], **1282–1283**
Berlin-Schönholz. *See* Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz]
Berlin-Siemensstadt, 1279
Berlin-Siemensstadt [aka Haselhorst, Berlin-Haselhorst], 230, **1283–1287**
Berlin-Spandau, **41–42**, 456, 1083, 1273, 1277, 1283, **1287–1289**
Berlin-Steglitz, 668
Berlin-Tegel, **1289–1290**
Berlin-Tempelhof, 61, 743
Berlin-Tiergarten (Universum-Landesausstellungspark), **42–43**
Berlin-Treptow, 1338
Berlin-Wannsee, 60
Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1275, **1290**
Berlin-Zehlendorf, 1275, 1279, **1290–1292**
Berlstedt, 291, 297, **315–316**, 384, 400
Bernartice. *See* Bernsdorf (Bernartice)
Bernau, 147, 149, **1292–1293**, 1296
Bernburg, 188, 292, 309, 407, 408, 409, 415, 1076, 1190
Bernburg/Ballberge, 377
Bernhausen, 1027
Bernsdorf, 637, 700, **706–707**, 755, 801, 802, 810
Bersdorf-Friedeberg, **707–708**
Berstadt, 835
"Berta," 330, 332
See also Düsseldorf-Derendorf ("Berta") (with "Borsig")
Berufsschule. *See* Schleissheim (*Berufsschule*)
Bessarabia, 471, 1447
Beucha, 345
Beuthen (Bytom), 250, 253
Biała Podlaska, 889
Biała Woda. *See* Weisswasser (Biała Woda)
Białystok, 190, 242, 758, 877, 878, 880, 891, 895, 1420, 1483
"Biber." *See* Georgi mine
"Biber II." *See* Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld]
Biberach, 1407
Biberhaken in Unterfahlheim, 530
Bielawa, 759, 761
Bielefeld, 327, 1315, 1322
Bielefeld-Brackwede, 1519
Bienenbüttels, 1174
Biesenthal, **1293–1294**, 1306, 1347
Biesnitz, 708
Biesnitzer Grund [aka Görlitz], 700, **708–709**, 763
Bikernieki forest, 1232
Bilá Voda. *See* Mährisch Weisswasser (Bilá Voda) and Weisswasser (Bilá Voda)
Billbrook, 1129
Billroda, **316–317**
Bilohe. *See* Lübberstedt [aka Bilohe]
Bily Kostel nad Nisou (Weiss Kirchen an der Neisse), 757
Binau, 1047
See also Guttenbach [also Binau and Neunkirchen (Fahrbereitschaft)]
Binau Castle, 1034
See also Schloss Binau
Bindermichl, 928
Bingen, 1404
Bingerbrück, 1358, 1404, 1405
Birgsau. *See* Oberstdorf-Birgsau
Birkackerhof. *See* Lauingen (I, II, and Birkackerhof)
Birkenau. *See* Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp
Birkenfeld, 170, 838
Birkenhain. *See* Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain]
"Birkenwald." *See* Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain]
Birkhahn-Mötzlich. *See* Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich]
Birnbäumel, 700, **709–710**, 750
Bischofferode, 979, 982, 983, 984, 990, 988
See also Gut Bischofferode ("Anna")
Bischofferode-Eichsfeld, 983
See also Kleinbodungen/Bischofferode-Eichsfeld
Bisingen, 1013, **1015–1018**, 1023, 1024, 1026, 1031, 1065, 1066
Bismarckhütte [aka Königshütte], **226–227**, 981
Bitterfeld, 310, 348
Blachownia Słąska. *See* Blechhammer
Blaichach, **459–460**
Blangy-sur-Ternoise, 1383
Blankenburg, 974, 985, 988, 1001
Blankenburg-Oesig ("Klosterwerke"), **976–977**
Blankenburg-Regenstein ("Turmalin"), **977–979**
Blankenhain, 427, 428
Blankenhain Sandgruben (sand pits), 427
Blankensee, 1310
Blatno, 676
Blechhammer, 226, **227–228**, 242, 245, 247, 259, 265
Bleckede, 1082
Bleicherode, **979**
Bleicherstrasse, 1222
Bliedersdorf, 1149
Bliżyn, 249, 252, 878, **880–882**
Block 31, 921
"Blood Fortress" (Blutburg), 34
Blosenberg, 1042
Blumberg, 147, 1004
Blumenau (Jedlinka Górna), 800
See also Riese/Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau]
Blumenthal, 1091
See also Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-Deschimag, Bahrsplate]
Bobrek, **228–231**, 253
Bochum, **44**, 344, 1309, 1385
Bochum (*Bochumer Verein*), **317–318**
Bochum (*Eisen- und Hüttenwerke*), **318–320**
Bochum (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III), **1365–1366**
Bochumer Verein, 319
See also Bochum (*Bochumer Verein*)
Bockau, 314
Bodensee, 1032
Boelcke-Kaserne, 969, 970, 974, 977, 980, 982, 996, 1397
See also Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*)
Böhlen, **320–321**, 390, 430, 623, 624
Böhmen und Mähren, 926
Böhmerwald, 601
Bohemia and Moravia, 231, 409, 567, 609, 615, 621, 669, 670, 671, 802, 877, 945
Böhmische-Kamnitz (Ceská Kamenice), 660, 671
Bohnsack, **1428**
Bohnsack (Sobieszewo), 1486
Bohuslavice nad Úpou. *See* Bausnitz
Boizenburg, **1085–1086**
Bolesławiec. *See* Bunzlau (Bolesławiec)
Bolkenhain, **710–711**, 749
Bolków. *See* Bolkenhain
Bologna, 495
Bomlitz [aka Benefeld], 280, **282–284**
Bönen, 28
Bonn, 841
Bonner Wall, 102, 103
See also Köln (Bonner Wall)
Bór, 233, 572, 630, 688
Börgermoor [aka Papenburg I], 7, 9, 10, 20, 29, 44, **44–47**, 62, 63, 68, 69, 70, 73, 120, 137, 138, 139, 148, 151, 152, 153, 178
Borgward-Werke. *See* Bremen (*Borgward-Werke*)
Born, 1193, **1196–1197**, 1204

Borner Hof, 1196
Börnicke [also Meissnershof], **47–49**, 147, 148
"Borsig," 332
See also Düsseldorf-Derendorf ("Berta") (with "Borsig"); Düsseldorf-Grafenberg ("BA") [aka Borsig]
Boryslaw, 865
Botten, 1482, 1483
Bottrop, 1385
Brabag. *See* Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*) [aka Magda]
Brahnau. *See* Bromberg-Brahnau (*DAG Nobel*) [aka Lager 15]
Brande (Prądki), 762
Brandenburg, 7, 18, 37, 38, 69, 82, 148, 390, 700, 743, 1193, 1199, 1204, 1211, 1215, 1221, 1227, 1256, 1259, 1263, 1289, 1295, 1309, 1312, 1336, 1339, 1343
Brandenburg an der Havel, **50–52, 1294–1295**
Brandenburg an der Havel prison, *50*
Brandenburg-Görden 50, 1294
Brandenburg penitentiary, 165
Brand-Erbisdorf, 676
Brandhofen. *See* Niesky/Brandhofen; Spohle/Brandhofen
Braunauerstrasse. *See* Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse]
Braunes Haus, 105, 107, 108
See also Köln (Mozartstrasse) [aka Braunes Haus]
Braunesumpf mine, 976
Braun Haus (in Görlitz), 118
Braunsbedra, 387
Braunschweig, **321–322**, 473, 554, 1080, 1081, 1085, 1138, 1172, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1367, 1400
Braunschweig (*Büssing NAG*), **1086–1087**
Braunschweig (*SS-Reitschule*), **1088**
Braunschweig (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*), 1177, **1088–1089**
Braunschweig/Salzgitter, 1103
Brauweiler, 7, 29, **52–53**, 102, 104, 129, 138
Breda. *See* Gilze Rijen [aka Breda]
Breddewarden, 1399
Bredow. *See* Stettin-Bredow [aka Vulkanwerft]
Breendonck, 354
Bregenz, 499
Brehna, 702
Breitenau, 7, **53–55**
Breitenbrunn, 314
Breitenfelde-Neustadt, 1165
Breitenwang. *See* Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (men), (women)
Bremen, 3, 5, 116, 117, 124, 125, 144, 146, 170, 171, 702, 840, 888, 890, 977, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1157, 1181, 1354, 1357, 1380, 1391, 1399, 1403
Bremen (*Borgward-Werke*), **1089**, 1096
Bremen (*Hindenburgkaserne*), **1089–1091**, 1096
Bremen (SS-BB II), **1366–1368**
Bremen Berlin, 1357
Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*, Bahrsplate], **1091–1092**, 1099, 1100
Bremen-Deschimag. *See* Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*, Bahrsplate]; Bremen-Schützenhof [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*]
Bremen-Farge, 1079, 1080, 1091, 1092, **1093–1094**, 1162
Bremen-Findorf, 124
See also Missler (Walsroder Strasse) [aka Bremen-Findorf]
Bremen-Gröpelingen, 1091
Bremen-Kriegsmarine. *See* Bremen-Neuenland *and* Bremen-Osterort
Bremen-Neuenland [aka Bremen-Kriegsmarine], 1091, 1093, **1095–1096**, 1098
Bremen-Obernheide, 1090, **1096–1098**, 1101, 1102
Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine], 1091, 1093, 1096, **1098–1099**
Bremen-Riespott. *See* Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine]
Bremen-Schützenhof [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*], 1092, **1099–1101**
Bremen-Uphusen (Behelfswohnbau), **1101–1102**
Bremen-Vegesack, **1102**
Bremerhaven, 116, 117, 144, 145, 1157
Bremervörder, 1098, 1116, 1128
Brenner, 485
SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1408
Breslau (Wrocław), 55, 72, 204, 694, 720, 723, 725, 729, 759, 762, 763, 777, 786, 799, 804, 1084, 1408
Breslau I, **714–715**, 716
Breslau II, 714, **715–717**
Breslau-Dürrgoy, **55–57**, *56*, 68, 72
Breslau-Hundsfeld, 700, **712**, 714, 715
Breslau-Lissa, 699, **712–714**
Bretstein, **910–911**, 928, 932, 953
Bretsteingraben, 910
Bretzenheim, 1415
Brieg [aka Pampitz], **717–718**
Briesen [aka Falkenhagen], **1295–1296**, 1304, 1306, 1322, 1347
Brillit, 1116, 1128
Brinkenfelde, 234
British Channel Islands. *See* Alderney
Brněnec, 718
Brno (Brünn), 231, 371, 718, 868
Brodnica (Strasburg), 1449
Bromberg (Bydgoszcz), 1251, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1455, 1483, 1485
Bromberg-Brahnau (*DAG Nobel*) [aka Lager 15], **1428–1430**, 1431
Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód), 1430
Bromberg-Ost (*Reichsbahn*), 1429, **1430–1431**
Browarski, 473
"Brown House" in Worms, 150
Brual-Rhede (IV), 152
Bruchsal, 100
Bruck, 471
Bruck an der Mur, 941
Bruck Castle, 471
Brückenkopfbau. *See* Elbing [aka Brückenkopfbau, Stoboi bei Elbing]
Brückenthin, 1197
Brühl, 52, 1404
Brüningsau, 479
See also Halfing [aka Brüningsau]
Brünn (Brno), **231–233**, 955
Brünnlitz, 700, **718–720**, 736, 873
Bruno Brodniewicz, 981
Bruno-Bürgel-Weg, 1281
Brunshausen, 346
Brunsmann Inn, 1155, 1156
Brunswick, 805
Bruntal (Freudenthal), 238, 239, 263
Bruss (Brusy), 1431
Brussels, 354, 633, 1091, 1387
Brüssen-Brünnlitz, 248
Bruss-Sophienwalde, **1431–1433**
Bruttig, 830
See also Cochem [aka Bruttig und Treis]; Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Bruttig]
Brüx, **575–576**
See also Most (Brüx)
Brzeg. *See* Brieg [aka Pampitz]
Brzeg Dolny. *See* Dyhernfurth (Brzeg Dolny)
Brzeszcze, 269
Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice mine, 255, 256
Brzezina, 746
Brzezinka (Birkenau), 209, 210, 266
Bucharest, 371
Buchenwald, **289–440**
introduction to Section II, 185, 192, 193
main camp overview, **290–295**
subcamp system overview, **296–299**
Arbeitsdorf, 199
Auschwitz system, 205, 216, 230, 240, 242, 247, 253, 256, 265, 273, 274
Dachau system, 443, 445, 461, 472, 473, 474, 489, 505, 543, 544
Early National Socialist camps, 8, 10, 22, 65, 66, 100, 120, 122, 159, 160
Flossenbürg system, 572, 576, 588, 593, 616, 619, 623, 624, 627, 639, 653, 654, 664, 666, 673
Gross-Rosen system, 700, 706, 711, 713, 718, 730, 732, 734, 739, 748, 749, 782, 811
Hinzert system, 826, 827, 838
Krakau-Plaszow system, 869
Lublin system, 877
Mauthausen system, 900, 957
Mittelbau system, 966, 967, 968, 969, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 984, 985, 993, 994, 997, 998
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1015, 1019, 1021–1022, 1023, 1025, 1028, 1030, 1044, 1056, 1061
Neuengamme system, 1074, 1084, 1102, 1103, 1139
Ravensbrück system, 1189, 1194, 1195, 1208, 1209, 1210
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1232, 1239, 1248
Sachsenhausen system, 1259, 1268, 1296, 1303, 1321, 1322, 1327, 1329, 1335

SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1354, 1357, 1358, 1365, 1366, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1377, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1390, 1391, 1395, 1397, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1411, 1414, 1416, 1417
Stutthof system, 1466
Warschau, 1512
Wewelsburg, 1518, 1520
Youth camps, 1534
Buchenwald Rebstock, 975
Buchwald-Hohenwiese. *See* Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese
Budapest, 132, 229, 279, 407, 499, 674, 675, 676, 802, 811, 1128, 1287, 1307, 1308, 1326
Budel, 1387
Budweis (Ceske Budjovice), 596, 636
Budy, **233–234**, 251, 253
Budzyń, 719, 720, 870, 871, 872, **882–884**, 891
Buetzow, 1334
Bukołowo. *See* Kurzbach (Bukołowo)
Bullenhuser Damm. *See* Hamburg-Rothenburgsort [aka Bullenhuser Damm]
Buna. *See* Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
Bunkerbau. *See* München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*)
Bunzlau (Bolesławiec), 699, 720, 745, 753, 809, 810
Bunzlau I, 593, **720–721**
Bunzlau II, 702, **721**
Burgau, 452, 454, **460–462**, 499
Burgau-Scheppach, 461
Burgebrach, 24
Burgenlaud, 292, 1195
Bürgergarten Inn, 1377
Bürgerhaus Hotel, 979
Bürgersäle, 54
Burggraben, 1435
Burggraf mine, 316
Burghausen, 663
Burgkirchen an der Alz, 476, 477
Burgsdorf (Berezovka), 1472
Burgstall, 1398
Bussany, 1070
Büssing-Werke (Schillstrasse), 1175
Butschowitz, 909
Buttelstedt, **322**
Buxtehude, 1123, 1130
Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), 1427, 1429, 1431, 1485
Bydgoszcz-Wschód, 1430
Bystrzyca Kłodzka, 737
Bytom (Beuthen), 250, 253, 721

Café Ritter, 842–843
Calais, 1369
Calbe, 1002
Calw, 664, 1010, **1018–1019**, 1034
Camp 54, 931
Camp Cooperative West (Gemeinschaftslager West), 1200, 1201
Canada. *See* "Kanada"
Carpatho-Ukraine, 811
Carstens. *See* Danzig-Schellmühl (*Carstens*)
Cassel, 1369
Catholic Vorau Convent, 941
Cegielnik (Ziegelwiese), 1483
Celle, 281, 340, 396, 1169
Celle/Hannover, 1028
Cement Labor Camp (SS-Arbeitslager Zement), 911
Cemeteries: in Bad Sassendorf, 1414; in Darmstadt, 1410; in Offenburg, 1410; in Stuttgart, 1410
Cemetery of Honour, Flossenbürg Memorial, 646
Červená Voda, 764
Ceské Budejovice, 676
Chalon-sur-Saône, 826
Cham, 600
Charlottenburg, 31, 1284
See also Berlin-Charlottenburg (Maikowski-Haus)
Charlottengrube, 222, **234–236**
Cheb (Eger), 419, 723
Chełm, 893
Chełmek-Paprotnik [aka Chelmek], **236–237**
Chełmno, 194
Chełmski Śląskie. *See* Schömberg (Chelmsko Slaskie)
Chemische Werke. *See* München (*Chemische Werke*)
Chemnitz, 159, 160, 314, 394, 407, **576–577**, 585, 594, 612, 613, 627, 650, 676, 1405, 1414
Cherbourg, 1361, 1362
Chiemgau, 552
Chojna, 1211
Chorabie, 1482, 1483
Chorzów, 226
Chorzów (Königshütte), 226
Chorzów-Batory (Bismarckhütte), 226
Chrastava. *See* Kratzau; Kratzau (Chrastava)
Christianstadt, 700, **722–723**, 742, 768, 777
Chrzanów (Krenau), 253
Chynów, 1432, 1436
Cieplice. *See* Bad Warmbrunn (Cieplice)
Cieplice Zdrój, 702
Cínovec, 723
Cinwald (Zinnwald, now Cínovec), 723
Clausthal-Zellerfeld, 348
Clermont-Ferrand, 593
Cloppenburg, 1160, 1162
Coburg, 23, 93, 94, 142, 613
See also Neustadt bei Coburg [aka KALAG]
Cochem [aka Bruttig und Treis], **830–831**
Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Bruttig], **1019–1021**
Cochum-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Treis], **1021–1023**
Coehoornkazerne, 820
Colanto, 811
Colditz, 5, **57–59**, 89, 157, 159, **322–324**, 345, 378
Colditz Castle, 57, *58*, 118, 154
Colditz gravel pit, 323
Colmar. *See* Kolmar (Colmar); Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar]
Cologne, 27, 52, 53, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 155, 312, 314, 328, 330, 331, 337, 341, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 412, 425, 427, 541, 554, 708, 724, 734, 844, 1201, 1243, 1293, 1295, 1303, 1322, 1323, 1332, 1340, 1346, 1354, 1357, 1358, 1365, 1369, 1371, 1372, 1374, 1382, 1383, 1385, 1397, 1404
See also Köln
Cologne, Westfriedhof cemetery, 1365
Cologne 6th Defense District, 1385
Cologne Cathedral, 373
Cologne-Deutz, 333
Cologne penitentiary, 104
Cologne Trade Fair Center, 371, 373
Colosseum. *See* Regensburg [aka Colosseum]
Columbia (Berlin), 1417
Columbia-Haus, 8, **59–61**, 120, 166, 185, 1231, 1259
Compiègne, 439, 1046, 1095
Comthurey [aka Dabelow], 1193, **1197–1199**, 1199, 1204
Copenhagen, 79, 1344, 1505
Cottbus, 1326, 1327, 1328
Crawinkel, 311, 403
See also Ohrdruf/Crawinkel
Cuxhafen, 150
Cygańska Góra. *See* Gypsy Hill (Cyngańska Góra)
Czarne, 91
Czechowice, 274
Czersk, 1473
Częstochowa (Tschenstochau), 323, 345, 420, 880

Dabelow, 1197
See also Comthurey [aka Dabelow]
Dąbrowski coal region, 717, 720, 736
Dachau, **441–558**
introduction to Section II, 183, 184, 185, 193
main camp overview, **442–447**
subcamp system overview, **448–450**
Arbeitsdorf, 200
Auschwitz system, 205, 216, 241, 255
Buchenwald system, 293, 294, 307, 314, 347, 348, 375, 402, 412, 415
Early National Socialist camps, 5, 7, 9, 10, 22, 23, 53, 58, 60, 64, 65, 66, 85, 86, 94, 100, 117, 120, 122, 123, 132, 133, 134, 136, 142, 143, 146, 150, 151, 160, 170
Flossenbürg system, 571, 574, 599, 603, 611, 612, 613, 627, 633, 646, 647, 649, 660, 666, 679
Gross-Rosen system, 730, 739, 752, 760
Herzogenbusch system, 816
Hinzert system, 827
Kauen system, 850, 855, 859
Lublin system, 877, 879
Mauthausen system, 900, 902, 907, 923, 938, 943, 944, 948
Mittelbau system, 967, 971, 979
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1005, 1006, 1010, 1013, 1015–1016, 1016–1017,

1019, 1023, 1026, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1037, 1039–1040, 1041, 1042–1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1051, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1058, 1061, 1066, 1067, 1069, 1070
Neuengamme system, 1075, 1087, 1096, 1108, 1153, 1160
Ravensbrück system, 1190, 1194, 1195, 1227
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1232, 1249
Sachsenhausen system, 1259, 1295, 1310, 1326
SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1354, 1359, 1400, 1404, 1409, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1417
Stutthof system, 1427
Viavara system, 1494
Warschau, 1514
Wewelsburg, 1520
Youth camps, 1534
See also SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (Dachau and Sachsenhausen)
Dachau (*Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS*), **462–463**
Dachau (*Fleischkonservenfabrik Wülfert*), **463–465**
Dachau (*Gut Pollnhof*), **465**
Dachau (*Präzifix GmbH*), **465–467**
"Dachs IV," 974
See also Osterode-Petershütte ("Dachs IV")
"Dachs VII." *See* Mockethal-Zatzschke
"Dachs VIII." *See* Mockethal-Zatzschke
"Dachsbau." *See* Bad Saarow
Dachsgrube coal mine, 264, 265
Dahmshöhe, **1199–1200**
Dallgow, 1297
Dallgow-Döberitz, 1534
Dalum. *See* Meppen-Dalum
Dammsmühle, **1296–1297**
Dammsmühle Castle, 1296
Damshöhe, 1220
Dangelsdorf, 1268
Dannhausen, 348
Danzig, 189, 578, 1027, 1231, 1232, 1240, 1243, 1245, 1246, 1248, 1251, 1253, 1265, 1305, 1312, 1422, 1425, 1428, 1435, 1437, 1464, 1476, 1479, 1486, 1494, 1506
See also Gdańsk
Danzig (*Betonfabrik*), **1433**
Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troy1, Lager Troy1], **1433–1435**
Danzig (*Schichau-Werft*), **1435–1437**
Danzig (*Schulemann*), **1437–1438**
Danzig (*SS-Hauptversorgungslager*), **1438**
Danzig (*SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel*), **1438–1439**
Danzig-Burggraben, 1482
Danziger-Werft. *See* Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troy1, Lager Troy1]
Danzig Highlands (Danziger Höhe), 1446
Danzig-Holm, **1439–1440**
Danzig-Holm (Gdańsk-Ostrów), 1439
Danzig Kokoszki, 1435
Danzig-Langfuhr, **1440–1441**
Danzig-Langfuhr (Gdańsk Wrzeszcz), 1433
Danzig Lowlands (Danziger Niederung), 1446
Danzig-Matzkau, **1441–1442**, 1479
Danzig-Neufahrwasser, 1425, 1427, 1433, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1452, 1454, 1455, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1464, 1474, 1486
Danzig-Ohra, 470
Danzig-Oliva (Gdańsk-Oliwa), 1442
Danzig-Oliva (*Reitschule*), **1442–1443**
Danzig-Opitzstrasse [aka Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer], **1443**
Danzig Orunia, 1438
Danzig prison, 1425, 1457
Danzig-Schellmühl (*Carstens*), **1443**
Danzig-Schellmühl (Otto Jost), **1443–1444**
Danzig-Troyl. *See* Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troy1, Lager Troy1]
Danzig-Westerplatte, 1441, **1444–1446**
Danzig-Zigankenberg, **1446**
Darmstadt, 60, 150, 151, 303, 836, 1015, **1023**, 1409, 1410
Darss, 1196
Darss Forest, 1196
Darss-Wieck, **1102–1103**
Darss-Zingst, 1102, **1103**
Daudenzell, 1047
Daugeliai, 858
Dautmergen, 1013, 1016, 1017, **1023–1025**, 1026, 1031, 1036, 1065, 1066, 1494
"Dead Zone," 1380, 1381
Dębica, 868, 1056, 1070
Dębno, 1330
Deelen air base, 820
Deggendorf, 652
Deggendorf quarry, 654
Degussa, 243
Deiningen, 524
Delitzsch, 310, 702
Delmenhorst, 171
Demblin, 889
Derendorf. *See* Düsseldorf-Derendorf ("Berta") (with "Borsig")
Dernau, 417, 975, 1019, 1021, 1063
See also Dernau an der Ahr [aka Rebstock]
Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau"), **324–325**
Dernau an der Ahr [aka Rebstock], **1025**
Derne, 1368
Der Sand (also Todestal), 884
Deschimag. *See* Bremen-Blumenthal [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*, Bahrsplate]; Bremen-Schützenhof [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*]
Dessau, 158, 329, 408, 436, 440, 811
Dessau (*Dessauer Waggonfabrik*), **325–326**
Dessau (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*), **326–327**
Dessauer Ufer. *See* Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men), (women)
Dessauer Waggonfabrik. *See* Dessau (*Dessauer Waggonfabrik*)
Dettenhausen, 524
Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager. *See* Gotenhafen (*Deutsche Werke* Kiel) [aka Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager]
Deutsch-Oth. *See* Audun-le-Tiche ("Rowa") [aka Deutsch-Oth]
Deutschoth, 1063
See also Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Deutz, 332, 370
Diago-Tiefstack, 1116
Diepolz, 251
Dijon, 1362
Diksmuide, 1386
Dippoldiswalde, 582
Dippoldsau, 905, **911**, 916
Dirschau (Tczew), 1483
Döberitz, 1263, **1297–1298**
"Dogger." *See* Hersbruck
Döhlen, 665
Dollfuss, 291
Dolny Śląsk. *See* Niederschlesien (Dolny Śląsk)
Doly, 629, 630, 688
Domachau, **1446–1448**
Domažlice, 399
Dommitzsch, 1142
Don, 472, 473
Donaueschingen, 95
Donauwörth, 457
Dondangen (Dundaga), 1231, 1232, 1241, 1248, 1249
Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen], **1236–1238**
Dora, 192, 193, 227, 297, 325, 340, 379, 401, 411, 435, 911, 957, **965–1002**, 973, 975, 979, 980, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 991, 998, 1001, 1300, 1356, 1377, 1388, 1390, 1393, 1394, 1397, 1398
See also Mittelbau main camp [aka Dora]; Nordhausen
Dora-Mittelbau. *See* Mittelbau main camp [aka Dora]
Dora-Mittelwerk, 540
Dorbnicken estate, 1460
Dorchucza, 889
Dorfbach (Rzeczka), 799
Dorfstadt, 58
Dormettingen, 1013, **1025–1027**
Dornburg, **327–328**
Dornburg Castle, 123
Dorndorf, 310, 418, 827
Dörnhau, 699, 703, 704, 736, 760, 785, 786, 787, 789, 790, 791, 792, 794, 795, 796, 797
See also Riese/Dörnhau
Dörnhau (Kolce), 728, 784
Dornholzhausen, 423
Dörnigheim, 1030
Dorohucza, 895
Dorpat, 1501, 1504
Dörpen, 20
Dortmund, 26, 52, 243, 244, 298, **328**, 1385, 1519

Dortmund (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III), **1368–1369**
Dotternhausen, 1026
Doullens, 1358, 1363, 1382, 1383, 1394, 1395
Doullens [aka SS-Baubrigade West] (SS-BB V), **1369–1371**
Drais, 834
Dramburg (Drawsko Pomorskie), 1429
Drancy, 242, 699
Draždany, 723
Drechsel (Restaurant Drechsel), 42
Drehnitzlager, 1201
Dreibergen, 165
Dresden, 25, 57, 59, 87, 97, 98, 110, 111, 230, 314, 321, 390, 400, 568, 569, 572, 577, 578, 588, 595, 604, 624, 633, 634, 650, 664, 669, 670, 674, 683, 689, 702, 721, 751, 752, 768, 772, 773, 774, 1147, 1405, 1416
See also Königsbrück bei Dresden
Dresden (*Behelfsheim*), **577–578**
Dresden (*Bernsdorf & Co.*), **578–580**, 637
Dresden (*Reichsbahn*). *See* Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*)
Dresden (*SS-Pionier-Kaserne*), **580–582**, 633
Dresden (*Universelle*), **582–584**, 637
Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Goehle-Werk*), 577, **584–586**
Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Werk Reick*), **586–587**
Dresden-Bauleitung, 581
Dresden Deutsche Reichsbahn, 624
See also Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*)
Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*), **587–589**
Dresden-Mathildenstrasse, **61–62**
Dresden-Tolkewitz, 1340
Dresden Trachenberge, 159
Drögen, 1263, **1298–1299**
Drohobycz, 865
Druette, 1080
Druseltal. *See* Kassel-Druseltal
Drütte, **1103–1104**, 1140, 1160, 1169, 1172, 1173, 1177
Dubí (Eichwald), 723
Dubnica, 956
Duderstadt, **328–330**, 440
Duererhof, 338
Duisburg, 312, 328, 341, 1052, 1354, 1357, 1365, 1375, 1385
Duisburg (SS-BB III), **1371–1373**
Duisburg (SS-BB I), **1373–1374**
Duisburg-Meiderich, 1374
Düna, 1242
Dünawerke, 1231
See also Riga (Dünawerke)
Dundaga. *See* Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen]
Durach, 494, 495
Düren, 841
Dürmendingen, 1010
Dürrgoy, 55
See also Breslau-Dürrgoy
Dürrnhausen-Habach, 456
Düsseldorf, 20, 45, 52, 72, 73, 105, 152, 177, 341, 1091, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253, 1305, 1354, 1355, 1357, 1361, 1362, 1372, 1373, 1385
Düsseldorf (SS-BB III), **1374–1375**
Düsseldorf (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*), **330–332**
Düsseldorf (Kirchfeldstrasse), **332–333**
Düsseldorf (Prussian), 174
Düsseldorf (SS-BB I), **1375–1377**
Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) [aka Ulmer Höh], **62–64**
Düsseldorf-Derendorf ("Berta") (with "Borsig"), 317, 327, **333–335**
Düsseldorf-Grafenberg ("BA") [aka Borsig], **335–336**
Düsseldorf-Kalkum (SS-BB III), 328, 332, **336–338**
Düssin, **1105**
Dusslingen/Nehren, 1015
Dwory, 205, 215
Dyckerhoff und Widmann. *See* München-Freimann (*Dyckerhoff und Widmann*)
Dyhernfurth, 699, 786
Dyhernfurth I, **723–725**
Dyhernfurth II [aka Lager Elfenhain], **725–727**
Działdowo (Soldau), 1463
Dziemiany, 1431, 1432
Dzierzążnia, 1528

"E." *See* Erzingen; Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf")
East Prussia, 92, 112, 156, 234, 576, 782, 1212, 1320, 1350, 1420, 1453, 1454, 1460, 1463, 1466, 1468, 1478, 1479
Ebenhausen, 530
Ebensee, 235, 455, 788, 797, 906, 908, **911–913**, 925, 936, 942, 942–943, 951, 952, 957, 960, 963, 1409, 1410, 1414, 1416
Ebensee/Wels II [aka Wels], 235, **913–914**
Ebersberg, 502, 546
Ebershalden, 1027
Eberswalde, **1200–1202**, 1203, 1204, 1337, 1344, 1481
Ebingen, 1031
Echelsbach. *See* Eschelbach [aka, erroneously, Echelsbach]
Eching [aka OT, Neufahrn], **467–468**
Echterdingen, **1027–1028**
Eckernförde, 79
Eckerwald, 1058
Edt, 917
Egeln, 437
Egelsdorf (Mroczkowice), 707, 738
Eger, 399
See also Cheb (Eger)
Eggenfelden, 654
Egingen. *See* Hayingen [aka Ebingen]
Ehrengut. *See* München (*Ehrengut*)
Eibenstock, 669
Eichsfeld, 983
See also Kleinbodungen/Bischofferode-Eichsfeld
Eichstätt. *See* Nürnberg/Eichstätt
Eichwald. *See* Dubí (Eichwald)
Eidelstedt, 1180
See also Hamburg-Eidelstedt
Eil, 155
Eilenberg/Sachsen, 660
Eilenburg, 702
Eindhoven, 816, **820**
Einhorn estate, 232
Eintrachthütte, **237–238**, 255, 261
"Eisbär." *See* Kochendorf ("Eisbär")
Eisenach ("Emma," "Em"), 298, 300, **338**, 827, 1310, 1391, 1416
Eisenberg, **590**, 618, 667
Eisenerz, **914**, 941
Eisenreichdornach, 908
Eiserfeld, 1265, 1305
Eisleben, 702
Elberfeld, 1400, 1401
Elberfeld-Barmen, 1385
Elbing (Elbląg), 1425, 1435, 1448, 1449, 1472
Elbing (*OT Elbing* complex) [aka Kommando Befehlstelle Strasburg], **1448–1450**
Elbing (*Schichau-Werft*), **1450–1452**
Elbing (*Schichau Werke*), **1452–1453**
Elbing [aka Brückenkopfbau, Stoboi bei Elbing], **1448**
Elfenhain. *See* Dyhernfurt II [aka Lager Elfenhain]
Elisenau manor, 147
Elley-Meiten, 1231, **1238–1239**
Ellrich, 968, 969, 974, 1209, 1220, 1357, 1376, 1394, 1401
Ellrich (SS-BB IV), **1377–1379**
Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte], 967, **979–981**
Ellrich-Juliushütte, 969, 973, 983, 984, 985, 988, 991, 1020, 1377, 1397, 1398
See also Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte]
Ellrich/Woffleben (Lager B-12), **981**
Ellwangen, **468**, **1028**
Elmshorn, 79, 113
Elsass, 169, 170. *See also* Alsace
Elsnig, 283, **339**
Elster. *See* Berga-Elster ("Schwalbe V")
"Em." *See* Eisenach ("Emma," "Em")
"Emil." *See* Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf")
"Emma." *See* Eisenach ("Emma," "Em")
Emmerting. *See* Gendorf [aka Emmerting]
"Emmi." *See* Kleinbodungen ("Emmi") [aka Werk III]
Emsland, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 26, 29, 44, 57, 62, 63, 64, 69, 72, 102, 113, 117, 120, 121, 137, 138, 146, 152, 153, 156, 178, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1248
See also Papenburg [aka Emsland]
Enchendorf, 654
Endingen, 1031
Engelsburg. *See* Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg]
"Engelsdorf." *See* Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf")
Engerhafe [aka Aurich-Engerhafe], **1105–1107**

Engstlatt, 1015, 1017
Enns, Ennsdorf, **914–915**
Ennsdorf. *See* Enns, Ennsdorf
Enz, 1037
See also Vaihingen/Enz
Enzingerboden, 556
Equipagenweg, 392
Erbenheim. *See* Wiesbaden-Erbenheim [aka Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst, Erbenheim]
Erdmannsdorf. *See* Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf
Ereda, 1056, 1493, 1494, 1496, **1497–1498**, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1504, 1506, 1507, 1508
Erfurt (Petersberg and Feldstrasse), **64**, 162, 348, 375, 396, 419, 634, 668, 1054, 1329
"Erich." *See* Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte]
Erkelenz, 605
Erkner, 1266, 1314
Erla, 593
Erlau, 598
Erlenbusch, 699, 704, 785, 799
See also Riese/Erlenbusch
Erlenbusch (Olszyniec), 785
Ernst Stich Quarry, 570
Ernstthal. *See* Hohenstein-Ernstthal
"Erz." *See* Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Erzgebirge, 305, 569, 590, 644, 668, 674, 676, 688
See also Oelsnitz im Erzgebirge
Erzgebirgskamm, 594, 614, 640, 644
Erzhausen, 1409
Erzingen, 1012, **1028–1030**, 1031, 1056
Eschelbach [aka, erroneously, Echelsbach], **468–469**
Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT"), **339–341**, 417, 713, 1063
Eselsheide, 1315
Espenfeld. *See* Ohrdruf/Espenfeld
Essen, 298, 328, 330, 331, 334, 350, 1357, 1385
Essen (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*) ("Schwarze Poth 13"), **341–343**
Essen (Humboldtstrasse), **343–345**, 349
Essen-Kupferdreh, 349
Esslinger, 1027–1028
Estedt, 987
Esterwegen, 8, 10, 11, 19, 29, 44, 63, 79, 123, 137, 138, 185, 783, 1236, 1241, 1248, 1249, 1256, 1259, 1266, 1269, 1283, 1293, 1294, 1306, 1310, 1315, 1319, 1345, 1347, 1396, 1417
Esterwegen, IKL, **64–68**
Esterwegen II [aka Papenburg II], 45, **68–72**, 73, 137, 138, 139, 152, 153
Esterwegen III [aka Papenburg III], 10, 68, 69, 70, **72–75**, 152, 153
Estland, 489
Estonia, 1023
Etlingen, 1042
Ettstrasse, 131, 132, 133
See also München (Ettstrasse)
Etzenhofen-Köllerbach Arbeitserziehungslager (AEL), 826
Eule (Sowina), 787
See also Riese/Falkenberg [aka Eule]
Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie), 728, 777, 782, 785, 787, 790, 792, 794, 796, 799
Eutin, 9, 17, **75–77**, 1158

"F." *See* Frommern
Fa. Gollnow und Sohn. *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Fahls, 495
Falkenau, 588, **590–593**, 600, 689, 690
Falkenberg, 699, 786, 797, 1122
See also Riese/Falkenberg [aka Eule]
Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate, 1123
Falkenburg (Złocieniec), 1429
Falkenhagen. *See* Briesen [aka Falkenhagen]
Falkenheim prison, 58
Falkenhof, 544
Falkenhöh, 1300
Falkenried, 112
See also Kuhlen [aka Rickling, Falkenried, Innere Mission]
Falkensee, 48, 1264, 1312, 1340
Falkensee [with Staaken], **1299–1302**
Falknerhof, 291
Fallersleben, 198, 340, 1056, 1062, 1081, 1110, 1167, 1184, **1302–1303**
Fallersleben (*Volkswagenwerke*), **1107–1108**
Fallersleben-Laagberg, 1107, **1108–1110**
Fallingbostel, 282, 1283, 1294
Farge, 1081, 1098, 1100
See also Bremen-Farge
Fasterheide. *See* Küstrin
Faulbrück, 759, 763
Faun, 647
Fehmarn, 193
Feldafing, **469–471**
Feldafing am Starnberger See, 502
Feldberg, 1199, **1202–1203**
Feldberg/Mecklenburg, 1202
Feldmoching, **471**
Feldstrasse, 64
See also Erfurt (Petersberg and Feldstrasse)
Fellern in der Schneiderau, 556
Ferch, 1364
Ferch (SS-BB II), **1379**
Fertigungsstelle Siemens, 1193
Fichtelgebirge, 230
Findorf. *See* Missler (Walsroder Strasse) [aka Bremen-Findorf]
Finkenheerd, 1304
Finkenwerder. *See* Hamburg-Finkenwerder
Finow, **1203–1205**
Finow Valley, 1200, 1203
Finthen, 834
See also Mainz-Finthen [aka Finthen]
Fischbachau, **471**
Fischen, 555
See also Kottern/Fischen
Fischerbabke (Rybina), 1435
Fischhorn, **471–472**
Flanders, 1386
Flatow (Złotów), 1429
Flensburg, 1151, 1207
Fliegerhorst. *See* Wiesbaden-Ergenheim [aka Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst, Ergenheim]
Fliegerhorst Klützow, 1210
See also Klützow
Flöha, 381, 567, **593–595**, 721
See also Plaue bei Flöha
Flöha/Saxony, 594
Floridsdorf, 957, 959, 960, 962, 963
See also Wien-Floridsdorf and Jedlesee [aka Floridsdorf I and II]
Flössberg, **345–346**, 378, 413
Flossenbrück, 472
Flossenbürg, **559–691**
introduction to Section II, 185, 193
main camp overview, **560–565**
subcamp system overview, **566–569**
Auschwitz system, 240, 248, 255
Buchenwald system, 293, 297, 311, 312, 321, 330, 341, 375, 381, 402, 405, 432
Dachau system, 443, 445, 505, 543
Early National Socialist camps, 8, 53, 85, 123
Gross-Rosen system, 695, 700, 718, 721, 730, 735, 742, 751, 752, 768, 769, 790, 792, 794, 798
Hinzert system, 837
Krakau-Plaszow system, 870, 872, 873
Mauthausen system, 939
Mittelbau system, 979
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1010, 1070
Neuengamme system, 1074
Ravensbrück system, 1189, 1194, 1210, 1224, 1226
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1232, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253
Sachsenhausen system, 1259, 1326
SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1397
Stutthof system, 1461
Flughafen. *See* Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (men), (women)
Flugplatz. *See* Praust (Flugplatz)
Flussbach, 844
Forbach, 1031
Forchheim, 23
"Ford." *See* Köln-Niehl [Köln-"*Ford*"]
Förrenbach, 608
Fort Göben Casemate I, 1045
Fortkaserne, 115
Franken, 481
Frankenberg, 158, 159
Frankenthal-Mörsch (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **831**
Frankfurt, 1066, 1499
Frankfurt am Main, 212, 218, 229, 250, 333, 494, 1124, 1332, 1410, 1415, 1417
Frankfurt am Main [aka Katzbach], **1030–1031**

Frankfurt an der Oder, 165, 218, 1295
Frankfurt an der Oder district, 50, 1211
Frankfurt-Heddernheim, 836, 837
Free State Oldenburg, 170
Freiberg, **595–597**, 607, 676
Freiburg, 19, 554, 689, 700
Freiburg (Swiebodzice), 807
Freiburg an der Elbe, 473
Freiburg in Schlesien, **727**
Freidrichstadt, 332
Freiendiez/Lahn, 29
Freiheit. *See* Osterode-Freiheit (*Firma Curt Heber*)
Freilassing, 1409
Freimann, 484
See also München-Freimann (*Bartolith Werke*); München-Freimann (*Dyckerhoff und Widmann*); München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*)
Freising, 1425, 1446
Freital, 1405
Freiwaldau, 753
Fréjus, 826
Freudenthal, **238–239**
Friaul, 638
Friedeberg. *See* Bersdorf-Friedeberg; Gebhardsdorf [aka Friedeberg]
Friedeberg (Mirsk), 707
"Friede" mine, 1009
Friedenthal Castle. *See* Schloss Friedenthal
Friedersdorf, 709
Friedland, 703, **727–729**, 788, 792, 794, 797
Friedrich-Augustgrube coal mine, 264
Friedrich-Krause-Ufer, 1364, 1388
See also Berlin (Friedrich-Krause-Ufer)
Friedrichmoor, 416
Friedrichsberg (Kolonia Górna), 799
Friedrichshafen, **472–474**, 540, 553, 554, 956, 966, 988, 1407
Friedrichshulder Weg, 1112
Friedrichstadt. *See* Dresden-Friedrichstadt (*RAW*) and Dresden (*Reichsbahn*)
Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234. *See* Berlin-Kreuzberg (Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234)
Fritzlar, 302
Fröbeln (Silesia), 1408
Frommern, 1012, **1031–1032**
Fronfest prison, 110
Frose, 979
Frose-Bleicherode, 995
"Fuchsbau." *See* Bad Saarow
"Fuggerhaus." *See* Königsberg (Newmark)
Fuhlsbüttel, 8, 9, 76, 90, 174, 175, 176
See also Fuhlsbüttel [aka Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel]; Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel
Fuhlsbüttel [aka Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel], **77–79**
Fuhlsbüttel penal complex, 174
Fuhlsbüttel prison, 76, 1116, 1380
Fuhrberg, 1138
Führerheim Westlager, 1330
Führungs-Nachrichtenbunker, Alt-Golm, 1265
Fulda, 1327, 1417
Fuldaberg, 54
Fulda-Werra, 307
Fünfteichen, 657, 699, 708, 724, **729–731**, 753, 763, 796
Fürstenberg, 461, 1267
Fürstenberg (Oder), **1303–1305**
Fürstenberg/Havel, 1199, 1210, 1211, 1215, 1227, 1298, 1299
Fürstenfeldbruck, 458
Fürstengrube, 206, 218, **239–241**, 250, 489, 978
Fürstengrube-Altanlage, 239
Fürstengrube-Neuanlage, 239
Fürstensee. *See* Neustrelitz-Fürstensee
Fürstenstein, 699
See also Riese/Fürstenstein
Fürstenwalde, 1265, 1266, 1295, **1305–1306**, 1319, 1347, 1396
Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee, 1342, 1343, 1345
Fürth, 85, 1412
Füssen, 60

Gabbert, 1211
Gabersdorf, 699, 700, **731**
Gablingen, 453, **474–476**, 481, 1042
Gablonz, 700, **731–733**, 766, 781, 810, 811, 981
Gaggenau, 1037, 1053
Gaiganz, 23
Galicia, 865, 893
Galicia District, 149
"Gallinit" project, 1067
Gammertingen/Neufra, 1017
Ganacker, **597–598**, 652, 654
Gandersheim [aka Bad Gandersheim], 297, **346–348**
Garchinger Heide (Garching Meadows), 467
Gardelegen, 970, 987, 998, *1144*, 1145, 1378, 1398
Garmisch-Partenkirchen, **476**, 508
Gartenfeld, 1285
Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl. *See* München (*Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl*)
Gassen, 717, **733–734**
Gau Central Franconia, 85
Gau Oberdonau, 952
"Gazelle." *See* Weferlingen ("Gazelle")
Gdańsk, 1208
See also Danzig
Gdańsk-Oliwa. *See* Danzig-Oliva (Gdańsk-Oliwa)
Gdańsk-Ostrów. *See* Danzig-Holm (Gdańsk-Ostrów)
Gdańsk-Przeróbka. *See* Danzig-Troyl (Gdańsk-Przeróbka)
Gdańsk Wrzeszcz. *See* Danzig-Langfuhr (Gdańsk Wrzeszcz)
Gdingen. *See* Gdynia; Gotenhafen
Gdynia, 1425, 1427, 1433, 1434, 1438, 1443, 1454, 1455, 1474, 1479, 1481. *See also* Gotenhafen
Gdynia Grabówek (Gotenhafen-Grabau), 1427
Gdynia Orłowo, 1427
Gdynia Redłowo (Gotenhafen-Hochredlau), 1427
Gebhardsdorf [aka Friedeberg], 699, **734–736**, 755
Gebhardtshagen, 1177
Geflügelfarm Harmense, 251
Geilenberg. *See* Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men), (women)
Geisenheim, 1010, **1032–1033**
Geislingen an der Steige, 486, 1010, 1027, **1033–1034**, 1039, 1054
Geldern, 841, 1180
Gelnhausen [aka Rothenbergen bei Gelnhausen], **831–832**, 837, 842, 1030
Gelsenkirchen, 343, 624, 1351, 1385, 1520
Gelsenkirchen-Horst, **348–350**, 419
Gelsenkirchen-Rotthausen, 349
Gemeinde Hümmling, 64, 72
Gendorf [aka Emmerting], **476–478**
General Government, 191, 304, 378, 571, 862, 864, 865, 868, 869, 877, 885, 888, 889, 893, 894, 1056, 1231, 1512, 1527
General Pape Strasse. *See* Berlin (General-Pape-Strasse)
Genoa, 658
Genshagen, 1009, 1047, 1048, 1064, **1306–1309**
Genthin, 1000, **1309**, 1331
Georgenstadt, 655
Geppersdorf, 719, **736**
Gera, 430, 624
Gerdauen, **1453–1454**, 1459, 1463, 1471, 1477, 1479
Gerichtsgefängnis I Stuttgart-Zweigstelle Weimarstrasse, 83
Germering [aka Neuaubing], **478**
Germersheim, 839
Gertraudten, 1268
Gęsiówka, 1512
Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais. *See* München (*Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais*)
Gewann Lehmgrube, 1061
Ghent, 1362, 1387
Giebułtów, 734
Giesing, 133
See also München-Giesing (*Agfa Kamerawerke*)
Giessen, **350–351**, 359, 680, 836, 1415, 1416, 1417
Gifhorn, 993
Gilze-Rijen [aka Breda], 816, **820**
Gladbach, 26, 27
See also Bergisch Gladbach [aka Stellawerk]
Glasau Manor, 977
Glasmoor, 175
Glasstuben hotel, 671, 672
Glatz (Kłodzko), 737, 766, 788
Glau, 1263, 1265, 1269, **1309–1311**
Glauchau, 305, 419
Glau-Trebbin, 1288
Gleina. *See* Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleina] [aka Wille]
Gleiwitz (Gliwice), 212, 218, 225, 227, 240, 250, 271, 489, 607, 736, 1296
Gleiwitz I, **241–243**
Gleiwitz II, 230, **243–244**, 253

Gleiwitz III, **244–246**, 250
Gleiwitz IV, **246–247**
Gleiwitzer Hütte, 244, 245
Gleiwitz-Steigern, 243
Glewe. *See* Neustadt-Glewe
Gliwice, *See* Gleiwitz
Glöwen, 1306, **1311–1314**, 1336
Glückstadt, 7, 9, 78, **79–81**, 112
Głuszyca.
See Wüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca)
Głuszyca Górna, 704
See also Oberwüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca Gorna)
"Gluto." *See* Porschdorf
Gmunden, 925
Gnewin (Gniewino), 1472
Goddentow (Godętowo), 1436, 1483
Goehle-Werk. *See* Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Goehle-Werk*)
Gogolin, 243, 762
Goldbach, 554
Goldenhöhe, 314
Goldfields ("Goldfeld"), 1493, **1498–1499**, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1508
Goldingen (Kuldiga), 1237
Goleniów. *See* Gollnow
Golleschau, 222, **247–249**, 260, 648, 649, 719
Gollnow, 7, **81–82**
Gollnow und Sohn. *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Góra Św. Anny (St. Annaberg), 699, 762
Góra Włodarz. *See* Wolfsberg (Góra Włodarz)
Görden, 1268
Görden prison, 1294
Görlitz, 118, 119, 400, 702, 705, 708, 709, 717, 721, 729, 753, 754, 763, 772, 811, 1478
See also Biesnitzer Grund [aka Görlitz]; Leschwitz bei Görlitz [aka Weinhübel]
Górsk (Gurske), 1483
Góry Sowie. *See* Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie); Wałbrzych im Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie)
Görz, 638
Gorzanów. *See* Grafenort (Gorzanów)
Görzke, 1268
Gościeradów, 882
Gosen, 1364
Goslar, **351–352**, **1110**
Gotenhafen, 1427, **1454–1455**
Gotenhafen (*Deutsche Werke* Kiel) [aka Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager], **1455–1457**
Gotenhafen-Grabau. *See* Gdynia Grabówek (Gotenhafen-Grabau)
Gotenhafen-Hochredlau. *See* Gdynia Redłowo (Gotenhafen-Hochredlau)
Gotenhafen-Kiel, 1455
Gotentof, 1432
Gotha, 402
Gottersgrün, 314
Gottesgab, 314
Gottesgrün, 314
Gotteszell, **83–84**, 168
Göttingen, 125, 126, **352–353**, 364, 396, 1530
Götzing manor, 553
Gräben, 699, **736–737**, 805
Grabina. *See* Gräben (Grabina, in Strzegom)
Grafenberg. *See* Düsseldorf-Grafenberg ("BA") [aka Borsig]
Gräfenhainichen, **84–85**
Grafenort, 700, **737–738**, 766
Grafenreuth, **598–600**
Gräfentonna, 21
Gräflich-Röhrsdorf, 699, **738**
Gralsleben, 433
Gramzow, 1227, 1228
Graniczna Wieś. *See* Grenzdorf
Graslitz, 394, 568, 591, **600–603**, 665, 1193, 1224
Graz, 459, 914, 924, 939–940, 945, 1350, 1389
Graz-Thondorf, 924
Greiffenberg (Gryfów Śląski), 707
Greifswald, 1221
Grein, **915**
Grenzdorf, 1425, 1427, 1441, 1446, **1457–1459**, 1479
Gressenich, 841
Grieben, 1331
Groden, 1483
Gröditz, **603–605**
Grodno, 1483
Gröpelingen, 1092, 1099
Grosse Gadow See, 1197
Grossen-Buseck, 1415, 1416
Grossenhain, 702
Gross Hesepe. *See* Meppen-Versen/Gross Hesepe
Grosshesselohe, 524
Gross-Hubnicken estate, 1460
Gross Karben, 333
Gross-Koschen, **738–740**
Gross Laasch, 1086
Gross Lesewitz, **1459**
Gross Pankow, 383
Gross-Popowitz. *See* Velké Popovic (Gross-Popowitz)
Grossraming [aka Aschau], 905, 909–910, 911, **915–917**, 924, 932, 952, 954, 957
Gross-Rosen, **693–812**
introduction to Section II, 186, 192, 193
main camp overview, **694–697**
subcamp system overview, **698–701**
Auschwitz system, 228, 231, 242, 245, 247, 250, 253, 255, 263, 265, 266, 272
Buchenwald system, 292, 293, 297, 358, 375, 381, 420, 432
Dachau system, 453, 550
Flossenbürg system, 574, 588, 593, 609, 610, 618, 627, 634, 638, 657, 672, 673
Herzogenbusch system, 815
Krakau-Plaszow system, 872, 873
Lublin system, 877, 885
Mauthausen system, 901
Mittelbau system, 966, 969, 974, 978, 980, 981, 985, 991
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1046
Neuengamme system, 1085, 1148, 1150
Ravensbrück system, 1192, 1194
Sachsenhausen system, 1259, 1263, 1325, 1329, 1330
Gross-Rosen/Reichenbach, 1167
Gross-Sachsenheim, 1067
See also Vaihingen/Unterriexingen (with Gross-Sachsenheim)
Grossschlachterei Thomae. *See* München (*Grossschlachterei Thomae*)
Grosswerten, 1069
Grosswerther, **981–983**, 991
Grottkau, 333
Grube Haarmann. *See* Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Grudziądz, 1438
Grulich, **740–741**
Grünberg, 609, 699, 753, 767, 803, 804
Grünberg I, **742–743**, 804
Grünberg II, **743**
Grüneberg, 1193, **1205–1206**
Grünheide, 1310, **1314–1315**
Grünwald, 524
Gruppe "Wüste" complex, 1009, **1012–1014**, 1023, 1025, 1029, 1031
Gruszeczka, 709
Guben, 634, 700, **743–744**, 1304, 1326
Guerusey, 1361
Gumpertshof, 86, **87**
Gundelsdorf (with Knellendorf), **605**
Gunskirchen, 767, 906, 982
See also Gunskirchen-Wels I
Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Waldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitslager Gunskirchen], 906, **917–919**, 1069
Güntersberge, 1000, 1378
Günthergrube, 206, **249–250**
Guntramsdorf, 955
Günzburg, 460
Günzerode (Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Mittelbau) (SS-BB IV), 1357, 1377, 1378, **1379–1380**
Gusen (with Gusen II and Gusen III), 187, 235, 241, 271, 332, 472, 603, 885, 901, 902, 906, *906*, 908, **919–921**, 928, 936, 942, 947, 948, 953, 954, 1141, 1149
Güsten (Sachsen-Anhalt), 1400
Güstrow, 1222
Guszyca, 783
Gut Bischofferode ("Anna"), **983–984**
Gute Hoffnungsgrube. *See* Janinagrube [aka Johannagrube, Gute Hoffnungsgrube]
Gutenwirt, 1473
Gütersloh, 384, 386
Gutowiec, 1473
Gutowo (Guttau), 1449
Gut Plawy. *See* Plawy [aka Wirtschaftshof Plawy, Gut Plawy]
Gut Pollnhof. *See* Dachau (*Gut Pollnhof*)
Guttenbach, 1006, 1009, 1010
Guttenbach [also Binau and Neunkirchen (Fahrbereitschaft)], **1034–1035**
Guttenbach/Baden, 1042

Győr, 319
Gypsy Hill (Cygańska Góra), 1446

"H." *See* Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Haaren, 816, **820**
Habichtswald-Ehlen, 368
Hadmersleben ("HS"), 297, **353–355**, 437
Hafenhofen, 461
Haffkrug, 1158
Hagen, 1280, 1281, 1385
Hagenmähdern, 461
Hagenow, 227, 1185, **1206**
Hägerwelle, 1470
Hahndorf, 352
Haidhof, 674
Hailfingen, **1035–1036**
Hainewalde, **87–89**, 97, 119, 158
Hainewalde Castle, 87
Hainichen, 57, **89**, 118, **605–607**, 678
Hakenfelde. *See* Berlin-Hakenfelde
Halbau, **744–746**
Halberstadt, 297, 975, 976, 978, 996
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, 388, 400
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus"), **357–360**
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Hecklingen, **355**
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA"), 326, **355–357**
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Magdeburg, **357**
Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Wernigerode, **360–361**
Halbstadt, 700, **746–747**
Halfing [aka Brüningsau], **479**
Halle, 120, 306, 310, 327, 362, 400, 664, 721, 1268, 1288, 1306, 1352, 1395, 1409, 1414
Halle (Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse), **89**
Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich], **361–363**
Halle an der Saale, 306, 361, 429
Hallein, **479–480**
"Halle Siebel." *See* Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich]
Hall-Hessental, 1028
Halske, 1193
Hambühren [aka Hambühren-Ovelgönne or Waldeslust], 280, 282, **284–286**
Hamburg, 3, 5, 70, 76, 78, 113, 174, 175, 176, 198, 227, 244, 273, 330, 341, 573, 728, 746, 809, 994, 1074, 1076, 1080, 1083, 1084, 1094, 1098, 1106, 1149, 1151, 1152, 1173, 1179, 1180, 1276, 1301, 1331, 1364, 1366, 1391, 1456, 1460
Hamburg (*Bombensuchkommando* No. 2), **1111**
Hamburg (*Howaldtwerke*), **1111–1112**
Hamburg (SS-BB II), *1356*, **1380–1382**
Hamburg (*Stadthaus und Untersuchungsgefängnis*), **89–91**
Hamburg-Eidelstedt, 1078, 1085, 1097, **1112–1113**, 1132, 1179, 1180
Hamburg-Finkenwerder, **1113–1115**, 1128
Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel, **1115**, 1128, 1232
See also Fuhlsbüttel [aka Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel]
Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer), 1112, 1114, 1125, 1129, 1179
Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men), **1115–1117**
Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (women), **1117–1118**
Hamburg-Glinde, 976
Hamburg-Hammerbrook (*Bombensuchkommando*), **1118**
Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse), 1080, 1105, 1111, **1118–1121**, 1126, 1128
Hamburg-Langenhagen, 1137
Hamburg-Langenhorn, 746
Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*), **1121**
Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), 1085, 1113, **1121–1122**, 1126
Hamburg-Neugraben, 1115, 1116, 1117, **1122–1124**, 1129
Hamburg-Ochsenzoll. *See* Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll)
Hamburg-Rothenburgsort [aka Bullenhuser Damm], **1124–1125,** 1172
Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, 1085, 1115, 1117, 1120, **1125–1126**, 1158
Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Blohm & Voss*), **1126–1127**
Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Stülckenwerft*), **1127–1129**
Hamburg-Teufelsbrück, 1179
Hamburg-Tiefstack, 1123, **1129–1130**
Hamburg-Wandsbek, 1085, 1113, **1130–1132**
Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg, **1132–1133**
Hameln, 281, 989, 1077, 1181
Hameln penitentiary, 339
Hamm, 26, 52
Hammerbrook, *1356*, 1380, *1380*
See also Hamburg-Hammerbrook (*Bombensuchkommando*); Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse)
Hammerstein, **91–93**, 156
"Hammerwerke." *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Hamm-South, 1380
Hamm/Westphalia, 1326
Hanau, **1036**
Handorf, 255
Hannover, 125, 128, 282, 285, 328, 348, 840, 1028, 1080, 1081, 1098, 1110, 1177, 1178, 1281, 1367
Hannover-Ahlem, **1133–1135**, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1174
Hannover-Langenhagen, **1135–1137**
Hannover-Limmer, **1137–1139**
Hannover-Misburg, **1139–1141**
Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, 262, **1141–1143**
Hannoversch Münden, 1305
Hannover-Stöcken, 1079, 1133, 1281
Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik*), 1139, **1143–1145**
Hannover-Stöcken (*Continental*), **1145–1147**
Hannover-Vinnhorst, 1135, 1136
Hanover, 723
"Hans." *See* Hadmersleben ("HS"); Harzungen ("Hans," "Mittelbau III")
Happurg, **607–608**, 610
Hardehausen, 312, **363–365**
Harmęże (Harmense), 233, **250–252**
Hartheim, 188, 901, 1190
Hartmannsdorf, **747–748**, 811, 812
Harz, 192, 297, 324, 333, 339, 348, 355, 357, 360, 401, 409, 436, 1220, 1356, 1363, 1370, 1372, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1387, 1389, 1393, 1395, 1397, 1398, 1401, 1402, 1404
Harzungen, 968, 969, 973, 980, 983, 986
Harzungen ("Hans," "Mittelbau III"), 967, 979, **984–986**
Hasbergen, 1402
Haselhorst. *See* Berlin-Siemensstadt [aka Haselhorst, Berlin-Haselhorst]
Haseloch, 267
Hasenbühl, 1060
Haslach, 1023, 1358
Haslach ("Barbe") [also Vulkan, Kinzigdamm], **1036–1038**
Haslach/Traunstein, 654
Haslach/Vulkan, 1055
Hasselfelde, 1001
Hassenberg, **93–94**, 142
Hassenberg bei Neustadt, 23
Hassfurt, 23, 142, 143
Hattingen, 438
Haunersberg, 654
Haunersdorf, 598, 654
Haunstetten, 453, 454, 475, 476, **480–481**, 554, 1042
Hauptmannsgrün, 314
Hausberge "Hammerwerke." *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Hausdorf (Jugowice), 785, 799, 800
Haus Elbe, 633, 634
Hausen-Arnsbach, 837
Hausham (men), **481–482**
Hausham (women), **482–483**
Haus Hochland, 1227
Haus Kolvenbach, 1375
Haute-Normandie, 1358, 1369
Havelberg, **94**, 148, 155, 1311
Hayingen [aka Ebingen], 1010, **1038–1039**
H-Bau (H-Building). *See* Nürnberg (*SS-Kaserne*)
Hechingen, 1017
"Hecht." *See* Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Hecht-OT Bauleitung. *See* Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")

Hecklingen, 357, 361
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Hecklingen
Hedemannstrasse. *See* Berlin-Kreuzberg (Hedemannstrasse)
Heerbrandt-Werke, 410
Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP), *1236*, 1251
See also Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*); Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, Hirtenstrasse) [aka Park]
Heers, 978
Hefflingener, 918
Heger cemetery (Osnabrück), 1391, 1403
Heidberg. *See* Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*)
Heidefeld, 1336, 1337
Heidelager, 530
Heidelberg, 470, 1034, 1047
Heidenheim, **483–484**, **1039**, 1054
Heidfeld. *See* Wien-Schwechat—Heidfeld
Heilag, 1369
Heilbronn, 150, 1034, 1040–1041, 1059, 1069
See also Neckargartach-Heilbronn
Heiligenbeil, 1453, **1459–1461**, 1463, 1464, 1466, 1471, 1477, 1479, 1480
Heiligengeistfeld, 1126
Heiligenroda III mine, 310
Heinersdorf, **94–95**
Heinersdorf Castle, 94
"Heinrich." *See* Rottleberode ("Heinrich")
Heinrich, 974, 994, 999, 1000
Heinrich Kalb. *See* Bad Salzungen (*Heinrich Kalb*)
Heinrich Koeppen Barracks, 535
Hel, 1456
Hellbrunner Allee. *See* Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*) [aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)]
Hellendorf, 587
Helmbrechts, 568, 605, **608–610**, 612, 689, 743
Helmstedt, 433, 1080
See also Beendorf ("AIII") [aka Helmstedt]
Helmuth Sachse KG. *See* Kempten (*Helmuth-Sachse KG*)
Hemelingen, 1101
Hennigsdorf, 47, **1315–1317**, 1346
Henschel. *See* Schönefeld [aka AL Henschel]
Heppenheim, **1039–1040**
Herbig Inn, 1002
Heringen, 1358
Hermeskeil, 825, **832**
Hermsdorf, 1263, 1350
Herold, 675
Herrenleite. *See* Mockethal-Zatzschke
Herrenmühle, 751
Herringen, 28
Herrnsall/Karpfelberg, 666
Hersbruck, 572, 607, 608, **610–611**, 612, 627, 647, 659, 666
Hertine, 577, **611–612**, 652
Herzberg, 378, 767, 982, 986, 989
Herzogenbusch, 191, 192, 760, **813–821**, 1149, 1166, 1236, 1241, 1248, 1336
Herzogenbusch (*Continental Gummiwerke AG*), **820**
Hesdin (SS-BB V), 1358, 1363, 1369, 1370, **1382–1383**
Hessen, 151, 489, 834, 1009, 1039, 1156
Hessen-Nassau, 831, 833, 837, 841, 1030, 1032
Hessental, 1028, 1041, 1050, 1067
See also Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental
Hessisch Lichtenau, **365–367**, 377
Hettenkofen airbase, 653
Heuberg [aka Stetten am Kalten Markt], 19, 83, **95–97**, 100, 169, 170, 1038
Heuburg, 169
Heydebreck, 218
Hildesheim, 83, 1134, **1147–1149**
Hilfskrankenhaus Unterschwarzach, 1010
Hilgenfeld, 1492
Hils, 340
Himmelsberg, 984
Hindelang, 456
Hindenburg, *222*, 234, **252–253**
See also Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain]
Hindenburgkaserne, 1089–1091, 1091, 1096, 1101
See also Bremen (*Hindenburgkaserne*)
Hindenburg Military Barracks (Hindenburgkaserne), 1089
Hinsdorf, 432
Hinterbrühl, 957, 958, 959, 960, 962, 963
See also Wien-Hinterbrühl ("Lisa")
Hinzert, 186, 415, **823–**845, 1019, 1021
Hirschberg, 699, 703, 732, 782, 1085
Hirschberg (*Arbeitskommando*), **748**
Hirschberg (*Arbeitslager*), **748–749**
Hirschberg (Jelenia Góra), 711, 759
Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese, **749**
Hirschhorn, 654
Hirtenberg, 906, 954
Hirtenberg [aka Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, Gustloff-Werke], **921–922**
Hirtenstrasse. *See* Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, Hirtenstrasse) [aka Park]
Hittfeld, 1116
Hochkreuz, 27, 155
See also Porz [aka Hochkreuz]
Hochland. *See* Steinhöring [aka Lebensborn-Heim, Hochland]
Höchlstrasse. *See* München (Höchlstrasse) [aka SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse]
Hochstätten, 1015
Hochweiler, 700, 710, **749–750**
Hof, 142, 230, 612, 613
Hof an der Saale, 23, 142
Hof-Moschendorf, **612–613**
Hohe Düne, 1222
Hohenbocka, 739
Hohenbrunn, 533
Hoheneck. *See* Stollberg-Hoheneck
Hoheneck penitentiary, 168
Hohenelbe, 777
See also Ober-Hohenelbe
Hohengüssbach, 24
Hohenlinde [aka Hubertushütte], **253**
Hohenlychen, **1206–1208**, 1263
Höhenrain, 652, 653
Hohenschönenberg, 241
Hohenstein-Ernstthal, **613–614**, 671, 1283
Hohenwiese. *See* Hirschberg/Buchwald-Hohenwiese
Hohenzollern, 95
Hohlstedt (SS-BB I), 1357, **1383**, 1395, 1396
Hohnstein, 8, 10, 11, **97–100**, 110, 111, 119
Hohnstein Castle, 25, 87, 97, 168
Hohwacht. *See* Lütjenburg (*Hohwacht*)
Holleischen, 582, 601, **614–616**, 642, 646, 650
Holm. *See* Danzig-Holm
Holstein, 1179
See also Neustadt in Holstein
Holstendorf, 9, 17, 76
See also Ahrensbök-Holstendorf
Holstenglacis, 174
Holubin, 629
Holyšov, 646
Holzen, 1001
See also Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Holzminden, 1001
Homburg-Nord (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **832–833**
Hopehill [also Reimannsfelde], **1461–1463**
Hopfengasse, 958
Hoppelberg, 976
Hoppstädten, **833**
See also Neubrücke [aka Neubrücke-Hoppstädten, Neubrücke/Nahe]
Hor, 804
Hořejši Vrchlabi, *See* Ober-Hohenelbe
Horgau, 255, 454, 499
See also Augsburg-Horgau
Horneburg, **1149–1150**, 1181
Horn GmbH. *See* Plauen (*Horn GmbH*)
Horní Bríza, 596
Hornisse. *See* Bremen-Neuenland [aka Bremen Kriegsmarine]; Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine]
Horní Staré Město. *See* Ober-Altstadt (Horní Staré Mesto)
Horst-Wessel-Haus, 37
Hotel Adlon, 1275
Hotel "Alpenrose," 551
See also Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*)
Hotel Ammersee, 535
Hotel Continental, 511
Hotel Deutscher Hof, 85
Hotel Glasstuben, 671, 672
Hotel Grinzing, 342
Hotel Heckmann, 1155
Hotel Kaiserhof, 1166
Hotel Schwarzer Adler, 608
Hotel Sonne, 541

Howaldtwerke. *See* Hamburg (*Howaldtwerke*)
Höxter, 1414
Hoyerswerda, 771, 773
Hradec Kralove, 274
Hradišchko [aka Beneschau], **616–617**, 618
Hrubieszów, 882
"HS." *See* Hadmersleben ("HS")
"Ht." *See* Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Hubertushütte. *See* Hohenlinde [aka Hubertushütte]
Huckelriede, 1089, 1091, 1101
Hujowa, Górka, 864
Humboldtstrasse. *See* Essen (Humboldtstrasse)
Hundsfeld. *See* Breslau-Hundsfeld
Hünefeld, 1030
Hungen, 835
Hungerberg, 1029
Hungerburg, 1503, 1508
See also Narva [aka Narva-Ost] (and Hungerburg)
Hunswinkel, 105
Hurlach, 489
Hüsseren-Wesserling. *See* Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar]
Husum, 1080, 1159, 1160, 1162
See also Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg]
Husum-Schwesing, 1167
Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg], 1080, **1150–1151**, 1154
Hütte Braunschweig, 1177
Hydrierwerk Brüx (Most), 658
See also Brüx

Ichenhausen, 461
Ichtershausen, 142
Ichtershausen penitentiary, 142
Idar-Oberstein, 1322
Iffezheim, **1040**, 1055
"IIa Berlin." *See* Berlin (Friedrich-Krause-Ufer)
Ilfeld, **986–987**
Ilmenau, 311
Iłowa, 744
Ilsenburg, 974, **987**
Immenstaad, 472
"Inga," 1363, 1369
See also Aumale ("Inga") (SS-BB V)
Ingolstadt, 528
Innere Mission, 112
See also Kuhlen [aka Rickling, Falkenried, Innere Mission]
Innsbruck, 314, 516, 542, 544
Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau], **484–485**
Innsbruck I, **485**
Innsbruck II. *See* Neustift im Stubaital [aka Innsbruck II]
Innsbruck-Mühlau, 485
Ioannina, 799
Irfersgrün, 314
Irrenlohe, 679
Isle of Alderney. *See* Alderney
Itter Castle. *See* Schloss Itter
Itzehoe, 981

"J." *See* Schönebeck (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) ("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried")
Jablonec, 782
Jablonec nad Nisou (Gablonz an der Neisse). *See* Gablonz
Jahn Square, 461
Jamlitz, 744, 1263, 1265, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1342, 1345
Jammertal Cemetery, 1169, 1178
Jandelsbrunn, 938
Janinagrube [aka Johannagrube, Gute Hoffnungsgrube], 206, 218, **253–255**
Janina mine, 253
Janowice, 737 *See also* Janowitz
Janowitz, 616, 617, **617–619**, 673
Janowitz (Vrchotovy Janovice), 617
Janowitz Castle, 617, 618
Janowitz-Markt (Vrchotovy Janovice), 616
Janowska. *See* Lemberg [aka Lemberg (Weststrasse), Lemberg (Janowska)]
Jasień. *See* Gassen
Jauernig (Jugowice Górne), 786, 796
Jävenitz, 987
Jawischowitz, **255–257**
Jaworzno, 259, 260, 264
Jaworzno coal mine, 264, 265
Jaworzno mines, 265
Jazdówka quarry, 236
Jedlesee, 959, 960, 962
See also Wien-Floridsdorf and Jedlesee [aka Floridsdorf I and II]
Jedlina Zdrój. *See* Bad Charlottenbrunn (Jedlina Zdrój)
Jedlinka. *See* Tannhausen (Jedlinka)
Jedlinka Górna. *See* Blumenau (Jedlinka Górna)
Jelcz-Laskowice, 729
Jelenia Góra, 702, 704, 711, 726, 728, 748
See also Hirschberg (Jelenia Góra)
Jelitkowo, 1445
Jena, 323, **367–368**, 588
Jenzow estate, 1472
Jersey, 1361
Jesau, 1453, 1459, **1463–1464**, 1466, 1471, 1477, 1479
Jewe. *See* Jõhvi [Jewe]
Jewish Camp Vivikond (Judenlager Vivikond), 1508
Jewish Forced Labor Camp of the SS and Police Leader in the Kraków District, Krakau-Plaszow (Jüdisches Zwangsarbeitslager des SS und Polizeiführer im Distrikt Krakau, Krakau-Plaszow), 849, 862
Jičín, 777
Jiřetín. *See* St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín); St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín, now Jiřetín pod Jedlovou)
Johannagrube. *See* Janinagrube [aka Johannagrube, Gute Hoffnungsgrube]
Johanngeorgenstadt, 567, 569, *569*, 593, **619–621**, 629, 639, 643, 657, 669, 688
Jõhvi [Jewe], 1493, **1499–1500**, 1508
Jonastal, 406
"Ju." *See* Leopoldshall ("Ju" or "Lh")
Judenburg, 910, 925
Jugowice. *See* Hausdorf (Jugowice)
Jugowice Górne. *See* Jauernig (Jugowice Górne)
"JUHA." *See* Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA")
Jülich, 1385
"Julius." *See* Schönebeck (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) ("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried")
"Juliuse M." *See* Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I")
Juliushütte. *See* Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte]
Julwes, 1347
Jungbuch (Mladé Buky), 775
Jungfern-Breschan, 618, **621–622**, 667
"Jung Wilhelmsburg." *See* Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg
Junker School, 473
Junkerswerke, 357, 358, 361
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA")
Juteborg, 742
Jüterborg, 1352

Kabelbau, 516
See also München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*)
Kabelwerk Krakau, **868–869**
Kabis factory, 650
Kahlberg, 1474
Kahlwinkel, 316
Kaiserallee, 667
Kaiserhof. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Kaiserslautern, 135, 349, 1310
Kaiserwald, 388, 1122, 1229, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1481
See also Riga-Kaiserwald
Kaišiadorys, 856
KALAG. *See* Neustadt bei Coburg [aka KALAG]
Kaliningrad. *See* Königsberg
Kaliwerke mines, 437
Kalksteinwerke. *See* Leibnitz Graz [aka Aflenz, Kalksteinwerke]
Kalkum, 336, 1385
See also Düsseldorf-Kalkum (SS-BB III)
Kallies, **1208**
Kaltenkirchen, **1151–1153**
Kalthof, 1466
Kaltwasser, 699, 790, 792
See also Riese/Kaltwasser
Kamen, 28
Kamenicky-Šenov (Steinschönau), 671
Kamenz, 702, 706, **750–753**, 1071, 1341
Kamienna Góra. *See* Landeshut

Kamp am Rhein, 1359
"Kanada," or "Canada," *209*, 210, 211, *211*, 267
Kanalinsel. *See* Alderney (Kanalinsel) (SS-BB I)
Kaprun, 556
Karczmarka. *See* Kretschamberg (Karczmarka)
Karden, 1020, 1022
Karlový Vary (Karlsbad). *See* Karlsbad
Karlsbad, 305, 573, 579, 601, 625, 629, 642, 643, 655, 667, 668, 688, 723, 1330
Karlsbad-Tepla, 688
Karlsberg, 690
Karlsfeld, 516, 517
Karlsfeld [aka Karlsfeld OT], **485–486**
Karlsfeld OT. *See* Karlsfeld [aka Karlsfeld OT]
Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige [aka Rothschwaige], 485, **486**
Karlshagen I and II, 1193, 1195, **1208–1210**
Karlshof, 54
Karlsruhe, 100, *101*, 102, 440, 519, 824, 1358, 1406, 1407
Kärnten, 922, 923
Käsemark, **1464–1465**, 1486
Kassa, 1237
Kassel, 54, 366, **368**, 674, 990, 1109, 1322, 1398, 1405
Kassel district, 54
Kassel-Druseltal, **368–369**
Kassel-Nordhausen, 368
Kastanienallee, 1263
See also Berlin (Kastanienallee)
Kastenhof quarry, 920
Katastropheneinsatz. *See* München (*Katastropheneinsatz*)
Katowice. *See* Kattowitz
Katowitz. *See* Kattowitz
Kattowitz, 216, 231, 237, 238, **257**, 257, 261, 266, 268, 742, 806
Katzbach. *See* Frankfurt am Main [aka Katzbach]
Kauen, 191, 439, 489, 490, **847–859**, 1122, 1231, 1248, 1249, 1420, 1430, 1465, 1472, 1482, 1493, 1497, 1502, 1505, 1512
Kauen-Alexoten, 849, **853–855**
Kauen-Schanzen, 849, **855**
Kaufbeuren, **486–488**, 536, 541, 542
Kaufbeuren/Spinnerei, 537
Kaufering I–XI, 454, 461, **488–490**, 501, 502, 534, 597, 850, 1042
Kaukazas, 858
Kaunas, 439, 1122, 1420, 1493, 1497, 1502, 1505
See also Kauen
Kaunitz, 386
Kavkaz, 858
Kawkas, 858
Kazimierz, 890
Kazlu Ruda, 849, **855–856**
Kedahnen, 849, 854, **856**
Kedainiai (Kedahnen), 856
Keithkaserne, 246
Kelbra, **987–988**
Kelheim, 665
Kellehelt, 1217
Kematen, 452
Kemna, 11, 177, 178
See also Wuppertal-Barmen [aka Kemna]
Kempten (*Helmuth Sachse KG*), **490–492**, 495
Kerstowa, 1493
Kertowa and Putki, **1500**
Kętrzyn. *See* Rastenburg (Kętrzyn)
Ketschendorf, 1265, 1293, 1306, 1319, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1396
See also Bad Saarow
Kieferstädtel (Sośnicowice), 247
Kiel, 978, 1113, 1149, 1151, **1153**, 1158, 1164, 1165, 1179, 1181, 1423, 1455, 1456
Kielce, 323, 345, 880
Kiev, 232, 1263
Kiew, **1317–1318**
Kiezmark, 1464, 1486
Kinzigdamm. *See* Haslach ("Barbe") [also Vulkan, Kinzigdamm]
Kirchberg, 348
Kirchfeldstrasse. *See* Düsseldorf (Kirchfeldstrasse)
Kirchham, 588, 597, 652, 673
Kirchham bei Pocking [aka Pocking, Waldstadt, Pocking-Waldstadt], **622–623**
Kirchhardt, 1056
Kirchleithe, 624
Kirrberg (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **833**
Kislau, 8, 10, 19, 20, 95, 98, **100–102**
Kittlitztreben, 699
Kittlitztreben [aka Kretschamberg], **753–754**
"Kitz." *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkewagenwerke Dernau")
Kitzbühel, 549
Kiviõli I and II, 1493, 1494, 1496, 1497, 1499, **1500–1501**, 1501, 1508
Klagenfurt, 932, 933, 934
Klagenfurt-Lendorf, **922–924**
"KL Arbeitsdorf." *See* Fallersleben
Klatovy, 676
Klecina. *See* Klettendorf (Klecina)
Kleinbodungen, 975
Kleinbodungen ("Emmi") [aka Werk III], **988–989**, 990
Kleinbodungen / Bischofferode-Eichsfeld, **990**
Kleinbodungen / Niedergebra ("Kommando 48a"), **990**
Kleine Festung (Small Fortress), 627, 630, 631
Kleine Heide. *See* Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain]
Kleines Lager, 293, 388
Kleinglattbach, 1066
Klein Lesewitz (Lasowice Małe), 1459
Kleinmachnow, 1275, **1318–1319**
Kleinmachnow Hakeburg, 1263
Klein-Oschersleben, 353
Kleinow, 1227
Klein-Radisch bei Klitten, 771, 772
Klein-Schönau. *See* Zittau [aka Klein-Schönau]
Klein Schönau (Maly Senov), 756
Kleinschönau (Sieniawka), 811
Klettendorf (Klecina), 763, 807
Kleve, **102**, 1220
Klimmach, 453, 454
Klingelpütz, 102, 103, 104, 105
See also Köln (Klingelpütz)
Klingenthal prison, 629
Klingsmoos-Pöttmess, 626
Klinkerwerk, 1263, 1264, 1333
See also Lehnitz [aka Klinkerwerk]
Klitten, 771, 772
Kłodzko (Glatz), 737, 766, 788
Klooga, *1491*, 1493, *1493*, 1494, 1499, **1501–1502**, 1503, 1504
Klooga-Lodensee, 1501
"Klosterwerke," 977, 978
See also Blankenburg-Oesig ("Klosterwerke")
Klosterwerke Blankenburg, 974
Kluczewo, 1210
Klützow, **1210–1211**
Knellendorf, 605
See also Gundelsdorf (with Knellendorf)
Kobier, 224, 257, **257–259**, 268, 1310
Kobiór. *See* Kobier
Koblenz, 138, 308, 824, 1020, 1022, 1331, 1415, 1417
Kochem-Bruttig. *See* Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Bruttig]
Kochem-Treis. *See* Cochem-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Treis]
Kochendorf ("Eisbär"), 1015, **1040–1042**, 1044, 1051, 1060, 1063, 1067
Kochstedt (Roszkowo), 1471
Koglsiedlung, 923
Kohlfurt (Węgliniec), 118
Kohnstein, 474, 984, 986, 988, 996
Kohtla, 1493, 1494
Kohtla-Järve, 1492, 1493, 1497, 1508
Kokoszki, 1435, 1436, 1482
Kolce. *See* Dörnhau (Kolce); Riese/Dörnhau
Kolkau (Kolkow), 1472
Kolmar (Colmar), 750
Köln, 6, 29
See also Cologne
Köln (Bonner Wall), 72, **102–104**, 138
Köln (Buchenwald) (SS-BB III), *1355*, **1383–1386**
Köln (Klingelpütz), 20, **104–107**
Köln (Mozartstrasse) [aka Braunes Haus], **107–110**
Köln-Deutz (*Westwaggon*), **369–371**
Köln-Ford, 373
See also Köln-Niehl [Köln-"*Ford*"]
Köln-Gremberg, 370
Köln-Longerich, 373
Köln-Mülheim, 369
Köln-Niehl [Köln-"*Ford*"], **371–372**
Köln-Ostheim, 369, 370
Köln-Stadt, **372–374**
Koło, 806
Kolonia Górna. *See* Friedrichsberg (Kolonia Górna)

Kolonia Rzędówka, 250
Kolpin, 1265, **1319–1320**, 1331, 1342, 1343, 1345
Kommando 48a. *See* Kleinbodungen/Niedergebra ("Kommando 48a")
"Kommando A5." *See* Rottleberode ("Heinrich")
Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS. *See* Berlin (*Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS*)
Kommando B-4. *See* Stempeda ("Kommando B-4")
Kommando Befehlstelle Strasburg. *See* Elbing (*OT Elbing* complex) [aka Kommando Befehlstelle Strasburg]
Kommando "Quarz." *See* Melk ("Quarz") [aka Kommando "Quarz"]
Kommern. *See* Komořany (Kommern)
Komorany (Kommern), 723
Königinstrasse. *See* München (Königinstrasse)
Königsberg, 92, 156, 1193, 1422, 1438, 1452, 1454, 1460, 1464, **1465–1466**, 1478, 1480, 1481
Königsberg (Newmark), **1211–1213**
Königsbrück, 97, 702
Königsbrück bei Dresden, **110**
Königseggwald, 1058
Königshütte. *See* Bismarckhütte [aka Königshütte]
Königsried (Lag), 1473
Königssee, **492**
Königstein, 10, 97, **110–112**, 321, 390, 393, **623–625**, 657
Königs Wusterhausen, 1264, **1320–1321**
Könnern, 310
Konradswaldau (Przylesie), 717
Końskowola, 882
Konterei, 1217
Köpenick, 33, 1269, 1274, 1281, 1291, 1364, 1388
See also Berlin-Köpenick
Köpenick district, 32, 1364
Korben, 1482, 1483
Kornwestheim, 1067
Koronowo (Krone), 1429, 1483
Kortemark, 1357, 1362
Kortemark and Proven, Belgium (SS-BB I), **1386–1387**
Korunní, 625
Koschedaren, 849, **856–857**
Koschen. *See* Gross-Koschen
Koschenberg, 739
Kościerzyna, 1437
Koselitz, 604
Kostenblut, 716
Kostenstell B-XII, 361
Köthen, 407, 408, 409, 432
Kottern, 523
Kottern/Fischen, **492–494**
Kottern-Weidach, **494–496**
Kovno. *See* Kauen
Kowno. *See* Kauen
Koźle, 245, 699
Krakau. *See* Krakau-Plaszow; Kraków
Krakau-Plaszow, 191, 241, 242, 273, 451, 571, 578, 605, 635, 688, 710, 718–719, 720, 743, 759, 764, 785, 787, 807, **861–873**, 877, 885, 951, 1070, 1097, 1479
Kraków, 191, 207, 212, 226, 231, 239, 245, 247, 271, 327, 451, 537, 571, 577, 650, 651, 682, 688, 706, 717, 718, 720, 742, 790, 862, 863, 864, 865, 868, 869, 871, 872, 873, 890, 1027, 1214, 1222
See also Krakau-Płaszów
Králiky, 740
See also Grulich (Králiky)
Kraljevo, 956
Kralupy, 636, 641
"Kranich." *See* Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar]
Kranichfeld, 311, **374–375**
Kransberg Castle, 423, 424
Kraschnitz, 710, 750
Kraslice. *See* Graslitz
Kraśnik, 871
Kratzau, 1287
Kratzau (Chrastava), 708, 735, 738, 811
Kratzau I, 700, **754–756**, 757
Kratzau II, 700, **756–757**, 805
Krefeld, 1385, 1402
See also Anrath bei Krefeld
Kreiensen, 387
Kreis Bernburg, 383
Kreis Göppingen, 1033
Kreis Hirschberg, 749
Kreis Koenigsburg/Neumark, 1330
Kreis Pyritz (Pyrzyce)/Regierungsbezirk Stettin (Szczecin), 1210
Kreis Segeberg, 1184
Kreis Sprottau, 1330
Kreis Weimar, 315
Kremmen, 1334
Krems an der Donau, 946
Kreschitz (Křešice), 619
Kretschamberg (Karczmarka), 753
See also Kittlitztreben [aka Kretschamberg]
Kretschendorf, 1293
Kreuzberg. *See* Berlin-Kreuzberg (Friedrichstrasse Nr. 234); Berlin-Kreuzberg (Hedemannstrasse)
Kreuzendorf (Krzyżanowice), 235
Kriegsmarinewerft. *See* Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg [aka Kriegsmarinewerft]
Kripolager. *See* Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager]
Królowa Kinga Park, 872
Kronach, 399, 605
Krondorf, 640, 642
Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, **625–626**
Krone, 1483
Krośnice, 710, 750
See also Kraschnitz (Krośnice)
Krössinsee, 112
Krottingen, **1239**, 1244
Krschepenitz (Křepenice), 618
Krumau (Český Krumlov), 619
Krumpa bei Merseburg, 387
"Krupp." *See* Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse]
Krychów, 882
Krynica Morska, 1474
Krywitz, 1334
Krzystkowice, 722
Kudowa Zdrój. *See* Bad Kudowa (Kudowa Zdrój)
Kuhberg, 96, 169, 170
See also Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg
Kuhlen, 79
Kuhlen [aka Rickling, Falkenried, Innere Mission], **112–114**
Kulmsee (Chełmża), 1482
Kulupe. *See* Petseri, Ülenurme, Kulupe
Kunnerwitz, 709
Kuno I, 452, 461
Kupferhammer, 25
See also Bautzen (Kupferhammer)
Kupferzell, 1047, 1049
Kurben, 1231
See also Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen]
Kuremäe, 1493, 1499, **1502–1503**, 1507
Kurland (Kurzeme), 1231, 1236
Kurmark, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1319, 1325, 1342, 1345, 1396 *See also* Jamlitz
Kurzbach, 700, 750, **757–758**
Kusel, 135
Küstrin, 1296, **1321–1323**, 1345
Küstrin-Fasterheide, 1321
Kutno, 1514

"L." *See* Lebensborn
"La." *See* Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La]
Laagberg, 1108
See also Fallersleben-Laagberg
Lachen-Speyerdorf (Neustadt an der Weinstrasse), 136
Ladelund, 1080, 1151, **1153–1154**, 1159, 1160, 1162
Laeken Castle, 633
Łag (Königsried), 1473
Lagedi, 1056, 1493, 1494, **1503**
Lager 15. *See* Bromberg-Brahnau (*DAG Nobel*) [aka Lager 15]
Lager B-12. *See* Ellrich/Woffleben (Lager B-12)
"Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich." *See* Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich]
Lager Buna, 216
See also Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
Lager Elfenhain. *See* Dyhernfurt II [aka Lager Elfenhain]
Lager Engelsburg. *See* Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg]
Lager Günther III, 249
Lager Heimat, 249
Lager Ostland, 240
Lager Süd, 240
Lager Tannenberg. *See* Unterlüss [aka Lager Tannenberg or Altensothrieth]
Lager Troyl. *See* Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troyl, Lager Troyl]

Lager V. *See* Riese/Wüstegiersdorf [aka Lager V]
Lagiewniki, 253
Lagischa, **259–261**, 266, 270
Łagisza (Lagischa), 259
Lahnstein, 1415
Lailing, 654
Łąką. *See* Wiesau; Wiesau (Laka)
Lake Constance, 541, 1058
Lake Schwedt, 1223, 1224
Lake Starnberg, 452
Lambach, 917
Łambinowice (Lamsdorf), 210
Lamsdorf (Łambinowice), 210
Landau [aka Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne], **114–116**, 135
Landesberg, 484
Landeshut, **758–759**, 761, 764
"Landhaus." *See* Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus")
Landkreis (Oberspreewald-Lausitz County), 162
Landkreis Göttingen, 328
Landkreis Regensburg, 648
Landsberg, 442, 445, 458, 470, 478, 481, 486, 489, 490, **496–497**, 516, 517, 533, 649, 654, 659, 826, 855, 956, 998, 1013, 1043, 1054, 1299
Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (men), **497**
Landsberg (*Dynamit AG*) (women), **497**
Landsberg am Lech, 410, 445, 452, 481, 488, 490, 496, 499, 500, 502, 524, 537, 827
Landsberg-Kaufering, 448
Landshut, **497–498**, 1357, 1389
Landskron prison, 719
Langenau, 1341
Langenbielau, 699, 791, 812
See also Reichenbach [aka Langenbielau]
Langenbielau I, 774, 775, 777
Langenbielau I [aka Reichenbach, Reichenbach Sportschule], **759–760**
Langenbielau II, 700, **760–761**
Langendiebach I and II, **833–834**, 841
Langenhagen, 1138
See also Hannover-Langenhagen
Langenhorn. *See* Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*); Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll)
Langenleuba-Oberhain, 407
Langensalza, 400, 407, 716
Langensalza ("Langenwerke AG"), **375–376**, 400, 407, 716
Langenstein, 297, 348, 919
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus"); Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Hecklingen; Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA"); Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Magdeburg; Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Wernigerode
Langenstein-Zwieberge, 976, 978
Langenwang, 493
Langestrasse Ost II, 358
Langewahl, 1265
Langfuh. *See* Danzig-Langfuhr
Langlütjen I, 116
Langlütjen II, **116–117**, 125, 144, 145, 146
Lanitztal, 22
Lannach Castle. *See* Schloss Mittersill, Schloss Lannach
Laoküla, 1501
La Petite-Raon, 1058
Lärche, 699, 791
See also Riese/Lärche
Larcheralm, 551
Lärz airport, 1212, 1219
Laskowice Oławskie. *See* Markstädt (Laskowice Oławskie)
Lasowice Małe, 1459
Lasowice Wielkie, 1459
Laubach, 832
Lauenburg (Lębork), 297, 1432, 1436, 1449, 1451, 1466, 1472, 1477, 1483
Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg], **1466–1468**
Lauenburg in Pommern, **376**
Laufen, 663
Lauingen, 453, 454, 461, 475
Lauingen (I, II, and Birkackerhof), **498–499**
Lauingen/Donau, 498
"Laura," 297, 381, 411, 412, 975
See also Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La]
Laura, 1388, 1393
Laurahütte, 222, 234, **261–263**, 603, 1141, 1142
Lausitz, 1339
See also Saxony (Lausitz)
"Ld." *See* Lützkendorf ("Ld")
Leau. *See* Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (men), (women)
Lebensborn-Heim. *See* Steinhöring [aka Lebensborn-Heim, Hochland]
Lebork cemetery, 1466
Lebrechtsdorf, 1427, 1431, 1432
Lebus, 1266
Lędziny (Lendzin), 249
Leegebruch, 1346
Leese, 1302
Leeskow, 1326
Leeuwarden, 816, **820–821**, 821
Legnica. *See* Liegnitz (Legnica)
Łęgnowo (Brahnau, aka Langenau), 1428
Lehesten, 411, 420
Lehnitz [aka Klinkerwerk], 1258, *1263*, **1323–1325**
Leibnitz Graz [aka Aflenz, Kalksteinwerke], 906, **924–925**, 928, 940
Leimbach, 311
Leinde, 1177
Leipa (Česká Lipa), 1341
Leipzig, 57, 58, 59, 63, 87, 88, **117–118**, 160, 199, 274, 298, 302, 306, 322, 323, 328, 345, 346, 353, 359, 366, 390, 392, 393, 395, 400, 413, 414, 425, 426, 428, 429, 430, 432, 467, 593, 639, 685, 702, 721, 734, 766, 1147, 1214, 1416, 1514
Leipzig Police prison, 117
Leipzig-Schönau (ATG), **376–377**, 409, 576
Leipzig-Schönefeld, 426
Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*), 387, 412
Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*) (men), **377–378**
Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*) (women), **378–380**
Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery), 377, 393
Leipzig-Thekla, 297, 354, 377, 593, 639, 640, 734
Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf"), **381–383**
Leitmeritz, (Litoměřice), 253, 310, 407, 437, 575, 576, 577, 583, 585, 604, 607, 610, 612, 614, 624, 625, **626–628**, 630, 631, 635, 638, 640, 641, 643, 644, 652, 658, 659, 668, 670, 672, 678, 683, 688, 718, 769, 770, 1341
LEM. *See* Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*) [aka LEM, SS-Kommando Lippstadt I]
Lemberg, 442, 884
Lemberg [aka Lemberg (Weststrasse), Lemberg (Janowska)], 865, **884–885**, 887
Lendorf, 922
See also Klagenfurt-Lendorf
Lengenfeld, 620, **628–630**, 657, 688
Lengerich ("A1"), **1154–1157**
Leningrad, 1505
Lenta. *See* Riga (Lenta) (*SD-Werkstätte*)
Lenz, 712
Lenzing, 906, **925–927**
Leoben, 911, 914
Leonberg, 475, 536, 588, 1039, **1042–1043**, 1054, 1066, 1407
Leonstein, 961
"Leopard." *See* Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (men), (women)
Leopoldshall, 297, 415
Leopoldshall ("Ju" or "Lh"), **383–384**
Leopoldstrasse. *See* München (Leopoldstrasse)
Lerbeck, 1184
Lerbeck-Neesen. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Leschwitz bei Görlitz [aka Weinhübel], **118–120**
Leśna. *See* Marklissa (Leśna)
Lesniowa, 254
Leśno-Wybudowanie, 1432
Lessing, 978
Leszno. *See* Lissa (Leszno)
Letschin, 1351
Letzlingen, 1398
Leutershausen-Wiedersbach, 1412
"Lh." *See* Leopoldshall ("Ju" or "Lh")
Libau, 1230, 1232
Libau (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), **1468**
Libau (Liepāja), 1231, 1237, 1239, 1243, 1245, 1468
Libeč. *See* Gabersdorf
Libeň, 621

Liberci, 804
Libiąż Maly (Liebenzberg), 253, 254, 255
Lichau-Keller, 1347
Lichtenberg, 247
Lichtenburg, 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 45, 50, 51, 69, 70, 73, 82, 84, 85, 89, 93, **120–123** 129, 148, 151, 152, 173, 185, **384**, 945, 1188, 1335
See also Prettin (Lichtenburg)
Lichtenburg Castle, 1335, 1336, 1391
Lichtenfels, 142
Lichtenrade. *See* Berlin-Lichtenrade
Lichterfelde, 667, 1263, 1291, 1364
See also Berlin-Lichterfelde
Lichterfelde-West, 1276
Lichtewerden, **263–264**
Liebau (Lubawka), 700, 759, **761–762**, 777, 792, 794, 811
Liebenburg, 1169
Lieberose [aka "Liro"], 644, 1263, 1264, 1268, 1273, 1301, 1305, 1306, 1309, 1310, 1319, **1325–1327**, 1345
Liebhof Manor, 465
Liebichau (Lubiechów), 789
Liegnitz, 94, 95, 118, 174
Liegnitz (Legnica), 119, 696, 750
Liepāja (Libau), 1468
Liguria, 658
Lille, 1358, 1370, 1395
Limburg, 1417
Limmer. *See* Hannover-Limmer
Lindau/Bodensee, 541, 544
Lind Castle. *See* Schloss Lind
Linden. *See* Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden
Lindenberg, 1265
Lindenbruch, 75
Lindenhagen, 1218
Lindenhof, 29
Linz, 455, 900, 905, 906, 908, 913, 914, 917, 935, 1410, 1416
Linz (Hütte Linz), 951
Linz I, 924, **927–929**
Linz II, **929–930**
Linz III, 906, 928, **930–932**, 942
Lipowa 7, 882
Lipowa Street camp, 878
Lipowy Dołek, 864
Lippstadt, 26, 439, 1413, 1414
Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*) [aka LEM, SS-Kommando Lippstadt I], **384–386**
Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metallindustrie*) [aka WMI, SS-Kommando Lippstadt II], **386–387**
Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke. *See* Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*) [aka LEM, SS-Kommando Lippstadt I]
Liques, 1369
"Liro." *See* Lieberose [aka "Liro"]
"Lisa." *See* Wien-Hinterbrühl ("Lisa")
Lisa I, 1369
Lisa II, 1369
Lissa. *See* Breslau-Lissa
Lissa (Leszno), 767
Litomierzyce, 740
Litzmannstadt, 1525, 1530
See also Łódź; Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager]
Litzmannstadt (Łódź), 708, 761, 889, 1279, 1304, 1320
Ljubljana, 477
Lobositz, 627, **630–632**
Lochau, **499–500**
Lochhausen, 516
Lodenfrey. *See* München (*Lodenfrey*)
Löderburg-Lust, 421
Lodsch (Litzmannstadt), 1527
Łódź, 191, 242, 246, 247, 274, 282, 284, 354, 395, 453, 536, 537, 578, 579, 605, 613, 632, 637, 650, 671, 703, 709, 722, 727, 728, 737, 746, 757, 765, 785, 787, 790, 792, 799, 801, 893, 1032, 1040, 1086, 1090, 1096, 1097, 1101, 1117, 1125, 1146, 1175, 1316, 1320, 1340, 1348, 1420, 1454, 1477, 1479, 1481, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530
See also Litzmannstadt (Łódź)
Lohausen, 332
Lohmen graveyard, 637
Loiblpass, 906, 923, **932–934**
Loibl Süd, 923
Łomża, 758
Longwy, 1015, 1051
Longwy-Deutschoth. *See* Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Longwy-Thil. *See* Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche. *See* Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche]
Lorraine, 1051
Loslau (Wodzisław Śląski), 212, 235, 252, 648
Lossdorf, 936
Lothringen, 664, 1025, 1026, 1031, 1040, 1062
Lovosice. *See* Lobositz
Löwenberg, 1334
Lower Saxony, 777
Lower Silesia (Niederschlesien), 699, 700, 702, 709, 721, 727, 749, 757, 758, 759, 772, 782
Loy, 712
Lubawa, 1449
Lubawka. *See* Liebau (Lubawka)
Lübben, 1322, **1327–1328**
Lübberstedt [aka Bilohe], **1157–1158**
Lübeck, 3, 17, 18, 55, 75, 78, 170, 193, 251, 694, 720, 977, 978, 1000, 1152, 1174, 1232, 1241, 1249, 1279, 1282, 1327, 1456
Lubiechów. *See* Liebichau (Lubiechów)
Lublin, 191, 231, 238, 489, 543, 688, 719, 869, **875–897**, 1010, 1052, 1259, 1362, 1472, 1512, 1513, 1514
See Lublin main camp [aka Majdanek]
Lublin main camp [aka Majdanek], 66, 242, 245, 249, 293, 489, 501, 559, 759, 871, **876–880**, 887, 967, 1023, 1052, 1066, 1070, 1075, 1097, 1188, 1231, 1259, 1277
Lublin-Majdanek. *See* Lublin main camp [aka Majdanek]
Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (men), **885–887**
Lublin (Alter Flughafen) (women), **887–888**
Lubolz, 1327
Lübz, 1222, 1329
Lucim, 1429
Luditz (Zlutice), 420, 614
Ludwig Renntier. *See* Bad Salzungen (*Ludwig Renntier*)
Ludwigsburg, 170, 349, 350, 366, 394, 455, 457, 459, 465, 468, 470, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 487, 490, 492, 497, 503, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 512, 515, 516, 517, 519, 522, 528, 532, 534, 535, 538, 539, 540, 546, 547, 550, 551, 553, 555, 570, 575, 581, 585, 586, 588, 591, 592, 599, 601, 657, 661, 690, 772, 870, 950, 1044, 1052, 1060, 1064, 1078, 1092, 1127, 1171, 1174, 1220, 1267, 1280, 1282, 1283, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1297, 1299, 1312, 1315, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1329, 1332, 1334, 1338, 1349, 1374, 1412, 1418, 1514
Ludwigsdorf, 699, 708, 727, **762–763**, 787
Ludwigshafen, 136, 349, 546
Ludwigshafen am Rhein, 1295
Ludwigslust, 1077, 1086, 1173, 1176, 1185, 1216
Ludwikowice Kłodzkie. *See* Ludwigsdorf
Luebz, 1204
Lukossek, 712
Lüneburg, 48, 253, 262, 281, 1084, 1174, 1181
Lüneburge Heide, 1001
Lungitz, 921
Lurup, 1112
Lusatia, 734
Lütjenburg (*Hohwacht*), **1158–1159**
Lüttringhausen, 157
See also Remscheid-Lüttringhausen
Lützelhöhe, 159
Lützkendorf ("Ld"), 297, **387–388**
Luzenberg, 1044
Lviv (Lvov, Lwów), 245, 884
Łysica, 1474
Lyublino (Seerappen), 1479
See also Seerappen

Maastricht, 537
Mackenrode, (SS-BB III), 1001, 1357, **1387–1388**, 1393, 1397, 1398
Mackenrode-Tettenborn, 974
Magda. *See* Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*) [aka Magda]
Magdeburg, 120, **123–124**, 280, 320, 321, 328, 329, 333, 354, 355, 361, 415, 416, 438, 576, 811, 976, 977, 978, 996, 1029,

1085, 1107, 1124, 1172, 1173, 1178, 1248, 1309, 1311, 1322, 1331, 1398
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Magdeburg
Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*), 1138
Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*) (men), **388–389**, 1232
Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*) (women), **389–390**, 1232
Magdeburg-Anhalt, 1428
Magdeburg/Rothensee, 430
Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*) [aka Magda], **390–392**
Magdeburg West Cemetery, 391
MAGNESIT. *See* Überlingen
Mahlow, 1273
Mährisch Weisswasser, **763–764**, 766
See also Weisswasser
Maikowski-Haus. *See* Berlin-Charlottenburg (Maikowski-Haus)
Mainflingen-Zellhausen, 839
Mainfranken, 23, 142
Mainz, 151, 1020, 1405, 1415
Mainzer Höhe, 834
Mainz-Finthen [aka Finthen], **834**
Mainz-Gustavsburg, **835**
Mainz-Ingelheimerau, 836–837
Mainz-Ingelheimerau [aka Mainz-Ingelheimer Aue], **835–836**
Mainz-Weisenau, **836–837**
Majdanek, 159, 186, 188, 190, 191, 192, 194, 378, 400, 415, 881, 883, 885, 886, 887, 891, 1070, 1188, 1190, 1512, 1513
See also Lublin main camp [aka Majdanek]
Majdan Tatarski, 876, 886, 887
Makowarsko (Monkowarsk), 1429
"Makrele I," 356
"Makrele II," 356
"Malachit," 355, 357, 361
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus")
Malchow, 1178, 1193, 1194, **1213–1214**, 1313, 1329
Małopolska, 807
Maltheuern, 575
Malý Sěnov, 756
See also Klein Schönau (Maly Senov)
Mannheim, 712, 827, 1044, 1054, 1408
Mannheim-Sandhofen [aka Mannheim-Waldhof], 831, **1043–1044**, 1066, 1067
Mannschaftshäuser. *See* München (*SS-Mannschaftshäuser*)
Mansfeld. *See* Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld]
Marburg (Maribor), 420, 955
Marciszów. *See* Riesengebirge (Marciszów)
Maria-Theresien-Kaserne, 961
Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně), 579, 601, 629, 688
Marienberg, 594
Marienburg (Malbork), 1459
Marienfelds. *See* Berlin-Marienfelde
Mariental, 659
Marinesonderanlage Wenzel, 1179
Mark Brandenburg region, 1200
Markgrafenheide, 1222
Markhove, 1386, 1387
Markirch, **1044–1045**, 1051
Märkisch-Friedland, 1211
Markkleeberg, 301, **392–393**
Marklissa (Leśna), 747
Markstädt (Laskowice Oławskie), 729, 762
Markt Wallersdorf, 597
Mármaros Sziget, 664, 684
Marschler Settlement, 291
"Martha I." *See* Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG / Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I")
"Martha II." *See* Mühlhausen (*Gerätebau GmbH*) ("Martha II") [aka SS-Kommando Gerätebau]
Martinov, 629
Marysin, 1527
Märzbachtal, 699, 792
See also Riese/Märzbachtal
Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN), 835, 836
"Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück." *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Mathildenstrasse. *See* Dresden-Mathildenstrasse
Matzkau, 1425, 1479
See also Danzig-Matzkau
Matzkau (Maćkowy), 1441
Mauerstetten, 536
"Maulwurf." *See* Westeregeln ("Maulwurf," "Tarthun," "Mw")
Mauthausen, **899–964**
introduction to Section II, 185, 187, 188
main camp overview, **900–903**
subcamp system overview, **904–907**
Auschwitz system, 205, 216, 226, 235, 238, 240, 241, 242, 256, 262, 268, 271
Buchenwald system, 332, 346, 375
Dachau system, 443, 445, 460, 466, 472, 480, 505, 527, 545, 550
Early National Socialist camps, 8, 19, 53
Flossenbürg system, 573, 581, 596, 603, 676, 682
Gross-Rosen system, 696, 700, 719, 724, 727, 730, 767, 783, 788, 811
Herzogenbusch system, 816
Hinzert system, 827, 838
Kauen system, 849
Krakau-Plaszow system, 865, 873
Lublin system, 885
Mauthausen system, 936
Mittelbau system, 982
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1005, 1069
Neuengamme system, 1074, 1106, 1149, 1182
Ravensbrück system, 1191, 1194
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1231, 1246, 1247, 1249
Sachsenhausen system, 1326
SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1356, 1383, 1396, 1397, 1410, 1411, 1414, 1416
Stutthof system, 1420, 1461
"Max I." *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkaausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Maximilianshütte, 674
Mecklenburg, 988, 1085, 1105, 1153, 1193, 1197, 1199, 1202, 1204, 1206, 1211, 1212, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1227, 1294, 1315, 1329, 1333
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1196
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, 1219
Meerane, 305
Mehltheuer, **632–633**, 646
Meiben, 230
Meiderich, 1371
Meiderich district, 1373
Meiningen, 141, 1214
Meissen, 393, 580, 667, 791, 792
Meissen-Neuhirschstein, **633–634**
Meissnershof, 47, 48, 1346
See also Börnicke [also Meissnershof]
Meiten. *See* Elley-Meiten
Melk, 235, 242, 906, 954, 957, 960, 962
Melk ("Quarz") [aka Kommando "Quarz"], **935–938**
Melk (Reichsgau Niederdonau), 935
Menetin, 314
Meppen-Dalum, **1159–1161**, 1161, 1162, 1163
Meppen-Versen, 1080, **1161–1163**, 1163, 1180
Meppen-Versen/Gross Hesepe, **1163–1164**
"Mergel," 436
Merkendorf, 936
Merker-Meseritz district, 87
Merkers, 55
Merseburg district, 50, 120
Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse, 89
See also Halle (Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse)
Merzdorf, 699, **764–765**
Merzhausen, 837, **837–838**
Messenthin (Mścięcino), 1470
Mettenheim, 501
Metz, 1041, **1045**, 1054
Metzingen, 1026
Meurtheet-Moselle, 1062
Meuselwitz, 142, 378, **393–395**, 419
"Mexico," 210
Mežaparks, 1247
See also Riga-Kaiserwald main camp [aka Mežaparks]
"MF." *See* Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld]
Michaelsbuch, 652
Michelbach (Schmelz), **838**
Michelwerke. *See* Augsburg (*Michelwerke*)
Międzyrzec-Podlaski, 894
Mielec, 347, 868, **869–871**, 871, 872, 882, 883
Mieroszów. *See* Friedland
Miesbach, 471
Mieschenitz (Měchenice), 617, 618

Mikołów (Nikolai), 218, 240, 250
Mikulasovice. *See* Nixdorf (Mikulasovice)
Milan, 487
Mildenberg, **1214–1215**
Milęcice. *See* Geppersdorf
Milejów, 895
Milgravis, 1244
Milicz, 251, 709, 750
See also Militsch (Milicz)
Military Camp II (Militärlager II), 908
Militsch (Milicz), 750
Miłoszów. *See* Hartmannsdorf
Miłoszyce. *See* Fünfteichen
Mimoyecques, 1369, 1382
Mingolsheim, 100
Minsk, 112, 895, 1242
Mirakowo (Merch) estate, 1483
Mirsk. *See* Friedeberg (Mirsk)
Misburg. *See* Hannover-Misburg
Misdroy, 1231
Missler, 116, 144
Missler (Walsroder Strasse) [aka Bremen-Findorf], **124–125**
Mittelbau, 193, 218, 225, 230, 240, 279, 319, 325, 375, 387, 401, 409, 411, 415, 423, 434, 445, 481, 489, 572, 700, 702, 718, 721, 730, **965–1002**, 1025, 1191, 1209, 1220, 1256, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1363, 1370, 1377, 1378, 1383, 1395, 1397, 1402, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408
Mittelbau I, 969, 973
Mittelbau II, 969, 973, 984
See also Ellrich ("Erich," "Mittelbau II") [aka Ellrich-Juliushütte]
Mittelbau III, 969, 974
See also Harzungen ("Hans," "Mittelbau III")
Mittelsteine, 700, 737, **765–766**
Mittelwerke, 957
Mittenwald, 516
Mittergars, 477, 501, 502
Mitterkirchen, 654
Mittersill, 944
Mittich, 622
Mittweida, 407, 543, **634–636**, 678
Mladé Buky, 775
See also Jungbuch (Mladé Buky)
Moabit, 37, 38
Moabiter Westhafen, 1269
Mockethal-Zatzschke, 579, 582, 583, **636–638**, 658
Modlin, 1452
Mödling, 959
Moerdijk, 816, **821**
Möhlenwarf, 1417
Möhlstrasse. *See* München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*, Möhlstrasse)
Mohrin, 1211
Mölln, **1164–1165**
Mölln-Breitenfelde, 1164
Mönchengladbach, 1385
Monowice. *See* Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
Monowitz. *See* Auschwitz III-Monowitz main camp [aka Buna]
Montdidier, 1369, 1394
Montelupich Security Police prison, 864
Montelupi Street prison, 790
"Moor camps" ("Moorlager" or "Emslandlager"). *See* Emsland moor camps
Moorkaten, 1153
Moosbach, 523, 623
Moosburg, 1295, 1412
Moravia, 718, 802
Moravska Ostrava, 274
Morchenstern, 700, **766–767**, 811, 981
Moringen, 7, 8, 10, 11, 72, 83, 84, 121, 134, 945, 1525, 1532, 1533, 1534
See also Youth Protection Camp Moringen
Moringen-Solling, 21, 128
Moringen-Solling (men), **125–128**
Moringen-Solling (women), **128–131**
Morsleben, 1083, 1085
Mosbach, 1034, 1046, 1064
Moschendorf. *See* Hof-Moschendorf
Moselle, 1004, 1005, 1015
Most (Brüx), 575, 590, 658, 723
See also Brüx
Mostowa Ulica, 1478
Mötzlich. *See* Halle [aka Birkhahn-Mötzlich]
Mozartstrasse. *See* Köln (Mozartstrasse) [aka Braunes Haus]
Mroczkowice. *See* Egelsdorf (Mroczkowice)
Mrwitz (Mrvice), 618
"Ms." *See* Oberndorf ("Muna," "Ms," "Mu")
"Mu." *See* Oberndorf ("Muna," "Ms," "Mu")
Mücke, 1417
Müggelheim, 1269, 1271, 1274, 1364, 1388
Müggelseedamm, 33
Müggenhahl, **1468–1469**
Mühlbeck, 310
Mühlberg, 558, 777, 984
Mühlberg Castle, 402
Mühldorf am Inn, 445, 448, 452, 476, 477, 488, **500–503**, 534, 1043, 1232
Mühlenbach, 1037
Mühlenberg. *See* Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden
Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers. *See* Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I")
Mühlgraben, 1239, 1244
See also Riga (Mühlgraben) [aka Ultra]
Mühlhausen, 298, 349, 400, 419, 997, **1045**
Mühlhausen (*Gerätebau GmbH*) ("Martha II") [aka SS-Kommando Gerätebau], **395–396**
Mühlhausen ("Martha"), 415
Mühlhausen (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I"), 395, **396–397**
Mühlheim, 1037
Mühlrading, 952
Mülheim an der Ruhr, 1385
Mülsen St. Micheln, 381, 583, 593, 637, **639–641**, 668
Mülsen St. Niclas, 639
Mumsdorf, 430
"Muna." *See* Oberndorf ("Muna," "Ms," "Mu")
Muna Lübberstedt, 1157
Münchberg, 399
München, 502, 827
See also entries for Munich
München (*Bergmannschule*), **503**
München (*Bombensuchkommando*), **503–504**
München (*Chemische Werke*), **504**
München (*Ehrengut*), **504–505**
München (Ettstrasse), **131–133**, 134
München (*Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl*), **505–506**
München (*Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais*), **506–507**
München (*Grossschlachterei Thomae*), **507**
München (Höchlstrasse) [aka SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse], **507–508**
München (*Katastropheneinsatz*), **508**
München (Königinstrasse), **508**
München (*Lebensborn e.V.*), **509**
München (Leopoldstrasse), **509–510**
München (*Lodenfrey*), **510–511**
München (*Oberbürgermeister*), **511**
München (*Parteikanzlei*), **511–512**
München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*). *See* München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)]
München (*Reichsbahn*), **512**
München (*Reichsführer-SS*), **512–513**
München (*Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur*), **513**
München (*Schuhhaus Meier*), **513–514**
München (*Sprengkommando*), **514**
München (*SS-Mannschaftshäuser*), **514**
München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*, Möhlstrasse), **515**
München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*), **515**
München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*), **516**
München-Allach, 485, 523, 1013, 1016–1017, 1019, 1028, 1033, 1034, 1041, 1044, 1060, 1066
München-Allach (*BMW*), **516–517**
München-Allach (*OT Bau*) [aka Rothschwaige], **517**
München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)], **518**
München-Allach (*SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager*), **518**
München-Freimann (*Bartolith Werke*), **518–519**, 552
München-Freimann (*Dyckerhoff und Widmann*), **519–520**
München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*), **520–521**
München-Giesing (*Agfa Kamerawerke*), **521–522**
München II, 515
München-Moosach, 516
München-Oberföhring (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS*), **522–523**
München-Riem, 519, 1041
München-Riem (*OT, SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*), **523–524**
München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia], **524–526**

München-Sendling (*Architekt Bücklers*), **526–527**
München-Stadelheim, 5, **133–135**
München-Stadelheim prison, 5, 131, 133
Münchholz. *See* Steyr-Münchholz
Münchmühle. *See* Allendorf [aka Münchmühle]
Münchshöfen, 597
Munich, 22, 114, 133, 134, 135, 140, 216, 448, 456, 457, 459, 461, 469, 471, 476, 478, 484, 485, 493, 533, 538, 539, 550, 552, 554, 613, 647, 688, 799, 1227, 1299, 1344, 1411, 1412, 1514
See also entries for München
Munich-Oberhaching, 525
Münster, 1155
Murfeld I and II, 924, 939
Müritz, 1219, 1220
Murnau, 545
"Mw." *See* Westeregeln ("Maulwurf," "Tarthun," "Mw")
Mysen, 484
Mysłakowice. *See* Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (Mysłakowice)
Mysłowice (Myslowitz), 239

Nachbaulager Russland-Süd, 885, 887
Nachod, 802
Nadbrzeże, 1462
Nagelstal, 1483
Nahe. *See* Neubrücke [aka Neubrücke-Hoppstädten, Neubrücke/Nahe]
Nałęczów, 888, 889, 890
Namur, 1362
Nancy, 1362
Nantes, 1362
Napola, 363, 364, 1385
See also Ballenstedt (*Napola*); Bensberg (Kdo. Napola) (SS-BB III)
"Napola Hardehausen." *See* Hardehausen
Narva [aka Narva-Ost] (and Hungerburg), 1056, 1493, 1497, 1498, 1500, **1503–1504**, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508
Narva-Jõesuu (Hungerburg), 1503
Narva-Ost. *See* Narva [aka Narva-Ost] (and Hungerburg)
Nationale Radiatoren. *See* Schönebeck (*Nationale Radiatoren*)
Natzweiler-Struthof, 123, 186, 192, 216, 218, 375, 423, 523, 536, 588, 624, 664, 815, 816, 826, **1003–1071**, 1107, 1198, 1208, 1210, 1407, 1494
Nauen, 47, 48, 1289, 1338
Naumburg, 419
Nazieleńce, 233
Neckar, 1071
Neckarbischofsheim, 1047
See also Neckarelz I and II/Neckarbischofsheim
Neckarelz, 523, 1009, 1034, 1066, 1069
Neckarelz I and II, **1045–1047**
Neckarelz I and II/Asbach, **1047–1048**
Neckarelz I and II/Bad Rappenau, **1048**
Neckarelz I and II/Neckarbischofsheim, **1048–1049**
Neckarelz I and II/Neckargerach, **1050–1051**
Neckargartach-Heilbronn, **1051–1052**
Neckargerach, 523, 1032–1033, 1035, 1047
See also Neckarelz I and II/Neckargerach
Neckarsulm, 1048
Neckarzimmern, **1052–1053**
Neesen. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Netschetin, 314
Netzow, 1227
Neuaubing, 493
See also Germering [aka Neuaubing]
Neu-Augustusburg Castle, 172
Neubrandenburg, 1194, 1201, **1215–1216**, **1328–1330**
Neubrücke, 833
Neubrücke [aka Neubrücke-Hoppstädten, Neubrücke/Nahe], **838–839**
Neubrücke-Hoppstädten, 838
Neuburg an der Donau, **527–528**
Neu-Dachs, 243, 244, 259, 260, **264–266**
Neudamm, **1330**
Neudorf. *See* Wiener Neudorf
Neudörfel (Nova Víska), 706
Neuenbürg, **1053**
Neuengamme, 85, 186, 193, 198, 199, 200, 242, 262, 330, 341, 352, 358, 375, 432, 524, 559, 573, 574, 631, 733, 746, 760, 783, 970, 977, 1023, 1073–1185, 1192, 1194, 1196, 1232, 1263, 1302, 1306, 1326, 1327, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1361, 1362, 1366, 1380, 1381, 1384, 1391, 1392, 1399, 1403, 1413, 1418, 1456, 1460, 1520
Neuengamme SS-Baubrigade, 1369
Neuenland. *See* Bremen-Neuenland [aka Bremen-Kriegsmarine]
Neue Welt Stadium, 123, 389, 390
Neufahrn, **528**
See also Eching [aka OT, Neufahtn]
Neufahrwasser. *See* Danzig-Neufahrwasser
Neugraben. *See* Hamburg-Neugraben
Neuhammer, **1330–1331**
Neuhammer am Quais (Świętoszów), 210
Neuhardenberg, 1350
Neuhirschstein, 667. *See also* Meissen-Neuhirschstein
Neu-Hirschstein Castle, 667
Neuhof bei Fulda, 1359
Neuhof Plawy, 267
Neukirch, 706
Neukirchen, 76
Neukölln. *See* Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse]
Neulüss, 286
Neumark, 163, 314
Neumarkt (Środa Śląska), 726
Neumünster, 112, 1158
Neumünster-Gadeland, 549
Neunheim, 1028
Neunkirchen, 1009
See also Guttenbach [also Binau and Neunkirchen (Fahrbereitschaft)]
Neuötting, 663
Neurohlau (Nová Role), 579, 583, 585, 587, 605, 620, 626, 637, **641–643**, 645, 1193
Neusalz, 699, **767–769**
Neusandez/Grybów, 885
Neusäss, 451
Neustadt, 93, 94, 193, 260, 613, 742, 977, 978
See also Wiener Neustadt
Neustadt (Prudnik), 266
Neustadt an der Haardt [aka Rheinpfalz], **135–137**
Neustadt an der Weinstrasse (Lachen-Speyerdorf), 136
Neustadt bei Coburg [aka KALAG], **398–399**
Neustadt Bucht, 1100
Neustädter Bucht, 1081, 1098
Neustadt-Glewe, 244, 1086, 1194, 1206, 1210, **1216–1217**, 1220
Neustadt in Holstein, **1165–1166**
Neustadt O/S, **266**
Neu-Stassfurt. *See* Stassfurt ("Reh") [aka Neu-Stassfurt, Stassfurt I]
Neustettin, 92
Neustift, 472
Neustift im Stubaital [aka Innsbruck II], **528–530**
Neustrelitz, 1299
Neustrelitz-Fürstensee, **1217–1218**
Neusustrum, 45, 69, 72, 152
Neusustrum [aka Papenburg V], **137–140**, 152
Neuteich, **1469**
Neutraubling, 648
Neu-Tschöpeln bei Muskau, 118
Neu-Ulm, **530–531**
Neuwied, 1022
Neweklau (Neveklov), 616
Newmark. *See* Königsberg (Newmark)
Nibelungenwerke, 951
Nickelswalde (Mikoszewo), 1434
Niederau, 393
Niederbarnim, 1296
Niederbronn, **1053**
Niederbühl, 1037, 1055
Niederdonau, 921
Niederdorfie, 726
Niederen Kirchleithe, 624
Niedere Tauern, 910
Niedergebra, 988
See also Kleinbodungen/Niedergebra ("Kommando 48a")
Niederhagen, 186. *See also* Wewelsburg main camp [aka Niederhagen]
Niederlausitz, 1351
Niederoderwitz, **769–771**
Niederorschel, 375
Niederorschel ("Langenwerke AG"), **400–401**
Niederösterreich (Reichsgau Niederdonau), 908, 921, 945, 950
Niedersachsen, 328, 1200
Niedersachswerfen, 227, 983, 984, 986, 987, 991, 995, 998, 1000, 1001, 1394, 1397
Niederschlesien. *See* Lower Silesia (Niederschlesien)

Niederschlesien (Dolny Śląsk), 782
Niederschöneweide, 1291
See also Berlin-Niederschöneweide (*Pertrix*)
Niedertrebra, 22
Niemcza. *See* Nimptsch (Niemcza)
Niemegk, **1331–1332**
Nienberg, 432
Nienburg, 1302
Niesky, 118, 717
Niesky [aka Wiesengrund], **771–772**
Niesky/Brandhofen, 706, **773–774**
See also Spohle/Brandhofen
Nikolajewsk, 1408
Nimptsch (Niemcza), **774–775**
Nitra, 812
Nixdorf (Mikulasovice), 706
Nohra, 5, **140–142**
Nordbaden, 1034
Nordenham, 171, 1403
Nordhausen, 242, 319, 348, 400, **401**, 474, 721, 767, 942, 957, 966, 968, 969, 970, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 988, 996, 1000, 1002, 1020, 1025, 1358, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1393, 1397, 1398, 1404, 1405
Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*), 489, 702, **990–993**, 993, 994, 1025
Nordhausen ("Dora"), 192
Nordhausen-Grosswerther, 767
Nordhausen/Harz, 324
Nordmark, 1164, 1165
Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1358, 1369
Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1140
Nörten-Hardenberg, 1532
North Baden, 100
Northeim, 1398
Northern Fortress, 193
Nossen-Rosswein, **643–645**
Notbehelfsheimbau. *See* Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
Nová Role. *See* Neurohlau
Nova Víska. *See* Neudörfel (Nova Víska)
Nowa Sól. *See* Neusalz; Neusalz (Nowa Sól)
Nowawes, 1336
Nowy Staw, 1469
Nüchel, 76
Nummernbuch 6, 1023
Nürnberg, 85, **85–87**, 126, 218, 330, 341, 410, 475, 607, 609, 615, 632, 659, 778, 1054, 1265, 1319, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1357, 1379, 1410, 1412
Nürnberg [aka 2. SS-Baubrigade (E)] (SS BB II), **1388–1389**
Nürnberg (*Siemens-Schuckert Werke*), **645–646**
Nürnberg (*SS-Kaserne*), **646–647**
Nürnberg / Eichstätt, **647–648**
Nürnberg-Fürth, 85, 86, 589, 601, 659, 666, 1389
Nürnberg-Langwasser, 1293, 1347
Nürnberg Rathauswache, 85
Nussdorf, 479
Nüxei (SS-BB III), 974, 1001, 1357, **1389–1391**, 1397, 1398

Ober, 666
Oberabschnitt Süd. *See* München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*, Möhlstrasse)
Ober-Altstadt, 699, 700, 746, **775**, 810
Oberammergau, 534
Oberbarnim, 1343
Ober-Bautrupp 1822, 1430
Oberbayern, 1017
Oberbürgermeister. *See* München (*Oberbürgermeister*)
Obercrinitz, 314
Oberdonau, 550, 905, 913, 914, 915, 917, 921
See also Oberösterreich
Oberehnheim, 1039, **1053–1054**
Obereichsfeld, 400
Oberer Kuhberg. *See* Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg
Oberer Kuhberg fortress, 95
Oberföhring. *See* München-Oberföhring (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS*)
Oberfranken, 23, 143
Oberfranken and Unterfranken Camps, **142–144**
Oberhaching, 526
Oberhagen, 1221
Oberhals, 314
Oberhausen, 1373
Ober-Hohenelbe, 634, 700, **775**, 777, 811
Oberilzmühle (Upper Ilz Mill), 938
Oberkotzau, 613
Oberlahnkreis, 1359
Oberland, 1032
Oberlangen (VI), 152
Oberleitung, 497
Obermeitingen, 489
Obernai, 1053–1054
Oberndorf ("Muna," "Ms," "Mu"), **401–402**
Obernheide. *See* Bremen-Obernheide
Oberösterreich (Reichsgau Oberdonau), 914, 915, 917, 925, 946
Oberraderach, 472
Oberschleissheim, 542
Oberschloss Kranichfeld, 374
Oberschöneweide, 1281
Oberschwaben, 1013, 1017
Obersitz (Obrzysko), 578
Oberspreewald-Lausitz County (Landkreis), 162
Oberstdorf, 493
Oberstdorf-Birgsau, **531–533**
Obertaufkirchen, 501
Obertraubling [aka Regensburg-Obertraubling], 620, **648–650**
Oberweimar, 291
Oberwüstegiersdorf, 704
See also Riese/Schotterwerk [aka Oberwüstegiersdorf]
Oberwüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca Górna), 793
Obieżowa, 254
Obrigheim, 1009, 1047, 1048, 1050, 1064, 1308
Obrigheim am Neckar, 1307, 1046
Ochsenzoll. *See* Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll)
Ochtumsand, 5, 116, 117, 124, 125, **144–146**
"Odawerke," 976, 978
Oder. *See* Fürstenberg (Oder)
Öderanstrasse, 89
Odolenswasser (Odolena Voda), 621
Oederan, 612, **650–652**, 676, 678
Oedheim, 1041
Oelsen, 658
Oelsnitz, 1222
Oelsnitz im Erzgebirge, **146–147**
Oesig. *See* Blankenburg-Oesig ("Klosterwerke")
"Ofen." *See* Mockethal-Zatzschke
Offenbach, 150, 151
Offenburg, 1036, 1358, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412
Ohlsdorf, 1119
Ohrdruf ("SIII"), 297, 298, 311, **402–405**, 588, 624, 1019, 1022, 1028
Ohrdruf/Crawinkel, **405–406**
Ohrdruf/Espenfeld, **406**
Öhringen, 1049
Okmian (Akmene), 858
Olbramowitz (Olbramovice), 618
Olcza [aka Zakopane, Zakopane-Olcza], **871**
Oldau, 285, 1138
Oldenburg, 3, 9, 46, **147**, 170, 171, 1156
Oliva, 1425
See also Danzig-Oliva (*Reitschule*)
Olmütz, 703
Olomouc, 703
Ölsnitz, 742
Olszyniec. *See* Erlenbusch (Olszyniec)
Ongart, 1346
Opitzstrasse. *See* Danzig-Opitzstrasse [aka Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer]
Opole Lubelskie, 888, 889, 890, 891
Opole Province, 762
Oranienberg, 155
Oranienberg (Auer-Werke), 1344
Oranienburg, *1*, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18, 30, 42, 45, 48, 50, 51, 80, 120, 127, **147–149**, 153, 155, 158, 230, 244, 343, 390, 405, 448, 459, 473, 554, 590, 603, 864, 865, 996, 1000, 1027, 1046, 1065, 1090, 1131, 1137, 1138, 1143, 1148, 1160, 1166, 1195, 1205, 1209, 1222, 1251, 1256, 1263, 1276, 1280, 1282, 1283, 1287, 1299, 1300, 1316, 1323, 1224, 1338, 1345, 1346, 1362, 1364, 1375
Oranienburg (*Auer-Werke*), 1204, **1332–1333**, 1338, 1344
Oranienburg (Brandenburg), 29
Oranienburg (*Heinkel-Werke*), 1295, **1333–1334**
Oranienburg Castle, 60, 1323
"Orion." *See* Konigstein
Orłowo, 1427
Orłowo Morskie, 1427
Ortmannsdorf, 641
Oschatz, 377, 393, 702
See also Pappenheim bei Oschatz
Oschersleben, 353
Osnabrück, 45, 57, 126, 170, 244, 435, 1155, 1302, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1366, 1402, 1403, 1519

See also SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (Osnabrück)
Osnabrück (SS-BB II), **1391–1393**
Osnabrück district, 50
Osterburken, 1047, 1051
Ostergrund, 1327
Osterhagen, 974, 1357, 1377, 1379, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1397, 1398
Osterhagen (SS-BB III), **1393–1394**
Osterode, 974, 987
Osterode-Freiheit (*Firma Curt Heber*), **993–994**
Osterode-Petershütte ("Dachs IV"), 987, 993, **994–995**
Osterort, 1081, 1095
See also Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine]
Osterstein, 179
Osterstein Castle, 179
Ost-Hannover, 1082
Osthavelland, 47, 48
Osthofen, 9, **150–151**
Osthofen (Hesse), 8, 151
Ostland, 1231
Ostländer Lager. *See* Aseri [aka OT Ostländer Lager]
Ostmark, 929
Ostoberschlesien (Śląsk), 257
Ostrach, 1058
Ostrov. *See* Schlackenwerth (Ostrov)
Ostrów (Holm), 1439
Ostrowiec, 804
Oświęcim (Auschwitz), 204, 233, 235, 236, 247
See also entries at Auschwitz
Oth. *See* Audun-le-Tiche ("Rowa") [aka Deutsch-Oth]
Otmęt. *See* Ottmuth (Otmęt)
Ottmuth (Otmęt), 762
Ottobrunn, **533,** 534
Otto-Hütten, 1044
Otto Jost. *See* Danzig-Schellmühl (Otto Jost)
Otzing, 654
Ötztal, **533–534**
Ovelgönne. *See* Hambühren [aka Hambühren-Ovelgönne or Waldeslust]
Owińska, 805
Ozorków, 746

Paderborn, 186, 418, 1123, 1129, 1414, 1518, 1519
Pakri, 1501
Palatinate, 1004
Palemonas, 849, **857**
Palmnicken (Yantarnyy), 1454, 1460, 1466, 1480
Pampitz. *See* Brieg [aka Pampitz]
Paneské Břežaný, 621
Pankewitza, **1504**
Pankow, 36
Papenburg, 5, 7, 9, 10, 20, 26, 29, 50, 51, 53, 64, 66, 68, 69, 72, 79, 82, 127, 129, 137, 138, **152–154**, 164, 439
Papenburg I, 44
See also Börgermoor [aka Papenburg I]
Papenburg II. *See* Esterwegen II [aka Papenburg II]
Papenburg III, 10
See also Esterwegen III [aka Papenburg III]
Papenburg V. *See* Neusustrum [aka Papenburg V]
Papenburg VI/Oberlangen, 66
Pappenheim bei Oschatz, 57, **154–155**, 158
Paprotnik. *See* Chełmek-Paprotnik [aka Chełmek]
Parchim, 1204, 1333, 1334
Paris, 439, 544, 1362, 1394
Park. *See* Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, Hirtenstrasse) [aka Park]
Parschnitz (Poříčí), 699, 700, 704, 707, 722, 731, 760, 762, 764, 775, **776–777**, 792, 794, 801, 802, 805, 810
Parteikanzlei. *See* München (*Parteikanzlei*)
Partenkirchen. *See* Garmisch-Partenkirchen
Pas-de-Calais, 1382
Passau, 739, 905, 1405, 1409
Passau I, 943, 948
Passau I (with Passau III), **938–939**
Passau II, **939**
Passau III. *See* Passau I (with Passau III)
Patriotischer Weg, 1222
Paulusbrunn, 399
Pawentsch (Pavenciai), 858
Pawiak, 1514
Pawiak prison, 717, 758, 1256, 1433, 1514
Peenemünde, 644, 956, 966, 1015, 1023, 1208, 1209
Peggau, 906, 914, 924, 928, **939–941**, 960
Pegnitz, 1057
Peissen, 408
Pelkowitz (Pelkowice), 781
Pelkum, 28
Pelplin, **1469**
Pelters, **1054–1055**
Peltre, 1054
Penig, **407**
Penzing, 496
Penzlauer, 40
Pępice. *See* Brieg [aka Pampitz]
Perg, 915
Perleberg, 94, 148, **155**
Pertrix. *See* Berlin-Niederschöneweide (*Pertrix*)
Petersberg, 64
See also Erfurt (Petersberg and Feldstrasse)
Petershütte. *See* Osterode-Petershütte ("Dachs IV")
Peterskirchen/Schönau, 654
Peterswaldau (Pieszyce), 699, *699*, 700, 759, 760, **777–781**
Petit-Koenigsberg. *See* Königsberg (Newmark)
Petschau (Bečov), 629
Petseri. *See* Petseri, Ülenurme, Kulupe
Petseri, Ülenurme, Kulupe, **1504**
Pettighofen, 925
Pfaffenhofen, 468
Pfersee, 452, 453, 499
See also Augsburg-Pfersee
Pforzheim, 712, 1064, 1067, 1302, 1331
Pfronten, 491
Pfronten-Steinach, 495
Pia, Schwester. *See* München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia]
Piaski, 894
Piast mine, 249
Pierbauer quarry, 920
Pieskow, 1265
Pieszyce. *See* Peterswaldau (Pieszyce)
Pilau, 1460
Pilsen (Plzeň), 650, 676, 1396, 1405, 1409, 1410, 1414, 1416
Pilsting, 597
Pima, 636, 637
Pinneberg, 112
Pinnow, 744
Pinzgau, 945
Pionier-Kaserne. *See* Dresden (*SS-Pionier-Kaserne*)
Pionki, 1312
Piotrków Trybunalski, 880
Pirkelsdorf, 1304
Pirmasens, 135, 832
Pirna, 110, 111, 387, 393, 579, 582, 583, 1396
Pisařovy Vesce, 629
Pistov, 657
Planá, 579, 629, 676, 688
Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (men), **534–535**
Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (women), **535**
Plaszow, 402, 451, 537, 651, 664, 682, 695, 699, 872, 1010
See also Krakau-Plaszow
Plattenbüttel, 1125
Plattling, 597, **652–654**
Plaue, 594, 1268
Plaue bei Flöha, **155**
Plauen, 142, 568, 628, 1405, 1409, 1414
Plauen (*Baumwollspinnerei und Industriewerke*), **655–656**
Plauen (*Horn GmbH*), **656–657**
Plauen/Vogtland, 632
Pławy, 233, 266
Pławy [aka Wirtschaftshof Pławy, Gut Pławy], **266–268**
Pleskau, 1504
Plömnitz ("Leopard"), 377
Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (men), **407–408**
Plömnitz ("Leopard") [aka Leau] (women), **409**
Płońsk, 1436
Plötzensee. *See* Berlin-Plötzensee
Plzeň, 614. *See also* Pilsen
Pocking, 739
See also Kirchham bei Pocking [aka Pocking, Waldstadt, Pocking-Waldstadt]
Pocking-Waldstadt. *See* Kirchham bei Pocking [aka Pocking, Waldstadt, Pocking-Waldstadt]

Podolia, 893
"Pogrom Special Camp," 1362
Poing, 502
Polen-Jugendverwahrlager der Sicherheitspolizei in Litzmannstadt. *See* Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager]
Polenlager. *See* Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager]
Police, 720
See also Pölitz
Police Transit Camp Amersfoort (Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort, PDA), 820
Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager], **1527–1530**
Pölitz [aka Stettin], 800, 1195, 1263, **1469–1471**
Polizeidirektion, 539
See also Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*) [aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)]
Polküla, 1501
Pollnhof, 465
Polte OHG. *See* Magdeburg (*Polte OHG*) (men), (women)
Pomerania, 1211, 1438, 1447, 1481
Pommern, 1193, 1208
See also Klützow; Lauenburg in Pommern; Stargard in Pommern
Ponewesch, 859
Poniatowa, 191, 887, **888–891**, 891
Popering, 1386
Poperwahlen. *See* Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen]
Poppenbüttel. *See* Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel
Poříčí. *See* Parschnitz (Porici)
"Porphyr," 976, 977
Porschdorf, 575, 637, **657–659**
Porta, 1080, 1081
Porta I. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke," 760, 1085, 1089, 1108, 1109, 1150, **1166–1168**, 1173, 1184
Port Kunda, 1493, **1505–1506**
Porz, 27
Porz (Rheinisch-Bergischer Kreis), 155
Porz [aka Hochkreuz], **155–156**
Porzellanmanufaktur. *See* München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)]
Posen (Poznań), 9, 92, 163, 578, 1281, 1408
Postweg, 1196
Potsdam, 47, 94, 147, 155, 156, 339, 1200, 1301, 1310
Potsdam-Babelsberg, 1283, **1334–1335**
Potsdam district, 50
Pottenstein, 588, 640, 647, **650–660**
Poznań, 231, 717, 806
Prachatice. *See* Prachatitz (Prachatice)
Prachatitz (Prachatice), 609, 743
Prądki. *See* Brande (Prądki)
Prague, 59, 60, 132, 353, 394, 617, 618, 621, 636, 683, 703, 735, 804, 812, 1335, 1396
Prague-Bubenec, 636, 641
Prambachkirchen, 927–928
Praust, 1472, 1477
See also Pruszcz Gdański
Praust (Flugplatz), **1471–1473**
Praust (Pruszcz Gdański), 1449, 1468, 1476, 1477, 1486
Pravieniškis (Prawienischken), 857
Prawienischken, 849, **857**
Präzifix GmbH. *See* Dachau (*Präzifix GmbH*)
Preinsbach, 908
Preitenstein, 314
Prenzlau, 1199, 1202
Prenzlauer Berg, 39, 40
See also Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg [aka Wasserturm]
Prenzlau-Kleine Heide [also Hindenburg, Birkenhain], **1218**
Prettin (Lichtenburg), **1335–1336**
Prettin an der Elbe, 120, 121, 122, 173, 384, 1263, 1391
Preussisch Stargard, **1473**
Preussisch Stargard (prewar: Stargard; postwar: Starogard Gdański), 1473
Preusslitz, 408
Primda, 688
Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse prison, 1274
Pröbbernau, **1473–1475**, 1488
"Project A7." *See* Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Bruttig]; Cochem-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Treis]
Proven, 1357, 1386
See also Kortemark and Proven, Belgium (Neuengamme, Buchenwald) (SS-BB I)
Prudnik, 260, 266
Prüfening, 662
Prussia, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 37, 44, 50, 63, 83, 84, 91, 92, 94, 120, 123, 125, 128, 129, 147, 152, 157, 162, 163, 170, 174, 189, 309, 328, 339, 375, 384, 386, 388, 389, 395, 396, 400, 419, 428, 433, 436, 561, 665, 743, 749, 759, 775, 830, 831, 833, 837, 838, 840, 841, 843, 1019, 1021, 1030, 1032, 1192, 1199, 1203, 1211, 1215, 1227, 1420, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1431, 1443, 1455, 1464, 1465
Pruszcz Gdański, 1430
See also Praust
Pruszków, 1043, 1135, 1431
Prymulka Villa, 871
Przemsza farm, 274
Przemyśl, 677
Przerbno. *See* Pröbbernau
Przeróbka (Troyl), 1439
Przybyszów. *See* Pürschkau (Przybyszów)
Przylep. *See* Schertendorf (Przylep)
Przylep (Schertendorf), 803
Przylesie. *See* Konradswaldau (Przylesie)
Pszczyna (Pless), 257, 268, 274
Ptaszów, 677
Puławy (Pulawy, Pulav, Pulavy), 891
Puławy [aka Pulawy Stadt], **891–892**
Puławy Stadt. *See* Pulawy [aka Pulawy Stadt]
Pulheim, 29
Pürschkau (Przybyszów), 804
See also Schlesiersee II [aka Pürschkau]
Pustków, 245
Putki, 1508
See also Kertowa and Putki
Pütnitz bei Ribnitz-Damgarten Kraków, 1222
Putten, 1105, 1119, 1154, 1180

"Quarz." *See* Melk ("Quarz") [aka Kommando "Quarz"]
Quedlinburg, 309, 356, 359, **409**, 721, 977, 987, **995–996**, 1000, 1002, 1384
Quednau, 7, **156**
Quednau Fortress, 155
Quellendorf, 432

Rabenstein, 985
Rabstein, **660–661**, 670
Racibórz (Ratibor), 250
Radebeul, 581
Raderach, 473, 474
Radlow, 1265
Radogoszcz prison, 1528
Radolfzell, 472, **535–536**
Radom, 252, 706, 878, 880, 881, 890, 1010, 1023, 1052, 1059, 1065, 1067, 1312
Radom [aka Radom (Szkolna Street)], **892–893**
Radom district, 717
Radoschau (Radoszowa), 234
Radostowice. *See* Radostowitz
Radostowitz, 224, **268**
Raguhn, **409–410**
Raisko. *See* Rajsko
Rajsko, 226, 233, **268–269**
Raketen KZ, 973
Rastatt, 218, 615, 827, 1040, 1041, 1046, **1055**, 1224
Rastenburg (Kętrzyn), 782, 1478
Rathauswache, 85
Rathenow an der Havel, 1294, 1310, 1312, 1313, **1336–1337**
Rathenow/Heidefeld, 1336
Rathmannsdorf, 1158
Ratibor (Racibórz), 250, 271
Rauscha (Ruszów), 720
Ravensbrück, **1187–1228**
introduction to Section II, 185, 193
main camp overview, **1188–1191**
subcamp system overview, **1192–1194**
Auschwitz system, 226, 231, 234, 244, 251, 252, 269
Buchenwald system, 290, 297, 301, 304, 305, 328, 329, 339, 343, 349, 375, 378, 379, 380, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 394, 395, 398, 407, 413, 415, 419, 426, 428, 440
Dachau system, 463, 472, 482, 486, 505, 517, 521, 535, 543

Early National Socialist camps, 8, 53, 84, 120, 121, 122, 123, 129
Flossenbürg system, 576, 577, 582, 584, 585, 591, 600, 601, 605, 608, 609, 612, 615, 633, 642, 650, 664, 674, 675, 678, 679, 685, 689
Gross-Rosen system, 700, 727, 800
Herzogenbusch system, 817
Lublin system, 877, 879
Mauthausen system, 901, 922, 944, 945, 950
Mittelbau system, 970
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1010, 1032, 1033, 1038, 1069
Neuengamme system, 1084, 1086, 1087, 1097, 1102, 1103, 1107, 1122, 1131, 1137, 1138, 1149, 1169, 1170, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1184
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1230, 1231
Sachsenhausen system, 1256, 1263, 1267, 1270, 1271, 1275, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1287, 1291, 1298, 1299, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1312, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1320, 1324, 1328, 1329, 1332, 1335, 1337, 1338, 1344, 1346, 1348, 1349
Stutthof system, 1428, 1472
Viavara system, 1501
Wewelsburg, 1520
Youth camps, 1531, 1533, 1534
Ravensburg, 1407
Rawicz, 767
"RB." *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Rebdorf, 526
Rebstock, 975
See also Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Rebstock Neu. *See* Artern [aka Adorf, Rebstock Neu]
Rechlin, 1212, 1220
See also Retzow [aka Rechlin]
Redl-Zipf ("Schlier"), 906, 932, **942–943**, 952, 953, 957
Regensburg, 403, 654, 665, 673, 1389, 1410, 1412, 1413
Regensburg [aka Colosseum], **661–663**
Regensburg-Obertraubling, 597
See also Obertraubling [aka Regensburg-Obertraubling]
Regenstein, 974, 976
See also Blankenburg-Regenstein ("Turmalin")
Regierungsbezirk Oberpfalz, 648
"Reh." *See* Stassfurt ("Reh") [aka Neu-Stassfurt, Stassfurt I]
Rehau, 613, 1293, 1347
Rehmsdorf, 274, 313, 975
See also Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleina] [aka Wille]
Reichenau, (Rychnov), 700, 711, 724, 732, 748, 749, **781–782**
See also Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau]
Reichenbach, 57, 314, 628, 778, 815
See also Langenbielau I [aka Reichenbach, Reichenbach Sportschule]
Reichenbach [aka Langenbielau], **156–157**
Reichenbach Sportschule. *See* Langenbielau I [aka Reichenbach, Reichenbach Sportschule]
Reichenberg, 87, 1069
Reichertshofen, 1359, 1417
Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp, 1216
Reichsgau Bade-Elsass, 1045
Reichsgau Niederdonau, 908
Reichsgau Oberdonau, 952
See also Oberösterreich
Reichshof (Rzeszów), 1070
Reich Training Camp (Reichsausbildungslager) Elbe II, 573
Reich Training Camp (Reichsausbildungslager) Elbe IV, 572
Reiherhorst, 1184
Reimannsfelde. *See* Hopehill [also Reimannsfelde]
Reimannsfelde (Nadbrezie, later Nadbrzeże), 1461
Reinickendorf, 1289
See also Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz]
Reinickendorf-"Schönholz." *See* Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz]
Reinsberg, 1334
Reischach, 654
Reitschule. *See* Danzig-Oliva (*Reitschule*)
Reit- und Fahrschule. *See* München-Riem (*OT, SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*)
Reitzenhain, 430
Remagen, 1405
Remscheid-Lüttringhausen, **157**
Rennersdorf, 709
Rennes, 1362
Rentzschmühle, 633
Restaurant Drechsel, 42
Retzow, 1193, 1194
Retzow [aka Rechlin], **1219–1221**
Reusten quarry, 1036
Reuth, 314
Reutlingen, 1013, 1015, 1065, 1224
Reutlingen cemetery, 1036
Reutte, 534
Reval, 1492, 1493, 1502, 1503
Rheinbach penitentiary, 105
Rheinisch-Bergisch rural district (Sonderkommissar für den Rheinisch-Bergischen Kreis), 27
Rheinmetall-Borsig, 1385
Rheinpfalz, 135, 136. *See also* Neustadt an der Haardt [aka Rheinpfalz]
Rheinsberg, **1221**
Rheinzabern (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **839**
Rhineland, 20, 27, 104, 830, 838, 841, 843, 1019, 1021
Ribnitz, 1197
"Richard," 641
See also Wernigerode ("Richard")
"Richard I" project. *See* Leitmeritz
Richard II, 769, 770
Richardgrube coal mine, 265
Rickling. *See* Kuhlen [aka Rickling, Falkenried, Innere Mission]
Rickling (Gemeinde Rickling), 112
Riederloh, 496
Riederloh [aka Riederloh II], **536–538**
Riederloh II, 461
See also Riederloh [aka Riederloh II]
Riem. *See* München-Riem (*OT, SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*)
Riesa, 380, 426, 633, 702
Riese complex, 699, 700, 703, 728, **782–783**
Riese/Dörnhau, 757, 775, **784**
Riese/Erlenbusch, **785–787**
Riese/Falkenberg [aka Eule], **787–789**
Riese/Fürstenstein, **789–790**
Riese/Kaltwasser, **790–792**
Riese/Lärche, **792–793**
Riese/Märzbachtal, 699, 783, **793–795**
Riesengebirge (Marciszów), 764
Riesengebirge (possibly Schmiedberg), 119
Riese/Säuferwasser, **795**
Riese/Schotterwerk [aka Oberwüstegiersdorf], **795**
Riese/Tannhausen, **796**
Riese/Wolfsberg, 791, **796–798**
Riese/Wüstegiersdorf, 764, 793, 796, 1148
Riese/Wüstegiersdorf [aka Lager V], **798–799**
Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf, 792
Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf [aka Stenzelberg], **799–800**
Riese/Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau], **800–801**
Riespott. *See* Bremen-Osterort [aka Bremen-Riespott, Bremen-Kriegsmarine]
Riga. *See* Riga-Kaiserwald
Riga (Balastdamm), **1239–1240**
Riga (Dünawerke), **1240–1241**
Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*), **1241–1242**
Riga (*Heereskraftfahrzeugpark*, Hirtenstrasse) [aka Park], **1241**
Riga (Lenta) (*SD-Werkstätte*), 1239, **1242–1244**
Riga (Mühlgraben) [aka Ultra], **1244–1246**
Riga (*Reichsbahn*), **1246**
Riga (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*), **1247–1248**
Riga-Kaiserwald, [aka Mežaparks], 22, 191, 377, 388, 582, 1122, 1312, 1420, 1430, 1465, 1481, 1482, 1485, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1500, 1504
Riga-Spilwe, 1236, 1241, **1248–1250**
Riga-Strasdenhof, 1240
Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG / VEF), **1250–1252**
Riga-Strasdenhof [aka SS-Betriebe, Strazdenhof], **1252–1253**
Ring Me. *See* Saal an der Donau [aka Ring Me]
Ritterbusch, 777
Röbel-Malchow, 1220
"Robert." *See* Rostock-Schwazenpfost/Steinheide

Rochlitz, 407, 601, **663–665**
Roggendorf, 936
Rogoźnica, 694
Rohrdorf, 552
Röhrsdorf. *See* Gräflich-Röhrsdorf
Rokitnica, 1468
"Roland." *See* Glöwen
Römer quarry, 924
"Rommel Barracks," 1362
Roosendaal, 816, **821**
Rosenberg, **1475–1476**
Rosenheim, 479, **538**, 547, 552, 1052
Rosenort, 1489
Rosental, 923
Rossla, 988, **996–997**
Rosslau, 8, **157–158**
Rosswangen, 1031
Rosswein, 643
See also Nossen-Rosswein
Rostock, 958, 962, 1195, 1209, 1320, 1333, 1337, 1471
Rostock-Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide, **1221–1223**
Rostocky, 641
Rothau, 1004, 1006, 1009, 1071
Röthenbach/Pegnitz, 475
Rothenbergen bei Gelnhausen. *See* Gelnhausen [aka Rothenbergen bei Gelnhausen]
Rothenburg, 118, **410–411**
Rothenburgsort, 1380
See also Hamburg-Rothenburgsort [aka Bullenhuser Damm]
Rothensee. *See* Magdeburg-Rothensee (*Brabag*) [aka Magda]
Rothschwaige, 463, 517
See also Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige [aka Rothschwaige]; München-Allach (*OT Bau*) [aka Rothschwaige]
Rottenburg, 1035
Rotterdam, 821
Rottleberode ("Heinrich"), 297, 973, 974, 985, 987, 988, 994, 996, **997–999**, 999, 1000, *1144*
Rottweil, 1057
Rouen, 1358, 1363, 1369, 1370
Rouen (SS-BB V), **1394–1395**
Rövershagen, 1221, 1222
"Rowa." *See* Audun-le-Tiche ("Rowa") [aka Deutsch-Oth]
"Rs." *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Rtyně, 611
Ruda. *See* Kazlu Ruda
Rügen, 1423
Ruhr, 5, 20, 62, 177, 290, 344, 348, 387, 418, 1355, 1372, 1400, 1519
Rumbuk, 669
Rünthe, 28
Rusocin, 1430
Russian camp. *See* Hungerberg
Russoschin [aka Reichsbahn Russoschin], 1430, 1472, **1476–1477**
Ruszów. *See* Rauscha (Ruszów)
Rybnik, 250, 272
Rybno, 1436, 1472
Rybno cemetery, 1472
Rychnov, 700
See also Reichenau (Rychnov)
Rydultau (Rydułtowy), 234, 235
Rymanów, 863
Rzeczka. *See* Dorfbach (Rzeczka)
Rzędówka (Egersfeld), 250

"SIII." *See* Ohrdruf ("SIII")
Saal, 662
Saal an der Donau [aka Ring Me], **665–667**
Saalenhafen, 1117
Saalfeld, 297, 327, 381
Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La], **411–413**
Saarbrücken, 455, 824, 832, 838, 1054, 1538
Saarland, 832, 838
Saarlautern, 1038
Saathoff, Menne, 370
Sachsen, 305, 345, 1193. *See also* Saxony
Sachsen-Anhalt, 173, 407, 409, 429
Sachsenburg (and Subcamps), 8, 9, 10, 22, *58*, 59, 65, 87, 89, 97, 118, 154, 157, **158-162**, 178, 179, 185, 290, 291, 1366
Sachsenhausen, **1255–1352**
introduction to Section II, 185, 193
main camp overview, **1256–1261**
subcamp system overview, **1262–1264**
Arbeitsdorf, 199
Auschwitz system, 205, 216, 227, 230, 242, 244, 248, 272
Buchenwald system, 291, 297, 330, 332, 341, 347, 354, 369, 375, 381, 384, 389, 402, 405, 415, 417, 418, 432, 439
Dachau system, 453, 489, 499, 505, 524, 525, 543, 548, 549, 550, 560
Early National Socialist camps, 8, 10, 22, 53, 61, 65, 66, 67, 94, 100, 112, 122, 147, 153, 159, 160
Flossenbürg system, 572, 575, 580, 588, 621, 622, 633, 644, 648, 653, 667, 668
Gross-Rosen system, 694, 732, 733, 745, 752, 806
Herzogenbusch system, 816, 817
Krakau-Plaszow system, 869
Lublin system, 877
Mauthausen system, 900, 902, 942
Mittelbau system, 969, 974, 993, 998, 1000, 1001
Natzweiler-Struthof system, 1004, 1005, 1023, 1040, 1042, 1050, 1071
Neuengamme system, 1074, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1102, 1103, 1105, 1106, 1112, 1134, 1142, 1143, 1146, 1166, 1179, 1184
Ravensbrück system, 1188, 1189, 1191, 1194, 1195, 1206, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1222
Riga-Kaiserwald system, 1230, 1232, 1236, 1241, 1248, 1249, 1252
SS-BB and SS-EBB camps, 1354, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1361, 1363, 1364, 1366, 1371, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1377, 1388, 1396, 1397, 1404, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417
Stutthof system, 1470, 1479, 1486
Warschau, 1513
Wewelsburg, 1518, 1520
Youth camps, 1534
Sachsenhausen/Wolfgansee. *See* St. Gilgen [aka Sachsenhausen/Wolfgangsee]
Sachsenheim. *See* Vaihingen/Unterriexingen (with Gross-Sachsenheim)
Sachsen-Weissenfels, 172
Sächsische Schweiz, 119, 575, 1341
Sackisch (Zakrze), 700, 707, 777, **801–802**, 811, 877
Sagan, 777, 1303, 1330
Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, 1051
Saka, 1493
Salaspils, 582, 1230, 1243
Sallentin Forest, 1210
"Salm." *See* Leibnitz Graz [aka Aflenz, Kalksteinwerke]
Salzburg, 347, 455, 471, 479, 483, 484, 485, 548, 634, 1405, 1409, 1410
Salzburg (*Bombensuchkommando*), **538–539**
Salzburg (*Firma Schürich*), **539**
Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee). *See* Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*) [aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)]
Salzburg (*Polizeidirektion*) [aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)], **539**
Salzburg (*Sprengkommando*), **539–540**
Salzgitter, 989, 1080, 1081, 1138, 1140, 1177
Salzgitter-Bad, **1168–1170**
Salzgitter-Drütte, 1079, 1080
Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke, 1148
Salzgitter-Lebenstedt, 1169, 1178
Salzgitter-Watenstedt, 1177
Salzkammergut, 479, 550
Salzwedel, 987, 993, 1081, 1108, **1170–1172**
Šančiani (Schanzen), 855
Sandberg, 282
Sandbostel, 1077, 1080, 1081, 1094, 1098, 1100, 1105, 1106, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1120, 1128, 1181, 1294, 1456
Sandhofen. *See* Mannheim-Sandhofen [aka Mannheim-Waldhof]
Sandweier, 1040
Sangerhausen, 400, 702, 1402, 1404
Santa I, II, and III, 958, 959, 962
See also Wien-Schwechat—"Santa" Kommandos
"Santa" Kommandos. *See* Wien-Schwechat—"Santa" Kommandos
Sarstedt, 1148
Sasel. *See* Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel
Saspe, 1434
Sauerbrunn. *See* Krondorf-Sauerbrunn
Säuferwasser, 699
See also Riese/Säuferwasser
Saulgau, 473, 474, 478, **540–541**, 554, 1010
Saurerwerke. *See* Wien (*Saurerwerke*) [aka Saurerwerke, Wein-West]
Saxen Weimarkazerne, 820
Saxony, 3, 5, 9, 10, 18, 56, 57, 84, 87, 89, 117, 120, 142, 146, 154, 155, 156, 168, 170, 172, 178, 179, 290, 306, 309, 314, 316, 323, 339, 346, 348, 352, 353, 361, 375,

376, 384, 388, 389, 395, 396, 400, 407, 409, 413, 419, 421, 422, 428, 433, 436, 437, 561, 567, 569, 576, 594, 595, 655, 699, 700, 750, 752, 777, 791, 792, 811, 888, 975, 1071, 1083, 1149, 1212, 1335, 1366
See also Sachsen
Saxony (Lausitz), 699
"Sch." *See* Schönebeck (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) ("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried")
Schaffhausen, 554
Schafswiese, 986
Schalkhausen, 1412
Schandelah, 1167, **1172–1173**, 1184
Schanzen. *See* Kauen-Schanzen
Scharfenstein, 650, 676
Scharmützelsee, 1319
Schatzlar, 699, 700, 707, **802–803**, 810
Schaulen, 849, 850, **858–859**, 1249
Schebanowitz (Šebáňovice), 618
Schehesten, 660
Schellmühl. *See* Danzig-Schellmühl (*Carstens*); Danzig-Schellmühl (Otto Jost)
Schellmühl (Młyniska), 1443
Scheppach Forest, 461
Scherfede, 363
Scherpingen, 1265, 1305
Schertendorf, **803**
Scheveningen, 816
Schichau-Werft. *See* Danzig (*Schichau-Werft*); Elbing (*Schichau-Werft*)
Schichau Werke. *See* Elbing (*Schichau Werke*)
Schiesstange Strasse prison, 1457
Schilldenkmal, 1175
Schillstrasse, 1178
Schippenbeil, 1453, 1459, 1463, **1477–1478**, 1479
Schirkenprass (Szerokopas), 1483
Schirmeck, 96, 1004
Schirmeck-Vorbrück, 1004, 1006, 1037–1038, 1055
Schlachters, 500, **541–542**
Schlackenwerth, 618, 630, **667–668**
Schlagetterkaserne barracks, 246
Schlaubetal, 1343, 1345
Schleissheim (*Aufräumungskommando*), **542**
Schleissheim (*Berufsschule*), **542–543**
Schleiz, 1418
Schlema, 640
Schlesien. *See* Freiburg in Schlesien, Silesia
Schlesiersee (Sława), 609, 700, 803
Schlesiersee I, 742, **803–804**
Schlesiersee II [aka Pürschkau], 742, 803, **804**
Schleswig-Holstein, 112, 193, 981, 1121, 1151, 1153, 1158, 1164, 1173, 1378
Schleusingen, **162**
Schlieben, 304, 345, 378, 393, **413–414**, 426, 706
"Schlier." *See* Redl-Zipf ("Schlier")
Schliersee, 555
See also Valepp (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei*) [aka Schliersee]
Schlochau, 92, 156
Schloss Binau, 1009
Schloss Friedenthal, 1292
Schloss Hartheim, 905
Schlosshau, 483, 484
Schloss Itter, **543–545**, 552
Schloss Lannach, **944–945**
Schloss Lind, 938, **943–944**, 948, 950
Schloss Lind [aka St. Marein bei Neumarkt (Schloss Lind)], **545**
Schloss Mittersill, 950
Schloss Mittersill, Schloss Lannach, **944–945**
Schloss Neuhirschstein, 580
Schmelz. *See* Michelbach (Schmelz)
Schmelz/Saar, 832
Schmiedberg (probably Riesengebirge), 119
Schmiedebach, 411, 412
Schmiedeberg, 314, 582
Schneidemühl, 91, 92
Schömberg, 1012, 1013, 1023, 1026, 1029, **1055–1057**, 1056, 1066
Schömberg (Chełmsko Śląskie), 788, 797
Schöna. *See* Leipzig-Schönau (ATG)
Schönau. *See* Siegmar-Schönau; Steinschönau; Zittau [aka Klein-Schönau]
Schönau um Rottal, 598
Schönbrunn. *See* Wien-Schönbrunn [aka Sonderkommando Wien]
Schönebeck, 326, 383, 397, 416, 437, 438, 994, 985, 997, 998, 999, 1107
Schönebeck (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) ("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried"), **414–416**
Schönebeck (*Nationale Radiatoren*), **416–417**
Schöneberg, 30
Schönefeld, 1269
See also Leipzig-Schönefeld (*HASAG*) (men), (women)
Schönefeld [aka AL Henschel], **1337–1339**
Schöneweide, 1280, 1281
Schönfliess, 1304
Schönhausen, 28
See also Bergkamen-Schönhausen
Schönheide, 629, **668–669**, 688
Schönholz, 1334
See also Berlin-Reinickendorf (*Argus*) [aka Berlin-Schönholz]
Schönwalde, 1296
Schönwarling, **1478–1479**
Schörzingen, 1012, 1013, 1017, 1029, **1057–1059**, 1066
Schotterwerk, 699, 704, 797
See also Riese/Schotterwerk [aka Oberwüstegiersdorf]
Schramberg, 746
Schuhhaus Meier. *See* München (*Schuhhaus Meier*)
Schulte-Frohlinde, 1216
Schüsselndorf (Żłobizna), 717
Schussenried, 1407
Schützenhof, 1092
See also Bremen-Schützenhof [aka Bremen-*Deschimag*]
Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne. *See* Landau [aka Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne]
Schwabing. *See* München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia]
Schwäbisch Gmünd, 168
Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental, 1028, 1041, 1047, **1059–1060**, 1065
Schwabmünchen, 499
Schwabsberg, 1028
"Schwalbe II." *See* Königstein
"Schwalbe V." *See* Berga-Elster ("Schwalbe V")
Schwandorf, 673
"Schwan" hotel, 115
"Schwarzacher Hof." *See* Unterschwarzach
Schwarzenpfost, 1221, 1222
See also Rostock-Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide
Schwarze Poth 13. *See* Essen (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*) ("Schwarze Poth 13")
"Schwarzes Land." *See* Eschershausen
Schwarzheide, 320, 390, 430, 1264, **1339–1342**
Schwechat, 932, 958, 959, 960, 962
See also Wien-Schwechat—Heidfeld; Wien-Schwechat—"Santa" Kommandos
Schwechat-Heidfeld, 960, 963
Schweidnitz (Świdnica), 711, 785
Schweinfurt, 23, 142, 143
Schwelm, 1385
Schwenningen, 1013, 1056
Schwerin, 230, 996, 1000, 1185, 1206, 1220, 1274, 1282, 1318, 1321, 1333
Schwerte-Ost, **417–418**
Schwesing. *See* Husum-Schwesing [aka Husum, Schwesing, Lager Engelsburg]
Schwester Pia. *See* München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia]
Schwindratzheim, **1060–1061**, 1071
"Schz." *See* Schörzingen
Ścinawka River valley. *See* Steine (Ścinawka) River valley
Ścinawka Średnia. *See* Mittelsteine
SD-Werkstätte. *See* Riga (Lenta) (*SD-Werkstätte*)
Sea Grotto, 959, 960
Sebniz, 1341
Seeblick I and II, 473
Seefeld, 314, 534
Seehausen [aka Uffing], **545–546**
Seelager Dondangen. *See* Dondangen I and II, with Kurben [aka Seelager Dondangen, Dundaga, Poperwahlen]
Seelhorst cemetery, 1142, 1144
Seerappen, 1453, 1459, 1463, 1464, 1471, 1477, **1479–1480**
Seesen, 989
Seeshaupt, 502
Seestadtl, 575
Seestall, 489
Segeberg rural district, 112
Seifhennersdorf, 580, 582, **669–670**
Seinheidel, 314
Selcan (Sedlčany), 618
Seligenstadt, 837, **839–840**

Sellendorf/Golsen, 1265
Sendling. *See* München-Sendling (*Architekt Bücklers*)
Senftenberg, **162–163**, 809
Sennelager, **418–419**
Sennheim, **1061**
Sępólno Krajeńskie (Zempelburg), 1429
Sępopol (Schippenbeil), 1477
"Sg." *See* Sonneberg-West ("Sonneberg," "Sg")
's-Gravenhage, 816, **821**
's-Hertogenbosch. *See* Herzogenbusch [aka Vught]
Shuttleworthstrasse, 958
Šiauliai (Schaulen), 489, 858
Siblin, 978
Sicherungsstab. *See* Trier (*Sicherungsstab*)
Siebenbürgen, 428, 735
Siedlików. *See* Zeidlitzheide (Siedlików)
Siegburg penitentiary, 27, 105
Siegen, 26
"Siegfried." *See* Bad Saarow; Schönebeck (*Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke*) ("J," "Sch," "Julius") (with "Siegfried")
Siegmar, 613, 627
Siegmar-Schönau, 613, 614, **670–671**
Sielmingen, 1027
Siemens, 1193
Siemenslager Ravensbrück, **1223–1226**
Siemens-Schuckert Werke. *See* Nürnberg (*Siemens-Schuckert Werke*)
Siemensstadt. *See* Berlin-Siemensstadt [aka Haselhorst, Berlin-Haselhorst]
Siemens subcamp. *See* Siemenslager Ravensbrück
Siemianowice Śląskie (Siemianowitz), 261
Sieniawka. *See* Kleinschönau (Sieniawka)
Sierksdorf, 1158
Sighet, 348, 1116
Sigmaringen, 1017
Sigmarszell, 541
Silberhütte, 571
Silesia, 204, 243, 609, 694, 734, 766, 1194, 1330
See also Lower Silesia; Upper Silesia
Sillamäe. *See* Vivikonna OT and Vivikonna Baltöl [aka Werk IV Sillamäe]
Simbach bei Landau, 654
Sister Pia. *See* München-Schwabing [aka Schwester Pia]
Skarbków. *See* Gräflich-Röhrsdorf
Skarżysko-Kamienna, 323, 345, 379, 865, 871
Skowarcz (Schönwarling), 1478
Skuppi, 1521
Slanzy, 1492
Slatinske Doly, 664
Sława (Schlesiersee), 803
Slobodice. *See* Kauen
Slobodka. *See* Kauen
Słońsk, 163
Słupsk (Stolp), 1481
Smolensk, 889
Smržovka. *See* Morchenstern (Smrzovka)
Smukała (Mühltal), 1427
Sobibór, 194, 815, 877, 886, 887, 890, 891, 893, 894, 895
Soest, 1359, 1413, 1414
Sohland, 709
Sokolec. *See* Riese/Falkenberg [aka Eule]
Solahütte, *189*
Solingen, 20
Solling. *See* Moringen-Solling (men), (women)
Sollstedt (Mittelbau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB I), 974, 1357, 1383, 1387, **1395–1396**
Sömmerda, 349, **419–420**
Sommerfeld, 1317
Sommerhotel Prags am Wildsee, 485
Sonda, 1493, **1506–1507**
Sonderkommando Plansee. *See* Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (men), (women)
Sonderkommando Wien. *See* Wien-Schönbrunn [aka Sonderkommando Wien]
Sonderlager. *See* Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau]
"Sonderlager Fichtenhain," 291
"Sonneberg." *See* Sonneberg-West ("Sonneberg," "Sg")
Sonneberg-West ("Sonneberg," "Sg"), **420–421**
Sonnenallee. *See* Berlin-Neukölln ("Krupp") [aka Braunauerstrasse]
Sonnenbichel hotel, 476
Sonnenburg, 7, 37, 50, 82, 92, 93, 102, 119, 120, 148, **163–166**
Sonnenstein bei Pirna, 111, 188, 292
Sonthofen, 460, 493
Sophienwalde. *See* Bruss-Sophienwalde
Sophienwalde (Dziemiany), 1431
Sorrento, 554
Sosa, 314
Soski, 1493, 1502, **1507**
Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), 243, 249, 258, 260, 270, 699, 810
Sosnowitz, 222, 707
Sosnowitz I, **270**
Sosnowitz II, **270–271**
Soviet Occupation Zone, 709, 777
Sowie Góry. *See* Eulengebirge (Sowie Góry)
Sowina. *See* Eule (Sowina)
Spaichingen, 1017, 1027, **1061–1062**
Spaldingstrasse. *See* Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse)
Spandau, 41, 1270, 1275
See also Berlin-Spandau
Spangenberg, 1050
"Speer," 340
Speyer, 114, 136
Špilberk prison, 232
Spilwe (Spilva), *1236*, 1241, 1242, 1248
See also Riga-Spilwe
Spohle/Brandhofen, 771, 772
See also Niesky/Brandhofen
Sportplatz, 1037
Sportschule. *See* Langenbielau I [aka Reichenbach, Reichenbach Sportschule]
Spreenhagen, 218, 1265, 1319, **1342**, 1343, 1345, 1364
Spreenhagen (SS-BB II), **1396**
Spremberg, 734
Sprengkommando. *See* Bochum (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III); Dortmund (*Sprengkommando*) (SS-BB III); München (*Sprengkommando*); Salzburg (*Sprengkommando*)
Springen, 310
Springhirsch, 1152
Środa Śląska. *See* Neumarkt (Środa Śląska)
SS-Alpine Training Facility and Prisoner Camp (Hochsgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenenlager), 528
SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld. *See* Saalfeld ("Laura") [aka SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld, La]
SS-Arbeitslater Gunskirchen. *See* Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager. *See* München-Allach (*SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager*)
SS-Berghaus. *See* Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*)
SS-Betriebe. *See* Riga-Strasdenhof [aka SS-Betriebe, Strazdenhof]
SS-Hauptversorgungslager. *See* Danzig (*SS-Hauptversorgungslager*)
SS-Kaserne, 647
See also Hamburg-Langenhorn (Heidberg) (*SS-Kaserne*); Nürnberg (*SS-Kaserne*)
SS-Kommando Gerätebau. *See* Mühlhausen (*Gerätebau GmbH*) ("Martha II") [aka SS-Kommando Gerätebau]
SS-Kommando Lippstadt I. *See* Lippstadt (*Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke*) [aka LEM, SS-Kommando Lippstadt I]
SS-Kommando Lippstadt II. *See* Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metallindustrie*) [aka WMI, SS-Kommando Lippstadt II]
SS-Mannschaftshäuser. *See* München (*SS-Mannschaftshäuser*)
SS-Neubauleitung. *See* Thorn (*SS-Neubauleitung*)
SS-Oberabschnitt Süd. *See* München (*SS-Oberabschnitt Süd*, Möhlstrasse)
SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel. *See* Danzig (*SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel*)
SS-Pionier-Kaserne, 580–581, 633, 669
See also Dresden (*SS-Pionier-Kaserne*)
SS-Reitschule. *See* Braunschweig (*SS-Reitschule*)
SS-Reit- und Fahrschule. *See* München-Riem (*OT*, *SS-Reit- und Fahrschule*)
SS-Sonderkommando Plansee. *See* Plansee [aka Breitenwang, Plansee, SS-Sonderkommando Plansee] (men), (women)
SS-Sonderlager. *See* Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager) [aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau]
SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau. *See*

München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*)
SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau. *See* München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*)
SS-Standortverwaltung. *See* München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*)
SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse. *See* München (Höchlstrasse) [aka SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse]
SS-Unterführerschule Lauenbrug. *See* Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg]
Staaken. *See* Falkensee [with Staaken]
Stade, 1200
Stadelheim, 132, 133, 134
See also München-Stadelheim
Stadtamhof hotel, 661
Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben, 198
Stadthausbrücke, 89
Stadthaus und Untersuchungsgefängnis. *See* Hamburg (*Stadthaus und Untersuchungsgefängnis*)
Stadtilm, 311
St. Ägyd am Neuwalde, **945–946**, 954
Stalag VIII A in Görlitz (Zgorzelec), 717
Stalingrad, 1012, 1384
Stalino, 327
Staltach, 486
Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau. *See* München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau*)
Standortkommandantur Kabelbau. *See* München (*SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau*)
Standortverwaltung. *See* München-Freimann (*SS-Standortverwaltung*)
Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse. *See* München (Höchlstrasse) [aka SS-Standortverwaltung Höchlstrasse]
Stangengrün, 314
Staning, 952
St. Annaberg (Góry Św. Anny), 699, 762
Stapostelle Trier police prison, 824
Starachowice, 871
Stara Kiszewa, 1437
Stara Kuźnia, 224
Stara Wieś, 224
Staré Město-under-Sněžník (Mährisch Alstadt), 263
Staré Sedliště, 629
Stargard, 1210, 1211
See also Klützow; Preussisch Stargard
Stargard im Pommern, 1210, **1226–1227**
Stargard Szczeciński, 1226
Stary Jaromir, 803
Stassfurt, 297, 1222
Stassfurt ("Reh") [aka Neu-Stassfurt, Stassfurt I], **421–422**
Stassfurt (*Wälzer & Co.*) [aka Stassfurt II], 421, **422–423**
Stassfurt I. *See* Stassfurt ("Reh") [aka Neu-Stassfurt, Stassfurt I]
Stassfurt II. *See* Stassfurt (*Wälzer & Co.*) [aka Stassfurt II]
Staszów, 888
State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrations lager Papenburg). *See* Papenburg (aka Emsland), 5, 6, 26, 29, **152–154**
Steegen, **1480–1481**
Steglitz, 1275
Stegna (Steegen), 1480
Steiermark, 545, 910, 914
"Stein," 327, 417
See also Eschershausen ("Stein") and Holzen ("Hecht") [aka Hecht-OT Bauleitung, Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann] ("H," "Ht," "OT")
Steinach, 1413
Steine (Ścinawka) River valley, 727
Steinerne Renne, 436
Steinheide. *See* Rostock-Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide
Steinhofen, 1017
Steinhoffsche Haus, 329
Steinhöring, 509, 1195, **1227**
Steinhöring [aka Lebensborn-Heim, Hochland], **546–547**
Steinschönau, **671–672**
Steinwerder, 1114
See also Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Blohm & Voss*); Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Stülckenwerft*)
Stellawerk, 26, 27
See also Bergisch Gladbach [aka Stellawerk]
Ste. Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch), 1055–1056
Stempa, 998
Stempeda ("Kommando B-4"), 997, 998, **999–1000**
Stendal, 1085, 1173
Stenzelberg. *See* Riese / Wüstewaltersdorf [aka Stenzelberg]
Stephanskirchen, 479, 538
Stephanskirchen (*BMW*), 547, **547–548**
Sterbelager Vaihingen, 1010
St. Erhard, 653
Sterkrade, 1373
Stetten am Kalten Markt. *See* Heuberg [aka Stetten am Kalten Markt]
Stettenhofen, 475
Stettin (Szczecin), 81, 82, 165, 366, 800, 1226, 1263, 1351
See also Pölitz [aka Stettin]
Stettin-Bredow [aka Vulkanwerft], **166–168**
Stettin cemetery, 1470
Steyr, 901, 906, 908, 915, 927, 959, 1396
Steyr-Garsten prison, 946
Steyr-Graz-Thondorf AG, 939–941
Steyr-Münichholz, 906, 911, 929, **946–948**, 954, 957, 1383, 1396
St. Georgen, 906, 919, 921, 960
See also Bayreuth (St. Georgen)
St. Georgen an der Gusen, 905
St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín), 671, **672–673**, 700, 735, 737, **804–805**
St. Gilgen [aka Sachsenhausen/Wolfgangsee], **548–549**
St. Johann in Tirol, **549–550**
St. Lambrecht, 545, 938, 943, 948
St. Lambrecht (men), **948–949**
St. Lambrecht (women), **950**
St. Magdalena, 653
St. Malo, 1362
St. Marein bei Neumarkt. *See* Schloss Lind [aka St. Marein bei Neumarkt (Schloss Lind)]
St. Mère Église, 127
St. Micheln. *See* Mülsen St. Micheln
St. Michielsgestel, 816, **821**
Stoboi (Kamiennik Wielki), 1448
Stoboi bei Elbing. *See* Elbing [aka Brückenkopfbau, Stoboi bei Elbing]
Stöcken, 1134
See also Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik*); Hannover-Stöcken (*Continental*)
Stoffeln Cemetery, 1375
Stoffeln district (Düsseldorf), 1375
Stogi, 1445
Stokkelsdorf, 75
Stolberg, 996, 1000
Stollberg-Hoheneck, **168**
Stolp, **1481–1482**
Stolpen, 772, 773
Stolzenhain, 1330
St. Omer, 1362, 1369
Stopki (Schtolzenfeld), 1478
Storkow, 1265, 1319, 1342, **1342–1343**, 1345
St. Pölten, 946
Strakonice, 676
Stralsund, 1195
Strancice, 1200
Strasbourg, 1004, 1047, 1410
Strasburg, 1409
See also Elbing (*OT Elbing* complex) [aka Kommando Befehlstelle Strasburg]
Straschnitz (Strašnice), 618
Strasdenhof, 1231, 1232, 1243
See also Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG/VEF); Riga-Strasdenhof [aka SS-Betriebe, Strazdenhof]
Strasdenhof (Strazdumviža), 1250, 1252
Strassenbau I and II, 953
Straubing, 23, 142, 143
Straubing penitentiary, 142
Strausberg, **1343–1345**
Stráz, 629
Strazdenhof. *See* Riga-Strasdenhof [aka SS-Betriebe, Strazdenhof]
Strehla, 377, 380
Strehlen, 56
Struppen, 97, **168**, 624
Struthof, 1037
See also Natzweiler-Strufhof
Strzegom, 736
See also Gräben
St. Stephan Parish, 908
Stubachtal, 556
Stülckenwerft. *See* Hamburg-Steinwerder (*Stülckenwerft*)
Stulln, 580, 633, **673–674**
"Sturm." *See* Rostock-Schwazenpfost/Steinheide

Sturmlokal Demuth, 32, 33
Sturmlokal Jägerheim, 33
Sturmlokal Seidler, 33
Stuttgart, 83, 95, 96, **168**, 169, 468, 472, 475, 540, 562, 584, 1010, 1015, 1019, 1021, 1026, 1027, 1034, 1042–1043, 1044, 1054, 1060, 1066, 1067, 1155, 1222, 1232, 1265, 1358, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410
Stuttgart-Cannstatt, 1408
Stutthof, 189, 192, 193, 376, 377, 388, 389, 402, 578, 579, 582, 700, 800, 824, 850, 854, 855, 859, 865, 1015, 1025, 1027, 1121, 1122, 1135, 1136, 1185, 1194, 1195, 1232, 1237, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1243, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1251, 1253, 1263, 1403, 1494, 1496, 1499, 1503, 1506
St. Valentin, 906, **950–952**
St. Wendel-Saarbrücken, 832
St. Wolfgang, **550**
Styria, 944
Sudelfeld (*Luftwaffe*), 449, **550–551**
Sudelfeld (*SS-Berghaus and Hotel "Alpenrose"*), **551–552**
Sudentenland Gau, 777
Sudetengau, 699, 700, 723, 756
Sudetenland, 759, 1193, 1287, 1322
Südharz, 973, 976
Südwürttemberg, 97
Suhl, 140, **423**, 434
Sulau (Sułów), 709
Sülldorf, 1180
Sułów (Sulau), 709
Sülstorf, 1085
Sülz, 1037
Susz. *See* Rosenberg
Suszcze-Łęg, 274
Světlá (Licktewerden), 263
Świdnica. *See* Schweidnitz (Świdnica)
Świebodzice, 727
See also Freiburg (Świebodzice); Freiburg in Schlesien (Świebodzice)
Świętochłowice (Schwientochlowitz), 210, 237, 238
Świnoujście, 1456
Sylt, 1361
Szczecin, 803, 1211, 1330
See also Stettin
Szkolna Street. *See* Radom [aka Radom (Szkolna Street)]
Szolnok, 811
Sztutowo. *See* Stutthof

"T." *See* Tonndorf ("T")
Tachau (Tachov), 629, 655, 676, 688, 690
Tachov. *See* Tachau
Talbrauerei Hotel, 986
Tallinn, 1494, 1501, 1505
Talsperre, 629
Tannenberg, 286
See also Unterlüss [aka Lager Tannenberg or Altensothrieth]
Tannenwald, **423–424**
Tannhausen (Jedlinka), 699, 783, 784, 785, 789, 796, 798
See also Riese / Tannhausen; Riese/ Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau]
Tannroda, **424–425**
Tannwald (Tanvald), 733
Tanvald. *See* Tannwald (Tanvald)
Tarnów, 863
Tarnowitz, 1378
"Tarthun." *See* Westeregeln ("Maulwurf," "Tarthun," "Mw")
Taucha, 305, 378, 393, 413, 766, 1214
Taucha (men), **425–426**
Taucha (women), **426–427**
Tauernmoos, 556, 557
Tawęcin, 1436
Tczew, 1469
Tegel, 1282
See also Berlin-Tegel
Tegeler Heide, 32
Tegernsee, 526
Teichwolframsdorf, 314
Tellingstedt, 1090, 1097
Teltow, 1309
Temesvar, 653
Tempelburg (Czaplinek), 1429
Tempelhof, 59, 61, 80
Templin, 1214
Teplitz (Teplice), 427, 440, 611, 612
Teplitz-Schönau, 425
Terezin, 245, 246, 721, 773, 1341, 1472
See also Theresienstadt
Ternberg, 905, 927, 942, **952–953**
Terranova (Nowakowo), 1474, 1486, 1487
Tetschen hospital, 661
Tettenborn, **1000–1001**
Teufelshöhle caves, 659
Teugn, 665
Thalham, 501
Thann, 1070
Thansau, **552**
Thekla. *See* Leipzig-Thekla ("Emil," "E," "Engelsdorf")
Theresienstadt, 191, 210, 247, 252, 254, 274, 280, 293, 314, 323, 329, 354, 393, 407, 409, 410, 419, 425, 430, 440, 544, 573, 577, 579, 589, 594, 607, 612, 620, 621, 622, 627, 629, 630, 631, 636, 638, 644, 652, 678, 683, 686, 688, 728, 769, 772, 1069, 1117, 1122, 1123, 1129, 1264, 1339, 1340, 1350, 1351, 1497
See also Terezin
Thil, 324, 1025, 1107
Thil ("Erz") [aka Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche], 1040, 1041, **1062–1064**
Thionville, 1009
Thondorf, 924, 939
Thorn (OT) (with subcommands) [aka Baukommando "Weichsel"], **1482–1484**
Thorn (*SS-Neubauleitung*), **1484**
Thorn (Toruń), 1251, 1427, 1449, 1482, 1484, 1485
Thorn-Winkenau (*AEG*), 1251, **1484–1486**
Thüringen, 21, 22, 93, 185, 300–301, 306, 338, 345, 349, 367, 374, 393, 396, 401, 405, 413, 420, 423, 424, 427, 434, 975, 990, 1192, 1313, 1387, 1395, 1413, 1418
See also Abteroda (men, women); Apolda
Thuringia, 3, 5, 8, 140, 141, 155, 290, 304, 310, 311, 323, 375, 395, 396, 400, 411, 561, 655, 888, 957
Tiefenweg, 953
Tiefstack, 1123
See also Hamburg-Tiefstack
Tiegenhof, 1121
Tiercelet, 1025, 1107
Tiergarten. *See* Berlin-Tiergarten (Universum-Landesausstellungspark)
Tiflis, 487
Tinaboken, 710
Tirol, 533, 534, 543
Tittmoning, 663
Tocsö, 811
Todestal, 884
Tomaszów, 1065
Tomaszów Mazowiecki, 880
Tonndorf, 291, 297, 300, 384
Tonndorf ("T"), **427–428**
Torgau, 120, 283, 301, 309, 310, 339, **428–429**, 1212
Torgau Strassen, 378
Toruń (Thorn), 1251, 1427, 1449, 1482, 1484
Tost, 607
Toul, 1362
Toulouse, 439
Tours, 1362
Trakai (Trokay, Trokaj) , 858
Tranvale, 804
Traunstein, 232, 502, **552**, 654
Trautenau (Trutnov), 700, 705, 707, 731, 764, 777, 788, 789, 797, 798
Trautenstein, 505, 598, 979, 987, 995, **1001–1002**, 1002
Trawniki, 191, 563, 863, 877, 882, 889, **893–897**, 1259, 1513
Trebbin, 1309
Treblinka, 194, 209, 877, 880, 890, 891, 892, 893, 895
Trebnitz, 1265, 1319, 1342, 1343, **1345–1346**, 1350, 1352
Treis, 830
See also Cochem [aka Bruttig und Treis]; Cochem-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Tries]
Treis-Karden, 1020, 1022
Treptow-Köpenick, 1280
Treskau, 699, **805–807**
Treuburg, 1465
Treuenbrietzen, 1268
Trier (*Sicherungsstab*), 827, 838, **840**, 841, 844
Trieste, 895
Trittau, 113
Tröbitz, 280
Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleina] [aka Wille], **429–431**
Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf, 390
Troppau (Opava), 271
Trossingen, 1031

Trostberg, **552–553**, 654
Troyl. *See* Danzig (*Danziger-Werft*) [aka Danzig-Troyl, Lager Troyl]
Trudering, 524
Truppenübungsplatz Bruss, 1431
Truppenwirtschaftslager. *See* Braunschweig (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*); Riga (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*)
Trutenau, (Trutnowy) **1486**
Trutnowy (Trutenau), **1486**
Trzebień, 753
See also Kittlitztreben (Trzebień)
Trzebinia, 255, **271–273**
Trzeciewiec (Goldfeld), 1485
Tschechowitz (*Bombensucherkommando*), **273**
Tschechowitz (Częchowice), 273
Tschechowitz [aka Tschechowitz-Vacuum], **274–275**
Tschechowitz I (*Bombensucherkommando*), 222
Tschechowitz-Vacuum. *See* Tschechowitz [aka Tschechowitz-Vacuum]
Tschenstochau (Czestochowa), 461, 998, 999, 1312
Tübingen, 1035
Tuchingen (Tuszyn), 1528
Türkheim, 489
Turmalin, 976, 977, 978
See also Blankenburg-Regenstein ("Turmalin")
Turon, 1295
Tuszyn, 1528
Tuttlingen, 1013
Tutzing, 502
TWL-Thorn (Truppenwirtschaftslager), 1484
Tyrol, 1052

Überlingen, 473, 474, 486, 540, **553–554**
Ubja, 1505
Uckermark, 1190, 1191, 1219, 1224, 1227, 1525, 1530, 1531
See also Youth Protection Camp Uckermark
Uelzen, **1173–1175**
Ufer. *See* Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) (men), (women)
Uffing. *See* Seehausen [aka Uffing]
Uftrungen (Sachsen-Anhalt), 997
Ulap (Universum-Landesausstellungspark), 43
Ulbersdorf (Albrechtice), 590
Ülenurme. *See* Petseri, Ülenurme, Kulupe
Ulica Dworska, 1528
Ulica Sporna 73, 1528
Ulm, 95, 169, 452, 483, 1054
See also Neu-Ulm
Ulm (*Magirus-Deutz AG*), **554–555**
Ulm an der Donau, 169
Ulmenstrasse. *See* Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) [aka Ulmer Höh]
Ulmer Höh, 44, 62, 63, 152
See also Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) [aka Ulmer Höh]
Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg, **168–170**, 1038
Ultra. *See* Riga (Mühlgraben) [aka Ultra]
Umsiedlerlager. *See* Bad Ischl [aka Umsiedlerlager]
Undorf, 1405, 1412
Universelle. *See* Dresden (*Universelle*)
Universum-Landesausstellungspark. *See* Berlin-Tiergarten (Universum-Landesausstellungspark)
Unna, **431**
Unna district, 28, 52
Unter den Eichen, 842
See also Wiesbaden–Unter den Eichen [aka Wiesbaden]
Unterfahlheim, 530
Unterfranken, 142
See also Oberfranken and Unterfranken Camps
Unterhaching, 533
Unterhausbach, 654
Unterlüss [aka Lager Tannenberg or Altensothrieth], 280, 282, 284, **286–288**
"Unternehmen Goldfisch" camps, 1009
Unterölt, 654
Unterriexingen, 1041, 1050, 1065
See also Vaihingen/Unterriexingen (with Gross-Sachsenheim)
Untersaal, 665, 666
Unterschwarzach, 1009, **1064–1065**
Uphusen. *See* Bremen-Uphusen (Behelfswohnbau)
Upper Silesia, 27, 69, 237, 270, 333, 699, 704, 720, 759, 767, 807, 948, 1310, 1372, 1378
Upper Swabia, 1013
Urbes, 1070
See also Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar]
Usedom, 1208, **1346**
Usingen, 423, 837, **840**
Uthlede (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) [aka Uttlede], **840–841**
Utrecht, 1166
Uttendorf, 556
Utting am Ammersee, 489
Uttlede. *See* Uthlede (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*) [aka Uttlede]
Uzschorod, 606

Vacuum. *See* Tschechowitz [aka Tschechowitz-Vacuum]
Vaihingen, 1009, 1028, 1036, 1050, 1052, 1069
Vaihingen I, 1053
Vaihingen an der Enz, 1040, 1059
Vaihingen/Enz, 1015–1016, 1023, 1037, 1041, 1042, 1044, 1049, 1051, **1065–1066**, 1067
Vaihingen Krankenlager, 1023
Vaihingein/Unterriexingen, 1048
Vaihingen/Unterriexingen (with Gross-Sachsenheim), **1066–1068**
Vainamoisa, 1505
Vaivara, 191, 489, 1056, 1122, 1231, **1491–1509**
Valentin. *See* Bremen-Farge
Valepp (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei*) [aka Schliersee], **555–556**
Valvolciana, 638
Varnsdorf, 1341
See also Warnsdorf (Varnsdorf)
Vechelde, 1086, **1175–1176**
Vechta, 147, **170–172**
Veckenstedten Weg, 436, 437
Vegesack. *See* Bremen-Vegesack
Velemin, 636, 641
Velké Popovic (Gross-Popowitz), 1200
Velten, 47, 48, **1346–1347**
Venlo, 816, **821**
Venusberg, **674–676**
Venusberg / Erzgebirge, 674
"Venuswerke." *See* Venusberg
Verden, **1176–1177**
Vereinigte, 1155
Versen (or Veerssen), 1159, 1160
See also Meppen-Versen; Meppen-Versen/Gross Hesepe
Vicht (*OT-Polizeihaftlager*), **841**
Vienna, 369, 457, 506, 514, 529, 538, 539, 665, 868, 902, 905, 906, 908, 921, 924, 939, 946, 948, 950, 954, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 962, 963, 1046, 1222, 1309, 1350, 1388, 1404
Vieselbach, 1304
Vignacourts, 1369
Vilémov. *See* Wölmsdorf (Vilémov)
Viljampole. *See* Kauen
Villa Brüningsau, 479
Villa Prymulka, 871
Villingen, 19, 20
Vilna (Vilnius, Wilna), 849, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1240, 1420, 1493, 1497, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1505, 1508
See also Wilna (Vilna, Vilnius)
Violau, 495
Vivikond, 1508
Vivikoni, 1056
Vivikonna, 1493, 1494, 1497, 1503, 1507, 1508
Vivikonna Baltöl. *See* Vivikonna OT and Vivikonna Baltöl [aka Werk IV Sillamäe]
Vivikonna OT and Vivikonna Baltöl [aka Werk IV Sillamäe], **1508–1509**
Vöcklabruck, 905, 932, 942, 952, **953–954**
Vogelsang, 112
Vogtland, 628, 632
Voigtland, 1222
Volary (Wallern), 609, 743, 804
See also Wallern (Volary)
Volkswagenwerke. *See* Fallersleben (*Volkswagenwerke*)
"Volkswagenwerke Dernau." *See* Dernau ("Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück," "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn," "Volkswagenwerke Dernau")
Volpriehausen, 1532
Vorarlberg, 499, 576
Vorau Convent, 941
Vorwerk West, 975
Vrschowitz (Vršovice), 617
Vught, 1166, 1167, 1236, 1241, 1248
See also Herzogenbusch [aka Vught]
Vulkan. *See* Haslach ("Barbe") [also Vulkan, Kinzigdamm]

Vulkanwerft, 166, 167
See also Stettin-Bredow [aka Vulkanwerft]

Wächtersbach, **841–842**
Wackernheim, 834
Wadel, 1115
Waffen-SS. *See* München-Oberföhring (*Bauleitung der Waffen-SS*)
Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg. *See* Hirtenberg [aka Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, Gustloff-Werke]
Wałbrzych im Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie), 699, 789
See also Waldenburg (Wałbrzych)
Waldenburg, 305, 699, **807–808**
Waldenburg (Wałbrzych), 727, 782, 785, 799
Waldeslust. *See* Hambühren [aka Hambühren-Ovelgönne or Waldeslust]
Waldfrieden-Lager, 674
Waldfriedhof cemetery, 572
Waldheide, 791, 792
Waldheim, **172**
Waldheim penitentiary, 172
Waldhof. *See* Mannheim-Sandhofen [aka Mannheim-Waldhof]
Waldlager, 501, 502, 533, 1136
Waldlager Führungsamt der Waffen-SS, 1265
Waldsiedlung, 1519
Waldstadt. *See* Kirchham bei Pocking [aka Pocking, Waldstadt, Pocking-Waldstadt]
Waldwerke. *See* Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
Walim, 799
See also Wüstewaltersdorf (Walim)
Walkenried, 987
Walldorf, 1010, **1068–1069**
Wallern (Volary), 743
Wallersdorf, 597
Walsbeck, 433
Walsroder Strasse. *See* Missler (Walsroder Strasse) [aka Bremen-Findorf]
Walter Ring, 1373
Wälzer & Co. *See* Stassfurt (*Wälzer & Co.*) [aka Stassfurt II]
Wandlitz, 1344
Wandsbek. *See* Hamburg-Wandsbek
Wannsee, 60
Wansleben, 297, 348, 664
Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld], **431–433**
Wansleben am See, 432, 664
Warberg, 1088, 1176, **1177**
Warburg, 312
Waren, 1219, 1220
Warnemünde, 1222, 1336
Warnsdorf (Jiretín pod Jedlovou), 672
Warnsdorf (Varnsdorf), 735
Warsaw, 190, 191, 207, 232, 327, 715, 717, 729, 731, 732, 733, 755, 782, 877, 878, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 895, 1188, 1272, 1307, 1316, 1431, 1432, 1514
Warschau, 191, **1511–1515**
Wasseralfingen, **1069**
Wasserburg, 1389
Wassersporthaus, 54
Wasserturm. *See* Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg [aka Wasserturm]
Watenstedt, 1080, 1087, 1088, 1137, 1175, **1177–1179**, 1191
Watenstedt-Leinde, 1176
See also Watenstedt
Wattenscheid, 318
Watzdorfheim, 812
Wedding, 1275
Wedel, 1112, 1113, 1117, **1179–1180**
Weende, 352
Weferlingen ("Gazelle"), **433–434**
Wegses Hans, *See* Adlerhorst, 1427
Weichsel. *See* Danzig (*SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel*)
"Weichsel." *See* Thorn (OT) (with subcommands) [aka Baukommando "Weichsel"]
Weidach. *See* Kottern-Weidach
Weiden, 593, 606, 626, 673, 679, 751
Weiden, Stalag XIII B, 615
Weilburg, 1417
Weilstetten, 1031
Weimar, 21, 22, 141, 290, 291, 307, 315, 317, 322, 364, 368, 374, 417, 423, 424, 590, 634, 748, 820, 922, 1391, 1404
Weimar (*Gustloff Werke I and II*), 66, **434–436**
Weinberglager, 921
"Weingut I." *See* Mühldorf
Weinhübel, 118. *See* Leschwitz bei Görlitz [aka Weinhübel]
Wein-West. *See* Wien (*Saurerwerke*) [aka Saurerwerke, Wein-West]
Weissandt-Gölzau, 432
Weissee, 472
Weissenfels, **172–174**, 430
Weissensand, 314
Weissensee, 419
Weiss Kirchen an der Neisse (Bily Kostel nad Nisou), 757
Weisssee, **556–558**
Weisswasser, 118, **174**, 700, 734, 766, **808–809**, 1150
See also Mährisch Weisswasser
Weisswasser (Bilá Voda), 700, 808
Wejherowo, 1445
Weleschin (Veleš ín), 619
Wels. *See* Ebensee/Wels II [aka Wels]; Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
Welschap air base, 820
Wels I. *See* Gunskirchen-Wels I [aka Weldwerke, Wels, Notbehelfsheimbau, SS-Arbeitlager Gunskirchen]
Wels II. *See* Ebensee/Wels II [aka Wels]
Welzheim, 96, 169, 170, 1038
Welzheim Police prison, 169
Wendenschloss (Wenden Castle), 33
Werda, 629
Werden, **174**
Werder, 1293, 1306, **1347–1348**
Werftstrasse, 1222
Werk III. *See* Kleinbodungen ("Emmi") [aka Werk III]
Werk IV Sillamäe. *See* Vivikonna OT and Vivikonna Baltöl [aka Werk IV Sillamäe]
Werk Reick. *See* Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon*, *Werk Reick*)
"Werkstoff." *See* Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) Amt II C 3
Werl prison, 1123, 1129
Wermelskirchen, 334
Wernesgrün, 629
Wernigerode, 355, 357, 978, 1001, 1398
See also Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Wernigerode
Wernigerode ("Richard"), **436–437**
Wernstadt (Verneřice), 661
Werra, 311
Wesel, 1385
Wesoła (Wessolla), 239
Wesserling, 1048, 1051
Wesserling ("Kranich," "A10") [aka Urbes, Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar], **1070–1071**
Wesslinken, **1486**
Westerbork, 242, 278
Westeregeln, 297, 437
Westeregeln ("Maulwurf," "Tarthun," "Mw"), 415, **437–438**
Westerplatte, 1425
See also Danzig-Westerplatte
Westfalica. *See* Porta Westfalica/A II Barkhausen [aka Porta I, Kaiserhof], Lerbeck-Neesen, Hausberge "Hammerwerke"
Westfälische Metallindustrie. *See* Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metallindustrie*) [aka WMI, SS-Kommando Lippstadt II]
Westfriedhof cemetery (Cologne), 1365
Westmark, 1015
Westphalia, 312, 330, 336, 341, 487. *See also* Westfalen
Weststrasse. *See* Lemberg [aka Lemberg (Weststrasse), Lemberg (Janowska)]
Westwaggon. *See* Köln-Deutz (*Westwaggon*)
Wetzlar, 1417, 1418
Wewelsburg Castle, 374
Wewelsburg [aka Niederhagen], 280, 1256, 1263, **1517–1521**
Weyr, 911, 916, **954**
Wickerode, 987, **1002**
Wieck, 1196
See also Darss-Wieck
Wieda, 974, 1357, 1372, 1385, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1393
Wieda (Buchenwald, Mittelbau, Sachsenhausen) (SS-BB III), **1397–1399**
Wieliczka, 688, 719, 868, 870, **871–872**, 883, 1070
Wien (*Saurerwerke*) [aka Saurerwerke, Wien-West], **954–955**

Wiener Graben quarry, *181 ill.*
Wiener Neudorf, 906, 924, 939, **955–956**, 963
Wiener Neustadt, 906, 929, 932, 942, 947, 952, **956–958**, 960, 962, 966
Wien-Floridsdorf, 906, 960, 962, 963
Wien-Floridsdorf and Jedlesee [aka Floridsdorf I and II], **958–959**
Wien-Hinterbrühl ("Lisa"), 906, **959–961**
Wien Saurerwerke, 906
Wien-Schönbrunn [aka Sonderkommando Wien], **961**
Wien-Schwechat, 906, 953
Wien-Schwechat—Heidfeld, **962–963**
Wien-Schwechat—"Santa" Kommandos, **963–964**
Wierchowice (Wierzchowice), 710, 749
Wierzchowice. *See* Hochweiler (Wierzchowice)
Wierzchowice (Wierchowice), 710, 749
Wiesau, 707, 777, 802, **809–810**
Wiesbaden, 851
Wiesbaden-Erbenheim [aka Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst, Erbenheim], **842**
Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst. *See* Wiesbaden-Erbenheim [aka Wiesbaden-Fliegerhorst, Erbenheim]
Wiesbaden–Unter den Eichen [aka Wiesbaden], **842–843**
Wiesen, 556
Wiesengrund. *See* Niesky [aka Wiesengrund]
Wijewo, 804
Wiktor, Janina mine, 254
Wilflingen, 1058
"Wilhelm." *See* Wansleben ("MF," "Wilhelm," "Biber II") [aka Mansfeld]
Wilhelmsburg, 1128, 1132
See also Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg
Wilhelmsdorf, 837
Wilhelmshaven, 1138, 1144, 1364, 1366, 1380, 1391
Wilhelmshaven (SS-BB II), **1399–1400**
Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg [aka Kriegsmarinewerft], 1148, **1180–1182**
Wilhelmshaven-Rüstringen, 171
Wilhelmsplatz, 23
Wilhelmsplatz State Court Prison, 23
Wilhelmsruh, 1282
Wilischthal, 650, **676–678**
Wille. *See* Tröglitz [also Rehmsdorf, Gleina] [aka Wille]
Wilmersdorf. *See* Berlin-Wilmersdorf
Wilno, 1023, 1122, 1479
See also Vilna
Windau, 1237
Winhöring, 654
Winkenau. *See* Thorn-Winkenau (*AEG*)
Wipperfürth, 105
Wirschowitz (Vrsovice), 618
Wirtenbach, 556
Wirtschaftshof Babitz, 225
Wirtschaftshof Plawy. *See* Plawy [aka Wirtschaftshof Plawy, Gut Plawy]
Wiślinka (Wesslinken), 1486
Witowo, 1461
Wittelsbacher Palais. *See* München (*Gestapo Wittelsbacher Palais*)
Wittelsbach Palace, 506, 507
Witten, 438, 1385
Witten-Annen ("AGW"), **438–440**
Wittenberg, 120, 339, 359, 409, 1288, **1348–1350**, 1494
Wittenberge an der Elbe, 988, 1079, 1085, 1087, 1173, **1182–1183**, 1396
Wittichenau, 774
Wittlich [aka Wittlich an der Mosel], 29, 827, **843–844**
Wittmoor, 76, **174–176**
Wittstock, 18, 1294
WMI. *See* Lippstadt (*Westfälische Metallindustrie*) [aka WMI, SS-Kommando Lippstadt II]
Wöbbelin, 988, 1077, 1080, *1080*, 1081, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1110, 1153, 1167, 1173, 1176, 1178, **1184–1186**
Wodzisław Śląski, 235, 248, 252, 268, 274
Woffleben, 969, 979, 983, 984, 990, 1390
See also Ellrich / Woffleben (Lager B-12)
Wohnlager 75, 952
Wojnów (Wojnowo), 804
Wokuhl, 1197, 1198
Wolbromek. *See* Wolmsdorf (Wolbromek)
Wolfach, 1036
Wolfen, 329, 409, **440**
Wolfenbüttel, 348
Wolfgansee. *See* St. Gilgen [aka Sachsenhausen/Wolfgangsee]
Wolfratshausen, 467, 522
Wolfsberg (Góra Włodarz), 699, 728, 786, 791, 792, 795, 799, 800
See also Riese/Wolfsberg
Wolfsburg, 198, 417, 436, 1015, 1107, 1108
Wolf's Lair (Wolfsschanze), 1350
Wolhynia, 893
Wolkenburg, **678–680**
Wölmsdorf (Vilémov), 706
Wolmsdorf (Wolbromek), 710
Wolnzach, 468
Wolot, 327
Wolzig, 148
Worbis, 400
Works II and III. *See* Ulm (*Magirus-Deutz AG*)
Workuta, 1303
Worms, 150
Wotitz (Votice), 619
Wrocław, 807
See also Breslau-Hundsfeld
Wrocław-Lésnica. *See* Breslau-Lissa (Wrocław-Lésnica)
Wrzeszcz, 1440
Wuerzburg, 1410
Wulfen, 408
Wülknitz, 604
Wulkow, 1264, **1350–1352**
Wunsiedel, 1293, 1347
Wuppertal, 334, 1006, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1377
Wuppertal (Buchenwald) (SS-BB IV), **1400–1402**
Wuppertal-Barmen [aka Kemna], 138, 157, **177–178**
Wuppertal-Bendahl, 63
Württemberg, 3, 5, 19, 83, 95, 97, 100, 168, 169, 454, 468, 664, 1009, 1012, 1018, 1028, 1042, 1051, 1058, 1059, 1061, 1066, 1069
Wurzbach, 412
Würzburg, 23, 142, 143, 453, 461, 567, **680–682**, 1352
Wurzen, 366, 377, 380, 393, 702, 745
Wurzen/Sachsen, 377
"Wüste." *See* Gruppe "Wüste" complex
Wüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca), 699, 790, 791, 792, 793, 797, 807, 1148
See also Riese/Wüstegiersdorf [aka Lager V]
Wusterhausen. *See* Königs Wusterhausen
Wüstewaltersdorf (Walim), 783, 785, 790, 791, 796
See also Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf [aka Stenzelberg]
Wüste-Werk 2, 1013
Wustrow, 1197

Youth Camps, **1523–1534**
Youth Custody Camp (Polish) of the Security Police Litzmannstadt [aka Polenlager, Kripolager], **1527–1530**
Youth Protection Camp Moringen, **1530–1532**
See also Moringen
Youth Protection Camp Uckermark, **1532–1534**
See also Uckermark
Ypres, 1386
Yuzhnyy, 1463

Zabłocie, 872, **872–873**, 873
Zabrze, 234, 252
Žacléř (Schatzlar), 263, 802
Zakopane, 179
See also Olcza [aka Zakopane, Zakopane-Olcza]
Zakopane-Olcza. *See* Olcza [aka Zakopane, Zakopane-Olcza]
Zakrze. *See* Sackisch (Zakrze)
Zakrze (Sackisch), 877
Zamberg, 268
Zamość, 889
Zangberg, **558**
Zaspa cemetery, 1436, 1458
Zatzschke. *See* Mockethal-Zatzschke
Zawiercie, 249
Zehlendorf, 1323
See also Berlin-Zehlendorf
Zeidlitzheide (Siedlików), 799
"Zeisig." *See* Cochem-Bruttig ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Bruttig]; Cochem-Treis ("Zeisig") [aka Kochem-Treis]
Zeiss-Ikon. *See* Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon, Goehle-Werk*); Dresden (*Zeiss-Ikon, Werk Reick*)
Zeitz, 173, 313, 320, 390, 419, 429, 430
Zell am See, 471

Zelle, 723
Zeltingen [aka Zeltingen an der Mosel], **844–845**
Zeltingen an der Mosel. *See* Zeltingen [aka Zeltingen an der Mosel]
Zeltner School Subcamp (Aussenarbeitslager Nürnberg 13a Zeltnerschule), 646
Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen. *See* Riese/Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau]
Zentralrevier. *See* Riese/Zentralrevier or Zentralkrankenrevier in Tannhausen [aka Blumenau]
Zerbst, 327
Zeyersniederkampen (Kępiny Wielkie), 1474, **1486–1488**
Zeyersvorderkampen (Kępiny Małe), **1488–1489**
Zgoda (Eintrachthütte), 237
Zgorzelec. *See* Görlitz (Zgorzelec)
Zheleznodorozhnyy. *See* Gerdauen
Zichow, **1227–1228**
Ziegenberg Castle, 423
Ziegenberg/Wiesetal, 837
Ziegenhain, 302
Zielona Góra, 742, 757
See also Grünberg (Zielona Góra); Grünberg I; Grünberg II
Ziesar, 1268
Zigankenberg. *See* Danzig-Zigankenberg
Zillertal, 1069
Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (Mysłakowice), 699, 732, 766, **810–811**
Zimna Voda, 790, 792, 1428
See also Riese/Kaltwasser
Zingst, 1196
See also Darss-Zingst
Zinnowitz, 644
Zinnwald, 723
See also Cinwald (Zinnwald, now Cínovec)
Zittau, 669, 735, 747, 748, 754, 755, 769, 805
Zittau [aka Klein-Schönau], **811–812**
Zitzendorf, 419
Zlekas, 1237
Żłobizna. *See* Schüsselndorf (Żłobizna)
Zöberitz, 432
Zöbingen, 1060
Zolleralb, 1009
Zoppot, 470
Zossen, 1350
Zschachwitz, 579, 640, **682–684**
Zschopau, 677, 678, **684–686**
Zschorlau, 158, **178–179**
Żuławy (Werder), 1446, 1459, 1464
Zum Wendenfürsten, 1327
Zündorf, 1405
Zürich, 827
Zweibrücken, **179**, 601, 833
Zwickau, 157, 158, 178, **179–180**, 314, 578, 620, 629, **686–689**
Zwieberge. *See* Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge ("Malachit," "BII," "Landhaus"); Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Hecklingen; Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA"); Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Magdeburg; Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Wernigerode
Zwoda, 1193
Zwodau, 238, 590, 591, 600, 601, 605, 609, 643, **689-691**, 742, 743, 768, 1224
Zwodau (Svatava), 579
Zwolle, 1413

ORGANIZATIONS AND ENTERPRISES INDEX

This index lists organizations and entities, such as industrial firms, governmental agencies, political parties, educational institutions, private associations, and small businesses mentioned in the text. Camps and subcamps are not included here, but are included in the Places Index. Abbreviations are not indexed unless they are part of a larger name (e.g. AEG-Kabelwerk Oberspree). Please consult the List of Abbreviations for full names, which can then be found here. Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations and their captions.

"A8." *See* Daimler-Benz AG
Abbruch- und Verschrottungsunternehmen Karl Gesselmann (Karl Gesselmann Demolition and Scrap), 1090, 1097
Abbruchunternehmen Heinrich Ebeling (Heinrich Ebeling Demolition), 1090, 1097
Abbruchunternehmen Kirbitz & Breiter (Kirbitz & Breiter Demolition), 1090, 1097
Abteilung z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment), 72, 73
Ackermann, 797
Action Catholique, 53
Adler factories, 1030
Administration of Justice, 101
Adolph Saurer company, 954
AEG Berlin, 777
AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree, 868, 869, 1271, 1316
AEG Ostlandwerk GmbH, 1250
Aerial Ammunition Institute (Luftmunitionsanstalt), 1083
Aerobau, 735
Aerodynamics Institute, 533
Africa Corps, 826, 1040, 1069
Agfa Kamerawerke, 521–522
AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf, 1168, 1169
"AGO" Flugzeugwerke, 354
"Agricola GmbH," 677
See also Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (DKK) GmbH
Ahnenerbe association, 944
Aircraft Dismantling Work, 738, 739
Aircraft Radio Equipment Committee, 635
Air Force, 532. *See also* Luftwaffe
Air Force High Command (OKL), 782
Air Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichten-Kaserne), 475
Air Intelligence Instrument Camp 1 (Luftnachrichtengerätelager), 605
Air Ministry. *See* Reich Air Ministry (RLM)
Air Raid Protection Police, 336, 1381
Air Research Institution, 533
Akkumulatoren Fabrik AG (AFA), 958, 1079, 1143, 1143–1145, 1280–1281, 1281, 1291
Aktien Gesellschaft für Anilin Fabrikation (Public Corporation for the Production of Anilin), 521
Albert Patin, Werkstätten für Fernsteuerungstechnik Berlin, 765
Aldinger company, 1155
Alfing Kessler KG, 1069
Alfred Nobel and Co., 365
Alkett company, 1301
Allach company, 448
Allendorfer Verwertchemie, 302
Allgäu Spinnerei und Weberei (Allgäu Spinning and Weaving Mill), 459, 490
Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG), 558, 634, 655, 727, 738, 808, 868, 869, 1203, 1240, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1280, 1315, 1316, 1484, 1484–1486.
See also under AEG
Allgemeine Hoch- und Ingenieurbau AG (AHI-Bau), 952
Allgemeine-SS, 186, 198, 206, 783, 824, 1112, 1123, 1129, 1149, 1179, 1231, 1449
Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG), 302, 376, 377, 408, 409
All German Workers' Union, 43
Allied forces, 105, 193, 207, 329, 375, 383, 399, 408, 418, 433, 439, 1081, 1083, 1110, 1127, 1130, 1153, 1183, 1217, 1353, 1369, 1370, 1378, 1384, 1386, 1387, 1394, 1405, 1409, 1413, 1534
See also individual Allies
Allies. *See* Allied forces; *individual Allies*
Aloys Haase, 731, 777
Aloysius Dehlert, Tief-, u. Strassenbau, 1478, 1479
Alpine Montanbetriebe Hermann Göring, Linz, 928, 930
Alpine Training Facility, 528
Altbau Weaving Mill, 486
Altenhammer Institute, 571
Ambi-Budd, 1166
America, American. *See* United States
American Friends (Society of Friends), 129
American Military Court (AMC), 520, 1425, 1446
See also under United States
Amt für Truppenbetreuung (Hauptamt C-I) (Office for Troops Care [Main Office C-I]), 631
Andreas Electric Power Plant, 256
Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH, 306
Anorgana GmbH, 476–477, 723
Ansbach Landgericht (State Court), 978
Anschütz und Co., 1158
Antifakomitee (Anti-Fascism Committee), 1321
Antifascist Resistance Fighters' Committee, 1296
Apparatebau Niederoderwitz GmbH, Niederoderwitz (O.L.), 769
Apparatefabrik Treptow, 1250, 1251
Arado-Flugzeugwerke (Arado Aircraft Works), 595, 1268-1269, 1288, 1312, 1313, 1336, 1348, 1349
Arbeitersamariterwache (Workers Benevolent Association), 85
Arbeitsamt Krakau, 868
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Biber II, 432
Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugeschäfte Fürstenberg/Oder (Working Cooperative of Fürstenberg/Oder Building Firms), 1304
Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugewerbe/Bauinnung Osnabrück, 199
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Grossmarkthalle Weimar, 291
Arbeitsgemeinschaft SS-Unterkunft (Work Association SS-Accommodation), 646
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke, 556
Arbeitslager Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH, 1210
Arbeitsstab Geilenberg, 1029
Architekt Bücklers, 526–527
Ardelt Works, 1200, 1203
"ARGE Marmor." *See* Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt)
Argo-Waldenburg, 791, 792, 794
Argus Motorenwerke GmbH, 1282–1283, 1334
Arlt factory, 668
Armag company, 1283
Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission, RüKo), 1111, 1113, 1115, 1128, 1132
Armaments Council, 766
Armaments Delivery Office, 1378
Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover, 129, 1143
Armaments Economy Command (Wehrwirtschaftkommando, Wwi Kdo) Kauen, 858

Armaments Inspectorate, 273, 883, 959, 1291. *See also* Army Armaments Inspectorate
Armaments Ministry. *See* Reich Armaments Ministry
Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt), 720, 721
Armaments Staff, 766
Armed Combat Union, 1433
Armed Forces High Command (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, OKW), 188, 576, 1159, 1161, 1164
Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi, 349
Armia Krajowa (Home Army), 1456
Army Armaments Inspectorate (Rüstungsinspektion), 720, 1108. *See also* Armaments Inspectorate
Army Armaments Office (Heereswaffenamt), Office for Development and Testing, 472, 1343
Army Clothing Office (Armeebekleidungsamt, ABA), 1239, 1244
Army Group North (Heeresgruppe Nord), 1468
Army Group South (Heeresgruppe Süd), 950
Army High Command (Oberkommando des Heeres, OKH), 393, 632, 682, 746, 782, 868, 939, 942, 951, 956, 1177, 1313
Army Weapons Office (Heereswaffenamt), 472, 1209, 1343
Arno Fischer Research Institute, 938
Arno Schaefter Ingenieurbüro für Licht, 1326
Aron Hirsch & Sohn, 1203
Arrow Cross Fascists (Hungarian), 632
Arsenal Office (Hauptzeugamt), 1335
Artamanen youth movement, 112
Artur Becker Tiefbau AG, 784
A. Schultze Jr. Blankschrauben-Fabrik und Fassondreherei, 672, 673
Askania-Werke AG, 749, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1210
Asphalt und Dackdeckungsgesellschaft GmbH (ASDAG), 929
Association for the Promotion and Maintenance of German Cultural Memorials e.V. (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler e.V.), 1518
Association of Jewish Workers (Bund Jüdischer Arbeiter), 1340
Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (VVN). *See* Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN)
Astrawerke AG, 576, 585
Auergesellschaft AG, 1269, 1363, 1364
Auer-Werke, 1332–1333
Auerwerk II Seegelände, 1332
Augsburg Messerschmitt AG, 1042
August Gähringer company, 1372
August Lesche Company, 751
August Wellner & Söhne factory, 178
Aurich Landgericht (State Court), 1106
Aussenstelle I/5, 374
Austrian Freedom Movement (Österreichischen Freiheitsbewegung), 944
Austrian Home Guard (Landesschützen), 954
Austrian Military Tribunal, 207
Austrian Saurerwerke AG, 954
Austrian Union Council, 480
Auto Union AG, 613, 614, 627, 628, 630, 643, 650, 670, 671, 676, 684, 687, 766
Auxiliary Police (Hilfspolizei), 173
Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD), 333, 335
Auxiliary Police School (Hilfspolizeischule der Ordnungspolizei), 1469

Babelsberg Honor Company (Ehrenkompanie), 1334
Baden Administration of Justice, 19
Baden Ministry of the Interior, 100
Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (BASF), 218, 477
Badoglio's Army, 224
Bad Saarow Central Construction Administration (Zentralbauleitung), 1265
Bahnmeisterei Hermeskeil, 832
Baltöl (Baltic Oil, Baltische Öl GmbH), 1056, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1508
Bamberg Criminal Police, 23
Bamberg Political Police, 23
Bamberg Special Court, 23, 143
Bänisch, 804
Baresel AG, 1065
Barmen district, 1400
Barthel company, 731
Bartolith Werke, 518–519, 552
Basel Criminal Court, 1017
Bassow & Torkuhl, 1152
Bata shoe factory, 236
Batteriefabrik (Battery Factory) Pertrix, 1280
Bau AG Negrelli, 936
Bauamt Bremen-Nord, 1091
Baugeschäft Joh. Heitmann (Joh. Heitmann Construction), 1090, 1097
Baugeschäft und Abbruchunternehmen Hermann Bödecker (Hermann Bödecker Construction and Demolition), 1090, 1097
Bauinspektion Reich-West (Building Inspectorate Reich-West), 1019
Bauinspektion "Rhein-West" Waffen-SS- und Polizei (Construction Inspectorate "Rhine-West" Waffen-SS and Police), 423
Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Building Administration), 427, 522, 522–523
Bauleitung der Waffen-SS- und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration), 431, 479, 534, 555–556, 646, 669, 674, 842, 923
Bauleitung Esslingen am Neckar, 1027
Baustelle Schichau Elbing, 1452
Bautz Company, 540
Bautzen State Court (Landgericht), 87, 119, 709
Bautzen Town Council, 25
Bauunternehmen Dietrich Rohlfs (Dietrich Rohlfs Construction), 1090, 1097
Bauunternehmen Friedrich Rodieck (Friedrich Rodieck Construction), 1090, 1097
Bauunternehmen Hamburg, 722
Bavarian Guard (Bayernwacht), 9, 23, 24
Bavarian Justice Ministry, 133
Bavarian Ministry of the Interior, 136
Bavarian People's Party (BVP), 3, 5, 23, 24, 114, 131, 135, 143
Bavarian Political Police, 134
Bavarian State Police, 85, 442
Bayer AG, 218, 521
Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW), 300, 310, 311, 338, 444, 459, 460, 465, 485, 486, 491, 516, 516–517, 517, 519, 547, 547–548, 553, 607, 610, 1044, 1051, 1166
Bayerischer Lloyd, 938
Bayernwacht (Bavarian Guard), 9, 23, 24
Bayreuth (St. Georgen) workhouse, 142
Bayreuth Landgericht (District Court), 294, 644
Bazun company, 858
British Broadcasting Corporation, 1098
Becker und Zelle, 722
Beef Hall (Rinderhalle), 1125
Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (BdS) Riga, 1230, 1231
Behelfsheim, 577–578
Behelfswohnbau, 1101
Belgian Criminal Department of Military Courts, 1282
Belgian Military Tribunal, 1140
Belgian Tracing Service, 1297, 1334
Bender (Munich), 799
Bense & Co., 1166
Benzin-Benzol-Verband company, 1012
Bergbau AG, 1168
Berg Burggraf, 316
Berger company, 1238
Berghütte, 226, 253
Bergmannschule, 503
Bergwerk Monopol (Mining Monopoly), 28
Berko firm, 707
Berlin, Greater Berlin District Court VII, 39, 40
Berlin Armaments Inspectorate III, 1290, 1291
Berlin Construction Company, 536
Berlin Correctional Bureau, 163
Berlin Court of Appeal, 39
Berlin District Court, 36, 40
Berlin Document Center (BDC), 1176, 1243, 1349
Berlin Free University, 463
Berlin General Electric Company (AEG), 777
Berlin-Guben Factory, 743
Berlinisches Baugeschäft (Berlin), 1512
Berlin-Moabit holding center, 37
Berlin Municipal Police, 1293

[162.193.31.115] Project MUSE (2025-02-16 22:13 GMT)

Berlin National Socialist Workers Party, 43
See also Socialist Workers' Party (SAP)
Berlin Office for the Registration of War Victims (Amt für die Erfassung der Kriegsopfer), 1334
Berlin Police Headquarters, 163
Berlin State Court, 33, 40, 43, 48, 61
Berlin Special Court (Sondergericht beim Landgericht Berlin), 149
Berlin State Archive (LA-B), 1285
Berlin State Hospital of the Police, 66
Berlin Technischen Hochschule, 1156
Berlin Trade Fair, 43
Berlin Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG (Weapons and Munitions Factories, Inc.), 614
Bernsdorf & Co., 578–580
Berufsschule, 542–543
Betonfabrik, 1433
Betonfabrik Adlershorst, 1427
Betonsteinwerk Lüning & Sohn (Lüning & Sohn Concrete), 1090, 1097
Betonwerke Gossebäude, 1470
Betting Hartsteinwerke GmbH, 838
Beuchelt (now Zastal), 803
Białystok District Court, 759
Bielefeld Denazification Court, 1346
Bimsund Faserstoffbetonwerke Anton Racz, 1326
Blohm & Voss, 1111, 1113, 1126, 1126–1127, 1127, 1128, 1381
Bloos factory, 1295
Bochum Fire Brigade, 1365
Bochum Protestant hospital, 1365
Bochum Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG, 317-318
Bode, Grün & Bilfinger AG (Mannheim), 358
Bohemia-Keramische Werke AG, 642
Bonn Landgericht (State Court), 66, 1237, 1242, 1249
Border Police School (Grenzpolizeischule), 1298
Borgward-Werke, 1089, 1096
Borsig. *See* Rheinmetall-Borsig
Bosch. *See* Robert Bosch GmbH
Bossert company, 1030
Boswau und Knauer, 722
Bottrop Marien Hospital, 349
Brabag. *See* Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline AG, Brabag)
Brackdamm School, 1118
Brandenburg city council, 50
Brandenburg Landtag (parliament), 162
Brandenburg Memorials Foundation, 1282
Brandenburg Police Academy, 50, 51
Brandt Equipment Program, 1131, 1137
Braun & Boveri company, 936
Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline AG, Brabag), 313, 320, 390–392, 429, 430, 576, 624, 1339, 1340
Braunschweig District Court (Landgericht), 1176
Braunschweigische Aktiengesellschaft für Jute- und Flachs-Industrie (Braunschweig Company for Jute and Flax Industry), 1175
Braunschweig State Attorney's Office, 1303
Braun und Co. Schieferverwaltung, 313
Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute, 52, 53
Breitenbach-Montanbau, 265
Bremen Court, 649
Bremen Denazification Court, 890
Bremen Landgericht (State Court), 117, 125, 146, 649, 977
Bremen senate, 145
Bremen Soviet Republic, 124
Bremen State Prosecutor's Office, 1092, 1094
Breslau (Wroclaw) Security Police, 733
Breslau Gestapo, 695
Breslau Oberbergamt (Wroclaw Superior Mining Agency), 235
Breslau SA-Auxiliary Police (Hipo), 55
Breslau State Police Office, 55
Breslau Works, 1200
Brinker Iron Works, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138
British forces, 193, 280, 281, 287, 869, 1094, 1102, 1105, 1120, 1122, 1138, 1150, 1162, 1174, 1414
British investigating commission, 1173
British Judge Advocate General, 1285
British Judge Advocate General of the Second Army, 283
British Military Administration, 113, 1159, 1162, 1283
British Military Court/Tribunal, 170, 262, 281, 934, 989, 1001, 1077, 1116, 1120, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1134, 1145, 1147, 1148, 1151, 1158, 1160, 1167, 1172, 1173, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1392, 1423
British Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee, 129
Brnenec National Council, 720
Broer foundry. *See* E. Broer foundry
Brown Coal Gasoline. *See* Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline AG, Brabag)
Bruns Apparatebau GmbH, 346, 347
Brussels Gestapo, 354
Brussels Military Court, 1091
Brüssing Nutzkraftwagen AG, 433
Building Authority of the Tenth District of the city of Hamburg, 1131
Bundeswehr, 66
Bunkerbaufirma Polensky, 1334
Buntweberei Gräsers Witwe und Sohn, 375
Burbach-Konzern (Burbach Group), 1083
Büren Council, 1518
Büssing Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft (NAG), 433, 1086, 1086–1087, 1087, 1088, 1175, 1176
Büssing Vereinigte Nutzkraftwagenwerke AG. *See* Büssing Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft (NAG)
Butzer und Holzmann AG, 784, 791, 792
Bygk-Guldenwerke factory, 1332
Bytom (Beuthen) Court, 721
Cable and Conductor Works, Inc. *See* Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc., KALAG)
Canada Kommando, 207
Canadian Court, 895
Canadian forces, 1105, 1120, 1162
Carl Heber Mechanische Werkstätten from Berlin-Britz, 1215
Carl J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerke Company, 1271
Carl Stephun factory, 1452
Carl Zeiss company, 500, 558
Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung, 584
Carstens, 1443
Casella, 218
Catholic Gelsenkirchen-Horst St. Josefs Hospital, 349
Catholic Marienhospital, 349
C. Dierig plant, 801
Celle goods railway yard, 1104
Celle State Court (Oberlandesgericht), 1142
Center Party. *See* German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei)
Central Construction Administration of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), Caucasus, 1404
Central Construction Administration "Reich Süd" in Dachau, 1404
Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westfalia in Cologne (ZLNW-K), 427, 1297, 1299, 1310, 1332, 1346
Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), 61, 300, 305, 309, 310, 339, 349, 350, 366, 377, 380, 389, 390, 393, 399, 401, 407, 410, 419, 425, 427, 429, 440, 451, 453, 454–455, 456, 457, 459, 465, 468, 470, 471, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 483, 485, 486, 487, 490, 491, 492, 497, 498, 503, 504, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517, 519, 522, 527, 528, 531, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 545, 546, 547, 550, 551, 552, 553, 555, 570, 575, 581, 585, 586, 588, 589, 591, 599, 601, 655, 657, 666, 690, 770, 870, 950, 1025, 1092, 1127, 1171, 1174, 1199, 1220, 1267, 1280, 1283, 1285, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1297, 1299, 1303, 1312, 1315, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1329, 1332, 1334, 1338, 1349, 1372, 1389, 1410, 1412, 1418, 1494, 1514
Central Works Ltd. *See* Mittelwerk GmbH
Charlotte power plant, 235
Chemische Werke Otto Bärlocher, 504
Chemnitz State Court (Waldheim), 594, 1280
Chemnitz State Court in the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 147
C.H. Gross factory, 639
Chief Armed Forces Command, 723, 725
Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft (Distribution Company), 547
Christian Krutwig company, 844
Christian Mansfeld GmbH, 410, 432
Christian Salzmann (Leipzig), 199

Christliche Siedlungsgesellschaft (Christian Settlement Society), 1310
Christoph & Unmack factory, 771
Christ ü Co, 803
Circle of Friends of Reichsführer-SS Himmler (Freundeskreis Himmler), 390, 624, 635
C.J. Vogel Drahtund Kabelwerke Company, 1272
Claassen company, 1468
Cleats Club (Klub der Fusshaken), 487
C. Lorenz AG, 634, 635
See also Lorenz AG
Coburg State Court (Landgericht), 61, 142, 399, 605
Cologne City Administration, 1385
Cologne city Office of the Head of Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen), 1384
Cologne Court, 734
Cologne Criminal Police, 27
Cologne Public Attorney's Office, 1201
Cologne Regional Court, 27
Cologne Senior State Attorney's Office, 1301
Cologne Senior State Prosecutor's Office, 1521
Cologne State Attorney's Office, 27, 155, 314, 1285, 1292
Cologne State Police, 1385
Cologne State Prosecutor's Office, 370, 1372, 1385
Cologne Trade Fair, 1384, 1385
Cologne Trials, 103, 1325
Committee for Jewish Refugees, 73
Committee of the Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic (KdAW-DDR), 1267
Committee on State Security, USSR (KGB), 1285
Communist Homes' Protection Squad (Häuserschutzstaffel), 32
Communist Youth (Kommunistische Jugend), 104
Compensation Trust, 873
Comthurey Experimental Farm, 1198
Comthurey farm laborers' settlement (Comthurey Oberstadt), 1198
Concentration Camp Reserve (KL-Verstärkung), 291
Concordia Spinnerei und Weberei GmbH in Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec), 702, 721
Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, 218
Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, 485
Construction Administration V (Heidelberg), 1068
Construction Brigades. *See* SS-Baubrigaden
Construction Inspectorate (Bauinspektion), 599
Construction Office for Luftwaffe Special Tasks (Bauamt für Sonderaufgaben der Luftwaffe), 550
Continental Gummiwerke AG, 820, 1133, 1137, 1138, 1145, 1146, *1146*, 1147
Corpse Detachments (Leichenkommandos), 1355
Correctional Bureau (Strafvollzugsamt), 76
Cottbus State Attorney's Office, 1327
Council for Aid to Jews (Rada Pomocy Żydom, or Żegota), 864
Council for the Defense of Monuments, Struggle and Martyrdom, 870
Creditanstalt Bankverein AG, 868
Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police (Kriminalbiologische Institut der Sicherheitspolizei, KBI), 1531
Criminal Investigation Department of the Police in Cologne, 1391
Criminal Police (Kriminalpolizei, Kripo), 5, 22, 185, 187, 1527, 1528, 1530, 1533
Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire), 543
Curt Heber company, 974, 993
Czech Brigade, 1387
Czechoslovak Court in Jicín, 777
Czechoslovakian Military Tribunal, 207
Czechoslovak War Crimes Agency, 743
Czernilofsky company, 936

Dabelow Labor Detachment (Comthurey subcamp), 1197
Dachau, Superior Military Court, 308
Dachau, United States Military Court. *See* United States Military Court in Dachau
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 503, 524
Daimler-Benz, 750, 752, 924, 939–940, 955, 1009, 1037, 1044, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1048–1049, 1050, 1053, 1055, 1064, 1067, 1070, 1306, 1307, 1408
DaimlerChrysler AG, 1281
Dallmann (Westfalen) company, 433
Dampf Kraft Wagen (DKW) factory, 684, 685
Dampfziegelei (Steam Brick Works), 843
Danish Committee for the Eastern Areas, 1505
Danish Foreign Ministry, 1505
Danzig District Court, 1443
Danziger-Werft, 1433–1435
Danzig Police Headquarters (Schutzpolizei), 1438
Danzig Prison Camp Command (Kommandantur der Gefangenenlager Danzig), 1425
Danzig Senate Roads Administration, 1457
Death's Head units. *See* SS-Totenkopfverbände
Debag company, 1172
Dechentreiter company, 457
Degussa AG, 243, 1303, 1304, 1332
Dehlert company. *See* Aloysius Dehlert, Tief-, u. Strassenbau
Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Unit of Elbing District), 1474, 1480, 1487
Demag AG Duisburg, 1299, 1300, 1301
Denazification Courts, 48, 399, 506, 890, 938, 1295, 1327, 1346, 1347
Department for the Maintenance of Radio Receivers (Abteilung für die Instandsetzung von Rundfunkempfängern), 631
Deschimag AG. *See* Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag)
Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF), 198, 317, 669, 824, 1096, 1107, 1109, 1142, 1307, 1344, 1366, 1448, 1477, 1478
Deutsche Asphalt AG (German Asphalt Corporation, DASAG), 340, 1172
Deutsche Asphalt und Tiefbau AG, 340
Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW), 185, 191, 291, 297, 443, 448, 864, 878, 880, 884, 909, 916, 1305, 1417, 1421, 1433
Deutsche Bank, 25, 664, 771, 868
Deutsche Bau AG (German Construction Corporation), 1109
Deutsche Bergwerke- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG), 256, 952, 1012, 1020
Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, 340
Deutsche Eisenwerke AG (DEW), 833, 838
Deutsche Elektro-Unternehmen company, 888
Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik (DEF), 718, 873
Deutsche Erdmöbel AG, 909
Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt), 185, 291, 297, 315, 330–332, 331, 332, 341–343, 373, 694, 880, 905, 924, 927–928, 928, 930, 940, 953, 1004, 1074, 1124, 1258, 1323, 1385, 1421, 1461
Deutsche Erzbergwerke AG, 1063
Deutsche Gasrusswerke GmbH, 243, 244
Deutsche Hoch- und Tiefbaugesellschaft, 788
Deutsche Industriewerke AG (DIWAG), 754, 755, 1287
Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen GmbH (DKK), 650, 676, 677
Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (DEMAG), 956, 1299, 1312
Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (Messap), 746
Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (DÖLF), 1012, 1016, 1026, 1055–1056
Deutsche Ostinstitut in Kraków, 864
Deutsche Post Ost, 868
Deutsche Raffinierie AG, 1139, 1166
Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railway, DR), 358, 512, 556, 587-589, 662, 705, 769, 930, 1059, 1112, 1115, 1148, 1173, 1246, 1395, 1397, 1404, 1430-1431, 1476
Deutsche Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe (German Reich Association for People's Care and Settler Assistance), 545
Deutsche Schieferöl GmbH (German Shale Oil), 1012, 1172
Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag), 1091, 1092, 1093, 1095, 1096, 1098, 1099–1101
Deutsches Hygiene Institut, 1492
Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (DRK). *See* Red Cross, Germany

Deutsche Telefunken, 500, 815, 1167
Deutsche Telephonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (DE-TE-WE) Berlin, 746
Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (DVA), 040, 482, 910, 1189, 1193, 1197, 1198, 1202
Deutsche Werft, 1111, 1113, 1114, 1128
Deutsche Werke Kiel, 1455–1457, 1456
Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe GmbH (German Business Enterprises), 1028
Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG, 742, 743
Deutsche Zellwerke AG, 1321, 1322
Deutsch-Nationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband (German National Clerks' Association), 124
Diakonen Institute, 1371, 1372
Diedrich Rohlfs company, 1101
Diehl GmbH & Co., 778
Dietrich company, 1002
Dirksen company, 1468
Dirlewanger Brigade, 1232
District Court of Kleve, 1220
Dittmers, 1132
Dnepropetrowsk Court, 890
Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labor, 1280
Dohrmann company, 1937
Don-Bosco-Schwestern (religious order), 468
Donnersmarck steel mill, 222, 252
Dornier company, 444, 469, 478, 496, 553, 1216
Dorries-Füllner plant, 703
Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union, 328
Dotternhausen factory, 1031
Drägerwerk, 1126, 1131, 1279
Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik GmbH, 1170
Dr. C. Christ AG chemical factory, 17
Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, 1318
Dresden Regional Court, 583
Dresden SA-Standarte 100, 97
Dresden Staatspolizei-Leitstelle, 752
Dresden State Court, 97, 98
Dressauer Waggonfabrik, 326
Dr. Rühmer'schen Satzfischanlagen (Dr. Rühmer's Fish Breeding Ponds), 530, 531
Dr. Th. Horn GmbH, 656
Drube, 987
Dübner, 797, 798
Duisburg "Office for Immediate Measures" (Amt für Sofortmassnahmen), 1372
Duisburg Regional Court, 956
Dünawerke, 1242
Dunlop factory, 1036
Düsseldorf Air Protection Office, 1375
Düsseldorf Court, 895, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1253
Düsseldorf State Court (Landgericht), 1273
Düsseldorf Road Construction Authority, 1375
Dutch Court, 1151
Dybno (Bauunternehmen), 788
Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG (D&W), 516, 519–520, 913, 1046, 1295, 1470
Dynamit AG (DAG) (earlier Dynamit Nobel und Co.), 365, 496, 497, 536, 537, 611, 722, 762, 763, 1213, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1428-1430

East Berlin Brigade, 40
East German Anti-Fascist Committee, 1293
East German Criminal Court, 1514
East German General State Attorney's Office, 1293
East German Military Tribunal, 207
Ebano-Oehler, 1117
Eberswalde-Finowfurt railway, 1201
Eberswalde Steel-Molding Works, 1200
E. Broer foundry, 643
Ebro Works. *See* E. Broer foundry
Edelweiss dairy plant, 541
"Edelweiss Pirates," 53
Ed. Züblin & Cie., 1068
Ehrengut, L., 504–505
Ehrenreich & Co., 832
EIBIA & Wolff, Ltd., 282
Einsatz Baltöl, 1492
Einsatzgruppe B, 75
Einsatzgruppe D, 75
Einsatzgruppe Russland-Nord, 1492
Einsatz Mühlhausen, 396
Einsatzstab (Operations Staff) Benkert, 1284
Eisenbeton u. Hochbau, 256
Eisen- und Hüttenwerke AG, 318–320
Eisenwerk Oberdonau GmbH, 930, 951
Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF), 9, 28, 56, 143, 150
Elbing shipyard, 1435
Elder's Council, 1316
Eleja-Meitene (Elley-Meiten), 1238
Elektrolux Ltd., 1326
Elektromechanische Werke Karlshagen, 990
Elley-Meiten (Eleja-Meitene), 1238
Elsabe AG, 627, 643
Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Elmag), 1045
Elster GmbH, 750, 751, 752, 1071
Emmerich Machold, 238, 239
"Emsland" (Society for the Facilitation of Wasteland Reclamation), 152
Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (EVO), 259, 264, 265
Ennskraftwerke AG, 915
Entomological Institute of the Waffen-SS, 462, 462–463
Eple Company, 1067
Erdöl Raffinerie Trzebinia GmbH, 271
Erfurt Railroad Directorate, 1417, 1418
Erfurt State Police Office, 64
Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH, 381, 593, 619, 620, 639, 640
Ernst Heinkel AG. *See* Heinkel
Ernst König company, 1029
Erwerbslosenstaffeln, 81
Erzbergbau Salzgitter GmbH, 358
E. Schürich company, 539
Essen State Police Office, 342
Ethnic German Liaison Office (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, VOMI), 455, 889, 1520
Eutin State Treasury Department, 17
Evangelical Hospital in Bergisch Gladbach, 27
Evangelic-Lutheran Church (Mackenrode), 1388
Extraordinary People's Court, 615
Extraordinary People's Court (Elger, Cheb), 642

Fabrik Hessisch Lichtenau GmbH, 365
Fabrik Plage-Laskewicz, 887
Fabryka Kabli S.A., 868
Factory C, 708
Fahrzeug u. Motorenwerke (Famo) plant, 714, 740, 774
Fahrzeugwerke Falkensee GmbH, 1299
Falke company, 736
Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate, 1123
Falkensee orchestra, *1300 ill.*
Famo-Werke. *See* Fahrzeug- und Motorenwerke (Famo-Werke) plant
Faserfabrik (Fiber Factory) Mühlanger, 1348
Federal Commissioner for the Documentation of the State Security Service (BStU), 1222
Federal German State Prosecutor's Office, 1282
Federal Republic of Germany, 207 256, 591, 690, 971, 1303, 1349, 1423
Federal Supreme Court, Third Criminal Division, 1220
Feinapparatenbau Carl Zeiss Jena Niederlassung factory, 731
Feinmechanische Werkstätten Ing. G. Tipecska, 545
Feldgedarmerie, 1017
Feldjägerkorps, 30
Feldpolizei, 1174
Ferdinand Haase factory, 777
Ferro Betonit Werke AG, 942
Fertigungsstelle (Production Point) Siemens, 1193
Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück, 398
Fiat Company, 554
Fiebig, 256
Fiebinger company, 942
Fiesel factory, 990
Fighter Program (Jägerprogramm), 400, 449, 584, 660, 673, 830, 1281, 1428
Fighter Squadron 101, Hungarian Air Force, 623
Fighter Staff (Jägerstab), 324, 355, 357, 400, 407, 445, 488, 500, 595, 608, 639, 640, 660, 750, 766, 979, 997, 999, 1009, 1019, 1021, 1062, 1166
Fighting Circle of Young German Nationals, 33
Fighting League against Fascism (Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus), 17, 104
Filmfabrik Wolfen. *See* IG Farbenindustrie AG

Finower Industrie GmbH, 1203, 1204
Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (FKM), 1203
Fire Fighters School, 527
Fish Hatchery School, 531
Fix, 788, 798, 1019, 1021
Fix, Sager und Wörner, 791
Fleischwarenfabrik Wülfert (Wülfert Meat Products Factory), 463–465
"Fleitmann" Free Corps, 152
Flensburg State Attorney's Office, 167
Flick concerns, 603, 674, 1315
Fliegerhorst Quedlinburg, 409
Flöha Tüllfabrik (Flöha Tulle Factory), 593
Flotte und Hopferweiser company, 908
FLS Industries, 1506
FL Smidth & Co., 1505, 1506
Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark (Aircraft Motor Works), 924, 955, 956, 963
Flugzeug- und Metallbauwerke Wels (Aircraft and Metal Construction Company), 913, 917
Flugzeugwerke Mielec, 870
Flying Hitler Youth (Fliegende Hitler-Jugend), 309
Flying School (Flugschule) No. 3, 622
Focke-Wulf, 284, 733, 1085
Ford Motor Company, 371-372
Foreign Affairs Office, 278
Foreign Espionage Department (Auslandsspionage), 1275
Forestry Office, 1196
Forgery Detail, 942
Formholz company, 486
Forster company, 717
Förster-Löwenfeld Free Corps, 138
Forst- und Sägewerk GmbH, 909
Fort Oberer Kuhberg, 169
Fort Quednau (Übergangslager Fort Quednau), 156
"Fortuna GmbH." *See* Flöha Tüllfabrik (Flöha Tulle Factory)
Fort XIII, 1251
Fourteenth Grand Criminal Court, 48
Frahne und Leinag AG textile plant, 758
Framo-Werke GmbH, 605
Franciscans (religious order), 349
Frank company, 1132
Francke Werke, 340, 1079 1366
Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (FTP), 1006, 1383
Frankfurt am Main District Court in 1976, 620
Frankfurt am Main State Prosecutor's Office, 1299
Frankfurt/Oder Armaments Command (Military District III), 1304
Franz Galehr, 256
Franz Münnemann company, 1372
Franz Preidl company, 660
Frauenberg Mountain hospital, 1327
Free Corps, 27, 45
Free Corps "Fleitmann," 152
Free Corps Förster-Löwenfeld, 138
Free Corps Oberland, 60
Free Corps "Olympia," 149
Free Corps "Rossbach," 149
Free French 1st Division, 1066
Free Unions (Freie Gewerkschaften), 104
Free University in Berlin, 463
Freiburg/Breisgau University Clinic, 542
Freiburg State Court, 179, 1396
Freiburg Town Council, 19
Freiburg University, 500
French army, 554
French Court, 1098
French forces, 540, 1407
French Foreign Legion, 138
French Military Court, 170, 963
French Military Court/Tribunal in Rastatt, 218, 615, 666, 827, 1020, 1022, 1026, 1035, 1041, 1046, 1052, 1060, 1095, 1201, 1338
French Military Court in Reutlingen, 380
French Military Tribunal, 218, 1167
Freudenthaler Getränke GmbH, 239
Freundeskreis Himmler. *See* Circle of Friends of Reichsführer-SS Himmler (Freundeskreis Himmler)
Friedrich Krupp Inc., 343, 344
See also under Krupp
Friedrich Rodieck company, 1101
Friedrich School (Friedrich Schule), 1043
Friedrichshafen Standesamt (Civil Registry Office), 473
Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium, 245
Friswerke. *See* Telefunken Company
Fritz-Sauckel-Werk (FSW). *See* Gustloff Werke I and II
Fritz Schuber carpentry company, 728
Fritz Werner AG, 1343, 1344
Frohnauer brickworks, 653
Frolich Spinning company, 761
F. Schichau-Werft GmbH, 1450, 1452, 1453
Fuess company. *See* R. Fuess company
Fulda Court, 1000
Fulda Landgericht (State Court), 936
Fürstenfeldbruck Denazification Court, 1295
Fürstengrube camp orchestra, 978
Fürstengrube GmbH, 240
F.W. Schultz and Co., 894, 895

Gaidies Fritz und Co., 1452
Ganacker airfield, 597
Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction (SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau), 515
Garrison Headquarters for Cable Construction (SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau), 516
Gärtner & Sohn, 1036
Gärtnereibetrieb Nützl, 505–506
Gaststätte Nolze, 981
Gau Administration, Köln-Aachen, 1385
Gau Steiermark (Styria), 948
Gdańsk District Court, 1427, 1457, 1467, 1473, 1476
Gdańsk Province Public Security Agency, 1476
Gdańsk Special Criminal Court, 1439, 1457, 1470, 1476, 1486
Gebr. Nosske & Co., 750
Gebrüder Butzer & Holzmann, 800
Gebrüder Hermecke, 722
Gebrüder Kopp, 1267
Gebrüder Morus AG, 811
Gebrüder Walzel, C.G., 777
Geheime Staatspolizei. *See* Gestapo
Geheime Staatspolizeiamt. *See* Gestapa
Gehrt company. *See* Max-Gehrt-Werke
Geilenberg Program, 313, 391, 430, 969, 994, 1012, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1132, 1172
See also Mineralölbau GmbH
Geilenberg Staff, 1009
Gelbes Kreuz (Yellow Cross), 524
Gellenau, 759
Gelsenberg Benzin AG, 343, 348, 349
Gelsenkirchen Bergwerk AG (Gelsenkirchen Mining Corporation), 28
Gendarme group station Dölitz, Kreis Pyritz, 1210
Gendarmerie, 1211
Generalbevollmächtigter für Chemie (GeBeChem), 1012
Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation, GBA), 1079
Generalbevollmächtigter für den Erzeugungsplan der chemischen Industrie (General Plenipotentiary for the Chemical Industry Production Plan), 1492
General Federation of German Trade Unions (ADGB), 95
Generalkommando X, 1106
General Plenipotentiary for Building Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirtschaftung Senatssyndikus), 1115
General-SS. *See* Allgemeine-SS
General State Prosecutor's Office, 1315
Genossenschafts-Flachsröste GmbH, 17
Georg Wälzer & Co, 421
Geppardt, 797
Gera District Court (Bezirksgericht), 989
Gerätebau GmbH, 395–396
Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard, 1210, 1226
G.E. Reinhardt company, 420
Gerhard, Weferlingen company, 433
German Agricultural Workers' Association (Deutscher Landarbeiterverband), 48
German Air Sport League (DLV), 126
German Army. *See* Wehrmacht
German Association for the Care of Ethnic Germans and Settler Assistance (Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V. Berlin), 948, 950
German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei), 3, 95, 171, 177
German Christian movement (Deutsche Christen), 112
German Communist Party (KPD), 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 17, 28, 32, 33, 41, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 65, 73, 81, 83, 84, 90, 93, 94,

95, 103, 104, 105, 107, 114, 118, 124, 126, 135, 138, 142, 143, 148, 152, 155, 156, 163, 165, 169, 172, 177, 178, 292, 541
German Communist Party Opposition (KPO), 108, 148
German Criminal Court, 318
German Democratic Party (DDP), 95, 114, 129
German Democratic Republic (DDR) Court, 1268
German Democratic Republic State Attorney's Office, 36
German Democratic Republic Supreme Court, 218
German Earth and Stone Works. *See* Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt)
German Eastern Railway (Ostbahn), 1512
Germanenverlag publisher, 530
German Equipment Works (DAW). *See* Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW)
German Foreign Legionnaires, 100
German Foreign Ministry, 1505
German General Electric Company (AEG), 500, 1372
See also Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG)
German Highway Construction Office (Reichsstrassenbauamt), 485
German Home Guard (Volkssturm). *See* Volkssturm (German Home Guard)
German Housing Relief Service (Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk, DWH), 1320
Germanische Legion, 1331
German Jewish Community Association (Deutsch-israelitischer Gemeindebund), 148
German Judicial Authorities, 490
German Labor Front (DAF). *See* Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF)
German Military Administration, 1250
German Mine and Steelmill Construction Company, 256
German National People's Party (DNVP), 3, 17, 32
German National Railway. *See* Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railway, DR)
German National Railway Repair Works. *See* Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works, RAW)
German Navy. *See* Navy (Kriegsmarine)
German People's Party (DVP), 95
German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (DVA). *See* Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (DVA)
German Social Democratic Party. *See* Social Democratic Party (SPD)
German State Party (DSP), 38
Gesellschaft für Luftfahrtgeräte, Spandau, 591, 689
Gesellschaft für Technische und Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung mbH (Association for Technical and Economic Development), 781
Gesellschaft für Textil & Lederverwertung mbH (Texled), 1188, 1189
Gesellschaft zur Entwicklung des Volkswagens (Association for the Development of the Volkswagen), 573
Gesellschaft zur Erleichterung der Urbarmachung von Oedlaendereien ("Emsland"), 152
Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse, 1213
Gestapa (Geheime Staatspolizeiamt), 3, 55, 59, 60, 61, 69, 72, 82, 126, 138, 152, 170, 183
Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), 5, 10, 19, 33, 38, 53, 55, 57, 62, 78, 79, 102, 103, 105, 116, 117, 119, 124, 129, 150, 153, 158, 165, 166, 171, 175, 185, 187, 188, 191, 205, 216, 257, 266, 290, 292, 327, 333, 337, 342, 354, 368, 370, 389, 398, 448, 506, 507, 543, 627, 628, 630, 660, 662, 667, 687, 694, 717, 824, 835, 836, 856, 865, 870, 990, 1005, 1006, 1020, 1022, 1026, 1046, 1051, 1074, 1095, 1102, 1103, 1140, 1147, 1156, 1274, 1291, 1293, 1294, 1350, 1351, 1385, 1395, 1405, 1407, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1438, 1459, 1473, 1487, 1519, 1533
Gewerkschaft Neue Deutsche Erdöl-Raffinierie Aktiengesellschaft firm (Deurag-Nerag), 1139
See also Deurag-Nerag (Deutsche Raffinierie AG, Neue Erdölraffinerie AG)
Geyer und Sohn, 975
G.F. Flechtner factory, 761
Giessen Court, 1416
Gizzi company, 1123
Gleitbau Klotz & Co. (Eisenbetonbau Hoch u. Tiefbau), 256
Goehle-Werk, 584–586, 586–587
Goldschmidt company, 801
Golleschauer Portland-Zement Aktiengesellschaft O/S, 247
Gollnow und Sohn, 975
Góralska Służba Ojozyźnie (Polish Highlanders' Homeland Service), 871
Göring. *See* Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG)
Göring Research Office (Forschungsamt), 1328
Gotthold Heinz factory, 619
Göttingen Court, 995
Göttingen Spruchgericht (Court of Assizes), 127, 129
Göttingen Public Prosecutor's Office, 329
Götting Leineweber GmbH, 1531
Government Employment Office (Arbeitsamt), 1279
Granitwerke Mauthausen (Mauthausen Granite Works), 905
Gray Ranks, 1433
Grossdeutsche Schachtbau AG, 978
Gross-Rosen Guard Battalion 11th Company, 758
Grossschlachterei Thomae, 507
Group Berlin-Brandenburg, 36
Grülich, 754
Grün & Bilfinger, 1183, 1470
Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH, 1204
Grunow company, 526
Gruppe Wüste, 1015, 1045, 1046, 1055, 1058
Gruschwitz Textilwerke AG, 767
Gryf Pomorski (Pomeranian Griffin), 1456
Guard units, 18, 60, 64, 216, 260, 264, 270, 699, 758, 815, 865, 912, 1050, 1144, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1202, 1296, 1326, 1384, 1420, 1450, 1465, 1471, 1482
See also SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head units)
Gülzow Sägewerk, 1164
Gummifabrik "Meteor," 1231
Günther paper mill, 986
Gustav Adolf Buhl und Sohn, 263, 802
Gustloff factory, 397
Gustloff Weimar. *See* Gustloff Werke I and II
Gustloff Werke I and II, 316, 423, 434, 434–436, 435, 436
Gut Dabelow, 1198
Güterbahnhof West, 662
Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht. *See* Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht)
Gut Pollnhof, 465

Haberstumpf mill, 608
"Haga" company, 259
Hainboltshausen, 1395
Halle (Saale) District Court, 1201
Halle District Court, 1349
Halle Regional Court, 1288
Halle State Court, 1268
Hamburg, Superior British Military Court, 1113
Hamburg Business Committee (Wirtschaftsgremien), 1126, 1127
Hamburg Commander of the Order Police (BdO), 1160, 1162
Hamburg Court, 79, 895
Hamburger Landgericht (State Court), 1180
Hamburg Federal Court, 1467
Hamburg Generalbevollmächtigten für die Baubewirtschaftung (Hamburg Plenipotentiary for Construction), 1115
Hamburgische Electrizitätswerke AG (HEW), 1082
Hamburg Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), 1167
Hamburg State Attorney's Office, 1113
Hamburg State Court, 1392
Hamburg State Judicial Administration (Landesjustizverwaltung) and Correctional Service (Strafvollzugsbehörde), 76

Hamburg State Prosecutor's Office, 1124, 1127, 1180, 1232
Hamburg Swing Youth (Swing-Jugend), 1525, 1531, 1533
Hamburg Vereinsbank, 1112
Hamm Higher Regional Court, 27
Hannover State Court (Landgericht), 1142, 1147
Hannoversche Maschinenbau (Hanomag), 262, 1141
Hannover-Stöcken (Continental), 1134
Hans Carstens company, 1443
Hanseatic Higher Regional Court, 90
Hans Lautenbach Betonbau company, 1326
Hans Thiemann Sanitär und Heizung, 1326
Hardt company, 858
Härer company, 1036
Harry Habag Bakery, 1138
Hartmann factory, 747
Hartsteinwerke Vulkan, 1037
HASAG. *See* Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG)
Haseloch, 267
Hauptausschuss Schiffbau (Main Shipbuilding Committee), 1180
Haupt-Munitionsanstalt of the Luftwaffe, 284
Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East, HTO), 1455
Havelschmelzwerk GmbH, 1346
Haverlahwiese mine, 1177
H.C. Kröger & Co., 1215
Hebel Construction Company, 536
Heber company. *See* Curt Heber company
Hechingen Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), 1017, 1024
Hecht-OT Bauleitung, 339, 340, 341
Heerbrandt-Werke, 409
Heeresbaustelle (HBS), 855
Heeresbekleidungsamt (HBA), 855
Heeresfeldzeugkommando Kassel, 428
Heeresgruppe Nord, 1468
Heeresgruppe Süd, 950
Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP), 855, 1241, 1241–1242, 1248, 1249, 1251
Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) Kasernierung, 1236
Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Heeresmuna) Torgau, 428
Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Muna), 1532
Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (HVM), 855
Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde (HVA-P), 472
Hegerfeld, Kemna und Co., 789
Heidberg General Hospital (Allgemeines Krankenhaus Heidberg), 1121
Heidenheim Police School, 483
Heilmann & Littmann, 1069
Heimatarmee, 1012
Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V., *140 ill.*
Heinemann & Busse, 1295
Heinkel, 346, 347, 348, 648, 868, 870, 871, 882, 883, 958, 959, 962, 963, 996, 1009, 1040, 1046, 1193, 1195, 1209, 1221, 1222, 1307, 1333–1334, 1336, 1345, 1346, 1348, 1408
Heinrich Butzer company, 408
Heinrich Ernemann and Ica AG, 584
Heinrich Kalb, 310–311
Heinrich Kleyer. *See* Vereinigte Dente OTA (VDO)
Heinrich Mattoni AG, 625
Heinz Wendt factory, 761
Helmuth Sachse KG, 490, 490–492, 491
Hennigsdorf State Police Office, 48
Henschel & Sohn, 956
Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (HFW), 1337, 1338
Henschel GmbH, 956
Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (HEDIA), 1344
Hermann Göring. *See* Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG)
Hermann Kircher Elektrotechnische Spezialwerkstätten, 1326
Hermann Teichgräber company, 727
Hermeskeil Bureau of Vital Statistics, 825
Herrmann Suppe factory, 662
Hessen Central Police Office, 150
Hessen State Parliament, 150
Hessian State Police Office, 151
Higher-SS Construction Directorate (Oberbauleitung) Kiebitz-Stuttgart, 1051
Hildebrand factory, 596
Hildebrand und Frey factory, 727
Hildesheim Local Court, 1148
Hildesheim State Court, 1148
Hilfspolizei (Hipo), 3, 5, 6, 30, 116, 117, 141, 144, 146, 163, 173, 1469
See also SA Auxiliary Police
Himmelstoss & Sittner company, 936
Hinz und Köhring, 256
Hirsch, Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG, 1203
Hirtenberg Patronenfabrik (Cartridge Factory), 922
Hitler-Jugend. *See* Hitler Youth
Hitler's Headquarters (FHQ), 782
Hitler Youth, 53, 173, 340, 382, 430, 460, 510, 532, 653, 831, 832, 833, 840, 977, 1104, 1155, 1300, 1331, 1366, 1405, 1530
Hochland maternity clinic, 1227
Hoch-Tief AG, 285, 469, 1040
Hoch- und Tiefbau AG, 788, 798, 808, 1442, 1452
Hoechst, 218
Hof District Court, 609
Hoffmannswerke/Bielitz, 788
Hofherr & Schrantz, 958
Hof Landgericht (State Court), 393
Hofmann & Maculan company, 936
Höhenrain brickworks, 653
Hohenzollern factory, 333, 334
Hohwacht, 1158–1159
Holzgas works, 246
Holzmann, 795, 798
Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), 53, 256, 871, 1318, 1428, 1433, 1514
Home Guard. *See* Volkssturm (German Home Guard)
Home Guard of the Air (Volkssturm der Lüfte), 309
Homeland School (Heimatschule) Mitteldeutschland e.V., 141
Hopferwieser company, 936
Horch factory, 687, 688
Horn GmbH, 628, 656–657
Hossner cloth factory, 118
Hotze, 797
Howaldtwerke, 1111–1112
Hubert Land Bunzlauer Holzindustrie, 720
Hubertus factory, 253
Hübsch, 754
Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG), 304, 305, 322, 323, 345, 346, 377, 377–378, 378, 378–380, 379, 380, 393, 394, 395, 413, 425, 426, 1193, 1214, 1312
Hummel and Baumann company, 952
Hungarian Air Force, 623
Hungarian Defense Ministry, 623
Hungarian government, 132
"Huta." *See* Lorenz AG
Huta Laura steel mill, 261
Huth Riding School (Huth-Reitschule), 1442
Hütte Linz company, 928, 930
Hüttenwerkverwaltung Westmark GmbH, 1038
Hutto, 797, 800
Hydrierwerke AG, 1469, 1470
Hygiene Institut der Waffen-SS, 231

Ibbenbüren power station, 1155
IG Farben, 188, *189*, *204*, 205, 206, *209*, 215, 216, 217, 218, 239, 240, 249, 253, 254, 269, 292, 430, 440,475, 477, 521, 722, 723, 725, 727, 808, 1012, 1053, 1244, 1295, 1321, 1339, 1469, 1470, 1492
Ignatz Etrich firm, 704, 775
Ignaz Schmieger AG Zwodau, 591
Ilfeld Kloster school, 986
Ilgezener Brewery, 1248
Industrie Gemeinschaft Schlesien AG (Silesian Industrial Corporation, Inc.), 782
Industriewerke AG (I-Werke), 655
Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office), 421, 422
Inner Mission of the Protestant Church of Baden, 19
Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22, 59, 64, 66, 72, 97, 100, 128, 129, 153, 169, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 194, 297, 351, 413, 444, 489, 548, 824, 825, 864, 876, 967, 1230, 1231, 1236, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1248, 1256, 1280, 1315–1316, 1421, 1481, 1520, 1527, 1533
Inspectorate of Concentration Camps Reichsführer-SS (IKL RFSS), 442
Institute for Applied Scientific Research, 541
Institute for Jet Propulsion, 533

Institute for Physical Research, 573
Institute for the Education and Care of the Mentally Ill (Erziehungs- und Pflegeanstalt für Geisteskranke), 1064
Institute of Hygiene, Department for Typhus and Viral Research (Hygiene-Institut der Waffen-SS, Berlin Abteilung für Fleckfieber- und Virusforschung), 293
Institution of National Political Education (Napola), 312, 363, 364, 976, 1385
International Association of Bible Researchers (Internationaler Bibelforscher-Vereinigung), 950
International Camp Committee Buchenwald (Internationales Lagerkomitee Buchenwald, ILKB), 291
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 66, 193, 454, 490, 767, 950, 978, 1212, 1301, 1321, 1434
See also Red Cross
International Military Tribunal, 11, 207
International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg, 318, 1338
International Nansen Office for Refugees, German Branch (Internationales Nansen-Amt für Flüchtlinge, Vertretung für Deutschland), 47
International Tracing Service (ITS), 239, 282, 297, 305, 310, 311, 312, 313, 322, 326, 328, 332, 335, 339, 351, 355, 361, 367, 374, 375, 377, 378, 386, 387, 396, 397, 408, 409, 410, 416, 424, 426, 427, 432, 433, 445, 448, 459, 468, 473, 474, 478, 479, 481, 482, 491, 492, 497, 504, 507, 508, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 522, 524, 526, 527, 528, 530, 533, 534, 535, 536, 539, 540, 545, 547, 549, 551, 552, 554, 558, 573, 577, 588, 597, 615, 622, 634, 642, 647, 661, 680, 693, 743, 754, 756, 761, 764, 794, 806, 807, 808, 810, 831, 832, 833, 834, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 850, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 869, 884, 908, 913, 945, 951, 987, 1015, 1018, 1019, 1021, 1025,1036, 1039, 1111, 1151, 1154, 1164, 1194, 1231, 1237, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1245, 1248, 1249, 1267, 1268, 1272, 1282, 1293, 1297, 1298, 1314, 1318, 1321, 1328, 1330, 1334, 1347, 1410, 1417, 1484, 1527, 1528
Investigation Commission for German Nazi Crimes at Auschwitz, 241
Investigative Department of the Provincial Procurator, 1514
Iron Front. *See* Eiserne Front
Isenschnibber barn, 998
"Iser-Werke." *See* Mitteldeutsch Motorenwerke (MIMO) Taucha
Itten Bros., 368

Jägerkaserne (Huntsmen's Barracks), 1328
Jägerstab (Fighter Staff). *See* Fighter Staff (Jägerstab)
J.A. Kluge und Etrich, 731, 775
Jank, 797
Jasmatzi company, 583
J.A. Topf & Sons, 204
J.C. Dittgen KG, 832
Jelenia Góra Court, 726
Jelenia Góra District Court, 704
Jewish Camp Police, 849
Jewish Claims Conference, 646
Jewish Council of Elders (Ältestenrat), 848, 849, 850, 856, 858
Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia (Zentrale der Jüdischen Ältestenräte in Ost-Oberschlesien), 270
Jewish Elders' Committee, 854
Jewish Fighting Organization, 864
Jewish General Fighting Organization (Yidishe Algemayne kamfes Organizatsiye), 850
Jewish Historical Commission, 855
Jewish Order Service (Jüdische Ordnungsdienst), 848, 850, 863
Jewish Police, 849, 850
Jewish Quartering Commission, 849
Jicín Court, 707, 802
Jicín Municipal Criminal Court, 763
Johann Etrich factory, 707, 777
Johannisberg GmbH, 1032
Jost barrel factory, 1442
Judge Advocate General (JAG), 1224
Jüdische Ordnungsdienst. *See* Jewish Order Service
Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle, 864
Julius Berger company, 1052
Julius Hospital, 681
Juliushütte, 979
Julius Richter mill, 673
July 20 resistance groups, 38
Jungdeutscher Orden, 21
Junghans, 746
Jung Mineralöl-Werke, 1132
Jung-Ölwerke, 1115
Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (JFM), 309, 310, 326–327, 356, 375, 383, 392, 396, 400, 407, 409, 414–416, 417, 436, 437, 582, 628, 674, 675, 811, 882, 955, 968, 973, 976, 981, 983, 984, 986, 994, 996, 999, 1005, 1009, 1348
Jute-Spinnerei und Bindfarbenfabrik August Greve KG, 1531
J.W. Zanders paper mill, 27

Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc., KALAG), 398, 399, 421, 1222
Kabel und Metallwerke (Cable and Metal Works) Neumeyer, 609
Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH (KWK), 868
Kabelwerk Oberspree (KWO). *See* AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree
Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Applied Chemistry and Electrochemistry, 571
Kalb, Heinrich, 310, 311
Kalischacht I (Kaiseroda), 311
Kali-Werk Georgi company, 432
"Kalkspat K.G.." *See* Osram Company
Kalksteinwerke (Limestone Works), 924
Kalkum, 330, 337, 342
Kalk- und Zementwerke, 1172
Kamenz District Police, 751
Kammgarnspinnerei (Worsted Yarn Spinning Mill), 591
Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger AG, 689
Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr cotton mill, 392
Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG, 375
Kammler-Stab, 994, 1009
Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus (Fighting League against Fascism), 81, 90
Karis factory, 650
Karl Budde, Dampfsäge und Hobelwerk (Steam Saw and Planing Mill), 841
Karl-Liebknecht-Haus, 6
Karl-Olga Municipal Hospital, 473
Karl Pöchtrager company, 929
Karl Schwarz company, 929
Karlsruhe Railroad Directorate, 1412
Karl Stöhr company, 489
Karl und Reinhold Wieczorek, 235
Kassel provincial government, 54
Kassel SS-Sondersturm Renthof, 55
Kassel State Attorney's Office, 366
Katastropheneinsatz, 508
Katowice Special Criminal Court, 759
Kattowitz (Katowice) Relocation Agency (Umwanderer Zentralstelle), 268
Kauen Kraftpostamt, 855
Kaufsmann Company, 1037
Kell construction firm, 159
Keller & Knappich, 451
Kelterborn & Stenvers, 1320
Kemna, 797
Kemper Werkstätte für Panzer- und Kriegsfahrzeugbau (Workshops for Tank and Military Vehicle Construction), 494
Kettenwerk company, 1122
K. H. Barthel, 731
Kiebitz OT, 1041
Kieferling, 1472
Kiel Regional Court, 113
Kirchhoff company, 1036
Kirsch sawmill, 516
Kläranlage und Ziegelei Berlstedt bei Weimar, 315
Kleineisenwerk am Gittertor, 1169
Klerikalseminar hospital, 663
Klinkerwerk factory, 1258, 1260
KL Natzweiler Elsass office, 1031
Klöckner Flugmotorenbau GmbH, 1166
Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz Motoren AG, 369, 554
Kłodzko (Glatz) State Prosecutor's Office, 766
Kłodzko District Court, 802
"Klotz" company, 259
Klug company, 652, 653
Knittel and Welker company, 858
Koblenz State Prosecutor's Office, 1203
Ködel & Böhm, 498, 499
Koder, 754
Kohle-Öl-Union (KÖU), 1012, 1057, 1057–1058
Koller company, 915

Kölling Elektrikermeister, 1326
Köln Central Office investigation, 425
Köln Zentralstelle (Köln Central Office), 412
Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS, 1270
Kommunistische Jugendverband (Communist Youth Association), 90
Königliche Messingwerk (Royal Brass Works), 1203
Königs- und Bismarckhütte AG, 227
Konrad, 754
Konsum Cooperative, 31
Kontinentale Öl AG, 1492
Konzerne AEG, 358
Kosa Schokoladenfabrik Rolle KG Niederoderwitz/O.L., 769
Kowal & Bruns, 1125
Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy, KdF), 198, 573
Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle Technical Education Institute, KTL), 945–946
Kraft und Radi, 1326
Krahberger farm, 910
Krakau Kabelwerk, 868–869, 1250
Kraków Criminal Court, 1472
Kraków District Court, 244, 250, 715, 759, 790, 797
Kraków Province Court, 797
Kramsta-Methner und Frahne AG, 764
Kramst textile plant, 758
Kraus company, 803
Krause, 754
Krause, Schallhorn und Eule, 784
Krefeld Court, 988
Kreisbauamt Danzig-Land, Bohnsack, 1428
Kreuz & Loesch Oppeln, 256
Kriegsmarine. *See* Navy (Kriegsmarine)
Kriesten sawmill, 799
Kriminalbiologische Institute, 1533
See also Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police (Kriminalbiologische Institut der Sicherheitspolizei, KBI)
Kroatien 13th SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgsdivision, 1330
Krupp, 343, 344, 349, 358, 763, 798, 976, 1032, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1098, 1099
See also Maschinenfabriken Friedrich Krupp Berthawerk AG; National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (NCR)
Kugelfischer plant, 758
Kühnpast, 873
Kunigals, 754
Kunnith, 754
Kunz and Rell company, 915
Kupfer- und Aluminium-, Walz-, Draht- und Hammerwerke C.G. Tietzens Eidam (Copper and Aluminum, Roller, Wire, and Hammer Factory of C.G. Tietzen's Son-in-Law), 25
Küppers company, 810
Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (KZZW), 1182, 1183
Kurt Hein, 256
Kurt Hodermann factory, 873
Kurz cement works, 1216
Kyffhäuser Einsatzgruppe, OT, 572
Kyffhäuserhütte, 975
Kyffhäuser Jugend, 637

Labor Allocation Department (Reich), 577
Labor Deployment Administration (Arbeitseinsatz-Verwaltung), 1276
Labor Deployment Department (Abteilung Arbeitseinsatz), 586
Labor Ministry. *See* Reich Labor Ministry
Labor Welfare, 124
Lagerschutz, 291, 292
Lam (or Lamm), 797
Landarmenhaus (State Poor House), 54
Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Police Office, LKA), 1140
Landesschützenbataillons, 1016
Landesteil Lübeck, 75
Landesverein für Innere Mission (State Association for Inner Mission), 112
Landgericht (State Court) Osnabrück, 218
Landhaus am Gläsernen Mönch, 357
Landsberg Dynamit AG (DAG), 496
Landtag, 169
Landwirtschaftliche Hauptgenossenschaft-Reifeissen GmbH, 1203
Lang & Manhoffer company, 936
Lankwitz company, 1275
Latzel & Kutscha company, 936
Lauchhammer factory, 603
Laurenz und Wilde company, 613
Lautawerk aluminum works, 739
L. Bautz Company, 540
League of Nations, 73, 171
Lebensborn e.V., 509, 546, 1193, 1227
Lehmann company, 761
L. Ehrengut company, 504
Lehrter Railway Station, 43
Leibstandarte "Adolf Hitler," 805, 1210, 1265
Leichtmetall-Presswerk (Light Metal Sheet Metal Works), 333
Leipzig Pittler-Werkzeugmaschinenbau Company, 663–664
Leipzig-Schönau ATG, 377
Leistikoff, 754
LEM (Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerke), 384, 385, 386
Lentz und Seiden, 791
Lenz, 795, 798
Leonhard Moll company, 488
Leopold Freundlich AG, 915
Lēverkūzi Ultramarina, 1244
Lias-Ölschiefer-Forschungsgesellschaft (Oil Shale Research Association), 1012, 1031
Limburg State Court, 1380, 1418
Lingen, 792
Linhof company, 526
Linke Hofmann Werke, 714, 715, 716
Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM), 384, 384–386, 385, 386
Livonian Order, 1236
Lobster (*Languste*) factory, 960
Local Court C, 546
Lodenfrey, 510–511
Lódz District Court, 745
Lohwald factory, 451
L'Orange Motorzubehör, 1281
Lorenz AG, 340, 743, 775, 776
Löw-Beer Textile Company, 718
Lower Saxon State Hospital for Forensic Psychiatry (Niedersächsischen Landeskrankhaus für forensische Psychiatrie), 129
Lübeck Landgericht (State Court), 18, 76
Lublin District Court, 719, 883
Ludwig Renntier, 310, 311, 311–312, 312
Ludwigsau Feller & Co., 498
Ludwigsburg State Prosecutor's Office, 1374, 1409
Ludwigsfeld company, 505
Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (LAG), 328
Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution), 533, 534
Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH (Lufag), 664
Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (LGW), 591, 600, 689, 1083, 1193, 1270
Luftmunitionsanstalt 5/IV (Aerial Munitions Institute 5/IV), 401, 401–402
Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH (Zeppelin Airship Construction Company), 472, 473, 939
Luftschutzabschnittskommando Süd (Air Defense Sector Command South), 503
Luftwaffe, 222, 273, 284, 291, 312, 336, 352, 359, 361, 363, 373, 391, 397, 401, 412, 415, 423, 437, 444, 453, 466, 468, 475, 481, 493, 501, 521, 527, 530, 533, 547, 550–551, 570, 584, 591, 605, 610, 614, 615, 623, 639, 640, 641, 648, 649, 652, 702, 717, 720, 739, 754, 806, 820, 821, 834, 835, 936, 955, 956, 959, 969, 974, 980, 984, 990, 1005, 1010, 1012, 1016, 1020, 1022, 1029, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1046, 1048, 1052, 1059, 1065, 1069, 1084, 1090, 1096, 1097, 1108, 1146, 1151, 1152, 1157, 1159, 1166, 1208, 1211, 1219, 1223, 1248, 1250, 1264, 1281, 1297, 1332, 1356, 1363, 1365, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1377, 1379, 1388, 1390, 1395, 1397, 1408, 1416, 1426, 1453, 1454, 1460, 1463, 1464, 1477, 1478
Lüning & Sohn, 1090, 1101
Luranil-Baugesellschaft GmbH-Baustelle Falkenhagen, Briesen (Mark), 1295
Luranil Baugesellschaft GmbH Ludwigshafen, 723, 725
Lüttringhausen penitentiary at Remscheid in Prussian Düsseldorf, 157
LXV Army Corps, 1369, 1370

Madaus AG, 293
Madebrun, 754
Madritsch company, 864, 865
Mafrasa factory, 677

Magirus-Deutz AG, 554–555
Mahal & Company, 936
Mährische Bank, 868, 869
Maibaum, 352
Maifisch company, 358
Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes, 811, 1266, 1310–1311
Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, 807, 870
Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław, 764
Main Committee for Gunpowder and Explosives (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff), 1312
Main Committee for Gunpowder and Munitions (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Munition), 1313
Mainz-Gustavsberg, 836–837
Mainz Railroad Directorate, 1415
Malachit AG, 358
Malky Müller & Co., 808
Malo company, 1123
Malzfabrik "Goldene Aue" AG, 975
Management and Administration Agency, 1439
Mannesmann company, 1037
Mannheim Criminal Police, 470
Mannheim Landgericht (State Court), 827
Mannheim Regional Court, 844
Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht), 943, 948, 949, 950
Marathon Werke, 340
Marie mine, 1083, 1084
Marine-Bauleitung, 1439
Marine Infantry, 1151
Marineoberbauamt Bremen, 1091
Marine-Oberkommando Nordsee (Wilhelmshaven), 1106
Marine Reserve Detachment, 1094
Märkische Elektrizitätswerke, 1304
Märkisches Stahlformwerk GmbH, 1200
Märkische Walzwerk GmbH (Mark [Brandenburg] Rolling Mill, Ltd.), 1343, 1344
Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN), 835, 836
Maschinenfabriken Friedrich Krupp Berthawerk AG, 729
See also under Krupp
Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen Hannover (MNH), 1133
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1505
Maszewsky, 717
Mattes company, 1035–1036
Mauthausen orchestra, *902*
Max-Gehrt-Werke, 407
Max Schuck factory, 997
Max Treder & Company, 1351
Maybach Motorenbau GmbH (Maybach Engine Construction Company), 473, 553
Mayreder, Kraus & Company, 936
Mayreder & Company, 942
Mechanical Reporting System Office, 576
Mechanik GmbH, 663, 664
Mechanische Baumwollspinnerei und Weberei Kaufbeuren (Mechanical Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill, Kaufbeuren), 486
Mechanische Weberei (Mechanical Weaving Mill), 492
Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (MWN), 1215, 1328, 1329
Mech.- und Drahtseilfabrik Elbing, 1452
Medical University of Strasbourg, 1006
Meissner & Söhne, 1311
Melker Plawy, 267
Mellingburg Lock (Mellingburger Schleuse), 1125
Memmingen Court, 957
Meppen Civil Court, 45
Merckle (Ostrów Wielkopolski), 1512
Messap company, 746, 1122
Messerschmitt AG, 353, 417, 444, 451, 452, 453, 454, 457, 458, 461, 465, 469, 475, 480, 481, 486, 488, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 498, 500, 527, 534, 558, 570, 593, 620, 640, 642, 648, 652, 661, 663, 665, 920, 921, 1009, 1037, 1043, 1046, 1070, 1152, 1307, 1338, 1348
Messinger, 798
Metallwerke Holleischen GmbH, 584, 614, 615
Metallwerke Mölln, 1164
Metallwerke Spaichingen, 1061–1062
Methner plant, 758
Metzger & Co., 1472
Meyer company, 1036
Michelwerke, 451–452
Military Court of the French Occupying Authority in Germany, Rastatt, 827
Military Court Seehausen, 546
Military Information Office (Wehrmachtauskunftstelle, WASt), 1265
Mineral Oil Command (Mineralölkommando), 1500
Mineralölbau GmbH, 624, 657
Mineralöl GmbH Addinol, 387
Minette company, 324, 340, 417, 1015, 1062, 1107
Mining Industry Reprocessing Company. *See* Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Montan)
Ministry for State Security (Stasi), 1222
Minkwitz company, 751
Mischke, 754
Mission Belge de Recherches, 335
Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke (MIMO) Taucha, 684, 685, 766
Mitteldeutschen Stahl- und Walzwerke (Central German Steel and Rolling Mill), 1315
Mitteldeutsche Papierwerke company, 424
Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke GmbH, 603
Mittelwerk GmbH, 192, 324, 942, 966, 967, 968, 969, 971, 975, 978, 981, 984, 986, 987, 988, 990, 993, 995, 996, 1397
Mockau airport, 392
Mokrus, 267
Mölkewerke factory, 762, 763
Möller company, 1125
Monowitz factory, 253
Montan Industriewerke GmbH, 1213
See also Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Montan)
Moringen regional factory (Landeswerkhaus), 53
Mountain Troops Training and Replacement Battalion (Gebirgsjäger-Ausbildungs-Ersatzbataillon), 479
Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (MIAG), 584, 682, 683
Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers, 395, 396, 396–397
Mühlhausen, 794
Müller & Co., 1129
Müller & Froitzheim, 832
Müller company, 1249
Müller factory, 1055
Müller Wine Cellars, 1040
Muna Lübberstedt, 1157
München I Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), 1299
München I State Court, 470, 507, 951
München II State Court, 702, 1051
München Schwurgericht, 827
Munich, Supreme Nazi Party Court, 178
Munich Denazification Court, 506
Munich District Court, 519
Münichholz factory, 946
Munich State Court, 464
Munich State Prosecutor's Office, 520, 522, 524, 526, 690
Munich Technical University, 533
Municipal Criminal Court in Jicin, 763
Municipal Police (Schupo), 141, 144, 172 *See* Schutzpolizei (municipal police, Schupo)
Münster Schwurgericht, 149
Müsch Trial, 688
M. Wagner company, 432

Nachrichten-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Abteilung 1, 1237
Nachrichten-Sturm N1/15 (Intelligence Company), 33
Napola. *See* Institution of National Political Education (Napola)
National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB), 1128
Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG), 415, 416, 416–417, 417
National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (NCR), 1279
See also Krupp
Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution of National Political-Education, Napola). *See* Institution of National Political Education (Napola)
National Socialist "Black Front" (Schwarze Front), 9
National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO), 103, 107, 126, 317
National Socialist German Workers' Party. *See* Nazi Party (NSDAP)

National Socialist Motor Corps (Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps, NSKK), 798
National Socialist Order of Sisters (Schwesternschaft), 525
National Socialist Party. *See* Nazi Party (NSDAP)
National Socialist Senior School, Lake Starnberg (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Oberschule Starnberger See), 469
National Socialist Women's Association (NSF), 5, 128
Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization, NSBO), 317
Natur-Asphalt Gesellschaft, 340
Naval High Command (OKM), 782, 1143, 1144
Naval High Command (Reich), 571
Naval Reserve Corps (Marineersatzkorps), 1091
Navy (Kriegsmarine), 156, 261, 341, 555, 603, 604, 1079, 1093, 1095, 1098, 1151, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1250, 1283, 1332, 1399, 1434, 1435, 1439, 1455–1456, 1501
Nazi Party (NSDAP), 3, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 49, 52, 60, 64, 65, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 86, 96, 103, 105, 108, 112, 129, 136, 137, 140, 149, 150, 152, 156, 163, 166, 169, 173, 177, 178, 183, 200, 216, 378, 428, 430, 439, 455, 463, 495, 505, 510, 511, 513, 518, 525, 554, 688, 709, 719, 733, 764, 783, 979, 1036, 1084, 1090, 1097, 1098, 1112, 1123, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1134, 1146, 1148, 1149, 1151, 1154, 1179, 1230, 1243, 1263, 1322, 1373, 1384, 1400, 1402, 1406, 1413, 1417, 1418, 1420, 1433, 1520
Nazi Party (NSDAP) Chancellery Office, 511-512, 1275
Nazi Party (NSDAP) Court, 75, 108
Nazi Party (NSDAP) Province Administration, Cologne-Aachen, 107
Nazi Party (NSDAP) Province Administration, Hessen-Nassau, 423
Nazi Special Court (Sondergericht), 37
Neckarsulm Motorenwerke AG (NSU), 1041
Neue Erdölraffinerie AG, 1166
Neue Glashütte, Vereinigte Glashüttenwerke AG, Werk F, Fürstenberg/Oder (United Glassworks), 1303, 1304
Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (New Cooling and Airplane Parts Factory, NKF), 873
Neue Reichskanzlei (New Reichs Chancellery), 1275
Neue Vorwerk, 803
New Cotton Mill, 573, 574
Nibelungenwerke, 951
Nickel und Co., 178
Niedersachsen, State Prosecutor's Office, 1200
Niedersächsische Motorenwerke, 433
Noitzmühle mill, 917
Noncommissioned Officers' School, 535, 536
Norddeutsche Hoch u. Tiefbau, 256
Norddeutsche Hütte, 1098
Norddeutsche Lloyd, 92, 145
Norddeutsche Mineralölwerke GmbH, 1470
Nordland GmbH, 761
Nordwerk (North Works), 968, 986, 993, 1200
Northeim Labor Office, 329
Nosske & Co., 751
Nowa-Gesellschaft Nossen, 643, 644
Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, 198, 207, 1327
Nürnberg, Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration, 646
Nürnberg-Fürth, Bavarian State Police, 85
Nürnberg-Fürth Oberlandgericht (Higher State Court), 86
Nürnberg-Fürth State Attorney's Office, 601
Nürnberg-Fürth State Court, 1389
Nürnberg International Military Tribunal, 318, 1338
Nürnberg Railway Administration, 1404
Nürnberg Tribunal, 218
Nürnberg Truck Company, 647
Nützl Gärtnerei, 505

Oberdonau GmbH factory, 928, 930–931
Oberförsterei Steegen (Steegen Forest Management Agency), 1480
Oberhütten, 244, 252
Oberland Free Corps, 60
Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH, 261
Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works), 206, 228
Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Osmag), 237, 270, 271
Oberstaatsanwaltschaft Rudolstadt, 412
Oder-Gerätebau Aktiengesellschaft (Oder Tool Manufacturing Company Ltd.), 1303, 1304
Oertel, 411
Office for Development and Testing, Army Armaments Office (Heereswaffenamt), 472
Office for Emergency Measures (Wuppertal), 1400
Office for Publications, Vienna (Publikationsstelle Wien), 948, 950
Office for Special Tasks, 374
Office of Foreign Affairs/Counterintelligence, 1319
Ohde Bakery, 1076
Ohl & Vattrodt, 979
Ohlendorfff'sche Baugesellschaft, 1152
Oldenburg Ministry of the Interior, 170
Oldenburg Regional Court, 70, 152
"Olympia" Free Corps, 149
Opta Radio AG Leipzig, 678
Order of Young Germans (Jungdeutsche Orden), 38
Order Police (Ordnungspolizei, Orpo), 843, 877, 890, 893, 1004, 1160, 1365, 1492
Orenstein & Koppel AG, 325
Organisation Schmelt, 259, 261, 699, 700, 704, 706, 717, 720, 722, 725, 731, 734, 736, 742, 748, 754, 758, 759, 760, 761, 764, 767, 768, 775, 776, 777, 802, 807
Organisation Todt (OT), 20, 138, 192, 246, 273, 274, 310, 311, 320, 340, 349, 358, 391, 408, 423, 429, 449, 452, 467, 485, 486, 488, 489, 497, 500, 501, 502, 516, 517, 523, 528, 552, 553, 558, 572, 624, 636, 648, 652, 657, 658, 660, 662, 665, 666, 700, 758, 783, 785, 787, 789, 790, 792, 793, 796, 800, 821, 824, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 839, 840, 841, 882, 917, 932, 938, 976, 977, 978, 994, 1010, 1013, 1015, 1026, 1027, 1029, 1035, 1037, 1040, 1051, 1053, 1056, 1058, 1059, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1093, 1096, 1105, 1154, 1173, 1211, 1240, 1249, 1283, 1304, 1356, 1361, 1403, 1426, 1448–1450, 1459, 1460, 1472, 1478, 1479, 1482, 1483, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1507, 1508
Osnabrück Landgericht (State Court), 11, 218
Osnabrück Regional Court, 66, 70, 138
Osram KG Company, 575, 610, 627, 630, 655, 656, 677, 769, 770
Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke GmbH, 247
Ostdeutscher Tiefbau (Naumburg), 1512
Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (ÖMAG), 914
Österreichische Kraftwerke AG (Austrian Power Generator), 952
Ostindustrie GmbH (Eastern Industries, Ltd., Osti), 878, 880, 884, 885, 887, 894
Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH. *See* Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Osmag)
Ostwerke. *See* Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd.)
"Otech." *See* Lorenz AG
Ottlieb company, 1238
Otto Quade Strassenbau company, 1326
Otto Trebitz, 794
Otto Weil, 797
Overberg School (Osnabrück), 1391, 1392

Paderborn Court, 26, 1521
Paderborn State Attorney's Office, 363
Panzergrenadierersatzbataillon, 215th, 1065
Papiersackfabrik Alfred Rocke, 1531
Parteikanzlei. *See* Nazi Party (NSDAP) Chancellery Office
Paul Dietrich company, 832
Paul Urbansky company, 712
Peasants Battalions (B.Ch.), 256
Pelplin Theological Seminary, 1441, 1469
People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), 607, 777, 1305, 1327
People's Court (Volksgericht) in Graz, 941
People's Court (Volksgerichtshof), 19

People's Freedom Party (Völkische Freiheitspartei), 149
People's School, 1206
Pertrix chemical company, 1275, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1291
Peter Bauwens und Julius Schmidt (Magdeburg), 358
Peter Blaumeyer company, 832
Peugeot factory, 340
Peuke und Jeche, 754
Philipp Holzmann AG, 199, 488, 808, 936, 1183, 1452
Philips company, 808, 815, 1166, 1167
Phrix Group, 1079, 1182, 1183, 1321
Pietät funeral parlor, 1087
Piller company, 1532
Pionki Gunpowder Factory, 1313
Pischel, 789
Pittler AG, 664
Plant Protection Force (Werkschutz), 1166, 1500
Plauener Baumwollspinnerei AG, 655
Pless Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt Pless), 224, 257, 268
Plock District Court, 1436
Plönzke-Trial, 33
Pöchtrager company. *See* Karl Pöchtrager company
Poikett, 754
Polensky & Zöllner, 500, 502, 597
Police Construction Administration, 471, 581
Police Construction Directorate (Bauleitung), 1061
Police Construction Inspection Offices, 1364
Police School, 1039
Police School (Führerschule), 1440
Polish 1st Armored Division, 1162
Polish 2nd Army, 772
Polish 2nd Army, I Corps, 772, 773
Polish Army, 661, 882, 1325
Polish Court, 339, 702, 759, 890, 1460, 1462
Polish Court in Kraków, 1214
Polish government in exile, 212, 878
Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK). *See* Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK)
Polish National Liberation Committee, 1440
Polish National Railway, 1484
Polish Regional Court, 1514
Polish Socialist Party (PPS), 256
Polish Supreme National Court of Justice in Kraków, 247
Polish Supreme National Tribunal, 207
Polish Supreme People's Court, 212
Polish Workers Party (PPR), 256
Political Department, 448, 916
Political Department (Politische Abteilung), 1006
Political Police, 83, 183, 185
Polizeidirektion, 539
Polizeidirektion (Police Head Office) in Fürth, 85
Polte OHG, 328, 329, 388, 388–390, 1204, 1309
Port Kunda Cement, 1505
Portland Cementfabrik Hardegsen AG, 1532
Portland-Zementwerke (Portland Cement Factory), 836–837, 1046
Porzellanmanufaktur, 518
Post Hermsdorf (Thüringen), 401
Potsdam Regional Court, 48
Präzifix GmbH, 465–467
Prenzlauer Berg SA Unit, 40
Presswerk Sindelfingen, 1009
Prien, Holst, and Weseloh, 1123
Prisoner Employment Department, 1438–1439
Prix GmbH, 748
Protestant Church of Baden, 19
Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry, 69, 70, 138, 153, 178
Prussian Finance Ministry, 91
Prussian Landtag, Kasper Nürnberg (KN), 165
Prussian Main Cadet Academy, 1275
Prussian Ministry of the Interior, 6, 29, 36, 45, 48, 54, 65, 73, 91, 92, 105, 113, 120, 127, 128, 129, 137, 152, 156, 166, 177
Prussian State Police, 20
Pszczyna Forest Management Agency (Oberforstamt Pless), 257
Public Prosecution Service, 491
Pumpel & Co., 516
Pyrmont, 368

Quarz GmbH, 935–936
Quedlinburg crematorium, 359

Race and Settlement Main Office. *See* SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA)
Rada Główna Opiekuńczą, 864
Rada Pomocy Żydom, or Żegota (Council for Aid to Jews), 864
Rapp & Schüle, 483, 484
Rastatt, French Tribunal Général. *See* French Military Court/Tribunal in Rastatt
Rastatt Military Tribunals. *See* French Military Court/Tribunal in Rastatt
Rauscha Kommando, 721
Rautal-Werke GmbH, 436
Rax-Werke, 942, 956–957, 966
Reckmann company, 722
Red Army, 191, 193, 218, 238, 244, 247, 267, 272, 280, 380, 393, 571, 577, 612, 617, 622, 631, 696, 700, 707, 758, 761, 764, 775, 777, 802, 809, 851, 865, 883, 884, 886, 917, 945, 954, 960, 963, 985, 998, 1000, 1085, 1191, 1195, 1197, 1209, 1217, 1220, 1222, 1232, 1237, 1238, 1241, 1246, 1248, 1250, 1251, 1260, 1264, 1268, 1272, 1274, 1282, 1289, 1294, 1296, 1301, 1304, 1308, 1309, 1312, 1313, 1317, 1318, 1320, 1321, 1327, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1333, 1337, 1338, 1340, 1345, 1349, 1351, 1417, 1422, 1423, 1493, 1497, 1500, 1502, 1505, 1507, 1514, 1528,
See also entries at Soviet
Red Army Air Force, 1241
Red Cross, 344, 445, 474, 491, 493, 496, 636, 653, 733, 918, 936, 992, 1056, 1081, 1144, 1162, 1166, 1214, 1232, 1331, 1334, 1403
See also International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
Red Cross, Belgium, 1386
Red Cross, Czechoslovakia, 636
Red Cross, Denmark, 757, 1162
Red Cross, Germany, *1133*, 1134, 1334, 1459
Red Cross, Netherlands, 546, 817, 1410
Red Cross, Sweden, 193, 977, 1074, 1124, 1132, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1145, 1160, 1162, 1164, 1165, 1178, 1191, 1204, 1214, 1280, 1403
Red Cross, Switzerland, 590
Red Labor Union Opposition (Rote Gewerkschaftsopposition), 104
Red Orchestra, 38
Reemtsma-Konzern factory, 578
Regierungspräsidenten, 6
Regiment of the Grey Ranks, 1458
Regional Court Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, 40
Reich Air Ministry (RLM), 328, 355, 357, 400, 436, 488, 500, 526, 527, 758, 765, 811, 883, 955, 993, 1208, 1215, 1223, 1307, 1318
Reich and Länder Justice Ministries, 10
Reich Armaments Ministry. *See* Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK)
Reich Armaments Ministry, Main Committee for Munitions, 1115
Reich Aviation Ministry, 1009, 1083, 1222
Reich Broadcasting Association (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft), 148
Reich Center for Combating Youth Criminality (Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Jugendkriminalität), 1525
Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom (RKFDV), 1231, 1443
Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, RKPA), 1275, 1525, 1527, 1530, 1533, 1534
Reich Economics Ministry (RWM), 1250, 1339
Reich Food Producers (Reichsnährstand), 1437
Reich Foreign Ministry (RAM), 782
Reich Industry Group, 595
Reich Institute Sven Hedin, 944
Reich Justice Ministry, 66, 153, 165, 185, 189
Reich Labor Ministry, 355, 357, 556, 1366
Reich Labor Service (RAD), 66, 153, 301, 510, 532, 534, 610, 831, 832, 833, 840, 871, 1035, 1050, 1059, 1068, 1151, 1154, 1161, 1202, 1219, 1322, 1444, 1459, 1467, 1472, 1486, 1518, 1531
Reich Leadership School (Reichsführerschule), 1518

Reich Mail Research Institute (Forschungsanstalt der Reichspost), 1275
Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions. *See* Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK)
Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK), 189, 192, 198, 228, 284, 297, 313, 355, 357, 358, 393, 430, 434, 445, 488, 500, 553, 593,595, 605, 627, 628, 634, 650, 676, 682, 750, 911, 939, 956, 942, 966, 978, 979, 994, 1012, 1013, 1037, 1079, 1143, 1166, 1287, 1312, 1339, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1378, 1398, 1505
Reich Ministry for State Security (MfS), 1222, 1224, 1327
Reich Ministry for the East (RMO), 848
Reich Ministry for the Production of Panzerfäuste, 378
Reich Ministry for Weapons and Ammunition. *See* Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production
Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMdI), 19, 97, 140, 185, 1525
Reich Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1505
Reich Ministry of Transport, 1404, 1411
Reich National Defense Ministry, 1310
Reich Nord Building Inspectorate, 1265
Reich Party Congress, 646
Reich Postal Research Institute (Reichspostforschungsanstalt), 94
Reich Railway Rolling Stock Repair Yard, 206
Reich Railways Repair Works. *See* Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works, RAW)
Reich Road Administration (Reichsstrassenverwaltung), 952
Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research, RABF), 976
Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau, 1012
Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD). *See* Reich Labor Service (RAD)
Reichsautobahn (RAB), 830, 831
Reichsbahn. *See* Deutsche Reichsbahn
Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works, RAW), 241, 367, 417, 584, 587, 587–589, 1476, 1481
Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate, RBBD), 1299, 1300
Reichsbahnbetriebsamt Weimar (Weimar Railway Administrative Office), 307
Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railways Directorate, RBD), 587
Reichsbahn Direktion Danzig, 1476
Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB), 9, 17, 28, 43, 48, 53, 69, 75, 114, 123, 124, 135, 150, 173
Reichs Chancellery, 57
Reich School of the Nazi Party (Reichsschule der NSDAP), 469
Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), 3, 187, 236, 249, 252, 253, 278, 291, 475, 502, 590, 694, 705, 739, 817, 824, 848, 901, 917, 1193, 1215, 1230, 1263, 1275, 1297, 1314, 1315, 1319, 1350, 1351, 1451, 1462, 1519, 1525, 1527, 1528, 1532
Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur, 513
Reichsführer-SS Personal Staff, 1193
Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO), 848, 1230, 1231, 1247, 1250
Reichsmarshall's Industry Council for the Production of Air Force Equipment, 766
Reichssicherheitshauptamt. *See* Reich Security Main Office (RSHA)
Reichsstelle für Mineralöl Berlin, 1012
Reichstag, 3, 65, 95, 105, 107, 113, 119, 124, 140, 141, 142, 158, 163, 169, 171, 173, 177
Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of Jews in Germany), 509
Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association, RV), 603
Reichswerke AG Alpine Montanbetriebe "Hermann Göring," 914
Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG), 234, 235, 255, 256, 340, 358, 575, 868, 909, 914, 927–928, 929, 930, 932, 951, 952, 953, 1012, 1038, 1057, 1079, 1103, 1168, 1169, 1177
Reich Veterans League (Reichskriegerbund), 824
Reiherstieg shipyard, 1114
Reincke factory, 612
Reiners, 754
Reinhardt company, 340, 420
Reitschule, 1442–1443
Rella, Stigler & Rous company, 936, 942
Remscheid-Lüttringhausen jail, 336
Replacement Battalion (Ersatzbataillon), 2nd, 1335
Reserve Army, 1330
Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, 890
Reservesturm 5/15 (Reserve Company), 33
Reval, 1498, 1499
Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition, 81
Rezathalle fair, 571, 572
R. Fuess company, 668
Rhein-Main-Donau AG, 938
Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, 244, 261, 262, 286, 287, 317, 333, 334, 335, 349, 419, 603, 712, 716, 975, 1141, 1289, 1303, 1304
Rhenania Ossag (Shell), 994, 1115, 1117
Richard Reckmann Gleis- und Tiefbau, 1326
Riebel & Cie brickworks, 599
Riechling company, 1299
Riedel & Company, 674
Riedel & Sohn Bielitz, 256
Rippel company, 1238
Rittergut, 1446
Robert Bosch GmbH, 1015, 1019–1020, 1021–1022, 1318, 1408
Robert Koch Institut, 293
Rodieck company, 1101
Roederhof factory, 1267
Röling & Company, 1284
Romanian Iron Guard, 291
Römer u. Dehlert, 1442
"Rossbach" Free Corps, 149
Rostock-Marienehe, 1221
Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD), 64, 81, 104, 141
Roter Frontkämpferbund (League of Red Front Fighters, RFKB), 9, 10, 81, 141
Rott Company, 735
Rottleberode Trial in Fulda, 998
Rottweil Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), 1026
Royal Air Force (Great Britain), 336, 970, 1032 1209, 1340, 1368, 1374, 1380, 1383, 1400
Rubereit company, 858
Rudolfgrube coal mine, 264
Rüffel u. Deutsch i Vige company, 736
Ruhrstahl AG, 438
Ruhrstahl Annener Gussstahlwerk (AGW), 438
RüKo (Rüstungskommission, Armaments Commission), 1111, 1113, 1115, 1128, 1132
Russia. *See also entries at Soviet*
Russian Army, 772, 773, 1348
Russian forces, 264, 1432, 1485
Rüstungsinspektion (Army Armaments Inspectorate), 868
Rüstungskommission III des Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Armaments Commission III of the RMfBM), 1200
Rybnik Bergrevieramt (Rybnik District Mining Agency), 235

SA Auxiliary Police, 43, 55, 56
SA Berlin-Brandenburg field police, 30
SA Driving School, 1346
Sager & Wörner, 485, 516, 798, 858
Sägewerk Gülzow, 1164
Sägewerk Zunda, 1239
"Salamander Production," 683
Salzbergwerk Wansleben, 664
Salzburg Aufräumungskommando, 538
Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke, 340
See also Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG)
Salzvertriebs-GmbH Bernburg, 408
Salzwerk Westeregeln GmbH, 437
Sandsteinwerke Kohl & Co. Pirna, 321
Sänger und Laninger, 789
SA office (Büro), 41
SA quarters Drechsel [aka "Drechsler"], 41, 42
SA - specific units, 18, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 86, 87, 89, 97, 115, 118, 131, 146, 147, 153, 155, 159, 165
SA-Sports School (Sportschule), 759
Sauerwerke, 954–955
Saxon Diet, 179
Saxon State Criminal Office, 110

Schachtbau Wayss & Freytag company, 936
Schäffer und Budenberg GmbH, 976, 978
Schallhorn, 795, 798
Schattentrieschsiedlung, 838
Schichau-Werft, 1435–1437, 1440, 1450–1452, 1456, 1465
Schichau Werke, 1452–1453, 1465
Schichau GmbH, 854
Schimpf company, 994
Schindler, 1115, 1117
Schindler Ölfabrik, 1132
Schlegel Brauerei, 63, *63*
Schlempp company, 354, 421, 1209
Schlesische Feinweberei AG Neustadt O/S, 266
Schlesische Zellwolle AG, 748
Schleswig-Holstein Gauleitung (Nazi Party province Administration), 112
Schlochau rural district office, 92
Schlosser company, 322
Schloss Osterstein, 314
Schmidt-Munstermann company, 888
Schmitt & Junk, 946
Schnepper & Isphording, 1326
Schönhausen welfare building, 28, 29
Schönwalde sawmill, 1296
Schroll Söhne, 746
Schuhhaus Meier, 513–514
Schulemann, 1437–1438
Schultz company. *See* A. Schultze Jr. Blankschrauben-Fabrik und Fassondreherei
Schultze Blankschrauben-Fabrik und Fassondreherei, 672, 673
Schulz, 754
Schulze-Lohöfer farm near Bad Sassendorf, 1413
Schupo. *See* Schutzpolizei (municipal police, Schupo)
Schürich, 539
Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Plant), 331, 342
Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 206, 863
Schutzpolizei (municipal police, Schupo), 20, 44, 70, 116, 120, 126, 146, 169, 504
"Schwalbe III." *See* Mineralölbau GmbH
Schwarze Front (Black Front), 21, 37
Schwelm Administrative Court, 26
Schwerin Criminal Police, 1196
Schwerin District Court, German Democratic Republic (GDR), 93
Schwerin Regional Court, 165
SD-Führerschule (Officer School), 1292
SD-Officer School in Bernau, 1297
SD-Werkstätte, 1242–1244
Second Major Criminal Division of the State Court of Bautzen, 119
Secret State Police. *See* Gestapo
Secret State Police Office (Gestapa). *See* Gestapa
Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo), 185, 187, 188, 327, 694, 839, 877, 905, 1230, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1292, 1298, 1493, 1508, 1530
Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo) school, 1299
Security Police and SD (KdS), 890, 1512
Security Police and Sicherheitsdienst (BdS), 848
Security Service (SD), 187, 188, 274, 905, 1231, 1244
Security Service (SD) school, 1298
Security Service (SD) Workshop (Werkstätte), 1242
SED (Socialist Unity Party), 1222, 1315
Sehmann company, 801
Seidenspinner (Bauunternehmen), 788
Senate Attorney for the General Plenipotentiary for Construction Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirtschaftung Senatssyndikus), 1132
Senftenberg Elementary School I (Volksschule I), 162
Senior Building Administration Swabia, 452
Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL), 783, 840, 841
Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL), Landau-Speyer and Freudenstadt, 839
Serbenhalle factory, 956
Service Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre, 1106
Sicherheitsdienst. *See* Security Service (SD)
Sicherheitspolitische Einsatzkommando Luxembourg, 826
Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo). *See* Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo)
Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst. *See* Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD)
Sicherungsstab, 840
Sicht- und Zerlegewerk GmbH, 672, 735, 804
Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd. (Siebel-Flugzeugwerke), 306, 361
Siebenberg GmbH, 354
"Siegfried" project, 1342, 1343
Siemens, 206, 228, 229, *229*, 230, 358, 398, 421, 500, 559, 591, 600, 615, 632, 645–646, 655, 689, 746, 775, 873, 1009, 1083, 1189, 1193, 1223, 1224, 1270, 1280, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1318, 1485, 1533
Siemens-Bauunion GmbH (Siemens Construction Union), 340, 553, 722
Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (SKG), 1285
Silva GmbH, 1309
Singer und Müller, 789
Sinschkowski, 267
Sipo. *See* Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo)
Skarżysko-Kamienna, 413
Slovakian underground, 207
Social Democratic Landtag, 75
Social Democratic Party (SPD), 3, 17, 23, 28, 31, 33, 41, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 75, 88, 93, 94, 95, 103, 104, 107, 114, 118, 124, 135, 142, 143, 148, 151, 155, 156, 158, 169, 173, 177, 611, 1181, 1273, 1278
Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), 480
Socialist Unity Party (SED), 1222, 1315
Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), 31, 43, 55, 60, 135, 148
Society for the Facilitation of Wasteland Reclamation ("Emsland"), 152
Society for the Promotion and Care of German Cultural Monuments (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler), 374
Solvay-Werke, 408
Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht, SAW), 1019, 1021, 1345, 1395
Sonderausschuss Waffen Untergruppe 5 (Special Committee for Armaments, Subgroup 5), 576
Sonderkommando 1005, 865, 884, 1500
Sopade, 79
See also Social Democratic Party (SPD)
Soviet Air Force, 884
Soviet Army, 264, 310, 380, 387, 414, 419, 427, 440, 683, 709, 730, 737, 742, 749, 752, 757, 764, 772, 773, 778, 812, 870, 872, 877, 989, 1141, 1212, 1325, 1328, 1333, 1336, 1347, 1348, 1432, 1514
See also Red Army
Soviet Army, 13th Army, XXVII Corps, 726
Soviet Army, 21st Army, 759
Soviet Army, 52nd Army, LXXVIII Rifle Corps, 730
Soviet Army, 60th Army, 218
Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD), 97, 98, 809, 1224, 1273, 1278
Soviet Military Court, 61, 1268
Soviet Military Tribunal, 35, 98, 1260, 1327
Soviet secret police, 41, 865
Spallerhof, 928
Special Committee Munition II, 650
Special Courts (Sondergerichte), 505, 506, 1189
Special Criminal Court, 769
Special Duty State Police Group Wecke (Landespolizeigruppe Wecke z.b.V.), 73
Special Gunpowder Committee (Sonderausschuss Pulver), 1313
Special Inspectorate (Sonderinspektion) III, 1019, 1022
Special Inspectorate II, 1370
Special Operations Executive (SOE), 1006
Spezialfabrik für Addier- und Buchungsmaschinen (Specialized Factory for Adding and Accounting Machines), 576
Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG, 1275, 1290, 1291
Spreewerke GmbH, 755, 1287
Sprengkommando, 514, 530–540, 1365–1366, 1368–1369

SS-Allgemeine (General), 186
SS-Alpenland, 933
SS-Alpine Training Facility and Prisoner Camp (Hochsgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenenlager), 528
SS and Police Court (SS- und Polizeigericht) Berlin-Dahlem, 1298
SS and Police Engineering Academy, 231
SS and Police Leader (SSPF), 876, 880, 884, 885, 887, 888, 893, 1492
SS-Artillery Targeting School I, 1309
SS-Assault Gun School (Sturmgeschützschule), 616, 618
SS-Baubrigaden and SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden, 1353–1418
system overview, 1353–1360
SS-Baubrigade I (SS-BB I), 1089, 1356, 1357, 1361–1363, 1366, 1371, 1373–1374, 1375–1377, 1383, 1386–1387, 1395–1396, 1413
SS-Baubrigade II (SS-BB II), 332, 333, 336, 337, 341, 371, 372, 1089, 1356, 1357, 1363–1365, 1366–1368, 1369, 1379, 1380–1382, 1388–1389, 1390, 1391–1393, 1396, 1399–1400
See also SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade II (SS-EBB II)
SS-Baubrigade IIa, 1364
SS-Baubrigade IIb, 1364
SS-Baubrigade III (SS-BB III), 1356, 1357, 1365–1366, 1368–1369, 1370, 1371–1373, 1374–1375, 1376, 1378, 1383–1386, 1387–1388, 1389–1391, 1390, 1393–1394, 1397–1399
SS-Baubrigade IV (SS-BB IV), 1355, 1356, 1357, 1363, 1370, 1376, 1377–1379, 1379–1380, 1398, 1399, 1400–1402
SS-Baubrigade V (SS-BB V), 1356, 1358, 1363, 1366, 1369–1371, 1372, 1382–1383, 1385, 1386, 1394–1395, 1402
SS-Baubrigade VI (E). *See* SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI [aka SS-Baubrigade VI (E)]
SS-Baubrigade VII (E). *See* SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII [aka SS-Baubrigade VII (E)]
SS-Baubrigade VII (SS-BB VII), 1370
SS-Baubrigade VIII (SS-BB VIII), 1409, 1410, 1411
SS-Baubrigade IX (SS-BB IX), 1410, 1411
SS-Baubrigade X (SS-BB X), 1409, 1410, 1412
SS-Baubrigade XI (SS-BB XI), 1409
SS-Baubrigade XII (SS-BB XII), 1411, 1415
SS-Baubrigade West (SS-BB V), 1369–1371
SS-Bauleitung (Building Administration) "Reich-Nord," 1276
SS-Bauleitung (Construction Management), 1000
SS-Bauleitung Dresden, 580
SS-Bauleitung Neustadt, 1165
SS-Bauleitung Süd, 519
SS-Bauleitung Verden, 1176
SS-Bekleidungswerk (Clothing Works), 878
SS-Berghaus, 551–552
SS-Building Administration "Reich Nord," 1274
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), 8, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 198, 210, 222, 237, 239, 247, 253, 255, 260, 270, 271, 278, 297, 300, 301, 302, 306, 307, 308, 315, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 330, 332, 335, 336, 338, 339, 341, 343, 346, 353, 355, 357, 361, 367, 368, 374, 376, 378, 381, 383, 387, 401, 402, 410, 415, 416, 418, 420, 421, 422, 437, 438, 444, 448, 459, 462, 479, 482, 484, 489, 524, 530, 545, 548, 571, 578, 580, 582, 590, 603, 616, 620, 622, 633, 635, 636, 650, 667, 671, 674, 677, 680, 703, 705, 750, 771, 811, 814, 816, 824, 848, 856, 858, 864, 870, 876, 878, 879, 881, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 889, 891, 895, 914, 927–928, 938, 939, 944, 948, 950, 966, 973, 979, 983, 1009, 1012, 1016, 1034, 1038, 1054, 1055, 1062, 1065, 1068, 1070, 1075, 1090, 1097, 1107, 1108, 1111, 1121, 1122, 1124, 1128, 1131, 1132, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1139, 1143, 1149, 1150, 1154, 1166, 1175, 1182, 1183, 1190–1191, 1193, 1196, 1197, 1208, 1213, 1222, 1226, 1230, 1237, 1251, 1264, 1275, 1284, 1302, 1325, 1344, 1354, 1361, 1367, 1373, 1380, 1385, 1395, 1400, 1402, 1403, 1407, 1410, 1411, 1413, 1415, 1417, 1420, 1425, 1429, 1448, 1450, 1466, 1470, 1484, 1492, 1512, 1520, 1527, 1533
See also subordinate offices below
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt B, 887
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt D, 237, 271, 595, 1057, 1222
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt I/5, Haushalt und Bauten (Budgets and Buildings), 210, 351, 1275, 1354, 1404, 1417
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt II, 1035
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt III, 750
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt IV, 322
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe B, 1395
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe C (Office Group C), 297, 353, 355, 357, 405, 471, 599, 929, 966, 979, 1009, 1019, 1021, 1166, 1354, 1356, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1369, 1375, 1376, 1381, 1394, 1397, 1403, 1404, 1406, 1408, 1415, 1512
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe D (Office Group D), 189, 297, 308, 320, 332, 336, 402, 500, 558, 655, 967, 1121, 1124, 1135, 1136, 1194, 1256, 1354, 1363, 1365, 1368, 1375, 1404, 1448, 1484, 1527
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe W (Office Group W), 239, 341, 374, 459, 482, 518, 625, 642, 870, 909, 1028, 1197, 1202
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Finance and Construction, 1378
SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Leadership Staff BII, 355
SS-Cadet and Non-Commissioned Officer School (Junker- und Unterführer-Schule), 616, 618
SS cadre branch staff (Stammabteilung), 45
SS-Cavalry Remount School (Remonte-Schule), 1054
SS cavalry school (*Kavallerieschule*), 352
SS-Cavalry Training Squadron (Lehrschwadron), 1199
SS-Central Building Administration, 228, 229
SS-Central Construction Administration, Auschwitz, 1340
See also Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS, ZBL)
SS-Central Recruiting Office (Ergänzungsstelle Mitte), 1088
SS-Construction Brigades. *See individual* SS-Baubrigaden
SS-Construction Department, 633
SS-Construction Management, 1379
SS-Construction Management "Kurmark," 1396
SS-Construction Management "Reich Nord," 1396
SS-Construction Management unit (Bauleitung Goslar), 1110
SS-Construction Office, 1375
SS-Construction Special Inspectorate (Bausonderinspektion) III Obrigheim, 1046
SS-Court III (Gericht III) in Munich, 152
SS-Death's Head units. *See* SS-Totenkopfverbände
SS-Deutsche Schieferöl (German Shale Oil) GmbH, 1028–1029
SS-Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Health GmbH), 530
SS-"Dirlewanger" Division, 1345
SS-Division Nordland, 922
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade I (SS-BBI), 1404
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade II (SS-EBB II), 1406
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade III (SS-EBB III), 1402, 1407
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (SS-EBB V, Osnabrück), 1358, 1401, 1402–1404, 1414
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI (SS-EBB VI) [aka SS-Baubrigade VI (E)], 1358, 1404–1406
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII [aka SS-Baubrigade VII (E)], 1358, 1406–1408

SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII (SS-EBB VIII), 1358, 1408–1410
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade IX (SS-EBB IX), 1410–1411, 1413
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X (SS-EBB X), 1355, 1409, 1411–1413
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI (SS-EBB XI), 1358, 1413–1415
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII (SS-EBB XII), 1359, 1415–1416
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (SS-EBB XIII), 1359, 1417–1418
SS-Entlassungsstelle (Demobilization Post), 543
SS-Erholungsheim, 549
SS-Ersatzbataillon in Breslau-Lissa, 699
SS-Female Assistants' School Heidenheim, 1039
SS-Field Engineer Barracks (Pionier-Kaserne), 580
SS-Field Engineer Replacement Battalion [Pionierersatzbataillon] Dresden, 580
SS-First Armored Infantry Training and Reserve Battalion (Panzergrenadier-Ausbildungs- und Ersatzbataillon), 1342
SS-Freiwilligen-Division "Prinz Eugen," 1326
SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgsdivision (Kroatien), 13th, 1326, 1330
SS-Führungshauptamt (Leadership Main Office, FHA), 680, 1264, 1265, 1270, 1275, 1290, 1319, 1325, 1326, 1342–1343, 1345
SS-Führungsstab A7, 1019, 1021
SS-Führungsstab, 627, 1166
SS-Führungsstab A II, 1166
SS-Führungsstab A4, 353, 354
SS-Führungsstab A6, 432
SS-Führungsstab B-13, 1001
SS-Führungsstab B-18, 1002
SS-Führungsstab B-4, 999
SS-Führungsstab B 5, 643
SS-Führungsstab A5, 997
SS-Führungsstab Ost (Command Staff East), 1048–1049
SS-Gefolge (Auxiliary), 761
SS-German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH), 443
SS-Grenadier-Ersatz-Ausbildungs-Bataillon 5 (Grenadier Replacement Training Battalion 5), 1028
SS-Group West (Gruppe West), 72, 138, 152
SS Guard units. *See* Guard units; SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head units)
SS-Hauptamt, 569, 630, 631, 1331
SS-Hauptversorgungslager, 1438
SS-Hauptzeugamt (Main Material Office), 612
SS-Hochgebirgsschule (Mountain School) Neustift, 485
SS-Hygiene Institut, 226, 254
SS-Infirmary (Sanitäts-Ersatz und Ausbildungsabteilung), 350
SS-Intelligence Auxiliary Unit, 647
SS-Intelligence Replacement Battalion (Nachrichten-Ersatzabteilung), 659
SS-Intelligence School, 1045
SS-Junker School (Braunschweig), 1400
SS-Junkerschule, 321, 456, 457, 805, 922, 923, 1199
SS-Junker- und Unterführer-Schule (Cadet and Noncommissioned Officer School), 616, 618
SS-Kameradschaftsheim Vordereckart, 481
SS-Kameradschafts- und Erholungsheim (Comradeship and Rest Home), 481
SS-Karstwehr, 659
SS-Kaserne, 646–647, 1121
SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothing Sales Store), 630, 667
SS-Kommando Trautenau, 700, 707, 731, 764, 775, 802
SS-Königsberg Main Sector Office (SS-Oberabschnitt Nord-Ost, Königsberg), 1438
SS-Korps-Nachrichten-Abteilung, 5th, 431
SS-Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt (Motor Vehicle Technical Education Institute), 961
SS-Labor Service, 1387
SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt). *See* SS-Führungshauptamt
SS-Lebensbornheim, 1195
SS-Lehrregiment Hradischko, 616
SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, 60, 149, 1275
SS-Main Hospital (Sanitätshauptlager), 1275
SS-Main Supply Depot (SS-Hauptversorgungslager), 1438
SS-Mannschaftshäuser, 514
SS-Medical Corps, 1206
SS-Medical Operations, 680
SS-Meilerei, 1196
SS-Military Fortifications branch (Fortifikationsstelle), 659
SS-Mountain Division "Nord," 206
SS-Mütterheim (Mothers' Home), 546
SS-Nachrichten-Ersatz-Abteilung (Intelligence Auxiliary Unit), 647
SS-Nachrichten-Ersatzbataillon (Intelligence Reserve Battalion), 647
SS-Nachrichten-Regiment 500, 1306
SS-Neubauleitung, 1484
SS-Noncommissioned Officers Training Squadron, 1200
SS-Oberabschnitt Sud, 515
SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel, 1438–1439
SS-Office "Haushalt und Bauten" (HHB), 1275, 1354, 1417
SS-Officer School (Führerschule), 307, 308
SS-Osttruppen (Hiwis), 1460
SS-Panzer-Aufklärungs-Ausbildings-Abteilung 2, 4th, 1237
SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Regiment 1, 1237
SS-Panzer Division "Viking," 206
SS-Panzergrenadierdivision "Totenkopf" (Death's Head), 1520
SS-Pioneer Battalion "Das Reich," 616
SS-Pioneer Battalion "Germania," 616, 617
SS-Pioneer Battalions (Pionierbataillonen), 618
SS-Pionier-Ersatzbataillon (Engineer Replacement Battalion), 580, 581
SS-Pionier-Kaserne, 580–582
SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse und Siedlungshauptamt, RuSHA), 514, 826, 948, 1275, *1523*, 1527, 1528
SS-Railroad Construction Brigades. *See individual* SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden
SS-Reitschule (Riding School), 1085, 1088, 1178
SS-Reit- und Fahrschule (Riding and Driving School), 523, 524
SS-Remount Office, 471
SS-Research and Training Cooperative "Das Ahnenerbe," 462
SS research institutes, 1193
SS-Schieferöl, 1029
SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg, 1518
SS-Signal Intelligence Female Assistants' School Oberehnheim / Elsass, 1039
SS-Sondereinheit Dirlewanger, 949
SS-Sonderinspektion II, 990
SS-Sonderstab Kammler, 936, 942
SS-Special Assignment Troops (SS-VT), 186
SS-Special Assignment Troops (Verfügungstruppe) II/SS-"Germania," 307
SS-Special Detail (Sonderkommando) Trautenau, 776
SS-Stadtwachtkompanie, 1449
SS-Standarten (regiments), 107, 131, 156, 165, 171, 1449
SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, 1111
SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau, 515
SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau, 516
SS-Standortverwaltung, 520–521
SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration), 509, 1325
SS-Sturmbann Bad Oeynhausen, 46
SS-Sturm Köln, 107
SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head units), 60, 121, 159, 185, 186, 187, 199, 206, 216, 235, 291, 306, 349, 371, 443, 456, 473, 532, 563, 616, 653, 680, 702, 721, 752, 805, 825, 865, 877, 895, 910, 915–916, 921, 931-932, 933, 969, 1074, 1105, 1109, 1221, 1259, 1264, 1279, 1300, 1306, 1307, 1315, 1318, 1320, 1323, 1328, 1333, 1335, 1343, 1344, 1363, 1372, 1384, 1400, 1421, 1449, 1485, 1520, 1530
SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungslager), 464, 518
SS-Training Regiment (Lehrregiment), 618

SS-Troop Training Ground Beneschau (Truppenübungsplatz Beneschau), 616
SS-Troop Training Ground Bohemia (Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen), 618
SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg, 1466
SS-Upper Sector West (Oberabschnitt West), 107
SS-Verfügungstruppen (Special Assignment Troops), 456
SS-Versuchsgut Comthurey (SS Experimental Farm Comthurey), 1197
SS-Viking Division, 612
SS-"Vistula" Main Sector Office (Oberabschnitt "Weichsel"), 1425, 1438
SS-Wachbataillons and Wachkompanien. *See* Guard units
SS-Weaving Contingent (Rohrmattenflechterei), 1102, 1103
SS-Weingut-Betriebs GmbH, 500, 559
SS-Wirtschafter, 865
SS-Wirtschaftslager (Business Camp), 598
Staatsanwaltschaft Trier, 827
Staatspolizeistelle Dresden, 752
Stade, Niedersachsen, State Prosecutor's Office, 1200
Städtische Ziegelei Zigankenberg, 1446
Stahlbau GmbH, 928, 930–931
Stahlhelm, 3, 9, 21, 23, 26, 28, 44, 56, 58, 62, 75, 89, 90, 95, 116, 126, 136, 141, 144, 147, 156, 171
Stahlwerke Bochum, 319
Stahlwerke Braunschweig GmbH, 1177, 1178
Stapostelle Saarbrücken., 826
Stasi, 1222
State Association for Workers' Colonies (Landesverein für Arbeiterkolonien), 19
State Care Institute (Landes-Pflegeanstalt), 1294
State Charitable Institution (aka Zehntscheune, or Tithe Barn), 54
State Financial Office in Stettin, 92
State Forestry Administration, 1265
State Justice Administration in Cologne, 1283
State Police (Landespolizei), 22
State Police (Staatspolizei), 29
State Police (Stapo), 76, 78, 156, 839
State Police Interrogation Commission (Vernehmungskommission), 826
State Work Institution Breitenau, 54
Staud and Suka, 1069
Steinbruch Merkel quarry, 427
Steinbruchverwertungs GmbH, Betrieb Schlier (Quarry Processing Ltd., Schlier Branch), 942
Steinfurt works, 1460
Steinhage, 795
Steinhoff furniture factory, 329
Steinöl GmbH, 1172
Stein und Teer, 754
Stephan-Kempe-Church, 1380
Stephansdach Holzbau GmbH, 946
Stettin SS-Lazarett, 670
Stettin State Police Office, 166
Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), 188, 892, 920, 921, 924, 927, 929, 936, 939–940, 946, 947, 951, 955, 1312
St. Georgen workhouse and penitentiary, 25
Stickstoff- und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works, SKW), 553
Stielerschule (Stiel School), 503, 504, 514
Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, 1314
Stöhr company, 798
Stolzenberg factory, 84
Strasbourg Medical University, 593
Strasbourg University (Versuchabteilung der Reichsuniversität Strassburg), 1005
Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe), 1251
Strassenbau- und Tiefbaugeschäft Stehmeyer & Bischoff (Stehmeyer & Bischoff Road Construction and Civil Engineering), 1090, 1097
Strassenbauunternehmen AG (STUAG), 936
Stülcken-Werft, 1111, 1113, 1127–1129
Sturchan (Stuchan) company, 722
Stuttgart District Court, 1199
Stutthof hospital, 1466
Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Subag), 575
Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke (Sutag), 575
Sudetenquell GmbH, 625
Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), 423, 434
Superior British Military Court in Hamburg, 1113
Superior Military Court in Dachau, 308
Support Center (Stützpunkt) Hamburg, 1111
Supreme British Military Court, 1180
Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic, 218
Supreme National Court of Justice in Kraków, 247
Supreme Nazi Party Court in Munich, 178
Świdnica District Court, 712, 716, 724, 730, 737, 788, 794
Swiss Schwurgericht Zürich, 827
Synthetische Benzin—Fabrik Mathildenhöhe, 808

Tajny Hufiec Harcerzy (Secret Scout Regiment), 1456
Tannenbergbund, 75
Tannwald Textilien Werke (Tannwald Textile Works), 754, 755, 756
Tautenhahn mill, abandoned, 158
Tebe und Bucer, 796
Technical University in Munich, 533
Technisches Hauptamt Estland, 1505
Teichgräber linen spinning mill, 738
Telefunken Company, 558, 763, 764, 801, 1275, 1277
Territorial Guardsmen (Landesschütze), 1023
Thiel, Ruhla company, 395, 396
Thiel u. Co., 1455
Thiessen farm, 1457
Thomsen & Co., 1085, 1086
Thuringia Ministry of the Interior, 141
Thuringian Farmers' Alliance (TLB), 140
Thuringia-Spinnerei, 397
Thyra Werk, 998, 999
Thyssen Group, 1093
Tiefbau AG Julius Berger, 1397
Tiessler, 754
Tipecska company. *See* Feinmechanische Werkstätten Ing. G. Tipecska
TLB (Thuringian Farmers' Alliance), 140
Toebbens company, 889
Tolex company, 755
Töneshof airport, 126
Toruń Court, 726
Toruń District Court, 1442, 1483
Toruń Special Criminal Court, 1483
Totenkopfverbände. *See* SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head units)
T. Plage/T. Laskiewicz, 885, 887
Trafo- und Zählerwerk, 645
Treuenbrietzen factory, 1267
Treuhandstelle Ost (Eastern Trust Co.), 229
Trier Schwurgericht, 827
Truppenwirtschaftslager (Troop Supply Camp, TWL), 1088–1089, 1237, 1247, 1247–1248
Trzebinia oil refinery, 206
Tschenstochau (Czestochowa) Trial in Leipzig, 414

Überland AG, 936
Uelzen Goods Railway Yard (Güterbahnhof), 1173
Uhrig-Römer-Resistance Organization, 60
Ukrainian 1st Front, 728
Ukrainian Auxiliaries (Hiwis), 706
Ulm Schwurgericht, 1024
Unic company, 477
Union-Baugesellschaft Universale-Hoch-Tiefbauaktiengesellschaft, 556
Union factory, 211
United Climbing Detachment (VKA), 97
United Leather Works (Vereinigte Lederwerke) Schaulen, 858
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), 303, 313, 681, 1158, 1159, 1162
United States Air Force, 1380
United States Air Force, 8th Air Force, 528, 649
United States Air Force, 9th Air Force, 1104
United States Air Force, 15th Air Force, 648
United States Alsos mission, 571
United States Army, 230, 293, 302, 303, 305, 307, 326, 359, 377, 386, 408, 427, 439, 476, 479, 482, 485, 498, 499, 517, 534,

535, 538, 544, 546, 554, 597, 611, 654, 663, 902, 970, 971, 975, 992, 1108, 1231, 1309, 1532
See also United States forces
United States Army, 1st Army, 382
United States Army, 3rd Armored Division, 970, 1002
United States Army, 3rd Army, 623
United States Army, 3rd Army, 26th Infantry Division, 938
United States Army, 3rd Army, 71st Infantry Division, 918
United States Army, 3rd Army, 761st Tank Battalion, 623
United States Army, 4th Armored Division, Combat Command B, 403
United States Army, 6th Armored Division, 407
United States Army, 6th Army, 539
United States Army, 7th Army, 445
United States Army, 7th Army, 45th Infantry Division, 445
United States Army, 8th Armored Division, 399th Battalion, 359
United States Army, 9th Army, 348
United States Army, 69th Infantry Division, 382
United States Army, 82nd Airborne Division, 1086, 1185
United States Army, 83rd Infantry Division, 359
United States Army, 84th Infantry Division, 1171
United States Army, 84th Infantry Division, 335th Regiment, 1134
United States Army, 89th Infantry Division, 403
United States Army, 102nd Infantry Division, 1145
United States Army, 104th Infantry Division, 970, 980
United States Army, 602nd Tank Destroyer Battalion, 403
United States Army Air Forces, 452, 1399
United States Army Signal Corps, 382, 407
United States Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee (CIOS), 978
United States Court in Bavaria, 410
United States Department of State, 1243
United States District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1514
United States forces, 193, 232, 314, 328, 331, 340, 347, 364, 366, 369, 370, 372, 389, 393, 412, 416, 417, 419, 429, 452, 457, 516, 522, 533, 534, 539, 551, 553, 557, 634, 974, 979, 980, 982, 985, 987, 988, 993, 995, 1001, 1087, 1104, 1169, 1176, 1241, 1249, 1331, 1333, 1378, 1389, 1396, 1398, 1405, 1418, 1429, 1521
See also United States Army
United States military authorities, 105
United States Military Court, 318, 442, 481, 490, 533, 537, 610, 827, 957, 978,
United States Military Court/Tribunal in Dachau, 241, 308, 391, 462, 499, 654, 907, 925, 932, 941, 943, 949, 956, 957, 960
United States Military Police, 273
United States Military Tribunal, 218
United States Military Tribunal (first), 1207
United States Military Tribunal in Landsberg, 1054
United States War Crimes Investigating Team 6822, 382
United States XV Corps, Allied 6th Army Group, 538
United West German Railway Wagon Factories Inc. (Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG), 369
Universelle Machine Factory J.C. Müller & Company, 582-584
University of Strasbourg (Versuchabteilung der Reichsuniversität Strassburg), 1005
University of Würzburg, 680
Universum Film AG (Ufa) Babelsberg, 1334
Unterdeichverband (Dike Subunit) Steegen, 1480
Unterkünfte Ullersdorf (Ullersdorf lodgings), 1326
Unternehmen Mittelbau, 973, 979
Unternehmen Siemer & Müller (Siemer & Müller Enterprise), 1090, 1097
Urban (Bauunternehmen), 788

Vacuum Oil Company AG, 273
Valsts Elektrotechniska Fabrika (VEF), 1250
Valvo Röhrenund Halbleiterwerke GmbH (Valvo Pipe and Semiconductor Factory, Ltd.), 1149
Varta Batterie AG, 1143
Velten Maschinenbau GmbH Ikaria, 1346
Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke Flussspatchemie, 674
Vereinigte Dente OTA (VDO), 1030
Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), 711, 728, 796, 801, 802
Vereinigte Kugellager-Fabriken plant, 758
Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke (United Lausitz Glassworks), 808
Vereinigte Leichtmetall-Werke (United Light Metal Works, Hannover-Linden), 1155
Vereinigten Aluminium-Werke AG (VAW) Berlin, 738
Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (VOH), 244, 245, 252
Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd.), 347
Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks), 317, 328
Vereinigte Textilfabrik AG, 400
Vereinigte Textilwerke & Co./K. H. Barthel, 731
Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG, 369
Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN), 119, 1304, 1327
Veruschacht company, 1040
Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Montan), 476–477, 746, 868, 939
Vianova, 717
Vienna Landgericht (State Court), 951
Vienna State Court. *See* Wien Landgericht
Viennese Fire Protection Police (Feuerschutzpolizei), 906
Viktoria Schule, 1457
"Vlassov" Army, 1331
Voigt & Haeffner AG, Werk Linz, 915
Volkenreich company, 1125
Volkseigener Betrieb (VEB) Mühlenbau Dresden-Zschachwitz, 682–683
Volkssturm (German Home Guard), 389, 390, 394, 460, 523, 572, 648, 726, 730, 913, 925, 932, 1281, 1398, 1418
Volkswagen AG, 198, 199, 200, 340, 436, 968, 1015, 1025, 1062–1063, 1107–1108, 1302, 1303
Voluntary Labor Service (FAD), 17, 124, 135
Vomag AG, 632
Vorwerk Mitte, 411
Voss company, 1468
Vulkan-Shipyard, 1093

Wachbatallion Nordwest. *See* Guard units
Wachkompanie. *See* Guard units
Wachsturmbann Eimann. *See* Guard units
Wadowice District Court, 788, 794
Waffen-SS, 187, 188, 206, 319, 325, 335, 351, 359, 368, 371, 373, 420, 428, 471, 525, 530, 531, 543, 581, 634, 680, 688, 848, 868, 876, 878, 890, 922, 980, 981, 1012, 1031, 1040, 1061, 1107, 1109, 1112, 1125, 1143, 1149, 1179, 1182, 1206, 1231, 1232, 1237, 1259, 1270, 1275, 1283, 1294, 1302, 1307, 1309, 1325, 1326, 1351, 1396, 1404, 1411, 1413, 1418, 1427, 1431, 1440, 1497, 1501, 1502, 1514, 1530
Waffen-SS, Baden/Oos, Sandweier Office, Hauptwirtschaftslager (HWL) II, 1040
Waffen-SS 6th Guard Company, 1038, 1040, 1050, 1067, 1069
Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration, 352, 423, 427, 431, 479, 485, 512, 522–523, 534, 555–556, 582, 646, 659, 669, 674, 842, 923, 1045, 1055
Waffen-SS Driver, Training, and Replacement Departments (Kraftfahrt-, Ausbildungs- und Ersatzabteilung), 291
Waffen-SS Entomological Institute, 462, 462–463
Waffen-SS Hygiene Institute, 231, 293
Waffen-SS Kommandoamt, 1270
Waffen-SS Motor Vehicle Technical Education Institute (KTL), 945–946
Waffen-SS Neubauleitung, 351
Waffen-SS Reserve, 1520
Waffen-SS- und Polizei Reich-Süd, 599
Wagenwerk, 241, 242

Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG (WUMAG), 705, 706, 708
Waggonfabrik Steinfurt Königsberg GmbH, 1465, 1466
Wałbrzych Court, 726
Walter Jakob company, 408
"Walter" power plant, 259, 260
Walter-Werke factory, 747
Wälzer & Co., 422, 422–423, 423
War Crimes Investigations Units, 382, 1159, 1162
War Office, 911
Warsaw District Court, 702
Wartenburg Sanatorium, 506
Wayss & Freytag company, 501, 788, 798, 1037, 1125
Weber, 1166
Weberei und Spinnerei (Weaving and Spinning Mill) Knopf, 746
Websky, Hartmann and Wiesen AG, 783, 796, 798
Wehrmacht, 3, 136, 153, 186, 187, 188, 193, 206, 222, 235, 239, 246, 251, 252, 256, 263, 268, 278, 292, 293, 304, 305, 317, 320, 321, 345, 359, 369, 371, 373, 376, 386, 391, 394, 395, 403, 405, 413, 414, 430, 440, 449, 451, 454, 457, 459, 464, 475, 477, 496, 497, 501, 503, 504, 512, 522, 527, 532, 544, 546, 555, 572, 603, 605, 624, 642, 665, 680, 682, 705, 708, 710, 713, 726, 728, 759, 766, 791, 801, 809, 848, 849, 855, 858, 864, 868, 882, 885, 889, 895, 905, 912, 917, 923, 925, 931, 950, 954, 955, 957, 962, 982, 984, 986, 987, 988, 993, 994, 998, 1010, 1016–1017, 1020, 1022, 1031, 1036, 1044, 1046, 1055, 1079, 1081, 1086, 1104, 1107, 1117, 1123, 1129, 1131, 1136, 1142, 1148, 1150, 1152, 1157, 1162, 1164, 1166, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1181, 1190, 1193, 1206, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1216, 1217, 1228, 1231, 1250, 1251, 1259, 1264, 1275, 1297, 1301, 1309, 1314, 1319, 1327, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1339, 1344, 1345, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1354, 1356, 1361, 1370, 1383, 1386, 1394, 1395, 1402, 1407, 1423, 1427, 1431, 1434, 1435, 1441, 1463, 1467, 1468, 1470, 1492, 1497, 1500, 1531, 1532
Wehrmacht, Heeresgruppe Mitte, 1339
Wehrmacht, Heeresgruppe Süd, 950
Wehrmacht, Sixth Army, 1012
Wehrmachtauskunftstelle (Military Information Office, WASt), 1265
Wehrmacht Senior Hospital Training School (Volksschule und Oberschule Wehrmachtslazarette), 1206
Wehrmacht Special Detachment (Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht, SAW), 1019, 1021, 1345, 1395
Wehrmacht Standortälteste Grossenhain, 604
Wehrmacht Training Battalion, 1471
Wehrwolf, 124, 149
Weichselland limited liability company, 1438
Weiden District Court, 659, 669
Weiden und Petersil, 791, 794
Weigert, 722
Weimar Gustloff-Werke, 297
Weimar Republic (often written as "Weimar"), 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 31, 37, 45, 78, 79, 93, 104, 116, 129, 140, *148*, 149, 183, 349, 395, 1340, 1525
Weimar Stadtwerke, 291
Weimar Wilhelm-Gustloff-NS-Industriestiftung, 291
Weisswasser/OL police, 809
Welboth (Velvety) Fabrik zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse Hertine GmbH (Factory for the Processing of Chemical Substances Hertine, Ltd.), 611
Welboth factory, 612, 652
Wendt factory, 1327
Wenneis und Tippe, 1001
Werk Hirthmotorenbau (Hirth Engine Construction Plant), 1040–1041
Werk Sömmerda, 419
Weser-Ems Gau Chamber of Commerce, 1366
Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weserflug), 660, 672, 702, 721, 1096, 1098
Westermann & Co., 1470
Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG), 339, 1312
Westfälische Metallindustrie (WMI), 386–387
West German Federal Court (BGH), 649
West German Military Tribunal, 207, 212
West Germany. *See* Federal Republic of Germany
Westwaggon, 369, 372
Widmaier company, 526
Widmann company, 913
Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm, WED, 826
Wiedermann, 754
Wiemer und Trachte (Berlin), 199
Wiener Neustädter Lokomotivfabrik, 956
Wien Landgericht (Vienna State Court), 954, 963
Wifo (Wirtschafliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH or Economic Research Co., Ltd.), 966, 967, 984, 986
Wilhelm-Gustloff-Stiftung, 291, 922
Wilhelm power plant, 264
Wilhelm Reichenwallner KG, 1344
Wilhelmsburg Bahnhof, 1132
Wilhelmsburger Bleiwerk, 1132
Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg, 1148
Wilhelmsplatz State Court Prison, 23, 142
Wilke & Streckebach, 1304
Willy Keymer (Warsaw), 1512
Winkler factory, 744
Winter Relief Campaign (WHW), 9, 129
Wintershall AG, 284, 285, 387, 990
Wirtschaftsstab Ost, 848
Wissenschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft (Scientific Research Society), 478
Witt (Weiden) company, 609
Wlassow Army, 373, 941
WMI (Westfälische Metallindustrie), 386–387
Wolf & Döring, 1230, 1249
Wollenwaren. *See* Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG
Wollkämmerei factory, 1092
Workers Benevolent Association (Arbeitersamariterwache), 86
Workers Youth Organizations, 33
World Jewish Congress, 1214
Wrocław Appellate Court, Special Criminal Court, 737
Wrocław Armaments Command, 712
Wrocław District Court, 763
Wrocław Executive Committee (Nadprezydium), 713, 716
Wrocław Special Criminal Court, 802
Wülfert GmbH, 463, 464
Wunderlich Bauingenieur, 1326
Wuppertal Landgericht (State Court), 11
Wuppertal Regional Court, 178, 881
Württemberg factory, 1033
Wurttembergische Metallwarenfabrik (WMF), 1033–1034
Württemberg Ministry of Justice, 83
Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, 83, 96, 169
Württemberg Political Police, 83, 95, 96
Württemberg State Office of the Criminal Police (Landeskriminalpolizeiamt), 83
Würzburg University, 680
Wüste Project. *See* Gruppe Wüste

Yellow Cross (Gelbes Kreuz), 524

Zahndepot Timmel company, 111
Zahnradfabrik (Gear Wheel Factory) Friedrichshafen, 939
Zangberg monastery, 501
Zastal company. *See* Beuchelt (now Zastal)
ZEH gypsum factory, 1061
Zehlendorf Spinning Mill (Spinnstofffabrik), 1281
Zehnerschaft (The Ten), 864
Zeiss-Ikon, 584–586, 586–587, 664
Zellulose- & Zellwolle AG, 1321
Zellwolle und Papierfabrik Lenzing (Lenzinger Zellwolle AG), 925
Zeltner Strasse School, 646
Zemke company, 1432
Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS, ZBL), 321, 471, 1325, 1326, 1340
Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen. *See* Central Office for State Justice Administrations
Zentrale Stelle zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen, 1078
Zentralstelle in Cologne, 1315, 1322
Zentralstelle in Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1521
Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, 66
Zeppelin Dirigible Company, 540, 553, 988
Zerlegebetriebe factory, 211

Zieleniewski-Maschinen und Waggonblau GmbH, 244
Zieleniewski Works, 244, 245
Zielona Góra District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, 743, 757
Zimke, 754
Zisterzensier Order (Duisberg convent), 1371
"Zitt-Werke." *See* Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (JFM)
Zośka battalion, 1514
Züblin AG, 1068
Zuckerfabrik Uelzen AG, 1174
Zürich Schwurgericht, 827
Zur Weintraube (aka Schönemann), 981
Zwanziger Weaving Mill, 778
Zweigwerke Schönebeck, 437
Zweigwerk Hohwacht, 1158
Zweigwerk Schönebeck, 396, 414
Zweite Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Bautzen, 119
Zwickau Criminal Court, 314
Zwickau State Court, 179
Zygmunt, Janina mine, 254